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A Study of the Correlative Construction: Data from English and Chinese Duplicative Negation¹

LIU Yang

要旨

本研究では、(1)に見られる英中両言語の否定畳語を含む相関構文 (correlative construction)の言語間の違いについて考察する。

(1) a. No pains, no gains.

b. 不破不立

主な結論は以下の4点である。

- ①両言語の表現は、意味的には、共に短縮された条件文である。構文的には、条件文の条件構造により、並列構文(英語)と「並列+相関」構文(中国語)などの違いがある。(4.1節)
- ②肯定の意味を表す否定畳語を含む相関構文の本質は、否定形式が旧情報を抽出する点にある。(4.2節)
- ③中国語表現は現実的条件文(事後評価)と非現実的条件文(事前アドバイス)に分けられる。それに対し、英語表現は一般的な条件文の下位類である。(5節)
- ④は、‘no’が否定形容詞で、「不」が否定副詞であるという違いによって、両言語における前後空所の品詞としての特徴が要因となって生じるものである。(6節)

¹ This article is a slightly revised version of my master's thesis. Firstly, I would like to show my heartfelt gratefulness to Prof. Yoshimura Kimihiro who has helped me to complete this article and conclude my two-year study. Secondly, I owe a lot debt to my instructor, Prof. Shimoji Sachiko who has given me much valuable advice and guidance in the process of revising the article. Needless to say, all remaining errors are mine.

I. Introduction

Syntactically, the English and Chinese Duplicative Negation construction, illustrated by *negative particle X, negative particle Y* (henceforth: abbreviated as *Neg X, Neg Y*), is productive with a couple of negative particles—*no X, no Y*, (*nothing X, nothing Y*) in English, *bu X bu Y*, (*wu X wu Y; fei X fei Y; mei X mei Y²*) in Chinese—with various aspects of meanings. They involve meanings that stand for non-negation, emphatic negation, interspace, correlative construction and so on. This construction also has something to do with numerous idiomatic understandings. Moreover, the manifestation of idiosyncrasy is a case in point of Construction Grammar, in which the construction carries a meaning of its own.

Over the past few decades, the correlative construction has been studied in Generative Grammar (Yani 2002) and Cognitive Linguistics (Taylor 2012). Nevertheless, most of the studies have only focused on the polysemy, for example, of the correlative construction [the X-*er* the Y-*er*], primarily in terms of parataxis in syntax and semantic representation. Very few attempts have been made for investigating a special case of the Correlative Construction, i.e. the Duplicative Negation. It might be true that a great deal of effort has been made on the study of the Duplicative Negation in Chinese, but what seems to be insufficient is the exploration into the Correlative Construction as a special or a sub-schema of Duplicative Negation. Especially, in Chinese, Chen & Li (2012) describe *Correlative Construction involving Duplicative Negation* (henceforth, abbreviated as *CCDN*) as the expression including assumption that emphasizes the importance of assumed condition X.

In the present article, adhering heavily to the Lakoff's (1987) premise and the Goldberg's (1995, etc.) Construction Grammar Theory, I address the issue of *CCDN* through an exploration of the English ('*No X, no Y*') and Chinese ('*Neg X, Neg Y*', i.e., *bu X bu Y*, for instance). According to a basic principle of construction-based approaches, constructions are form and meaning pairings. Therefore, a lot of studies in the various strands of Construction Grammar have gone into the elucidation of the semantic properties; for example, *Duplicative* construction examined on English includes Deignan (2001), which deals with the [*As X as Y*] construction. The findings of this interdisciplinary study are worth noting for identifying an extensional orientation in constructional semantics.

² Because of limited space, this article does not treat the issue of negative particles at length.

However, *CCDN* has not been a major focus of attention from the cognitive linguistics perspectives.

Indeed, the purpose here is to explore a little further into the duplicative negation construction, and to include syntactic and semantic analyses, more or less, from the point of view, in particular, of ‘idiomaticity’ in language. With the critical study of Taylor’s (2012) account of English idioms, I carry out the analyses in connection with abstract schematic constructions of these expressions (Chinese, English). I proceed to characterize their constructional characteristics. On the basis of data from *CCDN* of Chinese and English, I will set up the semantic range of the *CCDN* and compare this to the construction’s semantics, in order to examine whether this construction has been established between Chinese and English indeed. More specifically, I will elaborate the established theory that this construction has undergone a process of constructional extension. As such, the extension can be considered as a test in constructional meaning.

Roughly speaking, the organization of this article is as follows: In Chapter II, I explain the Chinese and English *CCDN* as the construction under investigations. Chapter III provides a definition on *CCDN*. In Chapter IV, I lay out insights into the form of this construction on the basis of preceding researches. Chapter V is devoted to discussing the constraint on negation and outlining the construction with respect to its “actuality” and “subjunctive” mood. Chapter VI examines the differences between English and Chinese *CCDN* with the respect of the grammatical characters. Finally, Chapter VII provides the main conclusions. The best hope lies in Cognitive Semantics and Construction Grammar that (i) reexamining the mechanism of negative particles as a fundamental characteristic of *CCDN*; (ii) exploring the relationship between the concepts of cause and consequence; (iii) reevaluation of what between English and Chinese *CCDN*.

II. Previous studies

2.1 English Correlative Construction

The English Correlative Construction has been a popular test case in terms of a *conditional interpretation* at least since Culicover’s (1970) study of the English [NP and S] Construction. Regarding the close relationship between [NP and S] and *CCDN*, Taylor (2012: 86) claims that “the initial noun phrase names an entity which is involved in some unnamed and usually future or hypothetical event; this event, once it has materialized, is the precondition for the occurrence of

another event, named in the second conjunct.”

As far as I know, on relevant works, Quirk et al. (1985), Tani (2002) and Taylor (2012) seem to deepen Culicover’s (1970) doctrine. Within their studies’, a number of *CCDN* are briefly touched upon, such as those in (1).

- (1) a. No dinner, no dessert. (Quirk et al. 1985: 844)
- b. No work, no money. (Tani 2002: 165)
- c. Nothing ventured, nothing gained. (Taylor 2012: 85)

It turns out that they have already drawn due attention to *CCDN* as a case of Correlative Construction. As a bipartite pattern, conjuncts are lacking in these expressions which link the two nominal propositions. Such examples are “potentially infinitely ambiguous” (Culicover 1970), and closely similar to [NP and S]. Taylor (2012: 86) suggests that “the initial NP constituent can invoke a wide range of different situation types; the inferred relation between the invoked situation and the clausal conjunct is equally broad.” Taylor (2012: 85) states ³:

It is also worth noting that although the correlative construction is highly unusual, given the general principles of English syntax, it is not totally isolated from the rest of the language. There are, in fact, quite a few bipartite expressions in which the first element is presented as the cause, precondition, or explanation for the second. Like the correlative construction, these expressions lack a finite verb.

What these passages make clear is that *CCDN* is a cause–consequence combination that lacks some elements involving the finite verb and the particular information with a bipartite structure.

2.2 Duplicative Negation in Chinese

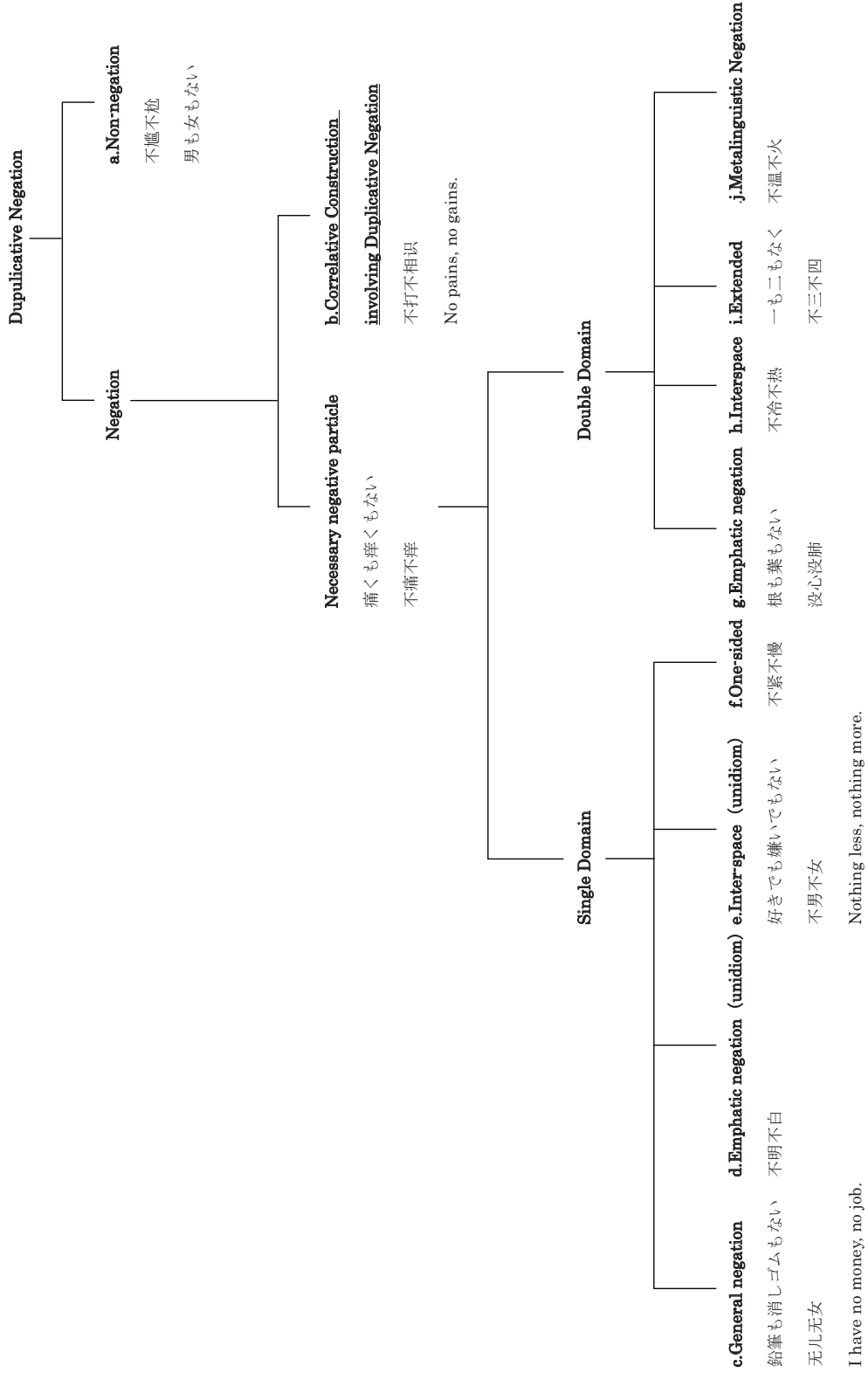
By contract, *CCDN* has long been recognized as a special case of *Correlative Construction* in Chinese. Relevant work on Chinese *CCDN* includes

³ Another way of putting this is to say that the correlative construction, in spite of its strangeness, is nevertheless MOTIVATED, in that at least some aspects of the construction can be linked up in the language. Taylor (2004a) discusses the phenomenon on the example of the [BANG GOES] construction, exemplified by Bang goes my weekend, showing how the semantic, syntactic, and even phonological characteristics (the latter pertaining to the onomatopoeic character of the ideophone bang) of the construction are related to other phenomena in the language (Taylor 2012).

Lv (1980; 1999), Zhou (1996), Shou (1997), Wang (1999), Luo (2002), etc. The first scholar who gave much attention to *Duplicative Negation* was Lv (1980). Lv (1980) made several important statements with respect to the structures of Duplicative negation. As Lv (1980, 1999) explicitly states, the literal meaning is “If not..., then somebody/something will not...”. Zhou (1996) points out that *Duplicative Negation* may be divided into two types: synonym and antonym. The synonym is divided into two types. All the synonym patterns are the coordinate structure unlike *CCDN*. The antonym falls into six groups. Employing a different term from those of the previous studies, Zhou (1996) defines antonym as *bu A bu B = not A not B* (based on Zhou 1996). This view is basically untenable. We cannot readily judge that the first X and the second Y are the pair of antonym. On first inspection, these explanations seem to be very ambiguous, in which the relationship between X and Y is not common given some counter-examples. Contrastively, Shou (1997) maintains the same attitude of Culicover (1970) when he investigates the relationship between X and Y, and suggests that X and Y represent a conditional assumption. Luo (2002) examines *CCDN* using a cognitive model in terms of *Core Surrounding Model*. This view is quite different from those suggested by other researchers.

2.3 The Benchmark

To achieve the goal of my study, I will utilize my previous studies—the tree derivation of Duplicative Negation. I claimed that Duplicative Negation can be classified into ten main patterns. For the details of every pattern, see the figure overleaf (cf. Ryu (2014)). This figure indicates the relationship of every pattern. In this figure, (a) is not a negative, while *Neg* is indispensable in (c) ~ (j). *CCDN* is (b). It is a negative maintaining literal meaning that describes an affirmative interpretation when compared to other patterns. In other words, *CCDN*'s central meaning is that condition X necessarily leads to consequence Y. It is directly linked to an affirmative expression.



III. Definition

Most researches have not given an explicit definition of *CCDN*. Given the form- and-meaning theory, it may be possible to shed light on the definition. The cases in point are shown below:

(2) a. No pains, no gains.

b. No rain, no rainbow.

(3) a. 不 打 不 相识 (CCL)

bu da bu xiangshi

Neg fight Neg become friends

Friends are often made after a fight; From an exchange of blows friendship grows; No acquaintance is made without a fight; No discord, no concord; Out of blows friendship grows.

b. 不 见 不 散 (CCL)

bu jian bu san

Neg meet Neg leave

not leave without seeing each other

Examples in (2) are semantically similar to those of (3) in that they contain the duplicative form and causal negative meaning. It is consistent with the definition of Correlative Construction that any increase (decrease) in the value of X is associated, and may even be construed as the cause of an increase (or decrease) in the value of Y (Taylor 2012)⁴.

⁴ It must be noted that the examples below will be precluded from my article for the following reasons:

a. neither know nor care

b. Nothing less, nothing more.

c. 不去不行

buqu buxing

must go/ have to go

(a) and (b) are negative structures, lacking in a causal relationship. What is interesting is that the example (c) is crucially distinct from other CCDN's examples. Including the light verb *xing* (go), unlike (3), (c) is a special case of the CCDN, which is devoid of Y's productivity, namely that the construction's form is completely void of Y. In other words, the CCDN of the light verb (*bu X buxing*) can be left outside the category of CCDN. To follow up this matter further would involve us in other factors than "bu X bu Y" and would take us beyond the scope of this article. The present article does not aim to clarify the differences between the light verb construction (e.g. 不 X 不行 *bu X buxing*) and the CCDN. Unfortunately, the characteristic cannot be found in the above example (c).

In summary, to put it in nutshell, a fundamental characteristic of *CCDN* is that all its instances have the following factors:

- a. In *CCDN*, negation *X* is always a prerequisite for negation *Y*.
- b. *CCDN* contains the two negative particles (*no* and *bu*).

IV. The Constructional Form of *CCDN*

1. The Syntactical Characteristic

Schematically, the Correlative Construction conveys that some modifications as a conditional interpretation in the value of *X* is associated with, and may even be construed as the cause of, a change in the value of *Y* (Culicover 1999: 83-5; Culicover and Jackendoff 1999; Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor 1988, Taylor 2012).

With regard to the syntactical characteristics of the English *CCDN*, I refer to Tani (2002) briefly. The following examples are taken from Tani (2002):

- (4) a. No dinner, no dessert. (Quirk et al. 1985: 844)
 - b. If you don't eat your dinner, you do not have dessert.
- (5) a. No homework, no TV. (Quirk et al. 1985: 844)
 - b. If you don't do your homework, you do not watch TV.

Tani (2002) points out that in *CCDN*, from a particular cause we can relatively easily infer its a given effect, while from a particular effect we cannot easily infer its a given cause. However, in (4), if we don't eat our dinner, we do not necessarily lose probability of having dessert. We may have another possibilities, for instance, "we will die" or "we will be hungry." In (5), if we do not do our homework, we do not necessarily lose probability of watching TV. We may be scolded. Thus, Tani (2002) is indistinct comparatively.

In (4) and (5), *CCDN* is instantiated through adding "if-then" structure. Hence, let us consider the following examples related to the *CCDN*'s syntactical structure:

- (6) a. No pain, no gain.
 - b. Life is a game, if no pain then no gain.

(*Taking People for Ride*)

- (7) a. No rain, no grain.

b. If no rain then no grain.

(www.flixya.com/photo/.../Rain-Forests-the-nature-show-the-beautifulness)

In (6) - (7) above, syntactically, another particle can be added to *CCDN*. Namely, it is a loose structure as a condensation.

In contrast, Jin (2012) points out that the meaning of “*bu X bu Y*” involving a causal relationship is unique in Chinese. There is obvious correlation between two negative particles. This construction is regarded as a condensation of the conditional clause. While “*bu X*” is an assumed condition, “*bu Y*” is an inference. Thus, Jin (2012) can be encapsulated in the following respect:

Neg X Neg Y=If not X, then not Y/If only not X, then not Y---(assumption)

(based on Jin 2012)

(8) a. 不 愤 不 启, 不 悻 不 发 (CCL)

bu fen bu qi bu fei bu fa

Neg think Neg enlighten Neg embarrassed Neg explain

Would not explain unless one is desperately; will not explain to one not determined to learn.

b. 不 醉 不 归 (CCL)

bu zui bu gui

Neg drunk Neg return

If you are not drunk, then you cannot go home.

c. 不 破 不 立 (CCL)

bu po bu li

Neg break Neg establish

Without destruction there is no construction.

(Jin 2012)

In (8a), a student does not understand a question, if the student does not deliberate on the question, then his/her teacher should not enlighten the student; a student cannot adequately express his/her sentiment about a question, if the student does

not know from the question, then his/her teacher should not explain and make the student understand. In the case, the condition is often necessary. We can convert this example to “you must do X, otherwise you cannot do Y” or “only when you do X can Y be successfully achieved”. (8b) means that you must become a drunk man, otherwise you are not allowed to go home. We can also see from (8c) that “only when an old and wrong thing is broken can a new and correct thing be established”.

Jin (2012) observes that in (8), the prerequisites are listed from the opposite direction, leading to a consequence. The condition and the consequence are negative. Thus, the indispensable condition and the inevitable outcome are emphasized. The whole structure means that “if there is no X, then there is no Y” or “if you want to achieve Y, then you must meet condition X”.

Consider the following examples:

- (9) a. 不打不相识 (=3a) (CCL)
 b. 不见不散 (=3b) (CCL)
 c. 不 入 虎穴 不 得 虎子 (CCL)
bu ru huxue bu de huzi
 Neg enter tiger's den Neg get tiger cubs

The only way to catch tiger cubs is to go into tiger's den—take necessary risk

- (10) a. 如果 不 打 就 不 相识
ruguo bu da jiu bu xiangshi
 If Neg fight then Neg become friend
 b. 如果 不 见 就 不 散
ruguo bu jian jiu bu san
 If Neg meet then Neg leave
 c. 如果 不 入 虎穴 就 不 得 虎子
ruguo bu ru huxue jiu bu de huzi
 If Neg enter tiger's den then Neg get tiger cubs

As the examples above indicate, the insertion of the conjunction *if* cannot change the whole meaning of *CCDN* (for example, compare 9(a) with 10(a)). As a combination, *Neg X Neg Y* (*no X no Y* in English) maintains a basic tenet of syntactic structure that includes a condition -- an antecedent condition (cause=*buda*,

no clash) and a consequence -- an inevitable consequence (effect= *buxiangshi*, no friend). Hence, syntactically, Chinese *CCDN* has a close resemblance to English.

English and Chinese previous studies (Tani 2001, Jin 2012) claim that *CCDN* is not a variant of the “*if – then*” structure. However, Culicover (1970) suggests that Correlative Construction [NP + S] does not correspond to what is “*if – then*” structure assumed. Look at the following examples:

- (11) a. One more can of beer and I’m leaving.
 b. If you give me one more can of beer, then I’m leaving.
 (Culicover 1970)

Like (11a), this expression is a bipartite pattern and lacks a finite verb. The above examples are prototype of the Correlative Construction. Culicover (1970) suggests the following structure in relation to (11a):

(A) $S \rightarrow NP \text{ and } S$

Then Culicover predicts the structure and *if* structure of the form:

- (B) NP and NP and NP and S
 (C) if ... NP ... then [if ... NP ... then [if...NP ...then [if ...NP... then S]]].

Namely, in (B) all the NPs are causes, in which these NPs are the coordinate relationship. In contrast, in (C), the *if* structure is preferential. Hence, all the NPs are in order. Thus, Culicover claims that (12a) is not synonymous with (12b):

- (12) a. If you drink one more can of beer then if I drink one more can of beer then we’ll be completely out of beer.
 b.?One more can of beer and one more can of beer and we’ll be completely out of beer.
 (Culicover 1970)

Hence, the [NP + S] structure is not identified with *if* structure. Then let us consider the following *CCDN* examples:

(13) a. No air, no life.

b. No air, no life; no life, no breath.

(*Panpsychism in the West*)

c. No air, no water, no life. (coordinate)

As far as I know, when the condition is more than two, we usually divide the expressions into two parts. If we merge two parts into a large *CCDN*, the expression become a coordinate structure in (13c).

In contrast, let us consider the following Chinese *CCDN*:

(14) a. 不 奸 不 毒 不 丈夫 (CCL)

bu jian bu du bu zhangfu

Neg evil Neg malicious Neg man(manliness)

Ruthlessness is the mark of a truly great man; A real man does not lack in venom. He who does not resort to violent treachery when it is necessary is not a true man.

b. 不 说 不 笑 不 热闹 (CCL)

bu shuo bu xiao bu re'nao

Neg say Neg laugh Neg lively

It is not lively without chatting and laughing.

(Jin 2012)

In (14a), a man (manliness) is provided with two characters. In (14b), *say* and *laugh* are “lively”’s conditions jointly. Hence, Jin (2012) points out that [*bu A bu B bu C*] structure is as the following pattern:

bu A // bu B / bu C

coordinate assumption

(based on Jin 2012)

In other words, as we follow Goldberg’s (1995.etc) Construction Grammar theory, Construction is a pair of form and meaning. If the form is different, then the constructional meaning is not identical. Hence, Tani (2002) and Jin (2012) have neglected this point, in which they only claim *CCDN* is a condition of *if* structure’s equivalence.

2. The Form of Negation

As mentioned above (Chapter II, III), we can say that the speaker uses *CCDN* to express his/her view, and that the meaning is affirmation at heart. That is, if the speaker denies the affirmative fact, then he/she denies his/her own view. Namely, the cause [*Neg X*] leads to the consequence [*Neg Y*], while the cause *X* leads to the consequence *Y*. In *CCDN*, many expressions including advices, appeals and guides, in which the speaker wants the listener to do *X*. If we describe our appeal with an affirmative form, then the listener will directly make a decision that I should do *X*. In contrast, the negative form is an opposite command forbidden, in which it is lacking in guidable power. Then, in the case, why do we not immediately use the affirmative expression?

Logically, affirmation and negation are symmetric, namely that there is an affirmative proposition, it has a negative proposition, and the two are paired. However, this case is not essential in the realm of the linguistics. According to Givón (1979: 139), generally, negative sentences are used after an affirmative situation described. That is to say, the addressee capitalizes on the background knowledge associated with an understood argument. Shen (1999: 49) also claims that the new information is not abstracted from a negative sentence, but it negates a limited element including understood argument. Let us consider the following example:

(15) A: 好久不见了，最近怎样啊？

haojiu bujian le, zuijin zenyang a?

Long time no see. How are you?

B: a. 我老婆怀孕了。

wo laopo huaiyunle.

My wife is pregnant.

B: ?b. 我老婆没怀孕。

wo laopo mei huaiyun.

My wife is not pregnant.

(Zhang & Yan 2011)

Although the proposition of A's question is neutral with respect to the mode of negation and affirmation, we can attempt to think that B (a) is completely natural,

B (b) is uncomfortable. Only when B knows the possibility that A's wife will be pregnant, do we think B (b) is natural. In other words, the negation does not occur simultaneously with the affirmation.

(16) a. A: 我们该怎么办呢?

Women gai zenme ban ne?

What's to be done?

B: 不入虎穴不得虎子。 (=9c)

b. A: I want to diet, but I can't stop eating.

B: No pains, no gains.

In (16), a(B) and b(B) are both the suggestion submitted by an adviser B. The troubled person A wants to overcome a difficulty to achieve a specific aim. The adviser B understands the themes and A's requirement that it is the Y (=得虎子 gains) of *CCDN*. That is to say, Y is the information mentioned. In such case, the negative consequence is a marker of the old information in order to make explicit the workings of condition X. Hence, the negation of *CCDN* attempts to point out that the speaker understands the listener's topic.

V. The Constructional Meaning of CCDN

In *CCDN*, the logical meaning seems simple and straightforward. There is a condition X, it has a consequence Y, and the two are positive correlation. However, from the linguistic meaning's perspective, when examined more carefully, I detect that we use *CCDN* to highlight other facets with exceeding its logical meaning.

So far, we have seen that *CCDN* is an assumption expression in terms of logical perspectives. Chen & Li's (2012) view focus on the logic of *CCDN*, in which if there is not X, then there is not Y. Namely, the first X is the conditional constraint. In fact, the emphasized condition X is not often necessary. It is not associated with the consequence Y inevitably. For example,

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| (17) 话 | 不 | 说 | 不 | 明 |
| <i>hua</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>shuo</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>ming</i> |
| story | Neg | tell | Neg | understand |

A story is that if you do not say, then we cannot understand it.

(Chen & Li 2012)

Even if we say (something), it is not necessarily the case that other people do understand it; the situation cannot happen that we understand if saying something did not occur. In other words, the proposition of *shuo* does not necessarily entail that of *ming*, but it just constitutes a necessary (or sufficient) condition for maintaining the truth value of *ming*.

Nevertheless, Li (2012) would be misleading to emphasize the importance of assumed condition X. For instance, *bu da bu xiangshi* (不打不相识, 3a) means “literally” that friends cannot be made without a fight. Chen & Li (2012) argue that *da* (‘fighting’) constitutes a prerequisite condition indispensable for maintaining the truth value of *xiangshi* (‘having a friend’). However, in Chinese, it is not necessarily the case; *bu da bu xiangshi* can mean, in its idiomatic sense, two persons already have been friends, when they meet, the days of dissension to them can be easily recalled. All sorts of feeling well up in the mind. It closely resembles English “*No discord, no concord*”. That is to say, it is an appraisal, but not to emphasize the cause. Thus, Chen & Li’s view is unsatisfactory when they argue that the cause of *CCDN* is emphasized.

Relevant to this point is Shi’s (2001) following remark:

现实是指客观存在的事物、行为、性质、变化、关系、量等。……虚拟是不符合事实的、假设的、主观幻想的、不真实的事物、行为、性质等。

(Actuality refers to an objective entity, action, characters, change, relation, quantity and so on....The subjunctive is some false elements, assumption, illusion, action, characters.)

Shi(2001:47)

Shi (2001) provide a significant benchmark to test *CCDN*, in order to ascertain the meaning of *CCDN*. That is, I would like to assert that X does not necessarily constitute a prerequisite condition indispensable for maintaining the truth value of Y, but idiomatically, I want to claim that *CCDN* has come to involve its own specific semantics in contexts through the extension of its schematic meaning. In *CCDN*, owing to the characteristic of condition, it is divided into actuality (past event) and assumption (future event), whether X and Y are the real phenomenon. Let us consider the following examples:

- (19) a. 与老王真是不打不相识，从此冰释前嫌，成为朋友。(past)
(CCL)
yu laowang zhenshi budabuxiangshi, congci bingshi qianxian, chengwei pengyou.
No discord, no concord. From then on, Mr. Wang and I have excused each other.
不打不相识 (=3a)
- a'. ?都说不打不相识，你不把他揍一顿，怎么能认识他呢？
doushuo buda buxiangshi, ni bu bata zouyidun, zenme neng renshi ta ne?
No discord, no concord. If you do not hit him a blow, then you do not become friends.
- b. 张老师告诉，在中心公园南边见面，不见不散。(future) (CCL)
zhanglaoshi gaosu, zai zhongxingongyuan nanbian jianmian, bujian busan.
Teacher Zhang said we will meet in south of the Central Park, if we meet each other, we do not leave.
不见不散(=3b)
- b'. ?我们那次见面以后就各奔东西了，也许这就是所谓的不见不散吧？
women naci jianmian yihou jiu gebendongxi le, yexu zhe jiushi suoweide bujianbusan ba.
From then on, we have left each other. Namely, if we did not meet, then we did not leave.
- c. 对我来说（这）是一个巨大的挑战，也是一个极大的冒险行动。但他说，不入虎穴焉（不）得虎子，他愿意冒这个风险，并深信罗队一定能进入世界杯决赛圈。(past or future) (CCL)
dui wo lai shuo (zhe) shi yige judade tiaozhan, yeshi yige jida de maoxian xingdong. dan ta shuo, bu ru huxue yan(bu) dehuzi, ta yuanyi maozhege fengxian, bing shenxin luodui yiding neng jinru shijiebei juesanquan
In my opinion, it is a big challenge and a venture. But, he said that nothing venture, nothing gain. I want to run risks. I think that Mr. Luo would take part in the World Cup.
不入虎穴不得虎子(=9c))

- c?. 他不怕困难，临危受命，终于取得了人生的成功，这就是所谓的不入虎穴不得虎子吧。

ta bupa kunnan, linweishouming, zhongyu qude le renshengde chenggong, zhejiushi suowei de buruhuxue budehuziba.

He defied difficulties and hardships at difficult moment and succeed in life. That is, nothing venture, nothing have.

In (19a), Mr. Wang and I have already been friends. The *fight* is a past event. The speaker only reviews the experience, not to emphasize the cause *fight*. Thus, (19a') emphasizes the importance of *fight*, may lead to misunderstandings that the force plays a critical role in this process. In (19b), Mr. Zhang appointed a time for a meeting in advance. The event is future. If the speaker meets Mr. Zhang, then the condition of this *CCDN* will come true. (19b') only focuses on X and Y in sequence, and neglected that the appointment is possible in future. In (19), c and c' are both eternal, in which *CCDN* is not limited by the tense of context.

In contrast, let us consider the English example:

- (20)a. No wind, no waves. (past or future)

If the wind does not blow, no waves.

If the wind did not blow, no waves.

- b. No names, no pack drill. (past or future)

If your name is not called, no pack drill.

If your name was not called, no pack drill.

- c. No pains, no gains. (past or future)

If you have no pain, no gains.

If you didn't have pain, no gains.

Unlike Chinese *CCDN*, all the patterns in (20) contain the relationship of two participants. In most cases, X and Y are existences constantly (*wind* and *waves*, *names* and *pack drill*, *pains* and *gains*). The two are elements of a principle, no matter when the addressees use *CCDN*, it has not been materially changed that the existences X and Y are interdependent. In Chinese *CCDN*, however, the elements negated are verbs. The action has “tense” closely related to the predication. In such case, although the logical meaning of *CCDN* does not limit the range of interpretation, it has the most likely interpretation as an idiom. Hence, we need

summarize the mentioned above as the following patterns:

A. preceding advice (future)

B. after appraise (past)

The action is divided into future and past. In Chinese *CCDN*, from the respect of function, I suggest that the whole *CCDN* including the future is a preceding advice, in which the speaker shows a view on the listener's questions, viz. that if you want to gain Y, then you should do X. That is, it is emphasized that the condition X of an advice is the first requisite to gain Y, not merely a theoretical prerequisite. In contrast, the whole *CCDN* including the past condition is an after appraise, in which the addressee only focuses on (profile) the direct connection within two elements of the process [X → Y], viz. that the inferred relationship between the cause X and the effect Y is equally broad. In other words, in B pattern, we only concern that the cause leads to the effect, not to focus on which elements be emphasized. Hence, English *CCDN* should be analyzed jointly as preceding advice and after appraise.

VI. The Difference between English *CCDN* and Chinese *CCDN*

As was remarked above, English *CCDN* is similar to Chinese *CCDN* in the point of the constructional form and meaning. However, the internal structure should be distinct. Let us consider the following [X + Y] patterns from the basic character of grammatical perspective.

(i) [noun + noun]

(21) a. No wind, no waves.

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| b.*不 | 风 | 不 | 浪 |
| <i>bu</i> | <i>feng</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>lang</i> |
| Neg | noun-wind | Neg | noun-waves |

(22) a. No rain, no rainbow.

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| b.*不 | 雨 | 不 | 虹 |
| <i>bu</i> | <i>yu</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>hong</i> |
| Neg | noun-rain | Neg | noun-rainbow |

(23) a. No mother, no child.

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| b.*不 | 母 | 不 | 子 |
| <i>bu</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>zi</i> |
| Neg | noun-mother | Neg | noun-child |

As mentioned above, English *CCDN* normally maintains a causal relationship between two events or entities. On the contrary, in Chinese, *CCDN*'s X and Y are not events or entities.

(ii) [verb+verb]

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------|
| (24) a. | 不 | 见 | 不 | 散(=(3b)) (CCL) |
| | Neg | verb-meet | Neg | verb-leave |
| b. | 不 | 破 | 不 | 立(=(8c)) (CCL) |
| | <i>bu</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>li</i> |
| | Neg | verb-break | Neg | verb-establish |

(Jin 2012)

(25) a.*No break, no establish.

b.*No die, no stop.

Jin (2012) claims that in Chinese examples above, X and Y are both the action and state with a correlative relationship. X is a condition or cause, while Y is X's effect. Owing to English *CCDN*'s grammatical character, [*no* + NP] denies the existence of NP, while [*not* + Verb] denies the action of Verb. In other words, Chinese [*bu* + verb] resembles English [*not* + verb]. It is because that 不 in 不见不散 functions as adverbial which modifies verbal elements rather than nominal elements. Moreover, [**not* X, *not* Y] is not *CCDN*. Hence, English *CCDN* has not this character.

(iii) [verb + adjective]

| | | | | | |
|---------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------------|
| (26) a. | 灯 | 不 | 点 | 不 | 明 |
| | <i>deng</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>dian</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>ming</i> |
| | lamp | Neg | verb-light | Neg | adjective-bright |

If a lamp is not lighted, then it is not bright.

(Jin 2012)

- b. 话 不 说 不 明 (= (17))
hua bu shuo bu ming
 story Neg verb-tell Neg adjective-understand
 If a story is not told, then we cannot understand it.

(Chen & Li 2012)

- (27) a. *No tell, no clear.
 b. *No read, no clear.

In these example, X is an action, while Y is X's extent or consequence. For instance, in (26), verb X (e.g. 点) and adjective Y (e.g. 明) compose a relationship of verb-complement. Hence, the origin of X and Y is usually the phrase [X + Y] including the structure [verb + complement]. For instance, “*gongpo*”(attack + defeat, break through)—“*bugongbupo*”(No fight, no victory.), “*dianming*”(hint + clear, point out)—“*budianbuming*”(No direction, no understanding.), “*shuoming*”(tell + clear, explain)—“*bushuobuming*”(No telling, no understanding.). Thus, *bu* is a negative adverb. In contrast, *no* is a negative adjective.

(iv) [adjective + verb]

- (28) a. 质量 不 好 不 要 钱
zhiliang bu hao bu yao qian
 quality Neg adjective-excellent Neg verb-pay or need money
 If the quality is not good, then you do not pay money.

(Jin 2012)

- b. *No excellent, no pay.

From (28), we can conclude that the cause X implicates quality or state, while the effect Y is an appropriate reaction to the condition or premise X. Hence, in *CCDN*, Chinese *bu* is a negative adverb, while English *no* is a negative adjective. Directly, the strict differentiation leads to the grammatical difference. Moreover, the English construction [*not X or Y*] including the negative adverb is lacking in the characteristics (cause and effect) of *CCDN*. In contrast, although the Chinese constructions [*mei X mei Y*] and [*wu X wu Y*] (There is no X, no Y) is *Duplicative Negation*, the two are not *CCDN*, namely X and Y are coordinate.

In short, the differences can be summarized as follows:

Table 1. The Differences of CCDN in English and Chinese

| | n.+n. | v.+adj. | v.+v. | adj.+v. |
|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| English | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ | ✗ |
| Chinese | ✗ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

(✓ and ✗ signify “acceptable patterns” and “unacceptable patterns”, respectively.)

Given every patterns, it is clearly that [verb + verb] is [ACTION1→ACTION2], in which an action is significant or not, leading to that we want to do X or not prior. Then, it is important that whether X and Y are real. This view is a hint as to the problem in Chapter V. Interestingly, the relationship between action X and action Y and the relationship between existence X and existence Y are quite different.

VII. Conclusion

Starting with a descriptive study of syntactic and semantic characteristics of *CCDN*, the present thesis has attempted to explore the constructional semantics of *CCDN* in English and Chinese.

Descriptively, I have observed that *CCDN* sanctions both the idiomatic and logical meaning of expressions. Next, I examined the usage of *CCDN* from four viewpoints: “syntax,” “negation,” “the linguistic meaning,” and “grammatical characteristics” on the basis of the premise of the constructional form and meaning perspectives.

In conclusion, I claim the following four insights:

1. Unlike other Duplicative Negation patterns, *CCDN* is essentially affirmative semantically.
2. With respect to the constructional form, *CCDN* is an ellipsis of *if-then* structure syntactically. However, the two constructions are not entirely synonymous following the constructional schema. When the condition increases, English *CCDN* is subject to variation into a coordinate structure, while Chinese *CCDN* changes to [coordinate + correlative] structure.
3. The old information is abstracted from *CCDN* through the negative form.
4. Owing to the grammatical characteristic of *bu* and *no*, the linguistic meaning of English *CCDN* is constant. In contrast, the linguistic meaning of Chinese *CCDN* is only indirectly associated with a specific logical meaning. It is

divided into “preceding advice” and “after appraise.”

This thesis, I hope, will contribute to the study of English and Chinese CCDN. In more general terms, this study might possibly have some importance as an attempt to explore the CG premise that different constructions have different extensional orientation.

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Appendix: List of CCDNs in Chinese and English

Chinese:

1. 一不做二不休 *yibuzuo erbuxiu* (stick to a thing once begun; A thing once begun will not be put off until. ; be determined to go the whole hog; carry a thing through, whatever the consequences; go a great length; In for a penny, in for a pound. ; Once it is started, go through with it. ; One may as well be hanged for sheep as for a lamb. ; Over shoes, over boots. ; We must go through with a thing, once it (is) started.)
2. 不打不相识 *buda buxiangshil* 不打不成相识 *buda buchengxiangshil* 不打不成相与 *buda buchengxiangyu* 不打不成交 *buda buchengjiao* (Friends are often made after a fight. ; From an exchange of blows friendship grows. ; No acquaintance is made without a fight. ; No discord, no concord. ; Out of blows friendship grows.)
3. 不打不成器 *buda buchengqi* (Spare the rod and spoil the child; Nothing comes into shape until it is knocked by a hammer.)
4. 不见棺材不落泪 *bujianguancai buluolei* (not to shed a tear until one sees the coffin—refuse to be convinced until one is faced with grim reality; cry only when death is staring one in the face; give up only at the sight of the gallows [coffin] ; not to accept defeat until at the end of one's rope [tether] ; not to shed tears until one sees his own coffin; not to yield until faced with one's own coffin)
5. 不破不立 *bupo buli* (There's no making without breaking. ; There can be no construction without destruction. ; There is no construction without destruction. ; Without destroying the old, one cannot build the new. ; Without destruction there is no construction.)
6. 不见不散 *bujian busan* (not leave without seeing each other)
7. 不奸不毒不丈夫 *bujian budu buzhangfu* (Ruthlessness is the mark of a truly great man. ; A real man does not resort to violent treachery when it is necessary is not a true man.)
8. 不到黄河心不死 *budaohuanghe xinbusi* (Until all is over ambition never dies. ; not stop until one reaches one's goal; not to give up hope until one comes to one's tether's end; not to stop until one reaches the Huanghe River; refuse to give up until all hope is gone)

9. 不吐不快 *butu bukuai* (have to get it out of one's chest; have to speak out)

English:

1. No pain(s), no gain(s).
2. No discord, no concord.
3. No rain, no grain.
4. No rain, no rainbow.
5. No sweat, no sweet.
6. No guts, no glory.
7. No fight, no win.
8. No cross, no crown.
9. No mill, no meal.
10. No names, no pack drill.
11. No music, no life.
12. Nothing ventured, nothing gained.
13. No bourgeois, no democracy.
14. No body, no crime.
15. No tricks, no hype.
16. No Bunker, no Bass.
17. No smoke, no fire.
18. No wind, no waves.
19. No work, no eat.
20. No risk, no reward.
21. Nothing serious, nothing lasting.
22. If nothing comes, then nothing comes.