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A New Approach to Applicative Constructions

(充当態構文への新しいアプローチ)

Graduate school of International Cultural Studies

International Graduate Program in Language Sciences

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In order to make a classification of applicative constructions, there are two things we remember to do first. The one is to be conscious of contrasts between applicative and other valency-changing operations. The other, which is more important, is to notice that the previous views toward applicative which are labelled here as 'the valency-increasing view' and 'the valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging view' have problems. For, from these views, it is difficult either to consider any foundation for classification or to discuss in detail what kinds of change are caused in what way in the process of applicativization. Thus, I proposed 'the two-direction of derivation view' as a new approach which distinguishes 'double-fledged applicative derivation' and 'single-fledged applicative derivation' by differentiating the two valencies: syntactic valency and participant number. As a result, I established a classification of applicative constructions which contain 'canonical applicative constructions', 'non-canonical applicative constructions' and 'lexicalized applicative constructions', which were defined according to the two applicative derivations. Although lexicalizd applicative construction is precisely not an applicative construction, I showed that there are good reasons to include it into the classification. Plus, I characterized them in terms of different kinds of syntactic and semantic changes caused in the process of each derivation. I applied this approach to 'transitivization' as well, which is here defined as similar to but different from applicativization, and made a parallel classification of transitivized constructions to capture that of applicative constructions in a wider perspective. The ultimate version of my classification thus gained is different from Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) and Pacchiarotti (2017) in significant ways and can supplement what they fail to notice. Applying this approach to Japanese benefactive construction, I demonstrated that it is difficult to assume double-fledged applicative derivation and single-fledged applicative derivation in the construction, by discussing the way in which the applicative-like properties are just incidental, the difficulty of finding base constructions and the poverty of promotion effects. This means that Japanese benefactive construction is hardly admitted as an applicative construction.

Contents

List of tables

1 Introduction

The linguistic phenomenon to be studied in this thesis is applicativization and applicative construction. In applicative construction, an argument of a verb which would otherwise be expressed as a peripheral argument (namely, adjunct) is expressed as a core argument, conferred direct object morphology and syntax. This in many cases results in increase of the valency of the verb and thereby applicative in general is counted as a valency-increasing category with causative the other major one. Here is an example from Latin:

(1) Latin[1]

a. Ad   flumen   eo.

    to   river   go.1SG

    'I go toward the river.'

b. Flumen   adeo.

    river   to.go.1SG

    'I go toward the river.'

(McGillivray 2013: 120)

The propositional meanings of (1a) and (1b) are identical. Where the difference lies is syntactic coding of the allative role of the river. In (1a), *flumen* 'river' is expressed as a periphery, marked by the preposition *ad* 'to'. In (1b), on the other hand, *flumen* is expressed as a direct object, receiving the accusative zero marker, without a preposition. We see this as a case of applicativization. When we interpret that (1b) is derived from (1a), it can be said that *flumen* undergoes (syntactic) 'promotion', whereby the syntactic status changes from periphery to core through the syntactic derivation, applicativization. In this case, (1a) is 'base construction' and (1b) is 'derived construction'. Semantic roles of arguments which are

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[1] Cited glosses in the thesis are not always exactly the same as in sources but minimal modification is made when necessary for purpose of symbolic consistency in the thesis. Abbreviations used in the thesis are indicated in page 65.

applicativized are peripheral ones, which include beneficiary, recipient, allative (as in the example), locative, instrumental, comitative, and so on.

The purpose of the present study is two-fold: (I) propose a new approach to applicativization and thereby establish a classification of applicative constructions and (Ⅱ) apply this approach to Japanese benefactive construction to demonstrate its applicative nature.

The organization of the thesis is as follows: in Chapter 2, the importance of noticing contrasts between applicative and other valency-changing operations will be pointed out. In Chapter 3, two views previous studies had toward applicative will be discussed and inutility of them for our purpose will be mentioned. In Chapter 4, I will propose the two-direction of derivation view as an alternative which defines double-fledged and single-fledged applicative derivations. In Chapter 5, what kind of syntactic and semantic changes are caused in each derivation defined will be discussed. In Chapter 6, I will show in what way classification and characterization are possible with by view proposed. In Chapter 7, I will apply the same analysis to 'transitivization', which is defined as similar to but different from applicativization. Thereby in Chapter 8, ultimate version of my classification will be exhibited. In Chapter 9, classifications of applicative constructions by two previous studies, Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) and Pacchiarotti (2017), will be compared to mine respectively. Chapter 10 will conclude the new approach with some suggestion of how to do case studies by it. In Chapter 11, as a case study, I will apply the approach to Japanese benefactive construction and demonstrate possibilities of double-fledged and single-fledged applicative derivations in it.

2 Applicativization and the other valency-changing operations

Applicativization can be compared with causativization, passivization, and antipassivization. The four are grouped together under the label 'valency-changing', a cover term of valency-increasing and valency-decreasing[2]. The former includes applicativization and causativization and the latter passivization and antipassivization.

'Valency-decreasing' and 'valency-increasing' respectively mean removal and addition of a core argument with regard to a certain clause. What makes it possible for there to be more than one valency-decreasing and more than one valency-increasing category is that there are several possibilities as to which participant role is chosen to be removed or added through an operation. Let us here take an overview of basic characteristics of the two valency-decreasing operations, passivization and antipassivization, and the other valency-increasing operation, causativization, in turn, to help clarify the position of applicativization as a valency-changing category.

2.1 Valency-decreasing operations

2.1.1 Passivization is commonly applied to transitive or ditransitive clauses. In this process, the valency is decreased in such a way that the original P (T or R in ditransitive cases) becomes S and the original A moves to the periphery or gets unexpressed[3]. Below is an example from English:

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[2] Sometimes further related grammatical phenomena are mentioned together with (some of) these, such as dative shift, noun incorporation, and anticausative. These are out of our scope. But, the former two in some cases can be regarded as kinds of applicativization.

[3] This usage of symbols is in accordance with categorization by Haspelmath (2005, p.1) of arguments in terms of participant roles into: S (single argument of intransitive verb), A (agent-like argument of transitive verb), P (patient-like argument of transitive verb), T (theme-like argument of ditransitive verb), and R (recipient-like argument of ditransitive verb). These labels will also appear in glosses used in this thesis.

(2) English

a. John washed the car.

b. The car was washed (by John).

Passivization is also possible for intransitive clauses, but in such cases too, it is possible to suppose that there is a base construction and derived construction. This can be exemplified by Japanese adversative passivization illustrated below, where (3a) can be said to be a base construction and (3b) a derived construction. This is an exceptional case, given that the typical property of passivization is to cause changes like ones deriving (2b) from (2a).

(3) Japanese

a. Seito-ga   sawai.-da.

   student-NOM   make.noise.CNV-PST

   'Students made noise.'

b. Sensei-ga   seito-ni   sawag-are-ta.

   teacher-NOM   student-by   make.noise-PSS-PST

   'The teacher was annoyed by students' making noise.'

*c. Seito-ga   sensei-o   sawai-da.

    Student-NOM   teacher-ACC   make.noise.CNV-DCL

2.1.2 Antipassivization is commonly applied to transitive or ditransitive clauses. In this process, the valency is decreased in such a way that the original A becomes S and the original P (T or R in ditransitive clauses) moves to the periphery or gets unexpressed. Below is an example from Dyirbal:

(4) Dyirbal

a. Mayŋgu-Ø   Jani-ŋgu   jaŋga-ɲu.

   mango-ABS   Johnny-ERG   eat-PST

'Johnny ate the mango.'

b. Jani-Ø   jaŋga-na-ɲu   (maygu-gu).

    Johnny-ABS   eat-APSS-PST   mango-DAT

    'Johnny ate (the mango).'

<div align="right">(Dixon 2010a, p.167)</div>

Note that the intransitivity of the predicate of (4b) is indicated by the absolutive marking on *Jani* 'Johnny', which is realized as zero.

From the above observations, it can be seen that participant roles which are chosen to be removed or at least to be deprived of core argument statuses are A in passivization and P (or T/R) in antipassivization.

2.2 Valency-increasing operations

2.2.1 Causativization is applied to clauses with any transitivity. In this process, the valency is increased in such a way that a new argument is introduced as A to cause the event described in the base construction (namely, 'causer') and the original S or A thereby moves to a small clause to become the whole sentence's P or T[4] (namely, 'causee'). Consider the following example from Korean:

(5) Korean

a. Minsu-ga   bab-ul   meg-e-t-ta.

    Minsu-NOM   meal-ACC   eat-CNV-PST-DCL

    'Minsu got a meal.'

b. Chingu-ga   Minsu-lul   bab-ul   meg-i-et-ta.

    friend-NOM   Minsu-ACC   meal-ACC   eat-CAUS-CNV-PST-DCL

    'My friend made Minsu get a meal.'

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[4] In Japanese, dative marking is also possible regardless of transitivity.

2.2.2 Applicativization is applied to clauses with any transitivity. Here I repeat (1) here as an example of applicativization:

(6) Latin

a. Ad   flumen   eo.

    to   river   go.1SG

    'I go toward the river.'

b. Flumen   adeo.

    river   to.go.1SG

    'I go toward the river.'

Therefore, one can see that the opposite of what we saw about valency-decreasing operations happens in the case of valency-increasing operations, that is to say, A and P (or T/R) in core argument statuses are added in causativization and applicativization, respectively.

One fact which can be confirmed from (2) - (6) is that individual passive, antipassive, causative, and applicative constructions are not primary constructions in themselves, but presuppose certain clause (construction)s which are what they were before undergoing passivization, antipassivization, causativization, and applicativization, respectively. This is the reason why the valency-changing categories are called 'process' or 'operation', which is supposed to be applied to clauses whose predicates are unmarked, neutral or active in terms of valency-changing[5], which are to be altered thereby into corresponding constructions. This study will mainly use the terms 'operations' and '(syntactic) derivations'[6] interchangeably

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[5] It must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that there are cases where, for example, applicative construction further undergoes passivization (see 5.1.1.2.1 in Chapter 5 for details), which means that base constructions are not always neutral in this sense.

[6] Calling such changes whereby a new element (core argument) emerges out of null 'derivations' is justified when we recall that, in the processes generally called morphological 'derivations' too, a new arbitrary element (morpheme) emerges out of null, as in: *invent→invent-ion*, *invent-or*, etc, for example. Kibrik (1993, p.49) explicitly states that 'propositional derivations' are applied to 'propositional structure' in valency-changing operations.

and distinguish accordingly base constructions and derived constructions in individual cases, as we have so far done.

2.3 Relationships between the four valency-changing operations

By noticing which macro participant role, actor or undergoer, is mainly affected in each valency-increasing and valency-decreasing operation, we can use this as another parameter from 'valency decreasing or increasing' for describing each operation. This results in the following table:

Table 1. The four valency-changing operations in terms of participant role affected and change of valency

Participant role affected / Valency	Actor	Undergoer
Decrease	Passivization	Antipassivization
Increase	Causativization	Applicativization

When comparing research history of applicative in general with those of the other ones, especially with causative and passive, the poverty of studies of applicative stands out. First of all, the number of languages where there are phenomena which are clearly distinguishable as applicative is very small, being "no more than about a quarter" according to Dixon (2012, p.294)[7]. Furthermore, the large part of such languages are languages spoken in areas such as Africa, Americas, and Australia, where native languages have relatively scarce traditions of surveys, in comparison to areas such as Europe, Indo, China, and Japan. Descriptive grammars of such languages have some parts dedicated for applicative. But cross-linguistic studies to uncover the complex internal structure of how applicative forms and functions are arranged and distributed in general terms are at the stage of the dawn in every sense.

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[7] Kittlä (2011, p.363) also refers to applicative as "far from being a universal category".

This general lack of interest toward applicative seems to have been responsible for some illusions concerning this category. When applicative is mentioned in general literature of typology, the tendency is that the topic of applicative is given a virtually parallel treatment with those of the other major valency-changing categories: passive, antipassive, and causative. This tendency is very natural given that doing so exhibits the symmetrical picture where valency-decreasing and valency-increasing are respectively allotted two sorts of category, passive and antipassive for the former and causative and applicative for the latter, presenting the quaternary situation involving two valency-decreasing and two valency-increasing categories, to be considered as four main constituents of the closed class of "valency-changing". I myself did this in this chapter.

But, it is difficult in linguistics to find real symmetries in any senses. While surely the four operations constitute the closed category "valency-changing" in general terms and it is undoubtedly reasonable to group them together, looking at them parallel a priori fails to capture important facts concerning each category which are hidden behind the surface symmetry. Especially, noticing differences between applicative and causative serves to bring to light properties peculiar to applicative. Keeping this in mind, throughout the study, comparisons will be made between applicative and the other valency-changing operations in certain respects whenever it helps to make a certain property of applicative stand out. Lehmann (2015b, p.1575) suggested a similar point but all he pointed out was the importance of contrasting applicative with causative, and does not go further to mention the importance of contrasting applicative with the valency-decreasing operations. It is true that it is causative which is the valency-changing operation comparison of which with applicative is the most fruitful, as will be implied by the present study as well. However, extending the viewpoint and looking at the whole picture will make further contributions to our purpose.

3 Previous views toward applicative

To begin our discussion placing focus on applicative, it is appropriate to look at what kinds of approach have been taken toward this category. Two views can be identified: 'the valency-increasing view' and 'the valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging view'.

3.1 The valency-increasing view

'The valency-increasing view' named here is the most basic way of interpreting applicative. It merely regards applicative as operation which increases the valency of the verb it is applied to. It is thought that the study of applicative began with this view, which is suggested in Shibatani (1996, p. 159)'s note. One place where this view is typically manifested is Austin's summarization of applicativization in Australian languages:

(7) Austin (2003, p. 169)'s summarization of applicativization

$$S^1 \quad V_i \quad \rightarrow \quad A^1 \quad O^2 \quad V_{tr}$$

, which is by no means sufficient[8]. In what way this view just sees the surface will be clarified in course of the following discussions.

3.2 The valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging view

Considering the second view entails noticing a contrast between applicativization and the other valency-changing operations. This is that the functions of applicativization are far from being unique, in the sense that applicativization is not dedicated to valency-increasing in the same way as causativization is dedicated to valency-increasing and passivization and antipassivization are dedicated to valency-decreasing. What turns out true is rather that applicativization regularly causes changes which are more appropriately called

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[8] Another problem is that this formulation excludes cases where base constructions are polytransitive (transitive or ditransitive) clauses.

'valency-rearranging' than 'valency-increasing', in addition to changes caused in non-syntactic aspects.

Reflecting this fact, many previous studies' approach toward applicativization had their bases on the view called here 'the valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging view'. This view is explicitly discernible in Comrie (1985, pp.312-322), Helmbrecht (2008, pp.136-137) and Shibatani (2016). Consider the following example from West Greenlandic:

(8) West Greenlandic

a. Niisi   aningaasa-nik   tuni-vaa.

 Niisi   money-INST.PL   give-IND.3SG>3SG

 'He gave Nisi money.'

                                                    (Fortescue 1984: 88, cited in Malchukov 2013: 283)

b. Aningaasa-t   Niisi-mut   tunni-up-pai.

 money-PL.ABS   Nisi-ALL   give-APPL-IND.3SG>3PL

 'He gave money to Nisi.'

                                                    (Fortescue 1984: 88, cited in Malchukov 2013: 284)

In (8a), which is an active ditransitive sentence, syntactically, *Niisi* is direct object and *aningaasa* 'money' indirect object. Applicativizing this sentence results in (8b), in which it is *aningaasa* 'money' which is direct object and *Niisi* is indirect object, where thus one can see 'promotion'. Here, as an applicative effect, valency increased in that *aningaasa* 'money' got direct object status. At the same time, however, *Niisi* lost its direct object status, where thus one can see 'demotion', which is opposite notion of 'promotion'. Integrating these two changes, it can be said that the two arguments 'exchanged' their grammatical status. This is what is described as 'valency-rearranging'.

This view is more advanced than the valency-increasing view, but is inutile in two ways. The first problem is that it is not suited to analyze what kinds of change are brought about in individual aspects of base constructions in the process of applicativization, because from this view it is quite hard to focus on one of them. For example, it is difficult to scrutinize the

nature of promotion, due to the fact that it is impossible to separate promotion from other syntactic changes brought about by applicativization, as long as it is seen from the perspective of valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging. What is responsible for this situation is that these two concepts are not mutually exclusive but overlap; as a result, valency-increasing can be admitted in promotion in the sense that the number of syntactically core arguments is increased, and then, promotion, in turn, can be a part of valency-rearranging in the sense that valency-rearranging entails promotion together with valency-increasing, when applied to an already ditransitive construction such as (8a). Finally, it is as well the case that 'valency-rearranging' in a wider sense can subsume 'valency-increasing', especially if demotion happens together with introduction of a new argument, like in the following example from Halkomelem:

(9) Halkomelem

a. Nem̓   cən   sem̓-ət   θə-nə   snəxʷəł.

   go   1SG.S   sell-TR   DT-1SG.POS   canoe

   'I'm going to sell my car.'

b. Nem̓   cən   sem̓-əs-t   łə   słeniʔ   ʔə   θə-nə   snəxʷəł.

   go   1SG.A   sell-DAT-TR DT   woman   OBL   DT-1SG.POS   canoe

   'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

(Gerdts 2010: 566)

From the above discussion of the complicated picture of the situation, it can also be seen that not only promotion, but also another syntactic change in applicativization, valency-increasing, is difficult to abstract and scrutinize with this view.

And the second problem is that it is as well difficult to lead to any forms of classification of applicative constructions with this view. On the one hand this is because of their overlap discussed above. On the other hand this is because all the view is about is operations, not referring to constructions which are consequences of them, thus not serving for classifying constructions.

It therefore can be seen that in our purpose of classifying applicative constructions according to changes they experienced from base constructions, the valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging view does not provide us with useful parameters of classification. Although Comrie (1985: 313,317) explicitly mentioned their indistinguishability, there has been no alternative approach proposed.

4 An alternative view: the two-direction of derivation view

4.1 The two-direction of derivation view

For the purpose of scrutinizing changes which are involved in applicative derivations and making a classification of applicative constructions, I propose a different view toward applicative. This is named '**the two-direction of derivation view**'.

   To introduce it, another difference between applicative and other valency-changing operations will be discussed, a difference which composes a basis of the view proposed. This is concerned with focusing on the two ends of applicativizing processes, that is, base construction and derived construction as defined above, and in what way the two are connected to each other.

   One assumption which can arise from the discussion in Chapter 2 is that there is one base construction per derived construction in each case of valency-changing derivations. As for passivization, it is obvious that active sentences are primary or unmarked in relation to their passive counterparts, so that virtually every passive construction has a base construction, (2a) being base construction and (2b) derived construction, for example[9]. The same thing applies to antipassivization, (4a) base construction and (4b) derived construction. As for causativization, (5a) is base construction, which, by undergoing causativization, gives rise to derived construction, which is (5b). Theoretically, any causative sentences can assume a base construction, since, to make some event happen, there has to be that 'some event', which can be expressed in form of a clause.

   However, some different situation is presented by applicativization. That is, the following sentence (10) can be said to be a base construction of (6b), as well as (6a).

(10) Latin

a.   Eo.

   go.1SG

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[9] There are exceptional cases, such as German impersonal passive.

'I go.'

Here we see that an applicative construction can have two base constructions. This is a unique nature of applicative, which cannot be seen in the other valency-changing operations. That is, as discussed above, passive, antipassive, and causative constructions only have one base construction at least in most cases so that there is only one derivation which leads to a certain construction. Rather, in cases of valency-decreasing, what should be paid much attention are derived constructions, not base constructions, in that, overt realizations, in oblique forms, of demoted arguments (A in passivization and patient P (T/R) antipassivization) are optional, yielding two different possibilities of derived construction, which is indicated by parentheses in the examples of (3) and (4). Applicativization allows options for base constructions, not for derived constructions, and therefore shows a contrastive nature. Note that the same does not necessarily apply to causativization, the other valency-increasing operation, given that (11a) below could be said to be base construction of (5b), rather than (5a). Furthermore, it is also possible to say that (11b) is derived construction of (11a).

(11) Korean

a. Chingu-ga   bab-ul   meg-e-t-ta.
    friend-NOM   meal-ACC   eat-CNV-PST-DCL
    'My friend got a meal.'

b. Minsu-ga   chingu-lul   bab-ul   meg-i-e-t-ta.
    Minsu-NOM   friend-ACC   meal-ACC   eat-CAUS-CNV-PST-DCL
    'Minsu made my friend get a meal.'

    Summary of the comparison between applicativization and the other valency-changing operations made here is the following: per one construction set of valency-decreasing derivation, there is one base construction and two derived constructions. Per one construction

set of applicative derivation, there are two base constructions and one derived construction. Causativization presents the most complicated picture.

Thus, returning our focus to applicativization, the point we should notice now is that, when thinking about derivations yielding applicative constructions, it is possible to suppose two kinds of derivation arising from different directions, by taking different perspectives. The first perspective finds the derivation which alters an intransitive or transitive clause into a clause with an obligatory direct object which was not expressed in any way in the initial clause, yielding (6b) out of (10), for example. This is compatible with the relationships between (a) clauses and (b) clauses in the other valency-changing operation in (2)-(5), because each operation involves an addition of a new argument. On the other hand, the second perspective finds the derivation which alters a construction with a non-core argument into a construction with some accusative marking on it, yielding (6b) out of (6a), for example.

One thing which should be noted is that difference between the two derivations stems from two parameters working behind each derivation to determine syntactic and semantic changes in the clause which are brought about by each direction of derivation. These are '**syntactic valency**' and '**participant number**', which are defined as follows in the present study:

(12) Syntactic valency and participant number

Syntactic valency: number of arguments which are syntactically realized as core arguments (non-adjuncts).

Participant number: number of arguments involved in the situation described, irrespective of what syntactic status they have.

Syntactic valency and participant number are not in relation of dependency, which allows the following situations. In the derivation from (10) to (1a), the goal of the event described, going, is not expressed in the base construction (1a). This means that both syntactic valency and paritipant number are increased. Let us label this direction of applicative derivation

15

'**double-fledged applicative derivation**'. In the derivation from (1b) to (1a), on the other hand, the goal of going is expressed before undergoing applicativization as well, the difference between them being syntactic coding of the semantic role, goal. This means that syntactic valency was increased, while participant number itself remains the same. Let us label this direction of applicative derivation '**single-fledged applicative derivation**'. The following figure illustrates these two directions of derivation:

Figure 1. Two directions of applicative derivation

Base constructions: [a] VERB   [b] VERB   ARGUMENT (OBLIQUE)

Double-fledged derivation   Single-fledged derivation

Derived construction: VERB+APPL   ARGUMENT(CORE,non-subject)
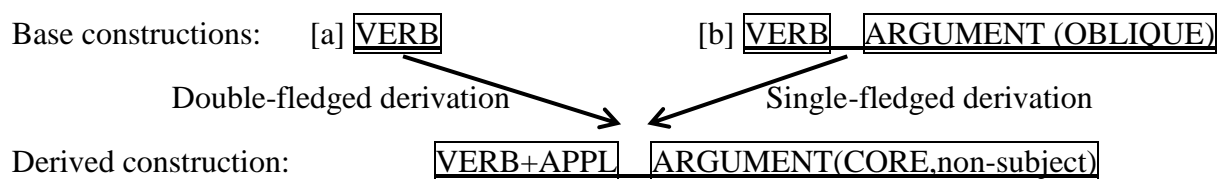
Note that, cases like the following cannot be regarded as single-fledged derivation, because the semantic role of *flumen* in light of the real situation described is marked in a rather formally periphrastic way; *partem* cannot be considered as a preposition, unlike *ad* in (1a).

(13) Latin

Part-em   fluminis   eo.

direction-SG.ACC   river.SG.GEN   go.1SG

'I go in the direction of the river.'

Logically, in our line of discussion, we can assume another single-fledged derivation, that is, situation where syntactic valency remains the same and participant number is increased. Such situation can be found when addition of an argument in an adjunct form to a sentence where the argument is not expressed in any way, as the change from (10) to (14) below. However, this is not a case of applicativization, since there is no applicative marker in the first place.

(14) Latin

Ad flumen eo.

Thus, in summary, my proposal here is distinguishing the two directions of derivation which can lead to applicative constructions, being sensitive to the ambiguity of the concept of 'valency', in the way discussed above. These are double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation. In the following figure, it can be seen that they are clearly distinguishable, which we saw in Chapter 3 is not the case for valency-increasing and valency-rearranging. I will call this view 'the two-direction of derivation view' to make it standing parallel with the other ones.

Table 2. Applicative derivations in terms of syntactic valency and participant number

Participant number / Syntactic valency	Increase	Remain the same
Increase	Double-fledged applicative derivation (e.g. *Eo.* → *Flumen adeo.*)	Single-fledged applicative derivation (e.g. *Ad flumen eo.* → *Flumen adeo.*)
Remain the same	Not an applicative derivation (e.g. *Eo.* → *Ad flumen eo.*)	No operations

A relevant fact should be mentioned here: there is a fundamental difference between the two derivations. This is difference of how frequently existent each derivation is for individual applicative constructions. As for single-fledged derivation, sometimes applicative constructions lack it, as in the following example from Tswana; according to Creissels (2006, p.74), applicativization is the only means to introduce a recipient argument to (15a), which yields (15b).

(15) Tswana[10]

a. Lorato   o   tlaa   kwal-a   lokwalo.

   1Lorato A3:1   FUT   write-FIN   11letter

   'Lorato will write a letter.'

b. Lorato   o   tlaa   kwal-el-a   Kitso   lokwalo.

   1Lorato A3:1   FUT   write-APPL-FIN 1Kitso 11letter

   'Lorato will write a letter to Kitso.'

(Creissels 2006: 74)

As for double-fledged derivation, although it is not confirmed at this point and counterexamples cannot be denied, it is thought that applicative constructions have it in any case. Consequently, it is supposable that the two are in an implicational relationship, whereby:

(16) Implicational relationships between the two directions of derivation

    Existence of single-fledged derivation presupposes that of double-fledged derivation.

    Nonexistence of double-fledged derivation presupposes that of single-fledged derivation.

4.2 Previous attitudes toward the two derivation directions

In the preceding section, it was discussed that there are two directions of applicative derivation: double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation, which were defined in relation to two possibilities of base construction. In this section, which directions of derivation previous literatures implicitly have focused on will be explored.

    When applicative in general is talked about, which derivation to be mainly considered or to be used as a part of definition of applicative differs among authors. Almost all of them are not sensitive to the existence of the two directions and this has suppressed the possibility of attempt to make a classification of applicative constructions which I am going to make. It is

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[10] In the glosses, the figures 1 and 11 stand for noun classes and the figure 3 stands for number.

thought that this tendency is more or less a reflection of their sticking to the valency-increasing view or valency-increasing vs. valency-rearranging view.

Dixon (2012, pp.299-301) puts importance on what we call single-fledged derivation and calls those with double-fledged derivation only 'quasi-applicative'. Shibatani (2016)'s claim that the essence of applicativization is 'alignment alternations' have preferences for single-fledged derivation. Palmer (1994, pp.161-171) can also be counted in this group. It seems that they consider applicative mainly in terms of valency-rearranging.

On the other hand, authors like Mithun (2001), Austin (2003) and Creissels (2010) focus on what we call double-fledged derivation. Above all, it is double-fledged derivation which Austin's summarization of applicativization cited as (7) in Chapter 3 immediately recalls, although this should not be taken as excluding single-fledged derivation completely. Mithun (2001, p.73) gives a definition that "prototypical applicatives are derivational processes within the verbal morphology that add a participant to the set of core arguments". They seem to consider applicative in terms of valency-increasing.

Third parties such as Peterson (2007) are not conscious of the distinction. Payne (1997, p.186)'s description of applicatives as "operations whereby a verb is marked for the semantic role of a direct object" is the hardest to appreciate in our approach, since, along this interpretation, no applicative derivations can be supposed in the first place. In contradistinction to his approach, the assumption of the present study is that applicative marking is not preceded, but followed, by introduction of a new direct object argument.

It is not that there are no previous studies at all which recognize the distinction of the two derivation directions. The statement in Kulikov (2011, p.389) is on the most equal standpoint toward the two directions, but he does not go further to make a classification of applicative constructions. Lehmann and Verhoeven (2006) is somehow close to what the present study intends to show. They do have the idea of distinguishing the two derivation directions and insist on the importance of this distinction. However, their distinction cannot cover everything which is necessary for making a fine classification of applicative constructions. The detail of their classification and how it is incomplete will be discussed in Chapter 9.

What every author except the ones mentioned above lacks in common is an impartial view to double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation. Those who are inclined to double-fledged derivation fail to get aware how remarkable is promotion of applicativization, which is another syntactic function of it from valency-increasing. On the other hand, those who emphasize single-fledged derivation fail to admit syntactic changes caused by double-fledged derivation, which is valency-increasing. The attitude of the latter is further manifested in the situation where applicative constructions with no single-fledged derivation are expressed as 'obligatory' (Creissels 2006: 73,74 ; Peterson 2007: 45-51). This is misleading, since in cases of double-fledged derivation, derivations are not obligatory at all; sentences like (10) and (14) can stand without problems. It even appears that using labels like 'quasi-applicative' (Dixon 2012: 299-301) for such cases intends to exclude cases with double-fledged derivation only from applicativization. As a result, they fail to pay attention to the fact that just having double-fledged derivation is enough for a construction to be authorized as 'valency-increasing', which is what still should be regarded as one important property of applicativization, or to the fact that there is double-fledged derivation at all.

5 Changes brought by applicative derivations of each direction

As was suggested in Chapter 3, there are two things which the previous views cannot and which the double-fledged vs. single-fledged derivation view can. The ultimate one of the two is classifying applicative constructions depending on the distinction of the two directions of derivation. Thus, that we introduced the distinction in the preceding chapter means that we gained basis for establishing a classification of applicative constructions, which is the main purpose of the study.

But, before embarking the classification, it will be appropriate to do the other one first, that is, scrutinizing functions or changes caused by each derivation. The changes to be discussed range from syntactic ones to semantic ones. Syntactic changes include valency-increasing (encompassing syntactic valency-increasing and participant number increasing) and promotion. It is thought that there are also pragmatic changes but we will not deal with them, to avoid making classification complicated by going beyond non-pragmatic aspects.

The reason why our taking the two-direction of derivation view makes that possible is that functions played by applicative derivations differ according to whether it is double-fledged derivation or single-fledged derivation. Thus, characterizing double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation by changes they cause to base constructions will contribute to characterizing classifications as well, as will be seen in Chapter 6. Let us begin by syntactic changes.

5.1 Promotion

Only one of the derivation directions, single-fledged derivation, has promotion caused. Therefore, what will be discussed about promotion in this subsection is only relevant with single-fledged derivation, not relevant with double-fledged derivation.

Promotion is the process whereby a peripheral argument in base construction becomes a core argument in derived construction with the semantic role retained. In the Latin cases (1) in Introduction, for example, the peripheral argument *ad flumen* in the base construction (1a) gets marked as a core argument *flumen* in the derived construction (1b).

It is also worth noting that sometimes promotion of an argument in single-fledged applicative derivation is accompanied by demotion of another argument. This is what we saw in the West Greenlandic example (8) in 3.2 for the discussion of valency-rearranging. But demotion will be excluded from our concern since we are taking the two-direction of derivation view and demotion itself is not involved in either derivation.

Below we will see how remarkable are evidence of syntactic promotion in single-fledged derivation. We will demonstrate it by distinguishing between 'promotion markings' and 'promotion effects'. Let us begin with promotion markings.

5.1.1 Promotion markings

As is a repetition, promotion to a direct object means that argument in question receives the same grammatical treatment as a direct object in that language as if it is a direct object. The most conspicuous manifestation of promotion is employment of the same form as the direct object marker for indicating the grammatical relation of the argument which was affected in the single-fledged applicative derivation. In the case of (1a) and (1b), the argument, which was originally marked as periphery, receives zero marking, which is likewise employed as ordinary accusative marking of *flumen*. However, it is important to notice that this is not the only strategy of how grammatical relations of promoted arguments are marked. When recalling that core arguments (subjects and direct objects) in general have couple of marking strategies: case morpheme (case affix, clitic, or adposition), constituent order, and bound pronoun, it is suggested by a simple analogy that this variety as it is will also apply to the markings of applicativized direct objects, namely, direct objects which are results of being promoted from peripheral syntactic statuses. Therefore, we can assume at least three kinds of

applicativized object marking, as summarized in (17)[11]. As long as ordinary grammatical relation marking strategies are grouped together in this way, promoted (applicativized) argument marking strategies should reflect it. Let us look at examples of each strategy in turn.

(17) Promotion marking strategies

    Accusative morpheme

    Bound pronoun

    Constituent order

5.1.1.1 Accusative morpheme

'Accusative morpheme' here refers to morphemes of any forms attaching or adjacent to noun phrases to mark them with accusative case. These include adposition, clitic, and affix. As in the Latin case in (1b), in many cases the accusative morphemes employed for applicativized direct objects are zero according to Polinsky (2013).

An example of overt forms comes from Nez Perce. In (18b), which here is supposed to be an applicative construction derived by single-fledged derivation from the base construction (18a), *láwtiwaa* 'friend' accompanies the overt accusative suffix *-na*, replacing the instrumental marker *-yiin* in (18a).

(18) Nez Perce

a. Láwtiwaa-yiin   hi-túuqi-six   miyóoxat.

   friend-with   3S-smoke-ASP   chief

   'The chief is smoking with a friend.'

b. Láwtiwaa-na   pée-tuqi-twe-ce   miyóoxato-m.

   friend-ACC   3A.3P-smoke-APPL-ASP   chief-ERG

   'The chief is smoking-with a friend.'

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[11] There are further possibilities in ordinary grammatical relation marking: tone (e.g. Maasai) and consonant alternation (e.g. Celtic languages), for example. I could not detect these strategies used for applicativized direct object and so will not consider these.

5.1.1.2 Bound pronoun

Attaching an accusative morpheme to noun phrase is not the only way to mark direct object by means of a formal device. When the form is on verb instead of on noun phrase, we see that the grammatical relation is marked by bound pronoun instead of by accusative morpheme. In many languages which are equipped with bound pronoun systems, there are only one or two slots of bound pronouns in one predicative complex. Thus it is a widely attested phenomenon, which is thought to the case in all languages which have two slots of bound pronouns in one predicative complex, that, in ditransitive clauses, the two undergoer participant roles T and R compete with each other to occupy the sole object slot in a predicative complex. And it is thought that applicativized arguments can unconditionally win the slot generally. Syntactically peripheral arguments cannot be coded by means of bound pronouns in the first place, as opposed to free noun phrases, which can be marked by virtually any kinds of grammatical or oblique relation. Therefore the fact that an argument occupies a bound pronoun slot at all is a sign that it got direct object status.

The West Greenlandic case we cited as (8) in 3.2 provides again a good example. In (8a), the two arguments, 'he' and *Niisi* are coded by the fused bound pronoun *-vaa*, and *aningaasa* 'money' is not coded in the same way and just accompanies the instrumental case morpheme *-nik*. In (8b), which is derived construction, on the other hand, it is *aningaasa* 'money', not *Niisi*, which is coded together with 'he' by the fused bound pronoun *-pai*. Here we clearly see promotion of *aningaasa* 'money' in the fact that its semantic role is marked through a bound pronoun, not through a case morpheme.

Here again, the Nez Perce case (18) above serves as another example. In (18a), which is an intransitive clause, there is only one bound pronoun in the predicative complex *hi-túuqi-six* , namely, *hi*, which codes the subject *miyóoxat* 'chief'. In (18b), on the other hand, the applicativized argument *láwtiwaa* is coded together with *miyóoxat* 'chief' by the fused bound pronoun *pée-*.

24

5.1.1.3 Constituent order

Constituent order is the third major grammatical relation marking strategy and this is also observed for promoted or applicativized objects. In Indonesian, according to Song (2018, p.386), direct object as a result of single-fledged applicative derivation comes to the position adjacent to the verb.

(19) Indonesian

a. Ali   mem-buka   pintu   untuk   guru.

   Ali   TR-open   door   for   teacher

   'Ali opens the door for the teacher.'

b. Ali   men-buka-kan   guru   pintu.

   Ali   TR-open-BEN   teacher   door

   'Ali opens the door for the teacher.'

(Song 2018: 386)

It seems that the same phenomenon happens in Rwanda (Kinyarwanda) single-fledged applicative derivation, too:

(20) Rwanda

a. Umwaalimu   a-ra-andik-a   imibare   ku   kibaaho.

   teacher   he-PRES-write-ASP   maths   on   blackboard

   'The teacher is writing maths on the blackboard.'

b. Umwaalimu   a-ra-andik-a-ho   ikibaaho   imibare.

   teacher   he-PRES-write-ASP-on   blackboard   maths

   'The teacher is writing maths on the blackboard.'

(Kimenyi 1988: 368-369, cited in Palmer 1994: 164)

Moreover, Creissels (2006, p.86) exiplicitly reveals that the same change as these are obligatory in Tswana, another Bantu language from Rwanda.

25

5.1.2 Promotion effects

What we saw above are not the whole story of promotion. It should be noticed that marking an argument as a direct object is merely an indication that there occurred promotion at all. In other words, what they are concerned with are forms, and they do not say anything about functions themselves they got able to play by becoming a direct object. Making new functions available for an argument through promotion can be paraphrased as 'effects' of promotion, as opposed to 'markings', which are no more than signs telling that certain functions were born out. Consequently, it can be said that there are two aspects in promotion: markings and effects.

All previous literatures dealing with promotion in applicativization I acknowledge do not differentiate these two, both being considered to be manifestations or evidence of 'promotion' altogether. However, it is necessary to see the two as separate concepts in a strict way in order to understand better the nature of the phenomenon called promotion.

Therefore, we should bear in mind that what we have so far seen above are promotion markings and what we will see below from now are promotion effects.

What promotion effects are about is as follows. Argument exhibits different syntactic behavior before and after single-fledged applicative derivation. Specifically, promotion newly allows the argument accesses to other syntactic operations from applicativization. These include a number of syntactic operations such as passivization, relativization, topicalization, cleft sentence derivation (Givón 1979: 159-206 ; Lemaréchal 1998: 207,208 ; Peterson 2007 *passim* et cetera), and interrogativization also. In other words, such operations are often not accessible for every argument but only for arguments with high syntactic primacy to certain degrees (c.f. accessibility hierarchy by Keenan & Comrie 1977), which may be achieved through promotion. Promotion effects to be considered in the study are summarized below:

(21) Promotion effects

Passivization	Relativization	Topicalization
Cleft sentence derivation	Interrogativization	

One tendency stemming from the confusion of promotion marking and effect is to treat bound pronominalization together with these syntactic operations (Hyman & Duranti 1982 ; Lemaréchal 1998: 207,208 et cetera). But it is not appropriate since bound pronoun should be regarded as one strategy clarifying argument structure rather than a syntactic operation[12]. Below, the three selected from (21): passivization, relativization and topicalization, will be exemplified.

5.1.2.1 Passivization

With the following example, Givón (1979) shows that in Rwanda[13] a beneficiary argument needs to be applicativized in advance in order to get passivized. In the example, the recipient argument is *amafaranga* 'money' and the grammaticality of (22c) and ungrammaticality of (22d) indicate that promotion enables it to be passivized.

(22) Rwanda

a.   Karoli   y-a-koz-e   ku-mafaranga.

    Charles   he-PST-work-ASP   for-money

    'Charles worked for money.'

b.   Karoli   y-a-kor-e-ye   amafaranga.

    Charles   he-PST-work-BEN-ASP   money

    'Charles worked for the money.'

c.   Amafaranga   ya-a-kor-e-w-e.

    money   it-PST-work-BEN-PSS-ASP

    'The money was worked for.'

*d.   Amafaranga   ya-a-koz-w-e.

    money   it-PST-work-PSS-ASP

(Givón 1979: 202)

5.1.2.2 Relativization

Givón (1979) also shows that, in Swahili, a beneficiary argument needs to be applicativized in advance in order to get relativized. In the following example, the recipient argument is *mwanamke* 'woman' and the grammaticality of (23c) and ungrammaticality of (23d) indicate that promotion enables the relativization.

(23) Swahili

a. A-li-m-tuma   baruwa   kwa   mwanamke.

    he-PST-her-send   letter   to   woman

    'He sent a letter to the woman.'

b. A-li-m-tum-ia   mwanamke   baruwa.

    he-PST-her-send-BEN   woman   book (sic.)

    'He sent the woman a letter.'

c. Mwanamke   a-li-ye-m-tum-ia   baruwa.

    woman   he-PST-REL-her-send-BEN   letter

    'The woman to whom he sent a letter'

*d. Mwanmke (sic.)   a-li-ye-m-tuma   baruwa.

    woman   he-PST-REL-her-send   letter

<div align="right">(Givón 1979: 173)</div>

5.1.2.3 Topicalization

In Bukusu, according to Peterson (2007, pp.30,31), only applicativized objects can undergo 'left-dislocation', which is thought to amount to 'topicalization' we are talking about. This is clear from the grammaticality of (24b) and ungrammaticality of (24c), which indicates promotion effect. (24c) has to mean 'Tsewmang said it to Taaynaamkoong for Niihuu.' to be grammatical.

(24) Bukusu

a. Tsewmaŋ=niʔ   Taaynaamkooŋ   Niihuu   ʔa-Ø-tshiʔm-piak.

Tsewmang=ERG   Taaynaamkoong   Niihuu   3SG.A-3SG.P-say-BEN

'Tsewmang said it to Niihuu for Taaynaamkoong.'

b.   Taaynaamkooŋ   Tsewmaŋ=niʔ   Niihuu   ʔa-Ø-tshiʔm-piak.

Taaynaamkoong   Tsewmang=ERG   Niihuu   3SG.A-3SG.P-say-BEN

'Tsewmang said it to Niihuu for Taaynaamkoong.'

*c.   Niihuu   Tsewmaŋ=niʔ   Taaynaamkooŋ   ʔa-Ø-tshiʔm-piak.

Niihuu   Tsewmang=ERG   Taaynaamkoong   3SG.A-3SG.P-say-BEN

Intended: 'Tsewmang said it to Niihuu for Taaynaamkoong.'

Peterson (2007: 30)

5.2 Valency-increasing

Valency-changing is another syntactic change from promotion. This takes place both in double-fledged applicative derivation and single-fledged applicative derivation. Because the nature of valency-increasing in applicativization has already been discussed in some detail in Chapter 3 and 4, let us briefly review it, in terms of the two derivation directions.

In double-fledged applicative derivation, valency-increasing is the only syntactic change caused, since promotion does not occur. What happens is introduction of a direct object with a peripheral semantic role to base construction, whereby thus both syntactic valency and participant number are increased. It can be said that the change is substantial to some extent, because a direct object gets into the argument structure.

In single-fledged applicative derivation, there is a valency-increasing effect together with promotion, whereby syntactic valency is increased. It can be said that the effect is quite subtle, because participant number remains the same, showing weaker total degree of valency-increasing. The interpretation is that, in single-fledged derivation, promotion is in exchange for participant number increasing.

It is also worth noting that sometimes valency-increasing in double-fledged derivation is accompanied by demotion of another argument. This is what we saw in the Halkomelem example cited as (9) in 3.2 for the discussin of 'valency-rearranging'. For the same reason mentioned in 5.1.1, demotion will be excluded from our concern.

5.3 Semantic changes

In semantic side, basically both double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation do not have such substantial changes to cause to base constructions. For, semantic role of applicativized direct object is peripheral one, not a core one as agent or patient. Single-fledged derivation clearly does not drastically affect the propositional meaning.

The subtlety of semantic effects in applicative derivations is further clearly captured through comparison with the case of causativiztion. Although the both are operations which entail valency-increasing, the participant roles to be added are different between double-fledged applicative derivation and causativization. In the former it is a peripheral role such as beneficiary, recipient or locative, while in the latter, it is an agent. Moreover, in cauastivization, adding the argument accompanies substitution or exchange of arguments. That is, in base construction (5a), the agent is *Minsu* but, in derived construction (5b), it is *chingu*. What happened here is for *Minsu* to devolve its subject status to *chingu*, and to find its new position in a small clause. In that agent, which is the most important participant role, is altered by an utterly new argument, we can see remarkable change in propositional meaning. When it is (11a) which is base construction of (5b), the change in propositional meaning is even greater. Originally, in (11a), it is *chingu* who gets the meal, but in (5b), it is *Minsu*. This is due to *Minsu*'s creating the small clause.

This is contrastive with double-fledged applicative derivation, which just 'complements' a participant which is functionally adverbial with regard to the predicate. Semantic change is even smaller in single-fledged applicative derivation, because the semantic role itself is intact, the only difference being syntactic marking of the arguments. The point is that original arguments to be mainly affected by both applicative derivations are semantically peripheral or non-core. This fact crucially contrasts applicativization with the other three valency-changing operations in that in most cases of derivations of the latter utterly new arguments are added, that is, it is difficult to find single-fledged derivation counterparts. And in the latter, core arguments are necessarily directly involved, affected, or exchanged in some way. In other

words, applicative is the only valency-changing operation which includes the possibility of retaining basic syntactic structure (c.f. Table 1 in 2.3). Lemaréchal (1998, p.205) makes a similar point and differentiates applicative from the other valency-changing operations by referring to applicative as 'voix secondaire' (second voice).

An analogous reasoning can also be made about valency-increasing, a syntactic change. That is, valency-changing effects of applicative derivations are not as great as those of the other valency-changing operations as well.

It is not impossible and rather common that an applicative affix has a special semantic effect and sometimes the semantic effects are substantially large. For details of such semantic changes applicative single-fledged derivation can cause, see Peterson (2007, pp.49,50), Pacchiarotti (2017) and Willemsen (2017). But remarkable cases of them should be interpreted as lexicalization or grammaticalization into other grammatical elements, which are not applicative anymore, rather than applicativization with outstanding semantic changes.

One example of semantic change brought by applicative markers is the following, from Comrie (1985)[14]:

(25) Russian

a. Ivan   po-seja-l   psenic-u   v   pol-e.

    Ivan.NOM   PERF-sow-M.PST   wheat-SG.ACC   in   field-SG.PREP

    'Ivan sowed wheat (in the field).'

b. Ivan   za-seja-l   pol-e   psenic-ej.

    Ivan.NOM   PERF-sow-M.PST   field-SG.ACC   wheat-SG.INST

    'Ivan sowed the field (with wheat).'

Comrie (1985: 314)

As Comrie explains, (25b) implies that the whole of the field was sown with wheat, which is not implied by (25a). Therefore, while *za-* can be said to be an applicative marker, it can also

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[14] Comrie provided present tense versions together, but here only past tense versions are cited. Glosses are mine, because he did not give ones.

be used for semantic purpose at the same time, with wider effects than mere aspectual marking. This may be thought to be intermediate interface stage between applicative marker and aspect marker.

5.4 Summary

We saw that promotion is the most salient change caused in applicativization. In double-fledged derivation, there is no promotion and it is thought that some scholars are inclined to single-fledged derivations for this reason. This does not mean, however, that double-fledged derivation can be neglected. The derivation should still be considered as a part of applicativization as well as single-fledged derivation, as long as they surely are playing the grammatical function: valency-increasing, in the sense of syntactic valency-increasing. As for double-fledged derivation, because the importance of promotion is not valid anymore, valency-increasing should be taken as the main function. Labelling applicative merely valency-increasing (as does the valency-increasing view) fails to capture the fact that the fundamental function of applicativization is promotion, while it also should be remembered that valency-increasing in double-fledged derivation should be treated.

I end this chapter by summarizing the relationship between two derivations and changes in Table 3. This is characterization of double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation.

Table 3. Summary of relationship between each derivation and changes

Applicative derivation / Change	Double-fledged derivation	Single-fledged derivation
Promotion	No	Yes
Valency-increasing	Syntactic valency and participant number	Syntactic valency
Semantic change	Subtle	Aspectual modification etc. (sometimes)

6 Classifying applicative constructions according to the two directions of derivation

Based on the discussions made in Chapter 4 and 5, where applicative derivations were analyzed by the two-direction of derivation view, now we can fulfil the first step of classification of applicative constructions, which is the topic of this chapter.

6.1 Canonical and non-canonical applicative constructions

I classify applicative constructions according to which derivations they have. Thus, I define applicative constructions which have both double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation as 'canonical applicative constructions', and define applicative constructions only having either one of double-fledged derivation or single-fledged derivation as 'non-canonical applicative constructions' (Note that, throughout the study, the verb *have* in expressions such as *applicative construction has double-fledged/single-fledged (applicative) (directions of) derivation* means that 'it is possible to assume base construction which derives the applicative construction through that direction of derivation'.)

These definitions allow two kinds of non-canonical constructions to arise, the one with double-fledged derivation only and the other one with single-fledged derivation only. It will be possible to name each non-canonical applicative construction A and B respectively, for example. However, as already indicated by (16) in 4.1, existence of the latter is rather dubious at least at present. Lemaréchel (1998, p.205) also has a connotation that it does not exist (although it is not that he was making a classification I am making). The reason why it is so dubious is that we would have to assume situation where a verb obligatorily requires an oblique, which is never natural. So, let us this time leave the column for this hypothetical case untouched, filling it by the word 'unattested'. Therefore, for convenience, we will reserve the term 'non-canonical applicative construction' just for ones with double-fledged derivation only. Somewhat importantly, this implies that valency-increasing cannot be avoided in any case of applicativization, which is not the case for promotion. Calling them non-canonical

applicative constructions is opposed to ideas of the authors who are not willing to admit it as applicative derivation at all. When Dixon (2012) uses the term 'quasi-applicative', this can be taken as classifying of applicative constructions but it may as well be the case that the distinction of derivation and construction is not considered to be important by him.

Consequently, the primary classification we get (as a tentative one) is the following:

Table 4. Primary classification of applicative constructions

Double-fledged d. Single-fledged d.	Yes	No
Yes	Canonical applicative constructions	unattested
No	Non-canonical applicative constructions	Non-applicative constructions

Furthermore, it is also possible to characterize the two constructions making use of the discussions made about changes caused by applicative derivations in Chapter 5. This is because changes can serve not only as characterizations of the two directions of derivation but at the same time as characterizations of the two constructions defined here, since the latter are defined depending on the former. Thus, we get the following table. Bold faces indicate that the changes are the most conspicuous ones for each construction.

Table 5. Relationship between constructions and changes

Constructions	Functions of derivations
Canonical applicative constructions	**Promotion**, Valency-increasing, Semantic modification
Non-canonical applicative constructions	**Valency-increasing**, Semantic modification

6.2 Lexicalized applicative construction

The classification has not been completed yet. It is worthwhile and intriguing to imagine whether it is possible to suppose 'applicative constructions which do not have either double-fledged or single-fledged derivations'. As is indicated by the label 'non-applicative constructions' in the corresponding column of Table 4, this is not possible in the sense that an applicative construction has to presuppose a base construction to which an applicative derivation of either direction is applied. However, it is possible to imagine situation where an applicative construction diachronically loses its applicative derivations which created it from base constructions and thereby gets released as an independent entity from the spell of its connection to them. This can be expressed as cutting off the connections between the two constructions. And it is supposed that cutting off double-fledged derivation automatically cuts off single-fledged derivation either, according to the implicational relationship stated in (16).

The easiest way to cut off the connection between base and derived constructions is to cut off the connection between the verbs to which applicative markers are attached in the derived constructions, which are not existent in the base constructions. This can be realized by two situations.

The first one is the situation where the lexical status of the verb is changed between before and after the applicative marker is attached to it. Once the marker got obliged to be considered to be functioning as word-formation (more precisely, lexeme-formation) device, rather than applicative marker, it is not possible anymore to admit syntactic derivation between the two constructions. This means that the derived one is not an applicative construction anymore. What this happens at is **lexicalization**, here conceived as a diachronic phenomenon which can occur on applicative forms of a verb, as a result of which the meaning of the verb is dramatically different between before and after receiving the marker, or the resulting meaning is not predictable from the composition of the total to the extent that the two verb forms are seen as different lexemes. One example is the Nez Perce verb *ekiyuu* 'marry', which is composed of the affix *-uu* 'to' and the verb *ekiy* 'go'. Each of these has an individual verb status in its own right, since meaning of 'marry' is not only possible meaning

35

which could arise from the combination of 'go' and 'to'. It is by no means possible to regard verbs 'marry' and 'go' as identical lexemes. And *-uu* still functions as an applicative marker as well, in the way the following example shows, which is thought to be the diachronically precedent status:

(26) Nez Perce

Pimexpim	papayn	oo	qana	ip-ne.
father's.bro.ERG	3TR.arrive	ALL.APPL	HAB.SG.NOM	3SG-ACC

'His paternal uncle used to come to him.'

(Aoki 1979: 9,10 cited in Rude 1985: 177,179 and Mithun 1999: 246)

Thus it can be said that the marked form *ekiyuu* has undergone lexicalization (or more precisely, 'colexicalization') for which functional fusion of the verbal base and applicative affix can be admitted. And the construction which has this lexicalized verb as the predicate in this way cuts away applicative derivations and stands as a construction which involves a verb *ekiyuu* in a primary status, which is unmarked in terms of valency-changing. The function of the marker is now semantic, not syntactic, modification, and therefore the construction cannot be seen as an applicative construction anymore. This can be seen as a result of excessive augmentation of semantic changes caused in single-fledged applicative derivation, which was discussed in 5.4.

As is the case for the Nez Perce example discussed above, sometimes valency-increasing is still accompanied or have survived (valency increases by one from *ekiy* to *ekiyuu*), but this can be ignored as an arbitrary side effect of semantic modification at least in synchronic terms, or more specifically, in terms of the present discussion, because lexical change is the more conspicuous and also because it is promotion, not valency-increasing, which is considered to be the more important syntactic function of applicativization.

Therefore, we can say that 'construction whose predicate verb is colexicalizaed with an applicative affix' is equal to 'applicative construction which has lost double-fledged derivation and single-fledged derivation' (which is apparently contradictory)'. It is true that a

construction which lost both double-fledged and single-fledged applicative derivations at least one of which it originally had is precisely not an applicative construction. However, as long as they share the same marking strategies, which are affixations to the verbs, and are diachronically related to each other as well, it is reasonable and easy to integrate what an applicative construction is after the applicative affix and the verbal base had a functional fusion, which amounts to lexicalization, into our classification of applicative constructions.

What should be noted here is that, in this way, the distinction of double-fledged applicative derivation and single-fledged applicative derivation is successful in positioning the three constructions: canonical applicative, non-canonical applicative and lexicalized applicative, separately, according to which directions of derivation they have.

It is still true that in the case of *ekiyuu*, the affix, *-uu*, can be abstracted in a clearly separate form and in this sense it is not primary but could be derivational. In other words, functional fusion has occurred but no morphological fusion. However, if this is admitted as a derivation, it will be word-formation derivation, not syntactic derivation, which applicative derivation is.

The other one is the situation where a verb cannot be used in that language anymore unless it is combined with an applicative affix, that is, the verb became a bound morpheme. In such situations, it can be said that the base verb as a free morpheme disappeared and only the forms containing applicative affixes is left. Absence of base verb means absence of base construction, which in turn means impossibility of the construction's having derivational relationships with any other constructions. Also note that in this case we can see lexicalization irrespective of whether functional or morphological fusion of applicative affix and verbal base occurred.

Such examples can be observed in some languages including the following. In Hočank, according to Helmbrecht (2008, p.146), *hape* is diachronically an applicaitivized verb, the internal structure being *hị-a-pé* (someone-APPL.on-wait.for). Synchronically, however, this cannot be regarded as such, because there is no verb *-pe* in the language anymore.

Also, it seems that Adyghe provides a paradigm case, according to Lander & Letuchiy (2017, p.291). It will be convenient to cite the whole part relevant there, because every content is indispensable:

(27) Lander & Letuchiy (2017, p.291)

Some verbs cannot occur without applicatives. Most of them are stative predicates: cf. the posture stems 'sit', 'stand', 'lie', which require locative applicatives, the existential verb 'be' found either with locative applicatives or with an applicative introducing the possessor (then, the verb conveys the semantics of the predicative possession), the verbs 'want' and 'must' formed with the benefactive prefix, the verb 'be part of', which includes the locative applicatives, etc. Many of them are lexicalized, but for the combinations of posture roots with locative prefixes lexicalization is by no means obvious.

6.3 Summary

Therefore, we are justified in integrating lexicalized applicative construction into the classification exhibited as Table 4, as a result of which we get the following:

Table 6. Relationship between double-fledged and single-fledged applicative derivations

Double-fledged d. / Single-fledged d.	Yes	No
Yes	Canonical applicative construction	Unattested so far
No	Non-canonical applicative construction	Lexicalized applicative construction

And functions of derivations of each construction can also be enriched. Again, functions which are actually played as the main one is in boldface:

Table 7. Functions of derivations of each construction (main one for each is in boldface)

Constructions	Functions of derivations
Canonical applicative	**Promotion**, Valency-increasing, Semantic modification
Non-canonical applicative	**Valency-increasing**, Semantic modification
Lexicalized applicative	(Valency-increasing), **Semantic modification**

What is also worthwhile to add is that Table 7 represents hierarchical relationship between the three, representing three levels of the degree of 'applicativeness'.

7 Transitivization

Double-fledged applicative derivation is a derivation which turns intransitive verbs to transitive verbs. There is a syntactic operation which is similar to it to the extent that it appears at first glance to be double-fledged applicative derivation, which is actually not true. This is syntactic operation called here 'transitivization'. It is highly worthwhile and interesting to consider transitivization and transitivized constructions with the same kind of attentions as we paid to applicativization and applicative constructions, in order to capture the horizon of applicative constructions more broadly[15].

While it is not possible to enrich the classification in Table 6 by transitivization because this is not applicativization, it is possible to make an analogous classification by applying the two-direction of derivation view to transitivization.

The essential difference between transitivization and double-fledged applicative derivation lies in which semantic roles the affected argument has. In applicativization, it is arguments of different semantic roles which result in direct objects, as is apparent from what we had seen. In transitivization, on the other hand, arguments which result in direct objects are prototypical undergoer roles, that is, patient or theme[16]. Thus, the present study defines transitivization as follows:

(28) Transitivization

Transitivization enables an intransitive verb to have a direct object argument whose participant role is not arbitrarily chosen but semantically matches well the intransitive verb and more likely to be required than any other semantic roles in light of the semantics of the base intransitive verb or even felt to be ought to be obligatorily required. In other

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[15] It has to be noted that the idea of comparing transitivization and applicativization in this section stems from inspiration from Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) and Lehmann (2015), which compare transitivization and applicativization of Yucatec Maya in some way.

[16] This difference concerning semantic roles to be affected between transitivization and applicativization is also mentioned in Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006, p.484).

words, this operation applies to intransitive verbs which are semantically active like transitive verbs and could have easily been transitive verbs, which was blocked somehow.

Consider the following examples from Boumaa Fijian in Dixon (2010b, pp.79,80). It can be seen that different suffixes such as *-va* and *-va'ina* are employed in this language which function as transitivizing intransitive verbs. All the bases here transitivization applies to are verbs, according to Dixon.

(29) Transitivization in Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 2010b: 79,80)

la'o	'go'	la'o-va	'go for'		
dredre	'laugh'	dredre-va'ina	'laugh at'		
dabe	'sit'	dabe-ca	'sit on'	dabe-va	'sit (waiting) for'
vana	'shoot'	vana-a	'shoot at'	vana-ta'ina	'shoot with (e.g. a gun)'
maarau	'be happy'	maarau-ta'ina	'be happy about'		
vu'u	'be clever'	vu'u-ta'ina	'be clever at'		
vuuvuu	'be jealous'	vuuvuu-ta'ina	'be jealous of'		
rere	'be afraid'	rere-va'ina	'be afraid of'		
dou	'be brave'	dou-va'ina	'be brave at'		

According to Dixon (1977, p.369), in Yidiɲ, another language with transitivization, transitivization applies to non-verbal bases, that is, it simultaneously has verbalizing function. It can still be called transitivization, since it is not different in other respects from verbal base transitivization and there is no more appropriate label for it[17]:

(30) Transitivization in Yidiɲ (Dixon 1977: 369)

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[17] Instances of applicativization applied to nouns, namely, applicative counterparts of this Yidiɲ pattern can be seen in Rijkhoff & Lier (2013, pp.181-183).

mandi   'hand' (noun)

-luna-l   TRANSITIVIZER

mandilunal   'touch with the hand' (transitive verb)

Dixon (2012) does not mention this kind of transitivization in his chapter of applicatives in the book another volume of which (Dixon 2010b: 79,80) he discusses the Boumaa Fijian transitivization, and so seems to differentiate transitivization and applicativization.

Finally I also cite an example of transitivization in Yucatec Maya from Lehmann (2015):

(31) Transitivization in Yucatec Maya (Lehmann 2015: 21)

a.   Háak-chek'-nah-en.

slide-with.foot-CMPL-S.1.SG

'I slipped (by stepping on something).'

b.   T-in   háak-chek'-t-ah   le   ha's-o'.

PERF-A.1.SG   slide-by.foot-TR-CMPL   DEM   banana-DD

'I slipped on that banana.'

The meaning of the intransitive verb *háak-chek'* is 'slip (by stepping on something)' and thus expects a thing which the subject slips on, which is appropriately expressed as direct object. The transitivizer *-t* makes it possible, yielding (31b) from (31a). Of course, Lehmann calls this derivation 'extraversion'.

And, one thing which should be noticed from the definition (28) is that it differentiates transitivization from cases like the following:

(32) Transitivity pair in Japanese

tao-re-ru	(fall-INTR-DCL)	'come down'
tao-s-u	(fall-TR-DCL)	'bring down'

In this Japanese case, the base intransitive verb *taoreru* 'come down' does not have transitive meaning, in the sense that the subject is semantically an undergoer and inactive, unlike the base intransitive verbs we saw in (29)-(31)[18].

A more important difference for us between transitivization and applicativization arising from their different natures is the following. It is pretty likely that what corresponds to single-fledged applicative derivation, namely, 'single-fledged transitivizing derivation' is never existent, because it seems impossible that prototypical undergoer participants are realized as syntactically peripheral arguments (obliques), which is also noted by Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006, p.474) and Lehmann (2015b, p.21).

When we analyze transitivization in the same way as we analyzed applicativizations based on the two-direction of derivation view, therefore, we get the following table, which can be compared with Table 6:

Table 8. Relationship between double-fledged and single-fledged transitivizing derivations

Double-fledged d. / Single-fledged d.	Yes	No
Yes	Impossible (?)	Impossible (?)
No	Canonical transitivized construction	Lexicalized transitivized construction

Let us regard cases which have neither derivation as 'lexicalized transitivized constructions' in the same way as we regarded applicative constructions which have neither derivation as 'lexicalized applicative constructions', because the same reasoning should work for the transitivization case as we made in 6.2 for the applicativization case. It seems, on the other hand, for transitivized constructions to cause lexicalization is more difficult than for

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[18] In addition, the definition excludes transitive bases. Whether it is appropriate to distinguishing 'ditransitivization' and double-fledged applicative derivation which adds third argument to a transitive clause in the same way as we distinguish 'transitivization' and double-fledged applicative derivation counterpart is beyond our purpose and will not be discussed here.

applicative constructions to do, because semantics of base verbs and the function of transitivization seems to be in very good harmony in general. The present study could not have room to survey semantic modification and lexicalization concerning transitivization.

8 Result of the classification

Here we get ultimate version of our classification of applicative constructions and beyond. This contains the following tables:

Table 9. Relationship between each construction and two directions of derivation

	Double-fledged derivation	Single-fledged derivation
Applicative construction	Common (in every case?)	Common but not always
Transitivized construction	Common (in every case?)	Impossible?
Lexicalized construction	Common but not always	Impossible?

Table 10. Functions of derivations of each construction (the main ones in boldfaces)

	Functions of derivations
Canonical applicative	**Promotion**, Valency-increasing, Semantic modification
Non-canonical applicative	**Valency-increasing**, Semantic modification
Transitivized applicative	**Valency-increasing**, Semantic modification?
Lexicalized applicative	(Valency-increasing,) **Semantic modification**

Table 11. Comparison of applicative construction and transitivized construction in relation to the two directions of derivation (D=double-fledged derivation, S=single-fledged derivation)

	Both D & S	D only	S only	Neither
Applicative construction	Canonical applicative construction	Non-canonical applicative construction		Lexicalized applicative construction
Transitivized construction		Canonical transitivized construction		Lexicalized transitivized construction

9 Comparison with other classifications

As has been indicated, the present study is the first attempt to distinguish the two directions of derivation in order to establish classification of applicative constructions. However, it is not that there has never been a classification of applicative constructions. I recognize two studies doing this: Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) and Pacchiarotti (2017). In this chapter, I will give comparisons between my classification and theirs respectively.

9.1 Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006)

The ideas and proposals in Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) are similar to the ones I have presented so far in some way. Specifically, their approach toward applicative is in agreement with the two-direction of derivation view at fundamental level.

They name derivational process leading from a construction involving an intransitive verb to a construction involving transitive verb & direct object as 'extraversion' and derivational process from a construction involving intransitive verb & adjunct to a construction involving transitive verb & direct object as 'applicative formation'. Thereby they proposed distinguishing 'extraversion' and 'applicative formation'.

It is evident that their 'extraversion' corresponds to my 'double-fledged transitivizing derivation' and their 'applicative formation' to my 'single-fledged applicative derivation'.

Several flaws in their analysis come to light when it is compared with mine. First, they do not consider double-fledged applicative derivation. This is true both for canonical applicative constructions and non-canonical applicative constructions, because they do not distinguish these two, which is the second flaw. In short, they do not consider double-fledged applicative derivation at all. Even if promotion is considered as the most important function involved in applicativization, the other syntactic function, valency-increasing, and accordingly double-fledged applicative derivation as well, should not be neglected, as noted in 5.4 in Chapter 5.

Thirdly, they do not consider transitivizing single-fledged derivation either. But this is just natural, because it seems to be impossible that prototypical undergoer roles are realized as peripheral arguments, as we discussed in Chapter 7, which they themselves mention as well (p. 474).

Their final flaw is that they do not consider lexicalization of applicativized verbs and transitivized verbs, accordingly do not consider lexicalized applicative and transitivized constructions. Rather, they render the term 'lexical' to 'extraversion' and contrast 'extraversion' against 'applicative formation' by saying that the former is lexical and the latter is more productive (p.480). Their ground of arguing that extraversion is a lexical process is that introduction of direct objects is lexical requirement of base verbs (p.479). For me, it is not an ideal interpretation of what is 'lexical'. As long as the lexical semantics of the verb is intact after affixation, it should not be seen as lexical derivation even if transitivity is changed. Of course some allomorphs (inflectional patterns) or grammatical behaviours may be affected in addition to transitivity. Still, however, it is more fruitful to reserve the term 'lexicalization' for lexicalization of applicative constructions and transitivized constructions, because we could reach the three-way distinction of applicative constructions and transitivized constructions by them.

For the purpose of their analysis, that is, to insist on the contrast of promotion and verb formation as two major or distinctive functions of applicative, their classification should be enough. However, by closely considering the two directions of derivation, we can achieve a wider picture.

To sum up, relationship between my classification and Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006)'s is illustrated as follows. It can be seen that the approach to applicative operations by Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) is incomprehensive in terms of the purpose of the present study.

(33) Relationship between classifications in Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006) and the present study

Lehmann & Verhoeven (2006)	The present study
No equivalent	Double-fledged derivation of canonical applicative constructions
Applicative formation	Single-fledged derivation of canonical applicative constructions
No equivalent	Double-fledged derivation of non-canonical applicative constructions
~~No equivalent~~	~~Single-fledged derivation of non-canonical applicative constructions~~
Extraversion	Double-fledged derivation of transitivized constructions
~~No equivalent~~	~~Single-fledged derivation of transitivized constructions~~
No equivalent	Lexicalized applicative / transitivized constructions

9.2 Pacchiarotti (2017)

Recently, Pacchiarotti (2017) was released as a PhD Thesis titled "Bantu Applicative Construction Types Involving *-Id: Form, Functions and Diachrony". The author proposes a four-way distinction of applicative constructions. Her classification is similar to in some ways and different from in other ways mine. The characteristic of hers which is responsible for the main difference is that it is dedicated to the conflict between syntactic and semantic effects brought by applicativization. Of the four applicative construction types she distinguishes, two, 'Type B applicative constructions' and 'Type C applicative constructions' have their definitions in terms of semantic/pragmatic effects they are accorded by applicative markers. Definitions of Type B and Type C are cited below respectively:

(34) Type B applicative constructions (Pacchiarotti 2017: 4)
In Type B applicative constructions, the applicative expands the argument structure of a given verb root by introducing an obligatorily present applied phrase and performs other

semantic/pragmatic functions on the applied phrase or on the whole clause (e.g. the applicative makes the applied phrase the narrow-focused constituent in the clause).

(35) Type C applicative constructions (Pacchiarotti 2017: 4)

In Type C applicative constructions, the applicative does not introduce an applied phrase. Instead, it provides semantic nuances to the lexical meaning of the root with which it combines (e.g. the action described by the root is performed to completion, with intention, iterativity, in excess, etc.).

From any of the three views toward applicative we have mentioned thus far, applicative functions are supposed to be at least a syntactic phenomenon and applicative should not be defined in terms of semantics. As she demonstrates with Bantu examples, it is true that applicative markers may undergo further grammaticalization to become aspect markers or intensifiers, as exemplified by the Russian example (25) in 5.3. The problem is that she treats them as applicative markers for the reason that they are homonymous with true applicative markers and thus interprets that aspect marking functions played by such elements are functions which are played by applicative markers because 'such elements' are applicative markers.

Either applicative functions or aspect marking functions are functions gained through grammaticalization and they should be treated separately even if the functional changes do not accompany formal changes. Thus the more appropriate interpretation will be that they conflict with each other at the same level in that both are grammatical functions in their own rights respectively. In other words, Type B applicative constructions and Type C applicative constructions are constructions where applicative markers have been grammaticalized as intensifiers or aspect markers. These are not likely to be applicative markers in that they have lost applicative functions to substantial degrees: promotion and valency-increasing, which is especially true for Type C.

As a consequence of her pursuing the semantic side of applicativization effects, she is successful in including what I call 'lexicalized applicative construction' in her classification as fourth member, naming it 'pseudo-applicative constructions' (p.5). What is more, she also notices that lexicalized applicative constructions can further be divided according to whether applicative markers can be analyzed or parsed out of the verbal complexes, that is, whether the applicative markers underwent morphological fusion with the verbal bases or other elements therein, together with functional fusion.

10 Concluding remarks

The main purpose of the study has been accomplished.

The study showed that elaborateness of the mechanism of applicativization is difficult to capture by the previous views. Specifically, because valency-increasing and valency-rearranging are only marginally distinguishable and sometimes confusing, it is difficult and little fruitful to start discussion from these concepts. Contrastively, the distinction of double-fledged applicative derivation and single-fledged applicative derivation defined by the two-direction of derivation view in the thesis is straightforward, clearly distinguishable and obviously mutually exclusive. So, we should start from it.

By so doing, the study was successful in establishing a well-ordered classification of applicative constructions which can complement ones made by others previously. The validity of the two-direction of derivation view was also suggested by our applying it to transitivization.

As (16) says, existence of single-fledged applicative derivation is thought to presuppose that of double-fledged applicative derivation. Therefore, one method of studying constructions which exhibit some applicative-like nature along this approach is first [1] demonstrate whether the construction has double-fledged applicative derivation, and [2a] if yes, discuss whether it accompanies single-fledged applicative derivation, or [2b] if it proved to be lost in the past, analyze the status of the lexicalization, or [2c] if no at all, examine the extent to which and the way in which single-fledged derivation does not exist for the construction. Following this procedure, I did one case study, on Japanese benefactive construction. This is attached below.

11 Japanese benefactive construction

Japanese benefactive construction has been discussed in terms of its applicative-like nature by Shibatani (1994 ; 1996), Peterson (2007: 134,135), Creissels (2010), and others. However, it seems that the whole picture of is still far from being clear. In this chapter, I will analyze Japanese benefactive construction by the two-direction of derivation view as elaborated upon in the preceding chapters.

11.1 Demonstration of double-fledged applicative derivation

According to the brief guideline given above, let us set our first purpose here as demonstrating whether Japanese benefactive construction has double-fledged applicative derivation or not. Consider the following two sentences:

(36)a.   Shin-ga   ringo-o   kat[19]-ta.

     Shin-NOM   apple-ACC   buy-PST

     'Shin bought an apple.'

  b.   Shin-ga   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

     Shin-NOM   apple-ACC   buy-LNK-BEN-PST

     'Shin bought an apple for'

The difference in translation between (36a) and (36b) is the addition of *for* in (36b). What is responsible for this change is *-yat*, which is glossed here as 'benefactive'. Structural details giving this meaning to the sentence are as follows. *-yat* is a converb form of the verb *yaru* 'give' and this is linked with *kat*, a converb form of the verb *kau* 'buy' with the linking element *-te* in the middle, so that the whole configurative meaning of the sentence is 'Shin bought and gave an apple', which is rather adequately expressed in English as 'Shin bought an apple for', as indicated in (36b). Not surprisingly, although here *yaru* is both semantically

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[19] Precisely, this is a converb form.

and syntactically dependent on *kau*, it can be used as an independent verb meaning 'give', like the fully lexical verb *kau*, as in the following[20]:

(37) Shin-ga   ringo-o   yat[21]-ta.

       Shin-NOM   apple-ACC   give-PST

       'Shin gave an apple.'

It is for this reason that the dependent usage still can be glossed as benefactive. Although grammaticalization itself has progressed, desemanticization has not been completed and speakers still recognize giving meaning in *-yat* in (36b).

11.1.1 Similarities

At first glance, this pair of sentences is reminiscent of double-fledged applicative derivation and gives an impression that it is through the derivation which (36b) is derived from (36a). This is because this pair of sentences suggests several properties of (36b) which are characteristic of applicative constructions.

First of all, most importantly, (36b) has one more participant than (36a), that is to say, the presence of the verb 'give', which is newly added in the process of deriving (36b) from (36a), implies that in the event described is involved a recipient of the apple given, although it is not overtly expressed here. This means that there is a participant number increasing and possibly, syntactic valency increasing between (36a) and (36b), the latter of which necessarily means applicativization.

Second, there is a formal marker attaching to it. If it were not existent, it might be regarded as what is labelled as 'dative shift'.

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[20] All of what are said about *-yaru* here is also true for *-ageru*, which can be used instead of *-yaru* in Japanese benefactive construction, as in *Shin-ga ringo-o kat-te-age-ta* 'Shin bought an apple for'. However, we will concentrate on *-yaru*, because differences are not expected which can be relevant with our objective.

[21] Precisely, this is a converb form.

Third, the semantic role of the newly added argument is recipient or beneficiary. As stated in Introduction, these are the most common participant roles that applicativized direct objects have (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004: 1135 ; Dixon 2012: 301 ; Polinsky 2013).

Fourth, the assumed applicative marker is attached to the verb and is formally identical with the verb 'give', which is the most frequent origin of what are unanimously admitted as markers of applicative constructions or at least of benefactive applicative constructions in the world's languages (Peterson 2007: 229,230 ; Creissles 2010: 34). This is a corollary of the third, in that verb 'give' primarily implies this role.

In this way, the relationship between (36a) and (36b) is similar to that between any base construction and derived construction which are connected via double-fledged applicative derivation. Thus, (36b) can be assumed to be an applicative construction.

11.1.2 Differences

There clearly are, however, points whereby this is different from the applicative constructions we observed in the preceding chapters. The most conspicuous difference can be found in the fact that there is no overt expression of argument which corresponds to the newly introduced participant in (36b). Although this cannot be said to be a crucial factor separating Japanese benefactive construction from genuine applicative constructions because this is pragmatically motivated and it is quite possible to overtly express the new participant, next arises another problem. That is, the case marker attaching to the argument realized is dative marker *-ni*, not a zero or accusative marker. What this means is that the argument is not accorded direct object status, which is contrary to usual cases of applicativization as we had seen.

(38) Shin-ga   Ken-ni   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

  Shin-NOM   Ken-DAT   apple-ACC   buy-LNK-BEN-PST

  'Shin bought an apple for Ken. / Shin bought Ken an apple.'

And altering *-ni* in (38) as accusative clitic *-o* results in ungrammaticality (39a). Because Japanese also realizes accusative marking as zero, it is necessary to check this pattern, which still results in ungrammaticality either as in (39b).

(39)*a. Shin-ga Ken-o ringo-o kat-te-yat-ta.

   Shin-NOM Ken-ACC apple-ACC buy-LNK-BEN-PST

 *b. Shin-ga Ken   ringo-o kat-te-yat-ta.

   Shin-NOM Ken   apple-ACC buy-LNK-BEN-PST

And crucially, *-ni* can appear even when there is no benefactive marker *-yaru*:

(40) Shin-ga Ken-ni ringo-o kat-ta.

   Shin-NOM Ken-DAT apple-ACC buy-PST

Note that Japanese is a language which uses case morphemes as major strategy of marking grammatical relations of arguments. There is no bound pronoun at all. As to constituent order, although SOV order is predominant, this is not strict and thus, for example, direct object and indirect object can be replaced in both (38) and (40), which will yield the following respectively. The same thing will apply to every case below we will see.

(38)′ Shin-ga ringo-o Ken-ni kat-te-yat-ta.

   Shin-NOM apple-ACC Ken-DAT buy-LNK-BEN-PST

   'Shin bought an apple for Ken. / Shin bought Ken an apple.'

(40)′ Shin-ga ringo-o Ken-ni kat-ta.

   Shin-NOM apple-ACC Ken-DAT buy-PST

11.1.3 Summary

To summarize this section, we demonstrated that different applicative-like properties Japanese benefactive construction exhibits are all side-effects which flow out of the fundamental nature of applicativization. And we briefly demonstrated that there is no syntactic valency-increasing caused by -*yaru* and double-fledged applicativization is not admitted, only in a limited sense if admitted at all, in Japanese benefactive construction. That Japanese benefactive construction has no double-fledged applicative derivation means that this is not an applicative construction. And apparently, colexicaization of -*yaru* and head verb cannot be attested; all verbs combined with -*yaru* are free morphemes. Therefore, it is likewise not true that it was applicative construction in the past. This means that there is no single-fledged applicative derivation either, according to the implicational relationship (16). However, let us set a section for it and consider Japanese benefactive construction in terms of single-fledged derivation, in order to clarify what the detailed states of affair are like, according to the guideline. It is meaningful to examine in what way and to what degree single-derived derivation cannot be admitted in Japanese benefactive construction to see how remote it is from canonical and non-canonical applicative constructions.

11.2 Demonstration of single-fledged applicative derivation

11.2.1 What would be base construction?

Truly, as long as the case morpheme introduced in the derived construction is a dative marker, not an accusative marker, it is impossible to suppose promotion to direct object. However, this does not deny that there might be 'promotion to dative', which would make Japanese benefactive construction closer to applicative than otherwise. The base construction we need to admit (38) as a non-canonical applicative construction [22] which has single-fledged derivation is a construction which is what (38) had been before the assumed single-fledged derivation and accordingly promotion of the beneficiary argument occurred, which

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[22] True applicative construction is a cover term of canonical applicative construction and non-canonical applicative construction.

corresponds to what (40) is when *Ken* is expressed in a syntactically more peripheral form than with dative, with the beneficiary or recipient role retained. There are several forms that will be candidates of it, because Japanese has different complex postpositions which mark beneficiary or recipient: *-notameni*, *-nimukete*, *-yooni*, and *-ateni*, etc, all of which are obviously formally more peripheral than *-ni*. The following sentences using these are candidates of base construction of (38). Each form is analyzable into some morphemes, as indicated in the glosses:

(41)a. Shin-ga   Ken-no-tame-ni   ringo-o   kat-ta.

      Shin-NOM   Ken-GEN-benefit-DAT   apple-ACC   buy-PST

      'Shin bought an apple to Ken's benefits.'

   b. Shin-ga   Ken-ni-muke-te   ringo-o   kat-ta.

      Shin-NOM   Ken-DAT-direct-LNK   apple-ACC   buy-PST

      'Shin bought an apple to be given to Ken.'

   c. Shin-ga   Ken-yoo-ni   ringo-o   kat-ta.

      Shin-NOM   Ken-purpose-DAT   apple-ACC   buy-PST

      'Shin bought an apple to be Ken's.'

   d. Shin-ga   Ken-ate-ni   ringo-o   kat-ta.

      Shin-NOM   Ken-to-DAT   ringo-ACC   buy-PST

      'Shin bought an apple to be sent to Ken.'

All of the devices *-notameni*, *-nimukete*, *-yooni*, and *-ateni* have some characteristics in common: they are formally long, are composed of several detectable morphemes, belong to open class rather than closed class, which indicates that they have not been satisfactorily lexicalized or grammaticalized (remember our judgment on (13) in 4.1). Therefore, they are diachronically still not at phases of more lexicalized or grammaticalized forms like adpositions or clitics, and should be regarded as complex adpositions at best. When we remember that case markers used in base constructions of single-fledged applicative

derivation should be adpositions, clitics, or affixes, which are typically composed of a single morpheme respectively, and that often they are formally similar to or the same as the applicative markers due to historical relationships (c.f. Latin *ad* and *ad-* in (1)), it becomes dubious whether the devices can be counterparts. Plus, the propositional meanings of (41a)-(41d) are somewhat different from the assumed derived construction (38). That is, in all of (41a)-(41d) it is less likely that Ken got possession of the apple (sooner or later), than in (38). What is more, the fact that there are several candidates and none of them is neither semantically or formally more decisive than others also suggests that it is difficult to assume base construction of single-fledged applicative derivation which uses these devices.

Further evidence directed to the same can be provided from another perspective: even the following constructions are possible, realizing a phenomenon which could be called 'duplication'. In other words, the assumed applicative marker *-yat* and each case marking device are not mutually exclusive in occurrence.

(42)a. Shin-ga   Ken-no-tame-ni   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

       Shin-NOM   Ken-GEN-benefit-DAT   apple-ACC   buy-LNK-BEN-PST

       'Shin bought an apple to Ken's benefits.'

 ?b.   Shin-ga   Ken-ni-muke-te   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

       Shin-NOM   Ken-DAT-direct-LNK   apple-ACC   buy-LNK-BEN-PST

       'Shin bought an apple to be given to Ken.'

  c.   Shin-ga   Ken-yoo-ni   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

       Shin-NOM   Ken-purpose-DAT   apple-ACC   buy-LNK-BEN-PST

       'Shin bought an apple to be Ken's.'

 ?d.   Shin-ga   Ken-ate-ni   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

       Shin-NOM   Ken-addressed.to-DAT   apple-ACC   buy-LNK-BEN-PST

       'Shin bought an apple to be sent to Ken.'

(42b) and (42d) are somewhat weird in that the double expression of the beneficiary meaning is felt redundant. In this sense, (42b) and (42d) could have some possibility to be base constructions of single-fledgd applicative derivation deriving (38). However, it is not that they are ungrammatical, and it is still difficult to accept this assumption for the reasons discussed above such as propositional meaning differences. When (42b) and (42d) are fully naturally accepted is when we interpret that the person who benefits from Shin's buying an apple which is in some way a benefit of Ken is a benefit of another person. For example, it is possible that Shin bought an apple which will be a benefit of Ken because Ken's mother asked Shin to do so. The same interpretation is applicable to (42a) and (42c) either. Such possibility of 'distinct-beneficiary' is another ground for denying single-fledged applicative derivation.

11.2.2 Are there promotion effects?

Finally, let us demonstrate whether and to what degree promotion effects can be assumed. Recalling (21) and discussion in 5.1.2, we will be concerned with passivization, relativization, topicalization, cleft sentence derivation, and interrogativization. Therefore, the attempt to be made here is to apply each syntactic operation to (40) and (38) respectively, to examine whether there are difference in acceptability between applications of respective syntactic operation to (40), the assumed base construction[23] and (38), the assumed derived construction. Let us begin with passivization.

11.2.2.1 Passivization

(43)a.　Ken-ga　　Shin-ni　ringo-o　　　kaw-are-ta.

　　　Ken-NOM　Shin-by　apple-ACC　buy-PSS-PST

　　　*'Ken was bought an apple by Ken'[24]

　*b.　Ken-ga　　Shin-ni　ringo-o　　　kat-te-yar-are-ta.

　　　Ken-NOM　Shin-by　apple-ACC　buy-LNK-BEN-PSS-PST

　　　'Ken was bought an apple for by Shin.'

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[23]　It will be the same if we assume any of (41a)-(41d) as base construction.

[24]　Needless to say, ungrammaticalities of English translations are not relevant in this chapter.

In (40a), Ken is not necessarily recipient of the apple, if it is interpreted as an adversative passive construction as we mentioned as (2b) in Chapter 2. (40b) is ungrammatical. When one wants to express this meaning by using a different construction from (40a), the following is the most natural, where *morau* 'receive' (in a converb form *morat*) is used as a verb dependent on *kau* 'buy', as *yaru* does. In (43c), it is quite likely that Ken is recipient of the apple.

    c.   Ken-ga   Shin-ni ringo-o   kat-te-morat-ta.

         Ken-NOM Shin-by apple-ACC   buy-LNK-receive-PST

         'Ken had Shin buy an apple.'

Therefore, it cannot be said that there is promotion effect between (40) and (38) in respect of passivization. It will help to compare this with the Rwanda case (22) we saw in 5.1.2.1 in Chapter 5.

11.2.2.2 Relativization

(44)a. Shin-ga   ringo-o   kat-ta   Ken.[25]

         Shin-NOM apple-ACC buy-PST.REL Ken

         *'Ken, who Shin bought an apple'

   b. Shin-ga   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta   Ken.

         Shin-NOM apple-ACC buy-LNK-BEN-PST Ken

         'Ken, who Shin bought an apple for'

In (44a), it is quite likely that Ken is the recipient of the apple. In (44b), this is even clearer. In that both are grammatical, it cannot be said that there is promotion effect in respect of relativization. It will help to compare this with the Swahili case (23) we saw in 5.1.2.2.

11.2.2.3 Topicalization

(45)a. Ken-wa   Shin-ga   ringo-o   kat-ta.

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[25] Note that Japanese relativization is not sensitive to nonrestrictive and restrictive relations.

Ken-TOP	Shin-NOM	apple-ACC	buy-PST

*'Ken, Shin bought an apple.'

b. Ken-wa Shin-ga ringo-o kat-te-yat-ta.

Ken-TOP	Shin-NOM	ringo-ACC	buy-LNK-BEN-PST

'Ken, Shin bought an apple for.'

In (45a), Ken is very likely, although not necessarily, to be recipient of the apple. In (45b), Ken is clearly the recipient. In that both are grammatical, it cannot be said that there is promotion effect in respect of topicalization. It will help to compare this with the Bukusu case (24) we saw in 5.1.2.3.

11.2.2.4 Cleft sentence derivation

(46)a. Shin-ga ringo-o kat-ta-no-wa Ken-da.

Shin-NOM	apple-ACC	buy-PST-NML-TOP	Ken-DCL

*'It is Ken who Shin bought an apple.'

b. Shin-ga ringo-o kat-te-yat-ta-no-wa Ken-da.

Shin-NOM	apple-ACC	buy-LNK-BEN-PST-NML-TOP	Ken-DCL

'It is Ken who Shin bought an apple for.'

In (46a), Ken is quite likely to be the recipient. In (46b), Ken is the recipient as clearly as in (44b). In that both are grammatical, it cannot be said that there is promotion effect in respect of cleft sentence derivation.

11.2.2.5 Interrogativization

(46)a. Shin-ga dare-ni ringo-o kat-ta-no?

Ken-NOM	who-DAT	apple-ACC	buy-PST-Q

'For who did Shin buy an apple?'

b. Shin-ga dare-ni ringo-o kat-te-yat-ta-no?

Ken-NOM	who-DAT	apple-ACC	buy-LNK-BEN-PST-Q

*'For who did Shin buy an apple for?'

In both (46a) and (46b), there is no doubt as to that *dare* 'who' is the recipient, who is supposed to be *Ken* in light of our line of discussion in this chapter. It should be noted that this indicates that the beneficiary meaning is well retained in the dative clitic *-ni*, which is attached to *dare*. In that both (46a) and (46b) are grammatical, it cannot be said that there is promotion effect in respect of interrogativization.

11.2.2.6 Summary of the results

As a result, it proved that promotion effects are quite hard to admit in Japanese benefactive construcion. Note that that there is no promotion effect entails that there is no promotion marker, which means that *-ni* is not a promotion marker. Consequently, it is very difficult to admit single-fledged applicative derivation.

11.3 Conclusion

In the preceding sections, we demonstrated that neither double-fledged applicative derivation nor single-fledged applicative derivation is almost impossible to admit for Japanese benefactive construction. The summarization of the reasons is as follows:

　　　First, overt expression of applicativized object is optional. Second, when there is an overt expression of it, the case marker is dative and thus neither syntactic valency increasing nor promotion to a core argument occurs. Third, case marking devices which could be assumed to constitute base construction are not satisfactorily lexicalized or grammaticalized, vary in number, are historically or formally little related to the assumed applicative marker *-yaru*, and allow the duplication phenomenon with *-yaru*. Fourth, little to no promotion effects can be verified through analyses in terms of different syntactic operations like passivization, relativization, or topicalization.

　　　As a final remark, for Japanese to have applicative constructions, one of the following two hypothetical sets of construction should be established, with the meanings 'Shin bought an apple for Ken'. The first one is:

(45)*a.   Shin-ga   Ken-yari[26]   ringo-o   kat-ta.

         Shin-NOM   Ken-give.CNV apple-ACC buy-PST

  *b.   Shin-ga   Ken(-o)   ringo-o   kat-te-yat-ta.

         Shin-NOM   Ken-ACC   apple-ACC buy-LNK-BEN-PST

-yari is an actual converb form of *yaru* 'give' and in (45a) is supposed to function as a postposition which marks *Ken* as recipient. As suggested in 10.1, this is a very common pattern of formation of applicative constructions in the world's languages. In (45b), the recipient meaning is expressed by *-yat*, which is attached to the verb and so attaching *-yari* to *Ken* is not necessary and ungrammatical. Instead, *Ken* should be marked as direct object because it underwent promotion from the syntactically peripheral status in (45a). So, in this case, *-yaru* becomes an applicative marker as well as a postposition.

    The second one is:

(46)a.   Shin-ga   Ken-ni   ringo-o   kat-ta.

         Shin-NOM   Ken-DAT   apple-ACC buy-PST

  * b.   Shin-ga   Ken(-o)   ringo-o   ni-kat-ta.

         Shin-NOM   Ken-ACC   apple-ACC DAT-buy-PST

This case supposes that the dative case morpheme *-ni* is incorporated into verbs and thus function as an applicative marker. This is also a very widespread pattern of formation of applicative constructions in the world's languages, with Latin *ad-* in (1b) an instance. In (46b), because the recipient meaning is expressed by *ni-*, attaching the case morpheme *-ni* to *Ken* is

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[26] Note that *yari* is a phonologically and grammatically conditioned allomorph of *yat*.

not necessary and ungrammatical. Instead, *Ken* should be marked as direct object for promotion marking, as in (45b)[27].

As is obvious from the actual ungrammaticalities of (45a), (45b), and (45d), the reality is quite far from these hypothetical situations.

On the other hand, dative marking of the argument in question in applicative-like constructions is not a phenomenon limited to Japanese. It has been revealed that languages including some Australian Aboriginal langauges (Austin 2003: 176,180), Kanuri (Creissels 2006: 75), and West Circassian (Lander & Letuchiy 2017: 289,290) exhibit similar phenomena. Comparison of them with the case of Japanese benefactive construction will be left for future research, as well as discussion of structural factors keeping Japanese from having a true applicative construction.

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[27] As is well known, it is possible in Korean to mark both recipient and theme as direct objects, because this language does not have 'double object restriction', unlike Japanese. But in Korean too, a construction corresponding to (45a) does not exist.

Abbreviations

A	see the footnote 3	INTR	intransitive
ABS	absolutive	LNK	linking element
ACC	accusative	M	masculine
ALL	allative	NML	nominalizer
APPL	applicative	NOM	nominative
APSS	antipassive	OBL	oblique
ASP	aspect	P	see the footnote 3
AUX	auxiliary	PSS	passive
BEN	benefactive	PERF	perfective
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CNV	converbalizer	POS	possessive
CMPL	completive	PREP	prepositional
DAT	dative	PRES	present
DCL	declarative	PST	past
DD	distal deictic	Q	question
DEM	demonstrative	R	see the footnote 3
DT	determiner	REL	relativizer
ERG	ergative	S	see the footnote 3
EXCL	exclusive	SG	singular
FIN	finite	T	see the footnote 3
FUT	future	TOP	topic
FV	final vowel	TR	transitive
GEN	genitive	1	1st person
HAB	habitual	1	noun class 1
IND	indicative	3	3rd person
INST	instrumental	11	noun class 11

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CORRIGENDA

p.4 (3a)	*for*	sawai.-da	*read*	sawai-da
p.5 (5b)	,,	meg-i-et-ta	,,	meg-i-e-t-ta
p.7 line 23	,,	Indo	,,	India
p.9 line 8	,,	'The valency-increasing view' named here	,,	What is named here 'valency-increasing view'
p.13 line 23	,,	as well as (6a)	,,	as well as (6a) can
p.17 line 8	,,	the following figure	,,	the following table
p.21 line 4	,,	cannot	,,	cannot do
p.27 line 8	*delete*	[13]		
p.31 line 4	*for*	(second voice)	*read*	(minor voice)
p.36 line 26	,,	colexicalizaed	,,	colexicalized
p.52 line 5	,,	the whole picture of is	,,	the whole picture of it is
p.56 line 8	,,	colexicaization	,,	colexicalization
p.62 line 16	,,	is almost impossible	,,	seem to be possible
p.66 line 7	,,	*Language across boundaries*	,,	*Languages across boundaries*