

Anticausativization in the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese

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Productive anticausative morphology with the spontaneous suffix /*rasar*/ is one of the grammatical traits of the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese distinguishing it from Standard Japanese. This paper examines the range of anticausativization in this dialect. It is argued that the semantic constraint on the person (pre)specification is relevant for the anticausativization.

Keyword: Anticausativization, intransitivization, transitivity alternation, spontaneous voice, Hokkaido dialect

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1. Introduction

In the typological study of transitivity alternation (Haspelmath 1993), Japanese is classified as a non-directed alternation type language, i.e., neither causativization nor anticausativization is dominant. This type of generalization is based on the data of the lexical transitive and intransitive pairs from Standard Japanese. Table 1 illustrates five types of lexically related transitive and intransitive pairs in Standard Japanese. The numbers in the rightmost column of Table 1 show a number of pairs in the 31 pairs of verbs that Haspelmath (1993) examined. (When a verb pair allows two types of alternation, 0.5 is added to both types of alternation.)

Table 1. Lexical transitivity alternation (Standard Japanese)

	Intransitive	Transitive	
Causative	<i>ak-u</i> 'open-NPST'	<i>ak.e-ru</i> 'open.tr-NPST'	5.5
Anticausative	<i>or.e-ru</i> 'break.intr-NPST'	<i>or-u</i> 'break-NPST'	3.5
Equipollent	<i>mawa.r-u</i> 'roll.intr-NPST'	<i>mawa.s-u</i> 'roll.tr-NPST'	20.5
Labile	<i>hirak-u</i> 'open-NPST'	<i>hirak-u</i> 'open-NPST'	0.5
Suppletion	<i>sin-u</i> 'die-NPST'	<i>koros-u</i> 'kill-NPST'	1

However, when we look at the productive morphology, we find that in Standard Japanese, transitivization is dominant, in the sense that it has productive causativization, but no anticausativization.

Table 2. Productive morphological transitivity alternation (Standard Japanese)

	Intransitive	Transitive
Causativization	<i>hasir-u</i> ‘run-NPST’	<i>hasir-ase-ru</i> ‘run-CAUS-NPST’
Anticausativization	---	

This characterization is not true for some dialects spoken mainly in the northern area, including the northern part of the main island and Hokkaido. For example, the Hokkaido dialect has both causativization and anticausativization as shown in Table 3. The spontaneous suffix /*rasar*/ is employed as a morphological expression of anticausativization in this dialect.

Table 3. Productive morphological transitivity alternation (the Hokkaido Dialect)

	Intransitive	Transitive
Causativization	<i>hasir-u</i> ‘run-NPST’	<i>hasir-ase-ru</i> ‘run-CAUS-NPST’
Anticausativization	<i>nur-asar-u</i> ‘paint-SP-NPST’	<i>nur-u</i> ‘paint-NPST’

In this paper, I would like to examine the range of anticausativization in the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese. First, I will introduce the morphological and syntactic traits of anticausativization in this dialect. Next, I will examine the semantic restriction on anticausativization in the Hokkaido dialect.

2. Spontaneous voice morphology in the Hokkaido dialect

The formation of the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese was extensively influenced by the dialects of immigrants from other parts of Japan. The grammatical structure of the Hokkaido dialect has been especially influenced by the northern Tohoku dialects, whose speakers were the earliest immigrants to have settled on the coastal areas beginning in the 16th century and made up a major part of the immigrant population in the 19th century. For details of the historical background of the Hokkaido dialect, see Ono and Okuda (1999). The existence of the spontaneous suffix /*rasar*/, used as a marker for anticausativization, is one of the grammatical features shared between the Hokkaido dialect and the northern Tohoku dialects.

The spontaneous suffix /*rasar*/ has three usages: unintentionality, potential (middle), and anticausative. Example (1) illustrates the unintentional usage. This usage denotes

unintentional action. The object is optionally case-marked in the nominative (otherwise in the accusative). The valency of the verb is not changed in this usage. The potential (middle) usage is illustrated in (2). In this usage, the agent is removed and the form of the predicate is limited to the present form. This usage is employed for describing properties of the subject. The subject of this usage corresponds not only to the internal argument of the predicate but also to adjuncts, e.g., the subject of (2) is instrument. The agent is also removed in the anticausative usage as illustrated in (3). In this usage, the subject corresponds to the direct object of the active sentence.

(1) Unintentional

watasi=wa gohan=ga tabe-rasa-ru.
 1sg=top rice=nom eat-sp-npst
 ‘I can’t stop myself from eating rice.’

(2) Potential (middle)

kono pen=wa joku kak-asar-u.
 this pen-top well write-sp-npst
 ‘This pen writes well.’

(3) Anticausative

(*dareka=nijotte) ko:te:=ni o:kina maru=ga
 Someone=by ground=DAT big circle=NOM
 kak-asat-te-ru.
 draw-SP-GER.be-NPST
 ‘A big circle has been/was drawn.’

3. Syntax and semantics of the anticausative usage of spontaneous predicates

Example (3) above is representative of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of anticausativization in Hokkaido dialect.

The manifestation of the agent is ruled out even in the oblique form. In this respect, this construction differs from the passive.

Example (3) is to be interpreted not as progressive but as resultative, even though the predicate is in the progressive form. (The progressive is expressed with the form [verb root (or adverbial stem) + gerundive suffix (-te) + existential verb *i-ru* ‘be’]. The expected form is *V-te i-ru* but the contracted form *V-te-ru* is preferred unless the constituent *V-te* is topicalized.) The resultative interpretation of the progressive form is typical for the achievement predicate. For example, the progressive form of ‘die’ *sin-de i-ru* (die-GER be-NPST) stands for ‘(someone) is dead’, not ‘(someone) is dying.’

The corresponding active transitive predicate /kak-/ “draw” has the aspectual property of accomplishment. The accomplishment–achievement alternation is characterized by the presence or absence of the causing event (Dowty 1979).

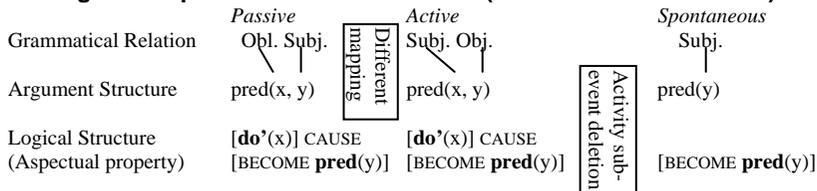
These properties indicate that the sentence in (3) can be regarded as an anticausative version of the corresponding transitive sentence.

Passivization shares two properties with anticausativization, namely, demotion of the agent and the promotion of the direct object to the subject position. However, the two processes differ in the manner in which they demote agents. In the anticausative sentences, the agent is removed. On the other hand, passive sentences may contain the agent in the oblique form as shown in (4). And the aspectual change from accomplishment to achievement is not obligatory in passivization. The sentences in (4) are cited from Sasaki & Yamazaki (2006).

- (4) a. Active (progressive reading)
se:totati=ga ko:te:=ni o:kina maru=o kai-te-ru.
 students=NOM ground=DAT big circle=ACC draw-GER.be-NPST
 ‘Students are drawing a big circle on the ground.’
- b. Passive (progressive reading)
ima ko:te:=ni o:kina maru=ga se:totati=nijotte
 now ground=DAT big circle=NOM students=by
kak-are-te-ru.
 draw-PASS-GER.be-NPST
 ‘A big circle is being drawn on the ground by the students now.’

From these traits, Sasaki and Yamazaki (2006) argue that passivization is an operation affecting the mapping between argument structure and grammatical relations, while anticausativization is an operation affecting the mapping between lexical conceptual structure (or Logical Structure in RRG, Foley & Van Valin 1984) and argument structure, as illustrated in Figure 1, where *spontaneous* refers to anticausative. Later, this analysis was revised: the semantic operation for anticausativization is not deletion of the causing event (or activity event) but suppression of the projection of the causing event to the argument structure (Sasaki 2011).

Figure 1. Operation in different levels (Sasaki & Yamazaki 2006)



This characterization of anticausativization is parallel to that of lexical transitivity alternation. This leads to the following question: What is the difference between anticausativization with /rasar/ and lexical transitivity alternation? The next section

examines the semantic difference between lexical transitivity alternation and morphological anticausativization with /*rasar*/.

4. Semantic difference between lexical transitivity alternation and morphological anticausativization the Hokkaido dialect

The semantic restriction on the alternation is a key to the answer to the question that arose in the previous section. As argued by Hayatsu (1989) and Sato (2005), the lexical transitivity alternation in Standard Japanese is possible only when the transitive counterpart indicates the change of state of the referent of the object and the manner of activity of the agent is not specified. According to Sato (2005), a verb is unspecified for the manner of activity of the agent when it is compatible with any motion performed by the agent. Sato (2005: 174-177) contrasts two verbs relating to painting with respect to the specification of the manner of activity of the agent. The Standard Japanese verb *tuke-ru* “put” is compatible with any motion performed by the agent and it is regarded as a verb without specification of the manner of activity of the agent. The verb *tuke-ru* has its intransitive counterpart *tuk-u* “be put”. On the other hand, the transitive verb *nur-u* “paint”, which implies an iterative motion parallel to the surface, has no intransitive counterpart. This restriction is basically the same with the crosslinguistic generalization on the semantic restriction of anticausativization below, advocated by Haspelmath (1993).

(5) A verb meaning that refers to a change of state or going-on may appear in an inchoative/causative alternation unless the verb contains agent-oriented meaning components or other highly specific meaning components that make the spontaneous occurrence of the event extremely unlikely. (Haspelmath 1993: 94)

In the Hokkaido dialect, the range of the lexical transitivity alternation is the same as that in Standard Japanese. However, the range of anticausativization with /*rasar*/ is wider than that of lexical anticausativization. The range of anticausativization extends beyond Haspelmath’s (1993) restriction. The verbs specifying the manner of activity such as *nur-u* “paint” function as a base of anticausativization with /*rasar*/. *nur-asar-u* ‘paint-SP-NPST’.

The transitive verb roots in Table 3 have been obtained through Internet research using a Yahoo! API. For details of this research, see Sasaki (2009). The verbs with fewer than 5 tokens are omitted. The underlined verbs specify manner of activity.

Table 3. Sources of Anticausativization

Verbs	Number
<i>mak-</i> ‘roll, wind’	223
<i>tum-</i> ‘load’	181
<i>okur-</i> ‘send’	131
<i>dak-</i> ‘hold’	104
<i>har-</i> ‘stick’	99
<i>kak-</i> ‘write’	88
<i>tutum-</i> ‘wrap’	61
<i>musub-</i> ‘tie’	50
<i>tak-</i> ‘boil’	43
<i>hos-</i> ‘dry’	41
<i>ok-</i> ‘put’	40
<i>nur-</i> ‘paint’	37
<i>sik-</i> ‘lay’	37
<i>tor-</i> ‘take (a photo/video)’	35
<i>kum-</i> ‘cross, program’	34
<i>har-</i> ‘stretch’	30
<i>nuw-</i> ‘sew’	29
<i>tak-</i> ‘kindle’	20
<i>kak-</i> ‘draw’	19
<i>mor-</i> ‘fill, pile’	14
<i>hum-</i> ‘step on’	11
<i>sas-</i> ‘stab’	11
<i>jak-</i> ‘burn, grill’	10
<i>kir-</i> ‘cut’	9
<i>hor-</i> ‘dig’	8
<i>hor-</i> ‘carve’	8
<i>kitae-</i> ‘train’	8
<i>migak-</i> ‘polish’	8
<i>tatam-</i> ‘fold’	7
<i>or-</i> ‘break, bend’	7
<i>hak-</i> ‘put on, wear’	7
<i>tozi-</i> ‘close’	6
<i>sibor-</i> ‘squeeze’	6
<i>hurikom-</i> ‘transfer (money)’	6
<i>am-</i> ‘knit’	6
<i>kaw-</i> ‘buy’	5
etc.	83
Total	1,542

The wider range of anticausativization is also apparent from the data using the list of the Leipzig Valency Classes Project (Malchukov, Hartmann, Haspelmath, Comrie and Wichmann 2008). The list consists of 70 verbs. Table 4 is an extract from Hokkaido

dialect verbs with corresponding anticausatives using /rasar/ or lexical transitivity alternation counterparts, which includes 34 verb pairs. The types of lexical transitivity alternation are expressed as follows: (A) = anticausative, (C) = causative, (E) = equipollent.

Table 4. Lexical Anticausativization and Anticausativization with /-rasar/

Meaning_label	equivalent in target language	lexical counterpart	AC with /-rasar/
WASH	<i>ara(w)-u</i>	---	<i>araw-asar-u</i>
CARRY	<i>hakob-u</i>	---	<i>hakob-asar-u</i>
TEAR	<i>hikitigir-u</i>	---	<i>hikitigir-asar-u</i>
DIG	<i>hor-u</i>	---	<i>hor-asar-u</i>
WIPE	<i>huk-u</i>	---	<i>huk-asar-u</i>
HUNT	<i>kar-u</i>	---	<i>kar-asar-u</i>
BE DRY	<i>kawak-u</i>	<i>kawakas-u</i> (C)	<i>kawak-asar-u</i>
CUT	<i>kir-u</i>	<i>kire-ru</i> (A)	<i>kir-asar-u</i>
DRESS	<i>kise-ru</i>	<i>ki-ru</i> (C)	<i>kise-rasar-u</i>
ROLL	<i>korogas-u</i>	<i>korogar-u</i> (E)	<i>korogas-ar-u</i>
SHOW	<i>mise-ru</i>	<i>mi-ru</i> (C)	<i>mise-rasar-u</i>
FILL	<i>mitas-u</i>	<i>miti-ru</i> (E)	<i>mitas-ar-u</i>
TAKE	<i>mog-u</i>	<i>moge-ru</i> (A)	<i>mog-asar-u</i>
PEEL = SKIN	<i>muk-u</i>	<i>muke-ru</i> (A)	<i>muk-asar-u</i>
STEAL	<i>nusum-u</i>	---	<i>nusum-asar-u</i> (?)
PUT = PLACE	<i>ok-u</i>	---	<i>ok-asar-u</i>
SEND	<i>okur-u</i>	---	<i>okur-asar-u</i>
PUSH	<i>os-u</i>	---	<i>os-asar-u</i>
SINK	<i>sizum-u</i>	<i>sizume-ru</i> (C)	<i>sizum-asar-u</i>
SHAVE	<i>sor-u</i>	---	<i>sor-asar-u</i>
GRIND	<i>sur-u</i>	---	<i>sur-asar-u</i>
HIT	<i>tatak-u</i>	---	<i>tatak-asar-u</i>
Build	<i>tate-ru</i>	<i>tat-u</i> (C)	<i>tat-asar-u</i>
POUR	<i>tug-u</i>	---	<i>tug-asar-u</i>
LOAD	<i>tum-u</i>	---	<i>tum-asar-u</i>
TIE	<i>tunag-u</i>	<i>tunagar-u</i> (A)	<i>tunag-asar-u</i>
BOIL	<i>wakas-u</i>	<i>wak-u</i> (C)	<i>wakas-ar-u</i>
BREAK	<i>war-u</i>	<i>ware-ru</i> (A)	<i>war-asar-u</i>
BURN	<i>jak-u</i>	<i>jake-ru</i> (A)	<i>jak-asar-u</i>
COVER	<i>kake-ru</i>	<i>kakar-u</i> (E)	FALSE
FRIGHTEN	<i>kowagarase-ru</i>	<i>kowagar-u</i> (C)	FALSE
HELP	<i>tasuke-ru</i>	<i>tasukar-u</i> (E)	FALSE
KNOW	<i>sir-u</i>	<i>sirase-ru</i> (C)	FALSE
BURN	<i>moe-ru</i>	<i>mojas-u</i> (E)	N/A

The tokens and ratio of transitivity alternation is as follows. Anticausativization with /-rasar/ is found in 29 verbs, 85.3%. The number of lexical causative/inchoative pairs

without anticausatives with /-rasar/ is 5, 14.7%. The lexical causative/inchoative pairs contain three equipollent alternations and two causative alternations. They do not include anticausative alternations. The verbs having lexical anticausatives are a subclass of the verbs having anticausatives with /-rasar/. 20.9% of the transitive verbs with anticausativization with /-rasar/ have lexical anticausatives.

As illustrated so far, the formation of the Hokkaido dialect morphological anticausatives does not obey the constraint on the agent-oriented meaning specification, advocated by Haspelmath (1993). The constraint recently advocated by Koontz-Garboden (2009) seems to be also irrelevant for the anticausativization in this dialect.

(6) Reflexive analysis for Anticausativization (Koontz-Garboden 2009)

Nature: The semantic operation responsible for anticausativization is reflexivization.

Restriction: Anticausativization is blocked when a verb selects the agent as its external argument.

The constraint on the semantic role of the external argument is developed through the observation of the reflexive based anticausativization but Koontz-Garboden insists that this constraint is applicable to anticausativization “in general” (Koontz-Garboden 2009: 80).

In the Hokkaido dialect, the verbs selecting only the agent as their external argument can be a base for anticausativization. See the examples below.

(7) a. 半身が5・6本、ドデッと焼かさってた... 鮭...(すみません寝起きなもんで)

<http://bbs.wess.co.jp/come2/test/read.cgi?RSR/1154183002/1-100>

Hammi=ga 5-6 pon dodetto jak-asat-te-ta
half-slice=NOM 5 or 6 CL thoroughly burn-SP-GER.BE-PST
'5 or 6 slices of half cut salmon had been grilled.'

b. dareka=ga hammi=o 5-6 pon jai-ta. (agent subject)
someone=NOM half-slice=ACC 5 or 6 CL burn-PST
'Someone grilled 5 or 6 slices of half cut salmon.'

c. *sumibi=ga hammi=o 5-6 pon jai-ta. (natural force subject)
Charcoal fire=NOM half-slice=ACC 5-6 CL burn-PST

(8) a. チョキチョキ腕毛が切らさってって、...

<http://lmt16k.inudoc.staba.jp/?month=200802>
tsjokitsjoki udege=gakir-asat-te-t-te ...
clip-clip arm hair=NOM cut-SP-GER-go-GER ...
'The hair on her/his arm is getting cut, clip-clip.'

b. kare=ga udege=o kit-ta. (agent)
he=NOM arm hair=ACC cut-PST

- ‘He cut the hair on his arms.’
- c. *hasami=ga udege=o kit-ta. (instrumentl)
scissors=NOM arm hair=ACC cut-PST
- (9) a. 何故か同じ記事が3つも書かさっていました...。
<http://blog.livedoor.jp/nuvo/archives/2006-01.html>
nazeka onazi kizi=ga 3tsu=mo kak-asat-te i-masi-ta.
somehow same article=NOM 3=even write-SP-GER BE-POLITE-PST
‘Somehow as many as three identical articles have been written.’
- b. watasi=wa onazi kizi=o 3tsu=mo kai-te simat-ta. (agent)
I=TOP same article=ACC 3=even write-GER finish-PST
‘I unintentionally wrote as many as three identical articles.’
- c. *zitaku=no kompju:ta=ga onazi kizi=o 3tsu=mo
One’s own house=GEN computer=NOM same article=ACC 3=even
kai-te simat-ta. (instrumentl)
write-GER finish-PST
- d. *hutsju:i=ga onazi kizi=o 3tsu=mo kai-te
carelessness=NOM same article=ACC 3=even write-GER
simat-ta. (cause)
finish-PST
- (10) a. 今日は蝶タイがうまく結ばさってる
<http://d.hatena.ne.jp/shi-to/>
kjo:=wa tsjo:tai=ga umaku musub-asat-te-ru.
Today=TOP bow tie=NOM well tie-SP-GER.be-NPST
‘Today, the bow tie is set well.’
- b. boku=wa kjo:=wa tsjo:tai=o umaku musun-da. (agent)
I=TOP today=TOP bow tie=ACC well tie-PST
‘Today, I set the bow tie well.’
Cf. My consultant cannot make a sentence with non-agent subject.
- (11) a. タレがオモテ面にしか塗らさってないん ですよ。 ...
<http://m03a076d.exblog.jp/m2005-10-01/>
tare=ga omotemen=ni=sika nur-asat-te nai=n-desu=jo=ne.
Sauce=NOM surface=DAT=only paint-SP-GER.be NEG=NMLZ-POL=F=F
‘The sauce is only on the surface.’
- b. kare=wa tare=o omotemen=ni=sika nura-nakat-ta. (agent)
he=TOP sauce=ACC surface=DAT=only paint.IR-NEG-PST
‘He spread the sauce only on the surface.’
- c. *hake=ga tare=o omotemen=ni=sika nura-nakat-ta. (instrument)
brush=NOM sauce=ACC surface=DAT=only paint.IR-NEG-PST

- (12) a. パイ生地クリームダマンドが包まっています。
 http://onnanoko.basso.to/ncom/ar/000/caid1/81/
 paikizi=ni kure:mudamando=ga tutum-asat-te masu.
 pie-sheet=DAT crème d'amande=NOM wrap-SP-GER.be POLITE
 'The pie-sheet is filled with the crème d'amande.'
- b. kare=ga paikizi=ni kure:mudamando=o tutun-da. (agent)
 he=NOM pie-sheet=DAT crème d'amande=ACC wrap-PST
 'He filled the pie-sheet with the crème d'amande.'
- c. *paikizi=ga kure:mudamando=o tutun-de i-ru. (non-agent)
 pie-sheet=NOM crème d'amande=ACC wrap-GER be-NPST

Thus, the range of anticausativization in the Hokkaido dialect stretches beyond the range predicted by the Koontz-Garboden's constraint on anticausativization.

Previous studies on anticausativization have tried to delimit a range of accomplishment verbs serving as a base for anticausativization. Most of the bases for anticausativization are accomplishment verbs in the Hokkaido dialect, too. However, activity transitive verbs can be a base for anticausativization in this dialect when the aspectual property of the verb phrase is accomplishment.

For example, the verb *os-u* "push-NPST" often serves as a base for anticausativization even though it does not always imply a change of state and it is generally classified as an activity verb. When the verb phrase does not imply a change of state, anticausativization with /-rasar/ fails to apply, as in (13).

- (13) *senaka=ga os-asat-te-ru
 back=NOM push-SP-GER.be-NPST
 <== senaka=o os-
 back=ACC push
 'to push someone's back'

On the other hand, when the verb phrase indicates a change of state as in (14), anticausativization applies.

- (14) saise:botan=ga os-asat-te-ru
 replay button=NOM push-SP-GER.be-NPST
 'The replay button is on.'
 <== saise:botan=o os-
 replay button=ACC push
 'to push the replay button'

The contrast above indicates that phrasal information is required for the anticausativization in this dialect. The anticausativization with /-rasar/ can be regarded as a syntactic process, while that with /-e/ and /-ar/ is a lexical process. A syntactic process

tends to be more productive than a lexical process. The productivity of anticausativization with /rasar/ can be seen as reflecting its syntactic status.

The differences between lexical transitivity alternation and morphological anticausativization with /rasar/ can be summarized as follows:

1. The anticausativization with /rasar/ has a wider range than lexical transitivity alternation.
2. The semantic conditions are determined at the phrasal level for the anticausativization with /rasar/. On the other hand, they are determined on the basis of lexical specification of the meaning for lexical transitivity alternation.

5. Restrictions on anticausativization with /rasar/

The range of the anticausativization with /rasar/ is wide but there are some restrictions we can point out. The verbs of giving, *jar-u* and *kure-ru* and the verb of exchanging *bakur-u* do not undergo anticausativization, although their aspectual property is accomplishment.

- (15) Ungrammaticality of anticausatives derived from the verbs of giving
- a. *kure-ru* “give (to me)” → **kure-rasar-u* “give-SP-NPST”
 - b. *jar-u* “(I) give” → **jar-asar-u* “give-SP-NPST”

The ungrammaticality shown in (15) indicates that the causing event suppression is blocked when the person of the argument is specified for the lexical meaning of the verb. The verbs *jar-u* and *kure-ru* are distinguished by deixis (Hidaka 2007) or directionality (Newman 1996) of giving. For the verb *jar-u*, the direction of the donation is from speaker to non-speaker. For the verb *kure-ru*, it is from non-speaker to speaker. The directionality of giving is a matter of person specification of agent and recipient. The person specification cannot be overridden even by the anticausativization with /-rasar/.

The semantic structures of verbs of giving are schematized as in (16) and (17). For the verbs *jar-u* and *kure-ru*, the semantic features related to person are prespecified.

- (16) *jar-u* (give, from speaker to other(s))
 [do' (x)] CAUSE [BECOME be-at (y, z)] (x=giver, y=theme, z=recipient)
- | | |
|--------|--------|
| | |
| [+ego] | [-ego] |
- (17) *kure-ru* (give, from other(s) to speaker)
 [do' (x)] CAUSE [BECOME be-at (y, z)] (x=giver, y=theme, z=recipient)
- | | |
|--------|--------|
| | |
| [-ego] | [+ego] |

Not all the 3-place verbs are excluded from anticausativization. The verbs without person restriction on their arguments, such as *okur-u* ‘send-NPST’, can be a base for anticausativization.

- (18) a. Active (ditransitive) (from Sasaki and Yamazaki 2006)
dareka=ga sinse:sjo=o taro:=ni okut-ta.
 someone=NOM application=ACC Taro=DAT send-PST
 ‘Someone sent Taro an application.’
- b. Spontaneous, $DO_1 \rightarrow S_2$ (from Sasaki and Yamazaki 2006)
sinse:sjo=ga taro:=ni okur-asat-ta.
 application=NOM Taro=DAT send-SP-PST
 ‘An application was sent to Taro.’

The semantic operation of anticausativization, i.e., the suppression of the causing event, obscures the prespecified information on the person feature. This nullifies the semantic contrast among the verbs of giving. The blockage of the anticausativization from the verbs of giving can be considered a result of avoidance of the semantic neutralization of these verbs. For the verb of sending, *okur-u*, this type of semantic neutralization does not occur when the causing event is suppressed because the person features of the arguments are not specified in the lexicon and the anticausativization does not result in ungrammaticality.

Another accomplishment verb incompatible with anticausativization is *bakur-u*, a verb of exchange. Example (19b) illustrates that the sentence with an anticausative version of ‘exchange’, i.e., *bakur-asar-u*, is ruled out.

- (19) Ungrammaticality of the anticausatives derived from the verb of exchange
- a. *kare=ga tomodati=to CD=o bakut-ta*
 he=NOM friend=COM CD=ACC exchange-PST
 ‘He exchanged the CD with his friend.’
- b. **CD=ga tomodati=to bakur-asat-te-ru*
 CD=NOM friend=COM exchange-SP-GER.be-NPST

However, when *bakur-u* is used as a verb of replacement and it does not take a human internal argument, anticausativization is possible.

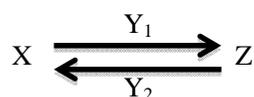
- (20) *kare=no CD=to tomodati=no CD=ga*
 he=GEN CD=COM friend=GEN CD=NOM
bakur-asat-te-masi-ta
 exchange-SP-GER.be-POL-PST
 ‘His CD was replaced with his friend’s CD.’

The corresponding active sentence is judged unacceptable by my informants, though.

- (21) *kare=ga huru-i denti=to atarasi-i denti=o
 he-NOM old-NPST battery=COM new-NPST battery=ACC
 bakut-ta
 exchange-PST
 ‘He exchanged the old battery with the new battery.’

The verb *bakur-u* has two semantic structures. When it means ‘exchange’, the semantic structure is reciprocal as shown in (22). On the other hand, when it means ‘replace’ the semantic structure is not reciprocal.

- (22) Reciprocal (informal characterization)
 X hands Y_1 to Z; Z hands Y_2 to X
 Y_1 and Y_2 are the same kind of thing.
 Subject: X; Object: $Y_{(1,2)}$; Oblique: Z



- (23) Non-reciprocal
 [do' (x)] CAUSE [BECOME replaced-with' (y, z)]
 The variables y and z refers to the same kind of things.

For the reciprocal ‘exchange’, the removal of the external argument obscures the core of the lexical meaning, namely, the bi-directional transfer of possession. On the other hand, for the non-reciprocal ‘replace’, the removal of the external argument does not affect the core of the lexical meaning, namely, the replacement by the same kind of things. The blockage of anticausativization of the reciprocal ‘exchange’ verb can be regarded as a result of avoidance of the loss of core lexical meaning.

There is a semantic property shared by the verbs of giving, *jar-u* and *kure-ru*, and the reciprocal verb ‘exchange.’ For these verbs, the relation between the external argument and the internal argument is crucial and the removal of the external argument blurs their semantic specification. Although anticausativization in the HD has a wide scope, it cannot delete semantic information about the relation between arguments.

6. Concluding remarks

Anticausativization in the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese does not obey the constraints proposed in the previous literature. However, the range of anticausativization is not unlimited; it is restricted by constraints involving the semantic relationship between arguments. A language exhibiting a different type of semantic constraint may provide useful data for understanding the nature of anticausativization.

Abbreviation

ACC = accusative; CAUS = causative; CL = classifier; COM = comitative; DAT = dative; F = final particle; GEN = genitive; GER = gerundive; IR = irrealis; NOM = nominative; NMLZ = nominalizer; NPST = non-past; POL = polite; PST = past; SP = spontaneous; TOP = topic.

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