

Inheritance of Argument Structure and Compounding Constraints of Resultative Compound Verbs in Chinese and Japanese

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In this paper we will discuss constraints on the lexical conceptual structure and argument structure in the process of word formation of RCVs in Chinese, and also discuss similarities and differences in verb compounding between Chinese and Japanese and how they are related to the typological features of the two languages.

1. Foreword

In this paper we will discuss constraints on the lexical conceptual structure and argument structure in the process of word formation of resultative compound verbs in Chinese from the following viewpoints: 1) Direct Object Restriction (Simpson 1983, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Huang 2005), 2) Argument Structures (Li 1990), 3) Principles of Temporal Sequence in Chinese Word Order (Tai 1985), 4) Principles of Combination in Lexical Conceptual Structures.

We will also discuss similarities and differences in verb compounding between Chinese and Japanese and how they are related to the typological features of the two languages.

2. Inheritance of Arguments from V1/V2 in Resultative Compound Verbs in Chinese

To examine the inheritance of arguments of V1/V2 to resultative compound verbs, we adopted 1,866 RCV sentences found in the *Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese* (1987) and classified them into the following two categories: 1) the type that inherits arguments from both V1 and V2, and 2) the type that inherits argument from either V1 or V2.

3. Five Types of Resultative Compound Verbs in Chinese

3.1 RCV with arguments inherited from both V1 and V2

This type is subcategorized into Type 1 where V2 predicates object and Type 2 where V2 predicates subject as follows:

1) RCV where V2 predicates object

e.g. 推開、 殺死、 穿破、 切斷、 碰倒、
 tui-kai, sha-si, chuan-po, qie-duan, peng-dao,
 push-open, kill-dead, wear-broken, cut-broken, knock-toppled over,
 曬乾、 染黑、 磨滑、 熨壞、 炒碎、 踩扁
 shai-gan, ran-hei, mo-hua, tang-huai, chao-sui, cai-bian
 sun dry-dried, dye-black, polish-smooth, iron-broken, fry-fragmented, step-flat

2) RCV where V2 predicates subject

e.g. 走累、 吃膩、 跳煩、 穿慣、 累倒、
 zou-lei, chi-ni, tiao-fan, chuan-guan, lei-dao
 walk-tired, eat-tired of, dance-vexed, wear-accustomed to, tired-fall
 學會、 看懂、 嚇哭、 哭累、 餓死、 驚醒
 xue-hui, kan-dong, xia-ku, ku-lei, e-si, jing-xing
 learn-understand, see-understand, frighten-cry, cry-tired, starve-dead, startle-awake

3.2 RCV with arguments inherited from either V1 or V2.

This type is subcategorized as follows:

3) RCV where no argument is inherited from V1. In other words, the argument of V1 is not inherited into the RCV.

(1) a. 我 寫了 一天 字， 手 都 寫酸 了。(我寫字，手酸)

Wo xie-le yitian zi, shou dou xie-suan le.
 I write-PFV for one day character hand all write-painful PFV
 I have been writing for the whole day, and my hand is aching
 (from all the writing).

b. 字 太 小，看 一會兒 眼睛 就 看累 了。(我看字，眼睛累)

Zi tai xiao, kan yihuir yanjing jiu kan-lei le.
 Character too Small look a while eyes just loo-tired PFV
 The characters are too small, my eyes are tired just by looking at them for a while.

c. 我 抽 太 多 菸， 頭 都 抽 暈 了。(我抽菸，頭暈)

Wo chou tai duo yan, tou dou chou -yun le.
 I smoke too much cigarette head all smoke-dizzy PFV
 I have smoked too much, and I feel dizzy.

4) RCV where no argument is inherited from V2, i.e. the argument of V2 is not inherited into the RCV, and no example was found in our corpus.

5) RCV with [Complemental V1- Resultative V2] Relation:

This type can be syntactically analyzed to have a structure where the event indicated by V1 is a complement of V2:

- a. V2 indicates an evaluation of Event1
e.g. ‘起-晚’(get up- late) [it was too late (V2) [_{event1} to get up (V1)]]
- b. RCV with ‘phase markers’ to guarantee telicity of V1
e.g. -完-wan (finish)/ -尽-jin (exhausted) /-光-guang (exhausted)
[x finish (V2) [_{event1}V1.....]]

The semantic relation between the event structures of V1 and V2 is a temporal one of ‘Preceding Event +Resultative Event’, but not of ‘Causal Event + Resultative Event’.

- (2) a. 我 因 起晚 了， 所以 沒 趕上 火車。
Wo yin qi-wan le, suoyi mei ganshang huoche.
I due to get up-late PFV, therefore NEG catch up train
Since I got up too late, I couldn’t catch the train.
(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:332)
- b. 止痛藥 吃多 了， 對 大腦 有 損傷。
Zhitongyao chi-duo le, dui danao you sunshang.
painkiller eat-much PFV. to brain have damage
Eating too much painkillers is damaging to the brain.
(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:130)
- c. 我 查錯 部首 了，
Wo cha-cuo bushou le,
I look up-make a mistake radical PFV.
怪不得 找不到 這個 字!
guaibude zhao budao zhege zi.
No wonder search-NEG-TELIC this character.
I looked up the wrong radical, no wonder I couldn’t find this word!
(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:63)
- d. 我 沒 想到 你 喜歡 吃 茄子， 我 這次 買少 了。
Wo mei xiangdao ni xihuan chi qiezi, wo zheci mai-shao le.
I NEG think of you like eat eggplant I this time buy-little PFV.
I didn’t know you like eggplants. I bought too little this time.
(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:295)

3.3 The Frequency of Occurance in five different RCV patterns among 1,866 examples in the *Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese* :

- (3) Five patterns of RCV in terms of the inheritance of arguments

1	RCV where V2 predicates object	816 examples	44%
2	RCV where V2 predicates subject	322 examples	17%
3	RCV where no argument is inherited from V1	73 examples	4%
4	RCV where no argument is inherited from V2	none	0%
5	[Complemental V1- Resultative V2] RCV	655 examples	35%

3.4 Constraints on Verb Compounding in Japanese

Verb compounding in Japanese undergoes stricter constraints. First, Type 1 RCV (where V2 predicates object), which displays the most frequent occurrence (44%) in (3), is not allowed due to the following ‘Transitivity Harmony Principle’ (Kageyama 1993):

(4) ‘Transitivity Harmony Principle’ (Kageyama 1993)

Verb compounding in the Japanese lexicon, i.e. compounding on the argument structure level, is restricted to the compounding between

- a. verbs with external arguments (transitive verbs and unergative verbs) or
- b. verbs without external arguments (unaccusative verbs).

Therefore compounding between a) transitive (or unergative) verbs and b) unaccusative verbs is not allowed.

The Transitivity Harmony Principle is a language-specific constraint applied to Japanese, a language which displays a rich morphological system in voice; e.g. case markers for nominative and accusative cases, morphological distinctions of transitive/intransitive pairs, and compulsory correspondence between case and verb form in transitivity. This explains why the unmarked compounding in Japanese is [transitive verb + transitive verb → transitive verb] compounding. On the other hand, the unmarked RCV compounding in Chinese is [transitive verb + {unaccusative/adjective} verb → transitive verb], shown as follows:

- (5) a. 他一脚 把掉在地上 的 馒头 踩扁 了。
 Ta yijiao ba diao zai dishang de mantou cai-bian le.
 He one foot BA fall on ground GEN. bun step-flat PFV
- b. 彼は 足で 地面に落ちていたマントウを平らに
 Kare-wa ashi de jimen ni ochiteita mantou wo tairani
 He-Topic foot with ground on drop-perfect bun ACC. flat
 踏み潰した/*踏み潰れた。
 {fumi-tsubush (Vt) /*fumi-tsubure (Vi)- ta.
 step-break(Vt) /*step-break(Vi) PAST
- c. He stepped the steamed bun flat with one stomp of his foot.

However, the Transitivity Harmony Principle does not explain why Japanese also

allows Type2 RCV in (3), where V2 predicates subject as follows:

- (6) a. 我 穿惯 了 这双 鞋。
 Wo chuan-guan le zhe shuang xie.
 I wear-accustomed PFV this pair shoes
- b. 私 は この 靴を 履き慣れて いる。
 Watashi-wa kono kutsu-wo haki -narete yiru.
 I-Topic this pair of shoes- Acc. wear - accustomed Aux.(perfect)
- c. I got used to wearing these pair of shoes.

In(6b), ‘履き慣れる’(haki-nareru; wear-accustomed) is the compounding between the transitive verb ‘haku’(wear) and the unaccusative verb ‘nareru’(accustomed), which violates the Transitivity Harmony Principle but is nevertheless allowed. As in Chinese, Japanese has RCVs where V2 predicates a physiological or psychological state of the subject like ‘-tsukareru/-kutabireru’(-tired), ‘-akiru’(-be sick and tired of~), ‘-nareru’(-get used to~). In order to explain this phenomenon, Yumoto (1996) and Matsumoto (1996) propose revising the principle to the Subject Agreement Principle:

(7) ‘The Subject Agreement Principle in Japanese Verb Compounding’

Subjects of V1 and V2 should be the same in verb compounding in Japanese.

For example, ‘書き疲れる kaki-tsukareru’(write-tired) share the same subject when transitive V1 ‘kaku’ (write) and unaccusative V2 ‘tsukareru’(tired) are compounded, even though it violates the Transitivity Harmony Principle.

The Subject Agreement Principle blocks both Type3 RCV in (3) where no argument is inherited from V1 and Type4 RCV in (3) where no argument is inherited from V2.

Lastly, Type 5 in (3) [Complement of V2 +V2] compound verbs are allowed since this structure fits the head-final VP structure in Japanese as listed below:

- (8) a. V1+[_{vi}hajimaru/_{vt}hajimeru] (V1+start; start to V1)
 b. V1+[_{vi}owaru/_{vt}oeru] (V1+finish; finish to V1)
 c. V1+[_{vi}tuzuku /_{vt}tuzukeru] (V1+continue; continue to V1)
 d. V1+[_{vt}sokonaw/_{vt}sokoneru] (V1+fail; fail to V1)
 e. V1+wasureru (V1+forget; forget to V1)
 f. V1+sugiru (V1+ exceed; over-V1)
 g. V1+naosu (V1+re-V1; re-V1)

However, some RCVs where V2 indicates an evaluation of Event1 like ‘起晩’(qi-wan: get up-late), ‘買少’(mai-shao; buy-little) are not allowed due to a violation of the Subject Agreement Principle.

- b. 經過 幾年 的 鍛鍊， 他的 胳膊、腳 都 練粗 了，
 Jingguo ji nian de duanlian, tade gebo jiao dou lian-cu le
 after several years GEN. training his arms legs all train-thick perfect
 身體 比 以前 結實 多 了。
 shengti bi yiqian jie shi duo le.
 body compared to the past sturdy more PFV
 After years of training, his arms and legs have grown bulkier, and his body
 has become sturdier compared to the past.

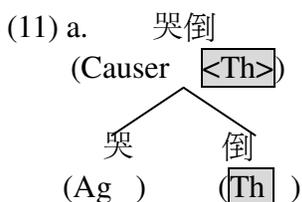
(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:61)

- c. 他 正在 打 電話， 線路 突然 被 切斷 了。
 Ta zhengzai da dianhua xianlu turan bei qie-duan le.
 He right now make phone call line suddenly PASS. cut-broken PFV.
 He was making a phone call when the line was suddenly cut off.

(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:126)

B. RCV where V1 is an unergative verb

The second causal RCV type is the [unergative causal event + unaccusative resultative event] type, e.g. <哭倒 ku-dao; cry-topple>. The inheritance of arguments from V1 and V2 into RCV and its LCS are depicted as follows:



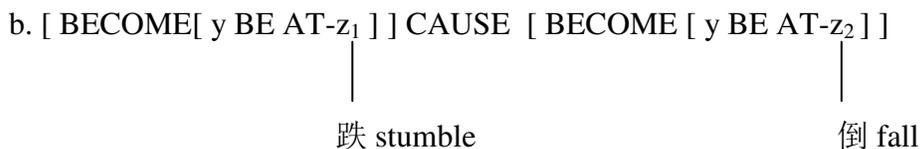
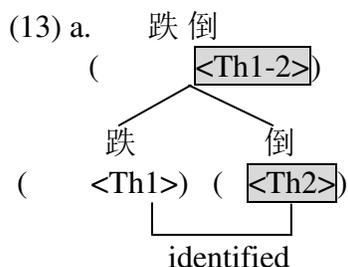
- (12) a. 民間 傳說 的 孟姜女 哭倒 了 萬里 長城 的 故事
 Minjian chuanshuo de Mengjiangnu ku-dao le Wanli changcheng de gushi
 folk legend GEN. Mengjiangnu cry-topplePFV Great Wall of ChinaGEN story
 家喻戶曉。
 jiayuhuxiao.
 well-known
 The folk legend of how Mengjiangnu cried and caused the Great Wall of China to
 collapse is well-known.

(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:76)

- b. 他們 幾個人 又說 又 笑，把 我 笑醒 了。
 Tamen jige ren you shuo you xiao ba wo xiao-xing le.
 They a few people talk and laugh BA me laugh-awake PFV
 A few of them talked and laughed, and woke me up with their laughter.
 (*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese:349*)
- c. 他這 兩 天咳嗽 得 厲害，把 嗓子 都 咳啞 了。
 Ta zhe liang tian kesou de lihai ba sangzi dou ke-ya le.
 He these two days cough COMP.deg. terrible BA voice all cough-hoarse PFV
 He has been coughing so severely these couple of days that his voice is all hoarse.
 (*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese:351*)

4.1.2 Nonvolitional Causal type RCV

The third RCV type has an [unaccusative causal event + unaccusative resultative event] causal relation; e.g. <跌倒>(die-dao; stumble-fall). The inheritance of arguments from V1 and V2 into RCV and its LCS are depicted as follows:



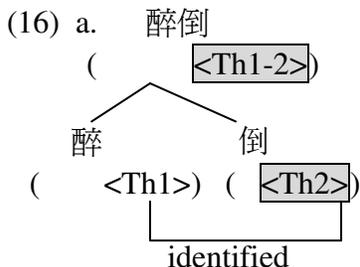
- (14) a. 由於 經受 不住 這樣 沉重的 打擊，她 病倒 了。
 Youyu jingshou buzhu zheyang chengzhong dedaji ta bing-dao le.
 Due to undergo unable this kind severe shock she sick-fall PFV
 As she was not able to withstand such a severe shock, she fell sick.
- b. 連續 三年 乾旱， 不少 牲畜 都 餓死 了。
 Lianxu san nian ganhan bu shao shengchu dou e-si le.
 continuous three years drought not a few livestock all starve-die PFV.
 The drought continued for three years, and many livestock died from starvation.
- c. 她一定 是做 了什麼 惡夢 才 嚇醒 的。
 Ta yiding shi zuo le shengme emeng cai xiaying de.
 She surelySHI make PFV. some nightmare just scared-awake affirmative particle
 She must have woken up because of a nightmare.

4.1.3 Causativization of Unaccusative Causal Type RCV

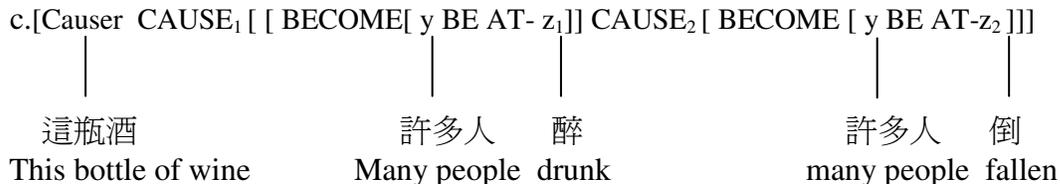
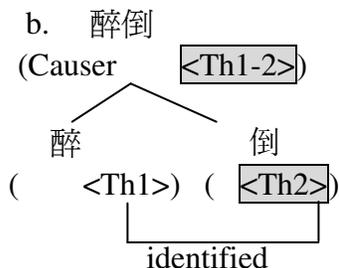
Unaccusative Causal Type RCV in 2.1.2 undergoes causativization and inchoative intransitive RCV converts to causative transitive RCV without any morphological change, as shown in (15).

- (15)a. 許多人都醉倒了。(inchoative intransitive)
 Xu duo ren dou zuidaole.
 Many people all intoxicated-fallen PFV
 Many people were dead drunk.
- b. 這瓶酒醉倒了許多人。(causative transitive)
 Zhe ping jiu zuidaole xu duo ren.
 This bottle wine intoxicate-fall PFV several people
 This bottle of wine has made many people drunk.

The inheritance of arguments from V1 and V2 into RCV and its LCS are depicted as follows:



→ Causativization



In (16b), causativized transitive RCV <醉倒> has an argument structure <Causer, Theme>. Its external argument <Causer> is inherited neither from V1 nor V2, but it is allocated from LCS depicted in (16c). More examples will be shown below:

(17) a. 兩天 兩 夜 的 急行軍 把 戰士 累慘 了。 (causative transitive)
 Liang tian liang ye de jixingjun ba zhanshi leian le.
 Two days two nights GEN. forced march BA soldiers wear out-badly PFV.
 Two continuous days of forced march wore the soldiers out completely.

(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:20)

b. 戰士 累慘 了。 (inchoative intransitive)
 Zhanshi leican le.
 Soldiers wear out-badly PFV
 The soldiers were completely worn out.

c. external causer: <兩天兩夜的急行軍>(Two days and two nights of forced march)

(18)a. 這次 地震 把門窗 的 玻璃 都 震碎 了。 (causative transitive)
 Zheci dizhen ba menchuang de boli dou zhensui le.
 This time earthquakeBA door windowGEN.glass all shake-fragmented PFV
 This earthquake shattered all the glass of the doors and windows into pieces.

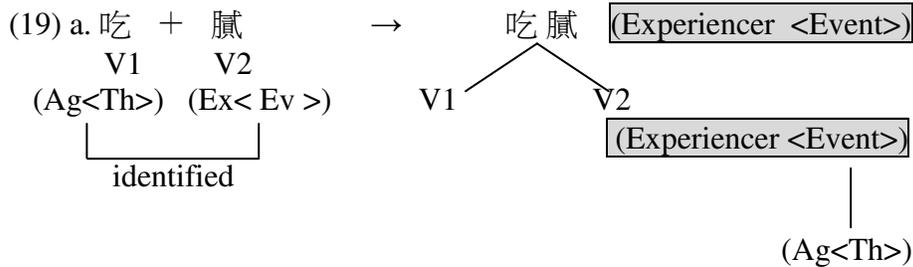
(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*:311)

b. 玻璃 都 震碎 了。 (inchoative intransitive)
 Boli dou zhensui le.
 Glass all shake-fragmented PFV.
 The glass is all shattered to pieces.

c. external causer: <這次地震> (This earthquake)

4.1.4 RCV where V2 predicates a resultative state of its external argument

Another nonvolitional causal RVC type has [active causal event + unaccusative resultative event], where there is no volitional causation, e.g. <吃膩>(chini; eat-sick and tired of). The inheritance of arguments from V1 and V2 into RCV and its LCS are depicted as follows:



b. [x ACT ON y (TOO MUCH)] CAUSE [BECOME [x BE AT - z]]

吃 eat

膩 tired of

In (19a), V2 <膩> can be analyzed to have an argument structure <Experiencer, Event>, so V1 constitutes a complement of V2 <膩> although in (3) this type is analyzed as Type 2 RCV where V2 predicates subject, not Type 5 [Complemental V1- Resultative V2] RCV.

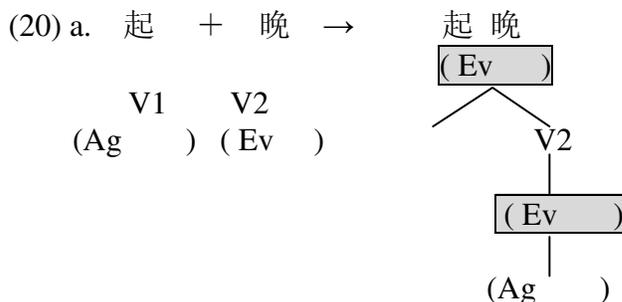
4.2 Non Causal Type

Chinese RCV also displays non causal type where there is no causal relation between V1 and V2. This non causal type RCV can be subcategorized into two types:

- 1) [Complement V1 + Result V2] Type
- 2) [Preceding Event V1 + Result V2] Type.

4.2.1 [Complement V1-V2] Relation Type

First, let us examine the [Complement V1 + V2] Type, e.g. <起晚>(qi-wan; get up-late). We can observe that only the argument <Event> of V2 <晚> is inherited into the RCV <起晚>, while the argument of V1 <起> is embedded in <Event> of V2 <晚> as analyzed in Kageyama (1993).



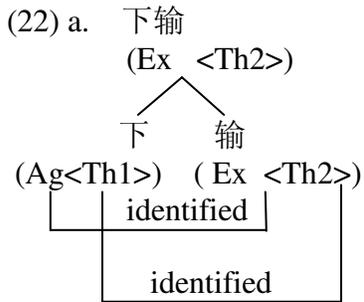
b. [Event X ACT] RESULT IN [[Event X ACT] BE AT- z]

我 起]	RESULT IN	[[我 起]	BE AT-	晚]
I get up				I get up			late	

4.2.2 [Preceding Event V1 + Result V2] Type <下輸 play-lost> type

Li (1990:184-185) discusses the following sentences which have the event structure [Preceding Event V1 + Result V2].

- (21) a. 寶玉 下輸 了 棋。
 Baoyu xiashu le qi.
 Baoyu play (chess)- lose PFV. chess
 Baoyu played chess and lost.
- b. 焦大的 主人 打贏 了 這一仗。
 Jiaoda de zhuren da ying le zhe yi zhang.
 Jiaoda GEN. master hit- win PFV this one battle
 Jiaoda's master won this battle.
- c. 香菱 背會 了 這首 詩。
 Xiangling beihui le zhe shou shi.
 Xiangling memorize -learned PFV this piece poem
 Xiangling has memorized this poem.



- b. [x ACT] RESULT IN [BECOME [x BE AT- z]]
- | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------|------|
| | | | |
| 寶玉 | 下棋 | 寶玉 | 輸 |
| Baoyu | play chess | Baoyu | lost |

According to our corpus, it seems that this type is a kind of idiom which is seen when V2 is one of the following specific verbs: <輸 shu;lost, 贏 ying;win, 會 hui;master, 懂:dong;understand>.

4.3 The types of LCS in Japanese RCVs

Japanese RCV allows neither 'Causation of unaccusative RCV' discussed in 2.1.3 nor 'Non Causal Type RCV' discussed in 2.2. Through comparing with Japanese RCV, it is seen that Chinese displays more prominence in 'causation' and 'iconicity between temporal sequence and word order' (Tai 1985) in the word formation of RCV.

5 Word Formation of RCV and Semantic Constraints on Verb Compounding

To summarize, we can reach the following conclusions:

- (23) a. The participant of the resultative event expressed by V2 always should be inherited to the argument structure of RCV and allocated a theta-role of Theme/Experiencer.
 b. The argument of V1 cannot be inherited to the argument structure of RCV when the arguments of V1 and V2 fail to be identified. For example, <手寫酸了>, the external argument of V1<寫> fails to be inherited into RCV although it might appear in a preceding context, e.g.<我寫了一天字, 手寫酸了 I have been writing for the whole day, my hand is aching (from all the writing). >
 c. The argument of V1 cannot be inherited to the argument structure of RCV when RCV undergoes causativization. Instead, a new argument ‘Causer’ is allocated to the external argument of causativized RCV from the LCS;
 e.g.<張三跳煩了所有的客人(Zhangsan’s dancing frustrated all the customers) v.s. <張三哭走了所有的客人(Zhangsan cried and caused all the customers to leave)
 d. The argument of V1 is embedded under the V2 argument ‘Event’ when V1 has a complemental relation with V2, and the V2 argument ‘Event’ is inherited to RCV, as <起晚 get up-late> shown in (20a) and (20b) above.

If we define ‘Head of RCV’ depending on the inheritance of arguments, we can conclude that ‘Head of RCV’ is V2 since the argument of V2 should always be inherited to RCV while this is not the case for V1.

As a further study, we have to examine the system of causation and decausativization, in terms of the volitionality of subject, transitivity and topic structure, to explore semantic constraints on causation and decausativization in RCV in Chinese.

Corpus:

《汉语动词-结果补语搭配词典》(*Verb-Resultative Complement Dictionary in Chinese*) 1987. 王砚农·焦群·庞颢编. 北京语言学院出版社.

申亚敏、望月圭子、Terence SEAH ‘中国語の結果を表す複合動詞の分類と英語・日本語との対照コーパス’ 2007.

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詹卫东、砂岡和子 2009 <现代汉语述补结构用法数据库>

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