Unity and diversity in Mixtec causative constructions

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April 21st 2018

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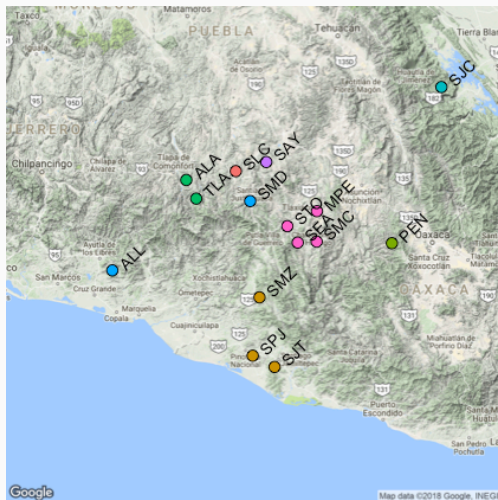## Overview

Languages

Overview of languages surveyed

Variety	Abbr.	Subgroup	Source(s)
Alacatlatzala Mixtec	ALA	Guerrero	Zylstra 2012
Tlahuapa Mixtec	TLA	Guerrero	own data
Ayutla Mixtec	ALL	Southern Baja	Hills 1990
San Martín Duraznos Mixtec	SMD	Southern Baja	own data
Silacayoapan Mixtec	SLC	Central Baja	North & Shields 1976, Sh
Tezoatlán Mixtec	SAY	Tezoatlan	Ferguson de Williams 20
Atatlahuca Mixtec	SEA	Western Alta	Alexander 1980
Chalcatongo Mixtec	SMC	Western Alta	Macaulay 1996
Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec	MPE	Western Alta	Hollenbach 2013
Ocotepec Mixtec	STO	Western Alta	Alexander 1988
Peñoles Mixtec	SMP	Eastern Alta	Hinojosa 1977
Coatzospan Mixtec	SJC	Northern Alta	Small 1990
Jamiltepec Mixtec	SJT	Coast	Johnson 1988
San Pedro Jicayán Mixtec	SPJ	Coast	García Mejía 2012
Santa María Zacatepec Mixtec	SMZ	Coast	Towne 2011

Causative constructions

Types of constructions

- biclausal: two predicates with two sets of arguments
  - main clause before subordinate clause with complementizer
  - main clause after subordinate clause no complementizer
- monoclausal: one predicate with one set of arguments
  - prefix
  - compound construction?

Biclausal causatives – Examples

cause precedes effect, with conjunction

   (1)   Alcatlatzala (Guerrero)
       kìsa=ra   [ñà   kúmánì sì'ún   nda'à ñani=ra].
       PFV.make=3SG.M COMP lack   money hand brother=3SG.M
       'He caused that his brother didn't have money (lit.: that
       there was money lacking from his brother's hand).'
       (Zylstra 2012:183)

effect precedes cause, no conjunction

   (2)   San Andrés Yutatío (Tezoatlan)
       kúú [nì-ndachí=vá ve'e   tà'áná sá'ano ñoó] nì-kee
       and PFV-fly=FOC   house woman old   that PFV-make
       tachì ñoó.
       wind that
       'And some wind caused that the house of the old

Causative prefixes – Examples

(3) San Pedro Jicayán (Costa)
ndi'ì ru=an ja-káchi=yù
all 3=DEM CAUS-eat=1SG
'I made everyone eat.'   (García Mejía 2012:44)

(4) Magdalena Peñasco (Western Alta)
te suu=de kúu=ja ni s-kua'nu sa'ya=de=ma.
and same=3.M COP=that PFV CAUS-grow son=3.M=DEF
'And it is him who raised his son.' (Hollenbach 2013:379)

Unity

constructions overall very similar

cause verb and prefixes cognate to a large extent

Overview of 'make'-verbs and biclausal constructions

Variety	Subgroup	Verb 'make' IRR	Biclausal construction attested	order	COMP
ALA	Guerrero	*kasa* (IMPF)	yes	M-D	*ñà*
TLH		*íká*	yes	M-D	-
SIL	Central Baja	*kaja*	yes	M-D	*ñà*
SAY	Tezoatlan	*kee*	yes	D-M	-
SMD		*sa'a*	yes	M-D	*ñà*
AYU	Southern Baja	*kàsà'à*	NA		
		sàà'	NA		
STO		*sà'á*	yes	M-D	*ja*
SEA	Western Alta	*sá'a*	NA		
SMC		*sá'a*	yes	M-D	*jà*
MAP		*sa'a*	yes	M-D	*ja*
SMZ		*ja'a*	yes	M-D	*ña*
SPJ	Coast	*kàsà*	no		
		ja'á (IMPF)	yes	M-D	*(cha)*
SJT		*sa'a*	yes	D-M	-
SJC	Northern Alta	*kada*	NA		
PEN	Eastern Alta	*bèda*	NA		

Abbr.	Subgroup	Form	Origin	Base(s)	Ve
ALA	Guerrero	*sa-, (si-)*	'make'	vitr, vtr, adj, n	IRF
		chi-	chi'i 'plant'	adj, n	
TLA	Guerrero	*s-*	*make	v	?
		sa-	*make	adj, n	
SLC	Central Baja	*já-*	'make'	vitr	?
SAY	Tezoatlan	*ke-*	'make'	adj, n, adv	
		dá-	*make	vitr, vtr, adj	IRF
		chí-	chi'i 'plant, put'	vpos	IRF
SMD	Southern Baja	*sá-*	'make'	vitr, adj, n	IRF
ALL	Southern Baja	*sà-*	'make'	v, adj	IRF
		shà-	'make'	adj, n, quant	IRF
		chì-	chi'i 'plant'	non-ag. v, adj, n	IRF
		kà-	unknown	motion v?	IRF
STO	Western Alta	*s- (HT)*	'make'	vitr, vtr	IRF
		sa- (HT)	'make'	vitr, adj	IRF
SEA	Western Alta	*s- (HT)*	'make'	vitr	IRF

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Diversity

splits in causative prefixes

some make verbs replaced

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