

## 汉语准定语结构及其同义变体的话题化分析

**摘要** 准定语句是汉语中的一种特殊句式，它在句法上具有两个重要的独特性质：一是其中的“NP<sub>1</sub>的NP<sub>2</sub>”在句法上并非是一个整体性名词短语；第二，“V得R”必须是一个包含动词和补语的融合语言形式。从其句法独特性入手，本文尝试采用 Rizzi (1977) 提出的左缘结构框架重新探讨准定语结构及其同义变体句式的生成过程。本文发现动补融合是其生成的先决条件，话题化操作是准定语结构及其同义变体的生成路径。此种分析思路不仅明确了该句式的基础生成式，也清楚证实了它与同义句式之间的同源关系，实现了统一解释其生成机制的目的。更为重要的是，对准定语句生成的重新分析也使得围绕这一结构许多悬而未决的问题，如“的”的来源，“NP<sub>1</sub>的NP<sub>2</sub>”的歧义性，动词拷贝句与准定语句之间的关联，跨方言的参数变异性都得到了统一且合理的解释。

**关键词** 准定语 相关同义变体 话题化 “的” 动补融合

### A topicalization analysis of Mandarin quasi-attributive construction and its synonymic variant structures

**Abstract** The quasi-attributive sentence is a special construction in Chinese, which possesses two crucial syntactic characteristics: first, "NP<sub>1</sub> de NP<sub>2</sub>" is not a holistic noun phrase syntactically; second, "V de R" is a fusion of the verb and the resultative complement. Starting from its syntactic uniqueness, this paper focuses on revisiting the syntactic derivation of Chinese quasi-attributive construction and other related variants under the left-periphery structure theory proposed by Rizzi (1977). It is found that the fusion of verb and complement is a prerequisite for patient noun to rearrange somewhere else, and the topicalization serves as the path to the quasi-attributive structure and its synonymous variants. This approach not only clarifies the underlying structure of the construction but also convincingly demonstrates its homology with other related constructions, thus achieving a unifying account of them. More importantly, many related unresolved issues on this construction, such as the origin of "de", the ambiguity of "NP<sub>1</sub> de NP<sub>2</sub>", the relationship between verb-copying sentences and quasi-attributive sentences, and the parametric variability across Chinese dialects, can also be reasonably and uniformly explained under this reanalysis.

**Keywords** quasi-attributive; related synonymic variants; topicalization; "de"; verb-complement fusion