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ABBREVIATIONS

AP adjectival phrase

ASP aspectual marker

comp complementizer

CL classifer

Interj interjection

N noun

NP noun phrase

NEG negation

POSS possessive marker

PP preposition phrase

prt particle

Q question marker

V verb

VP verb phrase

ABSTRACT

In Mandarin, particles *de*, *dao* and *le* can introduce a resultative phrase yielding a Particle Resultative Construction (PRC) exemplified in (1b,c):

- a. Lear da Caesar.
 Lear hit Caesar.
 Lear hits/hit/is hitting/is to hit Caesar.
 - b. Lear da de / dao Caesar [shou duan].
 Lear hit DE/DAO Caesar [hand break].
 Lear hit Caesar and as a result broke Caesar's hand.
 - c. Lear da le Caesar [shou duan].
 Lear hit LE Caesar [hand break].
 Lear hit Caesar and as a result broke *Lear's* hand.
 - d.* Lear da Caesar [shou duan]. Lear hit Caesar [hand break].

The construction exhibits a number of theoretically intriguing properties. For instance, note that particles license the resultative phrase ((1d)). Depending on the particle used, the NP that the resultative phrase is predicated of differs ((1b) vs. (1c)). Interestingly, the subject of the resultative phrase, *shou* 'hand', must be inalienably possessed by a participant of the event denoted by the verb *da* 'hit'.

Using detailed semantic representations, this thesis shows that the inalienable relation can be captured by appealing to a difference in prominence of semantic participants. I will also show that the choice of the possessor NP is found in grammatical categorial constituency structure as the nearest c-commanding NP of the possessed NP. The analysis applies also to the inalienable relation between two syntactically split objects in other resultative constructions such as the Mandarin split object *ba*-construction and V-V resultatives.

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the facts of PRC-s, this thesis argues that meanings of causation, presupposition and also the number of grammatical functions are stipulated on the constructions (PRC-s) themselves, this information being unobtainable from constituent morphemes. However, the meanings of the morphemes and their valency must be projected to give flesh to the constructions. This analysis is thus at once constructionist (Goldberg 1995) and projectionist (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1996).