Syntactic Typology in Chinese (Part I):
The Neutral Question Forms—V-not-V

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1. Introduction

Typology is concerned with the classification of types of structures observed in human languages, be they phonological, morphological or syntactic. The goal of a typological study is to observe divergence and similarity in patterning for certain structures, their distribution and their possible correlation with other attributes. On the basis of such patterning typological classification of languages can be made. Although such classification of patterns does not necessarily constitute a genetic relationship among the languages sharing these traits, such shared formal features commonly occur in either genetically related or areally close languages. The significance of a typological study may shed light on the question of language universals, while dialectology can provide the necessary data for a typological study. From typological research, formal features across languages are observed and classified, creating a massive database for identifying and establishing linguistic characteristics common across languages. Greenberg’s study on word order on the sentence and on the phrase level across some thirty languages has lead to his formulation of language universals concerning not only the types of word order such as SVO, SOV, VSO, etc. but also the relationship of this
feature to other features such as the ordering of elements in a modifying clause, establishing another claim that SOV languages are usually postpositional.¹ The source for a typological database is in turn provided through dialectological study. Although the relationship between typology and language universals has been quickly acknowledged by linguists working in this twin-field, the relationship between typology and dialectology has yet to be fully recognized. Walter Bisang (Bisang 2004:12), in his chapter on dialectology and typology, aptly points out that:

Dialectologists and typologists have both worked for a long time on linguistic variation without paying too much attention to each other. This may be due to the fact that dialectologists concentrate on social and historical motivations of variation across dialects, whereas typologists are interested in universal patterns of variation across languages and their motivation by human cognition and discourse.

and he presents an integrated perspective on the two.

In the past four decades, there appeared masses of materials on various Chinese dialects geared toward providing a general descriptive datum of individual dialects focusing more on phonological than syntactic aspects. It is time that we evaluate these collections and refine our description of the data so as to provide detailed and accurate materials for investigating various linguistic problems that are of general interest to both comparative and typological studies. General linguistic studies across the “world’s languages” have either left out Chinese or have included it only in a superficial manner. The blame lies not so much on those who conduct such research as on us in the Chinese field for not providing the information. Chinese in its myriad varieties, spoken by the greatest number of people in the world, can and should contribute to the general knowledge of the linguistic world. Certainly any kind of general statement about “languages of the world” is not universal without Chinese.

As a modest first step toward providing information, this paper attempts to explore patterning in three grammatical constructions across a number of Chinese dialects and invites discussion on their typological significance, with the final goal of extending the study to include Sino-Tibetan languages. Research in the neutral question forms, the attributive and the nominalized structures of over one hundred Chinese dialects has uncovered some interesting typological features across the Chinese language. However, as there are countless other dialects, whose information remains scanty and inadequate, our observations are at best tentative.²

¹ See Greenberg (1963) for details.
² Information on the Chinese dialects with respect to the syntactic structures in question is
The main obstacle to typological research is the lack of detailed and informative data both in quantity and quality. It is hoped that by taking a first step in this direction with whatever limited data available, we will attract the attention and interest of more field linguists to this important field.

One major problem in describing the typological layout of various languages is that linguistic features, whether syntactic, phonological, morphological or lexical, are in a state of constant flux. This is particularly true of Chinese dialects in the past half century when the standard form of the Chinese language (Putonghua), modern Mandarin based on the pronunciation of Pekinese and the vocabulary as well as grammar of the vernacular around the early part of the 20th century, has been vigorously promoted. The result is that native forms of the dialects have been gradually supplanted by new forms from the standard language due to mutual contact. This has been accelerated in the last two decades by the rapid advancement of mass media, such as the popular spread of television. Even worse, the rate at which this takeover progresses varies from dialect to dialect, from sub-dialect to sub-dialect, from one social group to another, from one age group to another, and even from individual to individual. Whatever cross-section taken for a typological description at best captures one stage or one dimension at one point of time in the continuum of linguistic change. Moreover, at any given point of time, the transition from an older form to a newer form may not be completed, with the result that both the old and the new may co-exist side by side. Furthermore, since the various data were not collected at the same period of time, the comparison across them is not of equal value. For example, in the constructions to be discussed below, there appears a dominant form from the standard dialect that is encroaching upon the local dialects at different stages. The original picture of variation among the dialects becomes blurred and the typological scenario that can be drawn will also be indistinct.

The immediate task is, thus, how to assign types to tokens: with respect to each pattern should a dialect be described as X percent of A + Y percent of B + Z percent of C + ..., where A is the older pre-contact native pattern, B the new post-contact dominant pattern, and C etc. the various other post-contact patterns from various strata generated at different temporal as well as spatial points? While this may be the best way to describe the actual situation, it is also desirable to make comparison between the

mostly based on our extensive field work from 1990-1992, covering 109 dialects with 144 varieties for the neutral question forms and 25 dialects for the attributive and nominalized structures. For each dialect investigated, questionnaires with some 95 (for neutral questions) and over 100 (for the attributive and the nominalized structures) sample phrases and sentences were used, although several dialects were not recorded with all the examples in the questionnaires. The questionnaires were later incorporated into Yue-Hashimoto (1993a).
typological layout of the pre-contact situation with that of the post-contact situation, in order to uncover the underlying situation that may trace back to the earlier history of the language, and offer a more distinct typological picture of various strata.

To achieve this end, we shall try to project from a given set of data the native versus the loan form if such distinction presents itself and shall incorporate both in the typological description.

This article is divided into three parts: two pertaining to the neutral question forms and one to the attributive and the nominalized construction. Part 1 deals with the V-not-V questions, Part 2 the VP-neg and the Adv-VP questions as well as provides a general typological discussion of the neutral questions, while Part 3 discusses the attributive and the nominalized pattern, with a conclusion on dialectology in typology. The present paper focuses on Part 1, the V-not-V question forms, only.

2. Methodology

In order to overcome the obstacles of the lack of appropriate data for viable comparison, the problem of ongoing linguistic change and the difficulty in recognizing and distinguishing strata within each dialect, as a first step, we established a core data with detailed information on each research topic. This was carried out by field investigation based on a questionnaire with 95 questions on neutral questions, making sure that various structural patterns and different types of main verbs are included. The variety of patterns include the different structures of the Verb Phrase (henceforth VP), where VP consists of a simple verb, V+NP, Vopt (=optative verb or the so-called auxiliary verb) + V (+NP), VP in the potential form, V with aspects, VP with adverbs, and VP with PP (prepositional phrase). Types of verbs include the copula, Vex/poss (existential and possessive verb), Vloc (locative verb), Vopt, Vst (stative verb or adjective), Vtrq (transitive verb of quality that shares the features of both the Vst and the Vtr), Vcog (cognitive verb), Vin (intransitive verb) and Vtr (transitive verb). After a careful examination of the materials, it was decided that V+ aspect does not carry much typological significance except for further subclassification, and the 17 questions with V+asp were therefore omitted in this part of the article until the discussion on typological correlates later in part 2, leaving 78 questions to work with. An Informant Background Check List for screening native speakers is given in Appendix 1 and the Questionnaire for Neutral Questions in Appendix 2.

3 The neutral question form is also used as an embedded clause in statements, such as 買不買沒關係 ‘buying or not does not matter’ or 告訴我他來不來 ‘tell me if s/he is coming’. Its significance will be discussed in Part 2.

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With this questionnaire, about 150 dialects and their varieties were investigated, including one dialect investigated by two researchers giving two variants. Most of the investigation was carried out between 1990-1992. The affiliations of these dialects includes all seven major dialect groups: Min, Yue, Hakka, Gan, Wu, Xiang and Northern. However, the majority were Southern dialects: for example, most of the Min dialects were from Southern Min; and for Northern Chinese, Southeastern Mandarin dialects constituted the majority with a number from Southwestern and Northwestern Mandarin. Lacking in data were Northern Mandarin and Northern Min. The reason for focusing on the Southern dialects was because of the rich variety and great diversity encountered in them.

To explore the historical change involved in the constructions for research, to understand the stratification of different patterns within a single dialect, and to distinguish between an earlier native form and later borrowings, we consulted, wherever possible, available published historical materials of the various dialects also.

To give a broader picture, albeit tentative, of the typological distribution of these constructions, we also gathered information from various publications on the dialects. Since the nature of these materials is of different degrees of detail and quality, we shall distinguish the two kinds of materials used in our survey by setting our own field materials in bold type.4

3. Neutral question forms

The term ‘neutral question’ has been introduced to cover question forms more widely known as the ‘V-not-V question’ or the ‘A-not-A question,’ à la Y.R. Chao (反復問句 or 正反問句 in Chinese) on the one hand, and the ‘FVP’ or ‘K-VP’ type, à la Zhu Dexi on the other. The former has the structure of a pair of VP’s with positive and negative counterparts, while the latter consists of an adverb (which is a question marker) plus a VP.5 Moreover, D. Zhu (1985) investigates the distribution of these two types of questions and finds them to be complementary. Since these question forms, although entirely different in structure, carry with them neutral connotation and bear the same function, it is convenient to refer to them under one cover term ‘the neutral questions.’6

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4 A list of all the dialects and sub-dialects and their investigators for all three constructions, including the V-not-V Question will be given at the end of Part 3 of this article.
6 By ‘neutral’ is meant that the attitude of the addresser is not expressed implicitly or explicitly, and that the aim of the question is simply to solicit information without pre-judgment, as for example in: 你去不去? ‘Are you going?’ Compare it with 你不去嗎? ‘Are you not going?’
D. Zhu (1990) uses the term ‘Yes-or-No question’ to translate the Chinese 反復問句, a practice that has been followed by many other linguists in the field. Since the term ‘Yes-No question’ has already been used in the general linguistic literature to designate a different type of question which can be answered with the tags ‘Yes’ or ‘No’, it will be misleading to use the same term for the type of interrogative structures in questions which cannot be answered with such tags. ‘Neutral question’ or 中性問句 is a more suitable cover term, where 中性 was already introduced by Lü Shuxiang as early as 1942 in his classification of the tone of questioning.\(^7\)

The significance of D. Zhu (1985) is the importance it recognizes and the foundation it lays for research on the structural typology of Chinese, of which little was known at that time and still is now.\(^8\) Zhu Dexi suggests two major types of neutral questions that are typologically significant: the V-not-V and the Adv-VP. Although this discovery is a great step forward, the resultant distributional picture does not correlate with any other distributional pattern, phonological or lexical, that already exists. While this by no means diminishes the value of his work, it is more desirable if syntactic patterning can be correlated with other types of linguistic patterning in the language, and if one type of syntactic patterning overlaps with another type, it strengthens each other’s typological value.

Yue (1988) suggests that there may be three, instead of two types of neutral questions. A third type, VP-neg, should be recognized and not subsumed as a subtype of VP-neg-VP (henceforth V-not-V), as assumed in D. Zhu (1990).\(^9\) The neg component of this VP-neg form consists of a negative marker or a negative marker plus a following question particle or a merger of the two. Between VP and neg, there may be a linking particle. Although at present it is still premature to argue whether, historically speaking, VP-neg predates V-not-V, or whether V-not-V is derived from VP-neg, or the other way around, the synchronic picture is a tripartite division of neutral question forms among the dialects: the V-not-V form is characteristic of Northern Chinese, the VP-neg form characteristic of Southern Chinese, while the F-VP or Adv-VP (henceforth Adv-VP) form seems to be characteristic of a region that now encompasses both certain Southern Chinese (mainly Anhui, Northern Wu, Southern Min and southern Jiangxi Hakka) and certain Northern Chinese dialects (mainly Southeastern Mandarin, Yunnan of

\(^7\) See Lü (1942:262) and Yue-Hashimoto (1988:29ff).

\(^8\) Apart from D. Zhu (1985, 1990) the most significant work on syntactic typology in Chinese is M. Zhang (1990).

\(^9\) Justification of VP-neg as an independent type is further given in Yue (1992).
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Southwestern Mandarin), which we may tentatively call Southeastern Chinese.\(^\text{10}\) This typological configuration largely coincides with the already well-known distinctive distribution of phonological and lexical features that dichotomizes Han-Chinese into Northern versus Southern. The typological distribution of the Southeastern type that distinguishes itself with the Adv-VP question form, coincides to a certain extent with that of a phonological type rich in complicated tone sandhi systems, as exemplified in the Wu and the Min dialects. Another support for this tripartite division is that the same layout of neutral question forms is found in non-Sinitic languages now spoken to the south and southwest of the Chinese language.

3.1 Spatial and temporal correlation

As already mentioned above and “according to extant information, the V-not-V form is prevalent in the Northern dialects, especially north of the Yangzi river while the other two forms are popular in the Southern dialects.” (Yue-Hashimoto 1993a:42) However, this is an idealistic picture of a much more complex linguistic situation in which languages and dialects in contact are constantly interacting with each other. There are in fact very few dialects that employ exclusively one form for the neutral question. It is very common for a dialect to have one or more non-native forms that have been, or are in the process of being, absorbed, along with a native form. The Shantou 汕頭 dialect of Southern Min is a notorious case: It uses as many as 4 different forms — a VP(-prt)-neg form, an Adv-VP form, a hybrid Adv-VP(-prt)-neg form and a V-not-V form, where \(\text{prt}\) signifies a particle linking the VP and the neg. For example, for the sentence ‘Do you know of his affairs?’ we have:\(^\text{11}\)

(1) a. 伊個事，你會知(阿)[boi\^{35}]?

\(^{10}\) Classification of the major Chinese dialect groups follows that of Norman (1988). There are, however, areas of Northern Chinese which do not belong to the V-not-V type. For example, the Muping 牟平 dialect of Shandong, according to F. Luo (1992), seems to belong to the Adv-VP type. At present we unfortunately do not have much information on V-not-V question forms of Shandong. Many Northwestern Mandarin dialects, such as Qingjian 清澗 in Shaanxi, Piaoguan 偏關 in Shanxi, Linxia 臨夏 in Gansu, Xining 西寧 in Qinghai, etc., belong to the VP-neg type. Yunnan geographically lies outside the Southeastern region. However, Han immigrants into Yunnan are mostly from the Anhui province, according to M. Zhang (1990); therefore, their predecessors are still from the region in question.

\(^{11}\) The examples are taken from the investigation by Shi Qisheng 施其生 for the Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar Project 1990-92. Superscript numerals occurring before the ‘>’ sign indicate the tonal value in isolation while those occurring after it the tonal value in sandhi.
b. 伊個事, 你知[mən²³⁵]知?
c. 伊個事, 你[k'a²⁵]會知?
d. 伊個事, 你[k'a²⁵]會知[阿][boi³]?

The V-not-V form has the widest distribution among the Chinese dialects: it occurs in all of the major dialect groups and often occurs side by side with the VP-neg and the Adv-VP form. On the other hand, there is evidence that the V-not-V form is native to the Northern and the other two to the Southern and Southeastern dialects at least for the past century, and the co-occurrence in distribution can be explained by the phenomenon of syntactic stratification as a result of language contact.12 With the standard language being a form of Northern Chinese using the V-not-V question form, the spread of this V-not-V form is inevitable. As a result, many dialects employ the V-not-V form for the neutral question, even though at the same time they may use VP-neg or Adv-VP as their native form. It is impossible to draw a typological distributional picture without sorting out the stratification of linguistic structures. It is important to distinguish between native and loan forms, otherwise we do not know what we are comparing. We are taking a two-dimensional approach: combining a typology of the native forms with an overlay of syntactic diffusion manifested in the loan forms.

This contemporary scenario of the stratification of neutral question forms across dialects in a spatial axis can be said to be a reflection of the historical, albeit non-linear, development of these question forms.

The earliest extant attested record of the neutral question form is the VP-neg type found in a bronze inscription of the Western Zhou period with 不 serving as neg— from the inscription of the Wuswei 五祀衛 tripod of mid Western Zhou unearthed from the Dong family village 董家村 of Qishan 岐山 in the 1970s:13

(2) 正乃訊厲曰: 汝賈田不

‘Then Zheng asked Li: do you sell farmland?’

However, this VP-neg question form hardly appears in pre-Qin received texts, but occurs frequently from Han time onward, when another common neg is 否. Pulleyblank (1995:104) considers 否 as “standing for 不 + deleted verb”, which may be interpreted as the merger of neg + V. 否 occurs in pre-Qin texts in negative contrast to a verb in a statement but not in the VP-neg question form. For instance, in the following example in the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Chronicles, the embedded clause ending in 否 is actually in the form of a Disjunctive Question presenting a

12 See Yue-Hashimoto (1991), (1992) and (1993a) for details.
choice between the affirmative and its negative counterpart with the conjunction 與 in between, namely VP_{affirmative} + conj + VP_{negative}:

(3) 三十年春晋人侵郑以觀其可攻與否 [左僖 30.1]
   ‘In the spring of the 30th year, the Jin invaded Zheng to see whether it could be attacked’

Next comes the VP-Qprt (=question particle) form found extensively in pre-Qin received texts. In the Zuo Commentary, 乎 is used as the Qprt:

(4) 吾子孫其覆亡之不暇,而況能禋祀許乎 [隱 11.3]
   ‘My sons and grandsons do not even have time [to salvage the country from being] overthrown, how can they offer sacrifice to the ancestors of Xu?’

Hybrid forms of VP-Qprt and VP-neg, albeit rare, are also found in pre-Qin received texts: for example, VP-Qprt-neg in the Xunzi 荀子 or VP-neg-Qprt in the Mencius (see below and 3.3 in Part 2). These hybrid forms are important links to the later versions of VP-prt-neg such as witnessed in Southern Min and VP-neg-prt observed in 18th century Cantonese.

The earliest extant V-not-V forms, such as the VP-neg-V and the V-neg-V, are found during the Qin dynasty (see 3.2.1), the VP-neg-VP during the Tang time and finally the V-neg-VP in the 19th century (see 3.2.2).

Before the discovery of the bamboo slips in the Qin tombs in Shuihudi 睡虎地 of Yunmeng 雲夢 in 1975, it was generally assumed that the V-not-V question form was of late origin. Now we know it occurred as early as the Qin dynasty, but there is still difficulty in determining its distribution with respect to the VP-neg form. Historically speaking, although X. Qiu (1979) does not deny the possible existence of both the V-neg-V and the VP-neg as early as the Yin dynasty, citing example (2), he did say that the form generally used in received texts is the VP-否 type. Mei (1978) traces the origin and development of the Disjunctive Question forms since the pre-Qin times. Nonetheless, whether the VP-neg question form is an offshoot of the Disjunctive Question form remains to be clarified. Moreover, apart from the example from

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14 For the VP-neg-VP form, Ohta (1958) quoted an example of A. Stein MSS from the Wixirion of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra 大般若波羅蜜多經 of early Tang: 是心不是心? [無心論 S296] ‘Is it the heart or is it not the heart?’.
15 D. Zhu (1985) assumed that Mei (1978) described the V-not-V question form as derived from the disjunctive question form; however, this claim is not explicitly stated in Mei’s article, although we find statements such as: “The relationship between the disjunctive and the
Western Zhou, the only evidence we have is the single example in the bamboo slips of Qin:¹⁶

(5) 免老告人以為不孝, 謂殺, 當三環之不? [p.195]
‘The old man accused (him) to be unfilial, and asked for the death sentence, should it go through the procedure of pardon thrice?’

Since there is no other example, one cannot rule out the possibility of scribal error of omitting the 當 after 不.

Another type of question closest to the modern VP-neg is the VP-否乎 found in the Mencius, as for example:¹⁷

(6) 則去之否乎 (公孫丑 B4)
‘Would you dismiss him or not?’

Since the particle 乎 is a question marker, and since 否 never occurs alone to mark a question, the function of 否 here is not equivalent to that of neg in the modern VP-neg question form. Yet, its presence laid the foundation for the development of the genuine VP-neg form—it may be considered a hybrid form of the most prevalent Particle-Question marked with a question particle such as 乎 in received texts, and the VP-neg type. It is significant that this same procedure is repeated in the emergence of the Adv-VP form.

As pointed out in M. Zhang (1990), examples of genuine VP-neg questions appear in abundance in the Shiji Chronicles 史記. As for colloquial documents, it appears in many translations of Buddhist texts in post-Han times. For example, in the translation of the 沙門果經 Samanāthapalasutta by Buddhayasas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (both of the late 4th and early 5th centuries), we find examples of the VP-neg question form where neg is 不 or 否:¹⁸

V-not-V question (你去不去) is very close, the difference lies only in the former is a choice between A and B while the latter is a choice between A and non-A” (p. 19) and “The source of such sentence pattern as 還知也無? is 爲知邪不知邪? which became 爲如也不 through ellipsis and contraction…” (p. 25).

¹⁶ See Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu (1978).
¹⁷ M. Zhang (1990), quoting Y. Liu (1986), mentions that there is only one more example of this type found in the Mencius: 如此則動心否乎 (公孫丑 A2). We found another example, although the question is embedded as an object of the verb: 孟仲子對曰...今病小愈造于朝我不識能至否乎 (公孫丑 B2) ‘Meng Zhongzi replied...now [Mencius] is a little better and has hastened to court. I do not know if [he] can get here’.
¹⁸ See 大正大藏經 1.107-9.
Since then, the VP-neg form with or without a particle before the neg is popular in the colloquial Buddhist texts or in the bianwen 变文 (4th-10th century) where neg assumes a variety of forms such as 未, 無, 不, 否 and prt comprises 也, 以, 已:19

(7) a. 今諸沙門現在所修 現果報不? [2]
   ‘Will what the samana now strive for receive retribution now?’

b. 今者沙門現在修道 現得報否? [9] ibid

(8) 汝頗曾詣諸沙門 婆羅門所 問如此義不?
   ‘Have you attempted to visit the śramanas and the brahmans to ask if it is of such meaning?’ [2]

Since then, the VP-neg form with or without a particle before the neg is popular in the colloquial Buddhist texts or in the bianwen 变文 (4th-10th century) where neg assumes a variety of forms such as 未, 無, 不, 否 and prt comprises 也, 以, 已:19

(9) 子命盡未? [搜神記:886]
   ‘Has our son’s life ended yet?’

(10) 陵在蕃中有死色無? [伍子胥變文:93]
   ‘Does Ling bear a deathlike countenance among the barbarians?’

(11) 此園堪不? [降摩變文:364]
   ‘Will this garden do?’

(12) 軍中有火石否? [李陵變文:86]
   ‘Is there a flintstone in the army?’

(13) 有號也無? [漢將王陵變:38]
   ‘Is there a bugle?’

(14) 不多喚人來捉我以否? [伍子胥變文:13]
   ‘Wouldn’t he ask people to come and arrest me?’

(15) 求之可得已不? [降魔變文:367]
   ‘Can it be obtained?’

(16) 未委娘子賜許以不? [秋胡變文:157]
   ‘I wonder if you, young lady, will grant permission?’

(17) 昨夜念經是汝已否? [冕山遠公話:177]
   ‘Is it you who recited the text last night?’

or the Zutangji of the 10th century:20

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20 According to Liu Yunning’s (1995) calculation, among 499 instances of neutral question forms, only 16 are of the VP-不-VP type while 483 are of the VP-neg type, among which 276 (57.14%) bear VP-也無 and 186 (38.5%) bear VP-不. However, his calculation does not take into account the fact that an overwhelming number of the VP-也無 are also marked with 還, so that the pattern is really 還…VP-也無. See section 3.4 in Part 2 for further discussion.
3.2 The V-not-V form

The V-not-V question includes four variation forms according to the structure of the VP as follows:

- **V-neg-V** — such as 你走不走? ‘Are you leaving?’; 他胖不胖? ‘Is he fat?’
- **VP-neg-VP** — such as (ia) 你吃肉不吃肉? ‘Do you eat meat?’; (iia) 你是木匠不是木匠? ‘Are you a carpenter?’; (iiia) 你有筆沒有? ‘Do you have a pen?’; (iia) 他要來不要來? ‘Does he want to come?’; (va) 你跳得上去跳不上去? ‘Can you jump up?’; (via) 你跟他說不跟他說? ‘Are you telling him?’
- **VP-neg-V** — such as (ib) 你吃肉不吃? (iib) 你是木匠不是? (iiib) 你有筆沒有? (ivb) 他要來不要? 21
- **V-neg-VP** — such as (ic) 你吃肉不吃肉? (iic) 你是不是木匠? (iiic) 你有沒有筆? (ivc) 他要不要來? (vic) 你跳不跳得上去? (v) 你跟不跟他說?

A particle may occur after the first V or VP. If a particle occurs at the end of the question, it is usually optional. Some of these variations with the intra-sentence particle have typological significance, as we shall see in Part 2.

For the purpose of typological classification at the primary level, dialects are classified according to the imperfective form of the VP since the perfective form is generally of the VP-neg type because the negative marker often merges with the perfective marker to form a complex of neg+aspect. 22 For example, the Zhengzhou 鄭州 and the Luoyang 洛陽 dialect of Henan basically use the V-not-V question form. However, since the negative form of the Vext/poss 有 is a merger of neg+Vext/poss, or [mau24] for Zhengzhou and [miu33] for Luoyang, and since this very form is used for the negative perfective, all questions with the negative perfective have the VP-neg form,

21 Examples bearing the same Roman number share the same gloss.
22 There are also dialects using, for example, the V-neg-VP form for the perfective, as reported by Zhang Min for scores of Southeastern Mandarin or Jiang-Huai dialects. The perfective forms will be very useful in distinguishing typological sub-types, which will be discussed in Part 2.
such as 你去過北京 [mau] (Zhengzhou) or 你去過北京 [miə] (Luoyang) for ‘Have you been to Beijing?’

Chart 1 below, based on information from D. Zhu (1985), M. Zhang (1990), Yue (1991), the field work of the Comparative Dialectal Grammar Project team (in bold type), as well as published materials, gives a rough idea of the distribution of the various V-not-V forms across dialects. For materials not investigated by our team, the classification is very tentative.

Chart 1. Distribution of the V-not-V question form in the modern dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>V-not-V = exclusive in occurrence</th>
<th>V-not-V or VP-neg</th>
<th>V-not-V or VP-neg [native]</th>
<th>V-not-V or Adv-VP</th>
<th>V-not-V or Adv-VP [native]</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>North</strong></td>
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<td>Hebei: Beijing</td>
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<td>Hebei: Beijing</td>
<td>Ningxia: Yinchuan</td>
<td>Henan: Zhengzhou</td>
<td>Shandong: Weihai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henan: Zhoukou, Luoyang, Shenqiu, Kaifeng</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shanxi:</td>
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<td>Shaanxi:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gansu: Lanzhou, Jinchuan</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NW</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hubei: Huangshi, Wuhan, Yangzi River Delta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sichuan:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Examples taken from J. Lu (1992:144) for Zhengzhou and W. He (1993:107) for Luoyang but with the tone marks changed into the numerical system.
24 Whereas M. Zhang (1990:81) regards these dialects, together with 蒙平, the V-not-V type, we consider them the Adv-VP. For details, see Part 2.
25 The Taiyuan dialect was investigated by Shen Ming of the Shucri Educational College.
26 The Tianshui dialect was investigated by Du Xingzhou with a native speaker Zhao Long, who was born and raised in Tongren, who was 72 years old at the time and who knows Tibetan spoken in the area.
Investigated by Zhang Min with Huang Jilin

According to M. Zhang (1990:65-66), the VP-neg type in Chengdu is used only in questions with 得 introducing a complement, for example: 你明天來得倒不? ‘Are you able to come tomorrow?’

Among the 7 examples in the conversation, 3 are V-neg-V and 3 V-neg-VP, but there is one VP-neg-VP: [你]今天過江不過江? ‘Are you crossing the river today?’

All the localities up to this point are based on Chao et al. (1938).

The above localities are based on Zhang Min’s field work. In the case of Wuhan, disyllabic verbs such as 懂得 ‘to know’, 認得 ‘to recognize’, 答應 ‘to promise’, 好看 ‘to be good-looking’, 高興 ‘to be glad’, 用功 ‘to be diligent’ appear either in full form or split form but the split form is more frequently used; for example: for ‘Is he happy?’ the split form 他高不高興啊 is more frequently used than 高興不高興?

At the time when Zhang Min investigated this dialect, there was no clear evidence whether the native stratum of it was V-not-V or VP-neg. Compared to Chao et al.’s earlier record of 1938, we can conjecture that the native stratum must have been VP-neg since the neighboring city dialect used VP-neg.

Investigated by Zhang Min with Huang Jilin as native speaker.
### Syntactic Typology in Chinese (Part I): The Neutral Question Forms — V-not-V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Cities/Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>蕪湖縣, 常熟, 南陵, 青陽, 太平, 容縣, 灌 溪, 芜湖, 太和, 順德, 驢陽, 定遠, 銀山, 平陽, 唐洛, 鈞陵, 同安市, 黃陽, 塔 城, 峨西</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>蘇州, 南京, 江陰(錦溪村, 蘇鈞村)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>畲州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>鼎陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huizhou</td>
<td>安慶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>綏紹杭杭, 湖州, 金華</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>湯陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>襄陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>阳江</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>福州</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: underlined items are the majority in occurrence; all dialects in bold type are based on our detailed investigation; the capital ‘C’ before a number, e.g. C19, stands for ‘century’ in abbreviation.

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34 Conghua, Bao’an, Huaxian and Donguan were investigated by Yang Jianguo, and the rest by Gao Ran and Zhong Qi.
From Chart 1, it can be observed that those which use the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form exclusively are overwhelmingly Mandarin dialects, while there is good reason to believe that the Shanxi dialects, or in general, the Northwestern Mandarin dialects, the inland Shandong dialects and even the Central Mandarin dialects, have as their native type the VP-neg form, since we shall see that the majority of these dialects, particularly those spoken in more remote areas, use the VP-neg form. Notice that dialects like Lanzhou 蘭州 or Jinan 濟南 are spoken in metropolitan areas easily influenced by the standard dialect, whereas the Zhengzhou 鄭州 dialect carries the VP-neg form whenever the Vex/poss 有 is used; for example, 還有飯 [mau]?

A number of Southwestern, Southeastern Mandarin and Huizhou dialects also use the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form. However, there is also overlap in usage: Southeastern Mandarin dialects such as Yangzhou 楊州 in Jiangsu use both the \( V \text{-not-}V \) (more frequent) and the Adv-VP (less frequent) form. In addition, as we shall see below, the majority of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects in Sichuan use either the V-neg-VP or the VP-neg form and those of the Southeastern Mandarin dialects use the Adv-VP form, so that the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form may not belong to the native stratum of these dialects.

Even Southern dialects employ the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form, as seen above in some Wu, Gan, Hakka and Yue dialects. As early as the first part of the 19th century, there is evidence that Cantonese used the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form. In Morrison (1828), there is a sole example of a \( V \text{-neg-}V \) question:

(20) 你歡喜唔歡喜
'Do you like to have it so' [LIM]

Overlap in usage is evident: Wu dialects like Danyang 丹陽, Hakka dialects like Huiyang 惠陽, Yue dialects like Zengcheng 增城 and Min dialects like Fuzhou 福州 use both the \( V \text{-not-}V \) (more frequent) and the VP-neg (less frequent) form. Again, the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form does not seem to be native. Hangzhou 杭州 constitutes a special case in being historically the capitol of the Southern Song dynasty from 1138 through 1278, absorbing considerable influence from the North; therefore, it is not surprising that contrary to the majority of the Wu dialects, which use either the VP-neg form or the Adv-VP form, it prefers the \( V \text{-not-}V \) form. It is also significant that Shaoxing 紹興.

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35 Examples taken from J. Lu (1992:144) but with the tone mark changed into the numerical system.
36 Information on Hangzhou is based on Simmons (1992) and on Liancheng based on M. Xiang (1990).
Zhuji 諸暨 and Shengxian 嵊縣—the other places that use the V-not-V form—are in its immediate environs. The majority of the Gan and the Hakka dialects use the VP-neg form; while most of the Min dialects use either the VP-neg form or the Adv-VP form. Although a good number of the Yue dialects seem to prefer the V-not-V form, more conservative dialects further away from the delta area, such as Kaiping 開平 and Taishan 台山, prefer the VP-neg form, as we shall see in section 3.3.2.

In conclusion, the V-not-V form is native to dialects spoken in the heartland of the North. With limited syntactic information on dialects of this area, which is not covered in our field work, we can only rely on M. Zhang (1990) in citing Henan, Shandong (Jiaodong peninsula), Dongbei, central Jiangsu as the major V-not-V dialects. However, the territory of the V-not-V form, due to the prestige of the standard dialect that is marked by the usage of this form, extends far beyond its original boundary, encroaching upon the domain of the other two neutral question forms, creating different syntactic strata in a great number of dialects. Stratification often manifests itself in the correlation of usage of different neutral question forms with different social groups, especially with respect to age, mobility and educational background. The V-not-V form often enters a dialect of the VP-neg or the Adv-VP type and establishes itself with younger, mobile and more educated speakers while the native form may have its stronghold with older, less mobile and less educated speakers, who tend to be more conservative.

M. Zhang (1990) presents historical records and accounts concerning the migration of people during different periods that have bearing on the geographical distribution of the V-not-V as well as other neutral question forms observed nowadays. The reader is referred to this work for explanation of geographically disconnected regions that employ typologically similar patterns. The principle for interdisciplinary research should be to pursue evidence and establish assumptions in each discipline independent of others before seeking correlation of evidence. This way circularity can be avoided and such independently reached conclusions can be deemed truly supportive of each other. While the study of the linguistic distribution of patterns is our primary concern and it should not be built on external evidence, the correlation between linguistic facts and external factors is important. From such independently made correlation it is possible to make assumptions relying on linguistic evidence alone when historical documents are lacking.

3.2.1 The VP-neg-V type

The full form of the V-not-V question, VP-neg-VP, is not popular among the dialects. We only know that the Huojiang 獲嘉 dialect in Henan and Old Pekinese—Pekinese spoken by people over 60 years old (or Pekinese that appears in
written records before the middle of the 20th century)—prefer to use this form. However, with respect to early documents, the extant oldest version of *Lao Qida*, the presumed to be written during the Yuan dynasty or the end of the Koryo period around the middle of the 14th century, does not show preference for the VP-neg-VP form but gives a variety of different neutral questions, which include the VP-prt-neg-VP, the VP-prt-neg-V and VP(-prt)-neg, among which the VP-neg type occurs the most often.

For example:

(21) 耐繁教那不耐繁教? [02左:03-04]
   ‘Does [he] teach with patience?’

(22) 喫得飽那不飽? [12左:02]
   ‘Did you eat to your fill?’

(23) a. 有轆轆那無? [09左:01]
    ‘Do you have a pulley?’
   b. 高麗客人李舍有麼? [20右:09]
    ‘Is the Korean guest at the Li’s?’

In fact, of the three types, VP(-prt)-neg shows the highest frequency of usage — about 11 tokens, not counting the perfective or fixed expressions such as 好麼, while there is only one for VP-neg-V and 2 for VP-prt-neg-V. Thus, during the Yuan dynasty, VP(-prt)-neg was actually the dominant form.

M. Zhang (1990), based on Lanzhou Daxue (1963), mentions that the Lanzhou dialect in Gansu prefers the VP-neg-VP type. However, thirty years later, our detailed investigation of this dialect in the early 1990’s did not turn up any such example. This is a typical example of an old pattern being squeezed out of use. In our survey, V-neg-V and W-neg-VP are used to the exclusion of VP-neg-V unless the main verb is Vex/poss 有; in addition, high frequency disyllabic verbs may occur in ‘split’ form when appearing in a V-neg-VP question, as for example, 知不知道他的那個事 ‘Do [you] know of his matter?’ 認不認得這個人 ‘Do [you] recognize this person?’ The case with the Vex/poss 有 is interesting: it occurs mainly in V-neg-VP but there are

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37 See W. He (1991) as well as M. Zhang (1990:72) for details.
38 M. Zhang points out that while this oldest version has *prt* in the V-not-V forms, three later versions, 老乞大諺解, 老乞大新釋, and 重刊老乞大諺解 often omit the *prt* (personal communication).
39 Our native speaker of the Lanzhou dialect, Li Yu 李宇, at the time of investigation was 28 years old and a graduate student at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He was born and raised in Lanzhou, although his father was from the Zhuoni 卓尼 prefecture of Gansu and his mother from Xi’an. He also understood the Xi’an dialect though spoke it with an accent.
sometimes cases of VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V. For example, the following sentences are preferred by the speaker:

(24) 你有時間沒有？ 你有沒有時間？
        ‘Do you have time?’
(25) a. 外面有人沒有？
        ‘Is there someone outside?’
b. 桌上有茶杯沒有？
        ‘Is there a teacup on the table?’
(26) a. 你們家養鶏沒有？
        ‘Do you raise chickens?’
b. 你們家有沒有菜園？
        ‘Do you have a vegetable garden?’
(27) 你有沒有妹妹？
        ‘Do you have a younger sister?’

This mixture of usage is typical of a situation of language change, which can be observed in almost all of the dialects we investigated. Although V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP is the dominant form over VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V in late 20\textsuperscript{th} century Lanzhou, we can safely conclude that its native form is VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V, which has been gradually taken over by the popular V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP form. What is even more interesting is that the Vex/poss \textit{有} is the lagger in the change, which, as we shall see, makes Lanzhou similar to the Southern Min dialects in the process of change, while other dialects usually follow the path of change as that of Pekinese.\footnote{The case of Pekinese studied in M. Zhang (1990) over roughly the last century exhibits the same scenario of the gradual encroachment of the V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP form over the VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V form. The process of change is however different from Lanzhou. There the non-native V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP form first appeared with the copula, next with Vopt and last with all other types of verbs. For details, see Yue (1993b).}

Thus, in the case of Lanzhou, while VP\text{-}neg\text{-}VP is the native form in mid 20\textsuperscript{th} century (henceforth Lanzhou\textsubscript{1}), it is replaced by the VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V and V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP forms by the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, with VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V seen as the native form but is also gradually being usurped by the V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP form (henceforth Lanzhou\textsubscript{2}).

Further refinement of the syntactic typology of the V\text{-}not\text{-}V question form is found in D. Zhu (1990), in which the V\text{-}not\text{-}V form is subdivided into a VO\text{-}neg\text{-}V and a V\text{-}neg\text{-}VO type, which we may redefine as a VP\text{-}neg\text{-}V type and a V\text{-}neg\text{-}VP type, since VP may contain a verbal complement rather than an object NP. Naturally, this distinction is possible only when VP contains an object NP or a complement VP.
According to M. Zhang (1990), the VP-neg-V form is popular in Old Pekinese and Lanzhou, and according to W. He (1991), the VP-neg-V form is popular in Huojia alongside with the VP-neg-VP form. In addition, the VP-neg-V type is characteristic of the Mandarin dialects of Hebei, Shanxi, northern Henan, Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai. Unfortunately, except for Pekinese and the Huojia dialect of Henan, there is no detailed study or data of the neutral question forms of the Northern Mandarin dialects. Other dialects mentioned in M. Zhang (1990) using mainly the VP-neg-V form include Shangcai 上蔡 in northern Henan. According to both accounts, there seems to be no dialects using the VP-neg-V form exclusively.

Little information is available on dialects in southern Henan and on other Hebei dialects than Pekinese. It is difficult to define the distribution of the VP-neg-V dialects, although we believe the area must have been much larger than the present-day region of northern Henan. Observing the case of Lanzhou1 and Lanzhou2, VP-neg-V is very likely developed from VP-neg-VP. Thus, we may surmise that while the nucleus for both VP-neg-VP and its variant VP-neg-V was Henan, it could have an overlay in the surrounding areas.

However, the Northwestern Mandarin dialects spoken in Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai are mainly of the VP-neg type, although the VP-neg-V form may also be used (but less frequently) in certain dialects such as Hongtong 洪洞 (Shanxi) or Qingjian 清澗 (Shaanxi) (see section 3.3).

The present-day distribution of the VP-neg-V form is rather limited: as the primary form of the neutral question, it is native to northern Henan and probably its neighboring areas; and even as a secondary form, it is limited to some Northwestern, Southwestern and Southeastern Mandarin dialects. Historically, however, the Northwest is the oldest known region with the VP-neg-V form, since this form appeared in the legal catechism 法律答問 of the Qin dynasty, as already pointed out in X. Qiu (1988) and D. Zhu (1990). The VP-neg-V type, where VP contains the Vopt 當 followed by another verb is the majority among the total of about two dozen questions, while the VP-neg-V form with the verb 為 plus an object shows just two instances, and the V-neg-V type merely once. For example:

(28) 大夫寡，當伍及人不當 [p.217]
‘Senior officials are few, should [they] be grouped into ranks like others?’

(29) 越裏中之與它裏界者，垣為完(院)不為 [p.231]
‘Is the boundary wall between the neighbor and what passes over to the

---

41 Although the sites excavated in December 1975 were in the Yunneng prefecture of Hubei, the bamboo slips with legal catechisms unearthed from tomb No. 11 were from the Qin dynasty. These catechisms were published in the Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian 睡虎地秦墓簡, 1978.
neighbor considered a surrounding wall?'

(30) 藏(藏)者論不論? [p.230]

‘Should the one storing the booty be accused of committing a criminal act?’

Unfortunately, there is not enough documented data to trace the geographical distribution of the usage of the VP-neg-V form during Qin times or thereafter. Was the use of the VP-neg-V form at that time limited to the northwestern area? With a gap of more than one thousand years at the end of which, the bianwen 变文 of the Tang dynasty appeared. The bianwen can be traced back to the Northwest, but it bears overwhelmingly the VP-neg form. At this point, it is difficult to surmise what had happened in between in this northwestern region. According to a study of F. Wu (1996) on the neutral question forms in the bianwen based on Wang et al. (1984), the majority is the VP-neg type and a minority is of the V-not-V type, while the Adv-VP type barely exists. Wu’s chart of the frequency of occurrence is reproduced here with minor adjustment: 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sub-type</th>
<th>neg form</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total %</th>
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<tr>
<td>VP-neg</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>44.85</td>
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<td>V-neg-V</td>
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<td>V-prt-neg</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0.74%</td>
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<td>Grand Total</td>
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<td>136</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42 See F. Wu (1966: 482).
Below are some examples of the V-neg-V type with and without a *prt preceding the *neg:

‘Will the masses listen, can you? Are you willing?’

(32) 識也不識? [韓擒虎話本, p.202]
‘Do you know [it]?’

In his calculation of these occurrences, however, Wu did not distinguish among the subtypes of V-neg-V, VP-neg-V, V-neg-VP and VP-neg-VP. It seems that the V-neg-V subtype is in the overwhelming majority, although there are some interesting examples of VP-neg-V, where VP contains VC (verb + complement) or VO (verb + object), such as:

(33) 捕得不得? (漢將王陵變, p.40)
‘Was [he] captured or not?’

(34) 說與夫人，從你不從? (太子成道經, p.291)
‘(If you) tell your wife, will she follow you?’

In addition, the example cited for the Adv-VP type is questionable. 可 in the following sentence is not necessarily the Adv in a neutral question but may also be interpreted as an emphatic marker:

(35) 可能捨得己身 與我充為高座? [妙法蓮華經講經文, p.496]
‘Can you indeed spare your own self and act as the rostrom for me?’

Does this mean that the V-not-V question form of the Northwest, and more specifically the VP-neg-V form (up to this time, no documented evidence of the V-neg-VP form has been found), has been replaced by the VP-neg form? Or had there always been dialectal difference with certain areas using the VP-neg-V and others the VP-neg form? Lacking further internal evidence, external evidence from areal linguistic examples may be of use. That is why a typological study of the syntactic constructions of neighboring minority languages is important.

### 3.2.2 The V-neg-VP form

The V-neg-VP form is at present the most popular neutral question among modern
dialects. It is widespread among Southwestern Mandarin, the Jiaodong peninsula of Shandong, the Dongbei region, Southeastern Mandarin, and is found in practically all the major dialect groups, such as Yue, Hakka, Min (especially Northern Min), Wu, Xiang and Gan. It is predicted that its domain will spread even wider, to the extent that other forms except V-neg-V may become obsolete in the future. This will be shown below as we follow the microhistory of those dialects for which we have available historical data.

As mentioned in the previous section, the V-neg-VP form is a new development. Although Ohta (1958) cites the following example from the 
bian wen
:

(36) 佛是誰家種族？先代有沒家門？[降魔變文, p.377]
‘What ethnicity is Bhuda, does it have good family background?’

C. Feng (2000) raises doubt on 沒, which he thinks may actually be an interrogative pronoun, a contraction of 何物(勿) ‘what’, a transitional form appearing during the middle and the late Tang.

Although the fact that the V-neg-VP form is not found in any historical document before Tang times does not necessarily prove that it did not exist earlier in history, since written documents, more often than not, represent the standard, literary language. Colloquial documents such as certain Buddhist texts, verbatim records, etc. are rare and neither the study of the Zutangji nor of the bianwen so far have turned up any other than the sole example quoted above of the V-neg-VP type of neutral question. Still, one may argue that it may have existed in some earlier colloquial language not recorded in any written form. However, due to the following two facts to be discussed below, it is quite unlikely that this is the case.

In the earliest extant colloquial Southern Min documents—the four versions of The Litchi (Mirror) Tale 荔枝記/荔鏡記, The Golden Flower Girl 金花女, Su Liu-nian 蘇六娘 and the Schoolmate and Zither Book 同窗琴書記—dated 1566 through 1884, only 3 examples (all from the Jiajing 嘉靖 edition of the Litchi Tale of 1566) of the V-not-V question form were found, two of which bear the VP-neg-V form:

(37) (外) 有文書沒有 (p. 1B.1.8)
‘(Elder Brother) Is there an official document?’

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44 See Yue-Hashimoto (2004), where it is described that both the VP-neg and the V-not-V form (either V 不 or VP 不) are found mostly in more formal and standard speech, while a hybrid form of Adv-VP-prt-neg occurs extensively (467 instances) in colloquial speech on the whole. There are also some rare instances (four occurrences) of the Adv-VP type.
These examples are all loan forms—the use of 沒有 instead of the native 無 for the negative counterpart of Vex/poss betrays its non-native status. Moreover, most other examples (numbered around 176 out of 226) of the neutral question in these texts are of the VP-neg type. These 3 examples must have been borrowed from the standard language of the time or a version of the standard language used in the local court, which was evidently of the VP-neg-V type. Note that the speakers using this VP-neg-V form are all of high social status and would be expected to use some kind of standard court language. No example of the V-neg-VP form was found.

Next, Cantonese as spoken in the 19th century did not have the V-neg-VP form at all, although it now uses almost exclusively this form. So far the earliest documented examples of V-neg-VP in this dialect date from 1912:

(40) 係唔係中國算至大嘅城呀? (IV.20)
   ‘Is it counted as the biggest city in China?’

(41) 隻船, 係唔係, 今晚開身去天津呀? (VII.1)
   ‘Is the boat sailing to Tianjin tonight?’

while those of VP-neg-V date no later than 1877:

(42) 佢識字唔識? (p.7)
   ‘Is he literate?’

(43) 重要買牛奶唔要呀 (p.16)
   ‘Do you still want to buy milk?’

Both types were loan forms at that time when the VP-neg form dominated the scene.

If the V-neg-VP form had been in use in the southern periphery of Northern Chinese in the 16th or the 19th century, Southern Min and Cantonese would have borrowed this form instead of the geographically more remote VP-neg-V form. In addition, there is yet no evidence that the V-neg-VP form was spoken north of the VP-neg-V form. The fact that nowadays the Dongbei area uses the V-neg-VP form, according to M. Zhang (1990), is due to immigration from the Jiaodong peninsula of 

45 Examples taken from Jones & Woo (1912). See Yue-Hashimoto (1993b) for details.
46 Examples taken from Anonymous (1877). See Yue-Hashimoto 1993b) for details.
Shandong which employs the V-neg-VP form.

It is more difficult to pinpoint the homeland of the V-neg-VP form. The homeland probably borders the VP-neg-V form to its north and the VP-neg as well as the Adv-VP form to its south. In other words, it occupies the southern region of the Northern Mandarin dialects. There is one exception: the Jiaodong peninsula of Shandong, which lies to the east of both the VP-neg-V and the VP-neg areas, uses the V-neg-VP form. Unfortunately, there is little detailed information on the neutral question forms of these dialects so that it is difficult to decide if the V-neg-VP form is native of these dialects. However, if it is the case that the V-neg-VP form is a new development, it could have spread from the Southeastern Mandarin area along the coast. Further investigation and research need be conducted before it can be determined how the V-neg-VP form came about.

The present-day distribution of the V-neg-VP form, as a result of linguistic diffusion, far exceeds its original homeland. For example, it has penetrated metropolitan area almost everywhere—New Pekinese is a good example; it has penetrated the VP-neg area of the Yue dialects around the Pearl River delta as well as other dialect regions. Sixteen dialects investigated in detail by a Guangzhou team of field workers—Yang Jianguo 楊建國, Gao Ran 高然 and Zhong Qi 鍾奇 in 1992—all use the V-neg-VP form: Guangzhou 廣州, Shenzhen 深圳, Zhuhai 珠海, Panyu Shiqiao 番禺市橋, Conghua 從化, Huixian Huashan 花縣花山, Dongguan Guanchen 東莞莞城, Bao'an Shajingzhou 寶安沙井鎮, Zhongshan Shiqi 中山石祁, Sanshui Xinan 三水西南, Gaoming Mingcheng 高明明城, Shunde Dalang 順德大良, Nanshan Shatou 南海沙頭, Jiangmen Bai沙, Xinhui 新會, Doumenzhen 斗門鎮, Heshan Yaoao 碧山雅若, and Enping Niujiang 恩平牛江. However, the V-not-V form is non-native to the Yue dialect group since earlier record of the C19 as well as speakers from villages and cities of regions further away from the provincial capitol Canton show usage of the VP-neg form.

The Miaoli 苗栗 dialect of Taiwan Hakka illustrates a case of a dialect that is probably VP-neg in origin but has absorbed, like many Yue dialects, the V-prt-neg-VP form totally and rarely does a VP-neg form appear; for example ([na₅⁵]=prt): 47

(44) a. 其肯[na₅⁵][m²⁵]肯來?
   ‘Is he willing to come?’

b. 其天光日肯來無?
   ‘Is he willing to come tomorrow?’

47 The Miaoli Hakka examples are due to Li Ming Kuang 黎明光, who is a native speaker of the dialect.
Another Hakka dialect that has adopted the V-neg-VP form is Huiyang Lianghua 惠陽良化 of Guangdong, where only 8 out of over 70 examples carry the VP-neg form:

(45) a. 你看戲沒有？(=[m])?
   ‘Are you going to the play?’
   b. 你去唔去睇戲？ibid

As gathered from the above examples, [m] is the contraction of the negative marker [m] + the final particle [s\textsuperscript{4}] used in the V-not-V question form, which serves as an obvious case illustrating the formation of neg in the VP-neg form across dialects.

The Gan dialect of Ji’an 吉安 investigated by Dai Yaqing 戴耀晶 with 2 native speakers uses both the VP-neg as well as the V-not-V form.\textsuperscript{49} Although it is most likely that the VP-neg form is native, the V-neg-VP form freely alternates with it, so that the dialect has become amphibious with respect to these two forms. For example:

(46) a. 你們村有跳神個波(=[p\textsuperscript{s}])?
   ‘Does your village have a shaman?’
   b. 你們村有不有跳神個？ibid

(47) a. 你爬得上波(=[p\textsuperscript{s}])?
   ‘Can you climb up?’
   b. 你爬不爬得上？/ 你爬得上爬不上？ibid

Based on Chao et al. (1938), despite the scarcity of its grammatical materials, we can catch a glimpse of the question form in the Hubei dialects. Out of the 64 dialects, at least 25 show the use of the V-neg-VP form: Hankou 漢口, Hanchuan 漢川, Mianyang 河陽, Tianmen 天門, Jingshan 京山, Jingmen 荊門, Zhijiang 枝江, Badong 巴東, Yuanxian 湘縣, Guanghua 光化, Zhongxiang 鍾祥, Anlu 安陸, Yingcheng 應城, Yunmeng 雲夢, Lishan 禮山, Huangpi 黃陂, Macheng 麻城, Luotian 龍田, Guangji 廣濟, Qichun 蕪春, Daye 大冶, Jiayu 嘉魚, Chongyang 慶陽, Tongcheng 通城 and Gong’an 公安. For example,

\textsuperscript{48} The Huiyang dialect was investigated by the author with a 60-year old informant Hu Rundi 胡閏娣 in Hong Kong. Hu was born in Huiyang and left for Hong Kong when she was 18 years old. She had hardly any schooling.

\textsuperscript{49} Xiao Yongchun 小永春 and Xiao Shiyu 小時雨 were two native speakers of the city dialect of Ji’an that Dai Yaojing worked with. Both were born and raised in Ji’an and have never left their native place and both had college education. At the time of investigation, Xiao Yongchun was 33 years old and Xiao Shiyu 26 years old.

\textsuperscript{50} Among the 7 examples in the conversation, 3 are V-neg-V and 3 V-neg-VP, but there is one VP-neg-VP: [你]今天過江不過江？‘Are you crossing the river today?’
According to investigation by Zhang Min, who carried out extensive field work on more than 70 dialects mostly in eastern Hubei in 1990-1991, 42 use the V-neg-VP form exclusively, among which are: Ezhou, Xiantao, Tianmen, Honghu, Suixian Xilu, Qianjiang Yuanlin, Songzi, Jianli, Wuchang, Hanyang, Jiangling, Taihu, Qingshan, Jingmen, Lianshui, Liangcheng, Lianyu, Nanhu, Hanchuan, Huanggang, Xinzhou, and Xishui (Qingquan). The following examples are cited from the Echeng (= Ezhou) dialect:

(48) 你們種不種大麥啊？
‘Do you cultivate wheat?’ (p. 827).

(49) 你吃不吃煙?
‘Do you smoke?’

(50) 你有不有冒得妹妹?
‘Do you have a younger sister?’

(51) 你可不可以去?
‘Can you go?’

Other dialects investigated by Zhang Min that use the V-neg-VP form exclusively include Lianshui, Liangcheng, Lianyu, Nanhu, Hanchuan, Huanggang, Xinzhou, and Xishui. The following is an example from Lianshui:

(52) 他們相不相信你的話?
‘Do they believe in your words?’

Dialects in central and eastern Sichuan such as Daxian, Nanchong, Mianyang, Lezhi, Zizhong, Neijiang, Longchang, Zigong, Weiyuan, and those in the Jiaodong peninsula (Qingdao) use the V-neg-VP form exclusively.

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51 Information based on Zhang Min’s “V-not-V questions in Southwestern Mandarin” submitted as part of the Final Report to the NEH for the Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar Project.
Yantai, Qixia, Zhaojuan, Laiyang, etc.) are of the same V-neg-VP type according to M. Zhang (1990).

There are many dialects which use the V-neg-VP as its primary form along with VP-neg or Adv-VP as its secondary forms in these areas. Dialects that use the V-neg-VP form more frequently than the VP-neg form include many of Southwestern Mandarin: Huanggang, Macheng, Anlu, Yichang, Yunneng; Chengdu, Chongqing, Jingmen, Tuanlinpu, Zhongxiang, Qiaoxian, Suizhou, Hanzhong, Jingshan, Yangzhu, Hanyang, Jiangmen, Hanchuan, Laiyang, etc. Southwestern Mandarin dialects such as: Shuyang, Siyang, Jiaoxian, Pingdu, etc.

According to Z. Peng (1999), the Hengshan dialect of Hunan uses both the V-neg-VP and the VP-neg form without specifying which is used more often. In a story recorded in Peng's data, however, the VP-neg form is used in an embedded clause:

(53) 你趕快撈床被給我, 看還救得他活不
‘Get me a sheet quick, see if he can be saved’

It is very likely that the VP-neg is the more colloquial form and may be considered the native form.

Many Southeastern Mandarin dialects use the V-neg-VP form along with the Adv-VP form, sometimes with the former more frequently than the latter, sometimes with the same frequency for both: Yangzhou, Hongze, Shihong, Siyang, Huai’an, Xuyi, Baoying, Huaiyin. For reasons to be discussed in Part 2 we tend to think that the Adv-VP form is probably the native form of Southeastern Mandarin.

The Yizhang Chishi dialect of Xiang is described as using the V-neg-VP form according to R. Shen (1999). However, in the folk story Lü Dongbin and Xiao Taiyi, there appears a VP-neg form, albeit in indirect speech:

(54) 蕭太一笑一笑話: 你明日再赴放牛, 問佢出嫁(=tei)嫁無? [p. 261]
‘Xiao Taiyi gave a smile and said: tomorrow you go to tend the cattle again and ask her if she has been engaged’

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Z. Peng (1999) regards Hengshan a Xiang dialect. However, the system of initials have aspirated surds for descendants of the Ancient voiced initials, which according to Ting (1982), would not qualify it as a Xiang dialect characterized by unaspirated surds for such initials.
We consider that this dialect originally had the VP-neg as native and the V-neg-VP as an overlay or belonging to the loan stratum. It is not usual for a dialect to possess a VP-neg form in an embedded clause and not in a neutral question. It is most likely that the V-neg-VP has encroached upon the VP-neg enough to bring about the current situation with the exclusive use of the V-neg-VP form.

According to the investigation of Chen Zhongmin, the Linhai 临海 dialect of Zhejiang and the Haiman 海门 dialect of Jiangsu primarily use the V-not-V form. Since the Wu dialects normally topicalized the object, there are far more V-neg-V forms than others in these two dialects. In Linhai, however, when the verb is the copula, the Vex/poss, the Vloc and the Vopt, the form is V-neg-VP; and when the VP is in the potential, the VP-neg-VP form is used. While VP-neg is acceptable, it is seldom used, save when the VP contains an adverb, in which case, VP-neg is preferred. For example:

(55) a. 你烟吃勿吃?
    ‘Do you smoke?’
b. 渠是勿是你弟?
    ‘Is he your younger brother?’
c. 外頭有無有人?
    ‘Is there someone outside?’
d. 爬得上爬勿上?
    ‘Can [you] climb up?’
e. 渠常常來勿?
    ‘Does he often come?’

The Haimen dialect uses more variety of the V-not-V form, including V-neg-VP, VP-neg-V and VP-neg-VP:

(56) a. 你烟吃勒勿吃?
    ‘Do you smoke?’
b. 伊是你兄弟勿? / 是勒勿是你兄弟?
    ‘Is he your younger brother?’
c. 外頭有人勒不得(人)?
    ‘Is there someone outside?’
d. 伊勒勒[tɕia²⁵ hɔ⁵³]勿勒[tɕia²⁵ hɔ⁵³]?
    ‘Is he here?’
e. 伊一地來勒勿來? / 一地來勿?
‘Does he often come?’

The Wenzhou 温州 dialect recorded by Zheng-Zhang Shangfang 鄭張尚芳 in detail, uses V-neg-prt-V(P) everywhere but sometimes alternating with VP-prt-neg when the verb is the copula; when the verb is Vex/poss or a cognative verb, the VP-prt-neg form is preferred: 54

(57) a. 間裏暖啊不暖
   ‘Is it hot in the room?’

b. 她個事幹你曉得曉不得 / 你曉得啊不
   ‘Do you know of his affairs?’

c. 是你阿弟啊不 / 是不是你阿弟
   ‘Is he your younger brother?’

d. 你有鈔票啊無 / 你鈔票有(啊/也)無啊
   ‘Do you have money?’

The fact that there are cases where VP-neg must be used or serves as an alternative form, it still seems that VP-neg was the native form of these three dialects, although it was largely replaced by the V-not-V form. We shall refer to this version of Wenzhou as Wenzhou1.

Min dialects such as Fuzhou 福州, Fuqing 福清 and Jian’ou 建甌 chiefly use the V-neg-VP form. Even when the verb is Vex/poss, either the V-neg-VP or the VP-neg form can be used. For example in Fuqing:

(58) 有看電影無? / 汝有無看電影?
   ‘Are you going to the movies?’

and similarly in Fuzhou:

(59) 汝有錢無? / 汝有無錢?
   ‘Do you have money?’

In D. Huang (1957), it is stated that “the interrogative [of Jian’ou] uses the ‘有…無’ form like other Fujian dialects.” For example:

54 But see section 3.3.3 for another speaker of Wenzhou who uses both types with equal frequency.
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(60) 你有本事吃毛?
‘Do you have the capability of eating [it]?’

By the late 1990’s, the V-neg-VP and VP-neg-V are all in free variation, while VP-neg seems to be used when a modal is present:

(61) [iou][一本會次得勿會]
‘[Can I] have a look at this book?’

However, in the early 20th century, it is likely that Fuzhou and other Northern Min dialects used the VP-neg form. In the Foochow Colloquial New Testament of 1904 there are many examples of VP-neg. The following are from the Gospel According to Saint Matthew:

(62) tā-Sū gāngǐ gōng, Ciā bǐ-ți u- , nū-gāuk-nè - ng â- huōī - nhour mō?
[13.51]
‘Jesus saith unto them. Have ye understood all these things?’ [12.10]

(63) ūng – sêk – rîk tî nêŋ muék bâng ŋ sâi dêk mâ?
‘Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days?’

Both [mō] 無 and [mā] 嗎 served as neg at that time.

3.2.3 V-V

A V-V type can be distinguished in certain Southeastern Mandarin, Min, Wu, Gan, Hakka and even Yue dialects, all spoken around the eastern coastal provinces. This is either the result of the contraction of neg with V or of the ellipsis of neg in the V-neg-V form. The neg + V contraction type is found in Fuzhou (Min) and Liancheng 連城 (Hakka) while the neg > 0 type is found in the Wu dialects of Shaoxing 紹興, Zhuji 諸暨, Wuyi 武義, Jinhua 金華 and Shengxian 嵊縣 as well as the Southeastern Mandarin dialects of Siyang, Shuyang, Lianshi, Hongze and Huaiyu. The case of

57 See p. 295, opus cited. The phonetic form of 毛 is [mau̯] in the yang-ping tone. It is the negative counterpart of Vex/poss or 無.
58 See Li & Pan (1998: 17). 勿會 is to be regarded as one single graph.
59 See D. Zhu (1990) for details. It should be pointed out that this kind of abbreviated V-not-V question form also exists in certain Yi languages of the Tibeto-Burman group (Nasu, Sani, etc.).
the Liancheng dialect has already been described in detail in M. Xiang (1990) and (1997), that of Fuzhou and of Southeastern Mandarin in M. Zhang (1990). What we want to elaborate here is the case of Shaoxing, which uses the V-V contraction form as its major neutral question form, although V-neg-V is possible, it is infrequently used. Like a number of other Wu dialects (for example, Haimen 海門, Anji 安吉, Pingyang 平陽, Wuyi 武義, Qingtian 青田), object NPs are generally topicalized unless the verb is the copula 是; for example:

(64) 若茶葉鶏子吃吃?
   ‘Do you eat tea-leaves-eggs?’

(65) 桌子高頭茶杯有有?
   ‘Is there a teacup on the table?’

but:

(66) 伊是是偌個阿哥?
   ‘Is he your elder brother?’

This contracted V-V form even occurs as embedded statement if the latter is in a postverbal position:

(67) [te5]我話偌屋買買
   ‘Tell me whether you are going to buy a house’

The noncontracted V-not-V form, though not commonly used for neutral questions, occurs most frequently as embedded statement in a preverbal position:

(68) 相勿相信都[ŋ] ][ni5]事體
   ‘It doesn’t matter whether you believe it or not’

For Yue dialects, only Shunde Chencun 陳村 as described in Ball (1900-01) is known to have had a V-V neutral question form that no longer exists. Ball described the difference between Cantonese and Shuntak (Cantonese pronunciation of Shunde) and the neutral question form is one of it. Three examples are given:

(69) a. 係係呀  ha1* ha1 á?

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60 The Shaoxing dialect was investigated by Chen Zhongmin 陈忠敏.
‘Is it true?’

b. 去去呀？’hōu* hōu á?
‘Are [you] going?’

c. 暗暗呀？huá* huá á?
‘Do [you] understand?’

The asterisk signifies a ‘variant tone’, which is equivalent to what is generally termed biānyìn or morphologically conditioned tone change equivalent to the so-called yī-rúhà於化 of Pekinese, while the four-corner marking is used to designate the traditional tone categories: for example [^] marks the Yin-Shang tone and [^] the Yang-Qu tone.

If the V-V form is indeed a contracted form of the V-neg-VP, an interesting question arises as to whether by the beginning of the 20th century the V-neg-VP form, or at least the V-not-V type, was already widely used in Shunde, to the extent that it resulted in a contracted form. Ball (1900-01) stresses that the common Cantonese forms such as 係唔係 ‘Is it not?’, 去唔去 ‘Going or not?’, 暗唔暗 ‘Know or not?’ are ‘changed’ into the V-V forms given in the set of three examples above.

Unfortunately no other question forms are found in his article to enable us to tell if only V-neg-V was used or V-neg-VP was also used.

An illuminating case can be found in the Yudu Chengguan Gongjiangzhen雩都城關貢江鎮 Hakka as reported in L. Xie (1998). While a reduplication of the verb is used with the tone of the first syllable of the verb or a modal verb rendered in the Entering tone which has the value of [5] (designated by a superscript [5] by the author), if the VP has an object NP, it is not topicalized but remains after the verb and its reduplicate or just the first syllable of the reduplicate, forming the shape of V5VO that is basically similar to V-neg-VP, considering V5 a merger of V + neg. Since 不 in this dialect is read [pu] in its sandhi form, the change of tone to [5] in the first reduplicate can plausibly be analyzed as V + [pu], giving exactly V-neg-VP.

(70) a. 繩子猛⁵猛
‘Is the rope long?’

b. 佢係⁵係你老弟
‘Is he your younger brother?’

c. 桶裡無⁵無水
‘Is there water in the bucket?’

This layout supports the thesis that the V-V form results from incorporation of the neg

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61 The modal may occur in optional reduplication if it appears: 你曾⁵曾吃飯 ‘have you eaten yet?’
with the verb or first syllable of the verb preceding it in the \textit{V-neg-V(P)} question form, leaving a trace of the 
\textit{neg} in the tonal change.

### 3.2.4 Summary

The following chart summarizes the distribution of dialects of various sub-types of the \textit{V-not-V} form discussed above.

\textbf{Chart 2. The \textit{V-not-V} sub-types in the modern dialects\footnote{For equal frequency in usage between the \textit{V-not-V} types and either the \textit{VP-neg} or \textit{Adv-VP}, see Chart 1.}}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandarin North</th>
<th>NW</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>SE\footnote{All the prefectures in Jiangsu province were investigated by Zhang Min in detail 1990-92, the information of which overrides that in M. Zhang (1990).}</th>
<th>Wu and Hui-zhou</th>
<th>Xiang</th>
<th>Gan</th>
<th>Hakka</th>
<th>Yue</th>
<th>Min</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{VPnegVP} or \textit{VPnegV}</td>
<td>河北--北</td>
<td>舊州</td>
<td>甘肅--蘭州 1</td>
<td>河北--北</td>
<td>舊州</td>
<td>甘肅--蘭州 2</td>
<td>河北--北</td>
<td>舊州</td>
<td>甘肅--蘭州 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{VPnegV [native], VnegVP}</td>
<td>河北-- 北</td>
<td>舊州</td>
<td>甘肅--蘭州 1</td>
<td>河北-- 北</td>
<td>舊州</td>
<td>甘肅--蘭州 2</td>
<td>河北-- 北</td>
<td>舊州</td>
<td>甘肅--蘭州 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{VnegVP, VPnegV [native]}</td>
<td>山東--</td>
<td>福山</td>
<td>華陽</td>
<td>甘肅--</td>
<td>萊州</td>
<td>甘肅--</td>
<td>湖北--</td>
<td>武漢</td>
<td>重慶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62 For equal frequency in usage between the \textit{V-not-V} types and either the \textit{VP-neg} or \textit{Adv-VP}, see Chart 1.

63 All the prefectures in Jiangsu province were investigated by Zhang Min in detail 1990-92, the information of which overrides that in M. Zhang (1990).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VnegVP</th>
<th>new</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>海门</td>
<td>宜良</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浙江</td>
<td>赤石</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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64 All the localities up to this point are based on Chao et al. (1938).

65 The above localities are based on Zhang Min’s field work.

66 Haimen also uses VP-neg-V and VP-neg-VP in a limited way.

67 Conghua, Bao’an, Zengcheng, Huaxian and Dongguan were investigated by Yang Jianguo, and the rest by Gao Ran, and Zhong Qi. 高然 and Zhong Qi. 鍾奇.
<p>| | | | |</p>
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68 Old Baoying used the VP-neg-VP form or the Adv-VP according to M. Zhang (1990).
| V-negVP | V-VP, Adv-VP [native] | 江蘇 | 遼寧 | 山東 | 山西 | 内蒙 | 湖北 | 吉林 | 甘肅 | 青海 | 河南 | 河北 | 山東 | 湖南 | 四川 | 陝西 | 湖南 | 廣東 | 福建 | 臺湾 | 海南 | 江西 | 湖南 | 廣東 |
|---------|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| VnegVP  | VPneg [native]        | 江蘇 | 太原 | 甘肅 | 青海 | 同仁 | 湖北 | 濟南 | 宣城 | 宜昌 | 縮陽 | 滄州 | 連云港 | 重慶 | 三門峽 | 福州 | 深圳 | 福州 | 廣州 | 高州 | 福州 | 香港 | 江西 |
| VnegVP  | VPneg [native]        | 江蘇 | 遼寧 | 山東 | 山西 | 甘肅 | 湖北 | 吉林 | 甘肅 | 青海 | 河南 | 河北 | 山東 | 湖南 | 四川 | 陝西 | 湖南 | 廣東 | 福建 | 臺湾 | 海南 | 江西 | 湖南 | 廣東 |
| VPnegVP | or VPneg              | 江蘇 | 遼寧 | 山東 | 山西 | 甘肅 | 湖北 | 吉林 | 甘肅 | 青海 | 河南 | 河北 | 山東 | 湖南 | 四川 | 陝西 | 湖南 | 廣東 | 福建 | 臺湾 | 海南 | 江西 | 湖南 | 廣東 |
| VPnegVP | or VPneg              | 江蘇 | 遼寧 | 山東 | 山西 | 甘肅 | 湖北 | 吉林 | 甘肅 | 青海 | 河南 | 河北 | 山東 | 湖南 | 四川 | 陝西 | 湖南 | 廣東 | 福建 | 臺湾 | 海南 | 江西 | 湖南 | 廣東 |

NB: underlined items are the majority in occurrence

**Appendix 1: INFORMANT BACKGROUND Check List** 發音人語言背景

1. NAME 姓名 _________
2. □ M 男 □ F 女 _________
3. AGE 年齡 _________
4. NATIVE PLACE 原籍 _________

69 While the majority pattern in Taiyuan is V-neg-VP, questions with Vex/poss 有 bear either the VP-neg-V or the V-neg-VP form but some have the VP-neg form as variant. For example: 你有錢沒有? / 有沒有錢? ‘Do you have money?’ 你家養鶏沒啦? / 你家養鶏沒養鶏? ‘Does your family raise chickens?’—

70 Linhai also uses VP-neg-VP within limited context.

71 Yangjiang also uses VP-neg.
Anne O. Yue

5. NATIVE DIALECT 母語 _____________
6. PLACE OF BIRTH 出生地 ___________
7. OCCUPATION 職業 ___________________________
8. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
   曾否上小學 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) ___________________________
9. MIDDLE SCHOOL ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
   曾否上初中 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) ___________________________
10. HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
   曾否上高中 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) ___________________________
11. COLLEGE ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
   曾否上大學 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) ___________________________
12. DIALECT(S) USED AT HOME
   家裡使用的方言 ___________________________
13. DIALECT SPOKEN AT HOME BY FATHER
   父親使用的方言 ___________________________
14. DIALECT SPOKEN AT HOME BY MOTHER
   母親使用的方言 ___________________________
15. DIALECT SPOKEN AT HOME BY CARETAKER
   袄母使用的方言 ___________________________
16. DIALECT SPOKEN OUTSIDE HOME IF DIFFERENT
   家庭外使用的方言 ___________________________
17. PLACES OF RESIDENCE AFTER BIRTH & DIALECTS SPOKEN LOCALLY
   出生後住過的地方(住過多久)及當地方言 ___________________________
18. PLACES VISITED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
   短期訪問過的地方(哪兒? 多久?) ___________________________
19. KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER DIALECTS & LANGUAGES
   其他聽懂或會說的語言及方言 ___________________________
20. HOW MANY VARIETIES ARE THERE OF YOUR NATIVE DIALECT?
   母語有幾種口音? (城裏, 城外, 鄉下 ...) ___________________________
21. WHICH OF THESE VARIETIES IS YOUR NATIVE TONGUE?
   你説的是哪一種口音? ___________________________
22. WHAT OTHER DIALECTS OR LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN IN THE AREA?
   當地還說哪些語言? 哪些方言? ___________________________
Appendix 2: Questionnaire of the Neutral Question Form

A. V-Neg-V QUESTION

1. V-NEG-V

(1) 去
   [1] 那個地方, 你去不去?____去/不去
      Are you going to that place? ____ Yes/No
      Will you go swimming this afternoon? ____ Yes/No
      Do you want to go to study now? ____ Yes/No

(2) 來
   [1] 你明天來不來?_____我明天來/不來
      Are you coming tomorrow? ____ Yes/No

(3) 吃
   [1] 吃不吃?____吃/不吃
      Do you want to eat now? ____ Yes/No
   [2] 那塊牛肉你吃不吃?____吃/不吃
      Do you want to eat that piece of beef? ____ Yes/No

(4) 說
   [1] 這種話, 你說不說?____我說/不說
      Will you say it?____ Yes/No

(5) 知道
      Do you know of his affairs? ____ Yes/No

(6) 認得
   [1] 這個人, 你認得不認得?/認得不認得?/認得不認得?/不認得
      Do you recognize this person? ____ Yes/No

(7) 相信
      Do you believe that? ____ Yes/No

(8) 答應
   [1] 這件事, 你答應不答應?/答不答應?/答應不答應?
      Do you promise? ____ Yes/No

2. ADJ NEG ADJ

(1) 香
   [1] 香不香?____香/不香
      Is it fragrant? ____ Yes/No
2. 闻闻这朵花香不香？香/不香
   Smell this flower to see if it is fragrant. Yes/No

(2) 甜
[1] 本地的 XX 甜不甜？甜/不甜
   Are the local XX sweet? Yes/No
[2] 你的西瓜甜不甜？甜/不甜
   Is your watermelon sweet? Yes/No

(3) 热
[1] 屋子里热不热？热/不热
   Is it hot in the room? Yes/No

(4) 好
[1] 你看好不好？好/不好
   What do you think of it? Good/No good
[2] 这本书好不好？好/不好
   Is this book good? Yes/No

(5) 熟
[1] 饭熟不熟？熟/不熟
   Is the rice cooked? Yes/No

(6) 亮
[1] 天亮不亮？亮/不亮
   Is the sky bright? Yes/No

(7) 漂亮
[1] 这条裙子漂亮不漂亮？漂亮/不漂亮
   Is this skirt pretty? Yes/No

(8) 高兴
[1] 他 高兴不高兴？高不高兴？高兴/不高兴
   Is he happy? Yes/No

(9) 用功
[1] 他 用功不用功？用不用功？用功/不用功
   Does he work hard? Yes/No

3. VO NEG V？ or V NEG VO？

(1) 上街
[1] 你 上街不上？上不上街？上/不上
   Are you going down town? Yes/No

(2) 吃
[1] 你 吃茶蛋不吃？吃不吃茶蛋？吃/不吃
   Do you (want to) eat tea eggs? Yes/No
[2] 你吃牛肉不吃？吃不吃牛肉？吃/不吃
   Eat beef? Yes/No
Syntactic Typology in Chinese (Part I): The Neutral Question Forms — V-not-V

Do you eat beef? ____ Yes/No

(3) 看 + O
[1] 你 看電影不看? 看/不看
Do you want to watch a movie? ____ Yes/No

(4) 懂 + O
[1] 你 懂北京話不懂? 懂/不懂
Do you understand the Beijing dialect? ____ Yes/No

(5) 穿 + O
[1] 你 穿雨衣不穿/穿不穿雨衣? 穿/不穿
Are you going to wear a raincoat? ____ Yes/No

(6) 喝 + O
[1] 你 喝涼茶不喝/喝不喝涼茶? 喝/不喝
Do you drink herbal tea? ____ Yes/No

(7) 抽煙
Do you smoke? ____ Yes/No

(8) 打牌
Do you play cards? ____ Yes/No

(9) 會
[1] 你 會打牌不會? 會/不會
Can you play cards? ____ Yes/No

(10) 知道
[1] 你 知道他叫甚麼名字? 知道名字/不知道
Do you know his name? ____ Yes/No

(11) 認得
[1] 你們 認得他不認得? 認/不認得
Do you recognize that person? ____ Yes/No

(12) 相信
[1] 他們 相信你話不相信? 相信/不相信
Do they believe what you said? ____ Yes/No

(13) 答應
[1] 他 答應或不答應? 答應/不答應
Did he promise to do it? ____ Yes/No
4. COPULA 是
(1) 老王 是 XX 人不是? / 是不是 XX 人? ______ 是/不是
Is Lao Wang from XX? ______ Yes/No
(2) 他 是你弟弟不是? / 是不是你弟弟? ______ 是/不是
Is he your younger brother? ______ Yes/No
(3) 他 是你哥哥不是? / 是不是你哥哥? ______ 是/不是
Is he your elder brother? ______ Yes/No
(4) 他 是老師不是? / 是不是老師? ______ 是/不是
Is he a teacher? ______ Yes/No
(5) 你說的 是北京話不是? / 是不是本地話? ______ 是/不是
Is what you speak the Beijing dialect? ______ Yes/No
(6) 你 是學生不是? / 是不是學生? ______ 是/不是
Are you a student? ______ Yes/No

5. EXISTENTIAL
(1) 有
Do you have money? ______ Yes/No
Do they have books? ______ Yes/No
Is there a teacup on the table? ______ Yes/No 有/沒有
Does your home have a garden? ______ Yes/No
Does your family raise chickens? ______ Yes/No
Do the children in your family study piano? ______ Yes/No
Is there anyone outside? ______ Yes/No
Is there any medicine left? ______ Yes/No
Do you have a younger sister? ______ Yes/No
Do you have free time? ______ Yes/No
Do you have a TV at home? ______ Yes/No

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Syntactic Typology in Chinese (Part I): The Neutral Question Forms — V-not-V

Is there any rice left? ___ ___ Yes/No

(2) 在
Is that letter still in the drawer? _____Yes/No
Is he in? _____Yes/No
Is he at home? _____Yes/No

6. AUX V (O) NEG AUX or AUX NEG AUX V(O)?
(1) 能
Are you able to go? _____Yes/No
Are you able to accomplish the mission? _____Yes/No

(2) 要
Do you want to come? _____Yes/No
Do you want to eat? _____Yes/No
Do you want to drink some tea? _____Yes/No

(3) 會
Do you think he will come? _____Yes/No

(4) 肯
Is he willing to come? _____Yes/No
Is he willing to come tomorrow? _____Yes/No

(5) 敢
Do you dare ask him? _____Yes/No

(6) 可以
Can you give me some money? _____Yes/No

(7) 應該
Anne O. Yue

Should I buy it? _____ Yes/No

(8) 喜歡
[1] 你喜歡 喜歡看電影不喜歡? /喜歡不喜歡看電影？____喜歡/不喜歡
Do you like to watch movies? _____ Yes/No

7. POTENTIAL
(1) 吃
[1] 吃得下吃不下? ___得下/吃不下
Can you eat any more? _____ Yes/No

(2) 爬
[1] 爬得上爬不上? ____爬得上/爬不上
Can you climb up? _____ Yes/No

(3) 拿
[1] 拿得動拿不動? ___拿得動/拿不動
Can you lift it? _____ Yes/No

(4) 看見
[1] 那麼遠, 你看得見看不見? ____看得見/看不見
Can you see it so far away? _____ Yes/No

(5) 講
Can he speak clearly? _____ Yes/No

8. EMPHATIC
(1) 你是不是不相信? ______是/不是
Is it that you don’t believe? _____ Yes/No

9. ASPECTS
(甲) 了
(1) 來了
[1] 他來了沒有? _____來了/沒來 or 還沒來
i. Did he come? _____ Yes/No
ii. Has he come? _____ Yes/No/Not yet
Did he come yesterday? _____ Yes/No
[3] 他現在來了沒有? _____來了/沒來 or 還沒來
Has he come yet? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

(2) 去了
[1] 你去了沒有? _____去了/沒去
Did you go? _____ Yes/No

(3) 天黑了
[1] 天黑了沒有? _____天黑了/還沒黑
Is it dark yet? ____ Yes/Not yet

(4) 說了
[1] 你說了沒有？____ 說了/沒說 or 還沒說
   i. Did you say it? ____ Yes/No
   ii. Have you said it? ____ Yes/No/Not yet

(5) 吃了
[1] 你吃飯了沒有？____ 吃了 or 吃過了/沒吃 or 還沒吃
   i. Did you eat? ____ Yes/No
   ii. Have you eaten? ____ Yes/No/Not yet

[2] 牛肉你吃了沒有？____ 吃了/沒吃 or 還沒吃
   i. Did you eat the beef? ____ Yes/No
   ii. Have you eaten the beef? ____ Yes/No/Not yet

[3] 他昨天晚上吃了點心沒有？____ 吃了/沒吃
   Did he eat the snack last night? ____ Yes/No

(6) 有
[1] 你有錄音機了沒有？____ 有了/還沒有的
   Have you gotten a tape recorder yet? ____ Yes, I have / No, I haven't

(7) 到
[1] 他到北京了沒有？____ 到了/還沒到
   Has he arrived in Beijing? ____ Yes/Not yet

(8) 聽懂
[1] 你聽懂了沒有？____ 聽懂了/沒聽懂
   Did you understand? ____ Yes/No

(9) 做完
[1] 你的作業做完了沒有？____ 做完了/還沒做完
   Have you finished your home work? ____ Yes/Not yet

（乙）過
(1) 去過
[1] 你去過沒有啊？____ 去過/沒去過 or 還沒去過
   i. Have you ever been there? ____ Yes/No/Not yet
   ii. Have you been (there) yet? ____ Yes/Not yet

(2) 吃過
[1] 你吃過羊肉沒有？____ 吃過/沒吃過 or 還沒吃過
   Have you ever eaten mutton? ____ Yes/No/Not yet

10. WITH ADV
(1) 常
[1] 他 常來不常來？/ 常不常來？____ 常來/不常來
   Does he come often? ____ Yes/No
11. WITH PREPOSITIONS

(1) 跟
【1】你 跟不跟他去? *跟他去不跟他? ___ 跟(他去)/不跟(他去)
Are you going with him? ___ Yes/No

(2) 比
【1】他比不比你胖? ___ 比(我胖)/不比(我胖)
Is he fatter than you? ___ Yes/No

B. V-NOT-V STATEMENT

1. As Subject

(1) 睡
【1】睡不睡沒關係
It doesn't matter whether (I) sleep or not.

(2) 去
【1】去不去由你
Whether you go or not is up to you.
【2】去不去你自己拿主意
You decide whether you will go or not.

(3) 來
【1】來不來你自己瞧著辦
It's up to you whether or not you come.

(4) 買
【1】買不買隨你
It's up to you whether you buy it or not.

(5) 洗
【1】洗不洗都行
It's all the same whether you wash it or not.

(6) 說
【1】說不說就這麼回事
This is the way it is whether you talk about it.

(7) 知道
【1】知道不知道這件事都沒關係
It doesn't matter whether you know about this matter or not.

(8) 相信
【1】相信不相信都沒關係
It doesn't matter whether you believe this or not.
(9) 好
   [1] 好不好沒關係
   It doesn't matter whether it is good or not.

2. As Object
   (1) 有
       [1] 你別問他 有太太沒有 / 有沒有太太
       Don't ask him whether he has a wife or not.
   (2) 要
       [1] 你問問他 要錢不要 / 要不要錢
       Ask him if he wants the money or not.
   (3) 來
       [1] 我不知道他們來不來
       I don't know whether they are coming or not.
   (4) 買
       [1] 告訴我你買不買房子
       Tell me whether you are going to buy a house.
   (5) 香
       [1] 你來聞聞這朵花香不香?
       Come smell this flower and see if it smells good.
   (6) 行
       [1] 你來看看這樣做行不行
       Come take a look and see if doing it this way is all right.
   (7) 好看
       [1] 你來試試這件衣服好不好看?
       Come try on this piece of clothing and see how it looks.
   (8) 喜歡
       [1] 我知道他喜歡 (或) 不喜歡那個人
       I know whether or not he likes that person.
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論文分三章，以中性問句，定中結構，名詞化結構爲例，討論研究漢語方言語法類型的問題。本文是第一章，探討研究漢語方言語法類型的方法，著重先辨別因語言接觸發生變化所帶來的複雜交錯的語言層次，再勾劃出不同層次的類型，並用這個方法論述三種中性問句之一的反復問句共時歷時的類型布局。

關鍵詞：類型學，句法，中性問，漢語，V-not-V 問句