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On resultative V-V compounds in Japanese*

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1. Introduction

Japanese abounds with compound verbs formed with two verbs. In Japanese, lexical compound verbs have a number of different uses, and researchers have proposed different classifications (Kageyama 1993, Matsumoto 1995, Yumoto 2005, etc.). The discussion in this paper will focus on lexical V-V compounds that express resultative meanings, as in (1).

(1) *Ken-ga* *doa-o* *osi-ake-ta*.
Ken-NOM door-ACC push-open-PAST
'Ken pushed open the door.'

In resultative V-V compounds, the first verb expresses the causing event, and the second verb the caused event. Given this, the resultative V-V compounds can be viewed as possessing the Logical Structures (LSs) that express a causative relation between two subevents, which are connected by CAUSE. In other words, the LSs for resultative V-V compounds express the meaning that some activity ends up with a certain resultant state.

Resultative V-V compounds display a number of argument realization patterns depending on the types of component verbs, i.e. V1 and V2. I suggest that the argument realization patterns of resultative V-V compounds are semantically motivated, which can be expected on the basis of their LS. Japanese resultative V-V compounds are divided into the transitive and intransitive types. In this paper, I will show that in transitive resultative V-V compound verbs, the argument referring to the initial causer is realized as actor, the argument referring to the final result as undergoer, and that the single argument of intransitive resultative V-V compound verbs is construed as undergoer even if it is interpreted as the agent of V1.

The discussion of the present paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 shows that resultative V-V compounds are categorized into the transitive and intransitive types depending on the transitivity of V2. Section 3 shows that in transitive resultative V-V compounds, the causer arguments are construed as actors, and the arguments of the final resultant states undergoers. Then I will discuss intransitive resultative V-V compounds, showing that their single arguments are construed as undergoers. A conclusion is presented in Section 4.

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2. Argument realization patterns of resultative V-V compounds

Resultative V-V compounds are categorized into transitive and intransitive types, which are generally determined by the transitivity of V2. Moreover, transitive V-V compounds show a number of distinct argument realization patterns depending on the nature of the component verbs. In many resultative V-V compounds, V1 and V2 share both subjects and objects. But there are cases in which they do not. My discussion centers around the latter cases, since they provide us with an important key to understanding how the arguments of resultative compound verbs are realized.

2.1. Transitive resultative V-V compounds

Transitive resultative compounds comprise transitive V2, but V1 can be either transitive or intransitive. They are classified into six types according to how the objects of the component verbs are realized.

(A) Intransitive V1 + Transitive V2: For this type of transitive V-V compound, the object of V2 is realized for the obvious reason that V1 does not select any object. One representative example is given in (2).

(2) *Mari-ga* *me-o* *naki-harasi-ta.*
Mari-NOM eye-ACC cry-swell-PAST
'Mari cried and her eyes got swollen.'

There are a number of V-V compounds showing this pattern of argument realization, which include *naki-otosu* 'cry-drop(tr.)' and *kati-toru* 'win-take'.

(B) Transitive V1 + Transitive V2: This type of transitive V-V compound shows three distinct patterns of argument realization.

Pattern 1: A first case of argument realization pattern is that the object of V2, not the object of V1, is realized.

(3) *Ken-ga* *Mari-o* *ii-makasi-ta.*
Ken-NOM Mari-ACC talk-defeat-PAST
'Ken talked Mari down.'

Other compound verbs showing the same argument realization pattern include *kui-tubusu* 'eat-crush' and *nomi-tubusu* 'drink-crush'.

Pattern 2: Another pattern of argument realization is that the object of the whole compound corresponds to the object of V2, and the object of V1 is realized as an oblique argument.

(4) *Hahaoya-ga* *hanmokku-kara* *kodomo-o* *huri-otosi-ta.*
mother-NOM hammock-ABL child-ACC shake-drop(tr.)-PAST
'Mother shook the child off the hammock.'

In (4), the object of V1 cannot be realized as the object of the whole lexical compound. Other V-V compounds showing this pattern include *hineri-dasu* 'squeeze-come.out' and *arai-otosu* 'wash-run.off'.

Pattern 3: A third pattern of argument realization is that either the object of V1 or the object V2 is realized as the object of the V-V compound.

(5) a. *Ken-ga* (*kaidan-kara*) *asi-o* *humi-hazusi-ta.*
Ken-NOM stairs-ABL leg-ACC step.on-take.off-PAST
'Ken lost his footing from the stairs.'
b. *Ken-ga* *kaidan-o* *humi-hazusi-ta.*
Ken-NOM stairs-ACC step.on-take.off-PAST
'Ken missed a step on the stairs.'

Only a handful of resultative V-V compounds show this pattern, which include *nomi-hosu* 'drink-dry' and *yomi-toku* 'read-solve'.

2.2. Intransitive resultative V-V compounds

When V2 is intransitive, intransitive V-V compounds are formed. In this case, two combinatory patterns of V1 and V2 are found, i.e. "intransitive V1 + intransitive V2" and "transitive V2 + intransitive V1".

(C) Intransitive V1 + Intransitive V2: Neither V1 nor V2 selects an object in this type of resultative V-V compound. Accordingly, the intransitivce V-V compound does not take any object.

(6) *Eri-ga* *aruki-tukare-ta.*
Eri-NOM walk-get.tired-PAST
'Eri walked too much and got tired.'

V-V compounds such as *zure-otiru* 'slide(intr.)-drop(intr.)' and *warai-kokeru* 'laugh-fall' show this argument realization pattern.

(D) Transitive V1 + Intransitive V2: This type of V-V compound is intransitive, so no object is realized even though transitive V1 takes an object.

(7) *Ano hito-ga* (**osake-o*) *nomi-tubure-ta.*
that man-NOM alcohol-ACC drink-collapse-PAST
'That man got drank too much.'

Other V-V compounds displaying this argument realization pattern include *mati-kurabireru* 'wait-get.tired', *ki-bukureru* 'put.on-get.big', and *humi-todomaru* 'step.on-remain'.

2.3. Summary

Resultative V-V compounds show (at least) six argument realization patterns which are largely determined depending on the nature of their component verbs. In the next section,

I will provide an RRG account for how the arguments are realized in resultative V-V compounds.

3. Logical structures and argument realization

The argument realization patterns of resultative V-V compounds can be accounted for on the basis of their Logical Structures (LSs) (see e.g. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2023). I will argue that in resultative V-V compounds, the causer (or agent) argument of the initial activity predicate in the LS is identified as the actor and the theme argument of the predicate indicating the final resultant state is identified as the undergoer.

3.1 RRG

Let us first look at the simplest case where both subject and object of V1 and V2 are construed as the subject and the object of the resultative V-V compound. Consider the example in (8).

(8) *Ken-ga* *doa-o* *osi-ake-ta*.
Ken-NOM door-ACC push-open-PAST
'Ken pushed open the door.'

The first question is how the LSs are formed in resultative V-V compounds. Since the meaning of the entire compound can generally be constructed from the meanings of the component verbs that form part of it, it is reasonable to assume that the LS of a resultative V-V compound is created by combining the LSs of V1 and V2.

In RRG, the Aktionsart classes, which play a crucial role in characterizing the grammatical relations of arguments in clauses, include state, achievement, accomplishment, activity, etc.

(9) a. State: **predicate′** (x) or (x, y)
b. Activity: **do′** (x, [**predicate′** (x) or (x, y)])
c. Achievement: INGR **predicate′** (x) or (x, y)
d. Accomplishment: BECOME **predicate′** (x) or (x, y)
e. Process: PROC **predicate′** (x) or (x, y)
f. Causative: α CAUSE β, where α and β are LS of any type.

The LSs for the verbs *osu* 'push' and *akeru* 'open' are given in (10a) and (10b), respectively. (10c) is the LS of the V-V compound *osi-akeru* 'push-open' in (8), created by combining the LSs of V1 and V2.

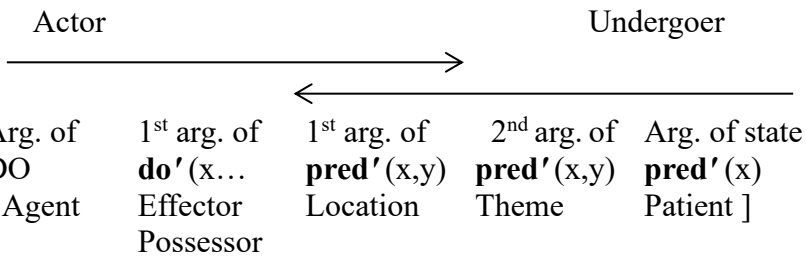
(10) a. *osu*: DO (x, [**do′** (x, [**push′** (x, y)])])
b. *akeru*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **open′** (y)]
c. *osi-akeru*: [**do′** (x, [**push′** (x, y)])] CAUSE [BECOME **open′** (y)]

Note that a language-specific restriction is imposed on the formation of the LS of the lexical V-V compounds (including resultative V-V compounds under investigation). Matsumoto (1998) argues that lexical compounds generally have the requirement that the subject of V1 be identified with the subject of V2—the requirement called the Principle of Subject Sharing. This suggests that the first arguments in the LSs of V1 and V2 are identified. In addition, V1 and V2 for the V-V compound *osi-akeru* share objects. Thus,

the theme argument of **push′** and the theme argument of **open′** are identified, and they serve as co-arguments. The combined LS in (10c) signifies that Ken's act of pushing the door causes the door to be open.

The macrorole statuses of the arguments are determined according to the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy in (11).

(11)



The general rule for transitive resultative V-V compounds is that the causer (or agent) argument of the activity predicate contained in the causing event part of the LS is identified as actor and the theme argument of the predicate indicating the final resultant state is undergoer. In the resultative V-V compound in (2), *Ken* is the actor and *doa* 'door' is the undergoer.

Morphological case marking is fixed by case assignment rules. Japanese is a nominative-accusative language. The case marking on the direct core arguments of non-stative predicates is regulated by the direct case assignment rules in (12).[1]

(12) Direct case assignment rules:
   a. The highest ranking macrorole argument is assigned nominative case.
   b. The other macrorole argument is assigned accusative case.
   c. Non-macrorole direct core arguments are assigned dative case (as their default case).

Additionally, non-core arguments, if any, are assigned oblique case marking in accordance with oblique case assignment rules. For present purposes, it suffices to define the oblique *kara* assignment rule, as in (13).

(13) The oblique *kara* assignment rule:
   The oblique case *kara* is assigned to the argument x in the LS segment … BECOME NOT **be-LOC′** (x, y).

The locative, which is the first argument of BECOME NOT **be-LOC′**, is realized with the oblique *kara* when it is a non-macrorole argument. The default dative case assignment rule in (12c) does not apply to the argument which bears an oblique marker. In (8), the actor argument is assigned nominative case, and the undergoer argument accusative case according to the direct case assignment rule in (12).

[1] In Japanese, stative verbs are subject to different direct case assignment rules, but they are not relevant for the present paper.

3.2 Transitive compounds

As noted in section 2, the transitivity of lexical compound verbs is determined by V2. Resultative V-V compounds where V2 is transitive are transitive, and thus take two direct core arguments. They can have three distinct combinations of the component verbs, and show six different argument realization patterns.

(A) Intransitive V1 + Transitive V2

The LS in (14b) is obtained for the resultative V-V compound *naki-harasu* 'cry-swell', derived by combining the LSs for the component verbs in (14a).

(14) a. *naku*: **do′** (x, [**cry′** (x)])
+ *harasu*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **swollen′** (y)]
b. *naki-harasu*: [**do′** (x, [**cry′** (x)])] CAUSE [BECOME **swollen′** (y)]

Since V2 is transitive, the entire V-V compound counts as transitive. Accordingly, *naki-harasu* has the argument linking illustrated in (15).

(15) Mari-ga me-o naki-harasi-ta.
Actor Undergoer
[**do′** (x, [**cry′** (x)])] CAUSE [BECOME **swollen′** (y)]

With *naki-harasu* in (2), *Mari*, which appears in the nominative case, is identified as the actor and *me* 'eye', which is marked with accusative case, is identified as the undergoer.

(B) Transitive V1 + Transitive V2

Pattern 1

The sentence in (3) with the compound verb *ii-makasu* 'say-beat' has the combined LS in (16b) derived from the LSs in (16a).

(16) a. *iu:* DO (x, [**do′** (x, [**say′** (x, y)])])
+ *makasu*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **defeated′** (z)]
b. *ii-makasu*: [**do′** (x, [**say′** (x, Ø)])] CAUSE [BECOME **defeated′** (z)]

For *ii-makasu*, V1 is a transitive, and the object of V2, but not the object of V1, is expressed in the V-V compound. The sentence in (3) with *ii-makasu* thus has the argument linking in (17).

(17) Ken-ga Mari-o ii-makasi-ta.
Actor Undergoer
[DO (x, **do′** (x, [**say′** (x, Ø)])])] CAUSE [BECOME **defeated′** (z)]

In (3), *Ken* is the actor and the *Mari* is the undergoer. The object of V1 *iu* 'say' is not realized in (3), since the object of V1 does not represent the causer or the theme of the resultant state. (The theme argument of V1 is marked Ø in the LS.)

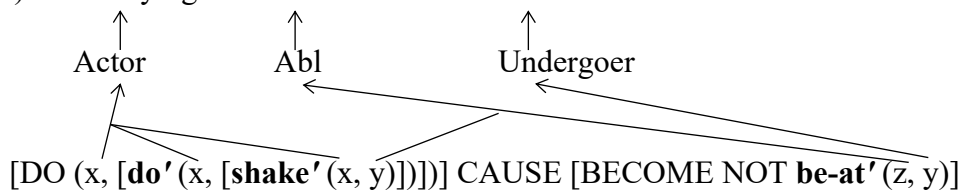
Pattern 2

The LS of *huri-ototsu* 'swing-drop' in (4) is given in (18b), which is derived by combining the LSs of V1 and V2 in (18a).

(18) a. *huru:* DO (x, [**do′** (x, [**shake′** (x, y)])])
+ *otosu*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-at′** (z, y)]
b. *huri-otosu*: [DO (x, [**do′** (x, [**shake′** (x, y)])])] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-at′** (z, y)]

This type of resultative V-V compound selects three arguments owing to the fact that V2 includes a locative predicate **be-at′**, which takes the locative x and the theme y. The theme argument of **shake′** is identified with the theme argument y of **be-at′**. The resultative V-V compound *huri-otoru* thus has the argument linking in (19).

(19) Hahaoya-ga hanmokku-kara kodomo-o huri-otosi-ta.



In (4), *hahaoya* 'mother' is the agent, and is identified as the actor. *Kodomo* 'child' is the theme argument of the locative predicate, and thus counts as the undergoer. The locative *hanmoku* 'hammock' is assigned the ablative case, since **be-at′** is preceded by the negative BECOME NOT. The locative argument of **be-at′** is a co-argument of the theme argument of **shake′**. Thus the argument marked with *kara* is interpreted as the object of V1.

Pattern 3

The resultative V-V compound of this type allows two distinct argument realization patterns. As seen in (20) (=(5)), either the object of V1 or the object V2 may be realized as an accusative argument.

(20) a. *Ken-ga kaidan-kara asi-o humi-hazusi-ta*.
Ken-NOM stairs-from leg-ACC step.on-take.off-PAST
'Ken lost his footing from the stairs.'
b. *Ken-ga kaidan-o humi-hazusi-ta*.
Ken-NOM stairs-ACC step.on-take.off-PAST
'Ken missed a step on the stairs.'

Two distinct argument realization patterns can emerge if V1 and V2 are accomplishments, which specify some resultant states. The generalization is that when the two resultant states are understood to emerge simultaneously, either the object of V1 or the object of V2 can be realized as the object of the resultative V-V compound.

The LS for the resultative V-V compound is formed with reference to the LSs of the component verbs. The LS in (21b) obtained for *humi-hazusu* 'step.on-take.off' has the connective ∧, which connects the two resultant states. The LS for *humi-hazusu* signifies that the resultant state of having a step off the stairs arises concomitantly with the resultant state of the stairs not having the step on them.

(21) a. *humu*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **stepped.on′** (y)]
+ *hazusu*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-at′** (z, y)]
b. *humi-hazusu*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT [**stepped.on′** (y) ∧ **be-at′** (z, y)]]

I suggest that the resultative V-V compound *humi-hazusu* 'step.on-take.off' has only the LS in (21b) even though two distinct argument realization patterns are possible.

Two distinct linking patterns are available for *humi-hazusu* depending on which predicate signifying the resultant state is selected for assessing the macrorole statuses of the arguments. I suggest that in the linking algorithm to determine macrorole status, only one of the predicates indicating a result is visible for the purpose of determining the macroroles assigned to the arguments of the V-V compound in accordance with the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy in (11).

To be concrete, (20a), where *asi* 'leg' appears as the object, represents the case where the locative predicate **be-at′** (z, y) rather than **stepped.on′** (z) enters into the algorithm to determine the actor and the undergoer. (The part of the LS enclosed in the box indicates that this LS segment does not enter into the algorithm for macrorole assignment.)

(22) Ken-ga kaidan-kara asi-o humi-hazusi-ta.
Actor Abl Undergoer
[**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT [**stepped.on′** (z) ∧ **be-at′** (z, y)]]]

In (22), *Ken* is the actor, and the theme argument of **be-at′**, i.e. *asi* 'leg', is identified as the undergoer, and hence is realized as the object of the V-V compound.

In contradistinction, *kaidan* 'stairs' is realized as the object in (20b). (20b) represents the case where **stepped.on′** (z) enters into the algorithm to determine the macrorole statuses of the arguments.

(23) Ken-ga kaidan-o humi-hazusi-ta.
Actor Undergoer
[**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT [**stepped.on′** (z) ∧ **be-at′** (z, Ø)]]

In (23), the undergoer is *kaidan* 'stairs' and is realized as the object, since it is the theme of the predicate **stepped.on′** (z).

This type of argument alternation is not possible when the LS describes two resultant states that do not emerge simultaneously. This can be confirmed by the resultative V-V compound *odosi-toru* 'threaten-take.off', as in (24).

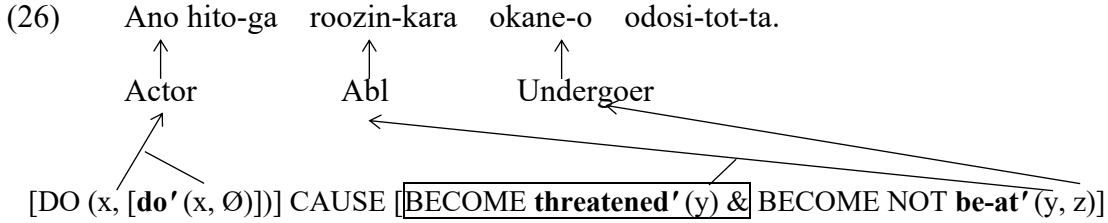
(24) a. *Ano hito-ga roozin-kara okane-o odosi-tot-ta.*
that man-NOM old.man-ABL money-ACC threaten-take.off-PAST
'That man threatened the old man and took money from him.'
b. **Ano hito-ga roozin-o odosi-tot-ta.*
that man-NOM old.man-ACC threaten-take.off-PAST
'That man threatened and took the old man.'

The absence of an argument alternation with *odosi-toru* can be accounted for in terms of the LS for *odosi-toru* in (25b), derived by combining the LS of V1 and V2 in (25a).

(25) a. *odosu*: [DO (x, **do′** (x, Ø))] CAUSE [BECOME **threatened′** (y)]
+ *toru*: [**do′** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-at′** (y, z)]
b. *odosi-toru*: [DO (x, [**do′** (x, Ø)])] CAUSE [BECOME **threatened′** (y) &
BECOME NOT **be-at′** (y, z)]]

In (25b), the final result state is represented by the locative predicate **be-at′** (z, y), which appears to the right of &, but not **threatened′** (y). In this case, only BECOME **be-at′** (z, y) can enter into the algorithm to determine the macrorole status of the arguments, which means that only one type of linking in (26) is allowed for *odosi-toru*.

(26)



In (26) with the resultative V-V compound *odosi-toru* 'threaten-take.off', the actor is *ano hito* 'that man' and the undergoer is *okane* 'money'.

One conceivable alternative may be derived from Van Vailin's (2005: 12) suggestion on the two principles for undergoer choice.

(27) a. Principle A: Lowest ranking argument in LS (default).
b. Principle B: Second highest ranking argument in LS.

Given these principles, one might say that either Principle B or Principle A applies to the LS in (21b) posited for the compound *humi-hazusu* 'step.on-take.off', so that the two forms are derived.

This alternative falls short of accounting for the Japanese facts, as it stands, however. If the choice of undergoer is simply a matter of selecting Principle A or Principle B, it remains a mystery why *odosi-toru* 'threaten-take.off' can have only one choice for the undergoer. Since the choice of undergoer depends on whether the argument represents the participant of the final resultant state, I maintain the present proposal taking some parts of the LS to be invisible to the algorithm for the actor-undergoer determination.

3.3. Intransitive compounds

In this section, I will turn to intransitive resultative V-V compounds, where V2 is an intransitive predicate. I suggest that the single direct core argument of intransitive resultative V-V compounds counts as the undergoer rather than the actor on the grounds that the LS of V1 representing the causing event is invisible for the purpose of the actor-undergoer determination.

(C) <u>Intransitive V1 + Intransitive V2</u>

When both V1 and V2 are intransitive, no object is realized, since the component verbs are intransitive. The LS for the V-V compound *aruki-tukareru* 'walk-get.tired' is given in (28).

(28) a. *aruku:* DO (x, [**do′** (x, [**walk′** (x)])])
+ *tukareru*: [BECOME **exhausted′** (x)]
b. *aruki-tukareru*: [DO (x, [**do′** (x, [**walk′** (x)])])] CAUSE [BECOME **exhausted′** (x)]

The subjects of V1 and V2 are shared in the case of *aruki-tukareru*. Note that *aruki-tukareru* has the combination of the unergative *aruku* and the unaccusative *tukareru*, and that the well-formedness of these V-V compounds poses a problem on Kageyama's (1993) Transitivity Harmony Principle, which excludes the combination of "unergative V + unaccusative V".

The intransitive *aruki-tukareru* takes only one argument. The question that immediately arises is whether the single argument is identified as actor or undergoer. In RRG, when an intransitive predicate takes one macrorole, its nature is determined by the principle in (29).

(29) <u>For verbs which take one macrorole</u>,
1. If the verb has an activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is actor.
2. If the verb has no activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is undergoer.
(Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:153)

If *aruki-tukareru* has the LS in (28b), its sole argument should, other things being equal, be the actor, since it contains an activity predicate. Nevertheless, the sole argument of *aruki-tukareru* 'walk-get.tired' has the status as the undergoer. This fact can be confirmed by way of the behavior of a resultative predicate like *hetoheto-ni* 'to exhaustion'.[2]

(30) *Eri-ga koreizyoo ugoke-nai hodo **hetoheto-ni** aruki-tukare-ta*.
Eri-NOM anymore can.move-NEG extent exhaustion-to walk-get.tired-PAST
'Eri walked and got tired to the extent that she cannot move anymore.'

[2] Resultative predicates normally describe the endpoint of a scale (cf. Goldberg 1995), and thus, it seems necessary to add a qualifying expression like *koreizyoo ugokenai hodo* to indicating a scale boundary for the V-V compound construction with *aruki-tukareru* to be natural with the resultative predicate *hetoheto-ni*.

In (30), the resultative predicate is predicated of the single argument of *aruki-tukuareru*. In this connection, observe that the single argument of *aruku* 'walk' in (31), which has an LS containing an activity predicate, is the actor, and *hetotoi-ni* cannot be predicated of its single argument.

(31) **Eri-ga koreizyoo ugoke-nai hodo* ***hetoheto-ni*** *arui-ta*.
Eri-NOM anymore can.move-NEG extent exhaustion-to walk-PAST
'Eri walked to exhaustion to the extent that she cannot move anymore.'

In addition, (32) shows that the resultative predicate can be predicated of the single argument of *tukareru* 'get tired'. The LS for *uketoru* does not include an activity predicate, and thus the single argument is construed as the undergoer.

(32) *Eri-ga koreizyoo ugoke-nai hodo* ***hetoheto-ni*** *tukare-ta.*
Eri-NOM anymore can.move-NEG extent exhaustion-to get.tired-PAST
'Eri was exhausted to the extent that she cannot move anymore.'

As often discussed, resultative predicates are predicated of internal arguments (see Levin and Rapport 1995; for Japanese, see Kishimoto 2024). In the present perspective, this means that resultative predicates can be predicated of "undergoer" arguments. Since a*ruki-tukareru* patterns with *tukareru* with regard to resultative predication, it is fair to say that the single argument of a*ruki-tukareru* assumes a undergoer macrorole.

The question is how the argument of *aruki-tukareru* is identified as the undergoer despite the fact that it includes an activity predicate in the LS, as in (28b). I suggest that this is due to the fact that the causative event is rendered invisible for the algorithm to determine the macrorole status of the argument.

(33) Eri-ga aruki-tukare-ta.



In (33), the LS of *aruki-tukareru* characterizes the meaning of walking but the activity predicate does not count for the purpose of fixing a macrole status of the argument. Thus the sole argument of *aruki-tukareru* 'walk-get.tired' is identified as the undergoer, which can be the target of resultative predication.

The present analysis can capture the fact that the single argument is understood to be the agent of *aruku* 'walk' and the theme argument of *tukareru* 'get tired' at the same time despite the fact that the undergoer role is assigned to the sole argument of *aruki-tukareru*.

(D) Transitive V1 + Intransitive V2

Essentially, the same fact is observed for the resultative V-V compound *nomi-tubureru* consisting of transitive V2 + intransitive V2.

(34) *Ano hito-ga nomi-tubure-te i-ta.*
that man-NOM drink-collapse-GER be-PAST
'That man got dead drank.'

The V-V compound in (34) has the LS in (35b), which is derived by combining the LSs of the two verbs in (35a).

(35) a. *nomu:* **do′** (x, [**drink′** (x, y)]) + *tubureru*: [BECOME **collapsed′** (x)]
b. *nomii-tubureru*: [**do′** (x, [**drink′** (x, y)])] CAUSE [BECOME **collapsed′** (x)]

The V-V compound *nomi-tubureru* 'drink-collapse' allows a resultative predicate *guden-guden-ni* 'dead drunk 'to be predicated of the subject, as in (36).

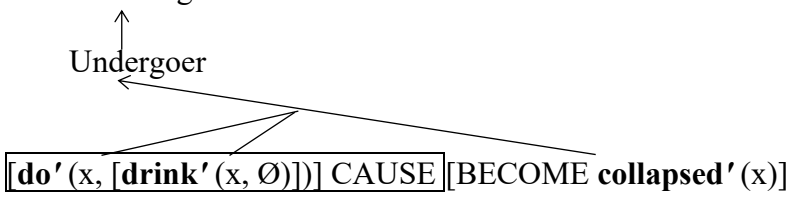
(36) *Ano hito-ga* ***guden-guden-ni*** *nomi-tubure-te i-ta.*
that man-NOM dead.drunk-to drink-collapse-GER be-PAST
'That man got dead drank.'

Note that *guden-guden-ni* can be associated with *tubureru* 'collapse', but not with *nomu* 'drink', as shown in (37).

(37) a. **Ano hito-ga* ***guden-guden-ni*** *non-de i-ta.*
that man-NOM dead.drunk-to drink-GER be-PAST
'That man was drinking dead.'
b. *Ano hito-ga* ***guden-guden-ni*** *tubure-te i-ta.*
that man-NOM dead.drunk-to collapse-GER be-PAST
'That man collapsed completely.'

The sole argument of the intransitive *nomi-tubureru* counts as the undergoer. It is reasonable to posit the argument linking for *nomi-tubureru* in (38), where the causing event is backgrounded.

(38) Ano hito-ga nomi-tubure-ta.



In (38), the theme argument is unspecified because it is not manifested as an object on the ground that the compound verb is intransitive.

4. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have argued that the argument realization patterns of resultative V-V compounds are expected on the basis of their LSs. It has been shown that in transitive resultative V-V compounds, the argument counting as the initial causer is realized as the actor, and the argument related to the final result as the undergoer. I have also argued that the sole argument of intransitive resultative V-V compounds is the undergoer.

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