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Editorial preface

I am very pleased to present this collection of papers from the 16th International Conference on Methods in Dialectology, which was held at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics in August 2017. The papers are arranged in four themed sections: Innovative Approaches to Language Variation, Language Change, Corpus and Quantitative Studies, and Atlases.

My sincere thanks are due to all the authors, reviewers, conference participants, and all those who helped in the organization of what proved to be a successful and enjoyable conference.

Lastly, I would like to thank Heinrich Ramisch, the Series Editor, for his very valuable advice and assistance. *Methods XVI* was financially supported by National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.

Yoshiyuki Asahi
Tachikawa, July 2019

Nobuko Kibe, Kumiko Sato, Taro Nakanishi, and Kohei Nakazawa

Corpus-based study of Japanese dialects

Regional differences in accusative case marking system

1 Introduction

Standard Japanese is an accusative-nominative language, which marks both transitive and intransitive subjects with the particle =*ga* and a transitive object with the particle =*o*.

- (1) *Taroo=ga* *hon=o* *yon-deru=yo.*
Taro=NOM book=ACC read-PROG=SFP
'Taro is reading a book.'

In the colloquial style of Standard Japanese, these markers can be dropped.

- (2) *Taroo=φ* *hon=∅* *yon-deru=yo.*
Taro=NOM book=ACC read-PROG=SFP
'Taro is reading a book.'

When we look at dialects of Japanese, there is a regional difference between dialects as to whether the accusative case is marked by the particle or the zero form. This article reports the following points with respect to the mechanisms of accusative marking in dialects of Japanese, based on the findings from a corpus search using "Corpus of Japanese Dialects" (COJADS), which is currently in preparation for release as a product of the collaborative research project of NINJAL "Endangered Languages and Dialects in Japan".

- (3) a. Regarding accusative marking, dialects in the northern part of Japan generally use the zero form, dialects in the central part of Japan use a particle and the zero form in equal proportion, and dialects in the southern part of Japan generally use a particle.
- | <the northern part> | <the central part> | <the southern part> |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| zero form | zero form / particle | particle |
- b. Dialects in the central part of Japan marks the accusative noun phrase with a particle when the accusative noun phrase is not adjacent to its corresponding verb or when the accusative noun phrase is specific.

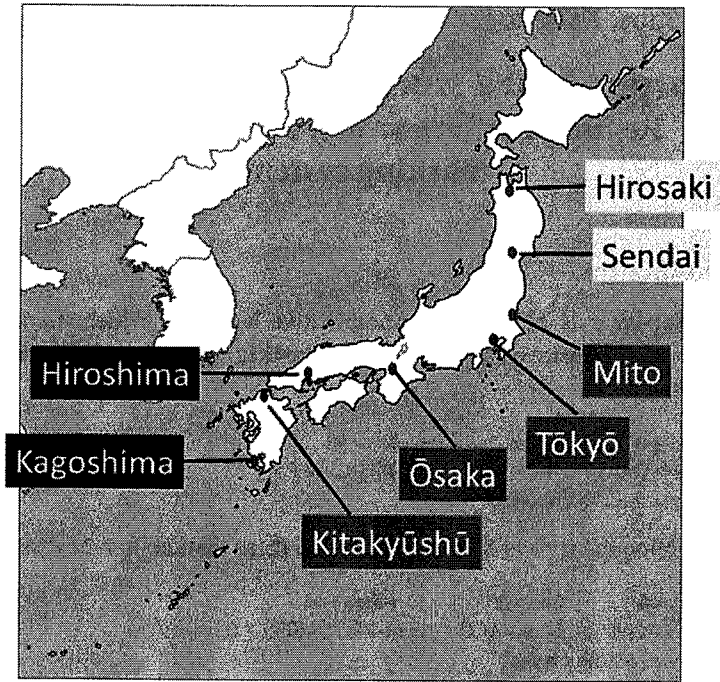


Fig. 1: Sites where the data used in this article were collected

2 Research design

The data of this article was obtained from recorded conversations in *Kakuchi Hōgen Shūshū Kinkyū Chōsa* ‘Urgent surveys to collect data of dialects throughout the nation’, which was led by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Governments of Japan. The recording was conducted from 1977 to 1985 at 224 sites throughout the nation. The data is currently stored at NINJAL, and became searchable using the corpus COJADS, which we used for data extraction. The sites where the data used in this article were obtained are Hirosaki and Sendai in the northern part of Japan, Mito, Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and Kitakyūshū in the central part, and Hiroshima and Kagoshima in the southern part.

Most of the previous studies on accusative markers in Japanese have targeted the colloquial style of Tōkyō Japanese. According to the literature, the following three factors affect the choice of the particle *=o* and the zero form as an accusative marker.

- (4) a. Animacy of the accusative noun phrase (Minashima 1993, Sasaki 1998, Hidaka 2000, Takeuchi and Matsumaru 2015)
 An inanimate noun phrase takes the zero form, and an animate noun phrase takes the particle =*o*.
- a.1 *kimi=o* *mi-tara* a.2 *omikosi=∅* *kacugi-masu=ka*
 2sg=ACC look.at-COND portable.shrine=ACC carry-POL=Q
 ‘When (someone) looks at you’ ‘Do you carry omikoshi?’
- b. Adjacency between the accusative noun phrase and its corresponding verb (Matsuda 2000, Abe2009)
 When the noun is adjacent to the verb, it takes the zero form. If not, it takes the particle =*o*.
- b.1 *sore=o* *hito=ni* *syabet-te* b.2 *hotoke-sama=∅* *ogan-de*
 that=ACC people=DAT speak-GER Buddha-POL=ACC worship-GER
 ‘telling that to someone’ ‘worshipping the Buddha’
- c. Specificity of the accusative noun phrase (Tamakake 2002)
 Sendai dialect in the northern part of Japan marks the accusative noun with the zero form, but when the noun is a specific animate object, it takes the particle =*dogo*.
- c.1 *hito=dogo* *baga=nu* *sun-na.*
 person=ACC stupid=DAT do-PROH
 ‘Do not make a fool of me (or some specific person).’
- c.2 *hito=∅* *baga=nu* *sun-na.*
 person=ACC stupid=DAT do-PROH
 ‘Do not make a fool of anyone.’

Focusing on the two factors *adjacency* (4b) and *specificity* (4c), this article investigates how they affect the choice of accusative markers in dialects of Japanese. We do not discuss the other factor *animacy* (4a), since, due to the content of the conversations in COJADS, examples of animate accusative noun phrases are too scarce to examine its tendency.

3 Results and discussion

Table 1 shows types of accusative markers with their frequency in COJADS in terms of the seven sites of the data used for this study.

Table 1 indicates the following:

- (5) a. Dialects in the northern part of Japan, such as Hiroasaki and Sendai dialects, have a high frequency of the zero form as an accusative marker.
 b. Dialects in the southern part of Japan, such as Hiroshima and Kagoshima dialects, have a high frequency of the particle =*o*.
 c. Dialects in the central part of Japan, such as Mito, Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and Kitakyūshū dialects, have the particle =*o* and the zero form in equal proportion.

Tab. 1: Type of accusative markers in each data collection site

Region	Data collection site	Particle	Zero form	Total
North	Hirosaki	= <i>goto</i> 6(5.7%)	99(94.3%)	105(100%)
	Sendai	= <i>o</i> 2(4.5%)	42(95.5%)	44(100%)
Center	Mito	= <i>o</i> 62(53.0%)	55(47.0%)	117(100%)
	Tōkyō	= <i>o</i> 43(52.4%)	39(47.6%)	82(100%)
	Ōsaka	= <i>o</i> 35(38.0%)	57(62.0%)	92(100%)
	Kitakyūshū ¹	= <i>o</i> 74(51.0%)	71(49.0%)	145(100%)
South	Hiroshima	= <i>o</i> 139(91.0%)	14(9.0%)	153(100%)
	Kagoshima	= <i>o</i> 85(97.7%)	2(2.3%)	87(100%)

This is the first study that reveals the regional variation of accusative marking as stated in (5), targeting dialects throughout the nation. It is also considered as valuable in that we provide the data obtained from real conversations in a quantitative fashion.

In the following sections, we will examine accusative markers in each region of dialects in terms of the adjacency between the accusative noun phrase and the verb and the specificity of the accusative noun phrase, as introduced in Section 2.

3.1 Northern part of Japan (Hirosaki and Sendai dialects)

In this section, we investigate Hirosaki and Sendai dialects in the northern part of Japan, which generally mark the accusative noun phrase with the zero form. Table 2 presents types of accusative markers in these dialects with their frequency. Although Tamakake (2002) points out that Sendai dialect uses the particle =*dogo* as an accusative marker, COJADS does not contain any examples of the use.

Table 2 shows the zero form is 94.3% in Hirosaki dialect and 95.5% in Sendai dialect. It is known that a case relation in these dialects is assigned by the word order SOV, and therefore, both the subject and the object are generally marked by the zero form, as shown in the following examples.

1 Kitakyūshū is located in the southern part of Japan, but the accusative case marking system is similar to that of Tōkyō dialect. Thus, in this report, we classify Kitakyūshū dialect together with the central dialects (Mito, Tōkyō, Ōsaka), and not with the southern dialects.

Tab. 2: Type of accusative markers in Hirosaki and Sendai dialects

Data collection site	= <i>o</i>	= <i>godo</i>	Zero form	Total
Hirosaki dialect		6(5.7%)	99(94.3%)	105(100%)
Sendai dialect	2(4.5%)		42(95.5%)	44(100%)

- (6) *ano zu-sama=∅ taego=∅ tadage-ba*
 that grandfather-POL=NOM drum=ACC beat-COND
 'when that grandfather beats a drum' (Hirosaki 045B)

- (7) *ano byooiN=no kanzya-san=∅ curi-ko=∅*
 that hospital=GEN patient-POL=NOM fishing-DIM=ACC
si-te-goza=N=da=do
 do-GER-PROG.POL=NMLZ=COP=QUOT
 '(I heard that) a patient in that hospital is fishing.' (Sendai 189 C)

3.2 Southern part of Japan (Hiroshima and Kagoshima dialects)

This section investigates Hiroshima and Kagoshima dialects, where the accusative is generally marked by the particle =*o* (see also Konishi 2015). Table 3 presents types of accusative markers in the dialects with their frequency.

Table 3 reveals that the frequency of the particle =*o* is very high in these dialects: 91% in Hiroshima dialect and 97.7% in Kagoshima dialect. As with Hirosaki and Sendai dialects, the word order of these dialects is SOV, but, contrary to those dialects, they use the particle =*o* for the accusative noun phrase. Further study is needed to pin down what causes the discrepancy between the dialects. The following are examples of the accusative marker =*o* in Hiroshima and Kagoshima dialects.

- (8) *o-zii-san=ga ano tawaraa (<tawara=o) an-de*
 POL-grandfather-POL=NOM that straw.bag=ACC knit-GER
 'the grandfather is knitting that straw bag' (Hiroshima 193B)

- (9) *asuko=N hobo-san=ηa kootai=de moyu (<moi=o)*
 there=GEN kindergarten.teacher-POL=NOM shift=INST babysitting=ACC
si-ot-ta-ro=ηa
 do-PROG-PST-INFR=SFP
 'although the kindergarten teacher there were babysitting in turns' (Kagoshima 367A)

Tab. 3: Type of accusative markers in Hiroshima and Kagoshima dialects

Data collection site	=o	Zero form	Total
Hiroshima dialect	139(91.0%)	14(9.0%)	153(100%)
Kagoshima dialect	85(97.7%)	2(2.3%)	87(100%)

3.3 Central part of Japan (Mito, Tōkyō, Ōsaka and Kitakyūshū dialects)

In this section, we investigate Mito, Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and Kitakyūshū dialects, where the particle =o and the zero form are used as an accusative marker in equal proportion (Kitakyūshū is geographically in the southern part of Japan but its linguistic properties are close to the central part of Japan). Table 4 shows types of accusative markers with their frequency in these dialects.

Table 4 indicates that the frequencies of the particle =o and the zero form are approximately equal in each dialect. As mentioned in Section 2, previous studies have pointed out that the accusative noun phrase takes the zero form when it is adjacent to the verb, and it takes the particle =o when the noun phrase is specific. In Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, we examine whether the adjacency and the specificity affect the use of the zero form and the particle in these dialects.

3.3.1 Adjacency between the accusative noun phrase and its verb

Table 5 shows the frequency of the particle =o and the zero form in terms of whether the accusative noun phrase is adjacent to the verb or not. Comparing the numbers of the particle =o and the zero form, both forms contain a sufficient number of uses in the case of the adjacent condition: 37 (the particle =o) and 52 (the zero form) in Mito dialect, 26 and 36 in Tōkyō dialect, 20 and 53 in Ōsaka dialect, and 56 and 68 in Kitakyūshū dialect. On the other hand, the non-adjacent condition has few examples of the zero form: 25 (the particle =o) and 3 (the zero form) in Mito dialect, 17 and 3 in Tōkyō dialect, 15 and 4 in Ōsaka dialect, and 18

Tab. 4: Type of accusative markers in Mito, Ōsaka and Kitakyūshū dialects

Data collection site	=o	Zero form	Total
Mito dialect	62(53.0%)	55(47.0%)	117(100%)
Tōkyō dialect	43(52.4%)	39(47.6%)	82(100%)
Ōsaka dialect	35(38.0%)	57(62.0%)	92(100%)
Kitakyūshū dialect	74(51.0%)	71(49.0%)	145(100%)

and 3 in Kitakyūshū dialect. The result indicates that the non-adjacent condition restrains the use of the zero form in these dialects, and we consider the reason as follows. The canonical word order of these dialects is SOV, and thus, the canonical position for the accusative noun phrase is preverbal, where it is not necessary to clarify the grammatical role of the noun phrase by a particle. On the other hand, when the accusative noun phrase does not occur in the preverbal position, it requires a particle in order to clarify its grammatical role, which results in impeding the use of the zero form in the non-adjacent condition.

The following are examples of the cases. (10) has a complement *syoobai=ni* ‘for business’ and (11) has *nana-ku* ‘long time’ intervening between the accusative noun phrase and the verb. In the case of the adjacent condition, the accusative object can be marked by the particle =*o* as shown in (12) or the zero form as in (13) and (14).

- (10) *seri=o* *syoobai=ni* *cugut-te* *dasi-te* *iru* *sito=dake*
 dropwort=ACC business=DAT grow-GER ship-GER be man=FOC
- a=N=da=kara.*
be=NMLZ=COP=CAUSL
 ‘Because there are even people who grow dropwort for business and ship them.’
 (Mito 288–289 A)

- (11) *sono* *kusuri=o* *nana-ku* *non-det=to* *hari=na*
 that drug=ACC long.time-ADV drink-PROG=COND needle=NOM
- deru=soo=desu=yo*
go.out=EVID=COP.POL=SFP
 ‘I heard that taking the drug for a long term lets the needle out.’ (Mito 288–289 B)

Tab. 5: Adjacency and type of accusative markers in Mito, Ōsaka and Kitakyūshū dialects

Data collection site	Accusative Noun	= <i>o</i>	Zero form	Total
Mito dialect	Adjacent to the verb	37(41.6%)	52(58.4%)	89(100%)
	Non-adjacent	25(89.3%)	3(10.7%)	28(100%)
Tōkyō dialect	Adjacent to the verb	26(41.9%)	36(58.1%)	62(100%)
	Non-adjacent	17(85.0%)	3(15.0%)	20(100%)
Ōsaka dialect	Adjacent to the verb	20(27.4%)	53(72.6%)	73(100%)
	Non-adjacent	15(78.9%)	4(21.1%)	19(100%)
Kitakyūshū dialect	Adjacent to the verb	56(45.2%)	68(54.8%)	124(100%)
	Non-adjacent	18(85.7%)	3(14.3%)	21(100%)

- (12) *neko=o tot-te*
 root=ACC remove-GER
 'removing roots' (Mito 145 A)
- (13) *momohigi=∅ hai-te*
 long underpants=ACC put on-GER
 'putting on momohigi' (Mito 671 B)
- (14) *tebukuro=∅ hame-te*
 glove=ACC put.on-GER
 'putting on gloves' (Mito 666 B)

3.3.2 Specificity of the accusative noun phrase

This section discusses the relationship between the specificity of the accusative noun phrase and the accusative markers. Table 6 shows how the markers are used in terms of the degree of specificity of the noun phrase. The degree of specificity is determined by the following criteria:

- High in specificity (1) demonstratives (*kore* 'this', *sore* 'it', *are* 'that', etc.)
 (2) nouns with a modifier
- Low in specificity (3) indefinite nouns (like Wh-phrase)

We do not discuss Ōsaka dialect in terms of the specificity since it does not affect the use of an accusative marker in the dialect.

In Tab. 6, when the accusative noun is a demonstrative, 22 out of 26 in Mito dialect and 9 out of 12 in Kitakyūshū dialect occurred with the particle =*o* ((15) and (16)). When it is a noun with a modifier, 13 out of 18 in Mito dialect, 15 out of 20 in Tōkyō dialect and 14 out of 25 in Kitakyūshū dialect occurred with the particle =*o* ((17) and (18)). The results indicate that, in Mito dialect, Tōkyō dialect and Kitakyūshū dialect, the particle =*o* is used when the degree of specificity of the accusative noun phrase is high, and the zero form is used when the degree of specificity is low. Since it is known that Turkish also marks a noun phrase with a particle when its specificity is high, a cross-linguistic comparison will be a subject of future investigation.

- (15) *sore=o nome-ba i=wa naori-masu=wa*
 that=ACC drink-COND stomach=TOP cure-POL=SFP
 'Your stomach will get better if you drink that (=the drug).' (Mito 1058 A)

Tab. 6: Specificity of the accusative noun phrase in Mito and Kitakyūshū dialects

Site	Specificity	Accusative Noun	=o	Zero form	Total
Mito dialect	High	Dem.	22(84.6%)	4(15.4%)	26(100%)
		N with Dem.	10(71.4%)	4(28.6%)	14(100%)
		N with Modf.CL	13(72.2%)	5(27.8%)	18(100%)
	Low	Wh-phrase	0	0	0
Tōkyō dialect	High	Dem.	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	8(100%)
		N with Dem.	3(33.3%)	6(66.7%)	9(100%)
		N with Modf.CL	15(75.0%)	5(25.0%)	20(100%)
	Low	Wh-phrase	0	0	0
Kitakyūshū dialect	High	Dem.	9(75.0%)	3(25.0%)	12(100%)
		N with Dem.	3(50.0%)	3(50.0%)	6(100%)
		N with Modf.CL	14(60.9%)	9(39.1%)	23(100%)
	Low	Wh-phrase	1(16.7%)	5(83.3%)	6(100%)

- (16) *soe=o moo arena moroo-ci si-yot-ta=ga=naa*
 that=ACC FILL FILL get-GER do-PROG-PST=SFP=SFP
 'I got that (=the leaf of persimmon) and did it (=made sushi).'
 (Kitakyūshū 326-009 A)

- (17) *ikuraka kuro-ku mie-tē ki-ta=tteyuu² hanasi=o*
 somewhat black-ADV see-GER come-PST=QUOT talk=ACC
kigi-masi-ta=yo
 hear-POL-PST=SFP
 'I heard that it started looking black a little bit.' (Mito 329 B)

- (18) *ano baba-san=ga kiree-na zoori=o*
 that old.woman-POL=NOM pretty-ADN Japanese.sandal=ACC
cukuri-yot-ta=yo=ne
 make-PROG-PST=SFP=SFP
 'That old woman was making pretty sandals.' (Kitakyūshū 058-001 C)

2 In the example sentences, modifiers are underlined.

4 Conclusion and future work

This article revealed the following three points:

- Japanese dialects have two types with respect to accusative marking: (i) one that uses the zero form, and (ii) the other one that uses a particle such as =*o*.
- The northern part of Japan has dialects with type (i), the southern part of Japan has dialects with type (ii), and the central part has dialects with blended features of types (i) and (ii).
- Dialects in the central part of Japan use the particle =*o* when the accusative noun phrase is not adjacent to its corresponding verb. In addition, the particle is used when the degree of specificity of the accusative noun phrase is high, and the zero form is used when the degree of specificity is low.

Further study is needed in order to explain how the discrepancy between dialects is emerged and why the specificity of the accusative noun phrase is relevant to the use of the particle.

List of Glosses

ADD: additive	FILL: filler	OBLG: obligative
ADN: adnominal	FOC: focus	POL: polite
ADV: adverbial	GER: gerundive	PROH: prohibitive
CAUS: causative	GEN: genitive	PROG: progressive
CAUSL: causal	INFR: inferential	PURP: purposive
COND: conditional	INST: instrumental	Q: question/ interrogative
COP: copula	LOC: locative	QUOT: quotative
DAT: dative	NEG: negative	SFP: sentence final particle
DIM: diminutive	NMLZ: nominalizer	
EVID: evidential	NOM: nominative	

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