

---

# On the Unavailability of Strong Resultatives in Japanese\*

MASASHI YAMAGUCHI  
*Kansai Gaidai University*

## 1 Introduction

In this paper, I present a syntactic account for the lack of strong resultatives in Japanese. Studies including Kageyama (1996) and Washio (1997) divides resultative constructions into two types: weak resultatives and strong resultatives.<sup>1</sup> Differentiating these two types rests on whether the result state is included in the meaning of the verb. Examples in English are given below, and the meanings of the verbs employed are shown in (2).<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. Weak resultatives  
John painted the wall red.
- b. Strong resultatives  
The horse dragged the logs smooth.
- (2) a. *paint*  
to put a liquid on a surface, using a brush to make the surface a particular color
- b. *drag*

---

\* This paper is a revised version of Yamaguchi (2020) and a part of my dissertation, Yamaguchi (2019). I express my gratitude to my dissertation advisory committee members and Kenta Mizutani for their helpful comments. All the remaining errors are of course mine.

<sup>1</sup> This terminology is from Washio (1997). Kageyama (1996) uses *inherent resultatives* and *derived resultatives*.

<sup>2</sup> The meanings are cited from Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 5<sup>th</sup> edition.

to pull something along the ground, often because it is too heavy to carry

The verb *paint* includes a result state in its meaning *a particular color*, while the verb *drag* does not, as (2) shows. English allows both types of resultatives, but the Japanese language does not.

- (3) a. Taroo-ga kabe-o akaku nutta.  
 Taroo-NOM wall-ACC red painted  
 'Taro painted the wall red.'  
 b. \*Uma-ga maruta-o subesubeni hikizutta.  
 horse-NOM log-ACC smooth dragged  
 'The horse dragged the logs smooth.'

In (3a), the phrase *akaku* 'red' works as a resultative predicate, but *subesubeni* 'smooth' in (3b) is not available.

It has been debated why Japanese lacks strong resultatives, but consensus has not yet been reached on this issue. Rooted in the minimalist program framework (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2008), this paper provides a syntactic account for the lack of strong resultatives in Japanese. It argues that resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts, and that their status as adjuncts is the key to the lack of strong resultatives in Japanese.

This paper also claims that resultative predicates are headed by a functional head *Res*, taking predicative phrases in its complement. This functional head is a distinctive feature among adverbs in Japanese in that the functional head makes predicates resultative.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides data on multiple predicates and scrambling from negative islands, and shows that the data serve as evidence for the claim that resultative predicates have the same syntactic properties as adjuncts. Section 3 presents my proposal and explains syntactically why strong resultatives are not observed in Japanese. Section 4 shows that my proposal may serve as a syntactic answer to the issue posed by Kageyama (1996). Finally, section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2 Evidence for Adjuncthood

This section provides evidence that Japanese resultative predicates have syntactic properties as adjuncts. The first similarity is that resultative predicates in Japanese are allowed to appear more than once in one clause. In general, multiple adjuncts do not contribute to grammaticality if they are not semantically contracted, as shown in (4).

- (4) Taroo-ga yukkuri yuugani odotta.  
 Taroo-NOM slowly elegantly danced  
 'Taro slowly danced elegantly.'

In (4), two adverbs *yukkuri* ‘slowly’ and *yuugani* ‘elegantly’ are employed in one clause, and the sentence is grammatical. Likewise, multiple resultative predicates can appear in one clause. Observe (5).

- (5) Taroo-ga pankizi-o usuku tairani nobasita.  
 Taroo-NOM pancake-ACC thin flat spread  
 ‘(Lit.) Taro spread the pancake thin flat.’

Example (5) includes two resultative predicates *usuku* ‘thin’ and *tairani* ‘flat,’ and is grammatical, indicating that the resultative predicates are adjuncts.

A JK reviewer questioned the status of resultative predicates as adjuncts, suggesting that grammaticality of the example (5) may be due to the coordination of the two phrases *usuku* and *tairani*. This can be refuted by the fact that the resultative predicates in (5) can undergo scrambling.

- (6) a. Usuku<sub>i</sub> Taroo-ga painkizi-o *t<sub>i</sub>* tairani nobasita.  
 b. Tairani<sub>i</sub> Taroo-ga painkizi-o usuku *t<sub>i</sub>* nobasita.

Considering that the Japanese language exhibits the effect of coordination islands, which states that no element can be extracted from coordinate structures, it is reasonable to conclude that resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts.

- (7) a. Hanako-wa hon-to pan-o katta.  
 Hanako-NOM book-and bread-ACC bought  
 ‘Hanako bought a book and (a piece of) bread’  
 b. \*Pan-o<sub>i</sub> Hanako-wa hon-to *t<sub>i</sub>* katta.

Note that as in the case of resultative predicates, the sequence of manner adverbs can also be separated. See (8).

- (8) a. Taroo-ga *yukkuri yuugani* odotta. (= (4))  
 b. *Yukkuri*<sub>i</sub> Taroo-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* *yuugani* odotta.  
 c. *Yuugani*<sub>i</sub> Taroo-ga *yukkuri* *t<sub>i</sub>* odotta.

As the examples in (8) show, manner adverbs can freely undergo scrambling to the sentence-initial position. These data also support the claim in this section that resultative predicates are syntactic adjuncts.

The second evidence for the adjuncthood of resultative predicates in Japanese is concerned with scrambling from negative islands. In Japanese, arguments can undergo scrambling out of negative islands, while adjuncts cannot. Witness (9).

- (9) a. Taroo-ga [kessite yuka-o subayaku migakanakatta].  
 Taroo-NOM never floor-ACC quickly polish.NEG.PAST  
 ‘Taro never polished the floor quickly.’

- b. Yuka-o<sub>i</sub> Taroo-ga [kessite  $t_i$  subayaku migakanakatta].  
 c.?? Subayaku Taroo-ga [kessite yuka-o  $t_i$  migakanakatta].

(Tanaka 2014)

The examples in (9) show that the argument *yuka-o* ‘the floor’ can be scrambled out of a negative island, but the scrambling of the adjunct *subayaku* ‘quickly’ results in ungrammaticality.

Similar to adjuncts, resultative predicates in Japanese cannot undergo extraction from negative islands. Observe (10).

- (10) a. Taroo-ga [kessite pankizi-o tairani nobasanakatta].  
 Taroo-NOM never pancake-ACC flat spread.NEG.PAST  
 ‘Taro never spread the pancake flat.’  
 b.?? Tairani Taroo-ga [kessite pankizi-o  $t_i$  nobasanakatta].

As illustrated in (10), the resultative predicate *tairani* ‘flat’ cannot be extracted from the negative island. This result further substantiates that resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts.

This section has shown that Japanese resultative predicates and adverbials behave similarly with respect to the possibility of the multiple use and the impossibility of scrambling from negative islands. Since they have the same syntactic properties, it is reasonable to conclude that resultative predicates in Japanese are adjuncts.

### 3 Proposal

#### 3.1 Resultatives in English

The previous section has argued that resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts. This claim is distinct since the syntactic properties of Japanese resultative constructions are generally explained in the same way as those of English. However, as argued by numerous previous studies such as Rothstein (1983) and Carrier and Randall (1992), resultative predicates in English behave similarly to syntactic arguments, rather than adjuncts.

First, in English, multiple resultative predicates are not allowed in one clause, which suggests that the number of the resultative predicates is restricted. See (11).

- (11) a. John washed the clothes clean.  
 b. John washed the clothes white.  
 c. \*John washed the clothes clean white. (Hasegawa 1991: 2)

Examples (11a–b) illustrate that the adjectives *clean* and *white* are available as resultative predicates. When they are employed in the same clause, as shown in (11c), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This demonstrates that

resultative predicates in English are restricted in their number, as in the case of arguments. Thus, we conclude that the predicates are arguments.

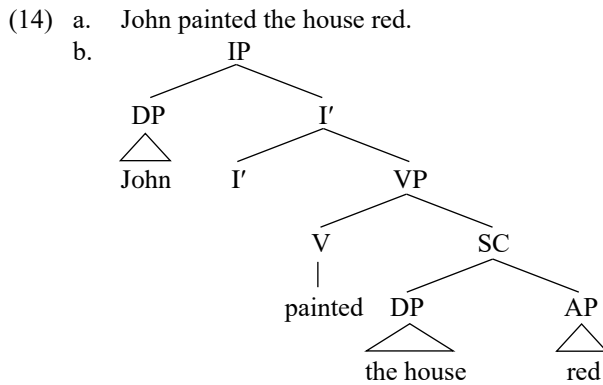
Second, as observed by Carrier and Randall (1992), extraction of English resultative predicates from *wh*-islands results in marginality. The same result is also observed when arguments undergo movement from *wh*-islands. Witness (12) and (13).

- (12) a. ?Which boys<sub>i</sub> do you wonder whether to punish *t<sub>i</sub>* ?  
 b. \*How<sub>i</sub> do you wonder whether to punish these boys *t<sub>i</sub>* ?  
 (Carrier and Randall 1992: 185)
- (13) a. ?What color<sub>i</sub> do you wonder which shirts to dye *t<sub>i</sub>* ?  
 b. ?How threadbare<sub>i</sub> do you wonder whether they should run their sneakers *t<sub>i</sub>* ?  
 (ibid.)

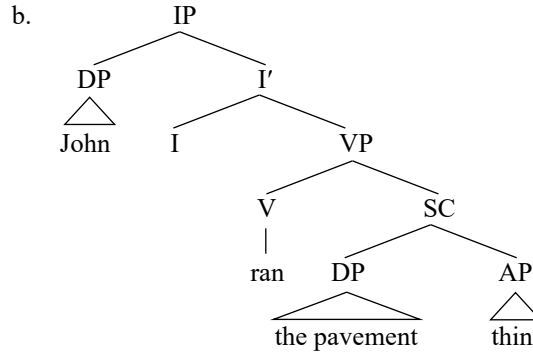
As shown in (12), extracting an argument from a *wh*-island leads to a marginal result, and adjuncts cannot move out of it. The extraction of resultative predicates is illustrated in (13). They exhibit the same grammaticality as that of arguments. This paradigm further supports the claim that resultative predicates in English are arguments.

From the discussion above, we can conclude that resultative predicates in Japanese and English are syntactically different, and hence should not be dealt with in the same manner.

The structure of English resultative constructions has intrigued many linguists, and the typical analysis of this construction is a small clause approach, first taken by Hoekstra (1988). Under a small clause analysis, resultative predicates and their semantic subjects form a small clause structure, as illustrated in (14) and (15).



(15) a. John ran the pavement thin.



In the structure, a small clause structure is selected by verbs *painted* and the *ran*. The motivation for this analysis is that resultative predicates make it possible for unergative verbs to have direct objects. In addition, transitive verbs can take non-thematic objects when resultative predicates are employed. Observe (16) and (17).

(16) a. \*John laughed sick.  
 b. \*John laughed himself.  
 c. John laughed himself sick. (Hoekstra 1988: 115)

(17) a. \*He washed the soap.  
 b. \*He washed out of his eyes.  
 c. He washed the soap out of his eyes. (Hoekstra 1988: 116)

The verb in (16) *laugh* takes neither an object nor an adjective as its complement. However, a grammatical result is yielded when both of them are selected by the verb, as instantiated by (16c). In addition, although *the soap* and *out of his eyes* are not available as complements of *wash*, the verb can select them as a resultative construction when the two phrases appear simultaneously.

As we have observed in section 2 and in this section, resultative predicates in Japanese and English have different syntactic properties, and hence they should not be dealt with using the same approach. This suggests that the structure of Japanese resultative constructions should have a different structure.

The question we now have to tackle is how the syntactic properties of resultative constructions in Japanese should be accounted for. In the following subsection, I propose a structure for the construction that correctly captures their syntactic properties.

### 3.2 Resultatives in Japanese

#### 3.2.1 Anti-Small Clause Properties of Japanese Resultative Constructions

This subsection presents a syntactic structure of resultative constructions in Japanese. As has been observed in section 2, resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts, unlike those in English. The previous subsection reviewed a small clause analysis of English resultative constructions, and one might wonder whether the analysis is applicable to the constructions in Japanese. Small clauses in Japanese, however, have different properties from resultative predicates. The following examples provide evidence for this claim.

First, in Japanese, small clause predicates and resultative predicates differ in terms of their numbers. Observe (18).

- (18) a. Hanako-ga kono heya-o tukaiyasuku / usukusiku kanjita.  
 Hanako-NOM this room-ACC useful beautiful felt  
 ‘Hanako felt this room useful.’  
 b. ??Hanako-ga kono heya-o tukaiyasuku usukusiku kanjita.

In the Japanese small clause structure, the phrase *tukaiyasuku* ‘useful’ and *utukusiku* ‘beautiful’ are both available as predicates, and yield grammatical results when they are employed separately. However, they cannot work together in the same clause, as in (18b). Resultative predicates, on the other hand, as we have observed, can be employed more than once in one clause. The relevant examples are repeated here as (19).

- (19) Taro-ga pankizi-o usuku tairani nobasita. (= (5))  
 Taro-NOM pancake-ACC thin flat spread  
 ‘(Lit.) Taro spread the pancake thin flat.’

As (19) shows, the resultative predicates *usuku* ‘thin’ and *tairani* ‘flat’ are allowed in the same clause. This result is unexpected if resultative constructions have a small clause structure.

Second, interactions with verbal adverbials yield different results between small clause predicates and resultative predicates. See (20) and (21).

- (20) a. Hanako-ga *suguni* [sc kono heya-o  
 Hanako-NOM immediately this room-ACC  
 tukaiyasuku] kanjita.  
 useful felt  
 ‘Hanako immediately felt this room useful.’  
 b. \*Hanako-ga [sc kono heya-o *suguni* tukaiyasuku] kanjita.

- (21) a. Taroo-ga *suguni* kabe-o akaku nutta.  
 Taroo-NOM immediately wall-ACC red painted  
 ‘Taro immediately painted the wall red.’  
 b. Taroo-ga kabe-o *suguni* akaku nutta.

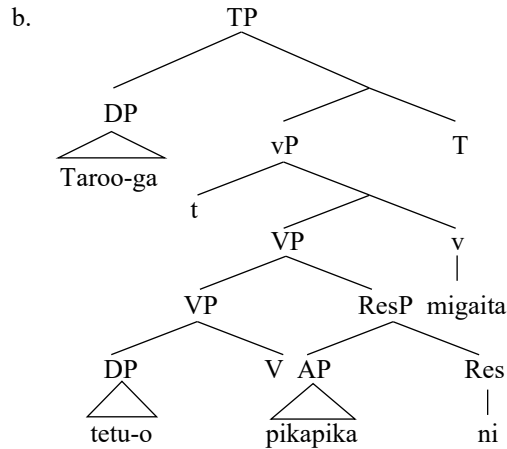
Example (20a) shows that the adverbial *suguni* ‘immediately’ can modify the verb *kanjita* ‘felt,’ and it cannot do so when embedded in the small clause. In the case of the resultative constructions, the difference in the word order does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence; *suguni* can be before, or after, *kabe-o* ‘the wall.’

From the discussion above, it is concluded that resultative constructions and small clause structures in Japanese differ in their syntactic properties, meaning that resultative constructions should not have a small clause structure, unlike their English counterparts.

### 3.2.2 The Structure

Summarizing the arguments thus far, resultative constructions in Japanese possess the following syntactic properties, for which the structure in (23) can account.<sup>3</sup>

- (22) a. Resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts.  
 b. Resultatives do not have a small clause structure.  
 (23) a. Taroo-ga [<sub>VP</sub> tetu-o pikapika-ni] migaita.  
 Taroo-NOM iron-ACC shiny-NI polished  
 ‘Taro polished the iron shiny.’



<sup>3</sup> This paper assumes with Fukui and Sakai (2003) that verbs in Japanese are in *v*, not in *T*.



In this structure, the resultative predicate *pikapika-ni* ‘shiny’ is adjoined to VP as ResP, which is headed by a functional head Res (cf. Hasegawa 1999, 2000, 2020; Takamine 2007, a.o.). The existence of this functional head is supported by the following examples in which manner adverbials associate more freely with particles while the particles of resultative predicates are restricted to *ni* only.

- (24) a. Hosi-ga pikapika - $\emptyset$  / -to / -ni kagayaiteiru.  
 star-NOM bright - $\emptyset$  / -TO / -NI twinkle.PROG  
 ‘Stars are twinkling brightly.’  
 b. Taroo-ga pikapika \*- $\emptyset$  / \*-to / -ni tetu-o migaita.

The manner adverbial *pikapika* ‘shiny / bright’ can be employed with or without particles, as shown in (24a), so that *pikapika*, *pikapika-to*, and *pikapika-ni* all have a usage as manner adverbials. However, the resultative predicate in (24b) must be followed by the *ni*-particle; otherwise, it is ungrammatical. Furthermore, the two occurrences of *pikapika-ni* in (24a) and (24b) have different meanings, although they are homophonous. This result implies that the two *ni*-particles are actually not the same, and that they denote different semantics. Considering these facts, it is reasonable to conclude that a functional head is responsible for the meaning of the result, and the head is realized as *ni* in Japanese.

I further claim that *-ku* in *aka-ku nuru* ‘paint red’ is also the realization of the head Res. This claim is natural assuming that *-ni* in *pikapika-ni migaku* ‘polish shiny’ is the head Res, and *-ku* also makes the predicate resultative, as does *-ni*. The difference between *-ni* and *-ku* is the type of phrase they attach to: *-ni* attaches to adjectival nouns, while *-ku* attaches to adjectives.

### 3.3 Small Clauses in Japanese

I have shown the structure of Japanese resultative constructions. Furthermore, it is also necessary to present the structure of small clause constructions in Japanese. Thus, I briefly demonstrate how they differ from Japanese resultatives. The structure of (18), repeated here as (25a), is presented in (25b).

- (25) a. Hanako-ga kono heya-o tukaiyasuku kanjita.  
 Hanako-NOM this room-ACC useful felt  
 ‘Hanako felt this room useful.’  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> Hanako-ga [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> konoheya-o [X tukaiyakusu]] V] kanjita]

In this structure, a functional category X heads a small clause structure.<sup>4</sup> X takes a predicative phrase in its complement, and the semantic subject of the predicate is in Spec, XP.

<sup>4</sup> This head can be Pred in Bowers (1993). I leave the specific properties of the functional projection for future research because they are beyond the purpose of this paper.

The predicate of small clauses has argumenthood because multiple predicates are not allowed. This selection by X can explain the property: there is only one place for the predicate. Furthermore, the structure can successfully explain the ungrammaticality of (20), where the verbal adverbial *suguni* ‘immediately’ is between the objects and the predicates of small clauses. If *suguni* intervenes between *kono heya* and *tukaiyasuku*, the adverbial has to be inside XP, which is not the direct domain of verbs. Assuming that modification requires a relationship in the direct domain, then it is plausible to conclude that (20) is ungrammatical because *suguni* cannot establish a relationship with the verb *kanjita*.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4 Strong Resultatives in Japanese

The proposal made in this paper not only correctly captures the syntactic properties of resultative constructions in Japanese, but also provides a possible theoretical explanation for the lack of strong resultatives in Japanese.

The relevant example is repeated here as (26), where the phrase *subesubeni* ‘smooth’ serves as a resultative predicate. The intended meaning of this example is that the logs became smooth because the horse dragged them. This is ungrammatical in Japanese, but its English counterpart is well formed.

- (26) \*Uma-ga maruta-o subesubeni hikizutta.  
 horse-NOM log-ACC smooth dragged  
 ‘The horse dragged the logs smooth.’

This language difference has been a mystery, and several analyses have been conducted to account theoretically for the difference. In the framework of lexical semantics, Kageyama (1996) argues that this difference arises because of the possibility and the impossibility of a semantic composition for resultative constructions. He claims that English can compose two different conceptual structures into one semantically, while two conceptual structures are integrated into one morphologically in Japanese. Observe (27).

- (27) a. kuriimu-o kao-kara kosuri-toru / \*kosuru  
 cream-ACC face-from rub-take rub  
 ‘rub cream out of one’s face’ (Kageyama 1996: 271)  
 b. [x ACT ON y & z] CAUSE [y BECOME [cream<sub>y</sub> BE NOT-AT-  
 ON-face<sub>z</sub>]] (ibid.)

---

<sup>5</sup> It is also necessary to compare small clause constructions with Raising-to-Object constructions and consider the possibility of the DP *kono heya-o* scrambling to VP or vP. This is, however, not discussed because of space limitations.

- c. *kosuru* ‘rub’: [x ACT ON y]
- d. *toru* ‘take’: [x CAUSE [y BE-NOT-AT-ON z]]
- e. out of: [y BE-NOT-AT-ON z]

The Japanese language requires a verbal compound of *kosuru* ‘rub’ and *toru* ‘take’; without *toru*, *kosuru* cannot take the DP *kuriimu-o* ‘cream’. The lexical conceptual structure (or LCS) in (27b) is the union of that of *kosuru* in (27c) and of *toru* in (27d). In Japanese, the LCSs of these two verbs are combined morphologically, creating the compound verb *kosuri-tori*, whose LCS is shown in (27b). Unlike in Japanese, English does not have this morphological composition, and the verb *rub* and the preposition *out of* are semantically integrated. This integration generates the compound LCS in (27b).

According to Kageyama’s (1996) analysis, Japanese lacks strong resultatives because in (27a), the verb *kosuru* cannot thematically select *kuriimu-o* as its complement, but *toru* can. In addition, without the morphological integration of resultative constructions, objects are not available, leading to ungrammaticality.

The question is, why is the semantic composition for English unavailable in Japanese? I argue that this difference stems from the difference in the category of resultative predicates. As I have argued in sections 2 and 3, resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts, adjoined to VP. English has a small clause structure for resultative constructions, and the predicate has a property as a syntactic argument. This means that Japanese resultative predicates are in the direct domain of the verb, while those in English are indirectly selected by verbs since verbs in English take the small clause structure in resultative constructions. The direct domain is defined by (28).<sup>6</sup>

- (28) X is in the direct domain of Y if it is contained in the maximal projection of Y and no other maximal projection intervenes.

If an element is in the direct domain of verbs, the semantic restriction on it can be stronger than that in the indirect domain. The Japanese resultative predicates are of the former type: although the predicates are adverbials, the predicates are directly ‘selected’ by verbs, and this direct selection requires a strong connection. This is evidenced by the fact that even adverbs have some restriction on semantics, even if they are syntactic adjuncts.

- (29) a. Taroo-ga usuku pankizi-o nobasita.  
 Taroo-NOM thin pancake-ACC spread  
 ‘Taro spread the pancake thin.’

---

<sup>6</sup> The definition of direct domination is a revised version of a domain in Kishimoto (2001).

- b. \*Hanako-ga atuku pankizi-o nobasita.  
 Hanako-NOM thick pancake-ACC spread  
 ‘Hanako spread the pancake thick.’

Japanese does not allow strong resultatives because Japanese resultative predicates in Japanese are adjuncts and strong resultatives require predicates unpredictable from the meaning of verbs. If Japanese could allow strong resultatives, then it would permit nearly every adverb without any constraint on meaning, contrary to the facts.

However, in English, resultative predicates are not in the direct domain of verbs. Crucial is that a ‘result proposition’ is directly selected by the verb, not a resultative predicate. Therefore, the selectional restriction on the meaning of the predicate by the verb can be vague. This indirect selection allows non-thematic resultee objects in these constructions, and therefore, permits strong resultatives to appear in English.

## 5 Conclusion

This paper has described an analysis of why strong resultatives are not allowed in Japanese. I have provided some evidence that resultative predicates in Japanese are syntactic adjuncts, unlike those in English, and this difference in category is the key to whether strong resultatives are available or not. Japanese lacks strong resultatives since in Japanese, the resultative predicates are in the direct domain of verbs, so that the restriction on the selection of strong resultatives can be weak. On the other hand, resultative predicates in English are in the small clause structure as syntactic arguments, which implies that the predicates are indirectly selected by verbs, and that the selectional restriction can be weaker. This weak restriction makes it available for English to have a semantic composition for strong resultatives, as Kageyama (1996) proposes, but this is not the case for Japanese.

As observed in previous studies, strong resultatives are cross-linguistically rare. Son and Svenonius (2008) and Suzuki (2012) claim that the distribution of strong resultatives has some correlation with that of the satellite-frame of motion verb constructions by Talmy (1975, 1978). English is a satellite-framed language, where a path is expressed in a prepositional phrase. In such languages, verb-particle constructions are allowed. However, in verb-framed languages such as Japanese and French, neither strong resultatives nor verb-particle constructions are possible. Witness (30).

- (30) a. \* Charles a martelé le clou dans le mur.  
 Charles has hammered the nail into the wall  
 ‘Charles hammered the nail in to the wall.’ (Suzuki 2012: 110)
- b. She filed the serial number off. (Levin and Rapoport 1988:280)

- c. Elle a enlevé á la lime le numéro de série.  
she has removed with a file the number of series  
'(Lit.) She removed with a file the serial number.' (Green 1973)
- d. Kanozyo-wa seizoobangoo-o kezut-te kesita / kezuri-totta.  
she-NOM serial.number-ACC shave-and erased / shave-took  
'(Lit.) She shaved the serial number and erased it.'

As (30a) illustrates, strong resultatives are not available in French, and verb-particle constructions such as (30b) are also disallowed in French. In order to express the same proposition as (30b), French requires verbs such as *enlever* 'remove' as Japanese does, as shown in (30c–d). If my proposal is in on the right track, then it is possible to extend it to other languages that lack strong resultatives and provide a theoretical solution to the puzzle of cross-linguistic variation. I will leave this issue for future research.

## References

- Bowers, J., 1993. The syntax of predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 591–656.
- Carrier, J., and J. Randall. 1992. The argument structure and syntactic structure of resultatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23:173–234.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. M. Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2008. On phases. *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory: Essays in Honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, ed. R. Freidin, C. Otero, and M. Zubizarreta, 133–166. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fukui, N. and H. Sakai, 2003. The Visibility guideline for functional categories: Verb raising in Japanese and related issues. *Lingua* 113: 321–375.
- Green, G. 1973. A syntactic syncretism in English and French. *Issues in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and René Hakane*, ed. B. B. Kachru, R. B. Lees, Y. Malkiel, A. Pietrangeli, and S. Saporta, 257–278. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Hasegawa, H. 1991. Secondary predicates, VP-internal subjects, and mutual c-command. *English Linguistics* 8:1–15.
- Hasegawa, N. 1999. The syntax of resultatives. *Linguistics: In Search of the Human Mind*. ed. M. Muraki and E. Iwamoto, 178–208. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- Hasegawa, N. 2000. Resultatives and language variations: Result phrases and VV compounds. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 9: 269–282, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

- Hasegawa, N. 2020. Serial verb resultatives. *Paper presented at Secondary Predication Workshop 2020*. Online.
- Hoekstra, T. 1988. Small clause results. *Lingua* 74:101–139.
- Kageyama, T. 1996. *Dooshi Imiron - Gengo to Ninchi no Setten (Verbal Semantics: The Interface between Language and Cognition)*. Tokyo: Kurosio.
- Kishimoto, H. 2001. Binding of indeterminate pronouns and clause structure in Japanese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 597–633.
- Levin, B. and T. Rapoport, 1988. Lexical subordination. *CLS* 24: 275–289.
- Rothstein, S. 1983. *The Syntactic Forms of Predication*. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Son, M. and P. Svenonius. 2008. Microparameters of cross-linguistic variation: Directed motion and resultatives. *West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* 27: 388–396.
- Suzuki, T. 2012. Strong resultatives as a bounded PathPP Construction: PathPP structure and parametrized path head. *Coyote Working Papers* 20:109–117.
- Takamine, K. 2007. Resultative predicates in Japanese. *Tromsø Working Papers on Language and Linguistics: Nordlyd*, ed. M. Bašić, M. Pantcheva, M. Son, and P. Svenonius, Vol. 34, 102–125. Tromsø: CASTL.
- Talmy, L. 1975. Semantics and syntax of motion. *Syntax and Semantics* 4. ed. John P. Kimball, 181–238. New York: Academic Press.
- Talmy, L. 1985. Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, III: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon* ed. S. Timothy, 57–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanaka, H. 2014. The distribution of adjuncts in Japanese: Toward a probe-goal theory of scrambling. *Poster Presentation at Formal Approach to Japanese Linguistics* 7. National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.
- Washio, R. 1997. Resultatives, compositionality and language variation. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6:1–49.
- Yamaguchi, M. 2019. *Directionality of Agreement and the Nature of Secondary Predicate Constructions*. Doctoral Dissertation, Osaka University.
- Yamaguchi, M. 2020. The missing resultatives: Why can't the shoes be run threadbare in Japanese? *Eigogaku no Fukamari, Eigogaku kara-no Hirogari (Deepening English Linguistics, Spreading from English Linguistics)*, 194-207. Tokyo: Eihosha.