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Vietnamese demonstratives: A spatially-based polysemy network

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Abstract

For all human beings, a crucial function of language is to draw attention to things in the world. Like most languages, Vietnamese has its set of ‘pointing words’ that fulfil this function, including *này* ‘this’, *đây* ‘this/here’ and *đấy, đó, kia* ‘that/there’, *ấy* ‘that’, and *ọ* ‘that’. Though the meaning of these seven words has expanded and changed over time, all of them originally served to orient the hearer’s attention to something proximal or distal to the speaker’s location. These words are termed *demonstratives* in English or *chỉ định từ* in Vietnamese.

Chỉ định từ currently play a wide range of syntactic and semantic roles. They can occur as the determiner in a noun phrase (*nhà này* ‘this house’, *nhà ấy/kia/ọ* ‘that house’) or appear on their own as either pronominals (*đây/đấy, đó, kia là nhà tôi* ‘this/that is my house’) or as locative adverbs (*lại đây* ‘come here’, *đến đấy/đó/kia* ‘go there’). In the appropriate syntactic environments, these terms allow the speaker to ‘point’ not only to specific objects but also to abstract, invisible concepts that are present, distant, remembered or imagined. Despite the wide range of uses of *chỉ định từ*, an exhaustive analysis of their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic functions has previously been lacking in Vietnamese.

Even a cursory analysis of the seven Vietnamese demonstratives reveals that each has not just one meaning or sense, but rather a complex network of related senses, or *polysemy network*. For example, the demonstrative *ấy* has thirteen different senses, including the function of indicating the position of a referent in space (a spatial sense), preceding discourse (an anaphoric sense) or in the memory of the speaker and/or hearer (as in recognitional, presentational, place holder, or avoidance usages). In addition, *ấy* has extended senses indicating person deixis, discourse cohesion, modality and interjective usages.

Unquestionably, the form *ấy* has a wide variety of uses in Vietnamese. Is it coincidence that these uses share the same form *ấy*? If that were the case, the uses of *ấy* would be unconnected homonymous meanings. Or are these uses somehow related? If so, then the uses of *ấy* are polysemous senses, and it should be possible to trace how each sense evolved from another, ultimately tracking the evolution of the polysemy network back to a single ancestral sense.

This study analyses the form and function of *chỉ định từ* as found in a range of written texts, and finds that the various functions of Vietnamese demonstratives are related. The extensions responsible for the current range of demonstrative functions follow recognised paths of metaphoric and metonymic change, so that these changes can be reconstructed from synchronic data even in the

absence of direct historical evidence.

Although all of the seven demonstratives are argued to be polysemous as the result of semantic extensions, each demonstrative has followed its own path of change and no two demonstratives have identical polysemy networks. These differences are due both to the individual semantics of the different demonstratives, and to the stage of change that each demonstrative has reached. The demonstrative *nø* may be the best illustration of this second factor, the stage of development of a demonstrative. The demonstrative *nø* once had a spatial sense referring to a distant referent, which is argued to be its oldest and most basic sense. This spatial sense extended to a range of other senses, but over time, the spatial sense itself was lost. The demonstrative *nø* is the only one in the system currently lacking any spatial function, though its later, extended senses remain. A logical explanation of the present-day senses of *nø* can only be achieved through a reconstructed connection with its now-defunct basic meaning. The polysemy structures of *chỉ định từ* can only be fully understood via the reconstruction of their earlier senses and the extensions these senses underwent. Without the reconstructed spatial sense of *nø*, for example, the demonstrative's polysemy network looks like a scattered system of unrelated senses, rather than a tidy network of senses related by recognised regular semantic changes.

The current study, then, is intended to contribute to the field of linguistics in two ways. First, the study provides an in-depth documentation and analysis of the Vietnamese demonstrative system, which has previously been lacking. This comprehensive documentation and analysis could be used as a resource for diachronic or further cross-linguistic study. Second, the semantic evolution and polysemy of demonstratives has previously received relatively little attention in any language. It is therefore hoped that this research will contribute more generally to the study of universal tendencies of grammaticalisation, language change, and the polysemy networks that can result.

Declaration by author

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“No one can whistle a symphony. It takes a whole orchestra to play it.”

H. E. Luccock

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List of Abbreviations

AD	adjective	SG	singular
ADV	adverb	S	speaker
ANT	anterior	TOP	topical particle
ART	article	V	verb
ASP	aspect marker	1SG	first person singular pronoun
AST	assertion	1PL	first person plural pronoun
CL	classifier	2SG	second person singular pronoun
CONJ	conjunction	2PL	second person plural pronoun
COMP	complementiser	3SG	third person singular pronoun
COP	copula	3PL	third person plural pronoun
DEM	demonstrative		
DEMPART	demonstrative particle		
DEMINTERJ	demonstrative interjection		
DIST	distal		
EMP	emphasiser		
FOC	focus marker		
H	hearer		
IMP	imperative		
INTERJ	interjection		
MED	medial		
N	noun		
NEG	negation		
NP	noun phrase		
NUM	numeral		
PART	particle		
PASS	passive		
PERF	perfect aspect marker		
PL	plural		
PREP	preposition		
PRO	pronoun		
PROG	progressive aspect		
PROX	proximal		

1.1 Aims and scope of the research

For all human beings, a crucial function of language is to draw attention to things in the world. Like most languages, Vietnamese has its set of ‘pointing words’ that fulfil this function, including *này* ‘this’, *đây* ‘this/here’ and *đấy, đó, kia* ‘that/there’, *ấy* ‘that’, and *nọ* ‘that’. These words are termed *demonstratives* in English or *chỉ định từ* in Vietnamese.

Demonstratives have been the subject of widespread interest, attracting attention from researchers in a range of disciplines due to the varied types, usages, and grammatical paths that they entail. As a result, considerable literature has accumulated, providing a great source of knowledge about demonstratives both in individual languages and across languages (Botley & McEnery, 2001; Chen, 1990; Diessel, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2003, 2006, 2014; Dixon, 2003; Elbourne, 2008; Enfield, 2003; Etelämäki, 2009; Gerner, 2003; Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski, 1988, 2004; Hasselbach, 2007; Himmelmann, 1996; Lindström, 2000; Maclaran, 1982; Pendlebury, 2001; Strauss, 2002; Wu, 2004; Zhang, 1991; Zulaica Hernandez, 2007). Most significantly, demonstratives in language are defined as a multi-functional category. They can be cross-linguistically characterised based on syntactic, pragmatic and semantic criteria, as suggested by Diessel (1999a: 2). Syntactically, they are generally divided into three syntactic categories, i.e. adnominal, pronominal and adverbial demonstratives. Pragmatically, they are normally used to “focus the hearer’s attention on objects or locations in the speech situation (often in combination with pointing gestures), but they may also function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse” (Diessel, 1999a: 2). And semantically, they are basically used to refer to a referent that is proximal or distal in relation to the deictic centre (which is normally the speaker). In this view, the spatial use of demonstratives is argued to be the basic sense from which other uses are extended.

Despite the wide range of uses of *chỉ định từ*, an exhaustive analysis of their syntactic, pragmatic and semantic functions has previously been lacking in the Vietnamese linguistics literature. This is probably the reason why *chỉ định từ* have been least recognised by typological studies compared to their counterparts in languages other than English such as Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Laos. The first aim of this study is therefore to contribute to the linguistic description of Vietnamese by providing an in-depth examination of the form and functions of *chỉ định từ*. According to Brown and Yule (1983: 1), a study of language in use “cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs”. Guided by discourse analysis, this study is an analysis of the uses of each form of Vietnamese demonstratives in given contexts found in a range of written texts.

Similar to demonstratives in previously studied languages, *chỉ định từ* in Vietnamese

currently play a wide range of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic roles. They can occur as the determiner in a noun phrase as shown in (1), appear on their own as either a pronominal in (2), or as a locative adverb in (3). In the appropriate syntactic environments, these terms allow the speaker to ‘point’ not only to physical referents in situational context as in (1)-(3), but also to discourse referents that are present in non-situational contexts, as in (4).

- (1) Bức tranh *này* đẹp hơn bức tranh *kia*.¹
 CL painting DEM.this beautiful more CL painting DEM.that
 ‘Painting *này* is more beautiful than painting *kia*.’
- (2) *Đây* là rạp hát, còn *đấy* là thư viện.
 DEM.this COP cinema remain DEM.that COP library
 ‘*Đây* is cinema and *đấy* is library.’
- (3) Lại *đây* với mẹ.
 come-back DEM.here PREP.with mother
 ‘Come *đây* to mum.’
- (4) Cái thời *ấy* đã qua rồi.
 CL time DEM.that ANT over already.
 ‘Time *ấy* has gone.’

(P. Hoàng, 1997)

Basically, the use of demonstratives as shown above can be defined by the notion of relative distance, i.e. whether the intended referent is inside the speaker’s vicinity (proximal) or beyond it (distal), or by their textual function, i.e. whether the intended referent is present in the surrounding discourse. But distance is not the only notion of *chỉ định từ*. *Chỉ định từ* can also be used to indicate a new referent that is neither present in the speech situation nor previously mentioned in the discourse. For example:

- (5) [referent in a to-be-told story]
 Nhà *kia/nọ/ấy* có hai anh em.
 house DEM.that have two older-brother younger-sibling
 ‘Family *kia/nọ/ấy* had two sons.’

¹ Italics in numbered examples throughout this thesis are my addition. They are intended to draw attention to the demonstratives under examination.

(6) [referent in shared knowledge]

- Việc *ấy* *ồn* *chưa?*²
CL DEM.that good NEG_{PERF}
'Is matter *ấy* solved yet?'

(7) [referent related to face-threatening matters]

- Ở *đây* *có* *chỗ* *đi* *ấy* *không?*
PREP.at DEM.here have place go DEM.that NEG
'Is there a place for *ấy* here? (= Is there a toilet here?)'

(8) [referent not to be specified in discourse]

- Tôi *đi* *đây* *một* *lát*.
1SG go DEM.here a/one moment
'I'm going *đây* for a moment.'

In these examples, the interpretation of *chỉ định từ* can only be achieved through understanding the intentionality of communication with respect to context, i.e. what is intentionally communicated by the speaker in a given use of a demonstrative. The fact that only the demonstratives *kia*, *no*, and *ấy* are used at the beginning of narratives as in (5), only *ấy* is appropriate in situations as in (7), or only proximal demonstratives can be used in indicating private information as in (8) stimulates the hypothesis of the relationship between the semantic and functional characteristics of *chỉ định từ*. As the study demonstrates, an approach to discourse analysis can be the best tool to map out such a link.

The study also explores how the scope of *chỉ định từ* is not only expanded in terms of semantic and pragmatic functions but is also expanded to other grammatical categories. That is, these terms are used to express the speaker's attitude towards the information conveyed in a given utterance in the function of demonstrative particles or to express the speaker's attitude towards the situation in the function of interjection, as illustrated in (9) and (10). In particular, it is observed that the use of a demonstrative form in these suggested grammatical functions indicates a connection with its deictic meaning. According to V. H. Nguyễn (2008), depending on whether *đây* 'here' or *đấy* 'there' is used as a sentence-final particle, the utterance can be interpreted as a warning about how soon something mentioned will happen. This observation shows a process of extension that *chỉ định từ* may undergo, involving both semantic and syntactic changes.

(9) Hôm nay triển lãm khai mạc *đấy*.
today exhibition open DEMPART
'(The) exhibition starts today *đấy* (-I confirm).'

² Hyphens at the beginning of numbered examples throughout this thesis are my addition. They are intended to indicate a quotation in Vietnamese, serving the function of inverted commas in English.

- (10) *Áy*, đừng làm thế!
 DEMINTERJ NEG_{IMP} do so
 ‘*Áy* (-I do not agree), don’t do so!’

(P. Hoàng, 1997)

Even a cursory analysis of the seven Vietnamese demonstratives reveals that each has not just one meaning or sense, but rather a complex network of related senses, or *polysemy network*. For example, the demonstrative *áy* has thirteen different senses, including the function of indicating the position of a referent in space (a spatial sense), preceding discourse (an anaphoric sense) or in the memory of the speaker and/or hearer (as in recognitional, presentational, place holder, or avoidance usages). In addition, *áy* has extended senses indicating person deixis, discourse cohesion, modality and interjective usages. Is it only coincidence that these uses share the same form *áy*? If that were the case, the uses of *áy* would be unconnected homonymous meanings. Or are these uses somehow related? If so, then the uses of *áy* are polysemous senses, and it should be possible to reconstruct the evolution of the polysemy network from a single ancestral sense.

With respect to the multiple functions of the *chỉ định từ*, the current investigation is set in polysemy-based accounts. These accounts provide theoretical claims about the mechanisms that govern possible trends of semantic extensions occurring in a polysemous category. Ultimately, the semantic reconstruction of the extensions leading to the current polysemies suggested for *chỉ định từ* is based on the senses’ synchronic semantic relatedness, represented in a radial category model. As such, in addition to the descriptive contribution, the study also hopes to contribute to research that looks at polysemy as an advantageous approach to multifunctional phenomena in language, and perhaps stimulate similar explorations into sets of demonstratives in other languages.

1.2 Organisation of the thesis

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. In Chapter 1, I introduce general characteristics of *chỉ định từ* in terms of form and syntactic features, outline the previous studies on demonstratives, and explain the approach to the analysis of written texts collected from various sources. In subsequent chapters, the thesis explains in detail different functions of Vietnamese demonstratives and especially considers their multiple functions as cases of semantic extension.

Chapter 2 presents the basic spatial use of demonstratives. I argue that the proximal/distal distinctions are crucial in all situational uses of Vietnamese demonstratives, starting with a discussion of semantic parameters encoded in the demonstrative system. I then highlight the two-way distinction of the demonstrative system in standard Vietnamese as well as the particular system in the Binh Tri Thien dialect. This argument generates one of the major findings of the current study that contradicts a long-standing belief that Vietnamese demonstratives comprise a three-way

system. Subsequently, the chapter expands to investigations into extended situational uses such as contrastive use, personal marking use, and intimacy, that I argue are all embedded in the spatial usage due to the deictic spatial force residing in these usages as well as the physical context in which these terms are interpreted.

Chapter 3 discusses the temporal use of demonstratives. It shows that spatial demonstratives are imported into the time domain through symmetric mapping of spatial distance to temporal distance. This mapping is also represented in the Binh Tri Thien dialect, providing evidence for the consistency of the use of demonstratives among Vietnamese, despite the existence of different demonstrative forms in the two dialects.

Chapter 4 explores the use of the seven demonstratives in discourse. In this chapter, I focus on the differences between demonstratives in anaphora and propose generalised factors that affect the choice of each demonstrative through the examination of a number of examples utilising each term. I also suggest that the difference between the uses of proximal and distal demonstratives in discourse is related to the distinction between nearness and farness made by spatial metaphor, leading to the implication of the proximity/distance-based semantic extensions occurring in the Vietnamese demonstrative system. The chapter also presents the extended use of anaphoric demonstratives in denoting the relationship between discourse units. This determines the form and function of the demonstratives when their meaning is totally dependent on the textual situation.

Chapter 5 examines five types of first mention usage in which demonstratives are involved. I argue that while the notion of distance guides the hearer's attention to the intended referent through demonstratives in presentational usage, shared knowledge generally makes it possible for the intended referents of demonstratives in the recognitional, placeholder, and avoidance usages to be identified. The chapter also shows that in addition to those already well-defined usages, demonstratives (the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây*, in particular) can be used in a distinctive context referring to the speaker's private information. I therefore propose the term 'privacy usage' to refer to this not-yet-examined type of first mention usage.

Chapter 6 discusses the use of Vietnamese demonstratives in restricted syntactic positions of a sentence wherein new meanings are acquired. I argue that when the demonstrative forms *đây*, *này*, *đây/đó*, *kia*, and *ấy* are used in the sentence-internal and sentence-final positions, they no longer function as demonstratives, but rather, as demonstrative particles. In this new grammatical function, these terms, especially sentence-final particles, are mainly used to encode psychological distance between the speaker and the information conveyed in a given utterance. While describing the use of each demonstrative particle, I pay special attention to how its acquired meaning is related to the meaning of the corresponding demonstrative, based on Kamio's (1994) theory of territory of

information. This has implications for the semantic relatedness of the same form performed in two grammatical categories.

Chapter 7 presents further investigations into another grammatical function of demonstratives – interjections. I propose that when *đây*, *này*, *đây/đó*, *kia*, and *ấy* stand on their own to make an utterance, they should be treated as demonstrative interjections. In this function, each form has an acquired meaning, encoding the speaker’s reaction to a given situation. Similar to previous chapters, I explain the contribution of demonstratives in the grammatical category of interjections in connection with the mechanisms of semantic change of a lexical item.

All of the functions proposed above are argued to fit the polysemy networks represented in Chapter 8. I argue that the variety of usages of Vietnamese demonstratives are polysemous senses, and it should be possible to trace how each sense is derived from another, based on the theories of polysemy and semantic change established in the literature. The validity of this proposal is proved through the two case studies of the demonstratives *nọ* and *ấy*. The case study of *nọ* illustrates that following recognised paths of metaphoric and metonymic change, extensions can be reconstructed from synchronic data even in the absence of its now-defunct basic meaning. The case of *ấy* shows that a comprehensive reconstruction of the evolution of polysemy network, which models most possible changes that a Vietnamese demonstrative may undergo, is applicable to the whole system. The polysemy networks of *nọ* and *ấy* are represented in the radial category model, which has been successfully adapted to several polysemous cases in language because it can best characterise both the synchronic and diachronic relations between senses of a lexical item. Overall, this chapter represents the results of this study in polysemy networks, followed by a statement of the thesis’s contributions to studies of Vietnamese demonstratives.

1.3 *Chỉ định từ* – Syntactic categories

Unlike demonstratives in English and many other languages, *chỉ định từ* do not differentiate between singular and plural. Yet they are similar to demonstratives in most other languages in terms of having multiple syntactic functions.

As illustrated previously, *chỉ định từ* can occur in three syntactic contexts: (i) with a noun in a noun phrase, (ii) as an independent noun phrase, or (iii) with a co-occurring verb. P. P. Nguyễn (1992, 2002) proposes that the syntactic difference amongst Vietnamese demonstratives is determined by their semantic components (cf. Thompson, 1965).

The form *đây* ‘here’, for example, can be interpreted as referring to a place where the speaker is located. In other words, its meaning can be broken down into two semantic components: place and deictic orientation. In contrast, the form *này* ‘this’ only indicates deictic orientation, i.e. ‘near the speaker’, and consequently, the noun phrase *chỗ này* ‘this place’ can be used as a substitute for

đây. But a form like *đó* can be used in both ways, i.e. with or without the notional concept ‘place’ incorporated in its semantics. Thus, according to P. P. Nguyễn (1992, 2002), Vietnamese demonstratives can be classified into three lexico-syntactic types: a free morpheme (marked as +NOM) with ‘place’ incorporated, a bound morpheme (marked as -NOM) without ‘place’, and a neutral morpheme which fits in both cases (marked as +/-NOM). With respect to the *chỉ định từ* under examination, this suggestion can be represented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Chỉ định từ* in three lexico-syntactic series (adapted from P. P. Nguyễn, 1992: 128)

+NOM	<i>đây</i>	<i>đấy</i>	
+/-NOM	<i>đó</i>	<i>kia</i>	
-NOM	<i>này</i>	<i>ấy</i>	<i>ọ</i>

For this study, I adopt this interpretation to examine the syntactic features of *chỉ định từ* represented in selected written texts (described in §1.6.1). While *đấy* is recognised as a free morpheme (i.e. +NOM) in the previously mentioned studies, this study finds that *đấy* can also be used in combination with *chỗ* ‘place’ as illustrated in example (11). This means *đấy* can be interpreted as either having the component ‘place’ or not, hence it should be classified in the +/-NOM series along with *đó* and *kia* rather than in +NOM series.

- (11) *Chỗ đấy* *cách* *đây* *khoảng* 200 km.
 place DEM.that distance DEM.here about 200 kilometer
 ‘Place *đấy* is about 200km from here.’

(Chitto, 2013)

To incorporate this additional lexio-syntactic characteristic of the form *đấy*, the classification suggested by P. P. Nguyễn (1992, 2002; cf. Thompson, 1965) can be modified in Table 2.

Table 2. *Chỉ định từ* in three lexico-syntactic series

+NOM	<i>đây</i>		
+/-NOM	<i>đó</i>	<i>đấy</i>	<i>kia</i>
-NOM	<i>này</i>	<i>ấy</i>	<i>ọ</i>

This modified distinction reflects the syntactic context in which each form of *chỉ định từ* can occur. The forms in the +NOM and +/-NOM series, i.e. *đây*, *đó*, *đấy* and *kia*, can stand on their own to make an independent phrase or to modify a co-occurring verb. This distinguishes these terms from those in the -NOM series which cannot be used without an accompanying noun. Also, it is important to note that *đây* in the +NOM type is the only demonstrative in the system that can co-occur with a pronoun. This distinctive syntactic context, as illustrated in (12), marks *đây* as being different from the rest of

the system, including the +/-NOM demonstratives *đó*, *đấy* and *kia* and the -NOM demonstratives *này*, *ấy* and *nọ*. In this regard, compared with P. P. Nguyễn's (1992, 2002) suggestion, the modification represented in Table 2 can better characterise the syntactic differences amongst *chỉ định từ*.

- (12) Tôi *đây* là con chó già.
 1SG DEM.here COP CL dog old
 'I'm *đây* (like) an old dog.'

(V. C. Nguyễn, 2013)

The syntactic distribution of *chỉ định từ* as discussed above is associated with two (out of three) cross-linguistic types of demonstratives, as indicated in Dixon (2003):

- a. Nominal – can occur in an NP with a noun or pronoun (e.g. “[this stone] is hot”) or, in most languages, can make up a complete NP (e.g. “[this] is hot”).
- b. Local adverbial – occur either alone (e.g. “put it here”) or with a noun taking local marking (e.g. “put it (on the table) there”).

(Dixon, 2003: 62)

Based on this cross-linguistic approach, the association between the types and forms of Vietnamese demonstratives is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. The syntactic categories of Vietnamese demonstratives

Types	Forms
Nominal demonstrative (+ pronoun)	<i>đây</i>
Nominal demonstrative (+ noun)	<i>đây đó đấy kia này ấy nọ</i>
Local adverbial demonstrative (+verb)	<i>đây đó đấy kia</i>

It can be seen from Table 3 that all seven demonstratives can be nominally used. While adverbial demonstratives can only point to a place, nominal demonstratives can point to an object (Dixon, 2003: 69). Predictably, nominal demonstratives are more commonly used due to their wider range of referential properties.

Notice also that Vietnamese grammarians pay most attention to the grammatical role of *chỉ định từ* in noun phrases (H. C. Nguyễn, 2003; M. T. Nguyễn & Nguyễn, 2004; T. C. Nguyễn, 2004; T. H. Nguyen, 2004). In the structure of the noun phrase, *chỉ định từ* can either follow the head noun or co-occur with other post-nominal modifiers. What marks a demonstrative as different to other modifiers in a noun phrase is that it is the rightmost constituent of the phrase. This is illustrated in example (13).

- (13) a. cô gái dễ thương này
 CL girl easy love DEM.this
 ‘this lovely girl’
- b. cô gái này dễ thương
 CL girl DEM.this easy love
 ‘This girl is lovely.’

(T. H. Nguyen, 2004: 61)

Example (13a) shows that the word order has the structure of a noun phrase, where the demonstrative *này* appears after the adjective *dễ thương* ‘lovely’. In example (13b) it is a sentence with a null copula in which the noun phrase *cô gái này* ‘this girl’ functions as the subject and the adjective *dễ thương* ‘lovely’ as a predicate. *Chỉ định từ* can therefore be treated as overt morphemes marking the end boundary of the noun phrase.

1.4 Language facts about *Chỉ định từ*

In Vietnamese, an Austroasiatic language, there are three primary dialects spoken in three geographic regions: Northern Vietnamese (spoken in Hanoi), Central Vietnamese (Vinh and Hue), and Southern Vietnamese (Ho Chi Minh City). These dialects are recognised by lexical and phonological distinctions. Within Central Vietnamese, a phonological distinction can be further made between North-Central Vietnamese and the Binh Tri Thien (*Bình Trị Thiên*) dialect (T. C. Hoàng, 1989; C. T. Nguyễn, 1995). Binh Tri Thien is the native dialect of the author of this thesis.

One important feature of Vietnamese is that a Vietnamese person can speak with and understand another from a different dialect (cf. Hwa-Froelich, Hodson, & Edwards, 2002). However, among the three dialects, Northern Vietnamese is recognised as the prestigious dialect that is the basis of the standard language. It is used in the government and education systems as well as in all media communication such as newspapers, radio and television.

Demonstratives are recognised as a special grammatical vocabulary and belong to a list of key lexical items that represent differences between dialects (Alves, 2012; T. C. Hoàng, 1989). Following the existing studies on Vietnamese dialects (Alves, 2012; T. C. Hoàng, 1989; Thompson, 1965), two distinct sets of demonstratives can be identified, as represented in Table 4.

Table 4. Two sets of demonstratives in Vietnamese

Types of DEMs	Set 1 (Northern and Southern Vietnamese)	Set 2 (Binh Tri Thien region - Central Vietnamese)
Nominal	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	<i>này</i>	<i>ni</i>
	<i>đấy, đó, ấy</i>	<i>nớ</i>
	<i>kia</i>	<i>tê</i>
	<i>nọ</i>	<i>nọ</i>
Adverbial	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	<i>đấy, đó, kia</i>	<i>đó</i>

This study focuses on the seven terms of *chỉ định từ* in standard Vietnamese, i.e. the demonstratives of set 1 as shown in Table 4. While set 1 is widely used and understood by people of all regions in Vietnam, the items listed in set 2 are restricted to the Binh Tri Thien dialect. In fact, set 2 is only used in daily interactions among local people, otherwise set 1 is used instead. As can be expected, only set 1 is officially used in written texts. Nevertheless, the Binh Tri Thien dialect is “perhaps among the oldest of Vietnamese” (Alves, 2012: 2) and hence may provide valuable historical-linguistic evidence of Vietnamese and its *chỉ định từ*. Thus, in this study set 2 is used to support arguments on the evolution and characteristics of demonstratives in Vietnamese in general.

1.5 Previous studies on uses of demonstratives

As mentioned previously, demonstratives have been studied in different disciplines such as philosophy and psychology, and may be considered “one of the great puzzles of linguistic science” (Enfield, 2003: 82). Linguists have explored the category of demonstratives as a noteworthy matter of language typology (Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Diessel, 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Dixon, 2003; Fillmore, 1982), language acquisition (E. V. Clark & Carpenter, 1989; H. H. Clark, 1973, 1983, 1996; H. H. Clark & Carlson, 1982; H. H. Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986), and contrastive linguistics (Chung, 2000; Meira & Terrill, 2005; Niimura & Hayashi, 1996; Wu, 2004; Zhang, 1991) from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. This section focuses on the body of literature that provides background knowledge relating to the uses of demonstratives in human language.

1.5.1 Demonstratives in language

Demonstratives are one category of referring expressions. From the philosophical point of view, they belong to the phenomenon of indexicality, representing the connection between language and the world (Perry, 1977; Yourgrau, 1990). From a linguistic perspective, demonstratives are identified in the domain of deixis that “concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in

which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context” (Levinson, 1983: 54). This definition indicates context dependency as a significant characteristic affecting the production as well as interpretation of such expressions.

The domain of deixis is traditionally classified into three categories: person deixis (e.g. *I* and *you*), spatial deixis (e.g. *this*, *that*, *here* and *there*), and temporal deixis (e.g. *now*, *today* and *yesterday*) according to the principal kinds of information that referring expressions encode. Levinson (1983) suggests that textual and honorific factors should be separately recognised as two independent deictic categories, discourse deixis and social deixis (cf. Fillmore, 1975; Lyons, 1978). Levinson (1983: 63) also proposes that “a basic distinction between objects visible and non-visible to participants... is in fact an independent and parallel dimension of deictic organization that ought to be added to the major five categories of deixis”. The suggested deictic categories are associated with the variety of linguistic forms that are assigned differently in natural language. Among them, demonstratives are identified as place (spatial) deictics, functioning to locate an object, location or person in relation to the deictic center (Diessel, 1999a: 36).

According to Anderson & Keenan (1985), a language may be described as a ‘one-term’ deictic system (e.g. *ce* in French), a ‘two-term’ deictic system (e.g. *this* and *that* in English), a ‘three-term’ deictic system (as in Latin, Japanese, Turkish, Spanish) or even more, depending on degrees of distance relative to the space occupied by speaker and hearer. Distance distinction (neutral, proximal, medial, distal, etc.) is examined as the basic semantic feature of the spatial deixis (or place deixis). The center of this view is that “spatial references serve as the basis, in most languages, for a variety of metaphorical extensions into other domains” (Anderson & Keenan, 1985: 278). It is evident that the notion of proximity expressed by *this*, for example, may be interpreted by extension to ‘psychological proximity’ as in *in this way* and ‘temporally close’ as in *at this time* (Anderson & Keenan, 1985) or else, demonstratives are extended to be used as discourse deictics (Diessel, 1999a). In this regard, demonstratives can structure a variety of information other than just place and hence, they can be considered linguistic forms across various deictic categories as mentioned above. This is consistent with different functions of demonstratives indicated in the literature.

Consistent with different communicative purposes, four basic uses of demonstratives are proposed in the previous studies. They include: exophoric (or situational), anaphoric (or tracking), discourse deictic, and recognitional (Diessel, 1999a; Himmelmann, 1996). In the exophoric use, demonstratives direct the hearer’s attention to things that are present in the speech situation. On the other hand, anaphoric and deictic discourse demonstratives are intended to help the hearer to follow the discourse flow. Anaphoric demonstratives refer to the same referent expressed by a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse, while deictic discourse demonstratives refer to aspects of

meaning indicated by discourse elements such as a clause, a sentence, or a paragraph, etc. The fourth use is related to recognitional demonstratives whose referent is neither present in the situational context nor previously mentioned in the discourse. In this context, they call the hearer's attention to something that is assumed to be familiar to the hearer due to shared knowledge.

Although Himmelmann (1996) suggests treating these four uses as equally basic because they are pervasive in all languages, there is evidence to support the notion that the exophoric use represents the central use of demonstratives (Chen, 1990; Cleary-Kemp, 2007; Diessel, 1999a). These four uses are illustrated in the following English examples (Zaki, 2011: 31):

(14) Is *this* my book? (accompanied by a pointing gesture)
[exophoric]

(15) A pregnant woman has to undergo several checks. *These checks* are called antenatal.
[anaphoric]

(16) The country is in recession. *That* has been expected for months.
[discourse deictic]

(17) Do you still have *that radio* that your uncle gave you last year?
[recognitional]

As indicated in the literature, the recognitional use can also be considered as 'emotional deixis' (R. Lakoff, 1974). This occurs when demonstratives are used to indicate something that is not available in the physical context but is related to emotional closeness, sympathy and shared beliefs (Diessel, 1999a: 107). For example:

(18) English (R. Lakoff, 1974: 348, 352)
a. "Don't lie to me", said Dick. *This* was a man who had twice been convicted of perjury.
b. *That* Henry Kissinger sure knows his way around in Hollywood.

Apart from the abovementioned uses, demonstratives are also found in other contexts that are less common across languages. For example, unstressed *this* is used in colloquial English to introduce something new to the conversation, and thus, new to the hearer (Diessel, 1999a; Prince, 1981; Ward, 1983). In studies on English demonstratives, this particular use of *this* is identified as the presentational use (e.g. Maclaran, 1982).

In addition, Diessel (1999a: 54) reports that demonstratives in many languages (e.g. Korean, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Finnish) are commonly used as hesitation signals. This use of demonstratives as ‘filler words’ is, according to Hayashi & Yoon (2006), where speakers across diverse languages tend to employ demonstratives to deal with difficulties in formulating a word in spontaneous production, i.e. ‘word-formulation trouble’. In this context, a demonstrative can be used as a placeholder that holds the syntactic position of a yet-to-be-specified lexical item as in (19), an avoidance device that replaces an explicit mention of a lexical item as in (20), or an interjective hesitator that indicates the delay of the production as in (21).

(19) Mandarin (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006: 494)

(H asks C how she cooked the dish displayed in front of them)

- 1 H: ranhou ni you (0.2) *nei-ge* ma: (.) marina:te
then you have DIST.DEM-CL Q marinate
shenme de
what PRT
‘Then, you have (0.2) *nei-ge* [=done that]? (.) Marinated or something?’
- 2 C: meiyou.
‘No.’

(20) Lao (Enfield, 2003: 108)

- 1 A: caw⁴ hak¹ phen¹ bò³
2SG love 3HON PRT
‘Do you love him?’
- 2 B: kaa¹... *qan⁰-nan⁴* juu¹
so thing-that PRT
‘Well, *qan⁰-nan⁴* [=that thing].’

(21) Japanese (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006: 508)

- 1 H: iya konkai *ano* hashittemo
well this.time AND.DIST.DEM run:even.if
‘Well, this time, *ano* [=um], even if ((you)) run ((in a race)),’
- 2 *ano* gooru shita ato ni
AND.DIST.DEM goal did after PRT
‘*ano* [=um], after ((you)) enter the goal,’
- 3 nanka: [*ano* TANPAN o nuganai] y(h)oon(h)i
like AND.DIST.DEM short.pants 0 do.not.take.off
‘like, *ano* [=um], don’t take off ((your)) short pants.’
[]
- 4 K: [NAN DESU KA SORE WA.]
what CP Q that TP
‘WHAT ON EARTH ARE ((YOU)) TALKING ABOUT?’

What factors affect the choice of demonstrative forms corresponding to these recognised uses, given that majority of attested languages have “at least two distinct categories along the basic spatial deictic dimension” (Anderson & Keenan, 1985: 281)? Attempts to deal with this concern have led to two different approaches in the literature.

The choice of demonstrative forms in various functions is traditionally explained on the basis of a proximity scale. This view can be illustrated through exhaustive explanations of the choice between *this (these)* and *that (those)* established in the previous studies. It is widely agreed among grammarians that English encodes two major parameters of reference for demonstratives, i.e. spatial and temporal (e.g. Jespersen, 1933; Kruisinga, 1925; Quirk, 1972, 1985). Specifically, *this (these)* indicates an entity/location that is physically near to the speaker in space and a time event that is related to the speaker’s present, whereas *that (those)* encodes physical distance (i.e. far from the speaker) and temporal farness (i.e. separated from present).

It is also noticed that their basic semantic characteristics are still maintained when these terms are used in other functions. As indicated in Halliday and Hassan (1976), the proximal/distal distinction of English demonstratives is reflected in their discourse use. That is, *this* tends to refer to utterances made by the speaker whereas *that* tends to refer to utterances made by her interlocutor. In this sense, ‘what I have just mentioned’ is metaphorically proximal to the speaker and ‘what you have just mentioned’ is distal. Furthermore, in a cognitive observation, Chen (1990) also sees the involvement of proximity within the anaphoric use of *this* and *that*. According to Chen, the use of *this* is associated with referents that persist in the following discourse, i.e. focusing, while *that* indicates something that is no longer of interest to the speaker, i.e. distancing. He concludes: “when used anaphorically, *this* almost always indicates interest and relevance, hence relating to nearness, while *that* indicates distance, relating to farness” (Chen, 1990: 142). This may also explain why only *this (these)* is appropriate in the cataphoric usage.

In his study, Chen (1990) suggests that the notion of proximity determines all kinds of uses of English demonstratives. For example, it is the distance contrast that makes *this* relevant in the presentational use and *that* appropriate in the recognitional use, as according to Chen, “when the speaker wants to introduce something new to the discourse, he uses *this* to draw his hearer’s attention, signaling that more about the referent is to come. When he needs to appeal to the shared knowledge, which he mentally perceives as something farther away from the current discourse, he uses *that* to pick up one specific piece of knowledge from the shared knowledge storage” (143). Similarly, this approach can explain the choice between *this* and *that* in the emotional use as previously mentioned, insofar as *that* generally signals the sympathetic or emotional distance between the speaker and the referent. Based on this approach, the multiple functions of

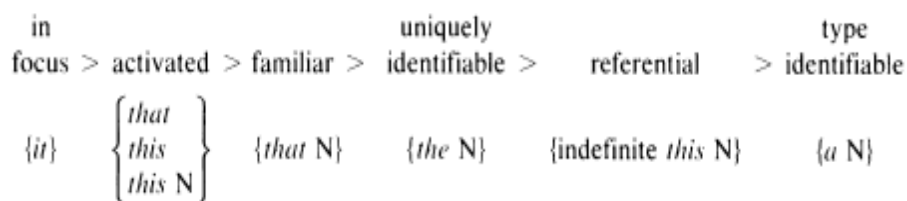
demonstratives are all related to proximity, that is, as suggested by Chen (1990), they are a case of semantic expansions from their basic meanings.

Recent research places more emphasis on the factor of the hearer’s attention in the analysis of demonstratives (Enfield, 2003; Gundel, 1985; Gundel et al., 2010; Gundel et al., 1988; Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski, 1993; Gundel et al., 2004; Gundel, Hegarty, & Borthen, 2003; Oh, 2001; Strauss, 1993, 2002). These studies argue that uses of demonstratives are not always determined by the notion of distance, but also by the cognitive status of referents. The alternative analysis of demonstratives is well represented in two frameworks: Strauss’s (1993, 2002) framework of Gradient Focus and Gundel et al.’s (1993) Givenness Hierarchy.

The gradient focus model is suggested for the analysis of a demonstrative system in spontaneous oral discourse, such as *this*, *that* and *it* in spoken American English (Strauss, 2002). In this approach, focus is a critical factor that determines the speaker’s preference for one term over another in a given context. By ‘focus’, Strauss means “the degree of attention the hearer should pay to the referent” (2002: 135). Thus, the speaker’s choice of one demonstrative form is associated with the information status of its referent, that is, whether it is new to the hearer, hence important, or already known by the hearer, hence unimportant, or somewhere in between these extremes.

In a broader examination on referring expressions in natural language discourse, which include demonstratives, Gundel et al. (1993) propose the Givenness Hierarchy, representing in order six cognitive statuses that are associated with each form. This is shown in Figure 1 with relevant forms from English. According to Gundel et al., each chosen form guides the hearer to identify a referent within its restrictive status. For example, by using the demonstrative determiner *that* in *that N*, the speaker restricts the intended referent to one that is familiar to the hearer, while by using indefinite *this N*, the speaker expects the hearer to “either retrieve an existing representation of the speaker’s intended referent or construct a new representation by the time the sentence has been processed” (276). In this model, the degrees of focus are represented on a scale of restrictive statuses.

Figure 1. The Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al., 1993: 275)



In my view, both the traditional and alternative approaches provide advantages to the analysis of the demonstrative system in human language at different levels. At the macro level, the proximity-

based view offers a plausible semantic-pragmatic approach to an explanation of the relationship between different uses of demonstratives. At the micro level, the cognitive-pragmatic accounts provide frameworks to examine the speaker's estimates of how much inferential work the hearer will need to do to interpret the speaker's message from a given reference. Working from a wide range of written texts (§1.6.1), this study aims to describe all possible uses of Vietnamese demonstratives, then to analyse the connections between their basic and extended uses. In this case, both approaches appear to be relevant.

1.5.2 Demonstratives in Vietnamese

In contrast to the numerous studies on demonstratives in other languages mentioned previously, discussions about *chỉ định từ* in the Vietnamese linguistics literature are mainly confined to grammar books. In traditional grammar, *chỉ định từ* have been described through examples that are either invented or collected from classical poetry, in which only three functions of spatial, temporal and anaphoric are suggested (Đ. T. Bùi, 1966; Emeneau, 1951; V. L. Lê, 1971; Thomas, 1968; Thompson, 1965). Apart from some basic syntactic features, very few details relating to the semantic and pragmatic functions of *chỉ định từ* are explored in these books. For example, according to Emeneau (1951, p. 92), *này* 'this' refers to the referent close to the speaker, *ấy* 'that' refers to the referent far from the speaker and *kia* is 'further off than *ấy*'. Modern reference grammar books are more concerned with the syntactic and semantic characteristics of *chỉ định từ* when they are used as modal particles and interjections (Cao, 2004; M. T. Nguyễn & Nguyễn, 2004; V. H. Nguyễn, 2008). The anaphoric and cataphoric uses of *chỉ định từ* that are identified in these grammar books are further discussed in textbooks on discourse (Diệp, 1999, 2009). As a consequence, these books can only provide an overview of *chỉ định từ* as a grammatical category in the language.

Although based on this rather limited data, the claims of Thompson (1965) and P. P. Nguyễn (1992, 2002) have nevertheless influenced the contemporary Vietnamese linguistics literature on *chỉ định từ*. The authors state that Vietnamese demonstratives distinguish three degrees of distance according to their morphological features: proximal, medial and distal. Specifically, P. P. Nguyễn (1992: 128) argues that "the opposition of the initials *đ-/n-* correlates with the opposition of *Place+Reference vs. Reference*" while the distinction between *-ay*, *-o* and *kia* indicates a three-term system. The authors' morphologically based analysis is represented in Table 5.

Table 5. Three-term system distinguished by morphological features (P. P. Nguyễn, 1992: 128)

	D ₁ (proximal)	D ₂ (medial)	D ₃ (distal)
+NOM(inal)	<i>đây</i> place-this	<i>đấy</i> place-that ₁	
+/-NOM(inal)		<i>đó</i> (place-) that ₁	<i>kia</i> (place-)that ₂
-NOM(inal)	<i>này</i> this	<i>(n)ấy</i> that ₁	<i>nọ</i> that ₂

Given the fact that Vietnamese is an isolating language, in that the boundaries of morphemes and syllables coincide (M. H. Bùi & Hoàng, 2007), or in other words, monosyllabic polymorphemic forms do not exist in the language (Schiering, Bickel, & Hildebrandt, 2007), it would appear that a morphological approach to the *chỉ định từ* is not appropriate. Nevertheless, existing studies on Vietnamese demonstratives have been based on the results of the aforementioned studies and are the model for understanding *chỉ định từ* (Adachi, 2011; Lại, 2004). In addition, from a non-native speaker's point of view, Adachi (2011) suggests that apart from indicating the proximal/medial/distal distinction, *đây*, *đó* and *kia* can also encode familiarity and visibility as other parameters of reference. She also notices that *đó* and *kia* can be used in the memorative use, that is following Kinsui et al.'s (2002: 221) definition, "to refer to a referent in the speaker's knowledge based on his or her direct experience in the past". Her suggestion is represented in a table, as reproduced below:

Table 6. Vietnamese demonstratives (Adachi, 2011: 7)

	Deictic			Anaphoric	Memorative
	Speaker	Addressee	Others		
<i>đây</i>	near	near / remote	familiar	near	---
<i>đó</i>	remote	near / remote	unfamiliar vague	remote	remote
<i>kia</i>	remote	near / remote	visible, directly recognizable 'the other'	---	near tacit

This study will expand the scope of the analysis to include all the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy*, *đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ*, and explain how these terms are employed in different pragmatic contexts. Building on this study, a native speaker's intuition about the subtle distinctions between uses of each form in a given situation will be used as justification to support the context-based analysis.

1.6 Methodology

The questions raised in section 1.1 of whether all the uses of Vietnamese demonstratives are polysemous senses, and if so, how their extended uses can be traced back from the basic use, are

related to a number of issues surrounding the linguistic characteristics of demonstratives. These issues can be addressed in terms of: (i) the area of language use that allows for understanding of how a lexical item is used in a certain context by considering a speaker's intended meaning in producing an utterance and a hearer's process of inference in interpreting what has been communicated, and (ii) semantic change, specifically the mechanisms of semantic extensions, resulting in a wide range of uses pertaining to the case study of Vietnamese demonstratives. The collection of written texts and the methodology used in the analysis of data have been based on these considerations and reflect the aims and scope of this study.

1.6.1 Source material

The written texts used in this study are from different genres such as narratives (novels, short and long stories, fairy tales, folklore and modern jokes, etc.), as well as newspaper articles and commentaries. They were not selected to form a balanced corpus, but were instead chosen to illustrate meaningful distinctions in the contemporary Vietnamese demonstrative system. These attested examples are nonetheless preferable to invented examples, because they are produced more naturally in a context the effects of which can be examined.

The written texts used in this study were therefore selected for their standard of accessibility, popularity, and contextual availability. First, narratives make up a major proportion of the source material. These texts provide a great variety of examples of situational uses of demonstratives, i.e. dialogue between characters in narratives across a wide range of social contexts. Also, since this study focuses on demonstratives in standard Vietnamese, I have particularly selected narratives written by famous authors from both northern Vietnam (e.g. Nguyễn Khắc Trường, Ma Văn Kháng) and southern Vietnam (e.g. Nguyễn Nhật Ánh) in order to provide balanced judgements on the nationwide usages of these terms. I also selected narratives on the basis of their popularity with several generations of Vietnamese, to ensure that all functions of demonstratives proposed in this study have been widely accepted in the speech community over a considerable period of time. As such, the majority of texts chosen for this study were published in the period from 1930 to recent times. A fruitful source of narratives was an online database of modern Vietnam literature called *Việt Nam Thư Quán*, accessed at <http://vnthuquan.net/truyen/>.

Second, a number of online newspapers, in particular one of the most reputable online newspapers in Vietnam, *Thanh niên* (<http://www.thanhvien.com.vn/pages/default.aspx>), are another source material used in this study. This source is typical for pre-planned discourse. It covers diverse topics such as politics, business, society, education/youth, entertainment, travel, health, and world news, reflecting society's perspective through the reporter's use of a required written standard of

communication. This source is prevalent and constantly updated, and therefore would provide the most appropriate examples regarding non-situational uses of Vietnamese demonstratives.

It is noteworthy that the use of the Internet allows access to other source material required for this study. For example, the language used in online forums is closely related to daily spoken language and on occasion is used to provide examples of demonstratives used in conversation that were previously not available in written sources.

1.6.2 Discourse Analysis as theory and method

Amongst linguistic elements, demonstratives are a category that is highly dependent upon contextual information for their interpretation. In other words, their semantics are sensitive to information about the speaker and hearer, and the time and place of the discourse production. The theory of discourse analysis defined by Brown and Yule (1983) is adopted as the most appropriate methodology for this study.

By treating text as “the verbal record of a communicative act” (Brown & Yule, 1983: 6), the discourse analysis approach provides a theoretical guide for this study in terms of investigating the collection of written texts from a communicative perspective. That is, texts are not static as in the ‘text-as-product’ perspective, but rather, they represent ‘discourse-as-progress’ involving the speaker’s and hearer’s representations. As a result, by analysing linguistic expressions used in the texts, the discourse analyst is simultaneously engaged with the speaker’s intentionality of communication as well as her attempt to allow the intended referent to be identified by the hearer. In a sense, a linguistic form is “not... a static object, but... a dynamic means of expressing intended meaning” (Brown & Yule, 1983: 6). Based on this view, the written texts used in this study are treated as a record of dynamic process in which Vietnamese demonstratives are used to basically communicate situated meanings.

The importance of context in the interpretation of discourse is especially emphasised in a discourse analysis approach. In Brown and Yule’s (1983) view, context is constituted of varied aspects of the production of discourse. Depending on the constituting source, different aspects of context can be identified, such as the physical context (i.e., information about the deictic co-ordinates such as the speaker and hearer, and the time and place), co-text (i.e., the surrounding discourse information) or the social context of the social roles of participants. The analysis of discourse will rely on contextual aspects that are relevant to the production and interpretation of discourse.

Brown and Yule indicate that in addition to contextual information, knowledge of the world and an individual’s past experiences support the interpretation of discourse, and in fact, these factors are also considered as relevant aspects of context. The idea of an expanding context is

consistent with the speech act theory and pragmatics-based approaches in which context is viewed as knowledge in terms of “what speakers and hearers can be assumed to know... and how that knowledge guides the use of language and the interpretation of utterances” (Brown & Yule, 1983: 24).

Contextual knowledge is certainly vital to the current study, considering that demonstratives are highly context-dependent elements. The variety of functions of demonstratives under examination is indicated by the contexts in which they occur. These functions are then classified based on a type of context, for example, spatial and temporal demonstratives are used to indicate a referent in the physical context while discourse demonstratives are used to refer to a preceding or succeeding discourse unit in discourse context (or co-text), etc. Other available relevant aspects of context are taken into consideration when the elaborated meaning and function of the demonstratives are analysed. In this study, context is a key for evaluation of the tendencies of meaning and function of Vietnamese demonstratives.

Under the discourse analysis approach, a given linguistic form must be analysed on the basis of the discourse production, while the context is used to support the interpretation. This indicates that for a thorough understanding, the use of language can be justified from the point of view of both the speaker and hearer. In this study, the analysis of Vietnamese demonstratives is supported by my own native speaker’s intuition. That is, linguistic competence in the use of demonstratives is combined with the analytic process to achieve a meaningful approach to discourse analysis.

Chapter 2 Spatial usage

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the spatial usage of demonstratives that denotes the nearness and farness of a region/referent in relation to a reference point. An English speaker, for example, uses *this/here* for a referent close to the speaker and *that/there* to indicate something far from her³. The spatial meaning of these terms is solely based on the situational context, i.e. the intended referent is to be identified through the clues in physical settings, or the participants and the intended referent are in spatial proximity at the time of communication.

In terms of Vietnamese, as documented in the literature to date (Chapter 1), this function is performed by the seven demonstrative terms (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002; Thompson, 1965). They are *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia*, and *ọ* and they function in three syntactic environments, i.e. adnominally, pronominally and adverbially (Table 7, see also §1.3). The two terms *đấy* and *đó* are considered to be dialectal variations of the same demonstrative function. As suggested by P. P. Nguyễn (2002: 105-107), the demonstrative *đấy* is only employed in standard Vietnamese, whereas *đó* can be used in not only standard Vietnamese but also in Vietnamese dialects. In this study, this relation is signalled by a slash between them (i.e. *đấy/đó*).

Table 7. Demonstratives in standard Vietnamese (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002)

Demonstratives	Syntactic functions	Meaning
<i>này</i>	Adnominal	[proximal] ⁴
<i>đây</i>	Pronominal Adverbial	
<i>đấy/đó</i>	Adnominal Pronominal Adverbial	[medial]
<i>ấy</i>	Adnominal	[distal]
<i>kia</i>	Adnominal Pronominal Adverbial	
<i>ọ</i>	Adnominal	

Vietnamese has been customarily described as a three-term demonstrative system (Emeneau, 1951; P. P. Nguyễn, 2002; Thompson, 1965). These deictic terms are distinguished on the basis of two criteria proposed by Anderson and Keenan (1985), that is, whether the distance of an entity is indicated in relation to the speaker's location (i.e. distance-oriented) or in relation to the location of

³ I use the standard convention "she" for speaker and "he" for hearer throughout the thesis, following Sweetser (1990).

⁴ I use square brackets '[']' to mark semantic features of demonstratives, following Imai (2003).

both the speaker and the hearer (i.e. person-oriented). Accordingly, we have three levels of distance in relation to the speaker: *này* ‘this (i.e. proximal to the speaker)’, *ấy* ‘that (i.e. distal to the speaker)’ and *kia* ‘that (i.e. further off than *ấy*)’ (Emeneau, 1951: 92), or on the other hand with the hearer taken into account, we have *này* ‘this (i.e. proximal to the speaker)’, *đây/đó*, *ấy* ‘that (i.e. proximal to the hearer) and *kia* ‘that (i.e. distal to both the speaker and hearer)’ (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002; Thompson, 1965).

In addition to the proximal/distal distinction, the status of the intended referent is also considered as a distinguishing criterion. From an early stage, Thompson (1965) identifies the difference between *đây* and *đấy* on the basis of both the distance and referent status by indicating that *đây* is used to encode a referent “close to the speaker and newly introduced” while the referent of *đấy* is “remote or already identified”. In contrast, *kia* is simply described in relation to *đấy/đó* and *ấy*, as in “more remote than *đấy*” (Thompson, 1965) or “further off than *ấy*” (Emeneau, 1951: 92). This distinction has lately been echoed in P. P. Nguyễn’s (2002) related study. In opposition, Adachi (2011: 4) proposes that the referent of *đó* is new and unfamiliar to the speaker while *kia* does not carry this meaning.

However, what I have found from an examination of examples of present-day uses of *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia*, and *nọ* is that there is some evidence to contradict these claims. For example, the terms *đấy/đó* and *kia* are in fact interchangeable when referring to a region/object which is relatively far from the speaker. In other words, these terms do not reflect the medial/distal distinctions but rather, they are alternatively used in different contexts for the same purpose of indicating something far from the speaker. Hence, the solution of the proximal/medial/distal distinctions proposed in the past literature is in some respects problematic, and is challenged in this chapter. An analysis of semantic features in section 2.2, followed by the syntactic and pragmatic functions of the individual demonstrative in section 2.3, will portray in a new light the use of Vietnamese spatial demonstratives in a way that is in some respects contrary to the existing Vietnamese literature on this issue.

2.2 Parameters

The term “parameters” proposed by Pederson and Wilkins (1996), also called “features” (Diessel, 1999a; Fillmore, 1982), refers to the “semantic components of deictics”, with demonstratives presented as representative examples of deictics that utilise these components (Imai, 2003: 11).

In this section, I propose that Vietnamese spatial demonstratives can be characterised through three parameters, namely *relative distance*, *contact* and *invisibility*. In particular, the ‘relative distance’ parameter in sub-section 2.2.1 determines the use of the proximal terms *này* and *đây* in contrast with the distal terms *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia*. The ‘contact’ parameter in 2.2.2 is considered to

be the secondary meaning of the proximal terms *này* and *đây*, that further distinguishes them from the distal terms, while the ‘invisible-absent’ parameter in 2.2.3 makes the crucial division between the visible forms *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and the invisible form *nọ* in the language.

2.2.1 The ‘relative distance’ parameter

Most of the traditional studies (e.g. Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Diessel, 1999a; Fillmore, 1982; Himmelmann, 1996) consider *distance* (i.e. whether a referent is near or not near the reference point) as the most significant and possibly the only universal parameter characterising the category of demonstratives. In Vietnamese, a speaker can use the proximal demonstratives *này* ‘this’ and *đây* ‘here’ to refer to an object/region at the exact spot where she is currently standing, to a house/city she is currently occupying, or to the planet on which she lives. In these cases, the location of the speaker functions like “the imaginable epicenter” (Imai, 2003: 28) from which the proximal sphere is expanded, such as a spatial expansion from *toà nhà này* ‘this building’, *thành phố này* ‘this city’ to *trái đất này* ‘this planet’. The distal demonstratives *đấy/đó* and *kia*, on the other hand, are used to indicate a wide degree of remoteness from the reference point. The distal terms indicate a referent that can be located somewhere out of the speaker’s reach or in another galaxy, e.g. *ngôi sao đấy/đó/ấy/kia* ‘that star’. The distance measured by demonstratives is not absolute. How ‘near’ or ‘far’ from the speaker depends on the speaker’s perception of the distance rather than the actual distance.

According to Kemmerer (1999), cross-linguistically, the distance values expressed by demonstratives are considered not only “abstract” but also “context-dependent” and “highly subjective”, in other words, “relative”. In agreement with Hanks (1990) regarding the relativity of the near/far distinction represented by demonstratives, Kemmerer (1999) states that

In any given utterance, the actual boundaries of the region of space designated by a demonstrative are determined by a combination of the demonstrative’s abstract semantic structure and the unique pragmatic conditions of the speech situation.

(Kemmerer, 1999: 52)

In example (22), for instance, a child and her grandfather have different perspectives about the distance to the intended referent from where they are both standing. This is reflected in the separate demonstratives that they use for proximal and distal terms about the same referent. In this case, their subjectivity influences their choice of demonstratives.

(22) [A child is standing beside her grandfather who is gardening. She points to a broken leaf and says:]

Grandchild: *Cháu xin ông cái lá gãy*
 grandchild ask grandfather CL leaf broken
kia *nhá!*
 DEM.DIST PART
 ‘Could you give me broken leaf *kia*?’

Grandfather: *Cháu không nghịch được những thứ này.*
 grandchild NEG play obtain PL CL.sort DEM.PROX
 ‘You’re not allowed to play with things *này*.’

(T. Nguyễn, 1939)

Although the distance from the girl and her grandfather to *cái lá gãy* ‘the broken leaf’ is equal, their sense of the space between is different. Generally, things around us seem big when we are young and seem to become smaller as we grow up. As shown in example (22), the child feels the referent is distant from her while her grandfather feels the same referent is near to him. Correspondingly, *kia* (from the original text) as well as other distal forms *đấy/đó* and *ấy* (from a native speaker’s intuition) can be used in the child’s utterance while only *này* is appropriate in the grandfather’s. This illustrates that distance is ‘relative’ and the use of demonstratives indicating distance is very ‘highly subjective’.

Despite being classified as a distal demonstrative (Table 7), the usage of *nọ* is not appropriate in the example above. This implies that *nọ* is different from the other distal terms *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* in some aspects. It is proposed that *nọ* refers to an absent, and thus invisible, referent. The ‘invisible-absent’ parameter, as discussed in the following section, can help in distinguishing the distal group more comprehensively.

2.2.2 The ‘invisible-absent’ parameter

It would seem that the demonstrative *nọ* is the only one in the system that lacks an exophoric function. As far as I have been able to determine, none of examples in present-day Vietnamese shows the function of *nọ* as referring to a distant referent in a ‘here and now’ context.

In an analysis on the distinction between *nọ* and *kia*, P. P. Nguyễn (2002) points out that *nọ* tends to refer to an invisible-absent referent. Here the quality of invisibility as indicated by *nọ* is associated with absence, i.e. a region/referent is not present around the speaker and the hearer at the time of communication. According to P. P. Nguyễn, the use of *nọ* is distinctive because its referent cannot be identified through the situational clues in physical settings, but rather from ‘memory’ as the retrieval source. In example (23) for instance, the speaker uses *nọ* to refer to a person *một người nọ* ‘one person *nọ*’ and a house *một nhà nọ* ‘one house *nọ*’, which are absent in the speech context

but present in the speaker’s memory. This function, namely the presentational usage, is demonstrated in section 5.2.

- (23) Một người *nọ* có tính hay ăn cắp vặt.
 one person DEM.DIST have habit often pilfer small
 Một hôm đi đường xa ghé vào một nhà *nọ*
 one day go road far call PREP.in one house DEM.DIST
 xin nghỉ chân...
 ask rest leg
 ‘There was person *nọ* with a habit of pilfering. One day, after travelling a long way, he called into house *nọ* to ask to stay...’

(Viện Văn học, 2004a)

The difference between “reference in absentia” and “reference in praesentia” has led Nguyễn (2002: 112) to propose that *nọ* is preferably used as a temporal demonstrative (Chapter 3) rather than a spatial demonstrative. This may be the reason why in all descriptions of Vietnamese demonstratives in the literature (§1.5.2), the use of *nọ* is not explained by the proximal/distal distinction, although it is included in the list of basic demonstratives (Table 7).

This characteristic of *nọ* is consistently represented in both the Binh Tri Thien dialect and standard Vietnamese, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Demonstratives in Vietnamese dialects

Syntax	Meaning	Standard Vietnamese	Binh Tri Thien dialect
Adnominal	[proximal]	<i>này</i>	<i>ni</i>
	[distal]	<i>đây/đó</i>	<i>nó</i>
		<i>ấy</i>	
		<i>kia</i>	<i>tê</i>
		<i>nọ</i>	<i>nọ</i>
Pronominal	[proximal]	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	[distal]	<i>đây/đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		<i>kia</i>	
Adverbial	[proximal]	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	[distal]	<i>đây/đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		<i>kia</i>	

While the use of *nọ* is determined exclusively by the ‘invisible-absent’ parameter, the function of the visible forms including *này*, *đây*, *đây/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* is more flexible. The visible forms are also applied in cases where the referent is invisible to the addressee but visible to the speaker or is invisible to but still touchable by the speaker. These cases will be examined in the following section.

2.2.3 The ‘contact’ parameter

As analysed above, in the spatial function, the demonstratives *này* and *đây* are used for proximal referents and *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* for distal objects in situations where their referents are visible to the speaker. Which term is chosen for that particular situation depending on the speaker’s perspective of nearness and farness. However, once the speaker tries and succeeds to interact with the located object with an associated physical effort, either by stretching her body or using an extended tool to touch (e.g. a pole, a ruler, etc.) or connect with the referent (e.g. via a remote control in computer games), only the proximal forms *này* and *đây* are appropriate. Any case in which the speaker has direct or any kind of indirect physical interaction with the referent is defined as ‘contact’.

In a recent research paper on spatial deixis, Imai (2003) challenges the traditional view by proposing that the ‘contact/control’⁵ parameter, not the relative distance, is the primary and universal parameter of spatial deixis (in which demonstratives are the prime representatives). According to Imai, “whether the speaker can contact/control a referent/region is the most influential factor in deciding the speaker’s conceptual territory in all languages” (xi). To some extent, this proposal is applicable to the function of the Vietnamese proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây*. Consider the following example:

(24) [A girl is standing in front of a shelf in a convenience store to choose a kind of cake. She points to a square-shaped biscuit package displayed on the shelf and asks the shopkeeper:]

a- [B] *ánh* *kia* *là* *bánh* *gì?*
cake DEM.DIST COP cake what
‘What is cake *kia* (called)?’

[Then, she stretches her body and her arm to point at a white package that is displayed beside the mentioned package and asks:]

b- *Thế còn* *bánh* *này?*
so remain cake DEM.PROX
‘How about cake *này*?’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1999)

In (24a), the distal demonstrative *kia* is accompanied by a pointing gesture to refer to a biscuit package on the shelf in front of the speaker. In (24b), when the speaker tries to touch another package that is the same distance as the previous one from her position, the distance that is

⁵ Imai (2003) defines ‘contact’ as “directly or indirectly touching” and ‘control’ as “manipulating with directly or indirectly touching”. For instance, “if the speaker grabs a cup on the table, one can easily move it around and control it. Holding a cup is a case of ‘direct control’ that inevitably involves ‘direct contact’. The speaker who is touching a huge rock may not be able to move or control it. This is a case of ‘direct contact’ without ‘control’” (136).

considered ‘far’ in (24a) becomes ‘near’ in (24b). Correspondingly, the distal demonstrative *kia* in (24a) is replaced by the proximal form *này* in (24b). The choice of the proximal demonstrative *này* over *kia* in (24b) demonstrates that the ‘contact’ parameter overrides the parameter of relative distance between the speaker and the intended referent.

The dominance of the ‘contact’ parameter is also shown in the context in which the referent is invisible to the speaker. As mentioned in the previous section, the use of the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* has not traditionally been considered relevant unless their referent is visible. However, the ‘contact’ parameter allows an appropriate use of these terms in the situation where the speaker does not see the referent but can touch it. For instance, in a game called *Thử tài đoán vật* ‘Guess the thing’, which is a segment in a popular television game-show on Vietnamese television VTV3 called *Tam sao thất bản* ‘A tale never loses in the telling’, a player from each team is asked to describe to his team a set of random items (which are stored in a container of which the sides that are facing the players are opaque and the side facing the audience is clear). The team has then to name the item (Figure 2). In this case, only the proximal demonstratives, either adnominal *này* or adverbial *đây*, are used to refer to the invisible but touchable object, as in the case illustrated in example (25).

Figure 2. A scene from the game *Thử tài đoán vật* ‘Guess the thing’



- (25) a- Cái *này* là cái... để... để...
 CL.thing DEM.PROX COP CL.thing PREP.to PREP.to
 ‘Thing *này* is... to... to...’

b- Cái gì đây ta?
 CL.thing what DEM.PROX self
 ‘What is *đây*?’

(VTV3, 2013)

The proximal forms are also used for something that the speaker can touch with her own hands, no matter how she feels about it. In example (26), for instance, the speaker uses *này* to refer to a bag of spoiled meat that she is carrying.

(26) [T]hịt này bốc mùi rồi.
 meat DEM.PROX stink already
 ‘Meat *này* smells off.’

(Duyên Duyên, 2012)

The choice of *này* in such a situation implies that the speaker’s negative feeling about the object does not make it psychologically distant from her even when she is holding it. This is different than English. Imai (2003:146) observes that an English speaker may say, *That one really stinks*, in referring a disgusting object which is being barely held between her fingers. From this use, Imai suggests that in English the ‘psychological distance’ parameter can sometimes be dominant to the ‘contact’ parameter. If this is the case, the use of Vietnamese demonstratives is rather more sensitive to direct contact than to psychological factors.

In other cases, the use of proximal forms is also responsive to indirect contact. That is, the proximal forms are used even when the speaker uses an extended tool to make contact with the referent. A caught fish connected to the speaker via a fishing rod, a line and a hook, for instance, is always referred to by the proximal term, *này* or *đây*, such as *con cá này* ‘this fish’. As noted by Berti and Frassinetti (2000: 418), “a far object can become near if we can reach it, no matter what means we use, the hand or a tool”.

2.3 Spatial demonstratives

Like other languages, Vietnamese has a set of lexical terms specifically for orienting the hearer to the outside world. They are, as defined by Diessel (1999a):

place (or spatial) deictics. They indicate the relative distance of an object, location and person vis-à-vis the deictic center (also called the origo) which is usually associated with the location of the speaker.

(Diessel, 1999a: 36)

From this definition, it can be understood that at the most basic level, every demonstrative is a spatial term and that functionally, a spatial demonstrative (probably accompanied by a pointing gesture) indicates whether a referent is far from or close to where the speaker is currently located in the speech situation.

In present-day Vietnamese, the proximal forms *này* and *đây* and the distal forms *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* are pervasively used in indicating the proximity or distance of an entity in relation to the speaker's location. In contrast, there are no examples illustrating the spatial function of *nọ* referring to a distant referent. The synchronic status of *nọ* has led to an assumption that over time, the spatial sense itself was lost (Chapter 8). Without the demonstrative *nọ*, the list of demonstratives having the capability of referring to a close or distant referent in physical settings can be modified as in Table 9.

Table 9. Spatial demonstratives in present-day Vietnamese

Syntax	Meaning	Standard Vietnamese	Binh Tri Thien dialect
Adnominal	[proximal]	<i>này</i>	<i>ni</i>
	[distal]	<i>đấy/đó</i>	<i>nó</i>
		<i>ấy</i>	
		<i>kia</i>	<i>tê</i>
Pronominal	[proximal]	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	[distal]	<i>đấy/đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		<i>kia</i>	
Adverbial	[proximal]	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	[distal]	<i>đấy/đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		<i>kia</i>	

Table 9 displays the spatial forms as well as their syntactic and semantic distributions represented in two variations of present-day Vietnamese (§1.4). Despite having different syntactic features, demonstratives from one group, whether proximal or distal, can be alternatively used in the same context by virtue of the commonality of semantic and pragmatic features. To avoid repetition while explaining the use of each demonstrative, I will divide these spatial demonstratives into three groups for examination. Accordingly, the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are examined in sub-section 2.3.1, while the distal demonstratives *đấy/đó* and *ấy* are investigated in 2.3.2 as one group, and *kia* is examined separately in 2.3.3.

2.3.1 *Này – đây*

Vietnamese has two proximal forms, *này* ‘this’ and *đây* ‘this/here’, associated with different syntactic types of demonstratives. The demonstrative *này* ‘this’ is always used adnominally. The demonstrative *đây* can be both an independent pronominal (corresponding to *this*) and a local adverbial (corresponding to *here* in English) (§1.3). Consider the following examples:

(27) [In a conversation between Mrs Pho Doan and Xuan]

a- Anh lên gác này chờ tôi tắm một
 older-brother up floor DEM.PROX wait 1SG shower a/one
 lát rồi tôi sẽ nói chuyện tại sao tôi bảo
 moment CONJ 1SG ASP say story why 1SG tell
 anh về đây.
 older-brother return DEM.PROX

‘You go up to floor *này* and wait for me for a moment, then I’ll tell you why you were told to come *đây*.’

[Xuan follows Mrs Pho Doan to go upstairs. When the two of them enter another dining room, Mrs Pho Doan tells him:]

b- Anh ngồi đây, xem quyển album này mà chờ tôi
 older-brother sit DEM.PROX look CL album DEM.PROX CONJ wait 1SG
 ‘You sit *đây*, watch album *này* while awaiting me.’

(Vũ, 1936)

(28) Child: Chú mang theo cái gì thế?
 uncle bring PREP.along CL what so
 ‘What did you bring?’

Uncle: *Đây* là sợi xích bằng da!
 DEM.PROX COP CL chain PREP.by leather
 ‘*Đây* is a leather chain.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. j)

In the adnominal function, *này* occurs in a noun phrase and modifies the preceding noun, e.g. *gác này* ‘this floor’ in (27a) and *quyển album này* ‘this album’ in (27b). The other two syntactic environments are governed by the term *đây*. As illustrated in (27), *đây* functions as a local adverbial denoting Mrs Pho Doan’s house in (27a), and the dining room which she and Xuan are occupying in (27b), while in (28), *đây* itself can make up a complete noun phrase in a pronominal function.

In these syntactic environments, the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are normally used to draw the hearer’s attention to an intended referent, which is physically present near the speaker in the situational context. It is noted that there are two types of nearness that *này* and *đây* can indicate in relation to the speaker’s location as the reference point.

Nearness can be understood as a relatively short distance from the speaker’s position to that of a referent/region. The use of *này* in (27a) is an illustration. At the time of communication, both the speaker and the hearer are standing on the first floor and are about to go upstairs. The expression *gác này* ‘this floor’ refers to the upstairs floor, which is not far from them from the speaker’s point of view. The use of *này* indicates the meaning of proximity.

In a similar way, the use of *này* in (27b) indicates the album in *quyển album này* ‘this album’. Although the location of the album is not specified in the context, the use of the proximal

demonstrative *này* signals that the intended referent is somewhere nearby to the participants, within reach for instance. In such cases, the referent's location is separate from the speaker's. The shortest distance indicated by *này* and *đây* is when the referent and the speaker are situated together. As shown in example (28), the speaker uses *đây* to refer to *sợi xích bằng da* '(a) leather chain' being held in his hands at the time of speaking.

Nearness can also be understood as the expansion of the reference point. In example (27) for instance, although the space of the dining room in (27b) is included in the space of the house (27a), both cases are denoted by the adverbial *đây* as a proximal sphere extended from the position of the speaker. In such cases, the proximal adverb *đây* functions as the centric point of circle from which spatial extensions spread.

As discussed in section 2.2, the use of *này* and *đây* in the language is affected by three parameters, i.e. [relative distance], [visibility] and [contact]. The first two parameters are paired with each other in the sense that a referent expressed by *này* and *đây* must be present at a distance that the speaker feels to be near to her and in her vision. The third parameter [contact] affects the [relative distance] if the speaker intends to stretch her body or to use an additional tool to touch the referent. Without the intention of making contact with the referent, the choice of demonstratives is naturally determined by the relative distance parameter.

(29) - Trái *này* to nhất nè chị Ha!
 CL.fruit DEM.PROX big most DEMPART older-sister Ha
 'Sister Ha, fruit *này* is the biggest one!'

(Cung, n.d.)

The context of example (29) is this: the speaker of (29) is standing on the ground while her sister is climbing up a plum tree to pick some fruit. Here on the ground, the speaker is trying to tell her sister which fruit is big enough to pick. As indicated in the context, the speaker is stretching her arm in order to get closer to what she is pointing to. The proximal demonstrative *này* is used in the sense that the speaker intends to shorten the distance from her and the fruit, so that she can feel that the referent is accessible although she cannot physically touch it. It is also possible to interpret that because the tree's branches are extended over the speaker, *này* is used in this example to indicate that the speaker and the referent are located at the same place.

When an entity is located outside of the center-periphery indicated by *này* and *đây*, the speaker then has to use distal demonstratives instead. The use of *đấy/đó* and *ấy* in the following section shows that space can be demarcated into a distal sphere in contrast to the proximal sphere. But the language would not need that many demonstratives for the exact same function. Even though there are some examples showing that *đấy/đó* and *ấy* are identically used as distal

demonstratives, the tendency is that *đấy/đó* is more likely to be preferred to *ấy* in the spatial function, while *ấy* tends to be more common in other usages (e.g. anaphoric usage). I propose that these demonstratives may have been involved in different stages of development.

2.3.2 *Đấy/đó – ấy*

In the category of spatial demonstratives, *đấy/đó* and *ấy* denote a distant object/region. Consider the following examples:

- (30) [Manh, Hanh and Long are sneakily following Bo Luc. They keep at a distance so that Bo Luc cannot see them. When Bo Luc turns to a house, Manh asks:]

- Nhà nó *đấy* (**đây/* *đó/*ấy*) hả?
 house 3SG DEM.DIST DEM.PROX DEM.DIST PART
 ‘Is his house *đấy* (**đây/đó/*ấy*)?’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. h)

- (31) [Luom points to a house on the hill (-which all of them are looking at), says to Long and Quy timidly:]

- *Đó* (**đây/* *đấy/ *ấy*) là ngôi nhà ma!
 DEM.DIST DEM.PROX DEM.DIST COP CL house ghost
 ‘*Đó* (**đây/đấy/*ấy*) is a haunted house!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. b)

The contexts in the examples above are similar. The speakers and the hearers are at the same location while the referents, i.e. Bo Luc’s house in (30) and the haunted house in (31), are located some distance from them. The use of *đấy* in (30) and *đó* in (31) is identical in relation to their semantic meaning of [distal], their syntactic function of pronominal as well as their pragmatic function of calling the hearer’s attention to the intended referent. It is observed that in many situations like examples (30)-(31), *đấy* and *đó* can be interchangeable with each other without changing the meaning of the utterances in which they occur.

In addition to that, *đấy* and *đó* can also be used in another context where the referent is far from the speaker, yet close to the hearer. The utterance in example (32) occurs in a similar context to the one in example (29). The speaker uses *đó* to refer to a bunch of plums that she sees from the ground. Obviously, *chùm mận đó* ‘that bunch of plums’ is close to the hearer who is still in the plum tree following the speaker’s instruction to pick the right fruit.

- (32) - Chị Hạ khèo cho em chùm mận đỏ
 older-sister Ha pick PREP.for younger-sibling bunch plum DEM.DIST
 đi!
 IMP
 ‘Sister Ha, (please) pick that bunch of plums for me!’

(Cung, n.d.)

An examination of all examples utilising *đấy/đó* in the spatial function also suggests that the distal demonstrative *đấy/đó* is only chosen in the context where the speaker can assume that the hearer is aware of the presence of the referent and that he has already been paying considerable attention to the referent before reference to it is made. Without this sufficient condition, the use of *đấy/đó* would become confusing with the distal demonstrative *kia* (§2.3.3).

In an early study, Thompson (1965) already notices the identification status of the referent at the time of communication, i.e. already identified, as a condition for the use of *đấy*. However, by defining that *đấy* indicates a “remote or already identified” referent, Thompson considers these two conditions as different contexts. In my view, a more precise description about the use of *đấy/đó*, a modification of Thompson’s definition, could be formulated as such: *đấy/đó* is specified in the reference to a distant and already identified referent (underlined for emphasis). A further discussion on the characteristics of *đấy/đó* in comparison with *kia* is conducted in section 2.4.3.

Regarding the similarity in semantic meaning, *ấy* is interchangeable with *đấy/đó*. Nevertheless, due to the restriction in the syntactic function the use of *ấy* is not as flexible as *đấy/đó* in the spatial function. As mentioned previously, the distal demonstrative *ấy* can only be used adnominally while *đấy/đó* serves in all three syntactic environments of Vietnamese demonstratives, i.e. adnominal, pronominal, and local adverbial. The difference in syntactic distributions makes it clear that *đấy/đó* cannot be replaced by *ấy* in examples (30)-(31).

Đấy/đó and *ấy* can be interchangeable without a change in meaning when they are used adnominally. However, while *đấy/đó* is pervasively used as distal demonstratives, examples in which the demonstrative *ấy* is used (in the original text) to indicate a distant referent in situational contexts, like example (33), are very rare.

- (33) [Vinh Thuy raises his hand to point to an old man who is carrying a rifle and asks:]
 - Ông có biết súng *ấy* (*đấy/đó*) là súng của nước
 grandfather AST know gun DEM.DIST COP gun PREP.of country
 nào không?
 which NEG
 ‘Do you know in what country gun *ấy* was made?’

(K. H. Phạm, 1983)

Apart from example (33), in the range of the collected examples used in this study, *ấy* is spatially used only once in a text from the late nineteenth century, shown in (34). The utterance in (34) is extracted from *Truyện thầy Lazaro phiền* ‘The story of sad teacher Lazaro’ of Nguyễn Trọng Quản in 1887, the first Vietnamese novel written in Western-style in Vietnamese alphabet.

(34) [As soon as walking out of the church, the speaker sees a grave, he asks the priest:]

- Mồ *ấy* là mồ ai?
grave DEM.DIST COP grave who
Whose grave is *ấy*?

(T. Q. Nguyễn, 1887)

In contrast, *ấy* is found much more commonly when it concerns a referent mentioned in the previous discourse (i.e. anaphoric usage, see Chapter 4). Most of examples show that *ấy* is preferred in backward reference. If it is necessary to choose between *đấy/đó* and *ấy* for both the spatial and anaphoric functions in the same situation, *đấy/đó* will appear more deictic while *ấy* is more anaphoric. This is illustrated in the following example:

(35) a- Các bác bảo cô Đó hát? Ai là cô Đó?
PL uncle tell aunt Do sing who COP aunt Do
‘You said Miss Do is singing? Who is Miss Do?’

[The group of indigenous mountain people cheerfully points to a tree called Goc Do Than from a distance:]

b- Cô Đó *ấy* *đấy*. Cô ở cái cây
aunt Do DEM.DIST DEM.DIST aunt stay CL tree
đấy. Cô là hồn sống của cái cây *ấy*.
DEM.DIST aunt COP soul living PREP.of CL tree DEM.DIST
‘There is Miss Do *ấy*. She lives in tree *đấy*. She is the living soul of tree *ấy*.’

(T. Nguyễn, 1943)

Example (35) shows a context in which the use of *ấy* can be interpreted both spatially and anaphorically. Note that a context in which two meanings of a lexical item co-occur as such is referred to as ‘bridging context’ (Heine, 2002: 84). On the one hand, *ấy* can be understood in the spatial sense because its referent is present in the speech situation. The speakers in the example use *ấy* accompanied by a pointing gesture to refer to a tree at a distance, where they believe that *cô Đó* ‘Miss Do’ resides.

But on the other hand, the use of *ấy* also implies an anaphoric meaning. The demonstrative *ấy* in *cô Đó ấy* ‘that Miss Do’ is anaphorically used to refer to *cô Đó* ‘Miss Do’, which is mentioned for the first time in utterance (35a). Similarly, *ấy* in *cái cây ấy* ‘that tree’ in (35b) refers back to the

noun phrase *cái cây đấy* ‘that tree’ in the previously adjacent sentence. While the distal demonstrative *ấy* is co-referential with two noun phrases in the preceding discourse, helping the hearer to keep track of the prior referents, the use of *đấy* in *cái cây đấy* ‘that tree’ combined with a pointing gesture instructs the hearer to pay attention to *cái cây đấy* ‘that tree’ in the outside world. The example illustrates that the uses of the adnominals *đấy/đó* and *ấy* do not completely overlap. They are somewhat interchangeable with each other in separate contexts. However, in a context that requires the use of both of them as in (35), they are expected to diverge into two functions, i.e. spatially for *đấy/đó* and anaphorically for *ấy*. To acknowledge this possible change in the semantic meaning of *ấy*, from this point I will list *ấy* in brackets whenever it is discussed as a spatial demonstrative in addition to *đấy/đó*, henceforth, *đấy/đó (ấy)*.

The coexistence of the spatial and anaphoric meanings in the use of *ấy* in addition to the scarcity of the spatial usage indicates that *ấy* has gradually lost its spatial meaning and tends to be specified as an anaphoric demonstrative (see Chapter 8 for more details). There is no evidence showing that its counterparts *đấy* and *đó* have had a similar path of development.

In previous studies *đấy/đó (ấy)* are treated as medial terms because their use is associated with either a medial distance from the speaker (Emeneau, 1951) or proximity to the hearer (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002). These restricted uses of *đấy/đó* and *ấy* are used to distinguish them from *kia*. That is, *kia* indicates something “further off than *ấy*” or something far from both participants. The following section describes the use of *kia*, in addition to the analysis of *đấy/đó (ấy)* as shown above, to support contrary position that in fact there is no difference between *kia* and *đấy/đó (ấy)* in terms of the degrees of distance and that therefore Vietnamese should be considered as a two-term system rather than a three-term system as currently described in the literature (§1.5.2, §2.4).

2.3.3 *Kia*

Together with *đấy/đó (ấy)*, the demonstrative *kia* is the form commonly used in standard Vietnamese to denote a distal entity/location at the time of speaking. Syntactically, the distal term *kia* shares more similarities with *đấy/đó* than *ấy* does. That is, *kia* can be used adnominally as in (36), local adverbially as in (37) or pronominally as in (38) when referring to a referent/region located at some distance from the speaker.

- (36) - [B]ánh *kia* là bánh gì?
 cake DEM.DIST COP cake what
 ‘What is cake *kia* called?’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1999)

- (37) - Con ngồi xuống *kia*.
 child sit down DEM.DIST
 ‘You sit *kia*.’

(T. T. H. Nguyễn, n.d.)

- (38) - *Kia* có phải là bà chủ không?
 DEM.DIST AST right COP landlady NEG
 ‘*Kia* is the landlady, isn’t she?’

(C. H. Nguyễn, 1939)

However, despite the similarities between *đấy/đó (ấy)* and *kia* in relation to the syntax and semantics of a distal demonstrative, Vietnamese speakers would find it unnatural if *kia* were replaced by *đấy/đó* in the examples above. This reflects the differences between these terms.

In relation to the meaning of distance, *kia* normally refers to a distant and newly introduced referent. In other words, *kia*’s referent is a distal object/region whose representation in the situational context is not yet in the hearer’s consciousness at the reference time. For example, before the utterances in (36), (37) and (38) are made, the hearers in these contexts have not yet noticed a package of cake displayed on a shelf, the corner of the bed and the lady in the distance, respectively. As soon as the intended referent indicated by *kia* is recognised by the hearer, the status of the referent is changed from being ‘not-yet-identified’ to ‘already identified’. The changed identification status of a referent is reflected in the use of *đấy/đó (ấy)*, rather than the use of *kia* in the subsequent discourse. For example:

- (39) Hoa: Mẹ anh đâu?
 mother older-brother where
 ‘Where is your mother?’

Kha: Mẹ tao đằng *kia* kia!
 mother 1SG direction DEM.DIST DEMPART
 ‘My mother is over there.’

Hoa: Đâu?
 where
 ‘Where (is she)?’

Kha: *Đó!* Mẹ tao mặc áo đỏ *đó!*
 DEM.DIST mother 1SG wear shirt red DEMPART
 ‘*Đó!* My mother is wearing a red shirt there!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1990b)

The conversation in example (39) is conducted when the speaker Kha and the hearer Hoa are standing some distance from Kha’s mother’s store and Hoa wants to know where she is. The

speaker uses the demonstrative *kia* in his first direction. With an accompanying pointing gesture and noting that Hoa is following his hand's direction, Kha then uses *đó* in his second utterance. The change from using *kia* to *đó* indicates that after the first direction, the referent (i.e. Kha's mother) is assumed to have become more easily recognisable.

If the speaker thinks the referent is still 'not-yet-identified' after the use of *kia*, she may keep using *kia* until the hearer is able to identify the referent. This point is made from observation of the use of *kia* in some cases, such as in example (40).

- (40) Bien: Mày có thấy ai ngồi dưới cái dù
 2SG AST see who sit under CL umbrella
 xanh *kia* không?
 green/blue DEM.DIST NEG
 'Do you see who is sitting under that green (blue) umbrella?'
- I: À, té ra mày nói con nhỏ đó!
 INTERJ turn out 2SG say CL little DEM.DIST
 'Well, it turns out that you are talking about that girl!'
- Bien: Chứ chẳng lẽ tao nói thằng cha La Kim Bụng *kia*!
 NEG NEG fact 1SG say CL father La Kim Bung DEM.DIST
 'No way that I was talking about guy La Kim Bung *kia*!'
- I: La Kim Bụng nào? La Kim Phụng chứ?
 La Kim Bung which La Kim Phung NEG
 'Who is La Kim Bung? La Kim Phung, right?'
- Bien: La Kim Phụng là người mẫu thời trang! Còn ở
 La Kim Phung COP CL model fashion remain PREP.at
 đây là La Kim... Bụng! Chả *kia* kia!
 DEM.PROX COP La Kim belly 3SG DEM.DIST DEPART
 'La Kim Phung is a fashion model! Here is La Kim... Belly! He is *kia*!'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1993b)

Example (40) is a conversation between Bien and a character referred to as 'I'. The context of this example indicates that the hearer gets confused with most of the references that the speaker is trying to make during their conversation. When mentioning a man that the speaker calls *La Kim Bụng* 'La Kim Bung', the speaker uses *kia* twice. Based on some of the hearer's questions about the referent after the first use of *kia* in the utterance: *Chứ chẳng lẽ tao nói thằng cha La Kim Bụng kia!* 'No way that I was talking about that guy La Kim Bung', the speaker can assume that the hearer has encountered difficulties in recognising the intended referent. Therefore, the speaker continues to use *kia* in his next direction: *Chả kia kia!* 'He is there!'

In the role of a spatial term, *kia* denotes a newly-introduced referent located at some distance from the speaker. The previous analysis of the spatial use of *đấy/đó* (*ấy*) and *kia* has now prepared the ground for the discussion in section 2.4.

2.4 Discussion

From the analysis in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3, there are two questions that should be addressed. The first question is whether the Vietnamese demonstrative system demarcates space into two or three proximity levels. In section 2.4.1, I will argue for a division into two levels, with further supporting evidence shown in section 2.4.2. Furthermore, since there are four distal terms in the system (i.e. *đây*, *đó*, *ấy* and *kia*), the second question is how to explain the difference between them. Section 2.4.3 provides an explanation for this problem.

2.4.1 Three-way or two-way proximity distinction?

In the literature, the dialect of Vietnamese called ‘standard Vietnamese’ (§1.4) is always described as a three-way system (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002; Thompson, 1965). That is, the language has three forms (or categories) of demonstratives presenting three degrees of distance: the proximal terms *này* and *đây*, medial terms *đây/đó* (*ấy*) and distal term *kia*. According to Thompson (1965), the Vietnamese demonstrative system is distance-oriented, i.e. using the speaker as the reference point. The first term *đây* and the third term *kia* denote proximal and distal referents respectively. The demonstrative *đây/đó* indicates a referent which is located at a point between proximal and distal and are therefore considered as medial terms.

In addition, P.P. Nguyễn (2002) proposes that Vietnamese uses both the speaker and the hearer as the reference point for determining the proximal/medial/distal distinctions. According to P.P. Nguyễn, in a conversation, the speaker and the hearer may be situated either close to each other and looking in the same direction (side-by-side) or the two people form a shared conversational space between them (face-to-face). The choice of demonstratives is determined by whether the positions of the speaker and the hearer are side-by-side or face-to-face as well as whether the intended object is inside or outside the shared space.

The use of demonstratives following P.P. Nguyễn’s proposal can be mapped in two types of contexts. In the side-by-side context, the three degrees of distance extended from the speaker’s location are expressed by the proximal term *đây*, medial *đây/đó* and distal *kia*. This coincides with the three-way distinction proposed by Thompson (1965). In the face-to-face context, the three-term system is person-oriented as the use of *đây/đó* (*ấy*) and *kia* is determined by the distance between the intended referent and the speaker and the hearer’s locations (Table 10). In their analysis, Thompson and P.P. Nguyễn only focus on demonstratives used in the syntax of pronominals.

Table 10. The three-way distinction of spatial demonstratives

DEMs	<i>đây</i>	<i>đấy/đó</i>	<i>kia</i>
side-by-side	proximal to S	medial to S	distal to S
face-to-face	proximal to S	proximal to H	distal to S and H

P.P. Nguyễn exemplifies Thompson's and his observations with the following invented examples:

- (41) *Đây* là cuốn vở; *đấy* là cây bút;
 DEM.PROX COP CL notebook DEM.MED COP CL pen
kia là cái thước.
 DEM.DIST COP CL ruler
 'Đây is a notebook; đấy is a pen; kia is a ruler.'

- (42) *Đây/Đấy* là cuốn vở; *kia*
 DEM.PROX DEM.MED COP CL notebook DEM.DIST
 là cái bút và cái thước.
 COP CL pen and CL ruler
 'Đây/Đấy is a notebook; kia are a pen and a ruler.'

(P. P. Nguyễn, 2002: 110-111)

The model of a side-by-side conversation is given in example (41). Depending on the degrees of distance, the notebook, the pen and the ruler are indicated by three different forms of demonstratives. In particular, *đây* 'this (proximal to S)' refers to the notebook which is close to the speaker (and the hearer), *đấy* 'that (medial to S)' refers to the pen which is located some distance further than the notebook and *kia* 'that (distal to S)' refers to the ruler which is the greatest distance from the participants.

In a face-to-face situation, the position of the hearer is considered to be the secondary reference point which results in the use of different demonstratives for each item. As shown in example (42), the speaker and the hearer are facing each other. Their locations in this situation create an inside and outside space where the referents are represented. In this case, the notebook is located between the speaker and the hearer (inside space) and the pen and the ruler are located behind the hearer (outside space). According to P. P. Nguyễn, the notebook in (42) is denoted by *đây* if it is nearer the speaker than the hearer and by *đấy* if it is nearer the hearer, whereas both distant items, the pen and the ruler, are indicated by *kia*.

As proposed by Fillmore (1982) and Anderson and Keenan (1985), a medial term indicates a referent which is near the hearer or is a short distance from the speaker (which is normally understood as being in the middle of the distance expressed by a proximal and a distal term in a language). If P. P. Nguyễn's proposal about the medial terms *đấy/đó* (*ấy*) is correct, the usage of the demonstratives *đấy/đó* (*ấy*) is restricted to these criteria. That is, *đấy/đó* (*ấy*) can be used: (i) to refer

to a referent near the hearer, (ii) to something at a distance farther than with *này/đây* but nearer than with *kia*, or (iii) to both of (i) and (ii).

However, a number of counter-examples illustrate that the distinction between *đây/đó (áy)* and *kia* is not related to the hearer's position nor the levels of distance. In other words, the terms *đây/đó (áy)* and *kia* can be used to indicate similar levels of distal distance in relation to the speaker's position, no matter where the hearer is. In my view, in Vietnamese, the hearer's position is not used as the reference point (in objection to P. P. Nguyễn, 2002). Moreover, I propose that space is demarcated into two levels from the single reference point of the speaker by the demonstrative system in the language depending on whether it is near or not near the speaker.

In support of this proposal, two situations can be observed. Example (43) illustrates the first scenario in which the usage of a medial term is related to the hearer's position. That is, the speaker and the hearer are located at a significant distance from each other and the intended referent is close to the hearer (even next to the hearer). Theoretically, if the hearer's position played the role of the reference point as claimed by P. P. Nguyễn (2002), the demonstratives *đây/đó (áy)* would be the only choice that a native speaker can make in this context. However, as shown in the original text in example (43), *kia* is selected over the proposed medial terms *đây/đó (áy)* regardless of whether or not the referent *vò com* 'a jar of rice' is near the hearer. The proximal *này* is obviously irrelevant in this case due to the distance between the speaker and the object.

- (43) - *Này* *thằng kia,* *nếu* *mày* *đổ* *vò* *com*
 DEMINTERJ CL.boy DEM.DIST if 2SG pour jar rice
kia (*đó/ đây/ *này/ *nọ*) *xuống* *ao,* *thì*
 DEM.DIST down pond TOP
quan *Đoan* *sẽ* *bắn* *mày!*
 mandarin Doan ASP shoot 2SG
 'Hey, guy *kia*, if you pour jar of rice *kia* (*đó/ đây/ *này/ *nọ*) into the water, mandarin Doan will shoot you!'

(T. Nguyễn, 1937)

In the example above, the demonstrative *kia* is used to refer to the intended referent *vò com* 'that jar of rice' whose location coincides with the hearer's and both are distant from the speaker. It can be seen that the use of the distal term *kia* (and probably *đây/đó (áy)*) is to indicate the farness of the referent in relation to the speaker while the hearer's position has no effect on the choice between them.

In the second scenario, as shown in example (44), the speaker and the hearer are located a relatively short distance from the intended object as well as from each other. This context is

intended to test whether the demonstratives *đấy/đó (ấy)* are used to indicate a referent located at a medial distance from the speaker.

(44) Grandchild: Cháu xin ông cái lá gãy
 grandchild ask grandfather CL leaf broken
kia (đó/đấy/ấy) nhé!
 DEM.DIST PART
 ‘Could you give me broken leaf *kia*?’

Grandfather: Cháu không nghịch được những thứ này.
 grandchild NEG play obtain PL CL.sort DEM.PROX
 ‘You’re not allowed to play with things *này*.’

(T. Nguyễn, 1939)

In referring to the referent *cái lá gãy* ‘a broken leaf’ which is a similar distance from both the speaker and the hearer, the grandchild in (44a) uses the distal demonstrative *kia* while the grandfather in (44b) employs the proximal demonstrative *này*. This can be explained by the fact on the one hand, the concepts of nearness and farness can vary between an adult and a child (§2.2.1). On the other hand, the use of the proximal demonstrative *này* in this context possibly implies that the referent is actually located a relatively short distance from the speaker and the hearer. According to P. P. Nguyễn’s proposal, *đấy/đó (ấy)* must be used in this context. However, as shown in example (44), the demonstrative *kia* is preferred.

Since the difference between the distal demonstratives *đấy/đó (ấy)* and *kia* is not determined by the specification of remoteness, the medial form is apparently not registered in the language. The next section will extend the above analysis of demonstratives in standard Vietnamese to demonstratives in the Binh Tri Thien dialect and demonstrate that the analysis holds for them as well.

2.4.2 Demonstratives in the Binh Tri Thien dialect

Vietnamese speakers consider the dialect spoken in northern Vietnam as standard literary Vietnamese, although it is recognised that “segmental and tonal inventories, as well as lexicon, vary considerably between Vietnamese dialects” (Kirby, 2011). Some of the variations evident among Vietnamese dialects are in the demonstrative system (§1.4). In general, the demonstrative forms in the language of southern Vietnam and northern Vietnam share significant similarities with each other but differ to many of those used in central Vietnam.

Table 11. Demonstratives in Vietnamese dialects (reproduced from Table 8)

Syntax	Meaning	Standard Vietnamese	Binh Tri Thien dialect
Adnominal	[proximal]	<i>này</i>	<i>ni</i>
	[distal]	<i>đây/đó</i>	<i>nó</i>
		<i>ấy</i>	
		<i>kia</i>	<i>tê</i>
		<i>nọ</i>	<i>nọ</i>
Pronominal	[proximal]	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	[distal]	<i>đây/đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		<i>kia</i>	
Adverbial	[proximal]	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
	[distal]	<i>đây/đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		<i>kia</i>	

Table 11 shows the three differences between the forms of demonstratives in standard Vietnamese and the Binh Tri Thien dialect. Firstly, the Binh Tri Thien dialect has its own forms adnominally used in colloquial speech. The speakers of the Binh Tri Thien dialect use *ni* as an equivalent term to *này*; *nó* corresponding to *đây/đó* and *tê* as a replacement of *kia*. Secondly, while *kia* is used pronominally and adverbially in standard Vietnamese, the equivalent form of this demonstrative in the Binh Tri Thien dialect, i.e. *tê*, can only occur adnominally in a noun phrase with a noun. Thirdly, despite the fact that *đây* and *đó* are defined identically (P. Hoàng, 1997), the choice of using these terms is different between the two dialects. Thompson (1965) notices that *đây* and *đó* are alternatively used based on dialectal differences. In particular, he states that “*đó*... replaces *đây* (and also to a great extent, *ấy*) in southern colloquial usage, it has a limited independent use in northern speech” (Thompson, 1965: 143). In fact, not only the people in southern Vietnam (as observed by Thompson) but also those in central Vietnam tend to use the demonstrative *đó* rather than *đây* in everyday language.

It can be seen that while standard Vietnamese employs up to three distal terms, i.e. *đây/đó* and *kia* in the pronominal and adverbial functions, the Binh Tri Thien dialect uses the demonstrative *đó* as the only distal term, contrasting with the proximal term *đây*. This illustrates that the two-way distinction is revealed even more clearly in the Binh Tri Thien dialect than in standard Vietnamese. Moreover, with only one distal form *đó* (in comparison with *đây/đó* and *kia* in the Hanoi dialect), the subtle difference with respect to the hearer’s consciousness employed in standard Vietnamese is not required in the Binh Tri Thien dialect. When using adnominal/pronominal/adverbial *đó* or adnominal *nó* to refer to a referent, a Binh Tri Thien speaker wants to indicate that the referent is far from her. The sub-meaning of the hearer’s previous notice (§2.3.2) is not characterised in the use of *đó* or *nó*.

The Binh Tri Thien dialect has three separate adnominal forms *ni*, *nó* and *tê*, corresponding to *này*, *đây/đó/ấy* and *kia* in the standard language, respectively. However, the distinction between *nó*

and *tê* only reflects part of the difference as expressed by *đây/đó/ấy* and *kia*. While *nớ* is mainly used to denote a distant object in the same way that *đây/đó/ấy* and *kia* do, *tê* is specifically used for the purpose of contrasting two different items (§2.3.3, §2.5); e.g. *bên ni* ‘this side’ vs. *bên tê* ‘the other side’.

The two-way distinction in the demonstrative system is argued to apply to both standard Vietnamese and the Binh Tri Thien dialect. Despite the variations in the demonstrative systems of the standard language and its dialects, Vietnamese speakers are consistent in demarcating space at two levels of distance by using demonstratives, either proximal or distal to the speaker. The medial term expressing the intermediate distance between proximal and distal is not registered in any dialect of Vietnamese.

2.4.3 Difference between *đây/đó (ấy)* and *kia*

Examples in section 2.4.1 demonstrate that *đây/đó (ấy)* and *kia* can be interchangeable in terms of their denotation of distal distance from the referent and the speaker. However, the fact of their co-existence in the system suggests that there must be criteria to distinguish *đây/đó (ấy)* from *kia*.

The reason why *đây/đó (ấy)* and *kia* are sometimes not interchangeable has been explained from different perspectives. In a recent study on the three Vietnamese demonstratives *đây*, *đó* and *kia*, Adachi (2011: 4) claims that “*đó* connotes that the reference is new and unfamiliar to the speaker” while *kia* does not. This proposed difference is illustrated by the following example:

(45) [The speaker is sitting next to the addressee. The addressee is eating something that smells really bad. The speaker can’t stand the smell so she asks:]

- Món	(này / đó / *kia)	là	gì?	Mùi	(này / đó / *kia)	thối	nhi?
CL	(này / đó / *kia)	COP	what	smell	(này / đó / *kia)	bad	PART

‘What’s that? It smells bad.’

(Adachi, 2011: 3)

In her statement, Adachi considers the speaker’s intuition that the referent is something unfamiliar as the main factor influencing the choice between the two distal terms *đó* and *kia*. However, in my view, not only speaker’s knowledge about the referent but also how much knowledge and attention to the referent that the hearer has had before the referent is indicated plays an important role in using a particular referring device, given that referring is a collaborative process (H. H. Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986). Many studies have agreed that the choice of a referring expression is determined by the speaker’s assumption about the common ground between the speaker and the hearer at the point where the nominal form is encountered (Gundel et al., 2010; Gundel et al., 1993;

Prince, 1981). Without considering the effect on the hearer when choosing a referring expression, Adachi's proposal faces a problem when explaining the pattern of using distal demonstratives in the language.

We noted in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 that *đấy/đó* and *kia* are all used to refer to distal entities/locations. The independent usages of these terms show a pattern of differentiating *đấy/đó* from *kia*. Recall here examples (30), (31) and (37), reproduced in examples (46), (47) and (48) below:

- (46) [Manh, Hanh and Long are sneakily following Bo Luc. They keep at a distance so that Bo Luc cannot see them. When Bo Luc turns to a house, Manh asks:]

- Nhà nó *đấy* hả?
 house 3SG DEM.DIST PART
 'Is his house *đấy*?'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. h)

- (47) [Luom points to a house on the hill (which all of them are looking at) and says to Long and Quy timidly:]

- *Đó* là ngôi nhà ma!
 DEM.DIST COP CL house ghost
 '*Đó* is a haunted house!'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. b)

- (48) [A father is sitting on a plank bed. He points to the corner of the plank bed and says to his daughter Lua:]

- Con ngồi xuống *kia*
 child sit down DEM.DIST
 'You sit *kia*.'

(T. T. H. Nguyễn, n.d.)

The demonstrative *đấy* in (46) refers to the distance from the location of Manh, Hanh and Long to Bo Luc's house and *đó* in (47) indicates the haunted house in the distance from where Luom, Long and Quy are located. In (48), *kia* is used to denote the distance from a father's location to the place where he wants his daughter Lua to sit down (on the same plank bed). The above examples can be analysed as follows:

Firstly, the difference between *đấy/đó* and *kia* does not lie in the notion of physical distance. In comparing the physical distance between the three usages of *đấy*, *đó* and *kia*, as in (46), (47) and (48), the referent expressed by *kia* in (48) is presumably located at the shortest distance from the speaker while the distance expressed by *đấy* in (46) and *đó* in (47) is probably greater.

Secondly, the contexts in the above examples show that before the reference is actually made, the hearers in (46) and (47) have been concentrating on the intended referents while the hearer in (48) has not. This demonstrates the convention that the hearer's previous notice to the intended referent validates the use of *đây/đó* instead of *kia*.

For convenience, the *hearer's previous notice*, in this study, is defined as the understanding of the speaker that the hearer has been paying attention to the intended referent right before the reference is made.

From the analysis of the independent usages of distal terms, I propose that in the spatial function, the use of *đây/đó* (*áy*) requires the speaker to determine whether a distal object/region that she wishes to refer to is in the hearer's consciousness at the time of communication (§2.3.2). In example (46), Manh (the speaker) and Hanh, Long (the hearers) are observing Bo Luc until he turns to his house and in (47), Luom (the speaker) and Long, Quy (the hearers) are looking intently at the haunted house even before the time of speaking and pointing. The examples demonstrate the cases where *đây* and *đó* are preferred to *kia* in referring to Bo Luc's house and the haunted house. In such cases, the referents of *đây/đó* must be in the hearer's consciousness at the time of speaking.

On the other hand, the intended referent expressed by *kia* is not in the hearer's consciousness at the time it is introduced into the conversation and is something new to the hearer (§2.3.3). This is illustrated in example (48). The place where the father instructs his daughter Lua to sit down is at the other corner of the plank bed from where he is currently sitting and it is assumed to be newly introduced to Lua since she has not paid attention to the intended place until it has been brought to her attention. Thus, in this case, *kia* is more appropriate than *đây/đó*.

From a native speaker's point of view, I suggest that modification of the above contexts may result in a different choice of demonstratives. For instance, if the daughter in (48) had looked at the intended place during the time she was talking to her father and the father noticed her observation, *đây/đó* would become more appropriate use than *kia*. Another similar scenario is found in the example below:

(49) [While Khanh and Kha are staying in their room, some security men carrying furniture approach. A loud voice is heard outside the door:]

a-	Cái tủ	<i>này</i>	đem	vào	phòng	nào	đây?
	CL	wardrobe	DEM.PROX	bring	PREP.in	room	which
	'Wardrobe <i>này</i> , which room (should I put it)?'						

[Seeing the wardrobe standing in front of the door, Khanh points towards Kha's room:]

b- Cái tủ này của thằng Kha, khiêng
 CL wardrobe DEM.PROX PREP.of CL.boy Kha carry
 vô phòng kia!
 PREP.into room DEM.DIST
 'Wardrobe này is Kha's, take (it) to room kia.'

[Then, seeing his table being carried up, Khanh requests:]

c- Đem lại đây! Khiêng cái bàn đó vô
 bring back DEM.PROX carry CL table DEM.DIST PREP.into
 phòng này!
 room DEM.PROX
 'Bring đây! Carry table đó to room này!'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1990b)

In this example, the two proximal demonstratives, adnominal *này* and adverbial *đây*, and the two distal demonstratives, adnominals *kia* and *đó*, are used. The proximity distinction between these two categories is obvious. That is, the adnominal *này* is used to refer to *cái tủ này* 'this wardrobe' which is initially near the security man (the speaker) in utterance (49a) and is later near Khanh (the speaker) in (49b). The adverbial *đây* in the utterance (49c) is used to indicate the room where Khanh (the speaker) is currently situated. The room is then located by the adnominal *này* in the noun phrase *phòng này* 'this room' in the same utterance. In contrast, the adnominals *kia* and *đó* express the farness based on the inclusion and exclusion of the hearer's previous notice. By using *kia* in *phòng kia* 'that room', the speaker Khanh in utterance (49b) denotes that the intended place is far from him and newly introduced to the hearers (the security men). The distal demonstrative *đó* in the utterance (49c) indicates that *cái bàn đó* 'that table' is far from the speaker Khanh but is in the security mens' (the hearers') consciousness as it is the one that they are currently carrying upstairs at the time of speaking.

As analysed, there is no difference between *đây/đó (ấy)* and *kia* regarding the degrees of distance from the speaker as the reference point. It is the inclusion and exclusion of the hearer's previous notice of the intended referent that influences the choice between these distal demonstratives. Otherwise, the adnominal *kia* is used with the contrastive meaning to distinguish 'the other' from 'the one' expressed by *đây/đó (ấy)* from a far distance and by *này* and *đây* from a near distance (§2.5).

With the existence of two distal categories, the factor of the inclusion or exclusion of the hearer's previous notice on the intended referent in the speech situation (symbolised by A^{+H} and A^{-H} in Table 12) determines the choice between the distal terms *đây/đó (ấy)* and *kia* in standard Vietnamese. This subtle distinction is not required in the Binh Tri Thien dialect, as illustrated in Table 12.

Table 12. The two-way distinction in the Vietnamese demonstrative system

Two-way distinction	Condition	Standard Vietnamese				Binh Tri Thien dialect			
		Sub-condition	AD	PRO	ADV	Sub-condition	AD	PRO	ADV
[proximal]	near S	none	<i>này</i>	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>	none	<i>ni</i>	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>
[distal]	far from S	A ^{+H}	<i>đấy</i> <i>đó</i> <i>ấy</i>	<i>đấy</i> <i>đó</i>	<i>đấy</i> <i>đó</i>	n/a	<i>nớ</i>	<i>đó</i>	<i>đó</i>
		1. A ^{-H} 2. contrast	<i>kia</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>kia</i>	contrast	<i>tê</i>		

The dotted line between *nớ* and *tê* in Table 12 signals that in the Binh Tri Thien dialect *nớ* can be used in an equivalent way to both *đấy/đó (ấy)* and *kia* in standard Vietnamese.

2.4.4 Concluding remarks

Despite the variations represented in both standard Vietnamese and other Vietnamese dialects, Vietnamese speakers are consistent in their use of the demonstrative system to demarcate space into two levels of proximity, i.e. proximal and distal space, from the reference point. In the system, *này* and *đây* indicate a close referent; in contrast *đấy/đó (ấy)* refer to a remote referent while *kia* can either refer to something at a distance from the speaker (and the hearer) or to a contrast (which I will discuss in section 2.5).

I proposed the *hearer's previous notice* as a criterion to distinguish *đấy/đó (ấy)* from *kia* when these terms are used to indicate distance. When the speaker is aware that the intended referent has been noticed by the hearer before the reference is uttered, *đấy/đó* is selected over *kia*. When the intended referent is assumed to be newly-introduced to the hearer, *kia* is employed instead. I propose that the inclusion and exclusion of the *hearer's previous notice* is the basis for the use of the distal terms *đấy/đó* and *kia* in Vietnamese. In relation to the spatial meaning, the difference between these distal demonstratives can be briefly expressed as follows: *đấy/đó (ấy)* refer to a remote and already identified referent while *kia* indicates a remote and newly introduced referent.

I also observed that the seven terms of demonstratives have different statuses in their synchronically spatial usage. While the proximal demonstratives *này*, *đây* and the distal terms *đấy/đó* and *kia* retain their spatial meaning in all situational contexts, the uses of *ấy* and *nọ* show signs of losing this basic sense. In comparison to *đấy/đó (ấy)*, the demonstrative *ấy* is rarely used in the spatial function; rather, it tends to be more common in other functions such as anaphora (§4.2). The status of *nọ* is different. There are no examples in present-day Vietnamese illustrating that the referent of *nọ* is present in a 'here and now' context; rather, *nọ* refers to invisible-absent referents. Because the referent of *nọ* is mainly related to a past time event, P. P. Nguyễn (2002) suggests that the use of *nọ* is more likely a temporal demonstrative rather than a spatial demonstrative. These

initial observations have prepared the ground for discussion on the polysemy of *áy* and *nø* described in Chapter 8.

As the spatial meaning is basic (Diessel, 1999a), the meaning of demonstratives in other functions can be considered as an extension of the distinction marked by proximal and distal demonstratives. In the following sections I propose that the use of proximal and distal demonstratives in indicating contrast (§2.5), in making a distinction between speaker, hearer and other of the person deixis system (§2.6) or in expressing intimacy (§2.7) is a reflection of the two-way distinction in space.

2.5 Contrastive use

The contrastive use occurs where by using demonstratives the speaker can distinguish one referent from another. This use of demonstratives has been understood as an [equi-distance contrast] since according to Imai (2003) languages (e.g. English) use both proximal form(s) (*this*) and non-proximal form(s) (*that*) referring to referents at the same distance from the speaker. He also suggests two common constraints on this cross-linguistic use of demonstratives as follows:

First, an [equi-distance contrast] takes place only in a proximal region, but not in a distal region. Second, it follows a sequential constraint, i.e., a proximal form is used first to refer to a proximal referent/region followed by a non-proximal form, which also refers to a proximal referent/region.

(Imai, 2003: 145)

In this section I illustrate the contrastive use of Vietnamese demonstratives in a broader sense. I have found that Vietnamese demonstratives can indicate contrast in three possible settings. First, the contrasted referents are both present at the time of communication. Second, referent(s) of one side of the comparison can be omitted. Finally, the use of two different demonstratives in combination implies the difference between two random things.

The first setting is most closely related to what Imai (2003) suggests. That is, the speaker uses two different forms of demonstratives to distinguish different referents presenting at the same distance from her location. Consider the following example:

(50) [A father comes home with a bag full of lollies, fruit and a bread roll as gift for his children. Being told that there is a bread roll in the bag, one of his children who loves bread runs to check the bag first. She says to her siblings:]

- Cái	<i>này</i>	của	chị,	cho	hai	đứa	hết
CL	DEM.PROX	PREP.of	older-sister	give	two	child	end
mấy	cái	<i>kia!</i>					
several	CL	DEM.DIST					

‘Thing *này* is mine, you can have things *kia*.’

(Greenstar, 2014)

As indicated in the context, at the time the utterance in example (50) is produced, the referents expressed by the proximal *này* (i.e. the bread roll) and the distal *kia* (i.e. lollies and fruit) are all kept in a bag located right in front of the speaker. It can be seen that the use of the two different forms *này* and *kia* in this example indicates an [equi-distance contrast]. More particularly, the use of the proximal *này* implies a proximal region between the speaker and intended referent(s), while the use of *kia* expresses the distinguishing between the referents. This is also the case of *that* in English. Chen (1990: 147) notices that *that* can be used to express a spatial/temporal contrast when this demonstrative is used as one side and the other side of the comparison is encoded by the explicit use of *this*.

Besides the combined use of *này* and *kia*, Vietnamese also uses two different forms of distal demonstratives, *đấy/đó* (*ấy*) and *kia*, to indicate contrast between distant referents located at the same location. In other words, a contrast can take place in distal region. This is contrary to Imai’s (2003) observation, as he restricts the use of contrast in a proximal region only.

(51) Mat Nai: a- Bạn nào *đấy* (*kia* **này*)?
 friend which DEM.DIST DEM.PROX
 ‘Who is *đấy*?’

Kieng Can: b- Bạn Răng Chuột a.
 friend Rang Chuot PART
 ‘Rang Chuot.’

Mat Nai: c- Còn bạn *kia* (**đấy*)?
 remain friend DEM.DIST
 ‘How about friend *kia*?’

Kieng Can: d- Bạn Cong Rom a.
 friend Cong Rom PART
 ‘Cong Rom.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. e)

expected to be able to relate *đằng kia* ‘there’ with where Luan and Quynh are standing, i.e. *đằng này* ‘here’.

(53) [Luan suggested to Quynh to stay but Quynh declined:]

- Tao còn phải đi chở hàng đằng kia.
 1SG remain must go carry product direction DEM.DIST
 ‘I have to carry things over *kia*.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1990a)

It can be seen that in all uses, *kia* does not refer to the physical distance between the speaker and the intended referent; rather, *kia* encodes the contrastive meaning. However, it needs to be emphasised that this meaning of *kia* can only be interpreted if there is an implication of the other side of the comparison in the context. Otherwise, the spatial meaning of *kia* is preferred (§2.3.3).

Lastly, Vietnamese demonstratives have the idiomatic use of contrast. This use is identified when the speaker uses a pair of two different forms such as *này* and *kia*, *này* and *nọ*, *nọ* and *kia*, or *đây* and *đó* to mean ‘difference’. In this third use of contrast, demonstratives do not indicate a particular referent in situational contexts as in the first and second settings. The adverbial pair *đây* and *đó* is routinely used with verbs, for example *đi đây đi đó* ‘go here and there’ or *biết đây biết đó* ‘know here and there’, etc., expressing the meaning of ‘different locations’. On the other hand, the adnominal pairs of *này* and *kia*, *này* and *nọ*, *nọ* and *kia* can express the meaning of difference of anything indicated by the element that they combine with (e.g. nouns, verbs, phrases, etc.). Examples of these are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Examples of idiomatic contrast

(in noun phrases)	<i>chỗ này chỗ kia</i> <i>việc này việc nọ</i> <i>người kia kẻ nọ</i> <i>bên nọ bên kia</i>	‘this place that place’ ‘this matter that matter’ ‘that person the other person’ ‘the other side that side’
(in verb phrases)	<i>anh nói này, em nói nọ</i>	‘one says this, one says that’
(in idioms)	<i>đứng núi này, trông núi nọ</i>	‘The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence’

The use of *nọ* is worth noting. Under the scope of the contrastive use, *nọ* and *kia* are somewhat comparable. As discussed above, *kia* can combine with *này* or *đấy/đó (ấy)* to indicate contrast between two proximal or two distal referents, respectively. Table 13 illustrates that *nọ* can occur with *này* or *kia* to indicate ‘difference’. It is noted that *này* and *nọ* follow a sequential order when

they combine with each other, that is, *này* is used first to refer one side of comparison and *nọ* occurs in the second place to indicate the other side (e.g. anh nói *này*, em nói *nọ* ‘one says this, one says that’). In opposition, *nọ* and *kia* can swap their positions in the combination to indicate contrast, for example, *người kia kể nọ* or *người nọ kể kia* ‘that person the other person’ are similarly accepted in Vietnamese.

Although *nọ* is not synchronically found in the spatial use (§2.2.2), its spatial meaning can be traced from its combinations with *này* and *kia*. In combination with the proximal *này*, the meaning of ‘difference’ can be only inferred if *nọ* carries the distal meaning and that the distal meaning indicated by *nọ* must be different from *kia* so that in combination with *kia*, *nọ* is able to indicate something different to what indicated by *kia*.

In brief, the contrastive meaning can be encoded through the exophoric and idiomatic uses of Vietnamese demonstratives, in particular, *kia* and *nọ*. In exophoric use, the contrast indicated by *kia* is interpreted on the basis of the ‘here and now’ context, i.e., one side of the comparison is encoded by either proximal or distal terms in relation to the speaker’s location, while ‘the other’ indicated by *kia* can be either present or absent at the time of speaking. In idiomatic use, the contrast is linguistically encoded by *nọ* on one end and *này* or *kia* on the other end. The contrast between the two particular referents in the exophoric use is conventionally understood as ‘difference’ of random things in every context (i.e. idiomatic use).

2.6 Personal pronouns

Demonstratives are one of the main conceptual sources of personal singular pronouns in Vietnamese, along with nominal concepts such as *tôi, tớ* ‘I’ (nominal source: ‘servant’) (Heine & Song, 2011: 608), and *họ* ‘they’ (nominal source: ‘family’) (Cooke, 1968: 114). They include spatial adverbs *đây* and *đấy/đó* as sources of first person and second person respectively, and adnominal *ấy* as a source of third person.

2.6.1 *Đây* and first person

In the spatial use, *đây* refers to the place where the speaker is located. This meaning is metonymically understood as ‘I’ when the term is used in the function of a personal pronoun. The use of locational adverbs with the meaning of indicating the speaker ‘I’ is also found in other languages such as Japanese (Hagege, 1993), Korean and English (Heine & Song, 2011).

In this function, *đây* interacts with a number of first person pronouns such as *tôi, tớ, tao*, and *tau*, all of which mean ‘I’ in different registers. For example, *tôi* is normally used in formal situations with an emotionally neutral meaning, *tớ* is used between friends with the effect of camaraderie, while *tao* and *tau* are more casual and dialectal. The demonstrative form *đây* is used

for a different communicative purpose. That purpose, according to Hagege (1993: 216-217), is that the speaker “wants to ignore the hierarchical or affective connotations linked to the use of person [*sic*] pronouns”.

The following example is extracted from a story about Vietnamese society during the period between 1930 and 1945. The conversation is between a woman who came from a poor class and a man who had a certain social position at that time. In this context, the man who was working for the local authority was going to every family to force all of the men in the area to join a sports campaign organised by his employer. The woman in the story was trying to ask the official for an exemption from the event for her husband due to his illness.

- (54) Woman: *Thưa thầy, giá nhà con khoẻ khoẻ, thì nhà con chẳng dám kêu.*
 TOP house child NEG dare complain
 ‘Sir, if only my husband was healthy, he wouldn’t dare to complain.’
- Man: *Đây không biết, mà đây cũng không nghe đâu. Vợ chồng thu xếp với nhau thế nào, đây mặc kệ.*
 DEM.PROX NEG know CONJ DEM.PROX also NEG listen where
 wife husband arrange PREP.with together how
 DEM.PROX ignore
 ‘*Đây* don’t know, *đây* also don’t want to listen. Whatever you arrange, *đây* won’t care.’

(C. H. Nguyễn, 1939)

In her utterance, the woman uses a formulaic expression referring to the high level *thưa thầy* ‘dear sir’ to address the man. In contrast to this formality, the man responds in a casual way, employing the demonstrative *đây* ‘here’ to refer to himself as the speaker. This use is somewhat unusual considering the different social statuses between the man and the couple. However, the casualness of the man’s response creates a special effect: the man can implicitly position himself as equal to the couple. This can be considered as a strategy for the man to avoid making a decision in this particular situation, given the fact that he was acting on behalf of the local authority.

Being a language where the social hierarchy determined by the factors of age or social status is important in communication, Vietnamese has retained in parallel both formal and informal terms in person deixis. The first person pronoun *đây* can be used in casual contexts where the speaker puts the addressee on a par, regardless of which social status or ranges of age they belong to. In such situations, the use of *đây* in the role of a first person pronoun carries the speaker’s indifferent attitude towards the addressee(s) and this distinguishes *đây* from the other informal expressions.

2.6.2 *Đây/đó* and second person

In contrast to the speaker's location expressed by *đây* 'here' is the hearer's location expressed by *đấy/đó* 'there'. When transferred to the domain of person deixis, these terms make a distinction between speaker 'I' and addressee 'you'. Consider the extracted conversation between Xuan and a woman:

(55) Xuan: *Đây* không cần!
 DEM.PROX NEG need
 'Đây don't need it.'

Woman: Không cần thì cứ vào trong ấy
 NEG need TOP go away PREP.in inside DEM.DIST
 có được không?
 AST obtain NEG
 '(If you) don't need it, go away inside there, ok?'

Xuan: Nói đùa đấy, chứ *đây* mà lại chả cần
 say joke DEMPART NEG DEM.PROX CONJ again NEG need
đấy thì *đấy* cần *đếch* gì *đấy*?
 DEM.DIST TOP DEM.DIST need fuck (slang) what DEM.PROX
 'Just kidding, (if) *đây* don't need *đấy*, what the hell *đấy* will need *đấy*?'

(Vũ, 1936)

In (55), Xuan uses *đây* to refer to himself and *đấy* for the woman to whom he is talking. The absence of formality and directness through the use of *đây* and *đấy* allows the speaker of (55) to create a flirtatious tone in this context.

The use of *đây* and *đó* is not only interchangeable in the spatial function but also in the function of a second person pronoun. For instance, the following folk poems in (56) may have other variations based on the change between the use of *đấy* and *đó* for the same meaning of indicating the addressee.

(56) *Đấy* vàng, *đây* cũng đồng đen
 DEM.DIST gold DEM.PROX also copper black
 '(If) you are (as precious as) gold, I am (as) black copper.'

Đấy hoa thiên lý, *đây* sen Tây Hồ.
 DEM.DIST flower Chinese violet DEM.PROX lotus Tay Ho
 '(If) you are (as beautiful as) a Chinese violet, I am (as) a Tay Ho lotus.'

(H. G. Trần, n.d.)

Or: *Đó* vàng *đây* cũng đồng đen
Đó hoa thiên lý *đây* sen Tây Hồ.

(*Ca dao Việt Nam [Vietnamese Folk Poems]*, n.d.)

Or: *Đó vàng đây cũng đồng đen*
Đấy hoa thiên lý đây sen Tây Hồ.

(Huong Giang, 2005)

When paired with *đây* ‘I’, the person pronoun *đấy/đó* ‘you’ can be assumed to carry the attitudinal meaning that *đây* can denote. The use of *đây-đấy/đó* implies avoidance of a direct address as well as the hierarchical and emotional meanings.

It can be seen that the use of *đây* and *đấy/đó* as person pronouns is mapped with the symmetrical spatial system in the language (§2.4.1). The location which is near or coinciding with the speaker’s, expressed by the proximal demonstrative *đây*, is intimately associated with the meaning of first person *đây* referring to the speaker. Similarly, the hearer’s location expressed by *đấy* is incorporated in the meaning of the second person pronoun *đấy* denoting the addressee. The meaning extension of *đây* and *đấy* from the spatial demonstratives *đây* ‘near s’ and *đấy* ‘far from s’ to the person pronouns *đây* ‘I’ and *đấy* ‘you’ undergoes a process of metonymy.

2.6.3 Ấy and third person

While in many languages, “third person pronouns are historically derived from pronominal demonstratives” (Diessel, 1999a: 119), Vietnamese uses the adnominal *ấy*, forming third person expressions such as *anh ấy, ông ấy, bác ấy*, etc. glossed as ‘he’ or *chị ấy, bà ấy, cô ấy*, etc. glossed as ‘she’. In this function, *ấy* is recognised as a nominal attribute, i.e. occurring in a noun phrase with a noun or a kin term, denoting a third person in distinguishing to the first person expressed by *đây* (§2.6.1) and the second person indicated by *đấy/đó* (§2.6.2).

Vietnamese has various terms functioning as third person pronouns. The term *nó* is a singular pronoun used when speaking of an animate referent in general while the term *họ* ‘they’ is employed when speaking of a group of persons. These terms are both neutral in relation to respect, whereas third person expressions consisting of *ấy* can express opposite attitudes, either respectful or disrespectful, depending on the noun that *ấy* is preceded. For instance, when *ấy* combines with kin terms like *anh* ‘older brother’, *chị* ‘older sister’, *chú* ‘uncle’, *dì* ‘aunt’, *ông* ‘grandfather’, *bà* ‘grandmother’, etc., the third person expression is used in a respectful and polite manner. Otherwise, the speaker will use general nouns such as *thằng/thằng cha/lão* ‘male’, *con/con mụ* ‘female’, etc. to combine with *ấy* to denote a not particularly respectful attitude. Consider the following examples:

- (57) Quang: *Bác ấy thế nào?*
 uncle DEM.DIST how
 ‘How is *bác ấy*?’

Ich: ...Bác *ấy* chết rồi.
 uncle DEM.DIST die already
 ‘Bác *ấy* died.’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

(58) - Di dặn cái thằng *ấy* đến đây làm gì thế?
 aunt ask FOC CL.boy DEM.DIST come DEM.PROX do what so
 ‘For what did you ask *thằng ấy* to come here?’

(Vũ, 1936)

In the examples above, the speaker’s attitude towards a third party is reflected via the use of the referring noun phrases. In (57), the speaker uses third person noun phrase *bác ấy* ‘he’ to talk about the dead man who is a respected person in the village. In contrast, the general noun *thằng* ‘boy’ in (58) signals the speaker’s non-respectful attitude towards the third party. In this context, when talking to her aunt, Tuyet uses *thằng ấy* ‘that guy’ to express such an attitude towards Xuan, a man of whom she does not have a good impression.

It can be seen that the anonominal syntactic feature of the spatial demonstrative *ấy* is maintained in the person deixis system. The problem is that in many contexts it is hard to separate the function of *ấy* as a demonstrative or a component of a third person expression. The use of *ấy* in combination with a noun or kinship term can be read as a spatial demonstrative if someone (as a third party) other than the speaker and the hearer is present in the speech situation. However, this ambiguity can be avoided because in the spatial meaning *đấy/đó* tends to be used instead of *ấy* (§2.3.2). Or *ấy* can be interpreted as an anaphoric demonstrative if the third person is not present, yet has been mentioned in the conversation. This ambiguity seems to happen more commonly since *ấy* tends to be specified in referring back to something mentioned previously (Chapter 4). The existence of bridging contexts as such suggests that the development of *ấy* is a part of a common pathway of demonstratives in language: spatial demonstrative > anaphoric demonstrative > 3rd person pronoun (Diessel, 1999a; Heine & Song, 2011).

This path can be extended since, according to Heine & Song (2011: 601), “third person pronouns are cross-linguistically one of the most common sources for second person pronouns”. The use of *ấy* in the expression *đường ấy* ‘that direction’ as a second person expression may be the case of that general tendency. Compare the following examples:

(59) - Thầy ơi, *đường ấy* có công an!
 male-teacher PART direction DEM.DIST have police
 ‘Teacher, that direction has police!’

(Mạc Ninh, 2014)

- (60) - *Này, đằng ấy đang làm gì đấy?*
 DEMINTERJ direction DEM.DIST PROG do what DEM.DIST
 ‘Hey, what is *đằng ấy* doing there?’

(T. B. H. Nguyễn, 2012)

In example (59), a student (standing at one location) sees her male teacher who is not wearing a helmet while riding a motobike towards the direction that she knows the police officer is working. The expression *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ is used to indicate the working area of the police. The location expressed by *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ is neither coinciding with where the teacher (the hearer) is located nor where the speaker is. In the same form, the expression *đằng ấy* in example (60) means the second person, ‘you’.

The process in which *ấy* develops in person deixis from the third person marker to the second person marker can be explained as follows: the expression *đằng ấy* is initially used as a locational expression referring to somewhere other than the location of the speaker (that can be marked by *đây*, §2.6.1) and the hearer (marked by *đấy/đó*, §2.6.2). If the use of *ấy* was metonymically transferred to the person deixis system in the same manner as *đây* ‘I’ and *đấy/đó* ‘you’, then *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ would become the third person expression expressing someone as a third party in the communication. However, in reality *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ is commonly used to mean the second person instead. In brief, through the metonymical process the locational expression *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ appears as an anaphoric expression referring to the third person but functioning to indicate the second person ‘you’ who the speaker is communicating with in the present context.

The short version of *đằng ấy* is *ấy*, as shown in example (61):

- (61) - *Ấy ơ, tớ bảo qua nhà ấy mà vẫn*
 DEM.DIST PART 1SG tell across house DEM.DIST CONJ still
chưa qua được.
 NEG_{PERF} across obtain
 ‘Hey *ấy* (-you), I’m still not able to come to your house yet.’

(lazymeo, 2011)

However, in comparison to *đấy* ‘you’, the use of *đằng ấy* or *ấy* referring to the second person is restricted due to the contextual and dialectal factors. While *đấy* can refer to addressees in various age groups, the term *ấy* is mainly used among young people such as schoolmates (M. Y. Bùi, 2001). In addition, the second person pronoun *đấy* is normally paired with the first person *đây*, whereas *ấy* is commonly found appearing with the first person pronoun *tớ* ‘I’, as illustrated in example (61) for instance. As a result, the pair formed by personal pronouns *tớ-ấy* is dialectally limited to northern Vietnamese since, according to Cooke (1968: 113), *tớ* “was formerly used especially in North

Vietnam”. Compared to *đây*, the use of *ấy* as the second person pronoun is less common in person deixis.

2.6.4 Concluding remarks

The analysis above illustrates the mapping of the proximal/distal distinctions marked by *đây* and *đấy/đó* onto the distinctions between speaker and hearer through the process of metonymy. The locational adverb *đây* indicates a location that is near or coinciding with the speaker’s location and thus means “I” while *đấy* and *đó* indicating location that ‘different to the speaker’s location’ are alternatively used with the meaning of ‘you’ in person deixis.

The use of *ấy* involves a totally different path of development. *Ấy* is used in combination with other elements (e.g. a noun or kinship term) to form third person expressions. The existence of bridging contexts where the two functions of *ấy* as an anaphoric demonstrative and a third person pronoun co-exist supports the assumption that *ấy* is a case of the general path of demonstratives in language, developing from anaphoric demonstrative to third person pronoun. This path extends as the expression *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ is assumed to undergo a process of change from an expression referring to somewhere other than the speaker and/or the hearer’s location to an expression denoting the second person. In this function, *ấy* continues to change its syntactic status from a component of the second person expression to an independent second person pronoun.

2.7 Intimacy

As analysed in section 2.6, we can observe that the proximity and distance of space can be seen in the contrast of first and second person reference, using the pronominal demonstratives *đây* and *đấy/đó*. This section will show that spatial distinctions are also evident in the use of the adnominal demonstratives *này* and *kia* when they are attached to a vocative clause, signalling the speaker’s emotional proximity/distance to the person she is talking to. I call this function *intimacy*. When the speaker wants to denote emotional closeness, *này* is used; otherwise, *kia* is used to indicate emotional distance.

2.7.1 *Này*

The use of *này* after a proper name or a noun phrase referring to the hearer helps to create a tone of emotional closeness. We can start to discuss this point with the difference between the emotional effect caused by using a vocative with and without *này* attached. Consider the following examples:

- (62) - *Phượng này, mấy anh em nhà ông Đông...*
 Phuong DEM.PROX several sibling house grandfather Dong...
 ‘Phuong *này*, Dong and his siblings....’

- (63) - Cô Phượng, tôi hỏi:...
- aunt Phuong 1SG ask
- ‘Phuong, I ask (you this):...’

(Ma, 1985)

Above are the utterances uttered by Ly to her sister-in-law, Phuong. The contexts of these two examples indicate that in (62), the relationship between Ly and Phuong is going very well. However, in (63), Ly becomes very annoyed due to the fact that Phuong and her husband continue to live in her house and thus, the relationship between them is somewhat affected. Ly’s attitude in these different situations is reflected in the way she addresses Phuong before starting the conversation. In (62), the proper name Phuong followed by *này* denotes an intimate tone while in (63), the vocative *cô Phượng* (without *này* attached) indicates a detached, neutral attitude. Similar to (62) are the two examples below:

- (64) - Anh Đông này, anh Luan em...
- older-brother Dong DEM.PROX older-brother Luan younger-sibling...
- ‘Brother Dong này, (my husband) Luan....’

- (65) - Luan này, đôi giày của con...
- Luan DEM.PROX pair shoe PREP.of child
- ‘Luan này, your shoes...’

(Ma, 1985)

In these two examples, *này* appears after the vocatives expressed by a noun phrase, anh Dong ‘brother Dong’, as in (64), or a proper name, Luan, as in (65). With the attachment of *này*, the hearer is addressed in an intimate and sincere way.

It can be seen that the level of intimacy expressed by *này* appearing after a vocative clause is metaphorically extended from the meaning of nearness indicated by the proximal demonstrative *này* (§2.3.1). The following section will illustrate that contrasting to *này*, the distal term *kia* is used to indicate emotional distance.

2.7.2 *Kia*

In contrast to *này*, the demonstrative *kia* occurs after a vocative to express the speaker’s emotionally distant attitude towards the hearer. In most cases, *kia* does not appear after a proper name but normally occurring after kin terms (e.g. *anh* ‘older brother’, *chị* ‘older sister’, *ông* ‘grandfather’, *bà* ‘grandmother’, etc.) or generic nouns based on distinctions of sex (e.g. *thằng* ‘male’, *con* ‘female’ in informal contexts). This particular combination of *kia* is related to the

speaker's emotional distance from the hearer. It is noticed that a kin term denotes a general meaning and thus can be used with *kia* attached to express the speaker's attitude of distance. In contrast, a proper name referring to a specific individual and thus implying familiarity seems to be more relevant in combination with *này* (§2.7.1). Consider the following example:

- (66) - *Này* *nhà* *bác* *kia!* *Làm* *gì* *mà* *đến* *nỗi*
 DEMINTERJ house aunt DEM.DIST do what CONJ come matter
phải *bán* *con* *đi* *thế?*
 must sell child go so
 'Hey, the woman *kia!* What is the matter that you have to sell your child like that?'

(Vũ, 1931)

The utterance in example (66) is extracted from a story written between 1930 and 1945. The story reflects a period in Vietnam when the poor were threatened by mass starvation, and there was a large gap between the rich and the poor. In this particular context, a wealthy woman shows her compassion towards a poor woman when seeing this woman selling her child to save her whole family from starvation. To start her conversation, the rich woman calls the poor woman's attention: *Này, nhà bác kia* 'Hey, the woman *kia*'. Although the rich woman has good manners, the distance between the two social classes still remains in her utterance. The demonstrative *kia* appears in this context to indicate this distance.

The example below is similar. *Kia* is employed after a vocative constructed by a noun *thằng* 'man'. This noun is particularly used in reference to a male in an informal or disrespectful manner. With *kia* attached, the aloofness of the speaker towards the hearer is effectively demonstrated. In this example, the hearer is a poor man running away from the old regime to avoid an accusation that he illegally brewed rice wine. The speaker of the following utterance is a representative of that regime:

- (67) - *Này,* *thằng* *kia,* *nếu* *mày* *đổ* *vò* *com*
 DEMINTERJ CL.boy DEM.DIST if 2SG pour jar rice
kia *xuống* *ao* *thì* *quan* *Đoan* *sẽ* *bắn* *mày!*
 DEM.DIST down pond TOP mandarin Doan ASP shoot 2SG
 'Hey, man *kia*, if you pour that jar of rice to the pond, mandarin Doan will shoot you!'

(T. Nguyễn, 1937)

As analysed above, the intimacy use of *kia* in those contexts is specifically extended from the basic use of the demonstrative *kia*. That is, *kia*, as a distal term, can be used to express the speaker's emotional distance from the hearer.

2.8 Summary

Table 14 summarises previous sections' analysis. It represents the uses of the seven demonstratives in the space domain expressing spatial (§2.3), contrastive (§2.5), person deictic (§2.6) and intimacy meanings (§2.7). All these functions of Vietnamese demonstratives are conducted on the basis of the presence of the reference point (the speaker) in the situational context.

Table 14. Uses of Vietnamese demonstratives in the space domain

FUNCTIONS DEM	Syntactic			Spatial		Contrast		Person deixis			Intimacy	
	AD	PRO	ADV	PROX	DIST	EXOPHORIC	IDIOMATIC	1SG	2SG	3SG	psy-PROX	psy-DIST
<i>này</i>	+			+							+	
<i>đây</i>		+	+	+				+				
<i>đây/đó</i>	+	+	+		+		+		+			
<i>ấy</i>	+				+				+	+		
<i>kia</i>	+	+	+		+	+	+					+
<i>ọ</i>	+				(+)		+					

In Vietnamese, space can be demarcated into two regions of nearness and farness from the speaker's point of view. The two-way demarcation is reflected in the uses of the proximal demonstratives *này*, *đây* and the distal terms *đây/đó* (*ấy*), *kia* and *ọ* in other exophoric functions. First, the speaker can make a distinction between one referent and the other by using different forms of demonstratives by virtue of the differences in their spatial meaning. That is, the one indicated by the proximal demonstrative *này* or the distal term *đây/đó* must be different from the one indicated by the distal demonstratives *kia* and *ọ*. No doubt the spatial meaning of *ọ*, which is absent in the situational use, is restored in the conventional contrast that *ọ* can encode.

Second, the spatial distinctions between the speaker's location (i.e. *đây* 'here) and the hearer's location (i.e. *đây/đó* 'there) are metonymically transferred to the distinctions between 'I' and 'you' in person deixis. Since the third party can be present or absent in the communication, *ấy*, which is less and less commonly used in referring to a distant referent, seems to be the most appropriate source to form third person expressions in the language.

Lastly, distance can be subjective. Regardless of where the hearer is located in the communication, the speaker can still add either *này* or *kia* to the vocative expression used in addressing the hearer. By doing so, the speaker can implicitly indicate her emotion towards the hearer.

The use of demonstratives not only relates to space but can also be extended to other levels of abstraction as a part of language usage and development of human beings. This process is described as follows:

Languages allow locative terms to move into other domains very readily. This suggests that our representations of space are basic and often an accessible template for non-spatial domains as well. The primacy of space is then reflected in the non-spatial uses to which children (and adults) put the spatial terms of their language.

(E. V. Clark & Carpenter, 1989: 362)

The use of demonstratives in the temporal domain will be examined and illustrated in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Temporal usage

3.1 Introduction

Time is an abstract domain, and yet people can talk about it utilising the dimensions of space to map time. The development of temporal expressions from spatial terms is a reflection of the relationship between space (a concrete domain) and time (an abstract domain), a correspondence captured in the well-documented conceptual metaphor TIME AS SPACE (Boroditsky, 2000; V. Evans, 2005; Johnson & Lakoff, 1980). As well-known in the literature, the dimensional prepositions indicating the shape of the landmark can be used to express the dimensionality of time (e.g. one-dimensional *at* as *at this moment* describing a point of time, two-dimensional *on* as *on my birthday* and three-dimensional *in* as *in a week* describing periods of time); furthermore, forms to mark the orientation in space can be used to express the front-back orientation of time (e.g. *the weeks ahead of us, the worst behind us*), etc. (Radden, 2003). People can also describe some qualities of time by using concrete qualities of space (e.g. *long/short*), or describe the shape of the time-line as a circle (e.g. *year-round*).

Demonstratives are amongst the items with spatial source-domain meanings imported into the temporal domain (Anderson & Keenan, 1985). For instance, in English temporal deixis can be expressed by temporal expressions consisting of a demonstrative (e.g. *this month*), or in German, *da* ‘there’ is used with temporal reference. This is also the case of Vietnamese demonstratives.

In conceptualising time as space through the source of spatial demonstratives, time can be indicated as being proximal or distal in relation to the moment of speaking, and within or beyond a time span that includes the moment of speaking. That is,

[t]ime, like space, also has its ego-centered deictic expressions... Spatially, one could speak of events occurring proximally and distally with respect to that point [- the present moment, my addition]... The same relations hold temporally.

(H. H. Clark, 1973: 52)

This is illustrated in Vietnamese, for instance, where the proximal demonstrative *này* ‘this’ can be used to refer to a house near the speaker as in *ngôi nhà này* ‘this house’ or to a particular month which includes the moment of speech as in *tháng này* ‘this month’. In contrast, the distal term *kia*, which is spatially used to indicate an entity which is distant in any direction from the speaker’s location, such as *toà nhà kia* ‘that building’, can also be used to locate further extending time events in opposing directions according to the observer’s speaking time, i.e. past and future, such as *hôm kia* ‘the day before yesterday’ and *ngày kia* ‘the day after tomorrow’.

In language, time can be structured by grammatical categories such as tense and aspect and/or by the lexical categories such as complex verb clusters, temporal particles or temporal adverbials, etc. (W. Klein, 1994). Since Vietnamese is a tenseless language (Cao, 1998, 2002; Emeneau, 1951; Đ. D. Nguyễn, 1996), demonstratives play an important role in dividing the time-line into three domains of past, present and future. Specifically, the proximal demonstratives *này* (indicating the deictic time) and *đây* (indicating the observer (ego) that represents the experience of 'now') are both associated with the present from which the past and future are indicated through the use of the distal demonstratives *no* and *kia*.

Like many languages in which a time event is positioned on the horizontal time-line (Radden, 2003: 230), Vietnamese metaphorically maps past and future times onto two opposing spatial locations in relation to the deictic centre. Interestingly, when time is construed as a moving object, Vietnamese views a past event as being in front and future as behind the ego. Such a 'reversed' construal of time (compared with the predominant pattern across languages in which the ego faces the future (Núñez & Sweetser, 2006; Radden, 2003)) has also been found in other languages such as Toba (H. E. M. Klein, 1987), Malagasy (Dahl, 1995), and Aymara (Miracle & Dios Yapita Moya, 1981; Núñez & Sweetser, 2006). However, while gestural data has been collected in support of the claim for the pattern of "future as behind, past as in-front of the ego" in Aymara (the only language which so far warranted a thorough discussion regarding this issue), this pattern is more visible in Vietnamese in that it can be established on the basis of linguistic data alone, even without a consideration of gesture. This point is discussed in the following section.

3.2 Future is behind us, past is in front of us

Vietnamese uses two spatial metaphors regarded as being cross-linguistic to talk about time. In the Moving Ego model, the temporal experiencer is seen as a mover in space, while in the Moving Time model, time is viewed as an entity moving with respect to a static experiencer (ego) (Núñez & Sweetser, 2006: 401) (cf. V. Evans, 2004; Radden, 2003). These metaphorical models of time are illustrated below:

- (68) [A]nh em phải "chạy" cho kịp thời hạn...
 siblings have to run PREP.for in time deadline
 'All group members have to run to meet the deadline.'

(Võ, 2004)

- (69) Tết đang đến gần.
 Tet holiday PROG come near
 'Tet holiday is getting closer (to us).'

(Biên Thảo, 2013)

In both cases, *thời hạn* 'the deadline' in (68) and *Tết* 'Tet holiday' in (69) are future events in relation to the ego's experience of 'now'. By virtue of 'run to meet the deadline', it can be inferred that the experiencer of (68) will move towards the direction of the future event and thus, future is seen as being located "in front of" the experiencer. However, the position of the future event, Tet holiday in (69), is somewhat ambiguous. In this case, although the Moving Time model suggests that the abstract temporal concept Tet holiday is imminent by virtue of 'getting closer', it could be interpreted as indicating either that the direction of motion of the future event approaches from behind the ego and hence is assumed to be located "behind the ego", or alternatively, is directed towards the ego and hence is "in front of the ego". Nevertheless, such ambiguity can be resolved by the use of overt linguistic expressions of "front", "behind" with the ego. In the following, I propose that Vietnamese uses the prepositions *trước* 'front', *sau* 'behind' and spatial demonstratives for this particular purpose.

First, in Vietnamese, the prepositions *trước* 'front/ahead' and *sau* 'back/behind' are used as linguistic tools to indicate the position of times relative to the observer. That is, *trước* is associated with PAST meaning (e.g. *trước đây* (lit. 'front-here') refers to 'a period of past time') and *sau* 'back/behind' is associated with FUTURE meaning (e.g. *sau này* (lit. 'behind-this') refers to 'a period of future time'). Consider the following examples:

- (70) [T]hời gian trôi qua trước mắt chúng ta rất nhanh.
time flow by front eye 3PL very quick
'Time flows by in front of our eyes very quickly.'

(Birthday, 2011)

- (71) Tết đến sau lưng, ông vài thì mừng,
Tet holiday come behind back grandfather ancestor TOP glad
con cháu thì lo.
descendant TOP anxious

'When Tet comes behind us, ancestors are glad whereas their descendants are anxious.'

(Vietnamese proverb)

The above example illustrates that through the use of *trước mắt* (lit. 'front-eye'), it can be inferred that time in (70) is located in front of the ego. In contrast, through the use of *sau lưng* (lit. 'behind-back') preceded by the motion verb *đến* 'to come', Tet holiday in (71) is clearly construed as an object moving from the future located behind the ego.

Although the meanings of "eye" and "face" are not integrated in the word *trước* 'front/ahead' as in the case of *nayra* 'eye, sight, front' in Aymara (Núñez & Sweetser, 2006: 415), the associative link between these senses is evident in Vietnamese. As can be seen in example (70), *trước*

'front/ahead' usually combines with *mắt* 'eye' to indicate the perceptive-interactive front of human beings. According to Núñez & Sweetser (2006: 415), "[t]he eye is part (a salient and important part) of the face... The face is... perhaps the single strongest defining factor in identifying the front of a human being". The relation to the ego is especially pronounced with an overt reference of the ego *chúng ta* 'we'.

In the same fashion, *sau* 'back/behind' combines with *lưng* 'back' in identifying the rear side of humans. Hence, even when there is no explicit expression of "We" or "I", *Tết đến sau lưng* 'Tet comes behind' as in (71), it still carries exactly the same meaning as *Tết đến sau lưng chúng ta* 'Tet comes behind us'. Evidence for this inference is more clearly illustrated in example (72) where the future event *mùa xuân* 'spring' is explicitly located behind the speaker *tôi* 'I'.

- (72) Sau lưng tôi, mùa xuân ấm đang về
 behind back 1SL CL spring warm PROG return
 Behind me, a warm spring is coming.

(nguyentrongluan, 2013)

Note that *trước* and *sau* are also used to express the earlier/later relationship of temporal sequence (as "before" and "after", respectively). This means, the words *trước* and *sau* are both involved in the temporal reference of the past/earlier times and the future/later times, respectively. However, due to their Ego-reference nature, *mắt* 'eye' and *lưng* 'back' are incompatible with *trước* and *sau* (as "earlier" and "later", respectively) in expressing a time event with respect to one another. This is probably the reason why (73a) and (74a) are acceptable in Vietnamese while (73b) and (74b) are not.

- (73) a. thứ Bảy: trước Chủ nhật
 Saturday before Sunday
 'Saturday: before Sunday'

(P. Hoàng, 1997: 937)

- b. *thứ Bảy: trước mắt Chủ nhật
 Saturday before eye Sunday
 'Saturday: before the eyes of Sunday'

- (74) a. Sau Noel là Tết dương lịch.
 after Noel COP Tet western calendar
 'After Christmas is New Year holiday.'

(K. P. Nguyen, 2013)

- b. *Sau lưng Noel là Tết dương lịch.
 after back Noel COP Tet western calendar
 'After Christmas's back is New Year holiday.'

Mắt 'eye' and *lưng* 'back' can therefore be considered significant linguistic evidence that marks the ego as the Ground or the landmark in the Moving Time metaphor. In combination with *trước* and *sau*, these terms are integrated as a temporal reference with respect to the front and back of the ego, in which past events are described as "in front of the eyes" and future events as "behind the ego's back". The links between the senses of "front" and "past" through the use of *trước mắt* (lit. 'front-eye') and "back" and "future" through *sau lưng* (lit. 'behind-back') reflect the logic through which time is conceptualised in Vietnamese. That is, the past is known and hence is visible, whereas future is unknown and hence is invisible. Based on the conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING (Sullivan, 2007; Sweetser, 1990), time is construed to "move from the invisible future behind the observer and becomes visible when it passes the observer in the present and moves on into the past" (Radden, 2003: 230). The correlations of KNOWN IS IN FRONT OF EGO, UNKNOWN IS IN BACK OF EGO have also been reported in Aymara (Núñez & Sweetser, 2006) and Malagasy (Dahl, 1995).

The logic of FUTURE IS IN BACK OF EGO in Vietnamese requires that one has to turn her head back when she wants to see the immediate future approaching from behind. The use of the verb phrase *ngoái nhìn* 'turn back to look' as in example (75) might be taken as evidence for the positioning of future in the language:

(75) ngoài nhìn tương lai
 turn back look future
 'turn back to look at the future'

(Kimimaru, 2008)

Conversely, because PAST IS IN FRONT OF EGO, the speaker can simply look straight to see the past located in front of her eyes. As illustrated in (76), the past is metaphorically described as an object which moves further away from the static experiencer.

(76) Tôi lại nuối tiếc nhìn thời gian trôi xa.
 1SL again regret look time flow far
 'I again feel regret when looking at time flowing by further and further.'

(Phượng Hồng, 2012)

The analysis above suggests that the two defining factors of *trước mắt* (lit. 'front-eye') and *sau lưng* (lit. 'behind-back') indicating the anterior and posterior of the human body is evidence for the temporal construal of the past as being in front and the future as being behind the ego. As mentioned previously, the nature of ego-reference integrated in these expressions allows the omission of the expressions "We" or "I" without causing confusion between Ego and now.

Interestingly, Vietnamese demonstratives provide additional crucial evidence of this construal of time. For example, the proximal demonstrative *đây* and the distal demonstrative *kia* can both combine with *trước* 'front/ahead' to indicate past times. In contrast, the proximal demonstrative *này* combines with *sau* 'back/behind' to refer to future times. It is important to note that through the use of *đây* and *này*, Ego and now are overtly marked, respectively. These issues are examined in section 3.3. This will prepare the background for section 3.4 where the relationship between space and time through the use of demonstratives in both dialects of the language is discussed.

3.3 Temporal demonstratives

While Vietnamese has seven spatial demonstratives, only the four terms *này*, *đây*, *kia* and *nọ* are metaphorically used to indicate a time event in relation to the time of utterance in a situational context. The distal terms *đấy/đó* and *ấy* 'that' can have a temporal referent, but only when they are used as an anaphoric or a presentational demonstrative. For example, *lúc đấy/đó/ấy* 'that time' normally refer to a time event, which is first mentioned in the preceding discourse or *thuở ấy* 'long time in the past', which is used to create a temporal setting at the beginning of the story. I will discuss the anaphoric and the presentational functions of *đấy/đó* and *ấy* in Chapters 4 and 5.

In addition to temporal terms arising from the spatial terms *này*, *đây*, *kia* and *nọ*, the system of Vietnamese temporal demonstratives involves two other terms which are only used in the temporal sense. They are *nay* 'now, present' and *nãy* 'a very short time before the time of utterance'. Because they do not come from spatial terms, some linguists call these two terms 'pure temporal demonstratives' (e.g. Đỗ, 2003) while others consider them as morphological variations of the spatial demonstrative *này* (e.g. Đ. D. Nguyễn, 2009). In this study, I take the former perspective in terms of treating these two terms as independent temporal demonstratives since *nay* and *nãy* are not spatially used in any contexts.

Temporal demonstratives imported from the spatial terms *này*, *đây*, *kia* and *nọ* and the pure temporal terms *nay* and *nãy* normally interact with time measurements such as second, minute, hour, day, week, month, year, etc. Such combinations form a set of positional temporal adverbials (e.g. *lúc này* 'this time', *giờ đây* 'now' (lit. 'hour-here'), *một ngày kia* 'some day in the future', *hôm nọ* 'a few days before yesterday', *ngày nay* 'nowadays', *khi nãy* 'a short period of time before the encoding time'), consisting of the concept of deictic centre encoded by demonstratives and the concept of time measurement indicated by temporal nouns.

The combination of a demonstrative and a temporal noun can also be lexicalised. That is the particular use of the spatial demonstrative *kia* and the temporal demonstrative *nay* in a system called *deictic day-name* (Tent, 1998). More particularly, *kia* and *nay* are routinely used in combination with a lexical term indicating 'day', i.e. *hôm* and *ngày*, to refer to the day before

yesterday by *hôm kia* or the day after tomorrow by *ngày kia*, relative to the deictic centre included in *hôm nay* ‘today’. It can be seen that these conventional combinations can indicate a day as a time measurement, in addition to what a positional temporal adverbial can indicate (i.e. a time point in relation to the deictic centre).

In English, words like *yesterday*, *today*, *tomorrow* indicate a symmetric system on the level of one deictic day-name before and one after ‘today’. Here, I am using the symbols suggested by Tent (1998: 113) to illustrate the level of deictic day-name system: N = ‘now, present diurnal span’, a minus symbol marks deictic items consecutively preceding N, and a plus symbol marks those consecutively following N. Accordingly, the English deictic day-name system on the level of (1/+1) is shown in Table 15.

Table 15. The English deictic day-name system

<i>yesterday</i>	-1
<i>today</i>	N
<i>tomorrow</i>	+1

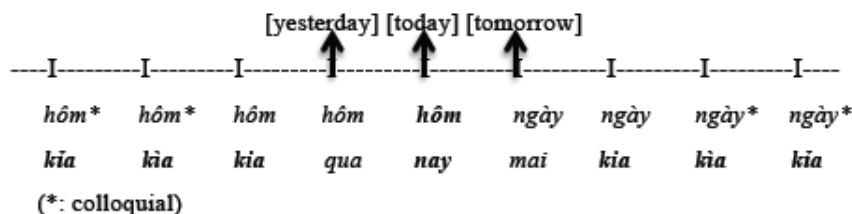
Compared with English, Vietnamese has a more extensive system of deictic day-names, extending not only on the level of (-2/+2) in formal language but also on the level of probably up to (-4/+4) in colloquial language (marked with the star symbol *), shown in Table 16.

Table 16. The Vietnamese deictic day-name system

Deictic day-name	Gloss	Level
* <i>hôm kia</i>	‘three days before today’	-4
* <i>hôm kia</i>	‘two days before today’	-3
<i>hôm kia</i>	‘the day before yesterday’	-2
<i>hôm qua</i>	‘yesterday’	-1
<i>hôm nay</i>	‘today’	N
<i>ngày mai</i>	‘tomorrow’	+1
<i>ngày kia</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’	+2
* <i>ngày kia</i>	‘two days after today’	+3
* <i>ngày kia</i>	‘three days after today’	+4

This is schematised in Figure 3.

Figure 3. The Vietnamese deictic day-name system



In space, the deictic centre is normally the speaker’s location, from which an entity is indicated. In time, the deictic centre is defined by the present. Vietnamese uses the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* and the temporal demonstrative *nay* to indicate the present, varying from the very moment of the time of speaking to a larger period of time which includes the time of speaking. Time indicated by these demonstratives (*này*, *đây* and *nay*) distinguishes it from the past and future, which are indicated by distal demonstratives. In particular, *kia* can be used in opposing directions of the past and future while *no* and *nãy* can only be used with reference to the past. A complete list of Vietnamese temporal demonstratives is shown in Table 17.

Table 17. Vietnamese temporal demonstratives

Components of temporal DEMS	DEMS	Meaning
Pure temporal DEMS	<i>nay</i>	present
	<i>nãy</i>	past
Spatial DEMS	<i>đây</i>	present
	<i>này</i>	present
	<i>kia</i>	past/future
	<i>no</i>	past

When transferred to the temporal domain, spatial demonstratives serve a similar function to tense in terms of localising an event time towards either of two directions according to the encoding time. In the following sections, I will mainly focus on the distribution of the imported spatial demonstratives in the time-line. That is, *này* (§3.3.1) and *đây* (§3.3.2) are used to indicate the present (around or coinciding the time of speaking), *kia* (§3.3.3) denotes time in both directions from the time of speaking, while *no* (§3.3.4) is restricted to denoting time in the past.

3.3.1 *Này*

The proximal term *này* ‘near the speaker’s location’ is used to express notions of proximity in the temporal domain. In this metaphoric transfer, the present is considered ‘near the speaker’ and thus, *này* is used to denote a time event ‘around the time of speaking’. For example, a span of time like

tuần này ‘this week’ and a location like *thành phố này* ‘this city’ share the meaning of ‘including the ego’ denoted by *này*.

Syntactically, *này* is used adnominally in indicating temporal relations. In other words, *này* cannot be used in isolation but always combines with a temporal noun to form a temporal adverbial, e.g. *giờ này* ‘this time’ (lit. ‘hour-this’), *tuần này* ‘this week’, *lúc này* ‘this moment’, *thời này* ‘this period of time’, etc. I refer to these expressions as ‘*này*-temporal adverbials’. In such a composition, *này* contributes to the temporal adverbial as an anchoring time which is normally the time of utterance from which the referred time span is located. Consider the following examples:

- (77) *Giờ này các hiệu đóng cửa rồi.*
hour DEM.PROX PL shop close door already
‘All of the shops are closed at hour *này* (-this time).’

(Tạ, 2002b)

- (78) *Đạo này tôi thấy Thùy Châu khác quá rồi.*
period DEM.PROX 1SG see Thuy Chau different very already
‘I feel that Thuy Chau has become different period of time *này* (-recently).’

(Võ, 1993)

- (79) *Mai này ai nhớ tết mừng 5?*
tomorrow DEM.PROX who remember festival order five
‘Who will remember the festival Fifth *mai này* (-in the future)?’

(T. L. Nguyễn, 2012)

In (77), *giờ* (lit. ‘hour’) in *giờ này* can be read as ‘now’. With the presence of the demonstrative *này*, the expression *giờ này* allows a more elaborated reading, i.e. *này* emphasises the time of utterance and thus, *giờ này* can be interpreted as ‘at the encoding time’. In (78), *đạo này* refers to a time span whose duration extends from before the time of utterance, i.e. Thuy Chau must have changed her attitude towards the speaker at a point some time before and up to the time of utterance, although the change that the speaker feels from Thuy Chau still remains. In contrast, *mai này* in (79) indicates a period of time extended after the time of utterance – following or “futurewards”. The term *mai* can be used as *ngày mai* ‘tomorrow’. When combined with the demonstrative *này*, the word *mai* loses its definite meaning and becomes indefinite, i.e. *mai này* means ‘some day in the future’.

It can be seen that the temporal noun in a *này*-temporal adverbial can be a temporal point (or as small as a time point; e.g. *giờ*, in example (77), meaning an exact point in time – the encoding time) or a temporal period (e.g. *đạo*, *mai*). The latter can be specified as a definite or indefinite

period of time in terms of their beginning and ending points. A definite period of time has its boundaries; for instance, the beginning and the end of a day are the maximal boundaries of ‘today’ (W. Klein, 1994). In contrast, an indefinite period of time has its duration but no boundaries, e.g. *đạo* means ‘a number of days or months’.

Like most languages, Vietnamese has a rich set of temporal lexicon indicating temporal points and definite/indefinite intervals. In relation to the combination with *này*, there are four groups of time elements that should be considered. They are: (i) subdivisions of centuries, years, seasons, months, weeks, days, hours, minutes, seconds, etc.; (ii) named calendric units (like *thứ Hai* ‘Monday’, *tháng Một* ‘January’); (iii) lexical units referring indefinite period of time (like *đạo* ‘a number of days or months’, *lúc* ‘an indefinite short period of time’); and (iv) lexical units whose intrinsic lexical content indicates the future time (like *mai* ‘tomorrow’, *sau* ‘back/behind’). In the following, I will illustrate that each group of time elements has its own characteristics and that the function of the demonstrative *này* in a *này*-temporal adverbial is determined by the type of temporal elements that it modifies.

The first group that *này* can combine with is basic cyclic subdivisions like *năm* ‘year’, *mùa* ‘season’, *tháng* ‘month’, *tuần* ‘week’. One of the distinct features of these terms is that their lexical content involves a clear maximum boundary based on a fixed duration expressed in each term, calendrically or non-calendrically. For example, the lexical content of *tuần* ‘week’ is a period of time beginning on Monday and ending on Sunday (calendrically) or a seven-day period counted from a given day (non-calendrically). When combined with the demonstrative *này*, the *này*-temporal adverbial *tuần này*, for example, indicates a temporal period which cannot extend beyond the maximum boundaries in which the time of utterance is included. In particular, the time of utterance represented by *này* can be positioned at any point within the cyclic temporal period. A speaker can say *tuần này*, for instance, at any time within the boundaries from the starting point of Monday to the ending point of Sunday. Beyond these boundaries, the referent of *tuần này* is not the same. However, sometimes, a week may be considered as a period of working time, i.e. only the five weekdays (Monday to Friday) are included, such as the period from 18/2 to 22/2/2013 shown in example (80).

- (80) *Tuần này* (18/2-22/2), giá vàng sẽ còn giảm sâu.
 week DEM.PROX 18/2-22/2 price gold ASP remain decrease deep
 ‘Week *này* (18/2-22/2), gold price will continue to decrease strongly.’

(Đình Bách, 2013)

Another level of subdividing time in this first group is the subdivisions of *giờ* ‘hour’, *phút* ‘minute’, *giây* ‘second’, etc. Unlike the cyclic subdivisions, the duration of these temporal elements is

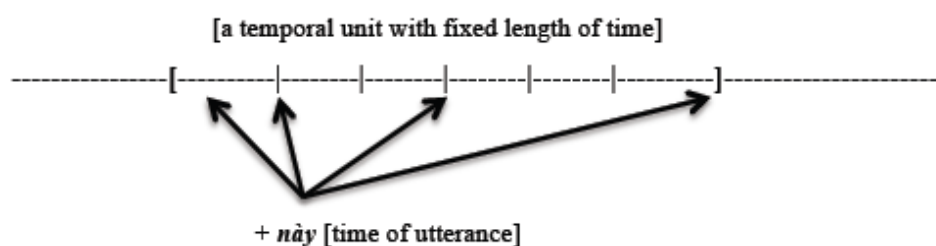
generally short. In particular, the duration of *phút* ‘minute’, *giây* ‘second’ can be treated as small as a temporal point. It is possible that the reason why Vietnamese speakers tend to use compound nouns like *giờ phút* or *giây phút/phút giây* to extend the duration indicated by individual terms is that *giờ phút* can be understood as a period of time somewhere between an hour and a minute while *giây phút/phút giây* may be a bit shorter than *giờ phút* but longer than a time point. Combined with *này*, the expressions *giờ phút này* and *giây phút/phút giây này* both indicate a short period of time. However, how short the period of time indicated by these expressions depends on the context. The duration of *giờ phút này* in example (81), for instance, can be measured upon the length of the statement to be made, i.e. ‘*từ... Việt Nam*’.

- (81) Từ *giờ phút này*, nhãn vàng SJC là của
 from hour minute DEM.PROX label gold SJC COP PREP.of
 NHNN Việt Nam.
 acronym. State Bank Vietnam
 ‘From time *này*, the SJC gold’s trade-mark is under the Vietnam State Bank’s authority.’

(Hiếu Anh, 2011)

For convenience, I will refer to this type of *này*-temporal adverbial as a ‘*này*-period adverbial’ to distinguish it from other types that will be discussed shortly. As analysed above, a *này*-period adverbial is employed to indicate a time span which includes the time of utterance. In this function, the demonstrative *này* locates the time of utterance at some interval within the boundaries of the intended time span. This is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Reference of *này*-bounded period adverbials



In combination with the second group of time, i.e. calendric units, the demonstrative *này* has a slightly different function. Calendric units consist of days of the week, such as *thứ Hai* ‘Monday’, *thứ Ba* ‘Tuesday’; months of the year, such as *tháng Bảy* ‘July’, *tháng Tám* ‘August’ as well as special times related to Vietnamese culture and history such as *Rằm trung thu* ‘Full Moon Festival’, *Tết Nguyên đán* ‘Vietnamese Lunar New Year’, *Tết Mậu Thân* ‘Tet Offensive’, etc. Unlike the first group, which designates a fixed length of time, calendric units are considered as fixed points in a recurring cycle. In this sense, a calendric unit has its fixed position in relation to other time points

and contains no duration in their lexical content. Based on this characteristic of the group of time, I will refer to them as *này*-point adverbials to distinguish them from the classification of *này*-period adverbials.

The large number of examples collected for this study illustrate that in a reference expressed by a *này*-point adverbial, the time of utterance is normally located separately from the intended time point. Consider the following examples:

(82) [The encoding time is on Monday, 18 February 2013.]

Munster tin rằng tháng Ba hoặc tháng Tư này,
 Munster believe COMP month three or month four DEM.PROX
 tín đồ Apple sẽ...
 fan Apple ASP
 ‘Munster believes that in March or April *này*, fans of Apple will...’

(Kiến thức, 2013)

(83) [The encoding time is on Wednesday, 19 May 2010.]

Thứ Sáu này, Villa tới Barca?
 Friday DEM.PROX Villa go Barca
 ‘Is Villa going to Barca on Friday *này*?’

(T.V, 2010)

Both of the intended time events expressed by *này*-point adverbials in (82) and (83) occur after the time of utterance. In particular, in (82), the encoding time is in February 2013 and the intended time event is March or April of the same year. Similarly, the Friday in (83) is indicated in relation to Wednesday (i.e. 19/05/2010) of the same week. In this type of reference, the time point is located after the time of utterance (or encoding time) in the time-line and also, since they are separate, a certain temporal distance between them is evident. This shows the pattern of reference of a *này*-point adverbial in general. In the structure of a *này*-point adverbial, the representation of *này* is meant to designate the proximal temporal distance between the intended time point and the time of utterance.

A *này*-point adverbial normally indicates a time point which is located near to the encoding time in the time-line. The maximum of ‘nearness’ denoted by *này* can probably cover the duration of the whole time span from its beginning to its end point, e.g. the duration of seven days of a week or twelve months of a year. Otherwise, within a time span, any units of time can be indicated by a *này*-point adverbial provided the encoding time is included in a unit of time which precedes the intended time point. Here, I take the days of the week as an example. If Monday is the day on which a given utterance is made (i.e. today), the rest of the days of the week can be referred to by *này*,

such as *thứ Ba này* ‘this Tuesday’, *thứ Tư này* ‘this Wednesday’, *thứ Năm này* ‘this Thursday’, *thứ Sáu này* ‘this Friday’, *thứ Bảy này* ‘this Saturday’, and *Chủ nhật này* ‘this Sunday’. Nevertheless, a problem may occur. As mentioned in section 3.3, the language already has distinct naming for days before and after ‘today’ and these should take priority in use, i.e. *ngày mai* ‘tomorrow’ should be used instead of *thứ Ba này* and *ngày kia* ‘the day after tomorrow’ instead of *thứ Tư này*. Yet, the use of *thứ Ba này* as well as *thứ Tư này* could be acceptable in the case where the speaker does not totally focus on the fact that Monday is ‘today’. This implication comes from my personal experience. Sometimes people used *này*-temporal adverbial to refer to the day (which should be ‘tomorrow’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’) due to uncertainty of what day it is today. They would adjust the reference by saying ‘I meant tomorrow’ if they then realised what day it was or they were reminded of it and it included the time of utterance. Under these circumstances, the hearers would understand and accept it and understand it without question.

Beyond the boundaries of a time span, the notion of ‘nearness’ is somewhat different. For instance, the seven-day distance can be considered ‘near’ provided the intended time point and the time of utterance are in the same week, whereas a distance of even two days would become not ‘near’ if they were separated in two different time spans. It is evident that Vietnamese speakers tend to use descriptive expressions, for instance, *thứ Ba tuần tới* ‘next Tuesday’ (lit. ‘Tuesday-week-come’) or *thứ Ba tuần sau* ‘next Tuesday’ (lit. ‘Tuesday-week-behind’), to indicate a calendric unit which is at least two units of time distant from the encoding time which is included in the preceding time span. As shown in example (84), *thứ Ba tuần tới* ‘next Tuesday’ is indicated in relation to the Saturday of the preceding week – the day the announcement was issued.

(84) [The encoding time is on Saturday, 10 December 2011.]

<i>Thứ ba</i>	<i>tuần</i>	<i>tới,</i>	<i>các</i>	<i>nhà</i>	<i>khoa học</i>	<i>dự kiến</i>	<i>sẽ...</i>
Tuesday	week	come	PL	CL	science	plan	ASP
‘Next Tuesday, the scientists are going to...’							

(Trang Nguyễn, 2011)

Although *tuần tới* ‘next week’ in *thứ Ba tuần tới* in (84) can be replaced by *này* (i.e. *thứ Ba này* ‘this Tuesday’), this is not a popular usage, as demonstrated in the range of the study’s examples. In most situations, *này* is employed to refer to a time point which is within two units of time away from the time of utterance. This is illustrated in examples (85)-(86).

(85) [The encoding time is on Saturday, 25 June 2011.]

Thứ Hai (27/6) *này*, một tiểu hành tinh sẽ...
 Monday 27/6 DEM.PROX a/one small planet ASP
 ‘Monday *này*, a small planet is going to...’

(Mèo Ú, 2011)

(86) [The encoding time is on Sunday, 24 February 2013.]

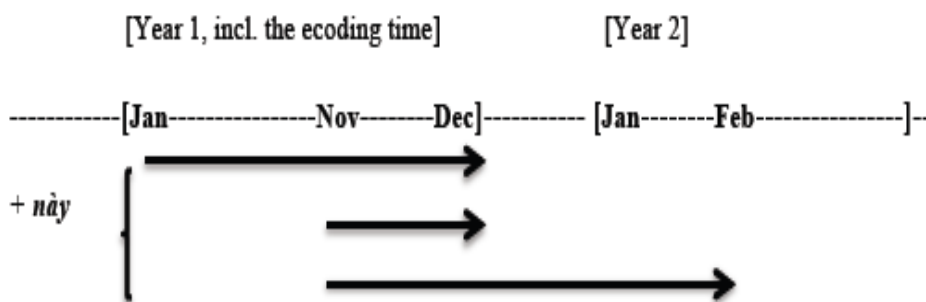
[H]ọ chỉ nhắm đến trận đánh lớn vào ngày *thứ Ba này*.
 3PL only focus PREP.to CL fight big PREP.in day Tuesday DEM.PROX
 ‘They only concerns about a big match which will be taking place on Tuesday *này*.’

(Khang Chi, 2013)

A similar use of *này* can be found in reference to months of the year.

Figure 5 is a summary of the analysis above that shows the temporal nearness expressed by a *này*-point adverbial within or beyond a time frame. Within a time frame, *này* can be used to indicate any unit of time that precedes the reference time. If the intended time is beyond the time frame that the reference time included, the use of *này* is limited to a certain distance between them, which is normally maximum of two units (or two time points). Here I use the months of the year to illustrate the point, as schematised in Figure 5. Within a year, *này* can refer to any month (time point) that follows the month of the reference time, from February (Feb) to December (Dec) if the reference time is in January (Jan). If the intended time point belongs to the following year, it is natural that only January and February (Year 2) can be referred to by *này* from the reference time positioned in November (Nov) and December (Dec) respectively of the preceding year (Year 1). More distant months to the right are expressed by descriptive expressions like *tháng Ba sang năm* ‘March next year’ (lit. ‘month-three-across-year’). The arrows in Figure 5 show the maximum of nearness between time points that *này* can denote.

Figure 5. Reference of *này*-point adverbials



The third type of composition involves a combination of *này* and indefinite temporal periods as well as future-indicated lexical terms. In Vietnamese, lexical items expressing indefinite temporal periods include different terms such as *dạo* ‘period’, *lúc* ‘moment’, *hồi* ‘period’, etc., while there are only two future-indicated lexical terms, *mai* ‘tomorrow’ and *sau* ‘back/behind’, which can combine with *này*. The reason why I combine the two groups of indefinite and future-indicated lexical terms into one type of composition is that they are complementary to each other in terms of indicating a time span which is adjacent to the present time span expressed by *này* in two directions. In particular, an adverbial formed by a term indicating an indefinite temporal period and the demonstrative *này* refers to a time span which starts at some point before the encoding time. *Này* in this case is used to set an implicit boundary to the right of the intended time span. On the other hand, the future-indicated lexical terms indicate a time span after the present time span in their lexical content. This is illustrated in examples (78) and (79), reproduced as follows:

- (87) *Dạo này* *tôi* *thấy* *Thùy Châu* *khác* *quá* *rồi*.
 period DEM.PROX 1SG see Thuy Chau different very already
 ‘I feel that Thuy Chau has become different period of time *này* (- recently).’

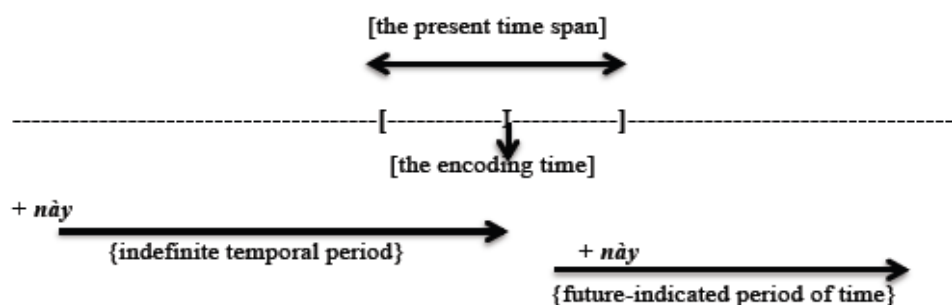
(Võ, 1993)

- (88) *Mai này* *ai* *nhớ* *tết* *mùng 5?*
 tomorrow DEM.PROX who remember festival order five
 ‘Who will remember the festival Fifth *mai này* (-in the future)?’

(T. L. Nguyễn, 2012)

The above description about the reference of the third type of *này*-temporal adverbials can be schematised in Figure 6. As can be seen, there are three types of time structures indicated by the third type of *này*-temporal adverbials: the time span which includes the time of utterance, and the time span to the left as well as to the right of the encoding time.

Figure 6. Reference of *này*-temporal adverbials to indicate the immediate past and future



It can be seen that in temporal references, *này* plays a role in indicating the temporal proximity as an extension of its spatial meaning. The temporal elements that *này* points to can be a time point proximally located after the time of utterance, or a time span which is adjacent to the present time span in two directions, depending on the temporal noun with which *này* is combined. The focus on the deictic time in the temporal meaning of *này* distinguishes it from another proximal demonstrative, *đây*, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.3.2 *Đây*

Like *này*, the temporal use of the demonstrative *đây* is associated with the present time period. However, as mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, these terms are differentiated from each other in terms of syntactic functions. In particular, *đây* serves in two syntactic environments, adverbially and pronominally, whereas *này* only serves in the adnominal environment. The difference in syntax is reflected in the various types of temporal elements to which each term can be applied. For example, *đây* can follow some adjectives like *mới* ‘just’ (lit. ‘new’) or *gần* ‘near’ to denote a time event happens not so long before the time of speaking, whereas it is impossible for *này* to appear in such a combination; conversely *đây* cannot combine with some temporal nouns indicating time points or time intervals as *này* does (§3.3.1). This leads to some distinct characteristics between *đây* and *này* in their temporal function. In this section I propose that while *này* mainly defines the deictic time (§3.3.1), *đây* occurs in a temporal adverbial expression to mark the observer. According to Boroditsky (2000: 3), “our experience dictates that time is a phenomenon in which we, the observer, experience continuous unidirectional change that may be marked by appearance or disappearance of objects and events”.

In the syntactic structure of an adverbial, the temporal demonstrative *đây* is semantically related to the present time period which either coincides with or slightly extends beyond the time of utterance. For instance, *đây* in the utterance *Tôi đi đây* ‘I’m going *đây*’ can be interpreted as *now* (soon after the time of speaking) or *here* (not ‘here’ but somewhere near *here*). This popular example in the literature best demonstrates that adverbially, *đây* is used in the integrated sense of ‘*now is here*’. In the spatial meaning, *đây* denotes the location of the speaker in the speech situation. In the scope of time, *đây* denotes the position of the observer in the time-line; and from this reference point, both the past event and the future event can be observed.

Temporal adverbials consisting of *đây* and some lexical terms indicate proximity in both past and future directions. To express a very short interval before the time of utterance, *đây* occurs with some adjectives indicating nearness such as *gần* ‘near’ or *mới* ‘just’ (lit. ‘new’). *Mới đây* in (89), for instance, means ‘not long ago’ (lit. ‘new-here’).

- (89) Quán ấy trước chỉ bán thuốc, bán nước...
 store DEM.DIST before only sell cigarette sell water
 Mới đây đổi sang quán ăn.
 new DEM.PROX change across store food
 ‘That store used to sell cigarettes, drinks... Recently *đây* (it) has changed into food-store.’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

It is important to note that the descriptive part in such combinations can be extended to the left side of the temporal expression to denote more elaborated proximity, while *đây* gives a maximal frame to the right side. Example (90) shows that the temporal distance denoted by *mới đây* can become more elaborated with the addition of *vừa* ‘just’ and *lúc này* ‘a short time before the encoding time’ to the left of the expression, *vừa mới lúc này đây* ‘just a moment ago’ (‘lit. recent-new-moment-short time ago-here’).

- (90) Nhưng vừa mới lúc này đây,
 but recent new moment short time ago DEM.PROX
 họ đến bảo không bán thóc nữa.
 3PL come say NEG sell rice more
 ‘But just a moment ago *đây*, they came to say that they wouldn’t sell rice any more.’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

Or *đây* can simply combine with temporal expressions denoting ‘past time’ such as *năm ngoái* ‘last year’, as illustrated in example (91).

- (91) Năm ngoái đây, bữa ăn miễn phí chỉ có bát canh...
 last year DEM.PROX CL eat free only have bowl soup
 ‘Last year *đây*, the free meal only comprised a bowl of soup...’

(Trà Sơn, 2011a)

In terms of indicating the ‘near’ future, on the other hand, *đây* can combine with *ngay* ‘immediate’ as in *Tôi đi ngay đây* ‘I’m going right now’ to express a very short interval after the time of utterance. In this combination, the term *ngay* narrows down the extension of time expressed by *đây*, i.e. *ngay đây* means ‘right after the speaking time without any delay’. Moreover, *đây* can combine with the verb *tới* ‘to come’ in *tới đây* (lit. ‘come-here’) or the verb phrase *sắp tới* (lit. ‘soon-come’) in *sắp tới đây* to indicate ‘the coming time’ or ‘the soon-coming time’, respectively.

Similar to the structures of *đây*-temporal adverbials indicating the ‘near’ past, the expressions *tới đây* and *sắp tới đây* can be extended to the left to elaborate the sense of how soon the coming time is. The structures used for elaboration of the ‘near’ future may include: (i) name of a calendric

unit + (sắp) tới + đây (e.g. *thứ Hai (sắp) tới đây* ‘next Monday’, lit. ‘Monday-(soon)-come-here’) and (ii) NUM + temporal noun + (sắp) tới + đây (e.g. *ba tháng (sắp) tới đây* ‘the three coming months’, lit. ‘three-month-(soon) come-here’). For example:

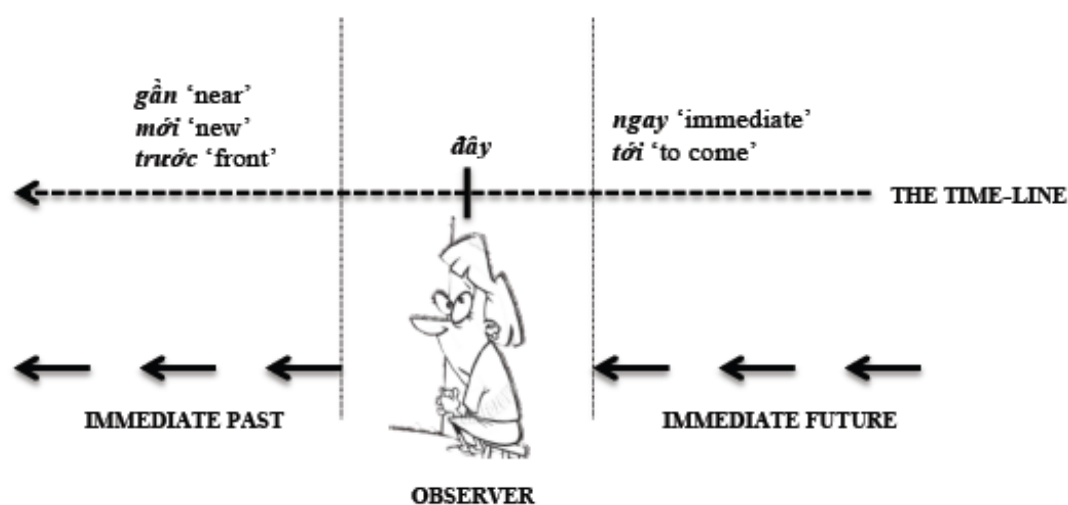
- (92) Nhung hai năm tới đây sẽ còn khó khăn hơn.
 but two year come DEM.PROX ASP remain difficult more
 ‘But in two years *đây*, (the situation of the Europe’s economy) will be worse.’

(Hồng Quang, 2013)

The above examples illustrate that *đây* can combine with a temporal noun phrase whose intrinsic meaning already contains the reference point (e.g. the meanings of *năm ngoái* ‘last year’ and *hai năm tới* ‘the two coming years’ contain the deictic time *năm nay* ‘this year’, the time from which the two time events are indicated). In other words, the intended time of *đây* is itself deictic. In these cases, *đây* can therefore be omitted without affecting the deictic meaning of the entire temporal expression. For instance, *năm ngoái* ‘last year’ and *hai năm tới* ‘the two coming years’ can be used in (91) and (92) instead of *năm ngoái đây* and *hai năm tới đây*, respectively. This implies that *đây* in such *đây*-temporal adverbials is used to mainly dictate a separate point of view from where the speaker can observe (rather than indicate) a time event. This is probably the reason why *đây*-temporal adverbials are normally used to talk about time events experienced in the immediate past or future plans in the foreseen future. Thus, with *đây*, the temporal nearness between the observer and the intended time is specifically emphasised.

Moreover, with *đây*, the intended time event is viewed as a continuous event in the time-moving manner. When saying, for instance, *hai năm tới đây* ‘the two coming years’ (lit. two-year-come-here’) as in (92), the intended time is metaphorically described as an object moving towards the imaginary observer. Further to this way of representing the passage of time, another important example which should be included is the temporal adverbial *trước đây*. *Trước* ‘front/ahead’ (§3.2) combines with the demonstrative *đây* to denote a time span which is located in front of the experiencer of ‘now’. These examples provide evidence for the Moving Time metaphor in Vietnamese, that is, time is moving towards the observer (e.g. *tới đây* ‘the coming time’, lit. ‘come-here’) and a past event is located ‘in front of the observer’ (e.g. *trước đây* ‘past time’, lit. ‘front-here’). This analysis is schematised in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Temporal reference of *đây*



As previously discussed, in all structures utilising *đây*-temporal adverbials, *đây* designates the observer observing time as a moving object within her vicinity (i.e. temporal proximity). Depending on the elements that *đây* combines with, the time span in either direction (past or future) can be described in relation to the observer’s location in the time-line through the metaphor of time as a moving object. In this use, the imaginary observer expressed by *đây* faces the past and experiences time events flowing from the future to the past. The structures of *đây*-temporal adverbials are summarised in Table 18.

Table 18. Structure and meaning of *đây*-temporal adverbials

<i>Đây</i> -temporal adverbials	Meaning
<i>đây</i>	‘the present time period’ ‘soon after the speaking time’
ADs of “nearness to the left” + <i>đây</i>	‘not long before the present time’
ADs of “nearness to the right” + <i>đây</i>	‘not long after the present time’
Verb (<i>tới</i> ‘to come’) + <i>đây</i>	‘the coming time’
Name of a calendric unit + (<i>sắp</i>) <i>tới</i> + <i>đây</i> ”	
“NUM + temporal noun + (<i>sắp</i>) <i>tới</i> + <i>đây</i> ”	
PREP (<i>trước</i> ‘front’) + <i>đây</i>	‘past time’

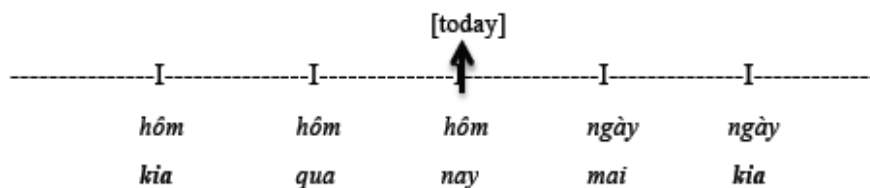
3.3.3 *Kia*

Spatially, the distal demonstrative *kia* conveys distance of entities at different levels of farness in relation to the speaker’s location (§2.3.3). This basically spatial deictic concept is metaphorically

transferred to the scope of time. From the centre-periphery indicated by *này* and *đây*, the term *kia* is adnominally used to locate further extending events towards either of two directions relative to the observer's speaking time, i.e. past and future, such as *hôm kia* 'the day before yesterday' and *ngày kia* 'the day after tomorrow'.

Here, I shall start with the use of *kia* in a set of deictic day-names as one of the special representations of *kia* in its temporal function. As shown in Figure 8, *kia* symmetrically represents two day units before and after *hôm nay* 'today', called *hôm kia* and *ngày kia*. According to P. P. Nguyễn (2002: 127), the element *hôm* (in *hôm nay* 'today', *hôm qua* 'yesterday' and *hôm kia* 'the day before yesterday') means 'afternoon, evening-darkness' in contrast with *ngày* (in *ngày mai* 'tomorrow', *ngày kia* 'the day after tomorrow') which means 'morning-daylight'. From a Vietnamese cultural perspective, darkness symbolises past and daylight symbolises future; thus, the contrast between *hôm/ngày* implies the contrast between past/future (cf. Đỗ, 2003). When *ngày* appears in combination with the expression *hôm qua/hôm kia*, as such, *ngày hôm qua/ngày hôm kia*, it is used in the sense of 'day' to denote 'a specific day-in the past'.

Figure 8. Set of deictically anchored day names



Moreover, *kia* can also combine with a neutral term in the sense of not specifically representing past or future. This is the case of the lexical term *năm kia* indicating 'the year before last year'. At this subdivision, the representation of *kia* is asymmetrical and only refers to a past time (as *kia* is not utilised in forming the term which denotes 'the year after next year'). These three terms *hôm kia* 'the day before yesterday', *ngày kia* 'the day after tomorrow' and *năm kia* 'the year before last year' appear as collocations. The co-occurrence of the temporal nouns *ngày/hôm* 'day', *năm* 'year' and the temporal demonstrative *kia* is available to speakers as ready-made lexical terms and their meanings are to be learned and used as chunks in the lexicon of Vietnamese (P. Hoàng, 1997: 445, 638, 648).

To indicate a further past or a future time event, *kia* combines with other temporal nouns whose meaning indicates past or future time. The preposition *trước* 'front' and the demonstrative *kia* form a temporal expression, *trước kia*, denoting a time event happening some time before the present time period. But how far it is from the time of speaking to the intended time event is indefinite and varied in different contexts. For example, *trước kia* in (93) denotes anytime within

the period of one year of the speaker's relationship but not too close to the time of speaking. In (94), the speaker compares Hanoi culture five years after it has been extended to the north with the culture before the extension. The expression *trước kia* in this example indicates the time five years before the time of speaking in 2013 (i.e. *trước kia* means anytime between the year King Ly Thai To moved the capital from Hoa Lu to Thang Long in 1010 and the year Hanoi was extended to north in 2008).

- (93) Em yêu một cô gái... được một
 younger-sibling love a/one CL girl obtain one
 năm rồi. *Trước kia* em yêu
 year already front DEM.DIST younger-sibling love
 cô ấy rất thật lòng... Nhưng bây giờ...
 3SG very real heart but now
 'I've been in love with this girl... for a year already. Before *kia* I indeed loved her... But now...'

(Bồ Câu, 2013)

- (94) *Trước kia*, văn hóa Hà Nội là văn hóa Thăng Long
 front DEM.DIST culture Hanoi COP culture Thang Long
 'Before *kia*, Hanoi culture was (featured as) Thang Long culture.'

(Lê Quân, 2013)

When *kia* combines with the nouns *xưa* 'ancient time' and *thuở* 'an indefinite period of time', the expressions *xưa kia* and *thuở kia* denote a 'very long time before the present time period'. The unlimited farness in their lexical content makes these terms popular in setting the temporal background for fairy tales (§5.2).

In indicating a future time period, on the other hand, *kia* serves in *kia*-temporal adverbials such as *một ngày kia* 'one day in the future', *mai kia* 'sometime in the future'. *Mai kia* indicates a future period of time while *một ngày kia* denotes a random day in the future. The numeral *một* 'one' makes the composition *một ngày kia* indefinite, opposite to the definite meaning of *ngày kia*, i.e. 'the day after tomorrow'. This is illustrated in examples (95)-(96).

- (95) Các con tôi đều chưa đến tuổi biết đọc
 PL child 1SG all NEG_{PERF} come age know read
 nhưng *một ngày kia*, blog của tôi sẽ là...
 but one day DEM.DIST blog PREP.of 1SG ASP COP
 'My children cannot read yet, but *một ngày kia* (-one day in the future) my blog will be...'

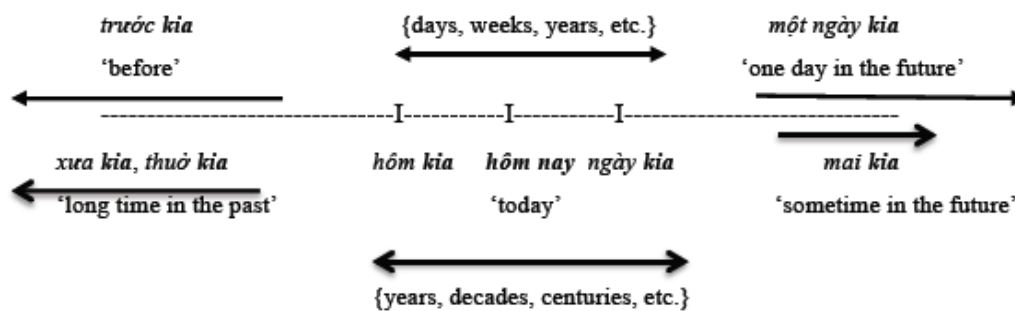
(Huệ Bình, 2010)

- (96) Hôm nay học toán thì mai học hóa
 today study math TOP tomorrow study chemistry
 và ngày kia sẽ học môn lý.
 and day DEM.DIST ASP study CL physics
 ‘(If) today (he) self-studies math, (he’ll) do chemistry tomorrow and physics on ngày kia
 (the day after tomorrow).’

(Trần Hằng, 2013)

It is obvious that *một ngày kia* used in example (95) refers to some time in the future (i.e. when the speaker’s children can read and understand her blog) in relation to the time of speaking when they still cannot read yet. It can be a few years or more away from the time of speaking. This is different to *ngày kia* in (96) as this term always indicates a definite temporal distance, i.e. two days away from today.

Figure 9. Temporal reference of *kia*-temporal adverbials



Compared to the deictic day-name system mentioned previously, *kia*-temporal adverbials such as *trước kia* ‘time before the time of speaking’, *thuở kia/xưa kia* ‘a very long time before the time of speaking’ and *mai kia* ‘a future period of time’, and *một ngày kia* ‘one day in the future’, etc., have no boundaries in their lexical content. As illustrated in Figure 9, *kia* indicates the past time period and the future time period in a relative way. The intended time span can be any time in either direction provided there is a certain temporal distance in relation to the present time period. Such distribution of *kia* reflects that the spatial characteristic of *kia* in terms of denoting different degrees of distance contrasts is maintained in its temporal function.

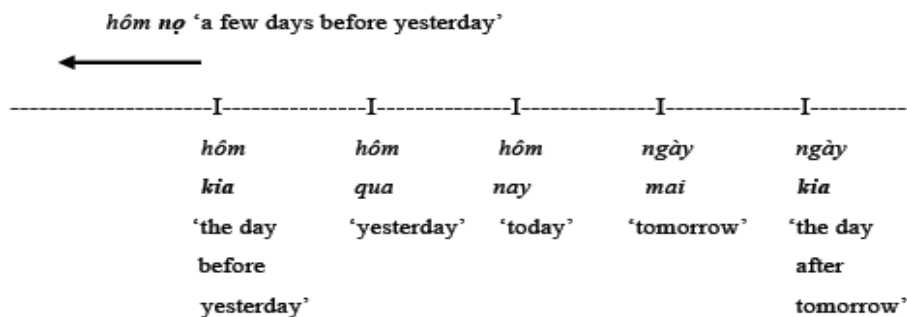
3.3.4 *Nợ*

In contemporary Vietnamese, *nợ* is not spatially used to indicate the physical distance between an object and the speaker in the way that *đấy/đó, ấy* or *kia* do (Chapter 2). In particular, *nợ* is not used to refer to a visible object in a physical context. Rather, its referent is absent in the situational context but present in the speaker’s experience. This characteristic implies that *nợ* is synchronically

more restricted to indicating a temporal element in the past (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002). This section aims to illustrate the temporal usage of *nọ* as its most significant function.

One striking characteristic of *nọ* is that its temporal referent is normally an unspecified period of time in the past, either when it combines with a temporal noun indicating a fixed temporal span like *ngày* ‘day’, *tuần* ‘week’, *năm* ‘year’, etc. or an indefinite temporal period of time like *dạo* ‘period’, *thuở* ‘age, period’, etc. The basic temporal unit denoted by *nọ* can be a day or any intervals within a day (e.g. *sáng* ‘morning’, *trưa* ‘noon’, *chiều* ‘afternoon’, *tối* ‘evening’, etc.).

Figure 10. Reference of *nọ* to a day in the past



Unlike *hôm qua* or *hôm kia* whose lexical content involves boundaries as well as a precise distance from the day which includes the time of utterance (i.e. *hôm nay*), the day expressed by *hôm nọ* is unspecified. This means the temporal referent of *nọ* must be a particular day in the past but the distance expressed by *nọ* in relation to *hôm nay* is unspecific. Normally, *hôm nọ* is understood as any day further than *hôm kia* ‘the day before yesterday’ in relation to *hôm nay* ‘today’ (Figure 10). In (97), for instance, *hôm nọ* refers to a certain event time occurring in the common experience of both the speaker and the hearer.

- (97) - *Hôm nọ* Thoa giận tôi lắm phải không?
 day DEM.DIST Thoa angry 1SG very right NEG
 ‘Day *nọ*, Thoa was very angry at me, weren’t you?’

(Kh. Nguyễn, 1959)

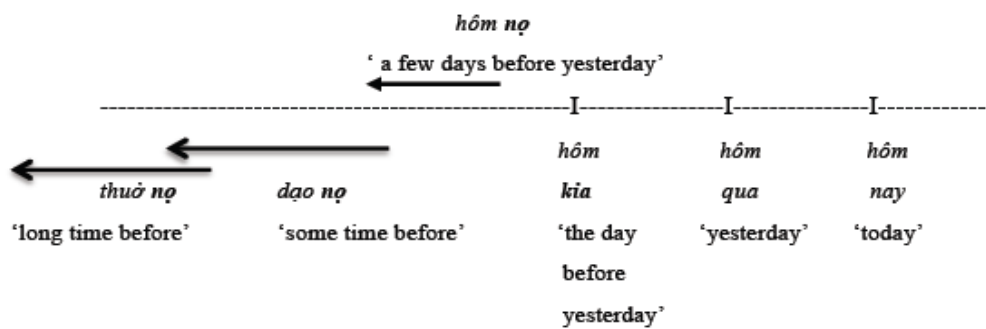
Yet common experience (or shared knowledge) is not necessary for the temporal use of *nọ*. In (98), for instance, a lady tells a story about her son to her friend (the hearer). The information related to the story is totally new to the hearer. However, the hearer is still expected to understand that *hôm nọ* means a few days before the encoding time.

- (98) - *Hôm nọ*, một thằng bạn rủ nó tới câu lạc bộ.
 day DEM.DIST a/one CL.boy friend entice 3SG come club
Hôm nọ, one of his friends enticed him to a club.

(Anh Phương, 2013)

Although the temporal distance from the time of utterance expressed by *nọ* is unspecific, the expression *hôm nọ* should be read as not being so ‘far’ away from the reference point due to the restriction in the lexical content of the preceding noun *hôm*, i.e. the distance is measured by the number of days. Otherwise, *nọ* denotes a very long time further in the past when it combines with temporal nouns indicating a longer time period, such as *năm* ‘year’, *thuở* ‘an indefinite period of time including a number of years or centuries’ or *dạo* ‘an indefinite period of time including a number of days or months’, as illustrated in Figure 11.

Figure 11. Reference of *nọ* to a further past time period



It can be seen that *nọ* is deictically used to merely indicate a past time period from the time of utterance in a situational context. Due to this fact, I suggest that *nọ* is a *past demonstrative* among Vietnamese temporal demonstratives (Table 17).

At this point, it is important to highlight the distinction between the uses of *nọ* and *kia* in terms of indicating a period of past time. We have, for instance, *thuở kia/thuở nọ*, *hôm kia/hôm nọ*⁶, but we cannot say **trước nọ*, **xưa nọ* like *trước kia*, *xưa kia* (§3.3.3). In my view, this relates to the dominant characteristics which govern the use of each demonstrative. *Nọ* itself already designates the sense of past, thus temporal elements in a *nọ*-temporal adverbial are supposedly neutral in terms of indicating temporal contrasts (before/after, past/future). Therefore, once *trước* and *xưa* denote the sense of ‘past’ in their lexical content, a combination with *nọ* is superfluous. On the other hand, the dominant function of *kia* is to indicate temporal distance in both directions. The range of temporal elements combined with *kia* is broader in comparison with *nọ*. It could therefore be

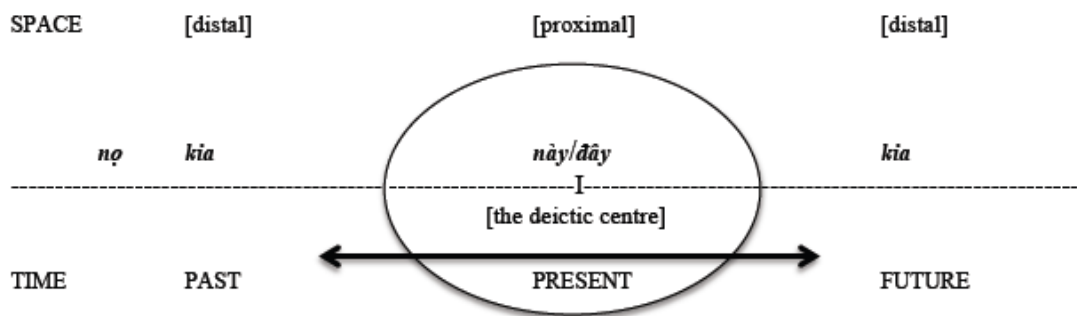
⁶ The temporal element *hôm* in *hôm nọ* is used in the sense of ‘day’ rather than ‘evening-darkness’, thereby allowing other equivalent composition in the language, such as *bữa nọ* and *ngày nọ*. *Bữa* and *ngày* both refer to ‘day’, and are neutral in terms of temporal directions.

inferred that *thuở kia* has a stronger sense of temporal distance from the time of utterance in its meaning while *thuở nọ* emphasises more a past time period.

3.3.5 Concluding remarks

Since time is abstract, it is conceptualised in terms of spatial concepts. The above analysis of the use of the spatial demonstratives *này, đây, kia* and *nọ* in the time domain can be summarised in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Spatial demonstratives to indicate past, present and future



As indicated, the time-line is divided into past, present and future by *này, đây, kia* and *nọ*. The present expressed by the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* can be understood as either a time point (i.e. the deictic centre) or as an extended period of time that includes the encoding time, depending on the situational context. Beyond this domain is the past as represented to the left and the future to the right. It should be noted that in comparison to *nọ* which mainly indicates the past, the distal demonstrative *kia* can refer to both directions of the past and future. It is evident then that the relationship between SPACE and TIME in Vietnamese is not just the metaphoric structuring of ‘distance’, i.e. the present is related to nearness and the past/future to farness. Section 3.4 discusses how SPACE maps onto TIME through the use of the contrastive forms of demonstratives in the language.

3.4 Discussion

As illustrated previously, spatial demonstratives are used in the time domain. As a result of this transfer, spatial distinctions are retained in the temporal use of demonstratives. That is, the past and future are far from the time of speaking while the present is near. In this section, I argue that such metaphoric mapping from space to time is consistent in the two Vietnamese dialects.

3.4.1 Symmetrical space-time mapping

In languages around the world, TIME is typically understood as SPACE (e.g. Boroditsky, 2000; H. H. Clark, 1973). However, there is variation in the way in which the conceptual structure of SPACE is mapped onto the target domain of TIME. The above analysis introduces evidence that Vietnamese demonstratives map not only the NEAR-FAR schema, as in English (e.g. *the far future*), but also symmetrically map nearness and farness in a unidirectional domain – be it the front or back. Furthermore, it maps temporal “distance” from the present, whether in the past or future. Due to the fact that time is one-dimensional unidirectional entity (Boroditsky, 2000), there is no temporal dimension for the sides to map onto. This mapping is illustrated through the set of spatial demonstratives imported to the scope of time. It includes two proximal demonstratives: the adnominal *này* ‘this’ and the adverbial *đây* ‘here’, in contrast with the distal term *kia* ‘that/ there’. All of these terms refer to distance in any direction from the origo. (The demonstrative *nọ* is not counted in this schema due to its lack of the spatial usage).

Proximal demonstratives indicate the spatial nearness in the spatial domain and the present time period around the reference point in the temporal domain. The adnominal *này* is used to refer to a span of time as well as a location including the ego, such as *tuần này* ‘this week’ and *thành phố này* ‘this city’. *Này* can also be used to denote events out of the span, i.e. extending slightly beyond the boundary of immediate future, and objects outside of the anticipated location. For example, *thứ Hai này* ‘this Monday’ indicates the following Monday when the observer is speaking on, say, the Friday of the previous week. Similarly, *trường học này* ‘this school’ is being referred to when the speaker is not necessarily located inside but rather is perhaps approaching the entrance. In the same way, the proximal adverb *đây* is used in the integrated sense of ‘now is here’ to denote the present time period or a location that either coincides with or slightly extends beyond the time of utterance or the speaker’s location (§2.3.1, §3.3.2). For instance, *đây* in the utterance *Tôi đi đây* ‘I’m going *đây*’ can be interpreted as *now* (soon after the speaking time) or *here* (not ‘here’ but somewhere near *here*).

The distal demonstrative *kia* conveys the symmetrical organisation of events or distance of entities at different levels of farness. From the deictic centre indicated by *này* and *đây*, the term *kia* is used to locate events extending further in two directions from the observer’s speaking time, i.e. past and future, such as *hôm kia* ‘the day before yesterday’ and *ngày kia* ‘the day after tomorrow’ or to indicate an entity which is distant in any direction from the speaker’s location, such as *toà nhà kia* ‘that building’ (§2.3.3, §3.3.3).

In Vietnamese, the symmetrical mapping from SPACE to TIME is well represented by the above typical proximal/distal demonstratives. This can be considered as a further way of understanding

the concept of TIME through SPACE by using demonstratives as a main linguistic source of temporal reference in the language.

3.4.2 Temporal demonstratives in the Binh Tri Thien dialect

In the same vein as standard Vietnamese, the Binh Tri Thien dialect has temporal demonstratives imported from its spatial system. Spatially, *ni* and *đây* refers to a proximal object/location and *tê* refers to a distal object. Temporally, these terms are used to denote a time event that precedes, follows or coincides with the time of utterance.

Table 19. Temporal demonstratives in Vietnamese dialects

Syntactic functions	Binh Tri Thien dialect	Standard Vietnamese	Gloss
Adverbial	<i>nay</i>	<i>nay</i>	‘at this time’
	<i>nãy</i>	<i>nãy</i>	‘not long before now’
	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>	‘now’
Adnominal	<i>ni</i>	<i>nay</i>	‘this’
		<i>này</i>	‘this’
	<i>tê</i>	<i>kia</i>	‘that’
	<i>nọ</i>	<i>nọ</i>	‘that’

As shown in Table 19, both the Binh Tri Thien dialect and standard Vietnamese use the same forms of the adverbial temporal demonstratives *đây*, *nãy*, *nay* and the adnominal *nọ* to indicate time. The difference between the two dialects occurs in the group of three adnominal demonstratives *nay*, *này* and *kia*. More specifically, the term *ni* in the Binh Tri Thien dialect is used in an equivalent way to the uses of *nay* and *này* in standard Vietnamese, e.g. *giờ ni* = *giờ này* ‘right now’, *hôm ni* = *hôm nay* ‘today’ and the term *tê* is used instead of *kia* such as *bữa tê* = *hôm kia* ‘the day before yesterday’.

Notable among the temporal terms is the co-existence of the terms *nay* and *ni* indicating the meaning of *nay* in the Binh Tri Thien dialect. The standard form of *nay* remains in the dialect when it is used adverbially, while it is substituted by *ni* when used as an adnominal. This variation can be explained on the basis of the syntactic characteristic of each form. It is noticed that *nay* can be used both adnominally (e.g. *ngày nay* ‘nowadays’) and adverbially (e.g. *nay* ‘now/nowadays’) in standard Vietnamese, whereas in the Binh Tri Thien dialect, *ni* can only be used adnominally (e.g. *bữa ni* ‘today’). This may be the reason why the dialect recruits both terms in its temporal system.

Table 20. The deictic day-name system in the Vietnamese dialects

Binh Tri Thien dialect	Standard dialect	Gloss
<i>bữa tê</i>	<i>hôm kia</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>bữa qua</i>	<i>hôm qua</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>bữa ni</i>	<i>hôm nay</i>	‘today’
<i>(ngày) mai</i>	<i>ngày mai</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>ngày tê/(ngày) mốt</i>	<i>ngày kia</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’

Regarding distal demonstratives, *tê* can denote time in both directions, either the past or future similar to *kia*. Table 20 shows the list of deictic day-names, some of which involve the contrast between *bữa* ‘day’ and *ngày* ‘day’ (in the Binh Tri Thien dialect); and *hôm* ‘day’ and *ngày* ‘day’ (in standard Vietnamese). The day after tomorrow can be referred to as *ngày tê* (or *ngày mốt, mốt*) in the Binh Tri Thien dialect. Consider the following examples:

- (99) *Ngày mai* *ngày tê* *rảnh* *tui* *sẽ...*
 tomorrow day DEM.DIST.(dialect) free 1SG ASP
 ‘*Ngày mai* (-tomorrow) (or) *ngày tê* (-the day after) when (I have) free time, I will...’
 (The Mask, 2008)

- (100) *Trưa* *bữa* *tê* (*hôm* *kia*), *cuộc* *offline* *bất ngờ...*
 noon day DEM.DIST.(dialect) day DEM.DIST CL offline surprising
diễn ra *tại...*
 take place PREP.at
 ‘At noon, *bữa tê* (two days ago), a surprising meeting... took place at...’
 (Nụ Cười, 2011)

The choice of using *ngày tê* ‘the day after tomorrow’ as in example (99) and *bữa tê* ‘the day before yesterday’ as in (100) reflects the same space-time symmetry of the term *tê* in the Binh Tri Thien dialect with the standard dialect use of *kia*. That is, the temporal *tê* can indicate time before or after the time of speaking.

3.5 Summary

In a tenseless system like Vietnamese, demonstratives play an important role in denoting time. They include demonstratives imported from the domain of space like *này*, *đây*, *kia*, and *nọ*. Through using these demonstratives, a time event can be located before, simultaneously or after the time of speaking. In this function, the speaker is generally conceived as the observer from whose location

(i.e. the encoding time in the time-line) time is located as a near or far entity. This feature of reference is derived from the ego-centered characteristic marked in each demonstrative form.

One of significant functions of Vietnamese temporal demonstratives is to denote the temporal distance between the time of speaking and the intended time event. It is obvious that the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are imported to talk only about the present, i.e. near the observer, while in contrast, the distal demonstrative *kia* is used to denote a time event which is further into the past or into the future, i.e. far from the observer. The demonstrative *nọ* can be used instead of *kia* to indicate an indefinite past time. It is evident that in both the Binh Tri Thien and standard dialects, the use of spatial demonstratives in the scope of time reflects symmetrical space-time mapping.

Vietnamese temporal demonstratives normally appear in combination with a large number of time words and expressions, forming a rich tapestry of temporal adverbials in the language. Such a combination helps to elaborate the temporal distance in a more subtle way. Moreover, some compounds between temporal demonstratives and time words like *trước đây* ‘past time’ (lit. ‘front-here’) and *sau này* ‘after this time’ (lit. ‘after-this’) illustrate that to Vietnamese speakers, the past is in front and the future is behind the observer. This reflects the concept of the Moving Time metaphor used to describe time in Vietnamese (§3.2).

Chapter 4 Discourse usage

4.1 Introduction

Discourse, like time, is considered an abstract pragmatic space (Bühler, 1934). In this domain, spatial demonstratives are used as discourse deictics referring to linguistic expressions (words, strings of words, or utterances) in the ongoing discourse. In other words, and according to Bühler (1934), one can use demonstratives to ‘point’ in discourse:

If discourse deictic expressions could speak, they would speak as follows: look ahead and back along the band of the present utterance. There something would be found that actually belongs here, where I am, so that it can be connected with what now follows. Or the other way round: what comes after me belongs there, it was only displaced from that position for relief.

(Bühler, 1934: 390)

The description above is applicable to the use of Vietnamese demonstratives. In discourse, the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *ọ* are used to direct the hearer’s attention to discourse elements by pointing forwards (cataphoric) and backwards (anaphoric). It is also observed that in the discourse domain, Vietnamese demonstratives can combine with other elements to indicate a consequent relationship between the current message and the previous discourse. In such combinations, demonstratives contribute to create an anaphoric link to the preceding proposition or clarify what has preceded.

This chapter is structured to examine all of those functions that demonstratives can perform in discourse. In particular, section 4.2 shows the use of the seven Vietnamese demonstratives in referring to something adjacently introduced either succeedingly (i.e. cataphoric) or precedingly (i.e. anaphoric) in the surrounding discourse. Section 4.3 focuses on the discourse functions that involve the demonstratives under investigation.

4.2 Anaphora

I adopt the traditional term *anaphora* in referring to two ways of ‘pointing’ that Vietnamese demonstratives can perform in discourse. When a demonstrative ‘points’ to a discourse element located in the succeeding discourse, it functions as a cataphor, or as an anaphor when the demonstrative points in a reverse order. The distinction between the anaphoric and cataphoric references mainly lies in whether the intended discourse referent is located before or after the location of the deictic word in the discourse domain. In that regard, cataphora and anaphora can be

alternatively called ‘anticipatory anaphora’ and ‘retrospective anaphora’, as suggested by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1453).

4.2.1 Cataphoric demonstratives

In an English-based study, Halliday and Hassan (1976: 56) describe cataphoric demonstratives as being “genuinely cohesive” in the way of pointing forwards to succeeding elements in discourse “to which they are in no way structurally related”. One significant characteristic of the cataphoric use is that it is generally restricted to one demonstrative that is usually a proximal term. In English, for instance, only the demonstrative *this* is specified in cataphoric usage, as in “Listen to *this*: John will move to Hawaii” (Diessel, 1999a: 102).

The cataphoric function in Vietnamese is no different. Like English, Vietnamese uses the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* in referring forwards. The choice between *này* and *đây* in this function is determined by their syntactic features. For example, in (101), *đây* appears after the verb *nghe* ‘listen’ in order to direct the hearer to pay attention to the immediate succeeding proposition.

- (101) - Nghe *đây*: Tại sao các người yêu nhau
listen DEM.PROX why PL person love together
mà dấu tôi?
CONJ conceal 1SG
‘Listen to *đây*: Why did you conceal from me that you love each other?’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

Example (102) includes the cataphoric use of *này* preceded by the noun phrase *cảnh tượng* ‘scene’. In this adnominal position, *này* instructs the hearer’s attention to the subsequent discourse whose content is clarification for the noun phrase *cảnh tượng* ‘scene’.

- (102) Những ai có dịp xuyên Việt sau mỗi mùa mưa bão
PL who have chance cross Vietnam after every season rain storm
sẽ thấy cảnh tượng *này* ở dải đất miền Trung...:
ASP see scene DEM.PROX PREP.at stretch land region Central
mặt đường chằng chịt ổ trâu, ổ voi;
surface road interlacing hole buffalo hole elephant
nhiều móng cầu bày cả cốt thép ra ngoài.
many abutment bridge display all frame steel out outside
‘Anyone who has a chance to travel through the country of Vietnam after a storm season would notice scene *này* in Central Vietnam...: roads’ surfaces are filled with interlacing pot-holes; many abutments of bridges display their steel frames.’

(Trà Sơn, 2011b)

As determined by the tracking function of a cataphoric demonstrative, the occurrence of the cataphoric demonstratives *này* and *đây* is like an informing signal for the subsequent appearance of the referent. In fact, the speaker must supply the item signaled by a cataphoric demonstrative within a certain amount of time. Otherwise, as Ehlich (1982: 335) points out, the delay in providing the referent of a cataphoric device can be considered “as misuse of an anaphor of the first level”, i.e. referring backwards without providing the previous common focus. This is probably the reason why in most cases there is little textual distance between the cataphoric demonstrative and its referent. The referent tends to be provided immediately after the occurrence of the demonstratives, as in example (103).

(103) - Em dẫn bác điều *này*:...
 younger-sibling remind uncle thing DEM.PROX
 ‘I want to remind you thing *này*:...’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

Cataphoric demonstratives indicate textual nearness. In all cases, the intended linguistic referent of *này* and *đây* is located close to where both of these terms occur. As Chen (1990: 140) proposes, “when a deictic is used cataphorically, its referent automatically comes into discourse that follows”, and the added information “is immediately focused and put on the discourse counter right before the speaker and the hearer”. Since the discourse domain is an abstract space and consequently, the speaker can point to a linguistic referent on the basis of spatial concepts, the textual nearness in the discourse domain is metaphorically understood through the concept of physical nearness in the space domain. This explains why none of the distal demonstratives such as *that* (*those*) in English or *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* in Vietnamese is appropriate in this function.

4.2.2 Anaphoric demonstratives

In Vietnamese, while only the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* can be used cataphorically, it is significant that all the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* are compatible with the anaphoric function. In fact, they are one of the most common cohesive devices in Vietnamese discourse (Diệp, 1999, 2009; C. H. Nguyễn, 2006; Trần, 1985).

In the anaphoric function, *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* are normally used after the first mention of a new discourse referent, in the manner of referring back either to the same one mentioned as their antecedent or to propositions expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph or a whole discourse. Consider the following example:

- (104) a. Một đại gia... đấu trúng bức tranh của một ca sĩ...
 a/one rich person bid successful painting PREP.of a/one singer
 ‘A wealthy man... successfully bid for a painting owned by a singer...’
- b. Người này... yêu cầu... chuyển bức tranh ấy...
 person DEM.PROX request send CL painting DEM.DIST
 ‘Person *này* requested (the organiser) to send painting *ấy* (to him).’
- c. Phía ban tổ chức ... chuyển đi.
 side CL organisation send go
 ‘The organiser sent (it) off.’
- d. Vị đại gia kia... nhận tranh...
 CL rich person DEM.DIST receive painting
 ‘Wealthy man *kia* received the painting...’

(Đình Phú, 2010)

Example (104) shows a piece of news related to *một đại gia* ‘a rich person’ and *bức tranh* ‘a painting’. The two participants are mentioned for the first time in (104a) and continue to be discussed in the subsequent discourse. When the rich person and the painting are mentioned for the second time in (104b), they are marked by the anaphoric demonstratives *này* and *ấy*. In particular, *này* is used to refer to the rich person as in *vị đại gia này* ‘this rich person’ and *ấy* is used for the painting as in *bức tranh ấy* ‘that painting’. In (104d), the rich person is mentioned for the third time, when the demonstrative *kia* is employed instead, as in *vị đại gia kia* ‘that rich person’.

Similar to the demonstratives *này*, *ấy* and *kia* in the previous examples, the adnominal *nọ* in (105b) indicates a referent that was mentioned for the first time in the preceding sentence (105a) by an indefinite noun phrase *một vị giáo sư tâm lý* ‘a psychological professor’. This example includes the anaphoric demonstrative *nọ* coreferential with the noun phrase *vị giáo sư tâm lý* ‘psychological professor’ for the second mention.

- (105) a. [H]ấn được cho làm trợ giảng cho một vị giáo sư tâm lý...
 3SG obtain give do assistant PREP a/one CL professor psychology
 ‘[H]e was offered a job as a teaching assistant to a professor of psychology...’
- b. Hắn không biết vị giáo sư nọ dùng hắn để...
 3SG NEG know CL professor DEM.DIST use 3SG PREP.to
 ‘He did not realise that professor *nọ* was employing him for...’

(Tạ, 2002a)

Those demonstratives can be also used to refer back to propositions represented by any linguistic units of the previous sentence. For example:

- (106) Keng phải may một bộ cánh. Việc này không thể
 Keng must tailor a/one set clothes CL DEM.PROX impossible
 cho bố biết được.
 give father know obtain
 ‘Keng must have a suit tailored. Plan này cannot be known by dad.’

(K. Nguyễn, 1963)

In example (106), the classifier *việc*, which can be glossed as ‘plan, matter, etc.’, is a general noun defining the proposition expressed in the preceding discourse, i.e. *Keng phải may một bộ cánh* ‘Keng must have a suit tailored’. The use of *này* in the anaphoric expression *việc này* ‘this plan’ orients the hearer to a backward reference, so that he can find clarification of *việc* in the previous discourse. The adnominal *này* in this example can be syntactically replaced by either *ấy* or *đấy/đó*, although this may cause a change in meaning of each replacement (§4.2.3).

It is important to note that Vietnamese demonstratives are especially preferred in the anaphoric function. The reason for this may be rooted in the properties of the language. As indicated by Himmelmann (1996), the lack of a definite article in a language can benefit in the more common use of anaphoric demonstratives. Although Vietnamese does not have a definite article, the paradigm of third personal pronouns in the language is partially constructed by demonstratives in combination with a noun or kinship term (§2.6.3), which sometimes results in the overlapping between an anaphor and a third person pronoun. In comparison to other languages that have other tracking devices such as person pronouns, definite articles, zero anaphors, and pronominal affixes on verbs to cooperate with anaphoric demonstratives (Diessel, 1999a: 96), Vietnamese obviously has fewer alternatives for the anaphoric function. This may explain why Vietnamese anaphoric demonstratives can be used in subsequent mentions where in other languages a definite article and a third person pronoun may occur, as suggested in Table 21.

Table 21. The use of anaphoric demonstratives after first mention (Diessel, 1999a: 98)

• 1 st mention	• 2 nd mention	• subsequent mentions
• (indefinite) NP	• anaphoric DEM	• 3.PRO, definite ART etc
• new referent	• referent established as topic	• (topical) referent continued

Once a new referent is introduced into the discourse, it can be subsequently indicated by any of the seven Vietnamese demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *no*, regardless of their syntactic characteristics. The following examples show that the distal demonstratives *đấy* and *đó* can not only to be co-referential with a noun or noun phrase as explained in the case of example (106), but also function as independent pronouns as follows:

- (107) Đoàn du lịch sẽ đến Hội An vào trưa mai. Đoàn
 group travel ASP come Hoi An PREP.in noon tomorrow group
 sẽ ở lại *đấy* một ngày đêm.
 ASP stay back DEM.DIST one day night
 ‘The travel group will be arriving in Hoi An at lunch time tomorrow. The group will stay *đấy* for one day and one night.’

(Diệp, 2009: 379)

- (108) a. Bên trong cổng vào làng là một ngôi nhà ngói to
 side PREP.in gate enter village COP a/one CL house tile big
 có sân rộng.
 have yard large
 ‘Behind the village entrance gate is a big tiled house with a large yard.’
 b. *Đó* là đình làng...
 DEM.DIST COP communal house
 ‘*Đó* is the communal house.’

(Diệp, 2009: 370)

Example (107) shows the use of *đấy* in referring to the proper noun *Hội An* whose first mention is represented in the initial sentence. In example (108), after *một ngôi nhà ngói to có sân rộng* ‘a big tiled house with a large yard’ is introduced for the first time in (108a), the pronominal *đó* is used when the referent is mentioned for the second time in the subsequent discourse. In both contexts, *đấy* and *đó* are interchangeable. Alternatively, these terms can be easily used adnominally, if (108) is rephrased as in (109), for example.

- (109) a. Bên trong cổng vào làng là một ngôi nhà ngói to
 side PREP.in gate enter village COP a/one CL house tile big
 có sân rộng.
 have yard large
 ‘Behind the village entrance gate is a big tiled house with a large yard.’
 b. *Ngôi nhà đấy/đó* là đình làng...
 CL house DEM.DIST COP communal house
 ‘House *đấy/đó* is the communal house.’

The last anaphoric demonstrative that needs to be mentioned is the pronominal *đây*. In example (110), a new referent *tổ chức NOW* ‘organisation NOW’ is established for the first time in (110a). It is then referred to again by the pronominal *đây* in (110b) as a thematically prominent referent.

- (110) a. Tổ chức NOW do tỉ phú người Thụy Sĩ... sáng lập...
 organisation NOW PREP.by billionaire person Sweden invent
 xuất phát từ...
 originate from
 ‘The NOW organisation established by a Swedish billionaire... originates from...’
- b. *Đây* hoàn toàn là một tổ chức tư nhân...
 DEM.PROX totally COP a/one organisation private
 ‘*Đây* is a totally private organisation...’

(N. Trần Tâm, 2010)

Đây in example (110) can be interpreted in two ways: it refers back to the proposition, which is entirely about the organisation, expressed by the whole sentence in (110a) or to the noun phrase *tổ chức NOW* ‘NOW organisation’ as a topical noun phrase at the beginning of the first sentence. The second interpretation is possible because example (110) can be rephrased as in (111), in which *tổ chức này* ‘this organisation’ is used in the position where *đây* is located in (110) without causing any difference in meaning. However, unlike *đây/đó*, whose syntactic functions are both pronominal and adnominal, *đây* can only be used pronominally or be replaced by the use of the adnominal *này* with a noun or noun phrase.

- (111) a. Tổ chức NOW do tỉ phú người Thụy Sĩ... sáng lập...
 organisation NOW PREP.by billionaire person Sweden invent
 xuất phát từ...
 originate from
 ‘The NOW organisation established by a Swedish billionaire... originates from...’
- b. *Tổ chức này* hoàn toàn là một tổ chức tư nhân...
 organisation DEM.PROX totally COP a/one organisation private
 ‘Organisation *này* is a totally private organisation...’

In other contexts, the pronominal *đây* can be used to refer to ‘aspects of meaning’ expressed by a phrase. For example, the anaphoric demonstrative *đây* in (112b) refers back to what is expressed through the verb phrase *ăn nói xỏ xiên* ‘say provocatively’ (lit. ‘eat-say-provocative’) in the initial sentence (112a). The action of *ăn nói xỏ xiên* in (112a) is understood as a characteristic in (112b), i.e. the verb phrase is assumably nominalised when it is referred to by *đây*.

- (112) a. Địa chủ Đại không được ăn nói xỏ xiên!
 landowner Dai NEG obtain eat say provocative
 ‘Landowner Dai should not behave provocatively.’
- b. Đây chính là bản chất ngoan cố của giai cấp
 DEM.PROX EMP COP nature stubborn PREP.of class
 bóc lột.
 exploitation
 ‘Đây is the typical nature of the exploitative class!’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

Diessel (1999a: 95-101) distinguishes between the *anaphoric use (tracking use)* in which a demonstrative is “co-referential with a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse” and the *discourse deictic use* in which a demonstrative refers back to “aspects of meaning” expressed by a discourse segment (cf. Fillmore, 1997; Himmelmann, 1996; Lyons, 1977). Regarding their pragmatic function, Diessel (1999a: 102) states that tracking demonstratives indicate the main topic of the subsequent discourse so that the hearer can keep track of a referent, whereas discourse deictic demonstratives create a link between two propositions.

The uses of the anaphoric demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* do not totally fit into these distinctions. In example (110) for instance, the pronominal *đây* can be used to refer to a prior noun/noun phrase or a proposition for the tracking purpose, and yet the term does not necessarily provide a link between discourse units. In section 4.3, I will illustrate that some Vietnamese demonstratives are routinely used in connective structures (e.g. DEM + COP or DEM + other connective element) to link two discourse units as well as to signal the relationship between two propositions, while arguing that those terms are not anaphoric demonstratives.

In the context of Vietnamese demonstratives, the *discourse deictic use* proposed by Diessel (1999a) is more likely an overlapping phenomenon between the anaphoric function and the connective function in which Vietnamese demonstratives may have the semantic function of an anaphoric device while having the pragmatic function of a sentence connective. To avoid ambiguity, I am distinguishing between the anaphoric function (§4.2) and the discourse functions (§4.3), and using the overlapping context (derived from the *discourse deictic use*) to argue for the relationship between these two uses (§4.3, §8.3).

Since all of the seven Vietnamese demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* can be used anaphorically, a few questions arise. For example, what factors determine their use?

Given that the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* supplement each other in terms of the syntactic characteristic and the distal demonstratives *đấy/đó* and *ấy* are to some extent functionally ‘identical’ when used as anaphors, I will focus on the use of the demonstratives *này* and *ấy* as representatives for the two groups in section 4.2.3. While the distal demonstratives *kia* and *nọ* have

some distinctive features, they will be discussed separately in sections 4.2.4 and 4.2.5 as further investigation into the group of distal demonstratives.

4.2.3 Topic continuity/discontinuity: Proximal versus distal terms

In the spatial domain, a demonstrative is chosen depending on the characteristics of a particular referent such as being near or far from the speaker (the proximal demonstratives *này* and *ḍày* versus the distal *ḍà́y/ḍó*, *áy* and *kia*), or with or without the hearer's previous notice (the distal *ḍà́y/ḍó* versus the distal *kia*) (Chapter 2). As discourse space is considered to be parallel to physical space (Bühler, 1934), demonstratives in discourse are used in a similar manner. That is, a demonstrative is not chosen at random but in accordance to the discourse status of the referent that it denotes, and consequently there must be differences between using a proximal and distal demonstrative in discourse. I will discuss this point through investigating the use of *này* and *áy* in this section.

As illustrated in section 4.2.2, after being mentioned for the first time in the discourse, a referent can be expressed by independent pronouns or nouns/noun phrases marked by demonstratives in the subsequent mentions. From the point of being identified by a particular demonstrative as means of definite reference, referents “are put into the universe of discourse” (Lyons, 1979: 102) and are established as discourse topics. In the sense of being the only topical referent that a proposition is about (cf. Lambrecht, 1994), referents of demonstratives can be also called topics.

It is noted from examples in section 4.2.2 that demonstratives can mark discourse topics in various ways such as:

- i. one demonstrative marks different topics, or
- ii. different demonstratives mark one topic, or
- iii. different demonstratives mark different topics.

With the possibilities of usage implied in (i), it is obvious that the use of different demonstratives cannot be assigned by the actual contents of discourse topics. So what actually determines the use of the demonstratives *này* and *áy*?

Givón (1983) recognises that at different stages in an ongoing discourse a topic will have different values of continuity. That is, a topic can be maintained longer in the register (‘persistence’) or discontinued due to the interference of other potential topics. Givón (1983: 14-15) also indicates that the continuity/discontinuity values reflects the topic's importance in the discourse by stating that “more important discourse topics appear more frequently in the register”.

From this approach, differences in the syntactic constructions used to express topics in a discourse are dependent on such values of topic continuity/discontinuity.

An examination of all the instances utilising these anaphoric demonstratives suggests a pattern: *này* tends to express topics which are most likely to be mentioned in the subsequent discourse, whereas *ấy* is mainly used to indicate topics which are not likely to be mentioned again after the referring point marked by these demonstratives. In a discourse where more than one topic exists, the distinct use of *này* or *ấy* can orient the hearer's attention to a more important topic. In this section, I will adopt Givón's (1983) concept of the *topic continuity/discontinuity* indicated above to provide explanation for the use of the proximal demonstratives (e.g. *này*) and the distal demonstratives (e.g. *ấy*) in Vietnamese discourse.

I will start with the demonstrative *này*. It is observed that the occurrence of *này* commonly signals to the hearer that the topic (marked by *này*) will persist longer in the discourse. In discourse where more than one topic exists, the use of *này* for a particular topic also indicates the importance of the topic in comparison to the others and thus it will be mentioned more frequently in the subsequent discourse. As shown in the following example, there are at least three participants introduced for the first time into the discourse in the initial sentence (113a), including *96 con khỉ rừng* '96 wild monkeys', *xe ô-tô* '(a) truck' and *một chủ trang trại nuôi động vật hoang dã* 'a wild-animal farm manager'. Yet, only *96 con khỉ rừng* '96 wild monkeys' is mentioned in (113b) for the second time and more importantly is marked with the demonstrative *này*.

- (113) a. Chuyện 96 con khỉ rừng bị di chuyển
 story ninety-six CL monkey forest PASS transfer
 trái phép trong xe ô tô, rồi bị bán cho một
 illegal PREP.in vehicle truck CONJ PASS sell PREP.for a/one
 chủ trang trại nuôi động vật hoang dã...
 manager farm raise animal wild
 'The situation of ninety-six wild monkeys illegally transported in a truck, then being
 confiscated by a relevant agency with the hope of being released but eventually being sold
 quickly to a wild-animal farm manager...'
- b. ...khi quyết định bán dứt 96 con khỉ này...
 when decide sell complete ninety-six CL monkey DEM.PROX
 '...when making a decision to sell ninety-six monkeys này...'

(Thanh Thảo, 2010)

From the point of being established by *này*, the topic *96 con khỉ rừng* '96 wild monkeys' can be recognised as a main topic, so that more information about it can be expected to be provided in the subsequent sentences. The rest of the newspaper article, which is partially extracted in example (113), shows that after the second mention in (113b), the topic *96 con khỉ rừng* '96 wild monkeys'

is continued in the subsequent discourse with different syntactic constructions. This is briefly represented in Table 22.

Table 22. An example utilising the anaphoric *này*

	Syntactic constructions	Subsequent mentions
113a	noun phrase	<i>96 con khỉ rừng</i> '96 wild monkeys'
113b	noun phrase + <i>này</i>	<i>96 con khỉ này</i> 'this 96 monkeys'
113c	noun phrase + <i>này</i>	1. <i>96 con khỉ rừng này</i> 'this 96 wild monkeys'
	3rd person pronoun	2. <i>chúng</i> 'they'
113d	#	(absent)
113e	#	(absent)
113f	noun phrase + <i>kia</i>	<i>những con vật khôn khổ kia</i> 'those poor animals'
113g	noun phrase	1. <i>96 con khỉ</i> '96 monkeys'
	noun phrase + <i>này</i>	2. <i>những con khỉ này</i> 'these monkeys'
113h	generic noun phrase	<i>khỉ</i> 'monkey'

By signalling the importance of a topic, the occurrence of *này* normally helps the speaker to orient the hearer's attention towards the subsequent mentions, from where related information about the topic can be found. This characteristic of *này* can be exploited as a rhetorical strategy when *này* is repetitively used throughout the discourse. By doing so, the hearer's focus of attention to the main topic can be constantly maintained, especially if there is only one topic being talked about in a given discourse. Consider the following example:

- (114) a. Con số *này* chắc hẳn có liên quan...
 CL figure DEM.PROX surely AST relate
 'The figure is probably related to...'
- b. Con số *này* chắc hẳn có liên quan mật thiết...
 CL figure DEM.PROX surely AST relate close
 'The figure probably has a strong connection with...'
- c. Con số *này* chắc hẳn liên quan đến...
 CL figure DEM.PROX surely relate PREP.to
 'The figure is probably related to...'
- d. Con số *này* chắc hẳn có liên quan gần xa ...
 CL figure DEM.PROX surely AST relate near far
 'The figure is probably somewhat related to...'
- e. Con số *này* có làm các nhà giáo dục...?
 CL figure DEM.PROX AST make PL CL education
 'Does the figure influence the educators...?'

(Hà Anh, 2005)

The example above is from a newspaper article which discusses the figure 14.2 years as being the average age of young people having first sex in Vietnam. After being introduced in the title as well as the sub-heading of the article, the figure 14.2 is repeatedly mentioned with the same structure of a noun phrase marked by *này*, i.e. *con số này* ‘this figure’, for a total of five times throughout the body of content of the article. The effect of using *này* repeatedly is quite obvious: *này* emphasises the dominant status of the main topic (i.e. the figure 14.2) in the discourse and at the same time attracts the hearer to pay as much attention as possible to what is being talked about. The demonstrative *ấy* cannot be used in such circumstances.

In contrast to the proximal demonstrative *này*, the distal demonstrative *ấy* appears in the discourse as an indicator of topic discontinuity. From the point of being indicated by an expression marked by *ấy*, a given topic will not likely occur again and thus, the hearer is alerted not to expect more information related the topic in the succeeding discourse. Topics characterised with the discontinuity value are normally secondary in terms of the topic’s importance or signals that it is no longer in the speaker’s current interest. This is illustrated as follows:

In (115) for instance, the demonstrative *ấy* is used to indicate a series of topics. In this series, new referents like *bộ óc lớn* ‘great mind’ and *nhịp đập của một trái tim lớn* ‘beating of a great heart’ are introduced for the first time at the end of the previous sentence and are then mentioned by a syntactic construction of *ấy* as the subject of the subsequent sentence.

- (115) a. Dõi theo toàn bộ cuộc đời và sự nghiệp của
follow PREP.along whole CL life and CL career PREP.of
Võ Văn Kiệt...thấy... bộ óc lớn
Vo Van Kiet see CL brain great
‘Reflecting on the whole life and career of Vo Van Kiet... understand... great mind.’
- b. [B]ộ óc lớn *ấy*... gắn liền với nhịp đập
CL brain great DEM.DIST connect PREP.with CL beat
của một trái tim lớn
PREP.of a/one CL heart great
‘Great mind *ấy*... connect to the beating of a great heart.’
- c. Nhịp đập của trái tim *ấy* lớn vì...
CL beat PREP.of CL heart DEM.DIST great because
‘The beating of heart *ấy* is great because...’

(Trương Lai, 2008)

The occurrence of the topics expressed by the demonstrative *ấy* in example (115) can be briefly represented in Table 23.

Table 23. An example utilising the anaphoric *ấy*

	1 st topic	2 nd topic	3 rd topic
115a	Proper name <i>Võ Văn Kiệt</i>	Noun phrase <i>bộ óc lớn</i> 'great mind'	
115b		<u>Noun phrase + <i>ấy</i></u> <i>bộ óc lớn ấy</i> 'great mind <i>ấy</i> '	<u>Indefinite noun phrase</u> <i>nhịp đập của một trái tim lớn</i> 'beating of a great heart'
115c			<u>Noun phrase + <i>ấy</i></u> <i>(nhịp đập của) trái tim lớn ấy</i> 'beating of great heart <i>ấy</i> '

The topics *bộ óc lớn* 'great mind' and *nhịp đập của một trái tim lớn* 'beating of a great heart' are actually associated information about the main topic *Võ Văn Kiệt* in (115a). They function as secondary topics in the discourse and do not need to be clarified in the subsequent discourse. The demonstrative *ấy* is specified for such topics in the discourse.

The demonstrative *ấy* not only pertains to secondary topics but can also denote topics whose importance value is decreasing at one particular point in the progressing discourse, or in other words, topics that are no longer in the speaker's current interest. Normally after being marked by *ấy*, the current topic will be discontinued and another available topic may become evident in the case where the discourse is still going on. This is illustrated in the following example:

(116) [A provincial president is talking to his officers who were recently involved in some problems that they had discussed in previous discourse.]

a. Chúng tôi có nhận được đơn khiếu nại của ông
 1PL AST receive obtain letter grievance PREP.of grandfather
 Phúc về việc phân công *này*...
 Phuc PREP.about CL assignment DEM.PROX
 'We have just received a grievance letter from Mr Phuc about work assignment *này*...'

b. Nhưng thôi, việc *ấy* bàn sau.
 but stop CL DEM.DIST discuss after
 'Anyway, issue *ấy* should be discussed later.'

c. Giờ phải tìm cách đẹp cho yên cái pha *này* đã.
 now must find way solve PREP quiet CL matter DEM.PROX ANT
 'Now (we) have to find a solution for matter *này*.'

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

The utterance in (116) is broken into (a), (b) and (c) for convenience. Prior to this utterance, the participants had been talking about the work assignment for officers (the first referent), which happened before the sudden death of a villager for which the people in the provincial committee

have to be responsible (the second referent). These two main referents are then established as discourse topics by the proximal *này* and the distal *ấy* in the following order, shown in Table 24.

Table 24. An example utilising the anaphoric *này* and *ấy*

	1 st topic	the work assignment for officers
116a.		<i>việc phân công này</i> ‘work assignment <i>này</i> ’
116b.		<i>việc ấy</i> ‘issue <i>ấy</i> ’
	2 nd topic	the sudden death of a villager
116c.		<i>cái pha này</i> ‘matter <i>này</i> ’

It can be noted that before being indicated by the demonstrative *ấy* in (116b), the first referent is brought into the discourse as the main topic: it is marked by the demonstrative *này* in (116a) and is mentioned again in the subsequent discourse. From the point of being marked by *ấy* in (116b), the first topic is discontinued. Its initial important status in the discourse is taken over by the second topic, which is marked by the demonstrative *này* in (116c).

When *này* and *ấy* interact with each other in the discourse, the values of topic continuity/discontinuity are most pronounced. The occurrence of *này* in (116a) and (116c) does not only help the hearer keep track of a continuing topic, but also functions to indicate a status change of a referent to become a topic that will be continued in the subsequent discourse. Diessel (1999a: 96) refers to a similar function of anaphoric demonstratives in German as *topic shift*. In relation to the value of *topic continuity*, the concept of *topic shift* proposed by Diessel (1999a) is very much similar to the concept of *topic’s importance* proposed by Givón (1983). On the other hand, the demonstrative *ấy* as shown in (116b) indicates the end of continuum of a topic. In this example, the occurrence of the demonstrative *ấy* in between the two topics signals a transition point from which the discourse will be moved on to another topic. This function is related to what Stirling (1993) calls *switch-reference*.

Whereas the spatial senses of *này* and *ấy* are differentiated in terms of the proximal/distal distinctions, the uses of *này* and *ấy* in discourse are dependent on how important a topic is, and on how frequent the speaker wants a topic to appear. As analysed above, the occurrence of *này* signals that the current topic is important and directs the hearer’s attention to more information about it in the subsequent discourse, whereas the occurrence of *ấy* signals a less important topic about which more information is not expected. I will use ‘high’ and ‘low’ to indicate the contrastive degrees of the topic’s importance and the topic continuity expressed by the use of *này* and *ấy*, i.e. high versus low topic importance, high versus low topic continuity. The differences between *này* and *ấy* in the discourse, which can be generalised as the differences between the proximal demonstratives *này*, *đây* and the distal demonstratives *ấy*, *đấy/đó*, is represented in Table 25.

Table 25. Distinction between proximal and distal demonstratives in discourse

<i>này, đây</i>	<i>ấy, đấy/đó</i>
high topic importance	low topic importance
high topic continuity	low topic continuity

The distal demonstratives *kia* and *nọ* can be used in discourse as anaphors (§4.2.2), however they are governed by other factors. In the following sections I will propose that the use of *kia* is related to ‘distance’ (§4.2.4) while the use of *nọ* is more likely as a rhetorical device (§4.2.5).

4.2.4 ‘Distance’ and the choice of *kia*

While *này, đây* and *ấy, đấy/đó* are used to mark a hierarchy of the topic’s importance, the distal demonstrative *kia* indicates distance in discourse. An examination of all the instances of the demonstrative *kia* suggests that the notion of distance indicated by *kia* covers the following two cases:

- (i) Reference to entities that are spatially far. In deictic meaning, ‘distance’ can be literally understood as the spatial farness between the speaker and the referent, i.e. the physical distance. In discourse, ‘distance’ means the gap between the current mention (anaphor) and the previous mention of the same topic in the discourse (antecedent), i.e. the referential distance (Givón, 1983). The physical distance is metaphorically interpreted as the referential distance. In this section, the sentence is used as measurement unit of the referential distance in the sense that as defined by Givón (1983: 7) “the basic information processing unit in human discourse”.
- (ii) Reference to entities that are emotionally far, i.e. cognitive distance. Here the demonstrative *kia* is used when the speaker wants to distance herself from the referent due to its emotionally negative qualities, such as: sadness, badness, bitterness or sarcasm, etc. The cognitive distance is therefore related to the speaker’s distant attitude towards a topic in discourse.

It is important to note that the two uses of *kia* in indicating the referential distance and the cognitive distance as referred to above are distinguished in mutually exclusive situations in which *kia* may occur. If there is a gap between the use of *kia* and its antecedent in the earlier discourse, *kia* indicates the referential distance. Otherwise, if *kia* occurs in the adjacent discourse of the antecedent, *kia* denotes the cognitive distance. In the following I will discuss these two uses of *kia* at the level of discourse.

First is the use of *kia* in indicating the referential distance. The speaker uses *kia* to refer back to the earlier occurrence of the same topic whose location can be measured by the number of sentences away from the discourse reference marked by *kia*. By doing so, *kia* signals that the topic that *kia* expresses has been absent for a few sentences and thus the hearer is instructed to ‘look back’ further for the occurrence of the same topic in the earlier discourse. This use of *kia* shows the similarity to the use of some distal demonstratives in other languages, such as *that* in English (Chen, 1990: 146) and *na* in Chinese (Wu, 2004: 130). This function of a distal demonstrative (e.g. *that*, *na* and *kia*) is considered as an extension of its spatial use.

The use of the demonstrative *kia* in example (117), which is extended from example (113), is an illustration. After being introduced for the first time in the first sentence of the article, the three referents *96 con khỉ rừng* ‘96 wild monkeys’, *xe ô-tô* ‘truck’ and *một chủ trang trại nuôi động vật hoang dã* ‘a wild-animal farm manager’ are represented at different degrees of continuity in the progressing discourse: the referent *96 con khỉ rừng* ‘96 wild monkeys’ frequently occurs throughout the discourse while the other referents do not. However, these topic are all expressed by the demonstrative *kia* after a certain length of absence in the discourse.

- (117) a. Chuyện 96 con khỉ rừng bị di chuyển
 story ninety-six CL monkey forest PASS transfer
 trái phép trong xe ô tô, rồi bị bán cho một
 illegal PREP.in vehicle truck CONJ PASS sell PREP.for a/one
 chủ trang trại nuôi động vật hoang dã...
 manager farm raise animal wild
 ‘The situation of ninety-six wild monkeys illegally transported in a truck, then being confiscated by a relevant agency with the hope of being released but eventually being sold quickly to a wild-animal farm manager...’
- b. ...khi quyết định bán dứt 96 con khỉ này...
 when decide sell complete ninety-six CL monkey DEM.PROX
 ‘... when making a decision to sell ninety-six monkeys này...’
- c. Trong trường hợp không thể thả 96 con
 in case impossible release ninety-six CL
 khỉ rừng này về lại rừng... chúng... có cơ may...
 monkey forest DEM.PROX return back forest 3PL have chance
 ‘Given the impossibility of releasing ninety-six wild monkeys này into their natural habitat... they can have chance...’
- d. Chắc không phải không có những cơ quan như thế...
 sure NEG right NEG have PL agency like so
 ‘There must be some agencies like that...’
- e. Và Hội đồng định giá... đã chọn giải pháp thứ hai...
 and Council assessment ANT choose solution order two
 ‘And the Assessment Council... chose the second solution...’

f. ...chuyển transfer	những con vật PL animal	khốn khổ poor	<i>kia</i> DEM.DIST	từ... PREP.from			
'...transferred poor animals <i>kia</i> from...'							
g. Ai who	dám dare	bảo tell	chủ manager	trang trại farm	<i>kia</i> ... DEM.DIST	nuôi nấng raise	tốt good
96 ninety-six	con CL	khỉ monkey	và... and	những con PL CL	khỉ monkey	<i>này</i> ... DEM.PROX	
'Who seriously thinks that farm manager <i>kia</i> is going to look after them well and... these 96 monkeys...'							
h. Cứ PART	tưởng think	bắt seize	được obtain	cái xe CL vehicle	ô-tô truck	chở carry	khỉ lậu monkey illegal
'It was thought that when truck carrying monkeys illegally <i>kia</i> was seized...'							

(Thanh Thảo, 2010)

The occurrence of the three topics expressed by *kia* in the article is detailed in Table 26.

Table 26. An example utilising the anaphoric *kia*

	1 st topic	2 nd topic	3 rd topic
117a	<i>96 con khỉ rừng</i> '96 wild monkeys'	<i>xe ô-tô</i> 'truck'	<i>một chủ trang trại nuôi động vật hoang dã</i> 'a wild-animal farm manager'
117b	<i>96 con khỉ này</i> '96 monkeys này'	(absent)	(absent)
117c	1. <i>96 con khỉ rừng này</i> '96 wild monkeys này' 2. <i>chúng</i> 'they'	(absent)	(absent)
117d	(absent)	(absent)	(absent)
117e	(absent)	(absent)	(absent)
117f	<i>những con vật khốn khổ kia</i> 'poor animals <i>kia</i> '	(absent)	(absent)
117g	1. <i>96 con khỉ</i> '96 monkeys' 2. <i>những con khỉ này</i> 'monkeys này'	(absent)	<i>chủ trang trại kia</i> 'farm manager <i>kia</i> '
117h	<i>khỉ</i> 'monkey'	<i>xe ô-tô chở khỉ lậu kia</i> 'illegally-monkey-carrying truck <i>kia</i> '	

The physical distance expressed by *kia* is relative, depending on how the speaker feels about the farness (§2.3.3). This feature is transferred into the discourse domain when the anaphoric demonstrative *kia* can mark various lengths of referential distance. As shown in the example above, before being expressed by the demonstrative *kia*, the first topic *96 con khỉ rừng* '96 wild monkeys' is not mentioned in the two sentences (117d-e), whereas the two other topics, *xe ô-tô* 'truck' and *một chủ trang trại nuôi động vật hoang dã* 'a wild-animal farm manager', encounter a longer length of absence measured by six sentences (117b-g) and five sentences (117b-f) respectively. Givón (1983: 11) indicates that the length of absence affects topic identification. The longer a topic is

absent in the discourse, the more difficult it is for it to be processed. However, this is not the case of a topic marked by *kia*. In example (117), *kia* functions like a reminder of the existence of a topic in the discourse. The demonstrative makes the topic identifiable regardless of whether there is a short or long gap of absence.

Normally, the shortest referential distance that *kia* can express is a one-sentence gap. As shown in example (104) reproduced in (118), the referent *một đại gia* ‘a rich person’ appears for the first time in (118a), then is mentioned again by the expression *người này* ‘this person’ in (118b). This topic is absent in the sentence (118c) and this short gap justifies the use of *kia* in (118d).

- (118) a. Một đại gia... đấu trúng bức tranh của một ca sĩ...
 a/one rich person bid successful painting PREP.of a/one singer
 ‘A wealthy man... successfully bid for a painting owned by a singer...’
- b. Người này... yêu cầu... chuyển bức tranh ấy...
 person DEM.PROX request send CL painting DEM.DIST
 ‘Person này... requested... (the organiser) to send painting ấy (to him)...’
- c. Phía ban tổ chức ... chuyển đi.
 side CL organisation send go
 ‘The organiser... sent (it) off.’
- d. Vị đại gia kia... nhận tranh...
 CL rich person DIST.DEM receive painting
 ‘Wealthy man *kia* received (the) painting...’

(Đình Phú, 2010)

However, *kia* can also be used when the gap between the use of *kia* and its discourse referent is shorter than a sentence, or in other words the anaphor marked by *kia* and its antecedent are located in two adjacent sentences. I propose that in this use, *kia* indicates the *cognitive distance* rather than the *referential distance*. As analysed in section 2.7.2, *kia* is situationally used in a vocative expression to indicate emotional distance from the person who has been addressed. This effect of distancing created by *kia* is maintained in discourse. Consider the following example:

- (119) a. Vào một ngày trời quang mây tạnh, dân làng lại nghe
 PREP.in a/one day sky clear cloud dry villager again hear
 lũ trẻ la lớn: "Cháy nhà, cháy nhà!"
 troop child scream loud burn house burn house
 ‘On a nice day, the villagers heard a scream from the children: “Fire, fire!”.’

b. Nhưng	mọi	người...	chẳng	đoái	hoài	gì	đến
but	all	person	NEG	concern		what	PREP.to
lời	báo động	<i>kia</i> .					
CL	alert	DEM.DIST					

‘However, everyone was unconcerned about fire alert *kia*.’

(X. H. Đoàn, 2005)

The context of example (119) is as follows: the villagers had been previously fooled by the children about the fire, so when hearing the alert "*Cháy nhà, cháy nhà!*" 'Fire, fire!' the second time, they assumed that the alert was just the children's teasing again. The demonstrative *kia* in the expression *lời báo động kia* 'that fire alert' is chosen to express the speaker's negative impression about the children's false alert "*Cháy nhà, cháy nhà!*" in the previous sentence. The cognitive distance would be omitted if either the demonstrative *này* or *ấy* was used in the position of *kia*.

It can be seen that this use of *kia* does not result from the spatial distance but from the speaker's emotional involvement with what has been talked about. *Kia* tends to pertain to topics whose content may cause negative feelings to the speaker. By choosing *kia* rather than the other demonstratives like *này* or *ấy*, the speaker can create an emotional distance to the topic. This is illustrated in another example as shown below:

(120) Với	một	thành phố	hơn	8	triệu	dân,	thì
PREP.with	a/one	city	more	eight	million	people	TOP
người ta	có thể	nói	những	tai nạn	thường	ngày	như thế...
3PL	can	say	PL	accident	daily	like	so
nhưng...	nếu	những	cơ quan...	có	trách nhiệm	hơn,	những
but	if	PL	agency	have	responsibility	more	PL
tai nạn	<i>kia</i>		hoàn toàn	có thể	được	giảm bớt.	
accident	DEM.DIST		definitely	can	obtain	reduce	

‘Regarding a city whose population is eight million people, one may say such daily accidents..., however... if the authorised organisations... are more responsible, accidents *kia* will be probably reduced.’

(Thanh Thảo, 2009)

In this example, the anaphor and the antecedent occur within a sentence, i.e. *những tai nạn thường ngày như thế* 'such daily (road) accidents' in the first part of the sentence and *những tai nạn kia* 'those accidents' in the second part. In the whole article, the writer expresses the strong opinion that a number of road accidents occurring in Ho Chi Minh City are caused by the irresponsibility of the authorities. The writer's attitude towards the topic of *những tai nạn thường ngày* 'daily (road) accidents' is previously one of offence. *Kia* is chosen in this case to express the emotional distance of the writer.

The use of *kia* in discourse shows another dimension of this distal demonstrative in indicating the notion of distance beyond the physical distance. If a topic experiences a gap of absence, *kia* is most likely used in the anaphoric reference to indicate referential distance. The referential distance from the use of *kia* to where its antecedent is located in the discourse is metaphorically understood as the distance from the speaker to the intended referent's location. When a gap of absence does not exist, i.e. a topic is continuously discussed without any interruption in two adjacent sentences, *kia* is employed mainly to express the speaker's emotional distance towards the topic, which is a kind of the *cognitive distance*. It is observed that to be indicated by *kia* in this situation, a topic must be related to something that may cause negative feelings. This characteristic explicitly distinguishes *kia* from the other distal demonstratives *áy* and *đáy/đó* (§4.2.3).

Both situational and non-situational uses of *kia* are related to what Lakoff (1974) calls *emotional deixis*. When asking about the hearer's sore throat in "How's *that* throat?" for instance, the speaker can use the demonstrative *that* to distance the uncomfortable matter (i.e. sore throat), so that she can express the sympathy to the hearer (Lakoff, 1974: 351). Because it does not share the same characteristics as either *áy*, *đáy/đó* or *kia*, the distal demonstrative *nọ* is worthy of a separate discussion. In the following section I will argue that *nọ* can be used as an anaphor and that when it is used, it functions more like a literary device that adds a storytelling effect to the discourse.

4.2.5 The storytelling effect of *nọ*

Like *này*, *đây*, *áy*, *đáy/đó* and *kia*, the distal demonstrative *nọ* can be used as an anaphoric demonstrative to refer back to a topic whose first mention is in the previous discourse. However, the use of *nọ* is constrained by a different mechanism and as a result, topics marked by *nọ* differ to those marked by other demonstratives in many aspects.

As analysed in Chapter 2, *nọ* is the only demonstrative not to be used spatially in present-day Vietnamese. Instead, *nọ* is mainly found in the temporal function to refer to a past time event (§3.3.4). Furthermore, the use of *nọ* is not just limited in the temporal domain but is expanded to other abstract domains like discourse. By using *nọ*, the speaker implies that what she is talking about is something "in memory" (P. P. Nguyễn, 2002). The dominant characteristic of the contemporary use of *nọ* as a past-time indicator may be the reason *nọ* is preferred to the other demonstratives in storytelling contexts.

Gulich and Quashoff (1985) contend that a narrative text such as an exemplum, novella, fable, or short story "refers to a series of real or fictional actions or events that take place in the past relative to the time of the narration (or are told as if occurring in the past)" (170). All of the instances of *nọ* suggest that this demonstrative particularly occurs in such a narrative context. It functions either as a presentational device (discussed in §5.2) to introduce a spatio-temporal setting

and/or main character(s) into a story, or as an anaphor to indicate a character of a story that has been already introduced. It is observed that in the second function, the occurrence of *nọ* neither signals the topic's importance as *này*, *đây*, *ấy*, and *đấy/đó* do, nor the distance as *kia* does. It rather functions to draw the hearer's attention to a topic that only occurs at one stage in the progressing story.

The following example is extracted from a children's story about a cricket. The main character, *Đế Mèn* 'Cricket Mèn', is telling a story about his journey to becoming a mature cricket, meeting many friends and learning from each experience with them. The experience that *Đế Mèn* 'Cricket Mèn' has with *Đế Choắt* 'Cricket Choắt' is one of his most unforgettable lessons.

- (121) a. Bên hàng xóm tôi có cái hang của Đế Choắt.
 side neighborhood 1SG have CL cave PREP.of cricket Choat
 'In my neighborhood, there's the cave of Cricket Choat.'
- b. Đế Choắt là tên tôi đặt cho nó ...
 cricket Choat COP name 1SG name PREP.for 3SG
 'Cricket Choat is the name I gave him...'
- c. *Choắt* *nọ* cũng chắc trạc tuổi tôi.
 Choat DEM.DIST also sure similar age 1SG
 'Choat *nọ* is about the same age as me.'

(Tô, 1941)

The demonstrative *nọ* in (121c) is used to refer back to *Đế Choắt* 'Cricket Choat' mentioned previously in (121a-b). After this reference, more information about the current topic is provided in the subsequent discourse. If *nọ* is simply used in this anaphoric function, it can be easily interchanged with the demonstrative *này* (because *này* is specified for continued topics; see §4.2.3). However with my native speaker's intuition, I believe that to exchange *này* for *nọ* will result in a difference in perception of the topic. With the use of *này*, the topic *Đế Choắt* is mechanically perceived as a discourse matter which can be tracked backwards and forwards in the discourse. With the use of *nọ*, the topic is marked as a past-time event whose information is organised in relation to the development of the entire story. This distinction makes the use of *nọ* most effective and appropriate in the context of telling a story.

Example (122) shows a similar effect created by the choice of *nọ*. Again, the topic marked by this demonstrative is related to an event that happened in the past and the appearance of the topic (normally a character) in the story is recalled from the storyteller's memory. In this example, the referent is introduced for the first time in (122a) through an indefinite expression *một vị giáo sư tâm lý* 'a psychological professor'. *Nọ* is used for the second mention of the referent (122b) and signals that a story about the topic will be told subsequently. As described in the story, *vị giáo sư nọ* 'that

professor’ has an influence at one particular stage in the main character’s (i.e. *hắn*) life. The occurrence of *nọ* will stimulate the hearer’s curiosity to know more about the topic that it expresses. In this sense, *nọ* can be considered as a storytelling technique.

- (122) a. [H]ấn... được giữ lại làm trợ giảng cho một
 3SG obtain keep back do assistant PREP.for a/one
 vị giáo sư tâm lý...
 CL professor psychology
 ‘[H]e... was offered a job as a teaching assistant to a professor of psychology...’
- b. Hắn không biết vị giáo sư *nọ* dùng hắn để
 3SG NEG know CL professor DEM.DIST use 3SG PREP.to
 trắc nghiệm công trình của ông.
 experiment project PREP.of grandfather
 ‘He did not realise that professor *nọ* was employing him for the purpose of testing his project.’

(Tạ, 2002a)

The use of *nọ* as illustrated above indicates a narrative-based tendency in which *nọ* may be involved. In addition to the tracking function of other demonstratives, it is specified in narrative contexts and functions as a storytelling technique for drawing the hearer’s attention to the topic of a story. The path of the development of *nọ* into a storytelling device is definitely confirmed when it is employed in the presentational functions in which the first mention of the topic in the discourse is marked by *nọ* (§5.2).

4.2.6 Concluding remarks

The first distinguishing feature of the proximal demonstratives *này, đây* and the distal demonstratives *ấy, đấy/đó, kia* and *nọ*, when they are used in discourse, is the direction of reference. While the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* enable directions of both forward reference (i.e. cataphoric) and backward reference (i.e. anaphoric), the distal demonstratives *ấy, đấy/đó, kia* and *nọ* can be only used to ‘point’ backwards (anaphoric) in discourse. This is briefly represented in Table 27.

Table 27. Cataphoric and anaphoric demonstratives in Vietnamese

Types \ DEMS	[proximal]	[distal]
	<i>này, đây</i>	<i>ấy, đấy/đó, kia, nọ</i>
Cataphoric	+	–
Anaphoric	+	+

Since all the demonstratives can be used anaphorically, further differences between their uses need to be addressed. I propose that the differences in the uses of anaphoric demonstratives are dependent on the topic continuity value, which reflects the importance of a topic in the discourse. The analysis in section 4.2.3 indicates that the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* pertain to important topics, which have high topic continuity value and by using them, the speaker can orient the hearer's attention to their occurrence in the subsequent discourse. In contrast, the use of the distal demonstratives *ấy* and *đấy/đó* is related to the low topic importance, and by using either of these demonstratives, the speaker alerts the hearer not to expect any more information about the topic they express.

I also propose that unlike *ấy* and *đấy/đó*, the distal demonstrative *kia* is governed by the factor of 'distance' when it is used as an anaphoric device. *Kia* indicates the referential distance if there is a gap between the occurrence of *kia* in the current mention and the discourse referent in the previous mention. If the anaphor (marked by *kia*) and its antecedent occur in two adjacent sentences, a cognitive distance-based interpretation will be invited. Normally in the second use, *kia* pertains to topics whose content is negative and thus the speaker feels emotionally distant from the topic.

Compared to other demonstratives, *nọ* is generally limited to narrative contexts. Although this demonstrative can be used anaphorically, it does not mainly function as a tracking device. Rather, *nọ* is more likely used as a storytelling technique to make the hearer curious about the past-time topic that it denotes.

Table 28 summarises the factors that determine the uses of all the demonstratives in the anaphoric reference.

Table 28. Factors determining the use of Vietnamese demonstratives in anaphora

Factors \ DEMS	[proximal]	[distal]		
	<i>này, đây</i>	<i>ấy, đấy/đó</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>nọ</i>
High topic's importance	+	–	–	+ *
High topic continuity	+	–	–	+ *
Low topic's importance	–	+	–	–
Low topic continuity	–	+	–	–
The referential distance	–	–	+	–
The cognitive distance	–	–	+	–
The storytelling effect	–	–	–	+

* inconclusive evidence

The transfer from the space domain to the discourse domain is reflected in the use of the seven demonstratives in anaphora. In this abstract space, the nearness and farness in the physical space are metaphorically interpreted, i.e. high importance/continuity is near, low importance/continuity is far,

and absence is far. The representation of Vietnamese demonstratives in the two domains is in support of a common path of development of demonstratives in languages, from deictic function to anaphoric function: deictic demonstratives > anaphoric demonstratives (Diessel, 1999a). It is observed that this path of development is continuously extended as the anaphoric demonstratives *áy* and *đáy/đó* become a source of some discourse functions. This point is discussed in the following section.

4.3 Discourse functions

I use the term *discourse functions* when referring to other functions extending from the anaphoric functions that *áy* and *đáy/đó* can perform, such as indicating a subsequent semantic relationship between two segments of the discourse (connectivity) or making a referential explicit for a previous discourse unit (reformulation marker). In these discourse functions, *áy* and *đáy/đó* are normally used in combination with some other element (e.g. an adverb or copula) and their anaphoric function of pointing backwards contributes to making up the meaning of the expressions as a whole.

4.3.1 Discourse connectives

The *discourse connectives* that I focus on here are expressions formed from the demonstratives *áy* and *đó* (*đáy*) and some other element such as an adverb or adposition. They are amongst the class of expressions that Fraser (1990, 1999, 2009) defines as those with the same function, indicating the semantic relation between two discourse segments without interrupting the content meaning of the discourse that contains them. In this section, I intend to focus on the contribution of *áy* and *đó* (*đáy*) in such combinations and consider the use of these demonstratives in the function of connectivity as an extension of their anaphoric function in discourse.

Examples of discourse connectives in which *áy* and *đó* (*đáy*) commonly occur as a component are displayed in Table 29. It is noted that although *đáy* and *đó* are interchangeable in the spatial and discourse usages (Chapters 2 and 4), only *đó* tends to be conventionally used in the construction of the discourse connectives discussed in this section.

Table 29. Discourse connectives marked by demonstratives

DEMS	Discourse connectives	Gloss	Functions
<i>ấy</i>	<i>ấy thế mà/ ấy vậy mà</i>	‘nevertheless’ (lit. ‘that-however’)	adversative
<i>đó (đấy)</i>	<i>trong khi đó thay vào đó</i>	‘whereas’ (lit. ‘in-time-that’) ‘instead’ (lit. ‘replace-in-that’)	
	<i>do đó theo đó</i>	‘therefore’ (lit. ‘because-that’) ‘accordingly’ (lit. ‘follow-that’)	causal
	<i>thêm vào đó bên cạnh đó</i>	‘in addition’ (lit. ‘add-in-that’) ‘besides’ (lit. ‘side-next-that’)	additive
	<i>từ đó kể từ đó</i>	‘since then’ (lit. ‘from-that’) ‘since then’ (lit. ‘tell-from-that’)	temporal

Table 29 illustrates that the demonstratives *ấy* and *đó* can be involved in different types of connectivity such as adversative, causal, additive, and temporal, which, as Halliday and Hasan (1976) suggest, are considered the four common functions of connectives. The information carried in the previous discourse segment, which is referred to by *ấy* and *đó*, should be considered the source of the semantic relations indicated by these discourse connectives. Having the anaphoric component of *ấy* and *đó*, the discourse connectives (as shown in Table 29) have the capability of guiding the direction of interpretation in the discourse.

The adversative connectives marked by *ấy* and *đó* (e.g. *ấy thế mà/ấy vậy mà* ‘nevertheless’, *trong khi đó* ‘whereas’, *thay vào đó* ‘instead’) are used to instruct the hearer to interpret the current discourse segment as a contradiction to the previous discourse segment. In (123) for example, the adversative connective *ấy thế mà* is used to indicate the contradiction in the situation where the speaker’s wife possesses a motorbike but she does not want to use it.

- (123) Vợ tôi có xe máy, *ấy* vậy mà cô ấy
 wife 1SG have vehicle machine DEM.DIST however 3SG
 chẳng mặn mà với việc đi loại xe này.
 NEG enthusiastic PREP.with CL go CL.kind vehicle DEM.PROX
 ‘My wife has a motorbike, *ấy vậy mà* she is not interested in using this type of vehicle.’

(V. T. Nguyễn, 2013)

The causal connectives marked by *đó* (e.g. *do đó* ‘therefore’, *theo đó* ‘accordingly’) are used to indicate the causal relation between two discourse segments. As shown in example (124) for instance, *do đó* ‘therefore’ is located in the second discourse segment whose content is about the consequence (e.g. delay in finding out the answers) and instructs the hearer to identify its cause held in the previous segment (e.g. being thirsty when doing assignments).

- (124) [K]hát nước có thể làm mất sự chú ý của não bộ
 thirst water can make lose CL attention PREP.of brain
 vào bài tập, do đó làm chậm thời gian
 PREP.in exercise because DEM.DIST make slow time
 tìm ra đáp án.
 find out answer
 ‘Thirst may make the brain lose attention to exercises, *do đó* slows down the process of finding answers (for those assignments).’

(Mai Duyên, 2013)

Furthermore, the demonstrative *đó* can be used to form additive connectives (e.g. *thêm vào đó* ‘in addition’, *bên cạnh đó* ‘besides’). An example of *thêm vào đó* in this function would be:

- (125) trước Tết, do lũ lụt kéo dài... *Thêm vào đó*,
 before Tet holiday because flood last long add PREP.in DEM.DIST
 thời tiết lạnh khắc nghiệt...
 weather cold severe
 ‘before Tet holiday, due to the long-lasting flood...*Thêm vào đó*, the severely cold weather...’

(Hùng Phiên, 2011)

where *thêm vào đó* is used to introduce an addition to what has been mentioned previously, i.e. the poor quality of flowers was caused by not only the long-lasting flood but also the severe cold weather. By using the discourse connective *thêm vào đó*, the additional cause is equally emphasised in comparison with the cause indicated in the preceding discourse.

It is also observed that *đó* can be used to form temporal connectives (e.g. *trong khi đó* ‘while’, *từ đó/kể từ đó* ‘since then’). In example (126) for instance, *từ đó* is used at the beginning of the second proposition, signalling that what follows is a continuum of the time event expressed in the first proposition. The temporal connective *từ đó* in this example means ‘since 2001’.

- (126) Năm 2001, chị... mua một chiếc máy cày...
 year 2001 older-sister buy a/one CL machine plough
Từ đó, chị có thêm phương tiện để
 from DEM.DIST older-sister have extra means PREP.to
 phục vụ sản xuất.
 serve production
 ‘In 2001, she... bought a plough... Since then, she has additional means of production.’

(Giang Sơn & Lê Vinh, 2013)

In the examples above, *ấy* and *đó* (*đấy*) contribute their anaphoric meaning to the meaning of the expression. This meaning combined with another component’s meaning in the combination guides

the interpretation of discourse. For example, the meaning of *ấy thế mà* (or *ấy vậy mà*) is comprised of two parts: the anaphoric meaning indicated by the demonstrative *ấy* and the meaning of the connective phrase *thế mà/vậy mà*, i.e. expressing what is to be represented is unusual or contrastive to what is meant to be (P. Hoàng, 1997: 902, 1070). Although *thế mà/vậy mà* can appear on its own as an independent contrastive marker, the contribution of *ấy* to the discourse connective *ấy thế mà/ấy vậy mà* is to highlight the source of the contrast. Similarly, the meaning of *do đó* ‘therefore’ is determined by the literal meanings of its components, i.e. because (which is indicated by the adverb *do*) of what has been mentioned previously (indicated by the anaphoric demonstrative *đó*). With the occurrence of *do đó* at the beginning of the second discourse segment, the hearer is guided to interpret the first discourse segment as a cause of what follows.

At this point it can be seen that the meaning of some discourse connectives can be inferred from their separate parts. There are also cases in which the meaning of discourse connectives marked by *ấy* and *đó* cannot be explained in the literal meanings of individual components. They rather function as a whole to introduce a new interpretation that is not linguistically encoded, yet probably inferred from a particular context. The first example is the case of the discourse connective *ấy thế mà/ấy vậy mà*.

There are situations in which these terms not only indicate a comparison-contrast but inferentially introduce an unexpected consequence from the speaker’s point of view. For example, in (127), *ấy vậy mà* is used to connect the information indicated in the first two sentences with the information indicated in the third sentence: the first sentence is about a blogger putting effort and enthusiasm into maintaining her blog on Yahoo Blog Vietnam, so that the website has become a repository of her memories and emotions (127a-b); the third sentence is about the sudden withdrawal of this website (127c).

- (127) a. 6 năm trời, đổ nhiều công sức, tâm huyết
 six year sky spend many effort enthusiasm
 và thời gian để chăm chút cho blog của mình.
 and time PREP.to look after PREP.for blog PREP.of self
 ‘For six years, (I) spent a lot of effort, enthusiasm and time on creating my blog.’
- b. Nơi này có biết bao cảm xúc, biết bao kỷ niệm.
 place DEM.PROX have how many emotion many memory
 ‘This place (the speaker’s blog) had kept lots of emotions and memories.’
- c. Ấy vậy mà ðùng một cái ðóng cửa”.
 DEM.DIST however sudden one CL shut door
 ‘Ấy vậy mà, suddenly (it was) shut.’

(T. N. Nguyễn, 2012)

In this context, the two members of the connectivity, the information indicated in (127a-b) and the information in (127c), are not only oppose conceptual contents but also related to modality. More specifically, the speaker expresses her shock and disappointment at the fact that Yahoo Blog Vietnam suddenly shut down without considering their users. Therefore in this case *ấy vậy mà* can be interpreted as an ‘unexpected contrast’.

The interpretation of the speaker’s disappointment from the use of *ấy vậy mà* as in (127) arises in a particular context of discourse. This context-based meaning differentiates *ấy thế mà/ấy vậy mà* from other closely associated contrastive forms such as *nhưng* ‘but’, *tuy nhiên* ‘however’, or *trái lại* ‘in contrast’, etc. The connectives *nhưng* ‘but’ and *tuy nhiên* ‘however’ are normally used to indicate a neutral contrast, and the use of *trái lại* ‘in contrast’ normally requires a more specific contrast (similar to the use of *in contrast* in English; see Fraser, 1999: 945). *Ấy vậy mà* as in example (127) can neither be replaced by *nhưng* ‘but’, *tuy nhiên* ‘however’ nor *trái lại* ‘in contrast’ in contexts where the speaker’s attitude is necessarily encoded. This use of *ấy thế mà/ấy vậy mà* to relate the speaker’s attitude may be the reason why in recent studies, *ấy thế mà/ấy vậy mà* is classified in a category called *quán ngữ tình thái* ‘modal locution’ (H. H. Ngô, 2002; T. T. Nguyễn, 2000). Clearly, the meaning of *ấy* in (127) is extended from a more central sense derived from the anaphoric function (§8.4.2).

Second is the case of *trong khi đó* ‘whereas’. Although the construction of the discourse connective *trong khi đó* ‘whereas’ includes the temporal adverb *trong khi* ‘while’ and the anaphoric demonstrative *đó*, it is used to introduce a comparison-contrast.

- (128) [C]hi trong tích tắc chúng tôi đã “nấu” được rượu...
 only PREP.in second 1PL ANT cook obtain alcohol
Trong khi đó,... nếu nấu rượu bằng men
 PREP.in time DEM.DIST if cook alcohol PREP.by yeast
 truyền thống của Việt Nam... mất đúng 10 ngày.
 tradition PREP.of Vietnam lose right ten day
 ‘Within a second we can make alcohol... *Trong khi đó*, ... (it will) take up to ten days if using the Vietnam traditional method of making alcohol with yeast...’

(Hoàng Việt, 2013)

In the example above, the meaning of comparison-contrast expressed by *trong khi đó* ‘whereas’ is interpreted on the basis of the contrastive information inferred from the context. The first proposition expresses the time taken to make alcohol with illegal chemicals (i.e. within a second) and the second proposition indicates the time taken to make alcohol following the traditional method of using yeast (i.e. up to ten days).

This is also the case of *từ đó* ‘since then’. The preposition *từ* ‘from’ and *đó* ‘that’ have lost

their spatial meaning and acquired, as a temporal discourse connection as illustrated in example (126), a more abstract and pragmatic meaning, i.e. a temporal meaning. However, *từ đó* can also be used to introduce consequences. In this use, *từ đó* indicates the cause-effect relationship between the two clauses, as illustrated in example (129).

- (129) [Việc] tăng giá các mặt hàng thiết yếu... khiến DN
 CL increase price PL CL goods essential make abbre. enterprise
 suy yếu và từ đó kéo theo đời sống
 weakening and PREP.from DEM.DIST entail PREP.along life
 của người lao động khó được cải thiện.
 PREP.of CL labour difficult obtain improve
 ‘The growth rate of essential goods... causes challenges to enterprises and *từ đó* entails the difficulties in improving their workers’ living standard.’

(Mai Phương & Mai Hà, 2013)

It is evident that in both cases (i.e. the interpretation of discourse connectives is determined by individual components or is inferred from a particular context), the contribution of *ấy* and *đó* is to give the hearer instructions to ‘look back’ to what precedes as a source of the intended relationship that the speaker desires to encode. This use of *ấy* and *đó* does not change the meaning of their host utterance, but rather to the local meaning of the discourse connectives marked by them as a whole. Blakemore (1996, 2002) distinguishes between conceptual and procedural meanings that an expression can encode. Expressions are conceptual if they encode concepts or their meaning affects the content of utterances. In contrast, procedural terms “constrain the inferential phase of comprehension by indicating the type of inference process that the hearer is expected to go through” (Blakemore, 1996: 11). In this sense, discourse connectives marked by *ấy* and *đó* are both conceptual and procedural to a considerable degree.

I have found that apart from the procedural status as shown above, some of these discourse connectives have parallel lexical versions whose conceptual meaning contributes to the content of the discourse in which they occur. For example, the expressions *thêm vào đó* (lit. ‘add-in-that’) in (130), *bên cạnh đó* (lit. ‘side-next-that’) in (131), and *từ đó* (lit. ‘from-that’) in (132) do not encode a semantic relationship, but rather establish the content meaning of the utterances that contain them.

- (130) Ép lấy nước 1 quả dưa leo, vắt thêm vào
 press take juice one CL cucumber squeeze add PREP.in
 đó ½ trái chanh.
 DEM.DIST half CL lemon
 ‘Take juice of one cucumber, (then) add to it juice of half a lemon.’

(Phunutoday, 2014)

- (131) Trên mâm là một đĩa cá bóp chanh... Bên cạnh đó
 on tray COP a/one plate fish mix lemon side next DEM.DIST
 là một chén nước chấm...
 COP a/one bowl sauce
 ‘On the tray is a plate of fish mixed with lemon juice... Next to it is a bowl of sauce...’

(Tuy An, 2012)

- (132) [Bạn... đi qua chợ Học Môn. Từ đó, đi
 friend go across market Hoc Mon PREP.from DEM.DIST go
 theo đường Trung Nữ Vương...
 PREP.along road Trung Nu Vuong
 ‘You... (should) go across the Hoc Mon market. From there, keep going along the Trung Nu Vuong street.’

(Huỳnh, n.d.)

The conceptual status (encoded by the synonymous counterparts of the discourse connectives) shows the lexical sources from which the discourse connectives evolve. Their lexical sources can be verbs (e.g. *thêm* ‘to add’), spatial prepositions (e.g. *từ* ‘from’, *bên cạnh* ‘beside’), adverbs (*trong khi* ‘while’) or anaphoric demonstratives (*ấy*, *đó* ‘that’). In examples (130)-(132), the anaphoric function of the demonstrative *đó* is obvious. By functioning as a substitute for what has been mentioned, the occurrence of *đó* helps the hearer to follow the flow of discourse.

The use of *ấy* and *đó* as a component of discourse connectives is related to their anaphoric function. In contributing to the function of discourse connectives, *ấy* and *đó* tend to correlate their anaphoric meaning into the interpretation process in the sense that they give the hearer directions to interpret a semantic relationship that originates from the information indicated in the first discourse segment. In other words, *ấy* and *đó* have not only a purely tracking purpose, but also have a part in guiding the interpretation process. This functional extension of *ấy* and *đó* is incorporated in a process of semantic change that discourse connectives marked by these distal demonstratives undergo.

4.3.2 Reformulation markers

The distal demonstratives *ấy* and *đấy/đó* can also be involved in another discourse function called reformulation. This function comes into play when these demonstratives occur in combination with the copula *là* ‘be’, i.e. *ấy là (đấy/đó là)* ‘that is’, and as a whole they indicate that what is to follow is a reinterpretation of what has been previously given. This section will show that like in discourse connectives (§4.3.1), the deictic element *ấy (đấy/đó)* in the reformulation marker *ấy là (đấy/đó là)* is derived from the anaphoric demonstrative *ấy (đấy/đó)*.

Reformulation markers are described as “a complex semantic category that ranges from strict paraphrase to other values of specification, explanation, summary or denomination and even to non-paraphrastic meanings such as implication, conclusion and contrast” (Cuenca, 2003: 1073).

Examples of *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) ‘that is’ have shown that these reformulation markers can perform in two sub-functions of reformulation: ‘elaboration’ (i.e. giving specific information) and ‘modification’ (i.e. correcting the context of the prior discourse segment).

Because the reformulation markers *ấy là* and *đấy/đó là* are interchangeable without affecting the discourse meaning, in the following I will use instances of *ấy là* as the representative to discuss this category. Firstly there is the function of elaborating the information indicated in the previous discourse. Normally the information in question is quite general or ambiguous so that the hearer may encounter difficulties in understanding what it is actually about. This can be considered as the pragmatic motivation for the use of *ấy là* in such a context. *Ấy là* as well as other equivalent expressions are routinely used between two nominal phrases to signal that the latter segment carries information to facilitate the hearer’s interpretation of the prior one. As illustrated in example (133), *ấy là* provides the reference *Bờ Hồ* ‘Bo Ho’ for the indefinite expression *một khoảng lặng lớn* ‘a great place of quietness’.

- (133) Tạo hóa đã cho phố cổ một khoảng lặng
 creature ANT give street ancient a/one CL quiet
 lớn, *ấy*
 great DEM.DIST COP Bo Ho

‘The Creature has given the ancient streets a great place of quietness, *ấy là* Bo Ho.’

(Q. L. Nguyễn, 2013)

And similarly in (134), *ấy là* is used to elaborate the preceding information. That is, the three features of quietness, relaxedness and thoughtfulness are given after the use *ấy là* as details of the characteristic of people living in ancient streets.

- (134) Bây giờ mình mới để ý nhiều đến những gì gọi là
 now self new notice many PREP.toPL what call COP
 cá tính dân phố cổ, *ấy* là tĩnh, thong thả
 characteristic people street ancient DEM.DIST COP quiet relaxed
 và trầm ngâm
 and thoughtful

‘Now I have started to take notice of what is called the characteristic of people living in ancient streets, *ấy là* quiet, relaxed and thoughtful.’

(Q. L. Nguyễn, 2013)

However, *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) ‘that is’ is optional. It can be used to signal elaboration, or it can be omitted without changing the meaning of the utterances containing it. For instance, *Bờ Hồ* ‘Bo Ho’ in example (133) can immediately follow the expression *một khoảng lặng lớn* ‘a great place of quietness’ to give the latter clarification without the necessity for the elaboration indicator *ấy là*, as also indicated in example (134). The possibility of its removal reflects one of characteristics of the reformulation marker *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*), in that it does not contribute to the meaning of the discourse. This also helps in distinguishing *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) as a reformulation marker to the grammatical construction DEM + COP whose compositional meaning contributes to the meaning of the whole sentence where it occurs.

Next, the construction *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) can also be used to modify information provided in the prior discourse segment. This use is normally required when the prior segment is established on the basis of a wide context and thus, this may result in confusion for the hearer to understand or even a total misinterpretation of what the speaker wishes to communicate. In this case, *ấy là* is used to introduce a boundary for the intended context. The modification of contextual information should give the hearer better clues in order to achieve a better understanding. This can be illustrated in example (135).

- (135) Làng tôi nằm giữa vây quanh sông nước... Giàu có
village 1SG lie between surround river water rich
sông nước như vậy nên phù sa màu mỡ... Ấy là là
river water like such should alluvium fertile DEM.DIST COP
tôi nói chuyện đời xưa...
1SG say story life ancient
‘My village is surrounded by rivers... Such a wealthy river system provides fertile alluvium (for the village)... *Ấy là* I am telling the story (of the village) in the ancient time.’

(N. T. Nguyễn, 2011)

The paragraph in the example above is extracted from an article concerning the negative changes in a village as a result of industrialisation. This paragraph particularly describes the beauty of the village. Without a reference to time, such a description in the discourse segments prior to the use of *ấy là* ‘that is’ would be inappropriate and thus it would have become puzzling for the hearer to relate the descriptive information to the current condition of the village. The use of *ấy là* helps in narrowing the context by providing temporal information, i.e. *tôi nói chuyện đời xưa* ‘I am telling the story in the ancient time’, for the prior context. Example (136) shows a similar use of *ấy là* ‘that is’.

(136)	Tết	đến	là	người Việt	xa xứ...	thường	tập trung
	Tet holiday	come	COP	CL Vietnamese	expatriate	normally	gather
	...nấu những món ăn	quen thuộc...	Ấy	là	nếu	Tết	
	cook PL	CL	eat	familiar	DEM.DIST	COP	if Tet holiday
	“may mắn”	được	trùng	vào	những ngày	nghỉ	cuối tuần.
	lucky	obtain	coincide	PREP.in	PL	day	relax weekend
	‘When Tet comes, Vietnamese expatriates... normally gather... to cook traditional dishes... Ấy là if Tet holiday luckily coincides with weekends.’						

(GSK, 2014)

In this example, *ấy là* is used to introduce a restriction within a wider context. Prior to the use of *ấy là* ‘that is’, the speaker describes what Vietnamese expatriates do on Tet holiday. With this information, the hearer may assume that the expatriates undertake those activities on every Tet holiday. However, what the speaker wants to express is that the expatriates can do those things only if Tet coincides with a weekend. This modified information is then marked by *ấy là*.

From the examples above it can be seen that the functions of elaborating and modifying of *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) are carried out on the basis of the reference to the previous discourse segment. The marker *ấy là* gives specific information of what has been previously said in the elaboration function or modifies the contextual meaning of what has been previously established in the modification function. The deictic component *ấy* (*đấy/đó*) in *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) implies the anaphoric meaning. The status of *ấy* (*đấy/đó*) in the reformulation marker *ấy là* (*đấy/đó là*) can be related to the case of *that* in *that is* in English. Cuenca (2003) points out that the deictic element *that* becomes grammaticalised when it contributes to the structure of the reformulation marker *that is*. In particular, as Cuenca (2003: 1078) suggests, *that* “derives from a text deictic item which has lost its deictic nature through grammaticalization”. Diachronic data may be required to prove whether there is also a historical change in *ấy* (*đấy/đó*), but it is clear that the meaning of *ấy* (*đấy/đó*) in the reformulation function is based on its anaphoric function (see more in §8.4.2).

4.3.3 Concluding remarks

As analysed above, the anaphoric demonstratives *ấy* and *đấy/đó* are one of the sources of the discourse connectives (e.g. *ấy thế mà* ‘nevertheless’, *trong khi đó* ‘while’, *từ đó* ‘since then, consequently’, etc.) and the reformulation markers (*ấy là/đấy là/đó là* ‘that is’). In these discourse functions, these demonstratives help to guide the interpretation of the second discourse segment relative to the initial one and thus contribute to the hearer’s understanding of the semantic relationship between the two discourse segments. It can be assumed that the anaphoric meaning is associated with the evolution of the discourse connectives and the reformulation markers containing them.

4.4 Summary

We can now come to the point where the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* have various statuses in discourse in terms of the functions that they can perform as well as the semantic extensions that they may undergo.

In discourse, the proximal/distal distinctions are metaphorically understood in different ways depending on what discourse factors determine the use of each demonstrative. The analysis in section 4.2 illustrates this point. The proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are committed to referents having high importance and thus, high continuity values, as opposed to the distal demonstratives *ấy* and *đấy/đó*, which indicate less important topics. Therefore, nearness means high importance/continuity and farness means low importance/continuity. The metaphorical farness is also reflected in the uses of the other distal demonstratives *kia* and *nọ*. The distal demonstrative *kia* is specified in indicating the discourse farness by virtue of a certain length of absence or the speaker's feeling of distance to a referent. In contrast, the distal demonstrative *nọ* tends to be selectively used in telling stories in which its referent is related to a past time event.

In the function of anaphora, the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* tend to lose their spatial meaning and become more abstract. The anaphoric use of *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* is directly extended from the spatial use, and as a result the discourse distance is metaphorically inferred from the physical discourse. Then, amongst the anaphoric demonstratives, *ấy* and *đấy/đó* are continuously extended to the discourse functions of connectivity and reformulation. These anaphoric demonstratives function in association with other lexical components such as adverbs, adpositions or copulas and as a whole these expressions guide the hearer to interpret the relationship between two discourse segments in the way the speaker desires to communicate. The employment of demonstratives in the discourse domain is consistent with Traugott's (1986: 540) description that "over time, meanings tend to refer to less objective situations and more to subjective ones". The semantic change of *ấy* and *đấy/đó* from the spatial meaning to the anaphoric meaning and then to discourse meanings reflects this movement from objectivity to subjectivity.

It has so far been described that in the non-situational use, the intended referent of demonstratives can be identified through the clues of the preceding/succeeding discourse segments in the ongoing discourse. The following chapter will focus on another non-situational use of demonstratives: the first mention usage.

Chapter 5 First mention usage

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters focus on the situational and non-situational pragmatic functions of the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ*. In the situational function, these demonstratives are used as a means of directing the hearer's attention to an entity/location present in space (Chapter 2) or a time event on a time-line (Chapter 3). In the non-situational use, these terms draw the hearer's attention to referents that can be identified in the surrounding discourse (Chapter 4). This chapter will consider another non-situational use, in which demonstratives are used to introduce new referents into the discourse. This function belongs to the category referred to as 'first mention use' (Lindström, 2000).

Various types of first mentions expressed by demonstratives have been identified in the literature. First, the *presentational use* is defined in studies on indefinite *this*, whose referent is introduced for the first time into discourse and is new to the hearer (Maclaran, 1980, 1982; Prince, 1981; Ward, 1983). Maclaran (1982: 86) points out that indefinite *this*, which is also called the presentational *this* (as in *There was this farmer from Ballycastle who was taking his donkey to market*) is "particularly used at the beginning of anecdotes" and indicates the constraint on this use that "the speaker does not expect the hearer to recognise the referent of the description". Although the description of the presentational use has been drawn from English data, it is applicable for a similar use of demonstratives in other languages.

The *recognitional use* is another type of first mention usage where the intended referent is mentioned for the first time by a demonstrative. However, unlike the presentational use which has discourse-new/hearer-new referents, the recognitional use of demonstratives has referents which are identified on the basis of specific knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer, rather than through the situational or discursal contexts (cf. Cleary-Kemp, 2007; Diessel, 1999a). This use is illustrated in the example, *It was filmed in California, those dusty kinds of hills that they have out here by Stockton and all*, as suggested by Himmelmann (1996: 230). Pragmatically, demonstratives (such as *those* in the example) are used to signal the speaker's assumption that the hearer is familiar with the intended referent due to a previously shared experience. That is, intended referents of recognitional demonstratives are discourse-new/hearer-old. Besides English (Chen, 1990; Diessel, 1999a; Gundel et al., 1993), the recognitional use of demonstratives has been observed in many languages such as German (Auer, 1984), Indonesian, Mandarin (Tao, 1999), Swedish (Lindström, 2000), Lao (Enfield, 2003), Malayo-Polynesian (Cleary-Kemp, 2007), etc. In fact, Himmelmann (1996) proposes the recognitional use as one of four universal functions of demonstratives across languages of the world.

Hayashi and Yoon (2006) propose that first-mention demonstratives occur in contexts where the speaker encounters some difficulties in formulating a word during the process of communication. Demonstratives in this usage have been recognised as ‘filler words’ (Diessel, 1999a). However, it was not until Hayashi and Yoon’s (2006) study that this usage was observed cross-linguistically as an independent usage of demonstratives, on a par with other major usages in spatial, temporal or discourse contexts. It has been established that in diverse languages (e.g. Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, Nahavaq, Estonian) demonstratives can be used in the context of word-formulation trouble (Amiridze, Davis, & Maclagan, 2010). However, not all usages of demonstratives described under the scope of word-formulation trouble fit into the category of first mention use.

According to Hayashi and Yoon (2006), there are three types of demonstrative usages occurring in such a situation. They are *placeholder use*, *avoidance use* and *interjective hesitator use*. As a placeholder, the demonstrative is placed in the syntactic slot of a word because the speaker has trouble formulating the word at the referring time. As an avoidance device, the demonstrative is used when the speaker wants to intentionally avoid an explicit mention of the intended referent because it may be face-threatening. These two functions fall into the scope of the first mention use since demonstratives are used to indicate a new referent to discourse (Lindström, 2000). However, the use of demonstratives in the function of interjective hesitators like *uh* and *um* in English is different. Semantically, they are used non-referentially, indicating an empty referent. Syntactically, they are “not produced as a syntactic constituent of an utterance-in-progress” (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006: 507). These characteristics suggest that an interjective hesitator should be described as a paralinguistic signal rather than a referential device. For these reasons, the interjection hesitator function is not included in the first mention use of demonstratives, as is also indicated in Lindström (2000).

Unlike discourse usage in which the intended referent is discourse-old/hearer-new, the first mention usage of demonstratives (including presentational, recognitional, place holder and avoidance functions) designates the discourse-new with two variations of hearer-old and hearer-new. In the following sections, I propose that the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đây/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* are exclusively used in the mentioned types of first mention usage. In particular, only the distal demonstratives *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ* are used as presentational demonstratives (§5.2), while the recognitional use allows the adnominal use of both the proximal *này* and the distal *đây/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* (§5.3). More interestingly, *ấy* is the only choice out of the seven demonstratives for the speaker to use in dealing with word-formulation trouble in standard Vietnamese (§5.4).

I also propose a special use of the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* in section 5.5. These terms are particularly used in contexts where the speaker intends to avoid an explicit mention in

order to retain the referent as private information. In this use, the speaker normally refuses to provide clarification upon the hearer's request and instead uses either *này* or *đây* as unidentifiable referent. I recognise this use of *này* and *đây* as a type of first mention usage although it is clear that this use does not fit into any of the descriptions of first mention usage indicated above. The term *privacy usage* is therefore suggested as my own description of a particular use involving only proximal demonstratives in the language.

5.2 *Kia, nọ, ấy* and presentational usage

The presentational use of the three distal demonstratives *kia*, *nọ* and *ấy* occurs in narratives, including fairy tales, folklore jokes, legends and colloquial anecdotes. In this function, these terms are routinely used at the beginning of a narrative in order to provide background information in the narrative regarding the character(s), space, or time.

A Vietnamese narrative⁷ normally begins with information about spatio-temporal settings marked by *kia*, *nọ*, and *ấy*. The use of these terms in indicating such initial information enables the speaker to focus the hearer's attention on a different space and time zone from where the characters of the story emerge. As shown in example (137), *kia*, *nọ*, and *ấy* can combine with a spatial noun such as *vùng* 'region' or *làng* 'village' to establish locational settings.

- (137) a. Ngày xưa, ở một làng *kia* có một cái giếng.
 day ancient PREP.at a/one village DEM.DIST have a/one CL well
 'Once upon a time, at a village *kia* there was a well.'
- b. Ở một vùng *nọ* có hai vợ chồng nghèo.
 PREP.at one region DEM.DIST have two wife husband poor
 'In region *nọ*, there was a poor married couple.'
- c. Thuở xa xưa lắm rồi, vùng *ấy* có một
 time far ancient very already region DEM.DIST have a/one
 ông vua biết yêu thương mọi nhà.
 grandfather King know love all house
 'Very long time in the past, region *ấy* had a loving King.'

(Viện Văn học, 2004a)

Or in example (138), *kia*, *nọ*, and *ấy* combine with a temporal noun such as *xưa* 'ancient time' or *thuở* 'a period of time' to indicate the time when the story takes place. In these cases, the temporal

⁷ Here, I am referring to a traditional narrative like a fairy tale or folk joke based on the source material used in this thesis. However, from my personal interactions I have observed that *nọ* is also popularly used in everyday discourse where a story about past happenings is told in just a few sentences of a conversation.

expressions *xưa kia* as in (138a), *thuở nọ* as in (138b), and *thuở ấy* as in (138c) encode a period of time long before the point at which the story is being told.

- (138) a. Xưa *kia*, trong một làng nhỏ tỉnh Bắc Ninh,
ancient DEM.DIST PREP.in a/one village small province Bac Ninh
có một người con gái nhà nghèo, đẹp...
have a/one CL CL girl house poor beautiful
‘Long time *kia*, in a small village of Bac Ninh province, there was a poor, beautiful girl...’
- b. Thuở *nọ*, có một cậu bé tên là Thâm Mò Bal.
time DEM.DIST have a/one CL young name COP Tham Mo Bal
‘Long time *nọ*, there was a boy named Tham Mo Bal.’
- c. Thuở *ấy*, ở một khu rừng nọ có bốn
time DEM.DIST PREP.at one CL forest DEM.DIST have four
con vật là thỏ, khỉ, rái cá và chó rừng...
CL animal COP rabbit monkey otter and jackal
‘Long time *ấy*, in this forest, there was four animals including a rabbit, a monkey, an otter and a jackal...’

(Viện Văn học, 2004a)

The fact that narratives are typically understood as a discourse mode representing and referring to events of the past (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997) is represented through the presentational use of *kia*, *nọ*, and *ấy*. Specifically, the spatial presentational demonstratives *kia*, *nọ*, and *ấy* indicate a remote place while the temporal presentational *kia*, *nọ* and *ấy* encode a remote time of a narrated world in the past. Here, I propose the terms *spatial presentational* and *temporal presentational* in order to distinguish the spatial and temporal senses that *kia*, *nọ* and *ấy* encode in narratives from those meanings of demonstratives when they are used in situational contexts. Accordingly, the terms *kia*, *nọ*, and *ấy* are spatial presentational demonstratives when they indicate the location where the story occurs, and temporal presentational demonstratives when they indicate information about temporal settings.

The second type of referent that the spatial presentational demonstratives can denote is character(s) of the story, which are unknown to the hearer. Unlike the spatio-temporal settings provided as general information, the main characters of the story are highly likely to be talked about again as topics in the ongoing discourse. As Maclaran (1982: 89) suggests, demonstratives in the presentational use can “draw attention to the fact that the speaker has a particular referent in mind, about which further information may be given”. An examination of instances of the spatial presentational use involving Vietnamese distal demonstratives indicates that the two terms *kia* and *nọ* are associated with character(s) of narratives as their referents while *ấy* is not appropriate. In this

use, the presentational demonstratives *kia* and *nọ* often appear in syntactic constructions that are used to represent noteworthy referents of narratives. For example, noun phrases marked by these terms indicating characters of a narrative such as *người kia* ‘person *kia*’ as in (139) or *anh chàng nọ* ‘man *nọ*’ in (140) function as the subject of the introductory sentence.

(139) Người *kia* nghèo nhưng lại muốn làm sang.
 person DEM.DIST poor but again want do luxurious
 ‘Person *kia* is poor but snobbish.’

(140) Anh chàng *nọ* tính khoác lác đã quen.
 CL man DEM.DIST character bragging ANT familiar
 Bữa *kia* đi chơi về bảo vợ...
 day DEM.DIST go play return tell wife
 ‘Man *nọ* had a habit of bragging. One day, going home after going out, he told his wife...’

(Viện Văn học, 2004b)

However, the most typical sentential construction in which *kia* and *nọ* normally occur is the existential *có* ‘there is/are’, as illustrated in the examples below:

(141) Có một anh điếc *kia* đến chơi nhà một
 have one older-brother deaf DEM.DIST come play house a/one
 người bạn. Con chó thấy anh, sủa om sòm...
 CL friend CL dog see older-brother bark loudly
 ‘There was one deaf man *kia* visiting a friend. (His friend’s) dog saw him and started barking loudly...’

(142) Có ba văn nhân *nọ* thường tự phụ
 have three poet DEM.DIST usually overproud
 là thơ hay...
 COP poem good
 ‘There were three poets *nọ* usually being overproud of (composing) good poems...’

(Viện Văn học, 2004b)

When appearing in the existential construction *có* ‘there is/are’ which is similar to English *there is/are* in that it functions to “provide ground for the upcoming figure” (Chen, 2011: 50), the spatial presentational demonstratives *kia* as in (141) and *nọ* as in (142) have an indefinite interpretation. Based on the classic test for indefiniteness proposed by Prince (1981), we can prove indefiniteness of these terms as follows: first, *kia* and *nọ* can be deleted from referring expressions that are preceded by the existential *có* ‘there is/are’. And second, *kia* and *nọ* can be replaced by *một* ‘a/an’ – a singular-indefinite article which can only occur in indefinite contexts; otherwise *một* functions as the numeral ‘one’ (T. C. Nguyễn, 1975; T. H. Nguyen, 2004). For example, *kia* in (141) and *nọ* in

(142) may be omitted and these sentences remain grammatical, and indefiniteness of the expressions *một anh điếc* ‘one deaf man’ and *ba văn nhân* ‘three poets’ remains obvious. A number of examples where *kia* or *nọ* do not originally form indefinite noun phrases indicating a referent at its first mention support the proposition that *kia* (*nọ*) can be removed, as in *một thầy đồ* ‘a male teacher’ in example (143) and *anh chàng Ngọc* ‘a man named Ngọc’ in (144), and replaced by *một* as especially indicated in (143).

(143) Có *một* *thầy đồ* rất nhát...
 have a/one male teacher very cowardly
 ‘There was a very cowardly teacher...’

(144) Ở *một* làng *nọ* có *anh* *chàng Ngọc* bố mẹ
 PREP one village DEM.DIST have CL man Ngọc.silly father mother
 mất sớm.
 die early
 ‘In this village, there was a man named Ngọc, who lost his parents very early.’

(Viện Văn học, 2004b)

By indefiniteness, *kia* and *nọ* indicate that the referent is discourse-new and hearer-new. But, as mentioned previously, the presentational use is only identified in contexts where the speaker has a particular referent in mind (Maclaran, 1982), which is to say, the presentational demonstratives *kia* and *nọ* are used specifically. While the determiner *một* ‘a/an’ can be specific or unspecific, the spatial presentational forms *kia* and *nọ* are consistently used to mark specific indefinites. The overlapping in terms of marking specific indefinites makes the determiner *một* and the spatial presentational *kia* and *nọ* interchangeable. However, when they co-exist side by side in the same referring expression such as *một anh điếc kia* ‘one deaf man *kia*’ in example (141), specificity is particularly marked by the spatial presentational *kia* or *nọ* while *một* is more likely interpreted as the numeral ‘one’. Clearly, in the presentational usage the forms *kia* and *nọ* indicate specific indefinites. This is similar to the two cases of indefinite *this* in English and *ur* in Urim (Diessel, 1999a) regarding the fact that demonstrative forms are used to introduce a new discourse which will persist in the subsequent discourse. In fact, indefinite *this* and *ur* are recognised as specific indefinite articles which are derived from adnominal demonstratives as the result of grammaticalisation, as suggested by Diessel (1999a: 138-139).

The presentational demonstratives *kia*, *nọ* and *ấy* indicate the typical ‘there-and-then’ coordinate system of the narrative world in relation to the story-teller point of view. Accordingly, a location/entity of the imaginary world in question is distant from the telling situation and narrative events must happen prior to the telling time so that a story related to them can be told. In this

regard, the presentational meaning of these terms is closely related to their situational usage. This is represented in Table 30.

Table 30. The meaning of *kia*, *nọ* and *áy* in the spatial and presentational usages

Function	Referent type	Meaning		
		<i>kia</i>	<i>nọ</i>	<i>áy</i>
Spatial	Physical location	[distal]	-	[distal]
	Entities	[distal]	[distal]	[distal]
Spatial Presentational	Narrative location	[distal]	[distal]	[distal]
	Entities	[distal]	[distal]	-
Temporal	Situational time	[past]	[past]	-
Temporal Presentational	Narrative time	[past]	[past]	[past]

In contrast to Vietnamese, English only uses the proximal demonstrative *this* in the presentational usage (Diessel, 1999a; Gundel et al., 1993; Maclaran, 1980, 1982; Prince, 1981; Ward, 1983). This difference is associated with the variation in sources from which this meaning of demonstratives is derived in each language. It is argued that the presentational use of *this* is related to its cataphoric function in the sense of providing more information related to the intended referent in the subsequent discourse (Gernsbacher & Jescheniak, 1995; Gernsbacher & Shroyer, 1989). This is certainly not the case of the presentational *kia*, *nọ* and *áy* in Vietnamese since these terms are not cataphorically used (§4.2.1).

In summary, the presentational usage of the distal demonstratives *kia*, *nọ* and *áy* is specifically identified in the narrative genre. Appropriate use of these terms in providing background information for a story requires a referent that is new to both the discourse and the hearer. The particular characteristic of indicating specific indefinites differentiates the presentational usage from the other types of first mention use. For instance, if the same forms *kia*, *nọ* and *áy* are used to refer to something that is familiar to the hearer, i.e. specific definites, they are then identified as recognitional demonstratives, as we will see in the following section.

5.3 Recognitional usage

In this section, the recognitional usage of Vietnamese demonstratives is defined on the basis of two distinctive features suggested in previous studies (Diessel, 1999a; Himmelmann, 1996), that is:

- (i) the intended referent of the recognitional usage can only be retrieved from the specific, personalised knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer; and
- (ii) recognitional demonstratives can only appear in the adnominal position.

While the described function has been generally restricted to distal demonstratives in other languages, such as English *that/those* as in “...it was filmed in California, those dusty kind of hills that they have out there in Stockton...” (Himmelmann, 1996: 239), it is important to note that this usage is symmetrical in Vietnamese as both the proximal and distal demonstratives are compatible with this function. The following will illustrate that except for the proximal demonstrative *đây*, the rest of the Vietnamese demonstrative system including *này*, *ấy*, *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *no* can be used in the recognitional function.

Let us firstly look at the distal group used as recognitional demonstratives in the language. One interesting feature is that the recognitional usage involves all the distal demonstratives *ấy*, *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *no*. Consider the following example:

(145) [As soon as Thu arrives, he sees the district minister Luan has already been there. Not waiting to be asked, Thu whispers to Luan:]

- Tôi	đang	cố	gắng	thu	xếp	chuyện	ấy	õn	thoả
1SG	PROG	try		arrange	story		DEM.DIST		satisfactory
anh		a.							
older-brother		PART							

‘I’ve been trying to arrange matter *ấy* satisfactorally.’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

Example (145) illustrates the first mention use of the distal demonstrative *ấy* preceded by a noun *chuyện* ‘story’ (which can be glossed as ‘matter’ in this situation). The use of *ấy* indicates that the matter that the speaker mentions at the beginning of the conversation is familiar to the hearer. In this usage, *ấy* can be replaced by *đấy/đó* without affecting an encoded meaning such as this. The recognitional use of *đấy/đó* is also illustrated by other examples such as in the following conversation between Cuc and Lam extracted from a novel:

(146) Lam: Anh thi đậu rồi đó.
 older-brother test pass already DEMPART
 ‘I passed the examination.’

Cuc: Ủa, em mừng quá trời luôn.
 INTERJ younger-sibling happy very sky PART
 ‘Well, I am so happy (for you).’

Lam: Mừng khơi khơi vậy hả?
 happy simple such PART
 ‘Just simply happy for me?’

Cuc: Chớ anh Lâm muốn mừng rằng?
 NEG older-brother Lam want happy how.(dialect)
 ‘Then what do you want?’

- Lam: Cái vụ đó đó.
 CL event DEM.DIST DEMPART
 ‘Event *đó*, you know.’
- Cuc: Vụ đó đó là vụ gì?
 event DEM.DIST DEMPART COP event what
 ‘What is event *đó*?’
- Lam: Vụ Cúc hứa bữa trước đó.
 event Cuc promise day before DEMPART
 ‘What you promised before, you know.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1999)

Similar to the use of *ấy* in the previous example, the demonstrative *đó* in (146) is used in combination with the noun phrase *cái vụ* ‘the event’ at its first mention. As indicated in the context, the hearer Cuc had previously promised that if Lam passed his examination, she would do something for him. In this example, the speaker Lam uses *đó* to remind Cuc of her previous promise which he expects her to remember. However, Cuc does not realise what Lam actually means in his use of the expression *cái vụ đó* ‘that event’. She then asks for clarification.

The example reflects another characteristic of the recognitional usage. That is, the intended referent may not be immediately identified by the hearer at its first mention. Therefore, the hearer can request more information while the speaker is willing to provide more details so as to support the hearer’s identification task. The fact that the recognitional use is mainly found in spontaneous discourse (Himmelmann, 1996: 230) may be derived from this characteristic. By employing a recognitional demonstrative, the speaker can ensure that the hearer can identify the intended referent via their personalised knowledge. The recognitional use of the distal demonstrative *kia*, as illustrated in example (147) is similar in this respect.

- (147) Khoa: Thế còn tụi *kia*?
 so remain group DEM.DIST
 ‘How about group *kia*?’
- Ba: Tụi nào?
 group which
 ‘Which one?’
- Khoa: Tụi thằng Ngũ, thằng Hòa.
 group CL.boy Ngu CL.boy Hoa
 ‘The group (that includes) Ngu, Hoa.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1991b)

Example (147) includes the recognitional demonstrative *kia* occurring with the collective noun *tụi* ‘group’. The use of *kia* directs the hearer to think of a group of boys (expressed by the noun *tụi*

‘group’) that both the speaker and the hearer are acquainted with and thus, the hearer is expected to be able to recognise them due to the shared experience. Because there is more than one group of friends that can be retrieved from the hearer’s memory, the hearer asks the speaker to clarify by saying *Tụi nào?* ‘Which one?’.

A question seeking more information is normally posed in the recognitional function. However, in the case where a noun phrase precedes *kia* carrying sufficient information that enables the intended referent to be identified, the hearer will not require additional information. In example (148), the speaker uses *kia* in the noun phrase *con bé kia* ‘that girl’ referring to a girl that the hearer is dating. The hearer’s spontaneous response to the question implies that the intended referent expressed by *kia* is accessible at its first mention.

- (148) Uncle Dan: *À, còn chuyện con bé kia*
 INTERJ remain story CL young DEM.DIST
đến đâu rồi hở con?
 come where already PART child
 ‘By the way, what is your current situation with girl *kia*?’
- Khoa: *Chưa đến đâu cả bác ạ.*
 NEG_{PERF} come where all uncle PART
 ‘No progress, uncle.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. f)

As noted at the beginning of the section, the major factor that determines the use of recognitional demonstratives is the mutual experience from the past that the speaker and the hearer share. The relationship of the intended referent to the past time event is explicitly reflected through the use of *nọ*. Unlike the other distal demonstratives *ấy, đấy/đó* and *kia*, the demonstrative *nọ* cannot be used in direct combination with a noun or noun phrase denoting the intended referent. Rather, *nọ* often appears in the temporal expression *hôm nọ* ‘a few days before yesterday’, which is then combined with the noun or noun phrase expressing the intended referent. The added information indicated by *hôm nọ* (that can be glossed as ‘the other day’ in this use) helps the hearer to remember the intended referent by narrowing the temporal span of common interactional history or shared experiences to recent times. This is illustrated in the following example:

- (149) Dung Co: *Mày đi đâu mất tăm mất tích vậy?*
 2SG go where disappear such
Vụ đó sao rồi?
 event DEM.DIST how already
 ‘Where have you been? How is event *đó* going?’

Bo Luc: Tụi nó đồng ý! Trưa mai tụi nó sẽ
 group 3SG agree noon tomorrow group 3SG ASP
 đến góc đường hôm nọ đợi tụi mình!
 come corner street day DEM.DIST wait group self
 ‘They agreed! At noon tomorrow, they will be waiting for us at the street
 corner *hôm nọ* (-the other day).’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. h)

In example (149), the noun phrase *góc đường* ‘street corner’ occurs for the first time in the conversation with the temporal expression *hôm nọ* ‘the other day’. The descriptive information expressed by *hôm nọ* prompts the hearer to search for the intended referent from the shared experience that happened in the past few days, i.e., when the relevant boys recently gathered at the mentioned street corner. From my observation, such recognitional use of *nọ* as analysed above is commonly used in situations where the intended referent is able to be recalled from the recent past.

Even when the temporal expression *hôm nọ* is added as descriptive information into the first mention of a noun or noun phrase, information about the intended referent can be further elaborated upon if necessary. That is demonstrated in (150). The conversation takes place between a waitress and a customer in a very popular noodle restaurant.

(150) Waitress: Bác dùng loại gì ạ?
 uncle use CL.sort what PART
 ‘Which style (of Pho) do you want?’

Customer: Cho tôi phở hôm nọ, à vâng,
 give 1SG noodle day DEM.DIST INTERJ INTERJ
 tái nạm.
 rare steak flank
 ‘Give me noodles *hôm nọ* (-the other day), ah yes, (noodles served with) rare
 steak and flank.’

(Tạ, n.d.)

In this particular context, it may be hard for the waitress to remember the favorite noodles of each customer, considering that the famous food restaurant might have a large number of customers every day. Thus, the referring expression *phở hôm nọ* ‘(the style of) noodles from the other day’ may not be sufficient enough for the hearer to readily identify the order. For that reason, the speaker (the customer) provides additional information to describe what he ordered on *hôm nọ* ‘the other day’, that is *tái nạm* ‘noodles served with rare steak and flank’, to provide clarification for the waitress.

The analysis above suggests that the distal demonstratives *ấy, đấy/đó, kia* and *nọ* (in *hôm nọ*) integrate into the recognitional function in the same manner. They denote information that occurs in

the discourse for the first time (i.e. discourse-new), but the hearer is assumed to be aware of the intended referent due to previous experience shared with the speaker (i.e. hearer-old). Relative to the referring time, the shared experiences of participants may be in the recent or distant past. As illustrated previously, the use of *hôm nọ* attached to the noun or noun phrase at its first mention specifically enables the intended referent to be recalled from shared experiences of a few days before the conversation, whereas the use of the distal demonstratives *ấy*, *đấy/đó* and *kia* reminds the hearer of something that may have occurred in the more distant past.

In addition to the function of those distal demonstratives, the proximal demonstrative *này* can be used to denote information that is discourse-new and hearer-old. Unlike the distal demonstratives *ấy*, *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *nọ* (in *hôm nọ*) as discussed previously, the use of the proximal demonstrative *này* refers to something that belongs to shared experiences which started in the recent past and has become of interest/concern to both the speaker and the hearer up to the current point of the communication. As a result, I suggest that the distinction between short-term memory and long-term memory as suggested by Gundel et al. (1993) determines the choice of the available recognitional demonstratives in particular contexts as illustrated in the cases below.

Example (151) is a conversation between Thu's sister-in-law (the speaker) and Thu (the hearer). The context is as follows: Thu's brother (the speaker's husband) took revenge on a family in the village. He then was captured and punished by the authorities. As Thu held a high governmental position in the village, the family had expected that he could do something to help his brother out of trouble. The utterance in (151) is made when Thu's sister-in-law happens to meet him while she is on her way back from a visit to where her husband is being held.

- (151) - *Kia chú Thu, thế chú định giải quyết việc này*
 DEMINTERJ uncle Thu so uncle intend solve CL.matter DEM.PROX
thế nào?
 how
 'Thu, how are you going to solve matter *này*?'

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

In this example, the general noun *việc* 'matter' is mentioned for the first time in the conversation. It is followed by the proximal demonstrative *này* which indicates that the intended referent is familiar to the hearer, i.e. the matter of Thu's brother being held. In addition, the recognitional use of *này* implies that Thu's brother's situation is a current concern of the family.

Similar use of *này* can be found in example (152). The utterance in (152) is part of a conversation among three girls. The day before the conversation takes place, one of the girls finds a letter in her school desk from a boy at the school asking her to be friends. Together, the girls write

back with a candy enclosed to tease him for his childish behaviour. The next morning, the girls come to school and together check where they have placed their responding letter. As soon as they find that everything has gone, the girl who had the idea of writing back makes the following utterance:

- (152) - *Thằng bé này ngoan thật!*
 CL.boy young DEM.PROX well-behaved real
 ‘Boy *này* (seems to) be very well-behaved.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1993a)

The intended referent expressed by the noun phrase *thằng bé* ‘(the) boy’ is new to the discourse because it appears for the first time in the conversation. The proximal demonstrative *này* attached to the noun phrase indicates that the hearers are familiar with the intended referent. More particularly, the intended referent indicated by *này* identifies this new experience shared by the speaker and the hearers. As mentioned previously, the recognitional use of *này* is determined by the ongoing common experience of the retrieval source as apposed to the distal *ấy, đấy/đó, kia* and *nọ*.

When the demonstratives *này, ấy, đấy/đó, kia* and *nọ* are used in the recognitional function, they are strongly marking familiarity drawn from shared knowledge. In this regard, referents indicated by recognitional demonstratives have a similar status to those marked by anaphoric demonstratives, except for the demonstrative *nọ* whose recognitional use is associated with the temporal meaning. In Chapter 8, the relationship between the recognitional use of these terms and their earlier related functions will be discussed through the cases of *ấy* and *nọ*.

5.4 *Ấy* and word formulation trouble

Unlike the presentational (§5.2) and recognitional function (§5.3), which involve different forms of demonstratives, the placeholder and avoidance usages of additional sub-types of the first mention use only occur with the demonstrative *ấy*. Note that the distal demonstrative *nó* can also be used in these functions in the Binh Tri Thien dialect.

5.4.1 Placeholder usage

Besides the official name of “placeholder”, demonstratives employed in this function are also known by names such as “substitute” or “dummy terms” (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006). To some extent, these three names reflect the nature of any demonstrative in the placeholder usage. They are employed to ‘hold a place’ in the utterance-in-progress, are temporarily replaceable for a ‘yet-to-be-produced lexical item’ and are metalinguistically used to point to a linguistic property. These characteristics can be illustrated in the use of *ấy*.

The distal *ấy* is commonly used to hold the syntactic position of a word that the speaker is momentarily unable to produce. In this use, the occurrence of *ấy* helps to hold the hearer's attention while the speaker is seeking the target word. Consider the following example:

- (153) Woman: Hà? Đi đâu? Anh đang muốn chúng ta...
 INTERJ go where older-brother PROG want 1PL
 'What? Go where? You want us...'
 Man: Đi *ấy*, đi bụi thôi cũng được...
 go DEM.DIST go dust stop also obtain
 'Go *ấy* (WHAT-d'you-call-it), go for a street life is alright...'

(Hà, 2010)

In example (153), the verb *đi* 'go' occurring in the man's utterance is used as a verb of activities. The distal demonstrative *ấy* appearing after the verb works as a substitute for a direct object nominal expressing either the location where the activity may be performed (as projected by the woman's question, *Đi đâu?* 'Go where?') or the activity itself. In this context, the speaker can immediately specify the referent of the placeholder demonstrative *ấy* when he repeats the verb *đi* 'go' and provides the target word, *bụi* 'dust', right after the use of *ấy*. The recovering verb expression *đi bụi* 'go dust' is idiomatically used to indicate the action of leaving home and having a directionless street life.

In addition to the use of *ấy* following a verb in a verb phrase during word-formulation trouble, there are instances of *ấy* serving in a noun phrase to hold a place for a more specific noun until the sought-after linguistic item is provided. In example (154), *ấy* is used in the syntactic slot of a temporarily unavailable noun of the noun phrase *chỗ ấy* 'that place' at its first mention:

- (154) - Nó cứ nhất quyết phải đi bằng được ra chỗ *ấy*,
 3SG PART insist must go PART obtain out place DEM.DIST
 chỗ ngôi mộ hoang...
 place CL grave wild
 'She was insisting on going out to place *ấy* (WHAT-d'you-call-it), place of a wild grave...'

(Kase_ann, 2013)

By producing *ấy* after a general noun *chỗ* 'place' indicating an empty referent, the speaker in this context signals that she is facing difficulty in specifying the exact place where her daughter wanted to go to. Similar to example (153), the speaker of (154) repeats the general noun *chỗ* 'place' and then provides the noun phrase *ngôi mộ hoang* 'wild grave' as the referent for the placeholder *ấy* produced earlier. As indicated in the context of this utterance, the speaker (the mother) is in a state of shock when she finds that her daughter has disappeared. The fact that the speaker is traumatised

while trying to tell her daughter's friends about the weird things that have been happening to her daughter explains her difficulty in word-formulation.

The next example shows a similar place-holding use of *áy*. In this situation, although the speaker (the father) can immediately recognise the belongings of a person that he knows, he is not able to recall the name of the person. The demonstrative *áy* is employed in the place for the name instead. The first mention expressed by a noun phrase consisting of the general noun *thằng* 'boy' and the distal demonstrative *áy* as a placeholder holds the hearer's attention until the referent of *áy* is specified, i.e. the proper name *Hậu*.

(155) Son: Còn cái này nữa đây, cha!
 remain CL DEM.PROX more DEMPART father
 'Here is one more thing, dad!'

Father: Của thằng áy. Thằng Hậu đây mà!
 PREP.of CL.boy DEM.DIST CL.boy Hau DEM.PROX PART
 '(The thing) of boy *áy* (WHAT-d'you-call-it). Hau!'

(Người Khăn Trắng, n.d.)

One common feature of the placeholder use in language is that the word-searching process is normally combined with "intra-turn pauses, sound stretches, repetitions, hesitation signals, etc." (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006: 500). In the written medium, pauses may be marked by punctuations. In the example above, a pause between the placeholder *áy* in the noun phrase *thằng áy* 'that boy' and its referent in *thằng Hậu* 'Hau' is marked by a full stop. On comparing the use of commas in examples (153)-(154), we can assume that the speaker in example (155) may need a longer time for the searching process. However, an examination of placeholder use is much more fruitful with spoken data, where the many signals of difficulty in word-formulation can be observed, as already documented in Hayashi and Yoon's (2006) study.

As in many other languages, the placeholder use of *áy* in Vietnamese is particularly identified in spontaneous oral discourse. Examples taken from spontaneous conversation also show that in addition to nouns, *áy* can hold syntactic slots for different parts of speech, such as verbs and adjectives. For example, *áy* in (156) is used as a placeholder for a verb, which is subsequently articulated as *hát* 'to sing' and in (157), where *áy* temporarily holds the place for an adjective until the target word *gầy* 'skinny' is mentioned.

(156) - Kia, áy đi, hát đi!
 DEMINTERJ DIST.DEM IMP sing IMP
 'Come on! (let's) *áy* (WHAT-d'you-call-it), let's sing!'

(157) - Cháu nhà tôi *ấy* lắm, gầy lắm.
 grandchild family 1SG DIST.DEM very skinny very
 ‘My child is very *ấy* (WHAT-d’you-call-it), very skinny.’

(Adapted from daily conversation overheard by the author)

The placeholder use of *ấy* is a common problem-solving solution in communication; it enables the utterance-in-process to continue uninterrupted by holding the place of a sought-after word. As a result, the hearer’s attention is maintained while the speaker is in the process of searching. Although all of the examples above illustrate that the word-formulation trouble is mainly solved by the speaker, as it is “a part of the practice for self-repair” (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006: 500), the example below suggests that in addition to the speaker, the hearer can also join the word searching process, especially when the speaker is struggling to remember the referent.

(158) Mai: Kể cả cái thằng cu con nhà mà *ấy*
 tell all FOC CL.boy male child house 2SG DEM.DIST
 cũng không được biết đâu, cái thằng người sống *ấy*,
 also NEG obtain know where FOC CL.boy person living DEM.DIST
 cái thằng gì đấy.
 FOC CL.boy what DEM.DIST
 ‘Even your son *ấy* is not allowed to know, the living male person *ấy*, the what-one *đấy*.’

Loi: Thằng cháu Thanh.
 CL.boy grandchild Thanh
 ‘(It’s) Thanh.’

(Hà et al., 2010)

In example (158), *ấy* is used twice in the utterance of the speaker Mai. In the first use, i.e. *cái thằng cu con nhà mà ấy* ‘your son *ấy*’, the speaker clearly identifies the hearer’s son as the referent through the use of *ấy* as a recognitional demonstrative, indicating a referent familiar to the hearer. *Ấy* is used again in the subsequent noun phrase *cái thằng người sống ấy* ‘the living male person *ấy*’. By using *ấy* a second time, the speaker of (158) exhibits his word-formulation trouble in a more deliberate way. Eventually, the speaker’s use of *ấy* to hold the place for the missing word is explicitly represented through a noun phrase consisting of the question word *gì* ‘what’. The referent provided in the hearer’s response displays his understanding that the speaker is facing the difficulty in world formulation and that by repeating the use of *ấy*, he has accepted the speaker’s invitation to participate in seeking the referent. Although the placeholder use of *ấy* facilitates the hearer’s access to the referent on the basis of shared knowledge or familiarity, this use of *ấy* is sometimes ambiguous with its recognitional meaning (§5.3).

It can be seen that in cases where the speaker is not able to provide the referent of *ấy*, she can

signal the need for the hearer's cooperation in the word search by repeating the form. This is different to languages where more than one demonstrative is available in the placeholder use. In Korean for example, *ku*-forms indicate that the referent is accessible to both the speaker and the hearer while only the speaker's access is marked through the use of *ce*-forms. This is similar to Mandarin where *na-ge* and *zhe-ge* are used as placeholders (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006). The distinction between shared access and the speaker's access to the referent is marked by different forms in those languages, which contrasts with the singular *áy* form in Vietnamese. In connection to the recognitional use, *áy* not only marks the hearer's access but is also used when the speaker does not intend to specify the referent, as discussed in the following section.

5.4.2 Avoidance usage

When one says something impolite, offensive, or face-threatening, one takes the “risk of social transgression” (Hayashi and Yoon, 2006: 501), resulting in personal tension, embarrassment, or discomfort. The use of demonstratives instead of the explicit mention of a word for the purpose of face-saving has been observed as an avoidance strategy in many languages. Enfield (2003) points out that Lao people use the distal demonstrative *nan*⁴ ‘that’ in the expression *quan*⁰-*nan*⁴ ‘that thing’ referring to something sensitive such as one's health condition or some socio-political matters. In a similar manner, the distal demonstrative *na-ge/nei-ge* in Mandarin, the medial *ku* in Korean, and the distal demonstratives *a*-series (e.g. *are* ‘that thing’, *asoko* ‘that place’, etc.) in Japanese are deliberately used to avoid a specification (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006) (§1.5.1). The Vietnamese distal demonstrative *áy* has a similar function. Here, I propose that *áy* can be used in two situations: (i) to replace anything about which the speaker personally feels sensitive and believes that the hearer shares her sensitivity and (ii) to replace things that are considered sensitive throughout the community, especially in relation to sexual matters, where the avoidance use of *áy* has been idiomatised.

The following example demonstrates the replacement use of *áy* for something that is sensitive only from the speaker's point of view. In this conversation, Trang is asking her friend Vu about her appearance, that is, whether he thinks she is pretty.

- (159) Trang: 1- *Này* *tôi* *hỏi* *thật!* *Cậu* *thấy* *tôi* *trông*
 DEMINTERJ 1SG ask real 2SG see 1SG look
có *ấy* *không?*
 AST DEM.DIST NEG
 ‘Hey, I sincerely ask you (this). Do you think I am *ấy*?’
- Vu: 2- *À* *xét* *về* *mặt* *toàn diện* *thì* *cậu* *cũng*
 INTERJ consider PREP.about aspect general TOP 2SG also
ấy!
 DEM.DIST
 ‘Well, in general, you are *ấy*!’
- 3-...*Cô* *hỏi* *hay* *nhi?* *Ấy* *là* *cái* *gì?*
 aunt ask nice PART DEM.DIST COP CL what
 ‘...How nice your question is! What (do you mean) by *ấy*?’
- Trang: 4- *Xinh* *ý(i)!*
 pretty DEMPART
 ‘Pretty, you know!’

(*Bóng ma học đường [A school ghost]*, 2013)

The speaker Trang uses *ấy* to avoid explicitly mentioning a self-praising descriptor (i.e. *xinh* ‘pretty’, as indicated in line 4). The occurrence of *ấy* in this context indicates that the speaker is conscious that openly enquiring about having good looks is sensitive (or even embarrassing). Thus, by using *ấy* as an avoidance device, she firstly avoids appearing proud about her looks but potentially could also save face should the hearer’s opinion differ from her own. In his response, Vu also uses *ấy* to avoid telling Trang frankly what he thinks about her, which is likely to hurt her feelings. Although the referent of *ấy* is not specified in either the question (line 1) or the answer (line 2), the speakers of these utterances can assume that the hearers will understand what *ấy* represents. However, sometimes the context is not clear enough and the hearer cannot be sure that he recognises the right referent. In this case for example, though Trang’s intention is to ask about her good looks, *ấy* in line 1 could probably mean something different in Vu’s interpretation. Therefore, Vu has to check what Trang means exactly by *ấy* (line 3), even when he has already given an answer in line 2.

In the next example, a young marketing man who is successful in selling sanitary napkins is interviewed by a reporter about his career. In this context, the female product of sanitary napkins is a rather sensitive topic for people, especially males, to discuss. This is probably the reason why the interviewee uses *ấy* in his responding utterance to avoid describing his career.

(160) Đản ông bán băng vệ sinh phụ nữ, nhiều lúc cũng
 man sell napkin sanitary woman many time also
 "áy" lắm.
 DEM.DIST very
 'Being a man selling sanitary napkins, sometimes (I feel) very áy.'

(Việt Nga, 2009)

Similar usage of *áy* is illustrated in example (161). This comment is posted in a forum discussing Lady Gaga's music. The first part of the comment contains some positive points that are explicitly expressed, whereas in the second part, *áy* is employed as an avoidance strategy. In this case, the commentator intentionally avoids giving explicit negative comments about the artist's works, which could cause her fans to take offence.

(161) Clip của Gaga toàn ... gây shock. Nói thật là "quái" thì
 clip PREP.of Gaga all make shock say real COP freaky TOP
 quái thật, nhưng mà nhiều lúc cũng "áy" quá.
 freaky real but PART many time also DEM.DIST very
 'Gaga's clips always shock people. Telling the truth, (she) is a real freak, but is sometimes too áy.'

(Alex, 2010)

Note that in the examples above, the avoidance use of *áy* is mainly based on the speaker's personal judgment on whether something that she wants to talk about is sensitive. In the absence of a commonly understood situation, the hearer will not be able to understand what the speaker means by using *áy*.

Interestingly, the avoidance use of *áy* is obligatory when talking about sex-related issues. In Vietnam, a somewhat conservative society, this kind of topic is generally extremely sensitive, and sometimes causes even more embarrassment for people in the interactive role of a decoder. By raising the topic in an inappropriate way, one can easily encounter negative reactions from others (addressees or participants), e.g. refusal to continue the conversation, an uncooperative manner or perhaps anger. Even in a close relationship such as the one between a husband and wife, or boyfriend and girlfriend, the need for an avoidance strategy when mentioning such a sensitive topic is still required. In (162) for example, *áy* is syntactically used as a verb, replacing for an explicit mention of the act of making love.

(162) [In a conversation between two people who are going to get married]

- Lúc chúng mình trót... “*ấy*”... rồi ...
time 1PL PART DEM.DIST already
‘The moment we already... *ấy*...’

(L. Lê, 1991)

Especially when this theme is discussed in the public domain such as electronic media or newspapers (in health and/or gender contexts, for instance), *ấy* is a must-use avoidance device. In this role, *ấy* normally functions as a verb *ấy* (refers to the act of making love) or as a determiner in a noun phrase, such as: *chuyện ấy* ‘that matter’ (refers to the sexual performance), and *cái ấy* ‘that thing’ (refers to sexual organs). Figure 13 represents this type of the avoidance use of *ấy* (in which the form *ấy* is highlighted) on an official website of one of the most popular online newspapers in Vietnam at <http://www.thanhvien.com.vn>.

Figure 13. Screenshot shows the avoidance use of *ấy* on the *Thanh niên* online newspaper



Nơi nào lý tưởng nhất cho "chuyện ấy"? | Đời sống | Thanh Niên ...

4 Tháng Năm 2013 ... (TNO) Một cuộc khảo sát tại Đức cho thấy phòng ngủ vẫn là nơi đa số các đôi lứa lựa chọn để làm "thích ...

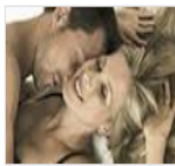
www.thanhvien.com.vn/.../noi-nao-ly-tuong-nhat-cho-chuyen-ay.aspx



Vitamin cho "chuyện ấy" | Sức khỏe | Thanh Niên Online

14 Tháng Mười 2012 ... Để bảo đảm cho sức khỏe nói chung và sức khỏe tình dục nói riêng bên cạnh ăn uống và sinh hoạt điều ...

www.thanhvien.com.vn/pages/.../vitamin-cho-chuyen-ay.aspx



10 điều phụ nữ mong chờ nhất về "chuyện ấy" | Đời sống | Thanh ...

19 Tháng Năm 2013 ... (TNO) Có khi nào bạn tự hỏi tại sao rất nhiều lúc đối tác nữ của mình viện cớ nói "đau đầu, thôi!" khi ...

www.thanhvien.com.vn/.../10-dieu-phu-nu-mong-cho-nhat-ve-chuyen-ay.aspx



Đầu độc chồng bằng "cái ấy" | Thư giãn | Thanh Niên Online

20 Tháng 2 2013 ... Theo đó, người phụ nữ không được tiết lộ danh tính này đã bôi chất độc vào "chỗ ấy" của mình rồi mờ miệng.

www.thanhvien.com.vn/pages/.../dau-doc-chong-bang-cai-ay.aspx

As a result of this society-wide avoidance use of *ấy*, the word tends to readily invite an interpretation of something related to sexual matters. This use of *ấy* is often taken as an opportunity for word play, in which one meaning is context-dependent and another is conventionally sex-

related. In a present-day joke as shown in (163), for instance, the husband uses *áy* to mean the act of beating, while the wife thinks of the act of making love, and this ambiguity of *áy* makes the punchline of the joke.

- (163) Husband: Ông lại "*áy*" cho một cái bây giờ!
 grandfather again DEM.DIST PREP.for one CL now
 'I'll *áy* (-beat you) now.'
- Wife: Anh có giỏi thì "*áy*" đi xem nào!
 older-brother AST good TOP DEM.DIST IMP see which
 'If you're good enough, (I dare you) to *áy* (-to make love)!'

(Truyện cười, n.d.)

The example illustrates a tendency where the sex-related meanings of the avoidance *áy* have become conventionalised in the language. The development towards a less context-dependent meaning can be considered as a result of the semantic change of *áy*. I will return to this matter in Chapter 8.

It has been shown that the demonstrative *áy* is a problem-solving device to be applied in contexts where Vietnamese speakers have to deal with word-formulation trouble. Similar to the placeholder *áy*, the avoidance device *áy* carries the syntactic features of the word that it replaces. The difference between these uses of *áy* lies in the speaker's intention as to whether she is attempting to specify the referent of *áy* in the subsequent utterance. Like in the recognitional usage (§5.3), shared knowledge is crucial in the avoidance use of *áy*. In the following section, I will focus on another type of first mention usage – the privacy usage of the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* whose referents are not accessible to the hearer.

5.5 *Này, đây* and privacy usage

As mentioned previously, I propose the term *privacy usage* in relation to a distinct type of first mention usage in which only the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are appropriate. These terms are used to indicate a particular entity/location that the speaker has in mind but which will not be subsequently identified in the discourse. This distinguishes the privacy use from the presentational (§5.2) and placeholder usages (§5.4.1). Another distinct characteristic is that while referents in the recognitional (§5.3) and the avoidance usage (§5.4.2) are unspecified but still accessible to the hearer due to shared knowledge, in the privacy use referents of *này* and *đây* remain unknown to the hearer.

Vietnamese speakers generally use *này* and *đây* for this purpose when they believe that it is unnecessary for the hearer to know something that is considered private information. Consider the following example:

- (164) - Con... nấu cơm, u sang bá Cả hỏi cái này.
 child cook rice mother across aunt Ca ask CL DEM.PROX
 ‘You... cook a meal, I’m going to aunt Ca to ask her thing *này*.’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

In this example, the expression *cái này* ‘this thing’ consisting of the proximal *này* and the classifier *cái* (meaning ‘thing’ in this context) is used to indicate something that the speaker wants to discuss with a third party *bá Cả* ‘aunt Ca’. In this case, the referent of *này* is unknown to the hearer and it can never be provided in the ongoing conversation. When *này* is used without any further information, it conveys to the hearer that he does not need to know about it. This reveals a crucial difference to the use of English *new-this* introducing a referent to be talked about next (Chen, 1990:142).

One significant characteristic of the privacy usage is that the speaker can refuse to provide clarification even when requested by the hearer. This is clearly opposite to the recognitional use in which the speaker is willing to provide additional information so that the hearer can easily identify the referent (§5.3). The next example shows a case in which the speaker (a boy) explicitly indicates his intention to keep something secret through the use of *này*. In this situation, a brother and sister are talking about the boy’s day. As his sister is trying to ask for more details about where he went, the boy uses *này* in the noun phrase *chỗ này* ‘this place’ to avoid providing any specific information. Note that in the second part of his utterance, the boy openly says that the girl should not seek more details because she is just a child. This illustrates that the speaker considers that the referent of *này* is rather personal and none of the hearer’s business.

- (165) Sister: Gặp ở đâu?
 meet PREP.at where
 ‘Where did you meet (her)?’

Brother: Chỗ này bí mật lắm! Mà con nít hỏi làm chi!
 place DEM.PROX secret very 2SG child ask make what
 ‘Place *này* is a secret! What makes a child like you want to know!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. i)

It can be seen that in the privacy usage, *này* is used with a noun such as *cái* ‘thing’ or *chỗ* ‘place’ indicating vague, general information about an entity or a location. When the adverbial

demonstrative *đây* ‘here’ is used in this function, it indicates a location. We have noted that in the spatial usage, *đây* ‘here’ denotes the speaker’s vicinity (§2.3.1). In the privacy usage, however, the term no longer refers to the location where the speaker is currently occupied but rather to somewhere secret. For example:

- (166) - Con ở nhà giữ em, mẹ đi *đây*
 child stay home keep younger-sibling mother go DEM.PROX
 một lát!
 a/one moment
 ‘You stay at home to look after the baby. I have to go to *đây* a moment.’

(T. T. A. Hoàng, 2011)

As this example demonstrates, the use of *đây* in the privacy usage mainly serves to communicate the speaker’s intention of keeping locational information unspecified, rather than to encode a spatial meaning. What the speaker (mother) says in the utterance is that she wants the hearer (her daughter) to stay at home, where both of them are located at the time of speaking, as the mother needs to go somewhere indicated by *đây*. It is clear that the term *đây* in this context no longer means the location where the speaker is located at the time of speaking, as this is also where the hearer is located. Here, *đây* means a location that only exists in her mind and is unidentifiable by the hearer.

It has been shown in this section that the indication of unshared knowledge is the basis of the privacy usage. When the speaker uses *này* and *đây*, she indicates that the hearer should not expect specific information as the referent is personal and sometimes uncommunicable. Interestingly, Vietnamese uses proximal demonstratives (i.e. *này* and *đây*) rather than a distal demonstrative for this function. As we have noted in the spatial usage, *này* and *đây* indicate the physical nearness in relation to the speaker or in other words, the speaker’s physical zone (Chapter 2). In the privacy use, the speaker’s personal knowledge zone is indicated. The choice of *này* and *đây* in both uses reflects their relationship to the basic meaning of nearness.

5.6 Summary

This chapter illustrates the uses of Vietnamese demonstratives referring to something that has not been previously mentioned in the discourse, i.e. it is a new-discourse referent, in five different contexts, as summarised in Table 31.

Table 31. First mention usage of Vietnamese demonstratives

	Types of first mention usage	First-mention demonstratives
1	Presentational usage	[distal] <i>kia, nọ, ấy</i>
2	Recognitional usage	[proximal] <i>này</i> [distal] <i>ấy, đấy/đó, kia, nọ</i>
3	Placeholder usage	[distal] <i>ấy</i>
4	Avoidance usage	
5	Privacy usage	[proximal] <i>này, đây</i>

The interpretation of this type of reference relies on the hearer's ability to access the intended referent. Through the presentational usage of the distal *kia, nọ* and *ấy*, the hearer can expect additional information relating to the referent to be provided in the subsequent discourse. These terms signal the speaker's intention to tell a story about a particular referent that she has in mind (§5.2). In the recognitional function (§5.3), the use of first-mention demonstratives are based on shared knowledge. A mutually familiar referent that can be retrieved from recent shared experience is normally indicated by the proximal demonstrative *này*. Otherwise, the distal *ấy, đấy/đó, kia* and *nọ* (in *hôm nọ*) are used to indicate something that the speaker assumes that the hearer is familiar with. Additional information is more likely to be provided during the use of these distal terms if the speaker becomes uncertain about whether the hearer can identify the referent due to difficulty in recalling the shared knowledge.

But under the scope of first mention usage of demonstratives, “the hearer must be able to access, not only an appropriate referent, but also the context in which the speaker might reasonably have expected her utterance... to be optimally relevant” (Wilson, 1992: 169). Contextual assumptions play an important role in allowing the hearer to understand the motivation behind the use of *ấy* in word-formulation trouble. That is, they allow the hearer to divine whether the speaker is using *ấy* as a placeholder to hold the syntactic slot of a word that is temporarily unavailable (§5.4.1), or whether she is using it as an avoidance strategy to avoid an explicit mention of a word due to politeness, etc. (§5.4.2). In these contexts, the use of *ấy* is motivated by a problem-solving mechanism in communication. In a similar way, the speaker can use the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* when she wants to refer to something without providing specific information. In the privacy usage (§5.5), the purpose of *này* and *đây* is to communicate the speaker's intention to keep something secret, and in doing so, make the referent unidentifiable to the hearer. In other words, the meaning of demonstratives becomes more subjective in the first mention usage.

In the next chapter, I will show that Vietnamese demonstratives are not only involved in semantic expansion as discussed here, but are also used in another grammatical category with restricted syntactic positions, either sentence-final or sentence-internal, in order to indicate the

speaker's attitudes and beliefs about the information conveyed in a given utterance. I refer to demonstratives in this use as *demonstrative particles*.

Chapter 6 Demonstrative particles

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters showed that as demonstratives, the seven forms *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *nọ*, whose referents are identified in space (Chapter 2), time (Chapter 3), discourse (Chapter 4) and shared knowledge (Chapter 5), generally occur in the syntactic positions of an adnominal, a pronominal or an adverbial, and they are seen as modifying a linguistic constituent of a sentence. However, there is another dimension to Vietnamese demonstratives, as these forms (except for *nọ*) are also involved in another grammatical category referred to as *tiểu từ* ‘particles’ (Cao, 2004; V. H. Nguyễn, 2001, 2004, 2008; Phạm, 2002, 2003). In this chapter, I argue that it is not a coincidence that the grammatical category of particles shares the same forms as the grammatical category of demonstratives. Rather, this is a process of grammaticalisation that demonstratives undergo, involving both syntactic and semantic changes (following V. H. Nguyễn, 2008: 147). I therefore refer to this category as ‘demonstrative particles’.

6.1.1 The scope of demonstrative particles

This section explores the syntactic, phonological and pragmatic features in terms of which demonstrative particles can be defined.

Syntactically, these particles predominantly appear at the end of sentences modifying the whole sentence, hence they are mainly known as ‘sentence-final particles’ in the Vietnamese syntactic literature. Confusion may however arise if we try to distinguish a demonstrative particle from its original form based on this recognised syntactic position. Let us look at the use of *đây*. Despite appearing in the sentence-final position, *đây* in the utterance *Ngồi đây!* can be interpreted differently in different contexts. If the speaker wants to indicate a location, then *Ngồi đây!* means ‘Sit here!’ and *đây* functions as a demonstrative. Alternatively, if the speaker wants to inform the hearer of her immediate action, then *Ngồi đây!* means ‘(I’m) sitting now!’ and thus, *đây* performs as a particle. These examples imply that syntactic status is not the only distinctive feature that can be used to differentiate a demonstrative particle (target) from a demonstrative (source).

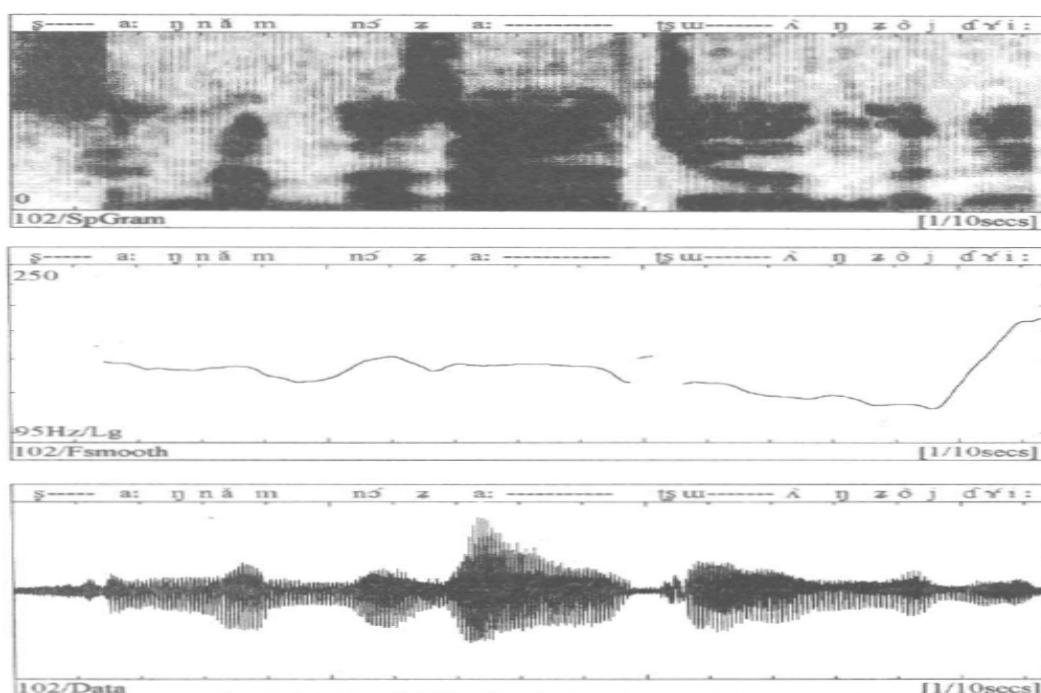
In Vietnamese, a monosyllabic and tonal language, a stress or accent system can co-occur alongside a system of contrastive lexical tones (Cao, 1978, 1998; T. Hoàng & Hoàng, 1975; T. N. Ngô, 1984; Phạm, 2008). According to T. Hoàng & Hoàng (1975: 68), function words are always pronounced with a reduction in intensity and duration, i.e., unaccented, contrasting with lexical words which “are pronounced stronger and louder than others”. On this basis, Phạm (2008: 4) suggests that function words are clitics (or prosodic words), i.e., reduced forms that always lack stress.

In his approach to the higher prosodic level, Cao (1978, 1998) states that stress has a demarcative function. That is, a sentence can be divided up into grammatical phrases and the rightmost constituent of each phrase is always stressed (1998: 138-139). Based on the results of experimental phonetics, Cao emphasises constituent structure as the determinant of phrasal (sentential) stress, i.e., a syntactic phrase is marked by phrasal stress. As analysed in section 1.3, a demonstrative can form a nominal phrase on its own as well as be used to mark the end boundary of a noun phrase (T. C. Nguyễn, 2004; T. H. Nguyen, 2004). Given the phonetically experimental explanation on the basis of prosodic-phrasing approach (i.e., the phrasal stress is determined by the syntactic structure) in the aforementioned studies, a demonstrative must be an element that contains phrasal stress, distinguishing it from function words that are often unstressed. This is consistent with Diessel's (2006: 464) claim that demonstratives form special linguistic expressions that "must be kept separate from... grammatical markers".

Since a particle can neither form an independent syntactic phrase, nor be placed at the end of a phrase, it does not carry phrasal stress (Cao, 1978, 1998; T. Hoàng & Hoàng, 1975; Pham, 2008). There is evidence from acoustic measurements to support this statement. The acoustic measurements of the utterance *Sang năm nó ra trường rồi đấy* 'He (she) will be graduating next year *đấy*' spoken by a native speaker are reproduced in Figure 14 (unstressed elements are marked with a value of 0; stressed with a value of 1). In this utterance, *đấy* functions as a sentence-final particle and is unstressed.

Figure 14. "Sang năm nó ra trường rồi đấy." (Cao, 1998: 645)

[1 1 0 0 1 0 0]



As a result, phrasal stress can be treated as distinctive elements of demonstratives and demonstrative particles in addition to the criterion of syntactic status. Based on Cao's (1998) acoustic analysis, we can assume that demonstrative particles are produced with less emphasis than their original forms (i.e. demonstratives). Conversely, if the speaker puts more effort (e.g. intensity/duration) when producing it, *đây* in *Ngồi đây!* appears as a demonstrative, hence *Ngồi đây!* means 'Sit here!' and is marked with values of [11], otherwise *đây* is a particle, hence *Ngồi đây!* means '(I'm) sitting now!' with values of [10]. This phenomenon of phonological erosion is described as being the result of grammaticalisation (Wichmann, 2011; cf. Ansaldo and Lim, 2004).

The reduction of segments also helps to identify particles that are derived from demonstratives. According to the abovementioned studies, in a weakly stressed syllable, the segmental syllable often appears as reduced or varnished forms in allegro speech; for example, the adverb *cũng* [kuŋ^m6] 'also' is often pronounced as [ŋ^m6] (T. Hoàng & Hoàng, 1975; T. N. Ngô, 1984). Moreover, Pham (2008: 6) notes that "weakly stressed syllables are neither necessarily shorter than their full-form counterparts nor occur only in fast speech as is often claimed". These claims can be applied to explain why *này*, *ấy* and *kia* have two phonological variations when being used as particles, while *đây* and *đấy/đó* do not.

In (167) for instance, *này*¹ is a demonstrative and *này*² is a particle. Replacement with the variant form *nè* as in (168) is only possible with the particle *này*², not with the demonstrative *này*¹.

(167) - Xem cái *này*¹ *này*²!
 watch CL DEM.PROX DEMPART
 'Watch this thing *này*!'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. c)

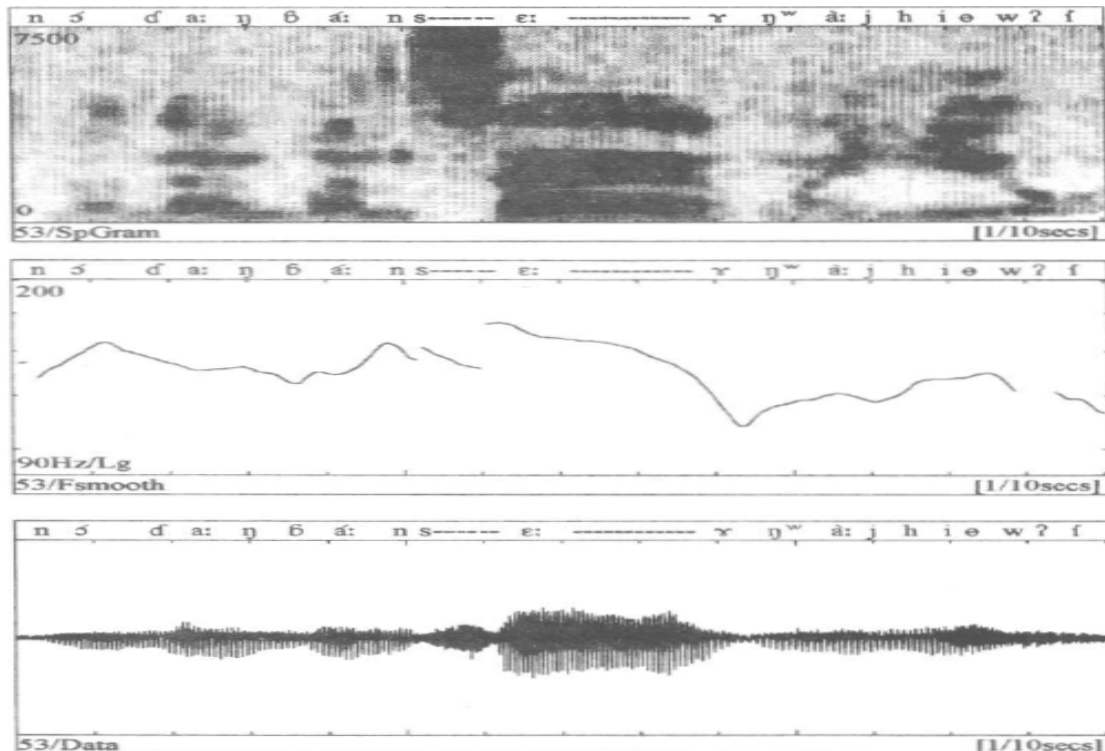
(168) - Xem cái **nè* *nè*!
 watch CL DEM.PROX DEMPART
 'Watch this thing *này*!'

In a similar way, *ấy* and *í* can replace *này* and *nè* respectively. It can be seen that in both cases, *này* and *ấy* are reduced to a single sonorant but their tones are retained, i.e. *này* [naj2] 'this' → *nè* [nɛ2], *ấy* [ɣj3] 'that' → *í* [i3]. The surface forms of *nè* and *í* in the orthographic representation indicate that *này* and *ấy* undergo a process of reduction of segments. Note that here the phonological reduction of *này* and *ấy* involves the loss of one or two vowels rather than shortening of a long vowel since in Vietnamese, [a] (as in *này*), [ɛ] (as in *nè*), [ɣ] (as in *ấy*) and [i] (as in *í*) are all long vowels (Đoàn, 1980: 196). As a result of this phonological reduction, the demonstrative particle *ấy* 'that' ([ɣj3] → *í* [i3]) has typical acoustic characteristics, i.e. weakly stressed and reduced form.

This is illustrated through the utterance *Nó đang bán xe ở ngoài cửa hiệu í* ‘He/she is selling his/her vehicle in a shop’ in Figure 15.

Figure 15. “Nó đang bán xe ở ngoài cửa hiệu í.” (Cao, 1998: 657)

[0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0]



It is also important to note that there are two variations of the demonstrative particle *kia* in sentence-final positions: the particle *kia* and the particle *kìa*. For example:

- (169) - Biết gì *kia*?
 know what DEMPART
 ‘Know what *kia*?’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1991a)

- (170) - Cá cắn câu *kìa*!
 fish bite hook DEMPART
 ‘The fish has bitten *kìa*!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. b)

The case of *kia* represents another variation of phonological reduction. Unlike *này* and *ấy*, whose tones are retained while their segmental syllables are reduced, *kia* has a change in tone but not in form. That is, *kia* marked with *ngang* ‘a mid-level tone’ has changed to *kìa* marked with *huyền* ‘a

low-falling tone'. Note that in Vietnamese, *ngang* is a high tone and *huyền* is a low tone (V. L. Nguyen & Edmondson, 1998). Apart from the tonal distinction, *kìa* cannot be used to indicate a referent that is distal from the speaker. As we have also noted, none of the functions of demonstratives as represented in the previous chapters involve the use of *kìa*. I therefore argue that the low-falling tone in *kìa* constitutes an indication of erosion, that is, *kìa* and *kia* are not different registers for tone, but rather *kìa* may have evolved from the demonstrative *kia* to the particle *kìa* as the result of the phonetic erosion process.

As indicated in Ansaldo & Lim (2004: 345), in isolating tonal languages, “grammaticalization... can more often be found in suprasegmental features” and such a phenomenon can be evident in “the various degrees of semantic bleaching as well as syntactic obligatorification on the structural level that accompanying [*sic*] the reduction of phonetic material” (2004: 358). This chapter shows that as demonstrative particles, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy (i)*, *này (nè)* and *kìa (kìa)* can be identified by phonological and syntactic criteria that are widely accepted in language, that “they usually cannot carry stress, they cannot be coordinated, they cannot by themselves form a sentence, and their scope ranges over the entire sentence” (Waltereit, 2001: 1392).

As could be expected, new semantic and pragmatic characteristics arise to correspond to this new grammatical function of demonstrative forms. That is, these forms are no longer used to focus the hearer’s attention on the intended referent, but rather, their use is considered as “the selection by the speaker of elements which makes the utterance appropriate to his attitude, or his emotional involvement in, what he is talking about” (Lyons, 1977: 583). Moreover, according to V. H. Nguyễn (2001), sentence-final particles can be classified in accordance to speech acts that they can be used for; for example, the terms *đây*, *đấy* and *ấy* are specified in assertives. From the same perspective, Phạm (2003) states that these particles are important devices in marking types of sentences such as declarative, imperative, exclamatory and interrogative. When attached to each of these types of sentences, they add a particular attitudinal-emotive sense; for instance, strengthening the speaker’s belief in a statement/exclamation, adding a tone of politeness to a request/question, etc. In these respects, the demonstrative particles *đây*, *này (nè)*, *đấy/đó*, *kia*, *kìa* and *ấy (i)* as the focus of this chapter can be defined by the definition below.

A particle is a little word which is syntactically dependent on other elements in the clause and is well integrated into the clause in which it occurs. Particles are typically used to express speaker attitudes or perspectives towards a proposition and to modify the illocutionary force of utterances.

(Ameka, 1992a: 107)

Drawing on this definition, it is evident that the demonstrative particles *đây*, *này (nè)*, *đây/đó*, *kia*, *kìa* and *ấy (ì)*, like particles in other languages, are linguistic expressions of judgements, assessments, attitudes, personal feelings and commitment. The use of each form reflects a particular communicative task that speakers want to fulfil and creates different contextualised interpretations. Information indicated in utterance (171), for example, can be communicated in different ways among Vietnamese people as in (172)-(178).

- (171) The fish has bitten.
- (172) Cá cắn câu.
fish bite hook
- (173) Cá cắn câu *đây*.
fish bite hook DEMPART.here
- (174) Cá cắn câu *này (nè)*.
fish bite hook DEMPART.this
- (175) Cá cắn câu *đấy*.
fish bite hook DEMPART.there/that
- (176) Cá cắn câu *kìa*.
fish bite hook DEMPART.*kia*.there/that
- (177) Cá cắn câu *kia*.
fish bite hook DEMPART.there/that
- (178) Cá cắn câu *ấy (ì)*.
fish bite hook DEMPART.that

A cursory analysis of these examples can be presented as follows: utterance (172) simply conveys the information in (171), whereas the use of sentence-final forms in utterances (173)-(178) indicates various attitudinal-emotive meanings in addition to the basic information in (171). It is important to note that the choice of these forms is determined by whether the information is obtained by the speaker's or the hearer's experience. The speaker can only use *đây* and *này (nè)* in utterances (173)-(174) if she is the one who is controlling the fishing rod at the time of speaking. If it is the hearer who is fishing and the speaker is talking about his fishing, the forms *đấy* and *kìa* are used instead, as illustrated in (175)-(176). Utterances (177)-(178) are a little different in that the sentence-final form *kia* indicates that the fact 'the fish has bitten' is unexpected by the speaker, while *ấy (ì)* indicates that the information is knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer.

Note that the use of each form indicates whether the information is relative to the speaker's, the hearer's or both of their spheres of knowledge. In this regard, the use of Vietnamese demonstrative particles helps the speaker to put psychological distance between her and the information conveyed, reflected by the choice of proximal or distal forms used in a given context. According to Kamio (1994), in indicating a source of knowledge, speakers make use of direct and

non-direct forms (hedging expressions such as *I believe/I guess*) depending on whether the information falls more or less deeply into the speaker's territory of knowledge. According to Kamio's interpretation, the proximal demonstrative particles *đây* and *này (nè)* would be direct forms used by the speaker to show that the information conveyed falls into her territory while the distal *đấy/đó, kia, kia* and *ấy (i)* would be non-direct forms indicating that the information does not totally fall into hers, but rather into the hearer's. A deictic approach to the use of demonstrative particles is thus most relevant in terms of revealing the relationship between the form and function of these terms. I will come back to this point in section 6.1.2.

In the literature, linguistic items appearing after a phrase or clause are referred to as 'sentence-internal particles' (Chao, 1968; Wang, 2006). Examination of examples in this study suggests that amongst the demonstrative particles discussed above, only *này (nè)* and *ấy (i)* can be used as sentence-internal particles. For example:

(179) - Họ đòi tiêu chuẩn cao lắm. Phải tốt nghiệp đại học
 3PL require standard high very must graduate tertiary education
 Kinh - Tài *này.* Phải là đảng viên nữa *này.*
 Economics – Finance DEMPART must COP party member more DEMPART
 'They required very high standard. (Candidates) must graduate from the tertiary education of Economics and Finance *này*. Must be a Party member *này*.'

(180) - Hôm qua ông cụ nói, cái câu cuối cùng
 yesterday grandfather old person say CL sentence final
ấy, ý là thế nào?
 DEMPART meaning COP how
 'Yesterday, when he (-the speaker's father-in-law) said, the final sentence *ấy*, what did he mean by it?'

(Ma, 1985)

The definition of particles adopted from Ameka's (1992a) study as reproduced above is different from the use of *này (nè)* and *ấy* in examples (179)-(180). In the sentence-internal position, these terms do not indicate the attitudinal-emotive meanings but rather are involved in organising the discourse in terms of cohesion and coherence. In particular, *ấy* in (180) marks the topic of the sentence. According to Cao (2004: 226), unstressed forms like *ấy (i)* can be preceded by and emphasise the theme (the logical subject) of the Vietnamese sentence. In (179), *này (nè)* occurs after each constituent of a series, signalling that there is more than one item appearing in the list and consequently holds the hearer's attention to each listed item until the series is completed. This use of *này (nè)* is thus related to the phenomenon of rising intonation in enumerating items in a list in English.

Based on this observation, a distinction between sentence-final and sentence-internal particles in Vietnamese is suggested as follows: (i) sentence-final particles are used to express the speaker's attitudes and beliefs about the information that the speaker communicates and indeed, they are generally defined as 'modal particles' in the Vietnamese linguistics literature (V. H. Nguyễn, 2001, 2004, 2008; Phạm, 2002, 2003), and (ii) sentence-internal particles are mainly used as indicators to guide the process of interpretation. According to Ameika (1992a: 107), "particles may develop into or may function sometimes" in a functional category "known as discourse markers or particles or pragmatic particles". In Chapter 8, I use the case of *ấy* to propose that the synchronic use of the sentence-internal demonstrative particles as discussed above is a case of grammaticalisation of the sentence-final demonstrative particles.

The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the demonstrative particles *đây*, *này* (*nè*), *đấy/đó*, *kia*, *kìa*, and *ấy* (*i*) in sentence-final positions due to their prominence in semantic and pragmatic functions. Noticeably, these terms are consistent with the theory of territory of information proposed by Kamio (1994). I propose that based on this theory, the relationship between the use of demonstrative particles and their basic meanings (proximal/distal distinctions) can be revealed, illustrating the semantic extension of demonstratives to demonstrative particles.

6.1.2 Demonstrative particles: An application of the theory of territory of information

In the previous chapters, we have noted that the use of Vietnamese demonstratives *đây*, *này*, *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *ấy* is proximity-based. Proximal terms focus the hearer's attention on things that are physically or metaphorically close to the speaker, while distal terms direct the hearer's attention to distant referents. As these demonstratives are extended to the grammatical category of particles, the choice of a proximal form over a distal form and vice versa is also associated with their basic meanings. Vietnamese linguists (V. H. Nguyễn, 2001, 2004, 2008; Phạm, 2002, 2003) have related the difference between the proximal demonstrative particle *đây* and the distal *đấy* with the nearness/farness distinctions expressed by the demonstratives *đây* and *đấy*, although no detailed explanation has been provided. In this section I suggest that the semantic distinction between proximal and distal demonstrative particles as illustrated in section 6.1.1 can be best explicated based on the theory of territory of information proposed by Kamio (1994).

The theory of territory of information concerns the relationship between forms of utterances used and the speaker's/hearer's respective territory of information. In his study on Japanese, Kamio (1994: 68) argues that the choice between direct forms (i.e. zero sentence-final forms) and indirect forms (i.e. sentence-final forms) reflects the relationship between forms and territory of information. That is, direct forms are associated with the speaker's territory of information while indirect forms are associated with the hearer's. Kamio (1994: 70-71) explains that due to the

speaker's direct experience, the utterance in example (181) cannot be turned into an indirect form because the information about the speaker's headache (i.e. the speaker's mental state) cannot be expressed as information based on hearsay ('I hear') as in (182) or inference ('I seem') as in (183).

(181) Watasi, atama ga itai.
 I had NM ache
 'I have a headache.'

(182) ??Watasi, atama ga itai-tte.
 I had NM ache HM
 Lit. 'I hear I have a headache.'

(183) ??Watasi, atama ga itai-rasii.
 I had NM ache seem
 Lit. 'I seem to have a headache.'

But if the subject is someone other than the speaker, an utterance like (184) would sound natural with the occurrence of sentence-final forms, i.e. indirect forms:

(184) Ano hito atama ga ittai-tte/-yoo da/-rasii
 that person head NM ache HM appear is seem
 'I hear/It appears/It seems that that person has a headache.'

By the speaker's/hearer's territory of information, Kamio (1994: 83) means a cognitive state of knowledge of information, including:

- (a) information obtained through the speaker's/hearer's internal direct experience, i.e. internal feelings such as pain, emotions, feelings, and beliefs within the experiencer's mind
- (b) information embodying detailed knowledge which falls within the speaker's/hearer's professional or other expertise
- (c) information obtained through the speaker's/hearer's external direct experience which is obtained from outside the experiencer through the five senses
- (d) information about persons, facts, and things close to the speaker/hearer, including information about the speaker/hearer him/herself

(Kamio, 1994: 83)

Between the speaker's and the hearer's territory, "it is... no different in character except that the speaker, rather than the hearer, assumes its existence and its functioning in a speech situation" (Kamio, 1994: 77). The basis of this theory is the notion of psychological distance between a given

piece of information and the speaker/hearer. If the information belongs to the speaker's territory, then it is close to the speaker and far if it is outside (e.g. falling into the hearer's territory).

However, according to Kamio (1994: 81), "the closeness of information is relative and gradable... Thus, it can often happen that a given piece of information belongs to the speaker's territory to some degree, and to the hearer's territory to some other degree". In order to test the degree of closeness of information, Kamio (1994, 1995) uses the four types of information listed above as the main conditions in conjunction with three meta-conditions as follows: (i) information subject to type (b) and (d) is considered less close if the speaker does not have an adequate basis for asserting it; (ii) information subject to (d) maybe less close when it has just been conveyed to the speaker; and (iii) information private to someone other than the speaker is considered less close to the speaker if the speaker is not close to that person. As a result, there are six different cases corresponding to the use of Japanese sentence-final forms:

Case A: information falls completely within the speaker's territory of information and not within the hearer's territory in the least

Case B: information falls completely into both territories

Case BC: information falls within the speaker's territory to the fullest degree and within the hearer's to a lesser degree

Case CB: information falls within the speaker's territory but falls more deeply within the hearer's

Case C: information falls completely within the hearer's territory

Case D: information falls within neither the speaker's nor the hearer's territory of information
(Kamio, 1994: 86-95)

Note that in Japanese, sentence-final forms are associated with the hearer's territory of information. However, forms of utterances vary in different languages: for example, according to Kamio (1995: 242), English indirect forms are 'hedges' (e.g. *I believe/guess/understand*), hedging adverbs (e.g. *maybe, apparently*), and expressions (e.g. *I discovered..., I found in..., and Someone told me...*). As discussed in section 6.1.1, the use of Vietnamese demonstrative particles would correspond to the use of both direct and non-direct forms depending on whether the proximal or distal forms are chosen.

The notion of psychological distance embeded in this theory that underlies the choice of a linguistic form is relevant to the analysis of Vietnamese demonstrative particles. I propose that territory of information can be 'demarcated' by demonstrative particles as follows: the speaker's territory of information tends to be conveyed by the proximal demonstrative particles *đây* and *này*

(*nè*), and the interaction between the speaker's and hearer's territory information by the distal demonstrative particles *đây/đó, kia, kia* and *ấy (i)*. Within the second group, elaborations of cases B, BC, CB, C and D as represented above can be observed according to the types of sentences that each form modifies. This is consistent with my assertions throughout this study that the basic and extended uses of Vietnamese demonstratives are determined by the notion of proximity and distance.

In the light of the theory of territory of information, the rest of this chapter is organised as follows: section 6.2 examines the use of the proximal demonstrative particles *đây* and *này (nè)*. Section 6.3 focuses on the distal demonstrative particles following the sequence of *đây/đó, kia, kia* and *ấy (i)*. These sections are followed by a summary in section 6.4.

6.2 Proximal demonstrative particles

In this section, I propose that the use of *đây* and *này (nè)* is associated with information that falls into the speaker's territory. This means the proximal demonstratives *đây* and *này* extend their basic meaning of physical proximity to psychological proximity when functioning in the category of demonstrative particles.

6.2.1 *Đây*

Previous studies have stated that the demonstrative particle *đây* is used to emphasise the current state of the speaker, to inform what the speaker is going to do soon after the utterance (V. H. Nguyễn, 2008; Phạm, 2002) or to express the speaker's uncertainty (Phạm, 2002). More specifically, V. H. Nguyễn (2008) notes that the use of *đây* expresses the speaker's epistemic commitment to the factuality of a stated situation on the basis of her experience at the time of speaking. For example, according to V. H. Nguyễn (2008: 151), the statement *Nho này ngon đây* 'This (type of) grape is delicious' can be read as 'This (type of) grape looks delicious'. The use of *đây* in this example indicates that the statement about the referred type of grape is based on the speaker's current experience. This contrasts with the use of *đấy* which is related to the speaker's previous experience (§6.2.2). In the current approach, *đây* and *đấy* are described as having a function of epistemic grounding. In the current work, I extend the analysis of *đây* based on the theory of territory of information.

Examples collected for this study suggest that the particle *đây* is normally used with declaratives that present a situation or a state of affairs, imperatives that request the hearer to do something, interrogatives that require an urgent response, or rhetorical questions that convey the speaker's uncertainty. First is the use of *đây* with declaratives. Consider the following example:

- (185) - Để anh viết thư cho cô ấy đã...
 let older-brother write letter PREP.for 3SG ANT
 Anh viết ngay bây giờ đây.
 older-brother write immediate now DEMPART
 ‘Let me write to her first. I’m writing right now *đây*.’

(Ma, 1985)

The male speaker of (185) informs the hearer that he is going to write a letter to his sister-in-law. In this situation, *đây* is used to make the hearer aware of the immediacy of what is being conveyed. Moreover, *đây* can be used with imperatives to require the hearer to act in accordance with the speaker’s future action. As shown in (186) for instance, the magician calls the audience’s attention to his impending tricks. In this particular context, the magician’s wish is conveyed more urgently with *đây* attached.

- (186) - [B]ây giờ thì quý ông quý bà xem đây!
 now TOP gentle men ladies watch DEMPART
 ‘Now, ladies and gentle men (please) watch *đây*!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. c)

The examples above express the speaker’s own plans and actions, which according to Kamio (1994) constitute a subclass of the speaker’s territory of information. In addition to this type of information, *đây* can also be used to convey information that is obtained from the speaker’s internal direct experience. For example:

- (187) - Quân anh, Quân em có đi đi,
 Quan older-brother Quan younger-sibling try go IMP
 mẹ mệt sắp đứt hơi rồi đây.
 mother tired ASP break breath already DEMPART
 ‘Quan *anh*, Quan *em* try to keep going, mum is breathlessly tired *đây*.’

(Ma, 1985)

In (187), a mother tells her two sons about her extreme tiredness after walking a long distance to their relatives’ place. In this case, tiredness is what the speaker is experiencing and hence she assumes that the information conveyed is very personal. This example indicates that *đây* is required for information that falls completely within the speaker’s territory. In terms of the pragmatic function, the use of *đây* in this example emphasises the mother’s expectation of thoughtful consideration from her two sons.

- (188) Female: Em đi lấy nước anh uống nhé!
 younger-sibling go get water older-brother drink PART
 ‘Let me get some water for you!’
- Male: Ừ, anh muốn khô cả giọng đây.
 INTERJ older-brother want dry all voice DEMPART
 ‘Yes, my throat is dry *đây*.’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1980)

Similar to (187), the male speaker of (188) is experiencing thirst and feels it is impossible for the hearer to appreciate his extreme thirst unless he states it through the use of *đây*. The use of *đây* also stresses that the offer made in the first utterance should occur as soon as possible. As in the case of (187), the man’s utterance in (188) would sound strange if a distal demonstrative particle (e.g. *đấy*) were used.

The demonstrative particle *đây* is also found in utterances expressing the speaker’s commitment to the factuality of a state of affairs based on some obvious cues displayed in a particular speech context (V. H. Nguyễn, 2008; Phạm, 2002). According to Kamio (1994), this type of information is obtained through the speaker’s external direct experience. For example, as soon as the speaker in (189) hears a drum signal of death (a conventional sound in his village), he says:

- (189) - Anh nào lại chết *đây*!
 older-brother which again die DEMPART
 ‘Someone dies *đây*!’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

Notice that in this case, the speaker’s declaration of a death is based on the sound that he directly perceives with his sense of hearing. It is likely that only people who live in the village would know that the sound of drums signals a death. Thus, the information conveyed in (189) is obtained from the memory of the speaker’s internal direct experience since the speaker is a resident of the village. Through both external direct experience, i.e. hearing the sound, and internal direct experience, i.e. knowing the convention about the sound signalling death, the speaker of (189) assumes that the information is close to him. Thus, *đây* is appropriate in this case. But if *đấy*, *kia*, *kìa* or *ấy* (*i*) were used instead, then the information would be interpreted differently. For example, with *đấy*, utterance (189) would turn into (190):

- (190) - Anh nào lại chết *đấy*!
 older-brother which again die DEMPART
 ‘Someone dies *đấy*!’

where (190) expresses information that falls into both the speaker's and the hearer's territories. In this case the speaker is aware that the hearer hears the sound (by seeing the hearer pausing and listening to the sound, for example) and is a resident of the village who would know the conventional meaning of the sound (they are neighbors, for example). Only in this kind of situation would utterance (190) be natural. Thus, the use of *đấy* is appropriate because the speaker of (190) assumes that the information conveyed does not fall completely into his territory due to community connection of the hearer. I will come back to this point in section 6.3.1.

We now move on to the use of *đây* with interrogatives. It is noticed that a question with the particle *đây* generates a tone of eagerness or urgency to what the speaker wants to know at the time of speaking. Consider the following example:

(191) - Cái tủ này đem vào phòng nào *đây*?
 CL wardrobe DEM.PROX bring PREP.in room which DEMPART
 'Which room (do you want) to put this wardrobe *đây*?'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1990b)

The question in (191) is uttered by a man who is carrying a wardrobe upstairs with some others. The context of (191) is that at the time of speaking, the hearers are in their room and do not know that the speaker is approaching. In this case, the condition of external experience only applies to the speaker, making him assume that the information expressed in (191) is close to him only. Thus, utterance (191) would be odd with a distal demonstrative particle like *đấy*, unless the speaker was an observer rather than the one who was carrying the wardrobe, or the hearer was witnessing what was happening in the given situation. This means *đây* is used to refer to information that is confined to the speaker's territory of information. In addition, in a situation where the speaker is carrying a heavy object, she may be impatient about any delay in getting a response. From a native speaker's intuition, I suggest that if *đây* were removed from (191), the speaker's impatience at the delay in getting an answer from the hearer would no longer be conveyed. As a result, the question would merely seek information and the answer could be delayed. In this context, the use of *đây* is thus obligatory and replacement by any other demonstrative particles would be unacceptable.

As mentioned previously, *đây* can also be used with rhetorical questions in order to convey the speaker's uncertainty about something rather than to necessarily seek an answer from the hearer. The occurrence of *đây* in the sentence-final position signals the speaker's hesitation and can be glossed as 'I don't know/I'm not sure'. Information conveyed in this type of interrogative is normally personal, for example, the speaker's current situation, the speaker's own problem/matter, etc. According to Kamio's (1994) interpretation, this type of information is thus close to the speaker. This is the reason why the use of a distal demonstrative particle like *đấy* as a replacement

for the use of *đây* in the situation just described is impossible. Note that utterance (192) is similar to an exclamation.

(192) - Lão phải làm gì *đây*?
 old person must do what DEMPART
 ‘What must I do *đây*?’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

It is uttered to express the speaker (a man)’s personal feelings of uncertainty/confusion rather than to get the hearer to answer. Thus, the information expressed in (192) is obtained from the speaker’s internal direct experience. By this condition, the speaker of (192) assumes that the information is close to him. Only *đây* is appropriate in this situation.

The above analysis indicates that *đây* can only be used with a declarative and an interrogative utterance that expresses personal information about the speaker including plans, actions, or her direct experience. This means the use of *đây* is associated with information that is psychologically close to the speaker. Under the condition of the closeness of information, the particle *này*, as discussed in the following, shares some similarities with *đây*.

6.2.2 *Này*

As mentioned in section 6.1.1, *này* or its variant *nè* can be used in sentence-final positions without causing any changes in pragmatic and semantic meanings.

Examples of *này* (*nè*) show that it is generally used with both declaratives and imperatives. When attached to declarative utterances, *này* (*nè*) performs as a focusing device, i.e. to concentrate the hearer’s attention to the given situation. When attached to an imperative, *này* (*nè*) adds an insistent force to get the hearer to pay attention to the speaker’s wish. The first example is the use of *này* (*nè*) after a declarative:

(193) Magician: Và bây giờ thì quý ông quý bà xem *đây*!
 and now TOP gentlemen ladies watch DEMPART
 ‘And now, ladies and gentlemen (please) watch *đây*!’

Audience: Xem gì cơ?
 watch what PART
 ‘Watch what?’

Magician: Xem cái này *này*!
 watch CL DEM.PROX DEMPART
 ‘Watch this thing *này*!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. c)

Example (193) is a conversation between a magician and a member of his audience. The particle *này* appears in the magician's response to an enquiry about some delay in his impending trick. In this case, the information expressed in the magician's second utterance, *Xem cái này này* 'Watch this *này!*', directs the audience's attention to the actual trick that he is performing at the time of speaking. Note that both *này* and *đây* are integrated in this example. The use of *đây* in the magician's first utterance is associated with the information about his plan for his next action (§6.2.1), while the use of *này* conveys information that directly relates to his immediate magic trick. In terms of personal data indicated in Kamio (1994), information expressed in this example can be classified in the subclass of the speaker's professional and expertise, that is, the magician's performance and his particular magic trick. This condition applies to the speaker only, hence the speaker of (193) assumes that the information does not fall into the hearer's territory of information at all. Thus, proximal demonstrative particles are required. In the same way, the use of *nè* is illustrated in (194):

- (194) Group leader: *Câu bị vướng dây chỗ nào đâu?*
 2SG PASS stuck rope place which where
 'Where did you get stuck in ropes?'
 Viet: *Ngay ở đây nè!*
 right PREP.at DEM.PROX DEMPART
 'Right here *nè!*'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. a)

In (194), Viet (the speaker) is showing his group leader (the hearer) where he had gotten stuck. The information indicated in Viet's utterance *Ngay ở đây nè!* 'Right here *nè!*' is thus obtained from his own experience: he remembers where the place is and can identify it by the time he approaches the location. In this case, both conditions of internal direct experience in memory (remembering) and external direct experience (identifying) are applicable with respect to the speaker. This information is of course outside the group leader's territory of knowledge since he is seeking the information from Viet. This means the information entirely belongs to the speaker's territory and not within the hearer's, making Viet assume that the information in (194) is close to him. Hence, the particle *nè* is appropriate.

The examples above indicate a difference between *đây* and *này* (*nè*) in terms of pragmatic functions. I propose that *đây* is mainly used to inform, and thus prepare the hearer's attention for the speaker's next plans, actions, and behaviour (§6.2.1), while *này* (*nè*) is generally used to direct the hearer's attention to the speaker's actual plans, actions, and behaviour. Due to this difference, when functioning as demonstrative particles, *đây* and *này* (*nè*) are not interchangeable. Thus, in (193) it is possible for the magic performance to be delayed after the statement marked by *đây*, while the

utterance with *này* requires representation of the speaker's immediate actions at the time of speaking. Likewise in (194), *nè* is used to focus the hearer's attention to where the speaker is pointing. The directing force created by *này* (*nè*) is intensive and immediate, hence in these utterances, if the hearer is distracted, he may miss some part of the information provided. This is probably the reason why *này* (*nè*) is normally used with imperatives.

In an utterance of an imperative, *này* (*nè*) adds a tone of insistence to get the hearer's attention. Example (195) demonstrates the use of *này* with this pragmatic meaning. The context of this example is that Phuong invites Dong to stay for meal and after the meal, she sees Dong looking for toothpicks.

(195) - Anh Đông lấy tăm *này*.
 older-brother Dong take toothpick DEMPART
 'Brother Dong, take a toothpick *này*.'

(Ma, 1985)

Note that in this example, the speaker Phuong offers Dong a toothpick because she sees Dong looking for one. As indicated in the context, Phuong is holding a toothpick holder and waiting for Dong to take one. In this case, conditions of external direct experience (the speaker's observation and her immediate contact with a toothpick holder) and internal direct experience (the speaker believes that the hearer needs a toothpick) make the use of *này* appropriate. This means the speaker of (195) assumes that the information expressed in her utterance completely falls into her territory.

It is important to note that imperatives marked by *này* (*nè*) emphasise the speaker's wants at the time of speaking rather than at the hearer's actions and behaviour, since the hearer in these cases can ignore the speaker's request. Suppose that the speaker in example (195) is holding a toothpick holder and waiting for the hearer to take one, but the hearer does not need one and hence he declines the request. In this situation, the condition of external direct experience (i.e. seeing the hearer is looking for something) is weakened by the meta-condition of insufficient basis, while the condition of the speaker's belief (internal direct experience) is still effective, encouraging the speaker to assume that the information conveyed (i.e. her wish) is close to her. On the other hand, the information conveyed does not fall into the hearer's territory since the imperative is not directed at the hearer's actions. This assumed situation indicates that *này* (*nè*) is appropriate where information falls completely into the speaker's territory.

The above analysis implies that the occurrence of the sentence-final particle *này* (*nè*) in utterances of either a declarative or an imperative corresponds to the speaker's territory of knowledge that is represented in a given situation. In this sense, the use of the particle *này* (*nè*), similar to *đây* (§6.2.1) is determined by psychological proximity. This distinguishes it from the

distal demonstrative particles *đây/đó*, *kia*, *kìa* and *ấy (ì)*, whose uses tend to be associated with the hearer’s territory of information, and thus, distant from the speaker’s to some degree.

6.3 Distal demonstrative particles

As analysed in Chapter 2, distance indicated by the distal demonstratives *đây/đó*, *kia* and *ấy* is relative; that is, it can be distant to some degree from the speaker. This section explains how the relative distance can be mapped onto the use of the distal demonstrative particles *đây/đó*, *kia*, *kìa* and *ấy (ì)* based on the theory of territory of information.

6.3.1 *Đây/đó*

As mentioned in section 6.2.1, *đây* and *đấy* indicate the epistemic commitment of the speaker. V. H. Nguyễn (2008) states that *đấy* is used to indicate what the speaker has experienced in the past, as illustrated in example (196).

- (196) Nho này ngon *đấy*.
 grape DEM.PROX delicious DEMPART
 ‘This (type of) grape is delicious *đấy*.’

With *đấy*, the statement in (196) can be read as ‘This (type of) grape tastes delicious’. The difference between the use of *đấy* and *đây* in such a statement about the type of grape lies in whether or not the speaker has tasted that type of grape previously. So far, this has been the only explanation about the relationship between the semantic and pragmatic functions of the particle *đây/đó*.

In this section, I illustrate the use of *đây/đó* in various speech acts, representing different attitudinal-emotive meanings that these terms can denote, and explaining how the choice between them in a given context can be related to the speaker’s/hearer’s territory of information. Examples of the sentence-final particle *đây/đó* are typically found in three types of utterances: declaratives, imperatives and interrogatives. For convenience, this section uses examples including *đấy* to illustrate both cases.

First, *đây/đó* normally occurs after a declarative. When included in these statements, *đây/đó* expresses the speaker’s emotion and attitude in a way that tries to convince the hearer of the truth of what is being stated (cf. Đ. Lê & Nguyễn, 2003; V. H. Nguyễn, 2001, 2004; Phạm, 2002).

The demonstrative particle *đây/đó* is attached to a statement to confirm what the speaker believes or to indicate her attitude towards what her interlocutor has just said. The following two contexts indicate cases where the speaker’s and the hearer’s territories of information interact. The

first case is when *đáy/đó* is used with the speaker's own statement, adding an affirmative force to what she states. This is illustrated in example (197).

- (197) a- Cô nhớ rang và xay hạt tiêu ngay đi nhé.
 aunt remember fry and grind CL pepper immediately IMP PART
 'Remember to fry and grind pepper right away.'
- b-Ông cụ... khó tính về ăn uống lắm đấy.
 grandfather old person fussy PREP.about eating very DEMPART
 'Dad... is very fussy when eating *đáy*.'
- c-Một hôm tôi làm bún chả, chỉ thiếu có tí hạt tiêu
 one day 1SG make bun cha only lack AST little CL pepper
 mà cụ bỏ bữa *đáy*!
 CONJ old person skip meal DEMPART
 'One day I cooked Bun cha without adding pepper, he skipped the meal *đáy*!'

(Ma, 1985)

Example (197) is extracted from a conversation between Ly (the speaker) and Phuong (the hearer). As indicated in the context, Ly is the one who has been looking after her father-in-law (who is referred to as *ông cụ* 'he' in the example) and she therefore understands his eating habits very well. Her first assertion (197b) states a fact about her father-in-law based on her own experience. Then, the second assertion (197c) displays evidence to support what she has stated previously. Overall, the use of *đáy* twice renders the whole utterance more persuasive so that Phuong will follow Ly's request in (197a), *rang và xay hạt tiêu ngay* 'fry and grind pepper right away', as an understandably urgent must-do action.

The information expressed in (197) falls into both the speaker's and the hearer's territories, although more deeply to the speaker's. Note that the information about the speaker's father-in-law is obtained through her internal direct experience in memory: she recalls what she has experienced with respect to her father-in-law's eating habits. On the other hand, since the speaker's father-in-law is also the hearer's father in-law, the information about him is assumed to fall into the hearer's territory as well, although to a lesser degree because the information about him is not obtained through the hearer's direct experience. In this case, the condition of direct experience only applies to the speaker, hence the information conveyed is assumed to be closer to the speaker. This example can be related to case BC in Kamio's (1994) theory, in which information falls within both the speaker's and the hearer's territories but more in the speaker's (90-91). The involvement of the hearer's territory in this case is exactly the reason that *đáy* is appropriate rather than *đây*.

There are also cases where the hearer may have some doubts about what the speaker has just said. In response to his doubts, the speaker employs *đáy* to insert a more affirmative force in order to convince the hearer to agree with her previous statement. This is illustrated in example (198),

extracted from a conversation between Phuong, Ly and Mr Bang (the two women's father-in-law). When Phuong speaks of her previous job for which she was not qualified, Ly concludes that people in authority required money from her. Ly's statement *Họ muốn vòi tiền cô thì có!* 'They wanted to tap you for money!' is objected to by Mr Bang. In response to Mr Bang's doubts about declining moral values in society (i.e. "money makes things!"), Ly confirms what she has said by stating *Sự thật đấy!* 'That was the truth *đấy!*'. The use of the particle *đấy* after the assertion is to display the speaker's strong desire that the hearer becomes convinced of what she thinks.

- (198) Ly: Họ muốn vòi tiền cô thì có!
 3PL want tap for money aunt TOP AST
 'They wanted to tap you for money!'
- Bang: Nghĩ ngợi gì mà đen tối thế, Lý?
 think what CONJ dark so Ly
 'How could you have such a dark thought, Ly?'
- Ly: Sự thật *đấy*, ông ạ.
 CL real DEMPART grandfather PART
 'That was the truth *đấy*, Dad.'

Ông nghỉ hưu rồi, ông ít tiếp xúc
 grandfather retire already grandfather rare contact
 với thực tế, ông không hiểu, đời bây giờ
 PREP.with reality grandfather NEG understand life now
 tệ lắm... Có tiền là xong hết!
 bad very have money COP finish end
 'You are retired, losing contact with reality, you do not understand, society is going bad... Money makes things!'

(Ma, 1985)

With respect to territory of information, the use of *đấy* in (198) can be explained as follows: in her first utterance, the speaker states a fact that she knows and believes is true and this is confirmed in her second utterance. The second part of Ly's second utterance, *Ông nghỉ hưu rồi, ông ít tiếp xúc với thực tế, ông không hiểu* 'You are retired, losing contact with reality, you do not understand', indicates that the information being conveyed in her first utterance is obtained through her direct experience, which is not applicable to the hearer Bang since he is retired. By this condition, the speaker assumes that the information is close to her. Note, however, that the information expressed in the speaker's second utterance in which *đấy* occurs is given to confirm what has been conveyed in her first utterance. In this case, then, the condition of direct experience is weakened by the meta-condition of already conveyed information, as indicated in Kamio (1994), thus the speaker of (198) assumes that the information in her second utterance is less close to her. This makes *đấy* acceptable in this case. On the other hand, once the first utterance is produced, information that it expresses is

supposed to be shared with other interlocutors. This means the hearer now knows about it and thus the information falls into his territory as well. *Đấy* is used to mark such a distance between the information conveyed and the speaker. Note that it would be odd if *đây* were used in this example.

As mentioned previously, *đấy* is not only used to assure the speaker's own statement as is just discussed above, but is also used to convey her personal view of what her interlocutor has said.

Consider the following example:

(199) Ly: Anh Tường đi Nam năm năm chín, chị nhỉ?
 older-brother Tuong go south year five nine older-sister PART
 'Brother Tuong went South (-joined the army) in 1959, right?'

Hoai: Năm ấy *đấy*, cô ạ...
 year DEM.DIST DEMPART aunt PART
 Anh ấy biết tôi từ năm bốn năm...
 3SG know 1SG from year forty-five
 'That year *đấy*. He had known me since 1945...'

Ly: Trời, lâu thế kia ư?
 INTERJ long so DEM.DIST PART
 'God, was it that long?'

Hoai: Thật là thế *đấy*...
 real COP so DEMPART
 'The truth it was *đấy*...'

(Ma, 1985)

Above is a conversation between Ly and Hoai about Hoai's husband. Note that both of the questions asked by the hearer Ly in (199) are not used for the purpose of seeking information, rather to express her knowledge about her brother-in-law in order to obtain confirmation from his wife. This means the two responding utterances of Hoai in which *đấy* occurs express information that belongs to the hearer's territory of information (i.e. information about a person who is close to the hearer). On the other hand, the information conveyed in Hoai's utterances also belongs to her territory since it is about her husband. The information marked by *đấy* in this situation thus falls into both territories since it is about a person who is close to both the speaker and the hearer. However, it is noticed that this information has been previously conveyed to the speaker through the hearer's utterances, as in example (198), the condition about the speaker's personal data (i.e. her husband) which indicates that information that is close to the speaker is weakened by the meta-condition of information that has just been conveyed to the speaker. In this case, the speaker assumes that the information is less close to her, thus *đấy* is appropriate. Note also that since the mentioned meta-condition is not applicable with respect to the hearer, the condition of the hearer's

personal data (her brother-in-law) retains its full affect. In this case, the information thus falls more deeply into the hearer's territory. This use of *đáy* is an instance of case CB (Kamio, 1994: 91-92).

The above observations indicate that the use of *đáy* is associated with utterances whose content is about information which falls into both the speaker's and the hearer's territories. The degree of closeness to the speaker or the hearer can vary depending on whether the information is related to the speaker's or the hearer's previous statement. Let us now consider the use of *đáy* in other speech acts such as warning and advising. Note that the proximal particle *đáy* is not assigned for these types of illocutionary force. Why, then, is *đáy* appropriate in these uses?

A speaker will warn if she presumes that future situations will be the source of an unpleasant outcome for the other. Otherwise, if she believes that the future action will benefit the other, her speech act is interpreted as advice. Thus, we can assume that information conveyed in these speech acts is closer to the hearer's territory since the future actions, plans, and behaviour (indicated in the speaker's advice or warning) are the hearer's experience. On the other hand, the speaker's advice or warning should be made on the basis of her direct experience (e.g. observation of the hearer's situation) because it would be odd if someone gave a warning or advice without any prior understanding. Thus, information in these cases also falls within the speaker's territory. Consider the following example:

(200) - Hai đứa nghe rõ lời bác chưa?
 two child hear clear speech uncle NEG_{PERF}
 'Did you two hear what uncle has said clearly?'

Hư là bác rồi trí, bác ghét, bác không cho
 naughty COP uncle confused uncle hate uncle NEG give
 xem ti vi, bách thú nữa đâu *đáy*.
 watch television zoo more where DEMPART
 '(If you are) naughty, uncle will be confused, will hate you and won't allow you to
 watch television or (go to) the zoo any more *đáy*.'

(Ma, 1985)

In example (200), a mother wants her two children to behave well during the time they stay with their uncle's family. The particle *đáy* is attached at the end of the warning to bring the children's attention to the unpleasant consequences if they misbehave; that is, no TV-watching, no going to the zoo. Based on the mother's question, *Hai đứa nghe rõ lời bác chưa?* 'Did you two hear what uncle has just said clearly?', we can assume that both the mother and her children are listening to what their relative has just said, hence the information conveyed in the utterance where *đáy* occurs is directly perceived by both parties (external direct experience). Note, however, that the information in (200) is about facts and things that are directly related to the hearers (i.e. what will

happen if the children misbehave). In this case, the condition of the hearer's information combined with the condition of the hearer's external direct experience create an additional affect, making the speaker assume that the information expressed in (200) is closer to the children than to her. Notice that if *đây* replaced *đấy* in this case, utterance (200) would sound awkward due to the involvement of psychological distance. Similar to their spatial functions, *đấy* is used to indicate an intended referent that is far from the speaker, while *đây* is only appropriate for a referent that is close to the speaker (Chapter 2).

With respect to the speech act of advising, *đấy* is also associated with information that falls into the hearer's territory of knowledge. The information in (201), for example, is obtained by a husband's observation that his wife's clothes are not warm enough. He then advises her to put on a jacket to avoid catching a chill.

(201) - Mặc áo vào chứ không là cảm lạnh *đấy*.
 put jacket PREP.in NEG NEG COP flu cold DEMPART
 'Put on the jacket, otherwise you'll catch a chill *đấy*.'

(Ma, 1985)

In this case, the husband gives advice based on his external direct experience: seeing his wife not wearing a jacket. Thus, the information falls into the speaker's territory. But the speaker applies his internal direct experience of 'feeling cold' to his wife's situation, so he may be wrong if his wife does not feel the cold. Assuming Kamio's (1994: 85) meta-condition that "information... is considered less close if the speaker does not have an adequate basis for asserting it", then the information in (201) is less close to the speaker. On the other hand, the information expressed in the husband's advice falls more deeply into the wife's territory since it is about her action (i.e. 'put on the jacket') and her internal state (i.e. 'catch a chill'). Here, *đấy* is associated with CB, i.e., information that falls within both territories, although more to the hearer's. Similar to (200), *đây* is not appropriate in this case.

Next, *đấy* can be used with imperatives. Examination of examples utilising *đấy* with imperatives indicates that the information conveyed in this speech act is directed at the hearer's actions and behaviour. For example:

(202) - Kể từ giờ phút này mà với Hanh không
 tell from hour minute DEM.PROX 2SG PREP.with Hanh NEG
 được đề cập gì đến cái tên Bình Minh nữa đấy!
 obtain mention what PREP.to CL name Binh Minh more DEMPART
 ‘From now on, you and Hanh are not allowed to mention anything else about the name Binh Minh đấy!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. a)

The context of (202) is that Long and Hanh’s teasing about Binh Minh (for whom the speaker Quy has feelings) has made Quy really angry. In response to the teasing, Quy utters (202) as a command that Long and Hanh have to stop mentioning Binh Minh. The use of *đấy* lends an insistent effect to the whole utterance. Note that the information being conveyed in this utterance is directed at the hearer’s actions and behaviour (personal data). According to Kamio (1994), information of this kind is close to the hearer, and hence belongs to the hearer’s territory. Note that the information in (202) falls into the speaker’s territory also since the speaker’s request is always aimed at the hearer(s), who is/are the speaker’s friend(s), for example. This means the condition relating to information about a person who is close to the speaker is applicable to the speaker. I propose that in this situation, the hearer is responsible for fulfilling the speaker’s wish, thus the condition of the hearer’s personal data produces a stronger effect, making the speaker assume that the information conveyed falls more deeply onto the hearer’s territory. Recall here that *này (nè)* can be used with imperatives (§6.2.2). However, imperatives with *này (nè)* are directed at the speaker’s wants at the time of speaking, while the use of *đấy* focuses on the hearer’s future actions and behaviour. Consequently, the speaker of (202) cannot use *này (nè)* instead of *đấy*. In this case, *đấy* is used to indicate that the information being conveyed is less close to the speaker while closer to the hearer.

Lastly, the particle *đấy* is often used with interrogatives in order to make the tone of a question less curt, blunt or impolite. It is noticed that *đấy* is normally used in a question such as *(Anh) đi đâu đấy?* ‘Where are you going?’ as a formulaic social expression of greeting. In this situation, the absence of the particle *đấy* would make the tone of the greeting less sincere or even impolite. This pragmatic meaning of *đấy* is also indicated in various types of Vietnamese questions, including those using question words as in (203), or alternative questions as in (204), etc.

(203) - Anh Tám đánh chén ở đâu về đấy?
 older-brother Tam party PREP.at where return DEMPART
 ‘Tam, where have you been for party đấy?’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

(204) - Quý nói thật hay nói chơi *đấy?*
 Quý say true or say play DEMPART
 ‘Quý, are you serious or just kidding *đấy?*’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. a)

In (203), the male speaker can tell that the hearer Tam has just been to a party (perhaps he can smell alcohol on Tam), but he does not know where the party took place. In (204), the female speaker is uncertain if what she has just heard from the hearer Quy is serious or not. This sense of *đấy* is mainly attached to questions whose content is related to the hearer, i.e. by asking, the speaker seeks more information about the hearer’s personal data. Information conveyed in a question about the hearer thus falls within the hearer’s territory. In this case, two conditions, information about detailed knowledge and personal data, apply to the hearer, making the speaker assume that the information is closer to the hearer than to her. Note that the speaker normally makes enquiries based on her observation of the hearer, for example, she sees him coming or observes him doing something. Thus, the information in these cases also belongs to the speaker’s territory, although to a lesser degree since only the condition of external direct experience, weakened by the meta-condition of information private to someone other than the speaker, applies to the speaker.

This section shows that *đấy* can appear at the end of an utterance to convey various emotive-attitudinal senses towards the information expressed. The analysis above indicates that a declarative, imperative, or interrogative utterance in which *đấy* occurs expresses information that falls into both territories. Interestingly, information conveyed in these uses of *đấy* can be either closer to the speaker’s or the hearer’s, although the examples here suggest that the latter case is more common. As the use of *đấy* corresponds to information that is less close to the speaker, we can assume that the semantic meaning of distance of the demonstrative *đấy* is extended to the psychological distance through the use of the demonstrative particle *đấy*. Table 32 represents the above analysis. Note that these results are applicable to the case of *đó* as well.

Table 32. Semantic and pragmatic functions of the sentence-final particle *đáy/đó*

Speech contexts		Pragmatic functions	Territory of information
Particle <i>đáy/đó</i> with declaratives	after a statement (in relation to what the speaker states)	- to add affirmative force to what the speaker believes	information falls within both territories but more into the speaker's
	after a statement (in relation to what the previous speaker has said)	- to emphasise the factuality of what has just been said	information falls within both territories but more into the hearer's
	after a warning/advice	- to draw the hearer's attention to do or not do something	
Particle <i>đáy/đó</i> with imperatives	after a request/command	- to create an insistent effect on the hearer's future actions and behaviour	
Particle <i>đáy/đó</i> with interrogatives	after a question with question words, an alternative question or a yes-no question, etc.	- soften the tone of questions about the hearer's personal data	

Using a similar approach, the cases of other distal demonstrative particles including *kia* and *áy* are examined in the following sections.

6.3.2 Two variations of *kia*

We have noted that the demonstrative *kia* has two basic meanings, either indicating physical farness when referring to a referent that is distal from the speaker (§2.3.3), or denoting a contrast when referring to a referent in relation to another in a particular speech context (§2.5). There are two variations of *kia*, i.e. *kia* and *kìa*, appearing in sentence-final positions as a result of grammaticalisation (§6.1.1). Guided by the theory of territory of information, this section explains how the use of *kia* and *kìa* is related to psychological distance, extending the demonstrative *kia*'s basic meanings.

6.3.2.1 *Kia*

Like *đáy/đó*, the particle *kia* can be used with interrogatives and declaratives. However, I show that *đáy/đó* and *kia* are not interchangeable due to either of the two following reasons: (i) the use of *kia* is associated with different cases of territory of information, or (ii) the use of *kia* is associated with the same cases of territory of information of *đáy/đó*, but the meaning of 'contrast' distinguishes them from each other.

The first distinction between *đáy/đó* and *kia* as classified in (i) occurs when *kia* is used after a question as a response to the hearer's utterance. In this speech act, *kia* tends to signal that what has just been said by the hearer is insufficient and thus the speaker wants to know more. This is

illustrated in example (205).

- (205) Chuong: Mọi người biết hết rồi!
all person know end already
'Everybody already knows!'
Them: Biết gì *kia*?
know what DEMPART
'Knows what *kia*'?

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1991a)

The example above is a conversation between Chuong and Them. As Chuong assumes that Them is aware that people have been talking about his private tutoring lessons with her (indicated in the context of the example), he initiates the conversation with unspecified information: *Mọi người biết hết rồi!* 'Everybody already knows!'. This confuses Them. In response, she indicates the need for clarification in the first part of the question, i.e. *Biết gì* 'Knows what?', adding *kia* to insist on wanting to learn more. The urge of 'I want to learn more' is more clearly demonstrated in example (206).

- (206) Aunt: ... có một điều nó không ngờ...
have a/one CL 3SG NEG doubt
'There was one thing that he may not have expected...'
Nephew: Điều gì *kia*?
CL what DEMPART
'What's the thing *kia*'?

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. h)

The context of example (206) is as follows: an aunt discovers that her nephew had sold her copper tray without asking for her permission. To make him admit what he did, she refers to the thief in the third person, avoiding reference to her nephew. Example (206) shows the nephew interrupting in the middle of his aunt's utterance by asking: *Điều gì *kia*?* 'What's the thing *kia*'? because he impatiently wants to hear what else his aunt may know.

In the examples above, *kia* is used to indicate psychological distance. Through the questions *Biết gì *kia** 'Know what?' in (205) and *Điều gì *kia*?* 'What's the thing *kia*'? in (206), the speakers in both cases indicate that the information being conveyed is outside their spheres of knowledge. In these cases, the speakers of (205)-(206) nonetheless assume that their interlocutors know everything about the given piece of information since they intend to talk about it. Thus, the condition of internal direct experience in memory applies to the hearers, but not to the speakers. According to Kamio's (1994) theory, the information expressed in these examples falls completely within the

hearer's territory. The distance between the information and the speaker makes the form *kia* appropriate. These examples are thus typical instances of case C (§6.1.2), which distinguishes *kia* from *đầy/đó*, which is required for cases BC or CB (§6.1.2, §6.3.1).

The particle *kia* is also often used with declaratives to emphasise that what is being talked about is surprisingly different to what has been mentioned or to what the hearer could imagine. Examination of examples of declaratives in which *kia* is used suggests that information conveyed in these utterances belongs to two types. It can be: (i) hearsay-based information, or (ii) information obtained through the speaker's external direct experience. Consider the following example:

(207) - Bây giờ ăn trộm ăn cắp nó tinh vi lắm. Hai khoá đã đi
 now thief 3SG tricky very two lock ANT go
 đến đâu. Nó còn xịt cả ête vào cho
 PREP.to where 3SG remain spray all ether PREP.in PREP.for
 ngủ mê mết đi rồi mới vào khuân đồ đạc *kia*.
 sleep unconscious go CONJ new enter carry furniture DEMPART
 'Nowadays, thieves become very tricky. Double locks will not help. They even spray ether to send you to unconscious sleep before taking action *kia*.'

(Ma, 1985)

The utterance in (207) is Ly's comment on the situation of her sister-in-law Phuong, whose bicycle has been stolen. Phuong believes a double lock can prevent theft, but according to Ly, thieves are more cunning than Phuong thinks. The particle *kia* used after the statement highlights the reality of what thieves can do compared with what the hearer thinks they can do. The context of this example indicates that Ly has never been robbed. Thus, the information about thieves expressed in her statement is not from her own experience, but rather, is what she has heard from other people. The information conveyed in (207) does not fall into the hearer's territory either. In this situation, the information falls outside both territories. Note that if *đầy* replaced *kia* in example (207), the information would be interpreted to mean that the speaker (and the hearer) had personally seen or experienced a robbery.

It is noticed that in Vietnamese, common hedging expressions like *nghe đâu* '(I) hear somewhere', and *nghe nói/nghe bảo* '(I) hear (people) say' are normally used in similar situations in which the speaker relates hearsay-based information. In this case, it would sound unnatural if *đầy* were used in the position of *kia*. For example:

- (208) Son bây giờ nghe đâu lại đi thích một em
 Son now hear where again go like a/one younger-sibling
 tóc ngắn ... kiểu Mỹ Linh *kia*/**đấy!*
 hair short style My Linh DEMPART
 ‘There is a rumor that Son now likes a girl with short hair like My Linh style *kia*!’

(T. T. Lê, 2014)

Kamio (1994: 94) identifies hearsay-based information as case D, that is, information that falls within neither the speaker’s nor the hearer’s territory of information. As indicated in the examples above, *kia* corresponds with such a type of information. From the observations, it can be seen that *kia* is associated with cases C and D while *đấy/đó* with CB and BC. This is the reason why in these cases, the replacement of one form with another would be either inappropriate or cause a change in meaning.

However, like *đấy/đó*, the particle *kia* can also be used in utterances expressing information that falls within both territories. This is illustrated in example (209).

- (209) - Ông vẫn còn tỉnh táo lắm, còn nói rành rọt địa chỉ
 grandfather still remain alert very remain say clearly address
 từng nhà *kia*.
 every house DEMPART
 ‘Grandfather was still alert, saying clearly everyone’s home addresses.’

(M. Hoàng, 2013)

The context of this example is as follows: a mother had just visited her father, the hearer’s grandfather. The mother’s utterance (209) tells her daughter about the man’s health condition. The information expressed in (209) thus falls into both the speaker’s and hearer’s territories since it is about a person who is close to both of them. On the other hand, the information conveyed in this situation is obtained from the speaker’s direct experience, in that she visited her father. The combined effect of conditions of information obtained through the speaker’s internal direct experience in memory and information about a person who is close to the speaker make her assume that the information is closer to her and less close to the hearer since only the latter condition is applicable with respect to the hearer. Note that *kia* is used in this case. This example indicates that *kia* is appropriate in case BC where information falls into both territories, but more deeply into the speaker’s. It is noticed that the use of *kia* in this case also creates the effect of emphasising what the speaker believes the hearer does not know yet. Although *đấy/đó* could be used in case BC (§6.3.1), the replacement of these terms for *kia* in this case would affect this pragmatic meaning, thus the utterance in (209) would be slightly changed.

Assuming Kamio’s (1994) theory of territory of information, then, the extended use of *kia* as a demonstrative particle is determined by the notion of distance. In this section, I propose that the use of *kia* occurs in two extreme cases in which the information is either most distant to the speaker (i.e. falling completely within the hearer’s territory of information) or most distant to both the speaker and the hearer (i.e. falling within neither territory). I also show that there are cases where *đây/đó* and *kia* can be interchangeable, although they are distinguished from each other by the notion of ‘contrast’. Thus, I propose that the two basic meanings of ‘contrast’ and ‘distance’ are correlated in the extension of the demonstrative *kia* to the demonstrative particle *kia*. In the following section, I argue that only the notion of ‘distance’ determines the use of the particle *kia*. The above analysis is summarised in Table 33.

Table 33. Semantic and pragmatic functions of the sentence-final particle *kia*

Speech contexts		Pragmatic functions	Territory of information
Particle <i>kia</i> with interrogatives	after a question (information within the hearer’s territory)	- to add a desire to learn more	information falls completely within the hearer’s territory
Particle <i>kia</i> with declaratives	after a statement (hearsay-based information)	- to add a surprised effect at what is ‘new’ to both the speaker and the hearer	information falls neither within the speaker’s nor the hearer’s territory
	after a statement (information obtained from the speaker’s experience)	- to add a contrasting effect to what the speaker/hearer is assumed to not yet know	information falls within both territories to some degree

6.3.2.2 *Kia*

While other distal particles like *đây/đó* (§6.3.1) and *kia* (§6.3.2.1) can appear after different types of utterances to indicate various attitudinal-emotive meanings, *kia* is commonly used with declaratives. In these utterances, *kia* is pragmatically used to call the hearer’s attention to a situation that both of them are experiencing, but of which the hearer is not yet fully aware. Given the condition of the speaker’s/hearer’s external direct experience (§6.1.1), we can assume that the information expressed in utterances with *kia* attached falls within both the speaker’s and the hearer’s territories. Consider the following example:

- (210) - Lẹ lên, Long ơi! Người ta vào hết rồi *kia*!
 quick up Long PART 3PL enter end already DEMPART
 ‘Be quick, Long! People all get in already *kia*!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. c)

Example (210) is uttered in the context where Hanh and Long are going to a magic show. While people are all moving quickly to get into the building, Long is still walking slowly. Becoming impatient, Hanh asks Long to hurry up. When both the speaker and the hearer are experiencing the same situation, the information expressed in the utterance *Người ta vào hết rồi kia!* ‘People all get in already *kia!*’ is obtained from the same external direct experience of seeing people hurriedly getting in. By this condition, the speaker assumes that the information falls within both territories. However, due to the hearer’s slowness, which is inappropriate given the situation, the speaker assumes that the hearer is not paying enough attention to what is happening around them, thus the condition of external direct experience has less effect on the hearer. In this case, the information is assumed to be closer to the speaker than to the hearer. This is thus an instance of case BC.

In example (210), *kia* is used to express the speaker’s impatient attitude or surprise at the hearer’s inappropriate action, besides the basic pragmatic function of calling the hearer’s attention to the situation. Example (211) illustrates that *kia* is used only to call the hearer’s attention. This is an utterance of a boy telling a girl the place where her father is being kept on the day she comes to visit him. The context of example (211) is as follows: the girl (the hearer)’s father was captured and punished by the authorities due to his revenge on a family in a village (referring to the context of example (151), §5.3). His action shamed his family as the people in the village thought he did the wrong thing and they hated his whole family as a consequence.

(211) - Thầy mà ở bên kia *kia!*
 father 2SG stay side DEM.DIST DEMPART
 ‘Your father is in there *kia.*’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

In (211), the boy (the speaker) is the source of the information about the hearer’s father, i.e. he knows exactly where the girl’s father is and points it out so that the girl is able to find the location. The information conveyed thus belongs to the speaker’s territory by conditions of external observation and detailed knowledge. The effects of these conditions, however, are weakened by the fact that utterance (211) is about a person (the hearer’s father) who appears to be a bad person in the village. According to Kamio (1995: 238), “information private to someone other than the speaker is considered less close to the speaker if the speaker is not close to that person”. This meta-condition is applicable with respect to the speaker, making the speaker of (211) assume that the information is distant to him to some degree. On the other hand, the information is about the hearer’s father, and thus falls into the hearer’s territory. Moreover, the information conveyed is obtained from the hearer’s external observation as well, since the speaker and the hearer can both see the place at the time of speaking. In this case, the combined conditions that apply to the hearer are not weakened by

any meta-condition, making the speaker assume that the information is falling more deeply within the hearer's territory. The use of *kia* in this example is then associated with case CB.

These examples demonstrate the use of *kia* occurring in both cases BC and CB. As analysed above, *kia* tends to be mainly used in utterances conveying information that belongs to both territories, either more to the speaker's due to the hearer's lack of awareness (case BC) or more to the hearer's due to psychological distance between the speaker and the information conveyed (case CB). We have noted that *ḍáŷ/ḍó* and *kia* can be used in these cases, yet they are distinct from each other in terms of the illocutionary force that they encode. That is, *ḍáŷ/ḍó* is used to add affirmative force to the speaker's previous statement (§6.3.1), and *kia* emphasises information that falls to a lesser degree into the hearer's territory (§6.3.2.1), while *kia* calls the hearer's attention to the situation that both of them are experiencing at the time of speaking.

It can be seen that when the demonstrative *kia* extends to the function of a sentence-final particle, its basic meanings are shifted from situational to expressive within the notion of 'distance'. As analysed in this section, the use of *kia* is associated with information that belongs to the hearer's territory to some degree, and hence it is less close to the speaker. The following discusses the use of *áŷ* as another instance of territory of information.

6.3.3 *Áŷ*

As discussed in previous chapters, the demonstrative *áŷ* functions more like an anaphoric term rather than a deictic term. It is commonly used to refer to what has been mentioned in previous linguistic contexts (Chapter 4) or something assumed to be in the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer (Chapter 5). In this section, I argue that when *áŷ* grammatically develops into the category of demonstrative particles and performs with two variations of *áŷ* and *i* (§6.1.1), its use is associated with information that falls equally into both the speaker's and the hearer's territories, and is thus directly related to the notion of familiarity. It is noticed that *áŷ* is often used with utterances of a declarative with two functions: (i) marking knowledge about what the speaker and the hearer share, and (ii) marking knowledge about what is generally known. In this regard, *áŷ* is somewhat similar to the *y'know* marker in English (Schiffrin, 1987: 268).

In the first function, *áŷ* occurs in the context where the speaker wants to remind the hearer of something that is familiar to him due to shared knowledge. This means information expressed in an utterance in which *áŷ* is used belongs to both territories of information and that it can be obtained by recalling the previously shared experience. This is illustrated in the following example, extended from (205).

(212) Chuong: Mọi người biết hết rồi!
 all person know end already
 ‘Everybody already knows!’

Them: Biết gì kia?
 know what DEMPART
 ‘Knows what kia?’

Chuong: Biết chuyện tôi đến đây dạy học ấy!
 know story 1SG come DEM.PROX teach learn DEMPART
 ‘Knows the fact that I come here to teach (you know)!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1991a)

The speaker Chuong in (212) informs the hearer Them that everyone knows something, yet he does not clarify the information, as he assumes that Them knows what he is talking about (as indicated in Chuong’s second utterance). Chuong’s presumption is misplaced as for some reason Them cannot understand what Chuong is referring to. The utterance *Biết chuyện tôi đến đây dạy học ấy* ‘Know the fact that I come here to teach (you) *ấy*!’ answers the question “Knows what?”, but on the other hand reminds Them that what she has just asked is something that she already knows. It can be seen that Chuong’s second utterance in which *ấy* occurs is a repair. This turn provides more information, where the original utterance is signalled as not initially providing enough information for the hearer. To convey the sense of reminding, the appearance of *ấy* at the end of the utterance is necessary. Without *ấy*, the utterance would otherwise be merely providing the information that the hearer wants to know.

Example (213) is similar to (212). The information about Oanh’s friend’s house is considered new by the hearer Long until the next message with the presence of *ấy* is released. The utterance *Nhà nó có cây xoài ấy* ‘The house has the mango tree *ấy*’ is again a repair, providing information that can support the hearer’s understanding. In this situation, through the use of *ấy*, Long is reminded of a place where he has previously been. Without *ấy*, the sentence is simply used to inform something about the house; for instance, it has a mango tree.

(213) Oanh: Vậy chiều mai anh với em
 such afternoon tomorrow older-brother PREP.with younger-sibling
 đi hén?
 go PART
 ‘So tomorrow afternoon, you go with me, ok?’

Long: Đi đâu?
 go where
 ‘Go where?’

Oanh: Thì đi tới nhà bạn em! Nhà nó
 TOP go to house friend younger-sibling house 3SG
 có cây xoài ấy!
 have tree mango DEMPART
 ‘Go to my friend’s house! The house that has the mango tree ấy!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. g)

Notice that the information being conveyed in the examples above is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. In these cases, the use of *ấy* is determined by the condition of internal direct experience in memory, which applies to both the speaker and the hearer. Thus, the speakers in examples (212)-(213) assume that the information falls within both territories to an equal degree.

We have noted that other distal particles *đấy/đó* (§6.3.1), *kia* and *kìa* (§6.3.2) are associated with information belonging to both territories, yet they are distinct from each other due to different illocutionary forces. In the same way, the uses of these terms are distinct from *ấy* in terms of the reminding force that only *ấy* can denote. But on the other hand, information expressed in utterances with *ấy* attached is at equal distance from both the speaker and the hearer rather than closer to the speaker or to the hearer. Therefore, in the examples above, replacing *ấy* with other mentioned terms would dramatically change the cognitive characteristic of the information expressed. In other words, *ấy* is most appropriate in the case which is classified as case B in Kamio’s (1994) theory.

Case B also applies with the use of *ấy* as a reminder of general knowledge. Similar to information in the first function in which *ấy* is a reminder of personalised shared knowledge, information in this case is also characterised as information that is familiar to not only the speaker but also to the hearer. In fact, what is assumed to be known by the speech community (i.e. general knowledge) should be known by the hearer as much as by the speaker, thus the speaker assumes that information marked by *ấy* is at equal distance to both of them. Consider the following examples:

(214) - Cô Lý trông không nhận ra được nữa.
 aunt Ly look NEG recognise out obtain more
 Trẻ như gái mười tám ấy!
 young like girl ten eight DEMPART
 ‘(I) was not able to recognise you, aunt Ly. (You are) as young as an eighteen-year-old girl
 ấy!’

(Ma, 1985)

(215) - Bạn cháu nó không ném nhẹ được đâu!
 friend grandchild 3SG NEG throw slight obtain where
 Tay nó như có lò xo ấy!
 hand 3SG like have springs DEMPART
 ‘My friend, he can always throw precisely! His hand is like a spring ấy!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. g)

In example (214), the speaker praises Ly’s beautiful looks by making a simile as in *Trẻ như gái mười tám ấy!* ‘As young as an eighteen-year-old girl ấy!’. Similarly, in (215), when talking about his friend’s talent for throwing things a long way, the speaker causes the hearer to think of that talent based on general knowledge about how a spring works (e.g. moves suddenly in single movement), *Tay nó như có lò xo ấy* ‘His hand is like a spring ấy!’. In both examples (214)-(215), the speakers assume that they would not know any better than the hearers about how young an eighteen-year-old may look or how quickly and precisely a spring can function. Thus, the information in these cases falls completely into both territories. This is exactly the reason that *ấy* is chosen over other distal particles for case B. Note that in all examples above, *í* can be replaced for *ấy* without causing any differences in meaning.

In relation to the anaphoric (§4.2.2) and recognitional functions (§5.3), compared with *kia*, the use of *ấy* does not involve the interpretation of textual distance measured by the number of sentences between its representation and its referent in discourse and of emotional distance between the speaker and the intended referent. This means the demonstrative use of *ấy* is primarily determined by the notion of familiarity. The extended use of *ấy* (*í*) as a demonstrative particle as discussed above indeed reflects the consistent tendency in its semantic and pragmatic meanings.

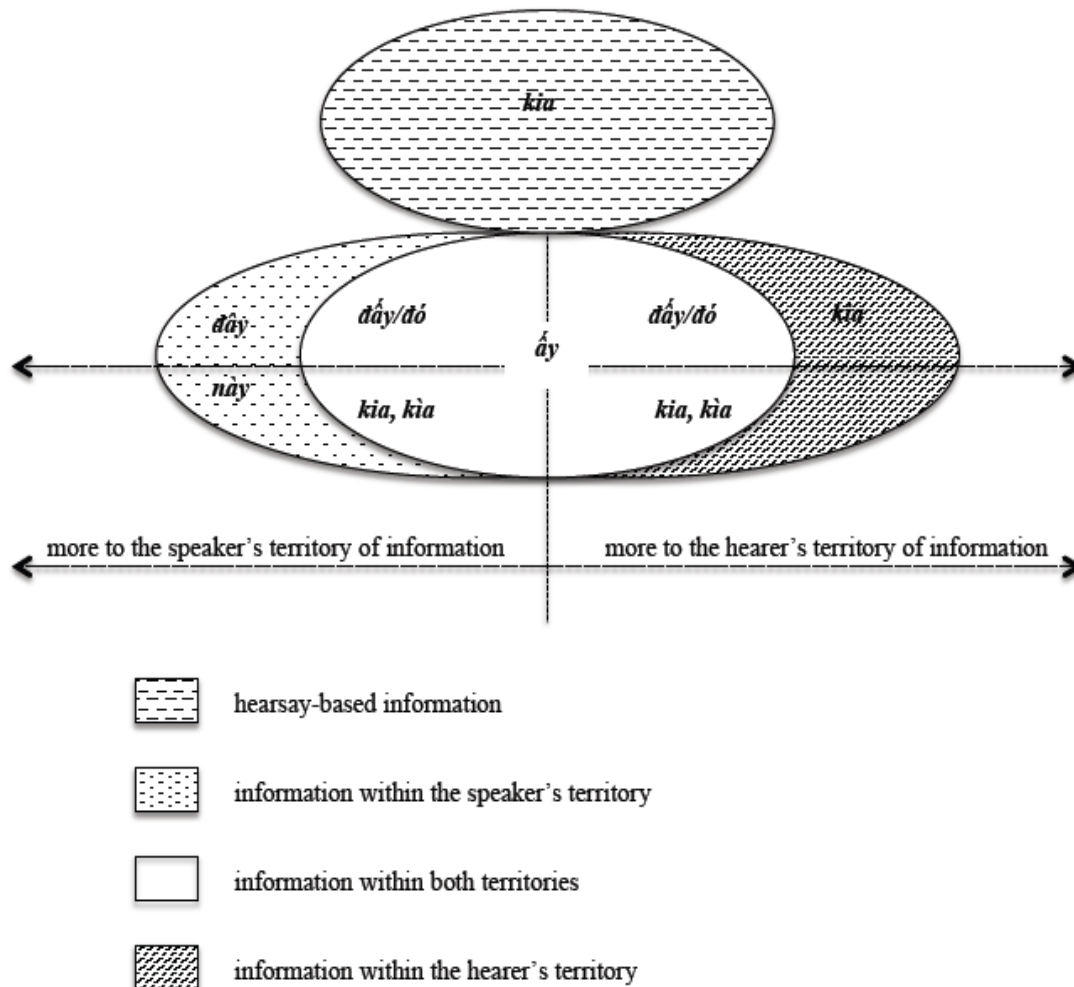
6.3.4 Concluding remarks

The above analysis focuses on the semantic and pragmatic functions of the distal demonstrative particles *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *kìa*, and *ấy* (*í*) in sentence-final positions. The study proposes that these distal terms can be distinguished from the proximal terms *đây* and *này* (*nè*) on the basis of the involvement of the hearer’s territory of information. That is, while *đây* and *này* are associated with information that falls completely into the speaker’s territory, *đấy/đó*, *kia*, *kìa*, and *ấy* (*í*) are associated with interaction of the speaker’s and the hearer’s territories of information. They are then distinguished from each other by different degrees of closeness to either side. I also propose that illocutionary forces marked by each term should be considered as a distinctive criterion, especially in cases of territory of information where more than one distal particle is appropriate.

6.4 Summary and implications

In this chapter I propose that Kamio's (1994) theory of territory of information can be successfully applied to the grammatical category of Vietnamese demonstrative particles in conjunction with the analysis of speech acts. I show that the semantic functions of demonstrative particles are in fact determined by the notion of psychological distance as an extension of physical distance expressed by demonstratives. That is, the proximal demonstrative particles *đây* and *này* (*nè*) (§6.2) are associated with information that belongs to the speaker's territory of information, and hence is close to the speaker. On the other hand, the distal demonstrative particles *đấy/đó*, *kia*, *kìa* and *ấy* (*i*) (§6.3) are related to information that falls into both territories to varying degrees – either more into the speaker's, more into the hearer's or equally close to both sides. I also show that the choice of one form over another is not only determined by their semantic functions in relation to the notion of territory of information but also their pragmatic functions achieved from the analysis of the illocutionary force according to each type of utterances. These analyses are summarised in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Territory of information of Vietnamese Demonstrative Particles



In Chapter 2, we noted that demonstratives indicate relative distance (§2.2.1). As we have seen in this chapter, the closeness of information is also relative. This means that as demonstratives are grammaticalised into the category of demonstrative particles, the notion of physical distance is perfectly mapped onto the notion of psychological distance.

Moreover, the mapping of the notion of distance is consistent with the two-way distinction that I argue for in Chapter 2. Referring to Figure 16, one might point out that only *kia* is associated with information that belongs completely to the hearer's territory, i.e. most distant from the speaker. But it is important to notice that *kia* can also be used in the case of hearsay-based information, i.e. information that is distant from both the speaker and the hearer. In particular, the psychological distance expressed by *đây/đó*, *ấy* and *kia* (*kìa*) can overlap in most cases in which information falls within both territories and information can be more or less close to both sides. This means the fundamental semantic distinction among Vietnamese demonstrative particles is in the forms indicating 'information close to the speaker' and those indicating 'information relatively distant to the speaker' within the notion of psychological distance. Note that *nọ* is not involved in such a distinction of psychological distance, as it is likewise not used to indicate physical distance (Chapter 2).

The following chapter focuses on another grammatical category of Vietnamese demonstratives – 'demonstrative interjections'.

Chapter 7 Demonstrative interjections

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 provides evidence that the demonstrative particles *đây, này (nè), đây/đó, kia, kia* and *áy (i)* are demonstratives that have undergone grammaticalisation, involving a number of changes. These include the reduction and erosion in suprasegmental features (i.e. tone, stress), the re-analysis in syntactic change into sentence-internal and sentence-final positions, the involvement of subjectivity in terms of attitudinal-emotional meanings and lastly, the notion of psychological distance determining their extended use as particles. This chapter represents cases in which Vietnamese demonstrative forms do not enter into syntactic construction with other elements, but rather constitute an utterance on their own. The class of words with this kind of syntactic independence is referred to as ‘interjections’, forming a peculiar word class in language (Ameka, 1992a, 1992b; Norrick, 2009; Wierzbicka, 1992; Wilkins, 1992).

Interjections are generally classified into two types with respect to their morphosyntactic features: (i) primary interjections, which comprises simple vocal units and (ii) secondary interjections, which comprises grammaticalised elements of words and phrases that have undergone a semantic change (Cuenca, 2011: 173). Vietnamese interjections have been mainly identified as primary. According to V. L. Lê (1960: 198), they are “vocal signs that translate a sensation either affective or acoustic”. In this regard, interjections formed from demonstratives have not been paid much attention in related studies (Cao, 2004; Đ.-H. Nguyễn, 1997).

In this chapter, I demonstrate that *đây, này (nè), đây/đó, kia* and *áy* constitute secondary interjections. It should be emphasised that *nè* and *kia* (phonological variations of *này* and *kia*) are members of this category. As analysed in section 6.1.1, the reduction process occurring in *này* and *kia* indicates the fact that demonstratives have grammaticalised into demonstrative particles. Moreover, while both *kia* and *kia* can serve in different semantic and pragmatic functions as demonstrative particles (§6.3.3), only *kia* can function as an interjection. This case suggests that the interjections *đây, này (nè), đây/đó, kia* and *áy* are a later step in the development of demonstratives (which I will discuss further in Chapter 8). Based on the analysis established in section 6.1.1, I propose to call the terms under investigation ‘demonstrative interjections’, assuming that they are derived from demonstratives, similar to demonstrative particles.

In terms of pragmatic functions, interjections are used to spontaneously express the speaker’s feelings, emotion or state of mind about a given situation. For instance, *ouch* in English is used as an immediate verbal reaction of ‘I feel pain’ (Wierzbicka, 1992). Ameka (1992a: 110) calls such expressions conveyed by interjections ‘mental acts’ in the sense of referring to “mental states and dispositions of the speaker”. According to Ameka (1992a: 108), the pragmatic characteristics of

interjections and their syntactic independence set them apart from the phenomenon of particles (for an opposing perspective, see Jespersen, 1924: 90). The two distinctive criteria proposed by Ameka (1992a) are represented in Table 34.

Table 34. Distinguishing interjections from particles

Criteria	Particles	Interjections
Syntactic function	Syntactic dependence in positions of: - sentence-final - sentence-internal	Syntactic independence in positions of: - constituting an utterance
Pragmatic function	- expressing a speaker's attitudes/emotion towards a proposition - modifiers of illocutionary acts	- expressing a speaker's mental states towards a situation - mental acts

The proposed distinctions in Table 34 can be applied to distinguish demonstrative interjections from demonstrative particles in Vietnamese. Although they are derived from the same source, i.e. demonstratives, the different syntactic environments in which they occur result in different pragmatic meanings. For example, we saw in Chapter 6 that if *này (nè)* is used after a clause or a phrase in the middle of a sentence, it functions as a listing device to guide the discourse interpretation (§6.1.1), whereas if it appears at the end of an utterance, it focuses the hearer's attention on the speaker's actual plans, actions, or behaviour (§6.2.2). We will see in this chapter that if *này (nè)* is used as an utterance, it conveys the speaker's reaction to the situation in which she does not currently have the hearer's attention. It can be seen that while meanings of demonstrative particles are determined by the information conveyed in the utterance, i.e. internal world (Chapter 6), the speaker's attitude conveyed by demonstrative interjections is stimulated by the outer world-based situation. This reflects a common tendency where over time the meaning of a lexical item has become more subjective and then intersubjective (Traugott, 2010). In this regard, the meanings of demonstrative interjections and particles are polysemous.

Brown and Yule (1983: 3) note that “a great deal of casual conversation contains phrases and echoes of phrases which appear more to be intended as contributions to a conversation than to be taken as instances of information-giving”. Since interjections are “spontaneous immediate responses to situations” (Ameka, 1992a: 109), they are certainly involved as functions of language in establishing and maintaining social relationships. In this sense, meanings of demonstrative interjections tend to become more interactional compared to those of demonstrative particles. Based on the specific communicative functions that interjections fulfil, Ameka (1992a) proposes four types of interjections:

- (i) Conative interjections aimed at getting someone's attention or demanding an action or response from someone of the speaker's wants, e.g. *sh!* 'I want silence here!';
- (ii) Phatic interjections expressing the speaker's mental attitude towards the on-going discourse, e.g. backchannel or feedback signals *mhm*, *uh-huh*, *yeah*;
- (iii) Cognitive interjections expressing the speaker's state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of utterance, e.g. *Aha!* 'I now know this!'; and
- (iv) Emotive interjections expressing the speaker's state such as emotions and sensations she has at the time of utterance, e.g. *Wow!* 'I am surprised'.

(Ameka, 1992a: 113)

The following sections focus on the demonstrative interjections *đây*, *này* (*nè*), *đây/đó*, *kìa* and *áy* in terms of the pragmatic values that they encode. Through examining the contextual meanings that each term can perform, I show that demonstrative interjections are associated with a wide range of pragmatic functions that are assigned for interjections in general. That is, *đây* is mainly used to signal the speaker's awareness of the hearer's request (§7.2); *này* (*nè*) is used to get the hearer's attention (§7.3); *đây/đó* can be used to both signal communicative contact between the speaker and hearer during their communication and express the speaker's mental state at the time of the utterance (§7.4); *kìa* serves to express the speaker's emotion of either shock or surprise (§7.5); and *áy* aims to make the hearer stop doing something (§7.6). They can be therefore classified as conative, phatic, cognitive and emotive, although it is possible that a demonstrative interjection can have multiple functions, and hence belong to more than one classification.

7.2 *Đây* 'I want you to calm down'

The demonstrative interjection *đây* is normally used as a response to a situation in which the hearer is urgently requesting something. It may be loosely glossed as 'I want you to calm down' because it is said by the speaker to acknowledge the fact that she is aware of the hearer's request/demand/want, appreciates it and thus, the hearer can calm down. It is noticed that in all examples of this use, *đây* is exclaimed repeatedly (usually twice) as in *Đây, đây!* 'There, there!' (lit. 'here-here').

One of the typical contexts in which this form is used is in adults' response to a baby's cries. Before appearing or acting by hugging or taking the baby out of bed, an adult (e.g. the baby's mother) normally uses the form *đây* 'here' as an interjection to calm the baby down, as shown in example (216).

(216) - *Đây, đây.* Mẹ đây.
 DEMINTERJ DEMINTERJ mother DEM.PROX
 ‘*Đây, đây!* Mum is here.’

In a number of blogs or forums, women who have babies tell the same story about how they react when their child is crying. For example, in some mothers’ blogs such as Hồng Ngọc and Minh Hoàng (2011) and Mai Trang (2011), responding to the baby’s cries with *đây* as in (216) is described as a common reaction. We know that babies generally cry to express a need/demand for someone’s attention. The longer they have to wait the longer (and probably louder) their cries become. The use of *đây* (usually twice) in such a context signals to the child the mother’s awareness of her/his need/demand, with the mother’s aim of stopping the baby from crying.

This observation indicates that the target of the reaction expressed by the demonstrative interjection *đây* is to deal with the hearer’s urge. The use of *đây* is stimulated by the hearer’s wants, then it in turn provokes a reaction on the part of the hearer with respect to the speaker’s wishes that ‘I want you to calm down’. This meaning of *Đây!* is more obvious in the situation where the hearer appears to be impatient, pushy or in an emergency. By using *đây*, the speaker signals that the hearer’s request has been received and that the speaker is currently dealing with it. Consider the following example:

(217) Passenger: *Nổ máy cho xe chạy đi, ơ kia!*
 operate engine PREP.for vehicle run IMP PART DEMPART
Mau lên! Máy bay tới bây chừ!
 hurry up plane come now.dialect
 ‘Operate the truck to go! Hurry up! The plane will come right now!’
 Driver: *Đây, đây!* Tôi đây!
 DEMINTERJ DEMINTERJ 1SG DEM.PROX
 ‘*Đây, đây!* I’m here!’

(Q. L. Nguyễn, 2012)

The example above occurs during the war. The participants include some women and one man, Hoang, who are in real danger of being bombed while the truck is stopped, as the driver has disappeared and the enemy’s planes are circling above. One of the women yells at Hoang to drive the truck so that they can avoid being bombed (as shown in the passenger’s utterance), but Hoang is helpless as he cannot drive. A few seconds later, there is the voice of the missing driver: *Đây, đây. Tôi đây!* ‘Here, here. I’m here’. Even though the driver is still invisible as he is stuck in the truck, the use of *đây* in this context signals that the hearers should not be scared because the speaker can now deal with the problem.

The linguistic evidence for the meaning of *đây*, glossed as ‘I want you to calm down’, is that

đây can be routinely followed by expressions like *từ từ đã chứ* ‘be patient’. This is illustrated in example (218).

- (218) Ji: Giải lao rồi, đi ăn thôi Jung.
 break already go eat stop Jung
 ‘Break time, let’s go to eat, Jung!’
- Jung: *Đây* *đây*, từ từ đã chứ, chuông
 DEMINTERJ DEMINTERJ slow slow ANT NEG bell
 mới reo mà.
 new ring PART
 ‘*Đây đây*, be patient, the bell just rang.’

(*Sự hối hận muộn màng [Late regret]*, n.d.)

As soon as the bell rings, Ji urges Jung to go to get something to eat. Jung’s answer, *Đây đây* ‘Here here’, on the one hand, signals that Jung has heard Ji’s request and he is in the middle of responding to it. But on the other hand, the use of *đây* also helps to reduce Ji’s impatience. The common use of the expression *từ từ đã chứ* ‘be patient’ after *đây* can be considered as clarification of what has been communicated by the demonstrative interjection *đây*.

In section 6.2.1, we noted that one of the functions of the demonstrative particle *đây* is to prepare the hearer’s attention for the speaker’s next plans, actions and behaviour. Here, the demonstrative interjection *đây* is used as a response to the hearer’s wants, calming him by assuring that the speaker is heading his request. The relationship between these two uses of *đây* can be drawn on the basis of their basic pragmatic function, i.e. calling the hearer’s attention to the speaker’s situation, whether it is an internal situation being conveyed in the utterance in which the demonstrative particle *đây* occurs, or an external situation as in the case of the demonstrative interjection *đây*. In the same vein, the form *này (nè)*, used as another conative interjection, is aimed at getting the hearer’s attention.

7.3 *Này (nè)* ‘I want your attention’

As mentioned previously, *này (nè)* is used when the speaker wants to get the hearer’s attention. This form can be used in two situations: (i) the speaker tends to use *này (nè)* to call the hearer’s attention before starting the conversation, and (ii) the speaker uses *này (nè)* during her turn to refocus the hearer’s attention. In both cases, *này (nè)* may be glossed as ‘I want your attention’. This pragmatic function, as Ameka (1992a: 113) describes, is “directed at an auditor”. In this regard, the use of the demonstrative interjection *này* is very similar to the conative interjection *hey* in English (Norrick, 2009). Consider the following example.

(219) [A man is walking behind a woman. Suddenly remembering something, the man calls:]

- *Này... này!*
 DEMINTERJ DEMINTERJ
 ‘*Này... này!* (Hey... hey!)’

[The woman turns back, waiting in worry. The man says:]

- *Này, cái ông khách hôm nọ trú mưa ở
 DEMINTERJ CL grandfather guest day DEM.DIST hide rain PREP.at
 đây nghèo rồi đây.
 DEM.PROX die already DEMPART*
 ‘*Này, the man who stopped here to avoid rain that day died already.*’

(H. T. Nguyễn, n.d.)

Example (219) demonstrates the use of *này* in both cases stated in the previous paragraph. Suppose that in this example, a man and a woman had a conversation before, but after a period of silence, the man has to get the woman’s attention again before starting another conversation. Note that *này* is exclaimed twice. As indicated in the context of the example, the repeated expression *Này, này* ‘Hey, hey’ is uttered while the man is still walking behind the woman. In this first case, *này* is used to get the hearer’s attention to a new conversation.

Also note here that in approaching the woman who is waiting to be told, the man uses *này* again to start his conversational turn. The second use of the demonstrative interjection *này* in this situation is thus to refocus rather than to get the hearer’s attention because as soon as she hears the first use of *Này, này* ‘Hey, hey’, the woman stops walking, and hence the woman’s attention has been fully obtained.

With respect to the second function of refocusing the hearer’s attention, *này* is commonly used in the situation where the speaker thinks that she has lost the hearer’s attention, thus she needs to get it back. This is illustrated in example (220).

(220) Huong: *Nè, nè!*
 DEMINTERJ DEMINTERJ
 ‘*Nè, nè!* (Hey, hey!)’

Thieu: *Gì nữa vậy?*
 what more such
 ‘What else?’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, 1995)

Example (220) is a conversation between Huong and Thieu. Huong realises that Thieu is about to turn away and utters *Nè, nè!* ‘Hey, hey!’ to bring Thieu’s attention back. Here, the immediate response from Thieu *Gì nữa vậy?* ‘What else?’ signals the attention of Thieu has been obtained.

It is noticed that in response to the use of *này*, in the examples the hearer always responds to the speaker's wish, for example, stops walking and turns back as in (219), or indicates that the speaker has obtained his attention as in (220). Note that the demonstrative interjection *này (nè)* is used as the speaker's response to the situation in which she thinks she does not have the hearer's attention at the time of utterance.

Given that the basic pragmatic function of demonstratives is "to orient the hearer in the speech situation, focusing his or her attention on objects of interest" (Diessel, 1999a: 152), we can assume that this pragmatic function is particularly maintained during the development of the demonstrative *này* to the demonstrative particle *này (nè)*, then again to the demonstrative interjection *này (nè)*. In this development, the meaning of *này* has become more interactional. As can be seen in this section, the demonstrative interjection *này (nè)* is used to draw the hearer's attention to the conversation, hence it contributes to the dynamics of the conversation.

While the use of *đây* and *này (nè)* is predominantly determined by the conative element because they are mainly used to provoke a reaction on the part of the hearer to fulfil the speaker's wishes such as 'I want you to calm down' or 'I want your attention', the following section shows that *đây/đó* is associated with different elements which distinguish them from the conative interjections *đây* and *này (nè)*.

7.4 *Đây/đó*

In this section I demonstrate that *đây/đó* is a multi-functional demonstrative interjection. Examination of examples utilising *đây/đó* suggests that this term is often used as a signal of communicative contact between the speaker and the hearer during their conversation. However, it may also be used to signal the speaker's current state of knowledge and thoughts with respect to what has just been said by her interlocutor. With respect to Ameka's (1992a) classification as represented in section 7.1, these functions of *đây/đó* may be classified into two categories, the phatic and cognitive interjections. In the following, I use examples of *đây* to illustrate the same use of both terms.

In the phatic function, the use of *đây/đó* is associated with both parties of the communication. This term is used to ensure that communicative contact will occur if it is uttered during the speaker's on-going discourse, and to confirm communicative contact if it occurs in the speaker's response to the hearer's utterance. In this sense, the demonstrative interjection *đây/đó* is inserted in order to establish the channel of communication between the speaker and the hearer.

One noticeable feature of the use of *đây/đó* in creating communicative contact is that it is normally used with hedging expressions like *ông/anh/chị/chú xem* (i.e. a kinship term + verb 'see', meaning 'you see') at the beginning of the speaker's utterance. For example:

- (221) - *Đấy*, chú xem, cái thân tôi...
 DEMINTERJ uncle see CL self 1SG
 ‘*Đấy*, you see, I myself...’

(K. T. Nguyễn, 1991)

This example indicates that the expression *chú xem* ‘you see’ cannot be literally interpreted as an instruction to the hearer to look at a physical object that is present in the situation. Also, it is impossible for the hearer to ‘see’ (or ‘know’) what has not been said but could be an instruction for the hearer to ‘know’ what the speaker says next. In this case, *chú xem* ‘you see’ is used to establish communicative contact with the hearer rather than contributing to the meaning of the utterance.

When occurring after *đấy*, the expression makes the phatic function of *đấy* more obvious.

The following example illustrates another feature of *đấy/đó* as a phatic interjection.

- (222) a- Có trẻ quá không, Phương? Mình sợ không hợp với
 AST young very NEG Phuong self afraid NEG suit PREP.with
 tuổi tác, công việc.
 age CL job
 ‘Is (the style) too young for me, Phuong? I’m afraid that it is not suitable regarding my age and my job.’

- b-Nhưng mà, có lẽ tại cái dáng của mình.
 but PART perhaps because CL body-shape PREP.of self
Đấy hồi thằng Du học lớp mười,
 DEMINTERJ time CL.boy Du study grade ten
 mình đưa nó đến cơ quan, ai cũng bảo là hai chị em.
 self take 3SG PREP.to agency who also tell COP two sibling
 ‘But perhaps my body shape is part of reason. *Đấy* while Du was still in tenth grade, I took him to my office, and everyone said we looked like siblings.’

(Ma, 1985)

The main communicative purpose of utterance (222) is that the speaker Ly wants to ask the hearer Phuong’s opinion of whether the style of a shirt she just bought is suitable for her, which is expressed in the first part of the utterance, as in (222a). The speaker then extends her utterance by relating to her body shape as the reason why people think that she looks young, as in (222b). Since question-answer is an adjacency pair in communication, the hearer Phuong is supposed to have her turn-taking immediately after the first part of Ly’s utterance. In this case, however, the utterance is expanded and the hearer’s turn is delayed. The interjection *đấy* is therefore used in the second part of the utterance to maintain the hearer’s attention, signalling that the speaker is conscious of the hearer’s involvement in the communication.

The examples above demonstrate that as a phatic interjection, *đấy/đó* is used in the establishment of communicative contact. As mentioned previously, *đấy/đó* can also be used in the

speaker's response to the hearer's utterance.

- (223) Ly: ...cô Phượng đâu? Sao cô ấy không đi, chú Luan?
 aunt Phuong where why 3SG NEG go uncle Luan
 '...where is Phuong? Why doesn't Phuong come, Luan?'
- Dong: *Đấy*, vội quá, chưa thông báo kịp cho
 DEMINTERJ hurry very yet inform in time PREP.for
 chị và anh Đông...
 older-sister and older-brother Dong
 '*Đấy*, as in a rush, (I) did not inform you and brother Dong in time (about Phuong's absence)...'

(Ma, 1985)

In example (223), in response to Ly's question about Phuong's absence, Luan (Phuong's husband) starts his answer with *đấy*. The occurrence of *đấy* in this case confirms that communicative contact has been maintained in their communication. In addition, *đấy* in this case also signals the speaker's comprehension of what the hearer has just said. In this sense, *đấy* can be treated as an echo of the hearer's utterance, signalling the speaker's acknowledgement of understanding.

Đấy/đó can also be used in the cognitive function. According to Ameka (1992a: 114), phatic interjections "could be cognitive since they signal the current state of the utterer with respect to their comprehension and mental involvement in the on-going communication". In this regard, *đấy/đó* is used when the speaker realises that what the hearer has just mentioned is what she is supposed to remember. Consider the following examples:

- (224) Phuong: Bánh đa nem, chị?
 CL rice paper older-sister
 'Rice paper, sister?'
- Ly: *Đấy*, không nhắc lại quên.
 DEMINTERJ NEG remind again forget
 '*Đấy*, without being reminded (I would) forget.'

- (225) Dong: Cô có ớt cho tôi một quả.
 aunt have chilli give 1SG one CL
 'If you have chillies, can I have one?'
- Phuong: *Đấy*, em đoảng thế đấy,
 DEM.PART younger-sibling absent-minded so DEMPART
 ớt có mà không lấy cho anh.
 chilli have PART NEG bring PREP.for older-brother
 '*Đấy*, I'm just absent-minded like that, having chillies but didn't bring out.'

(Ma, 1985)

Example (224) is another conversation between Phuong and Ly. While Phuong and Ly are arranging food that Ly bought for a traditional occasion, Ly asks Phuong to check what else she needs to buy so that she can go shopping the next day. Ly anticipates that forgetting to buy something is inevitable. Therefore, when Phuong mentions rice paper, Ly's response is a kind of admission rather than a surprise, as she would expect to forget something like rice paper. The demonstrative interjection *đầy* initiating Ly's response in *Đầy, không nhắc lại quên* 'Đầy, without being reminded I would forget' has the meaning 'I now remember'. Example (225) is similar. As indicated in the context, at the time of being asked for chillies by Dong, Phuong realises that she has forgotten to bring them out for Dong.

Note that in both examples above, the demonstrative interjection *đầy* is followed by utterances indicating the speaker's forgetfulness. This combination implies that what has been said by the hearer has stimulated the speaker's memory, hence at the time *đầy* is uttered, the speaker is at the state of remembering (the expression *Đầy!* means 'I now remember'). The indication of the speaker's previous state in contrast with her current state may allow us to some extent distinguish the cognitive *đầy/đó* from the phatic *đầy/đó*.

It must be emphasised, however, that the phatic element is predominant in the use of the demonstrative interjection *đầy/đó*. Even when they have an associated cognitive element 'I now remember' as illustrated in examples (224)-(225), the interpretation of *đầy/đó* as a reinforcer of the hearer's utterance is still present.

7.5 *Kìa* 'I am surprised!'/ 'I am shocked!'

As stated in section 7.1, while both variations of *kia* and *kìa* can be used in the category of demonstrative particles, only the latter is appropriate in the category of demonstrative interjections. This section shows that *kìa* is an emotive interjection since it is generally used to express the speaker's attitude towards something that makes her surprised or shocked. The meaning of *Kìa!* may therefore be glossed as 'I am surprised' or 'I am shocked' according to the two typical contexts where this term can occur, as illustrated in the examples below.

In example (226), on entering the house, Mrs Chi sees a very weak and tired looking Mr Bang almost fainting in his chair. This sudden appearance is a big shock for Mrs Chi. She utters with worry:

- (226) - *Kìa*, mặt ông sao nhợt xám như thế?
 DEMINTERJ face grandfather why pale grey like so
 'Kìa, why do you look so pale like that?'

(Ma, 1985)

doing something. In this sense, *áy* is used as a conative interjection, aiming at modifying the hearer's behaviour in accordance with the speaker's wishes. I propose to gloss the meaning of *Áy!* as 'I want to dissuade you from doing something!'.

In the example below, Long is about to lean over to twist Manh's ear to punish him for what he did (Long thought that Manh took a backpack from his group). Manh tries to deter Long from hurting him and simultaneously avoids this action with a quick withdrawal out of Long's reach (as indicated in the context).

(228) - *Áy*, *áy*, *đừng!*
 DEMINTERJ DEMINTERJ NEG_{IMP}
 '*Áy, áy, don't (twist me)!*'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. a)

Áy is used in (228) to express Manh's reaction to what Long is about to do. The repetition of *áy* in response to Long's intention is to stop (or pause) the punishment in time. As the action is paused, the speaker will then have enough time to pass on an actual content message, i.e. *Đừng!* 'Don't!'. In this case, both the linguistic and non-linguistic components are meant to work together to ensure that the hearer stops his intended action immediately.

In another context, *áy* can be used when the speaker wants to dissuade the hearer from his plan to doing something. For example:

(229) Chung: Tao chọi.
 1SG fight
 'I'll fight.'

Truong: Chọi ai?
 fight who
 'Fight with whom?'

Chung: Chọi thằng cha tóc quăn đó chứ ai.
 fight CL.boy father hair curly DEM.DIST NEG who
 'Fight with that curly haired man.'

Truong: *Áy*, không được đâu! Đừng làm như vậy!
 DEMINTERJ NEG possible where NEG_{IMP} do like such
 '*Áy, it's impossible! Don't do it!*'

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. d)

Above is a conversation between Chung and Truong. Chung tells Truong that he wants to fight a man (i.e. curly-haired man) that they both know. This statement makes Truong scared. Truong immediately expresses his opinion of that idea by saying: *Áy, không được đâu! Đừng làm như vậy!*

‘*Áy*, it’s impossible! Don’t do it!’ . In this situation, *áy* occurs to express the speaker’s disagreement with what the hearer wants to do and signals that Truong is trying to prevent Chung from his plan to fight.

Or in (230), *áy* is used to denote the speaker’s disagreement with the hearer’s manner.

- (230) Nhut: Chào anh Khả, mời anh vào đây...
 greet older-brother Kha invite older-brother enter DEM.PROX
 ‘Hello Kha, come in here.’
- Kha: Vâng, cảm ơn ông bí thư đã chiều cố
 INTERJ thank grandfather secretary ANT consider
 đến Khả này.
 PREP.to Kha DEM.PROX
 ‘Yes, thank you Mr Secretary for being considerate to me.’
- Nhut: *Áy*, tôi với anh là bạn đồng niên,
 DEMINTERJ 1SG PREP.with older-brother COP friend same year
 khách sáo làm gì.
 formal do what
 ‘*Áy*, you and I were friends at school, shouldn’t be formal.’

(N. T. Phạm, n.d.)

In (230), Kha responds to Nhut’s welcome in a very formal and deterring manner. Nhut believes that Kha’s manner is not appropriate, given that they were friends at school for years. Therefore, in response, Nhut initiates his turn by using the demonstrative interjection *áy* to convey his immediate rejection of Kha’s behaviour.

The examples above demonstrate a range of situations in which the demonstrative interjection *áy* can be used. It should be noticed that in all cases, *áy* is used as the speaker’s immediate reaction of disagreement and the target of such a reaction expressed by *áy* is to make the hearer stop/reconsider doing something. This indicates that the use of the demonstrative interjection *áy* is strongly associated with the conative element in terms of provoking a reaction on the part of the hearer.

7.7 Summary

This chapter discusses the semantic tendencies of Vietnamese demonstratives when they are used in the grammatical category of interjections. The demonstrative interjections *đây*, *này (nè)*, *đấy/đó*, *kìa* and *áy* can stand on their own to function as independent utterances. Corresponding to this syntactic status, new meanings related to interjective values are acquired for each term. We have noted that as conative interjections, *đây*, *này (nè)* and *áy* are directed at the hearer to fulfil the speaker’s wishes; as phatic interjections, the use of *đấy/đó* is related to discourse management in terms of

creating and sustaining communicative contact between the speaker and hearer; and as an expressive interjection, *kìa* is used to express the speaker's feelings towards a given situation. Underlying the meaning of these terms, the chapter represents evidence for the argument in Chapter 8 that the function of demonstrative interjections reflects a stage in the development of demonstratives. According to Fitzmaurice (2004: 439), 'interactive' meaning is a further step from intersubjective meaning (i.e. involving attention to the hearer), which arises later than subjective meaning (i.e. expressing the speaker's attitudes and beliefs) following Traugott's (1988, 2010) theory of subjectivity.

Chapter 8 Piecing together the demonstrative puzzle

8.1 *Chỉ định từ* ‘demonstratives’: Multiple proximal/distal terms and functions

Chỉ định từ is a particularly interesting category in Vietnamese. Like demonstratives in most languages, the seven demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy*, *kia* and *no* were originally used to orient the hearer’s attention to something proximal or distal to the speaker’s location. However, they have since expanded their range of meanings to indicate referents in time (Chapter 2), discourse (Chapter 4), narratives and shared knowledge (Chapter 5), as well as to denote psychological distance (Chapter 6) and express the speaker’s beliefs about and attitude towards a situation (Chapter 7).

The previous chapters show the functional diversity of the seven words in practice. In Chapter 2, I have argued that Vietnamese makes a two-way contrast of relative distance from the speaker’s point of view between the proximal demonstratives *này* ‘this’, *đây* ‘here’ and the distal ones including *ấy* ‘that’, *đấy/đó*, and *kia* ‘that/there’, as opposed to the suggestion of a three-way distinction in P. P. Nguyễn (1992, 2002). Since the Binh Tri Thien dialect has preserved historical characteristics of the language (Alves, 2012; Alves & Nguyễn, 2007), evidence of proximal/distal distinctions as seen in the use of demonstratives in this dialect supports the notion of a two-way spatial demarcation in standard Vietnamese. I have also argued that the distal demonstratives *ấy* ‘that’ and *đấy/đó* ‘that/there’ are better analysed as encoders of both meanings of farness and hearer-attention involvement (hearer’s previous notice), which allows us to distinguish them from the distal term *kia* whose meanings include information of farness and contrast. Within this contention, I have tried to show how the two-way spatial distinction system as well as the elaboration among the distal terms can contribute to differentiating two things in contrastive use, to marking first person, second person and third person in person deixis, and to indicating intimacy. The analysis shows that notions such as ‘near to the speaker’ expressed by the proximal *này* ‘this’ and ‘far from the speaker’ expressed by the distal terms *đấy/đó* (*ấy*), *kia*, and *no* ‘that’ can be interpreted by extension to general contrast between two different things. Notions such as ‘the speaker’s location’ expressed by *đây* ‘here’ and ‘other’s location’ expressed by *đấy/đó* ‘there’ or *đàng ấy* ‘that place’ can be metonymically understood as the person who is located in such a place, including I, you, he/she; finally, ‘physical proximity’ can be extended to emotional proximity by metaphor.

Another main finding in Chapter 2 is that *no* is the only demonstrative that is not currently used to specify a distal referent in the situational context. However, this demonstrative is idiomatically paired with the proximal demonstrative *này* or the distal demonstrative *kia* to express a conventional contrast. This use of *no* can be considered as important synchronic evidence to support the hypothesis that the demonstrative originally had a spatial meaning but that this meaning

was eventually lost. Compared to other demonstratives whose spatial meaning is inherent in their present-day usages, *nọ* is certainly a special case involving the semantic evolution that has occurred in its basic meaning.

I have extended my analysis of the mapping of nearness and farness in the spatial domain onto other domains. In Chapter 3, I have discussed the use of demonstratives indicating temporal distance: the proximal demonstratives *này* ‘this’ and *đây* ‘here’ indicate present, while the use of distal demonstratives maps to temporal distance from the present, whether in the past (indicated by *kia*, *nọ*) or future (by *kia*). In a language like Vietnamese that lacks a tense system, these demonstratives are undoubtedly a main linguistic source of temporal reference, by which the concept of TIME is understood through SPACE.

Furthermore, I have argued that the concept of distance in SPACE is also metaphorically reinterpreted when all seven spatial demonstratives are transferred to the domain of DISCOURSE (Chapter 4). First, the proximal/distal distinction is represented by the internal contrasts regarding the hearer’s attention-instructing procedures in discourse. By using the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây*, the speaker calls the hearer’s attention to an important topic that tends to persist in the subsequent discourse, whereas the distal demonstratives *ấy* and *đấy/đó* are used to indicate the unimportance and discontinuity of a discourse topic which signals the withdrawal of attention. Second, I have proposed that physical distance is reinterpreted as textual distance by the use of a demonstrative and the earlier expression referring to the same referent measured by a number of sentences. The longer the textual distance, the more likely the distal demonstrative *kia* is used, whilst the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are associated with the shorter textual distance. At the same time this can also be influenced by the relevant importance of the referent. Instances of the use of demonstratives in discourse have also shown that the emotional distancing factor plays an important role in the use of *kia* when textual distance is not involved, while the story-telling factor determines the use of *nọ*. It is also proposed in this chapter that anaphoric demonstratives like *ấy* and *đấy/đó* have developed other discourse functions on the basis of the backward reference to a referent in a preceding discourse. That is, they are used as connectives and reformulation markers to signal a relationship between two discourse units. The discussion in this chapter also sheds some light on explaining how first-mention demonstratives work.

My discussion of the recognitional usage (§5.3), the placeholder (§5.4.1), and the avoidance usage (§5.4.2) in Chapter 5 shows that referents of demonstratives in these three types of first mention usage are identified on the basis of familiarity or shared knowledge. In other words, I propose that in this context the use of demonstratives, especially the distal demonstrative *ấy*, is related to the anaphoric usage as they are essentially used to indicate a referent that has been previously talked about. In a different manner, the presentational (§5.2) and the privacy usages

(§5.5) under the scope of first mention usage are argued to involve direct mapping of the real world physical distance to the narrative domain. In the presentational usage, the distal demonstratives *áy*, *kia*, and *nɔ* are associated with the narrative world determined by the ‘there and then’ coordinate system, separating it from the ‘here and now’ of the telling situation. In the privacy usage, the proximal terms *này* and *đây* are used to indicate something that belongs to the speaker’s private knowledge. Through the metaphorical process, the concrete is reinterpreted into the abstract as follows: the narrative world correlates to farness and the speaker’s private knowledge is associated with nearness. In this regard, the choice between distal and proximal demonstratives in these contexts basically occurs in the same way as when they are spatially used.

The deictic meaning of demonstratives is also projected in their function of indicating the speaker’s belief and attitude towards a proposition or situation. Schiffrin (1987: 229) states that “ego-centered, proximal elements are used to convey a positive personal orientation towards a particular state of affairs”. As proposed in Chapters 6 and 7, the proximal forms *này* and *đây* are used to introduce a subjective opinion or evaluation (i.e. information that falls completely into the speaker’s territory of information), as demonstrative particles, and to call the hearer’s attention to the speaker’s opinions of what is about to be said or to consolidate the hearer’s emotion, as interjections. In contrast, the distal forms *áy*, *đây/đó* and *kia* are used to convey information that belongs to both the speaker’s and the hearer’s territories in the grammatical role of a particle (Chapter 6) or to facilitate emphatic reaction or objection in the function of an interjection (Chapter 7).

Major findings in the previous chapters as summarised above suggest that over time, the spatial meaning of demonstratives has expanded and changed, resulting in a wide range of functions of each demonstrative. The demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đây/đó*, *áy*, and *kia* show a tendency to signal reference of individual attitude and emotion, being at the maximum end of subjectivity. That is, their uses are motivated by the fact that speakers pay more attention to addressee self-image, hence their meanings become most expressive and interactional (which I will discuss more in this chapter). It has been demonstrated that *nɔ* is the exception to this rule.

The findings also suggest that each demonstrative has a certain range of referential scopes, which implies different paths of extension that a demonstrative may be involved. Significantly, the demonstrative *nɔ*, whose spatial meaning has been lost, has the least number of extended usages, while *áy* performs the most versatile functions throughout the demonstrative system of the language. This is represented in Table 35.

Table 35. Multiple functions of Vietnamese demonstratives

Funtions \ DEMS		[proximal]		[distal]			
		<i>này</i>	<i>đây</i>	<i>ấy</i>	<i>đấy/đó</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>nọ</i>
1	Spatial	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
2	Contrastive				+	+	+
3	First person		+				
4	Second person			+	+		
5	Third person			+			
6	Intimacy	+				+	
7	Temporal	+	+			+	+
8	Cataphoric	+	+				
9	Anaphoric	+	+	+	+	+	+
10	Connectives			+	+		
11	Reformulation markers			+	+		
12	Spatial presentational			+	+	+	+
13	Temporal presentational			+	+	+	+
14	Recognitional	+		+	+	+	+
15	Placeholder			+			
16	Avoidance usage			+			
17	Privacy usage	+	+				
18	Demonstrative particles	+	+	+	+	+	
19	Demonstrative interjections	+	+	+	+	+	

These findings provide additional evidence for the multifunctional characteristics of demonstratives (Diessel, 1999a; Himmelmann, 1996). But more importantly, the current range of demonstrative functions reveals that each has not just one meaning or sense, but rather a complex network of related senses, or *polysemy*. Without attempting to characterise the internal semantic relatedness of the multiple meanings of Vietnamese demonstratives, understanding of this highly complex semantic category would be problematic.

In order to ‘bring the pieces together’, I propose that the extensions responsible for the current range of demonstrative functions follow recognised paths of generalised metaphoric and metonymic changes, so that these changes can be reconstructed from synchronic data even in the absence of direct historical evidence. In order to achieve this, I will structure my proposal as follows: in section 8.2, I summarise previous works related to polysemy, involving demonstratives as well as diachronic generalisations about the development of demonstratives, particularly focusing on them as crucial foundations for the adaptation of the radial category to modelling the complex semantics of demonstratives. In the subsequent sections, after discussing the mechanisms occurring in the development of Vietnamese demonstratives (§8.3), I then consider the demonstratives *nọ* and *ấy* in more depth as case studies of the polysemy of Vietnamese demonstratives represented in the radial category model.

In subsection 8.4.1, I show that *nọ* is an exceptional case in the system of demonstratives. In addition to the loss of the spatial meaning, the extended senses of *nọ* tend to become more

grammaticalised in fixed collocations whose word order is less amenable and whose meanings are idiomaticalised (§2.5, §5.3). It is clear that the development of *no* is typical of a late stage of semantic change.

I also show in subsection 8.4.2 that the extensions in meanings of *áy* warrant a case study, because its widest range of functions would represent most possibilities of change that a demonstrative in the language may undergo. We can therefore assume that a case study of *áy* may include common paths of semantic extensions that are applicable to both proximal and distal demonstratives. But on the other hand, the case study also captures some unique changes of *áy* which are not found in the other demonstratives.

8.2 Modelling the complex semantics of demonstratives

Having a wide range of functions is the nature of demonstratives across languages. For example, Chen (1990) points out that English demonstratives *this* (*these*) and *that* (*those*) have a variety of uses in discourse reference (e.g. anaphoric vs. cataphoric reference, *new-this* vs. *old-that*, *near-this* vs. *far-that*, *contrastive-that*, *historical present-this*) as well as in emotional uses (e.g. *distancing-that*, *sympathy-that*, *camaraderie-this/that*). From a cross-linguistic perspective, Himmelmann (1996) proposes that the use of demonstratives as situational, tracking, discourse deixis and recognitional functions, is universal, and this hypothesis has been supported by later works (e.g. Cleary-Kemp, 2007; Diessel, 1999a).

The highly multifunctional representation of demonstratives has been characterised in the literature from both synchronic and diachronic approaches, given that “synchronic polysemy and historical change of meaning really supply the same data in many ways” (Sweetser, 1990: 9). That is, diachronic processes provide evidence of the historical order in which senses of a lexical item arose, but “without a synchronic theory of polysemy... we could have no reason to assume relatedness” (Traugott, 1986: 548). Scholars in the majority of the existing studies in either individual languages or across languages (e.g. Bühler, 1934; Chen, 1990; Diessel, 1999a; Lyons, 1977; Piwek & Cremers, 1996; Wu, 2004) emphasise the special status of the exophoric use of demonstratives within the deictic system, from which other functions derive (for a different view see Himmelmann, 1996). In particular, compared with earlier studies in which different functions of English demonstratives are treated as unrelated senses (e.g. Kruisinga, 1925; R. Lakoff, 1974; Quirk, 1972), Chen (1990) places more emphasis on the important role of the contextual use of demonstratives and proposes that the multi-functional phenomenon of English demonstratives, described in the previous paragraph, is a case of semantic expansion from their basic meanings (see also §1.5.1). In such an approach, the different meanings of demonstratives are extended from more

basic senses, resulting in a network of related senses termed a ‘polysemy network’. That is, all senses of a given demonstrative are related to each other because they all stem from a central use.

Another approach concerning the development of demonstratives is based on a diachronic perspective. Works adopting this approach focus on the semantic and syntactic changes of demonstratives as a result of grammaticalisation, providing us with “evidence of past polysemy relations” (Sweetser, 1990: 9). Over time, a demonstrative can semantically become less informative and specific, and more abstract. Based on such a directional relationship between senses, we can hypothesise the historical order in which a more abstract sense (e.g. temporal meaning) is derived from a more concrete sense (e.g. spatial meaning) rather than the reverse. The process of SUBJECTIFICATION (Traugott, 1982, 2003, 2010; Traugott & König, 1991) can be employed as the most effective predictor of the historical order of demonstratives: the use of a demonstrative is shifted from the external world to the discourse situation and as a result, its pragmatic meaning changes from the more objective (i.e., drawing the hearer’s attention to the external world) to the more subjective (i.e., expressing speaker’s attitude towards the described situation). The process of subjectification is represented as follows:

meanings grounded objectively identifiable extra-linguistic situation > meanings grounded in text-making > meanings grounded in the speaker’s attitude or belief about what is said.

(Traugott & König, 1991: 189)

In fact, it is also feasible to track backwards the development of one sense from another given the subjectification process, as it has been successfully applied to several lexical fields in English such as prepositions like *over* (Brugman, 1983, 1988), speech act verbs like *insist*, and ‘presuppositional’ terms like *just* (Traugott, 1986). For example, based on the given process, Traugott (1986: 542-543) analyses the case of *just* as follows: (i) synchronically, *just* has adjective meanings (e.g. ‘honourable’, ‘righteous’, ‘well-founded’, ‘probably due’, ‘fitting’, and ‘exact’) and adverbial meanings (i.e. ‘precisely’, ‘simply’, ‘in the immediate future or past’, ‘merely’, and ‘barely’), (ii) assuming that meanings tend to become more discourse-based and speaker-based over time, it can be hypothesised that meanings relating to justice and honour arise relatively early, meanings relating to exactness come later, while the deictic temporal meanings and the negative ‘merely’ meanings are the latest, and (iii) the hypothesis corresponds with the historical fact: the ‘precise’ meanings date back to the fifteenth century; the temporal deictic and ‘merely’ meanings to the seventeenth century.

The diachronic generalisations exhibit a number of different phenomena of semantic change occurring in the category of demonstratives. This includes the well-known metaphorical change that

proceeds from concrete domain of SPACE to more abstract domain of TIME (Boroditsky, 2000; Heine, Claudi, & Hünemeyer, 1991; Traugott, 1978), such as the development of temporal adverbs from the historical source of adverbial demonstratives, e.g. *in-* ‘proximal, here’ → ‘now’, *nan-* ‘distal, there’ → ‘then’ in Wik-Munkan (Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Diessel, 1999a). It also includes the development of demonstratives from the domain SPACE to the domain DISCOURSE (Bühler, 1934), for example, the demonstrative *se* in Old English > the definite article *the* in Modern English (Robinson & Mitchell, 2012); the proximal and distal demonstrative *cist/cil* in Old French > the definite article *ce* in Modern French (Narrog & Heine, 2011); or the development of demonstratives into markers of evidentiality and epistemic modality describing the speaker’s attitude towards a situation, as in the cases of the Mandarin *de*, the Malay *punya/nyal/mia* and the Japanese *no* (Yap, Matthews, & Horie, 2004). The tendency of shifting to speaker-based meanings can also be observed in cases where demonstratives develop into interjections (Diessel, 1999a; Ehlich, 1986) or markers of word-formulation trouble such as interjective hesitator, placeholder and avoidance devices (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006), etc. In the light of subjectification, “no historical shift of meaning can take place without an intervening stage of polysemy” (Sweetser, 1990: 9), because a more subjective meaning can only evolve from a less subjective one through a transitional stage where both meanings co-exist.

Drawing on the historical change of demonstratives determined by their syntactic features, Diessel (1999a) proposes eighteen cross-linguistic pathways that demonstratives enter over time, as reproduced in Table 36. Diessel also indicates that each grammaticalisation pathway represents different stages of a grammaticalisation process, thus a new grammatical item at the target end is a result of different layers of functional changes that a demonstrative in a particularly syntactic environment (source) involves at different times. For instance, the emergence of third person pronouns from pronominal demonstratives includes the stage in which pronominal demonstratives develop into the function of anaphoric pronominal demonstratives as part of a general pathway represented as follows: deictic demonstrative > anaphoric demonstrative > third person pronoun (Diessel, 1999a; Heine & Song, 2011). The development continues beyond the stages noted by Diessel, since it is evident that in later processes, a third person pronoun is grammaticalised into a second person pronoun (Heine & Song, 2011) and may eventually become a verb agreement marker due to the loss of the syntactic status of a pronoun (Givón, 1984: 353; cf. Diessel, 1999a; Heine & Song, 2011).

Table 36. The grammaticalization of demonstratives (Diessel, 1999a: 155)

Source	Target
Pronominal demonstratives:	third person pronouns relative pronouns complementizers sentence connectives possessives adnominal determinatives verbal number markers expletives (linkers)
Adnominal demonstratives:	nominal number markers definite articles/noun class markers linkers boundary markers of attributes pronominal determinatives specific indefinite articles (relative pronouns)
Adverbial demonstratives:	directional preverbs temporal adverbs expletives
Identificational demonstratives:	nonverbal copulas focus markers expletives

The changes from source to target as presented in Table 36 reflect the process of grammaticalisation in which deictic morphemes change from less grammatical to more grammatical. Due to this process, we can assume that different grammatical items derived from the same source of demonstratives have different degrees of grammaticalisation. The earlier stages in a morpheme's grammaticalisation process can therefore be historically reconstructed based on universal tendencies. For example, some of Heine et al.'s (1991) hypotheses for the domain of case marking are applicable for the category of demonstratives regarding the spatial sense such as:

- a. “A grammatical category A is more grammaticalized than another grammatical category B if A is etymologically derived from B”;
- b. “If two case functions differ from one another only in the fact that one has a spatial function whereas the other has not, then the latter is more grammaticalized; i.e. SPACE is the least grammaticalized of all case functions”;
- c. “A category referring to a concept that has potentially three physical dimensions is less grammaticalized than one referring to a concept that has only one possible dimension, which again is less grammaticalized than one whose referent does not show any physical dimensionality”.

(Heine et al., 1991: 156)

According to these hypotheses, the spatial sense is historically traced as the oldest sense of demonstratives. Different senses of demonstratives have been extended from this basic sense as a result of motivated transfer mechanisms. For example, by metaphorisation, a meaning shifts to a new domain while maintaining certain features of the original domain (Sweetser, 1990; Heine et al., 1991). By metonymic inferencing, a new meaning is conventionalised through an inference or implication of its original meaning (Heine et al., 1991; the process is termed ‘invited inferencing’ by Traugott & König, 1991). From a synchronic point of view, these mechanisms allow us to test whether there is a relationship between meanings in the category of demonstratives.

Previous studies have provided the theoretical machinery for defining the extension of the meaning of demonstratives in two aspects: (i) the hypothesis of the central role of the exophoric use emphasises the relatedness between different senses, leading from prototypical to more marginal senses on a polysemy-based account, and (ii) studies of the motivation, mechanism and certain pathways of the development of demonstratives explain the diachronic relationship between different senses by indicating the evolution of one sense from another.

In the literature, however, a model that can capture both synchronic and diachronic states of demonstratives is still lacking. In fact, a RADIAL CATEGORY (G. Lakoff, 1987) has been applied to model polysemous categories such as genitives (Nikiforidou, 1991) and the fifteen PIE roots (Niepokuj, 1994) in the Indo-European languages or the diminutives in over sixty languages (Jurafsky, 1996). The radial category represents a network of nodes and links: a core sense is linked to extensions represented by a network of nodes. A link between nodes represents a particular mechanism of semantic change. The representation of nodes and links in the network is a reflection of the complexity in semantics of a polysemous category. In his work on the semantic change of the diminutive, Jurafsky (1996) sees the relevance as well as the productivity of the radial category

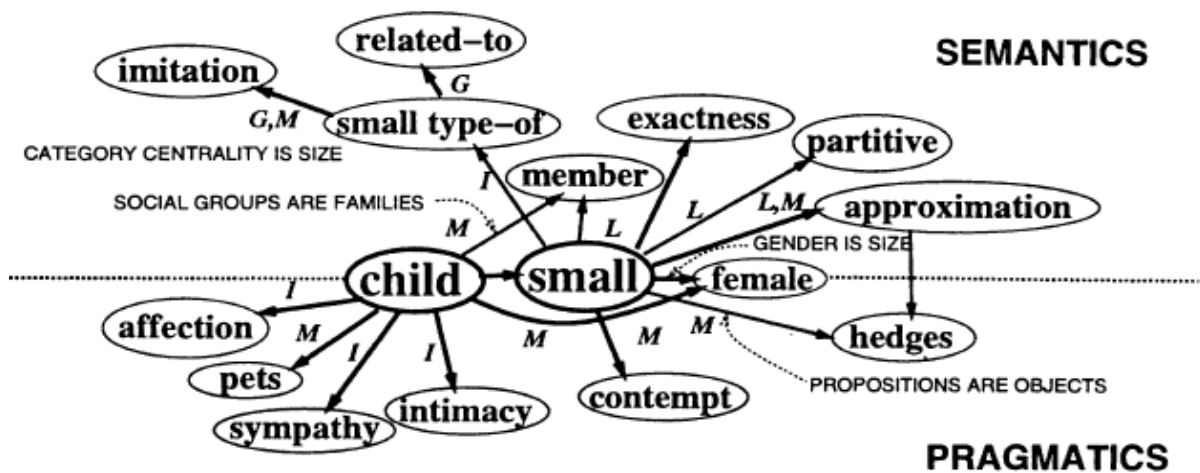
model in representing both the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the semantics of the diminutive:

When interpreted as a synchronic object, the radial category describes the motivated relations between senses of a polysemous category. When interpreted as a historical object, the radial category captures the generalizations of various mechanisms of semantic change.

(Jurafsky, 1996: 542)

Jurafsky’s model of the radial category of the diminutive is reproduced in Figure 17.

Figure 17. Proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive (Jurafsky, 1996: 542)



Accordingly, CHILD is the core notion of the diminutive, from which other senses evolve due to their involvement in different types of semantic shift, including metaphor (M), metonymic inferencing (I), generalisation (G) and a type that Jurafsky (1996: 554) calls lambda-abstraction-specification (L). In conjunction with unidirectionality hypotheses proposed in Heine et al. (1991), Sweeter (1990) and Traugott and König (1991), the radial category serves as a tool for historical reconstruction as well as a polysemy model representing the pragmatic and semantic structures of the synchronic category (Jurafsky, 1996).

On the basis of generalisations about the development of demonstratives across languages as represented above, I propose that a similar radial category model can be set up for the polysemous category of Vietnamese demonstratives. First, the core meaning of demonstratives for the adapted model has been established. As argued in previous studies, the EXOPHORIC use (including spatial and temporal uses) or more precisely, the SPATIAL use is the central sense of demonstratives, since it is evident that the temporal use is extended from the spatial use through the mechanism of

metaphor. Based on the representation of nodes and links, the centre of a predicted model for the demonstrative can be graphically represented in Figure 18.

Figure 18. Schematised semantic development for the exophoric senses of demonstratives



Next, the extensions to other functions of demonstratives from the core member(s) can be reconstructed with well-known constraints such as metaphorical tendencies (e.g. concrete → abstract, real-world → textual/metalinguistic/subjective world), metonymic inferencing or conventionalisation of implication (e.g. inference → lexicalised meaning). As Traugott and Dasher (2002: 13) state, “where there is a synchronic sense relationship, there is usually a historical relationship”. Thus, the internal semantic reconstruction of a lexical category, for example the cases of *over* (Brugman, 1983, 1988) or the presuppositional terms and speech act verbs in English (Traugott, 1986), can be done based on the relatedness of the synchronic senses.

By examining the relatedness of the different senses of Vietnamese demonstratives, I will show that the semantic extensions of this category can be projected backwards from the synchronic perspective. In the following, I propose that the fifteen different semantic and grammatical senses of Vietnamese demonstratives, summarised at the beginning of the current chapter, are related to each other through two mechanisms of change: metaphor and metonymy.

8.3 Links in the polysemy of Vietnamese demonstratives

The wide range of functions that the seven Vietnamese demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *ấy*, *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *no* perform corresponds to multiple conceptual domains. In their oldest senses, demonstratives indicate physical distance in SPACE. They are then used to talk about the more abstract domains, such as textual relations in DISCOURSE, spatial and temporal relations in NARRATIVE, and temporal relations in TIME. The senses of demonstratives that have developed into domains of DISCOURSE, NARRATIVE and TIME (as target) are understood through metaphoric mappings from the SPACE domain (as source). Metaphoric processes are therefore an important factor occurring in the development of Vietnamese demonstratives.

First, SPACE is a cognitive template for conceptualising DISCOURSE. Based on the localist view that the basic sense of demonstratives is associated with pointing gestures and that the spatial use of demonstratives can explain the anaphoric use, discourse is argued to be treated as a pragmatic abstract space whereby demonstratives can be used to point in the same way as they do in physical

space (Bühler, 1934; Mulder, 1992). More particularly, by examining evidence of English spatial adverbs used as means of anaphoric and cataphoric references in both written and spoken discourses, Fleischman (1991) claims that the spatial metaphor DISCOURSE AS SPACE is only associated with textual discourses (i.e. writing). According to this metaphor, discourse is understood as a two-dimensional space, i.e. vertically (up/down) and horizontally (side to side). On reading/hearing the expression *trên đây* ‘above here’ in Vietnamese discourse, for example, one would search for the referent in what one perceives as the discourse space above the use of the expression (i.e. an earlier part of a given discourse), while the expression *dưới đây* ‘below here’ would direct one’s attention to a discourse chunk below it (i.e. a later part of a given discourse), and the expression *bên cạnh đó* ‘beside that’ would orient one’s attention to the adjacent discourse space on the left side of the discourse representation. In the use of these expressions, the transfer of the spatial pointing sense of the demonstratives to the discourse domain is indeed the transfer of the deictic point, that is, *đây* ‘here’ is where the speaker is located and *đó* ‘there’ is the space beyond the speaker’s vicinity.

In addition, as in space, the use of proximal or distal demonstratives in discourse reflects the distance of a discourse referent in relation to the deictic point, be it near or far from where the demonstrative is positioned in the discourse. For example, the use of the proximal *này* and *đây* in both anaphoric and cataphoric functions indicates textual nearness, while the distal demonstrative *kia* is anaphorically used to refer to textual distance of a discourse referent (§4.2). In this case, the concept of distance in real space is applied to discourse space.

NARRATIVE is another domain into which Vietnamese demonstratives are argued to be transferred. This is when demonstratives (the boldfaced words in the examples below) are used at the beginning of a story to establish information, including about the main characters (e.g. *anh **kia*** ‘that man’, *hai vợ chồng nhà **nọ*** ‘that husband and wife couple’), the location (e.g. *nhà **kia*** ‘that family’, *làng **nọ*** ‘that village’, *vùng **ấy*** ‘that region’, etc.) as well as temporal information (e.g. *bữa **kia*** ‘that day’, *thuở **nọ*** ‘long time in the past’, *năm **ấy*** ‘that year’, etc.) (§5.2). With this foregrounding function, the demonstratives *kia*, *nọ* and *ấy* direct the hearer’s attention to the narrative world whose representations are situated within a spatio-temporal structure of the past events and entities, and that separates it from the physical space where the speaker is located.

The term ‘narrative domain’ refers to the environment in which characters of the story live and move (Buchholz & Jahn, 2007). Like the reality domain, the narrative domain is characterised as the representation of events in space as well as in time (Abbott, 2008; Bakhtin, Holquist, & Emerson, 1981). Thus, the shift from the reality domain to the narrative domain involves the shift of spatial and temporal coordinates from the ‘here and now’ to the ‘there and then’. As a result of this shift, a distance separating the two domains can be perceived. According to Dancygier (2009: 326),

"the basic sense of distance assumes (at least) two spatial locations which are separated from each other with additional space, and an observer who can view both locations and perceive the space between them". Based on this view, the NARRATIVE domain can be understood as the other spatial location that can be viewed from the speaker's deictic location in the reality domain. The use of the distal demonstratives *kia*, *nọ* and *áy* in the presentational usage reflects the distance between these two domains. That is, a location in the narrative domain is indicated as a distant space ('there'), which distinguishes it from the current location of the speaker ('here'), and narrative time is associated with the past time ('then') in relation to the telling time ('now').

By metaphor, the domain of TIME is understood through SPACE. The transfer from spatial to temporal concepts is motivated by a cross-linguistically well-known conceptual metaphor TIME AS SPACE (Boroditsky, 2000; Gentner, 2001; Radden, 2003). In conceptualising time as space via the use of demonstratives, time is viewed as a progression, representing a distinction between the three deictic times of past, present and future. As in the world of space, the present represents the time of speaking as the temporal reference point, while the past and future are positioned in opposing directions from the reference point. The mapping of spatial distance to time reference is clearly reflected through the use of proximal and distal demonstratives in Vietnamese (Chapter 3). While the proximal demonstratives *này* and *đây* are associated with the immediate past, present or near future (e.g. *mới đây* 'recently', *giờ này* 'now', *thứ Hai này* 'this Monday'), the distal demonstratives *kia* and *nọ* encode distance in space that can be used for past reference (e.g. *tháng kia* 'two months ago', *hôm nọ* 'the other day') as well as for future reference (e.g. *ngày kia* 'the day after tomorrow'). As a result of metaphoricalisation, the proximal/distal distinction expressed by the spatial use of these demonstratives is preserved when they function temporally.

The uses of Vietnamese demonstratives in the domains of DISCOURSE, NARRATIVE, and TIME as discussed above are instances of the semantic transfer motivated by an analogy between these domains and the structuring of SPACE. In these extensions, the concept of distance expressed by the proximal and distal demonstratives is transferred to new domains through spatial metaphors: TIME AS SPACE, DISCOURSE AS SPACE, and NARRATIVE AS SPACE, resulting in meanings in terms of temporal distance in the temporal usage (Chapter 3), discursal distance in anaphora (Chapter 4) as well as spatial and temporal relations in the presentational usage (Chapter 5). In this regard, the links between meanings of temporal, anaphoric and presentational demonstratives in these extended domains and the spatial meaning are the most direct.

In yet other extensions of demonstratives, those of first mention usages (Chapter 5), demonstrative particles (Chapter 6) and demonstrative interjections (Chapter 7), we have noted that the meanings of demonstratives in these usages focus more on the speaker's belief and territory of information, and hence are more subjective. For example, when *áy* is used in the anaphoric sense, it

invites the inference that the speaker believes that the intended referent is familiar to the hearer (§4.2.2). Therefore, in the recognitional sense extended from the anaphoric sense (as claimed in §8.4.2), the inference of the speaker's belief in the familiarity due to shared knowledge is strengthened, and thereby the recognitional sense is conventionalised in contexts of shared knowledge. The extension as such is clearly not a case of metaphorical change based on an analogical similarity between domains. Rather, it is a shift within the same domain, involving pragmatic implicature or invited inferencing, as according to Traugott & Dasher (2002: 81), "subjectification can be understood as a type of metonymy". From this perspective, metonymic inferencing, combined with metaphoric mapping, is also an important factor in the development of Vietnamese demonstratives, specifically motivating the extension of non-/less subjective meanings to more subjective meanings.

If an extended meaning B is derived from an earlier meaning A by an invited inferencing process, B "often comes into existence because a regularly occurring context supports an inference-driven contextual enrichment of A to B" (N. Evans & Wilkins, 2000: 550). 'Bridging contexts', where both A and B co-occur, are therefore evidence for invited inferencing. In fact, according to Sullivan (2007), it is impossible for invited inferencing to give rise to semantic change without these contexts. This is certainly a key to distinguishing metonymic inferencing from metaphoric extension since "ambiguous contexts... discourage metaphoric extension, whereas unambiguously target-domain contexts encourage it" (Sullivan, 2007: 264).

Compared to those metaphorical changes in which demonstratives become more abstract, yet are still close to the central sense, extensions by metonymic processes result in more marginal senses arising out of a given context in which a sense is conventionalised. It is important to note that under the metonymic process, an extended sense of demonstratives may also be associated with syntactic change. As discussed previously, a demonstrative can be restricted to sentence-internal and sentence-final positions when it is used as a particle (Chapter 6) and indeed can become independent of sentence boundaries when it performs as an interjection (Chapter 7). I therefore propose that if there is no involvement of syntactic change, an extended sense of demonstratives is a result of metonymic inferencing without grammaticalisation; otherwise it is a case of grammaticalisation including both semantic and syntactic changes.

I propose that each extended sense of Vietnamese demonstratives arises from each mechanism of change. In the following sections, I will use abbreviations of names for mechanisms motivating each change to mark the links between senses, i.e. M for metaphor, I for metonymic inferencing without grammaticalisation, and G for grammaticalisation. These are represented in a proposed radial category modelling the semantic change of Vietnamese demonstratives through two case studies involving *nọ* and *áy*.

8.4 Illustration of the polysemy of Vietnamese demonstratives

Although the polysemy of all seven demonstratives is argued to have resulted from semantic extensions, each demonstrative has followed its own path of change and no two demonstratives have identical polysemy networks. These differences are due both to the individual semantics of the different demonstratives, and to the stage of change that each demonstrative has reached. In this section, I have chosen as examples the cases of *nọ* and *áy* to illustrate two factors of change in Vietnamese. These examples were selected because the case of *nọ* is unique due to the loss of its original meaning, and *áy* is the most comprehensive case in terms of the numerous functions it has.

8.4.1 Explaining polysemy with historical reconstruction: The case of *nọ*

In the Vietnamese demonstrative system, the demonstrative *nọ* has followed a special path of change. It is the only one in the system currently lacking any spatial function, though its later, extended senses remain. I propose that the reconstruction of the central sense is especially important in this case, because without it the demonstrative *nọ*'s polysemy network looks like a scattered system of unrelated senses, rather than a tidy network of senses related by recognised regular semantic changes.

The synchronic senses of *nọ* include:

- Temporal usage, where *nọ* indicates the past relative to the time of speaking
- Recognitional usage, where *nọ* is combined with the temporal noun *hôm* 'day' to remind the hearer of a referent to be identified in the shared experience of a few days before the time of speaking
- Spatial presentational usage, where *nọ* indicates a distant referent/location of a narrative world
- Temporal presentational usage, where *nọ* indicates the past of an event in a narrative world
- Anaphoric usage, where *nọ* refers back to a referent mentioned previously in discourse for a story-telling effect
- Contrastive usage, where *nọ* appears with either *này* or *kia* in conventional constructions to idiomatically encode general contrast

Based on these present-day functions of the demonstrative *nọ*, we are able to make some assumptions. First, due to the fact that the recognitional meaning can be interpreted only when *nọ* occurs in the temporal expression *hôm nọ* 'the other day', it is reasonable to conclude that the temporal function might be older than the recognitional function, or in other words, the

recognitional function might be derived from the temporal function. Second, the metaphoric mapping from space to time (§8.3) would allow us to hypothesise that the temporal presentational meaning is metaphorically understood through the spatial presentational meaning. While links between the marginal senses could be predicted, the central link which ties all other senses together is obscured due to the absence of the spatial sense of *nọ* in its synchronic set of senses.

I suggest that a logical explanation of the present-day senses of *nọ* can be achieved through a reconstructed connection with its now-defunct basic meaning. It is noted that in present-day Vietnamese, the demonstrative *nọ* is mainly used in the two distinguishing domains of TIME and NARRATIVE and that its meanings in these domains are consistently associated with the meaning of distance, i.e. the past is distal to the present and the narrative domain belongs to an imaginary world and thus is distal in the telling situation. The trace of the distal meaning in all synchronic functions of *nọ* would allow us to hypothesise that the demonstrative once had a spatial sense referring to a distant referent, which is argued to be its oldest and most basic sense. This spatial sense extended to a range of other senses, but over time, the spatial sense itself was lost.

Given the unidirectional change from the concrete domain of SPACE to the abstract domain of TIME as discussed in section 8.2, the existence of the temporal meaning of *nọ* can likely be explained via the metaphoric mapping from the reconstructed prototype sense. As illustrated in Chapter 3 and also in section 8.3, distal demonstratives map the farness of SPACE to TIME, that is, through the use of distal demonstratives, the past (indicated by both *kia* and *nọ*) or future (by *kia*) are conceptualised as temporal distance in relation to the present. When imported to the TIME domain, the demonstrative *nọ* carries the distal sense as a clue to allow backwards projecting to its spatial meaning, as represented in (i):

(i) spatial > temporal

As already discussed in section 3.3.4, the temporal use of *nọ* is very restricted, as the demonstrative mainly combines with the temporal noun *hôm* ‘day’ as in *hôm nọ* indicating a few days before the time of speaking, i.e. meaning ‘a few days before yesterday’. Interestingly, we have noted in section 5.3 that the temporal expression *hôm nọ* as a whole is routinely used in the recognitional function, reminding the hearer of a referent to be identified in shared knowledge (e.g. *cô gái hôm nọ* ‘the girl the other day’). Note that in the recognitional use, the temporal expression *hôm nọ* always appears after a noun in a noun phrase. In this new syntactic construction, i.e. *N+hôm nọ*, *hôm nọ* is re-analysed as an attributive with an acquired sense of ‘the other day’ instead of meaning ‘a few days before yesterday’ as in its temporal use. The development from the temporal sense to the recognitional sense of *nọ* (in *hôm nọ*) represents the semantic-pragmatic tendency of semantic

change, that is, as identified in the literature, that “[m]eanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker’s subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation” (Traugott, 1988: 410). In this case, the speaker believes that the hearer can recognise the intended referent by recalling the shared past time indicated by the recognitional *hôm nọ* ‘the other day’. As the syntactic position of *hôm nọ* is fixed with respect to a nominal head, we can assume that the recognitional sense of *hôm nọ* is derived from the temporal sense by a process of metonymic inferencing also involving syntactic change. This grammaticalisation path can be schematised as follows:

(ii) temporal > recognitional

In fact, this demonstrative has been identified as a temporal demonstrative (P. P. Nguyễn, 1992, 2002). But if the original meaning of the demonstrative *nọ* is temporal, how is it possible to discuss its spatial presentational function, given that it is a unidirectional change from SPACE to TIME? Clearly, without an historical reconstruction of the spatial sense of the demonstrative *nọ*, it would be very difficult to establish the relationship between its temporal use and its presentational functions introducing place, characters or time at the beginning of a narrative.

The spatial and temporal presentational functions of *nọ* represent the shift of meanings to the NARRATIVE domain (§8.3). Since the NARRATIVE domain is understood through SPACE, the spatial presentational sense can be presumed to have evolved from the reconstructed spatial sense through the spatial metaphor.

(iii) spatial > spatial presentational

In this new function, the spatial presentational demonstrative *nọ* has a restricted position in the narrative structure as it only occurs in the initial sentence of a narrative (§5.2). However, the demonstrative appears productive in terms of making references, i.e. ability to combine with any nouns/noun phrases to indicate any location/entity of a story. The flexibility in making references, in connection with the universal tendency of semantic change from less abstract to more abstract, is the basis for my suggestion that the temporal presentational sense of this demonstrative is related to its spatial presentational sense. This characteristic of the temporal presentational function is distinguished from the temporal function where *nọ* can only occur in a fixed collocation with *hôm* ‘day’, indicating a deictic time of the past. I represent the extension of the spatial presentational to the temporal presentational meaning as follows:

(iv) spatial presentational > temporal presentational

As a result of the loss of the spatial sense, the restriction in the temporal function as well as the metonymic shift of *hôm nọ* to the recognitional function, I suggest that over time the meaning of *nọ* has become more removed from the reality domain (or the situational situation), and more productive in the narrative domain whereby the narrative world is retrieved from the speaker's memory (or the internal situation). This trend explains why in most present-day usages, the demonstrative *nọ* functions as a story-telling device. When used in spatial and temporal presentational functions, the demonstrative *nọ* opens a narrative world. When used in a second mention (i.e. in the anaphoric function), the demonstrative gives coherence to discourse, like other anaphoric demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đấy/đó*, *ấy* and *kia*, but is more likely to be used for the rhetorical purpose of creating a story-telling tone in discourse (§4.2.5). Due to the effect of conventionalisation, when speakers use *nọ* as a story-telling technique, I suggest that its anaphoric function is based in the narrative domain and that its anaphoric function is evidence for its productivity in the narrative domain.

(v) spatial presentational > anaphoric

With the reconstructed spatial sense, the shifts of meanings of *nọ* to the NARRATIVE domain represented in (iii), and then within the NARRATIVE domain in (iv-v) can be explained on the basis of two well-attested tendencies of semantic change:

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency I:

Meanings situated in the external described situation > meanings situated in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation

and

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency II:

Meanings situated in the described external or internal situation > meanings situated in the textual situation

(Traugott, 1989: 34-35)

More particularly, the extension of the reconstructed spatial sense to the spatial presentational sense exemplifies Tendency I: a shift from reference to the physical situation to reference to the narrative (i.e. imaginary and more 'internal') situation. When *nọ* became a spatial presentational demonstrative in the narrative domain, it was subject to both tendencies which then led to the divergence of meanings: under Tendency I, the spatial presentational *nọ* shifted to a temporal presentational demonstrative, and to an anaphoric demonstrative when it underwent Tendency II.

Final evidence for the developments proposed above is provided by the idiomatic usage of the demonstrative *nọ* in *nói này nói nọ* ‘say this say that’, *kiểu nọ kiểu kia* ‘this sort that sort’, *thích này thích nọ* ‘like this like that’, *chỗ nọ chỗ kia* ‘this place that place’, *này nọ/ nọ kia* ‘inconsistent, different’, and so on. This function of *nọ* is discussed under the scope of the contrastive use of demonstratives (§2.5). In this particular usage, *nọ* pairs with either the proximal demonstrative *này* or the distal demonstrative *kia* in some fixed constructions such as V1 DEM1 V2 DEM2 (e.g. *nói này nói nọ* ‘say this say that’) or N1 DEM1 N2 DEM2 (e.g. *chỗ nọ chỗ kia* ‘this place that place’) to distinguish two things randomly, or as two demonstratives in juxtaposition like DEM1 DEM2 (e.g. *này nọ, nọ kia*) to express an abstract sense ‘inconsistent, different’. We know that *này* ‘this’ and *kia* ‘that’ has a spatial meaning (Chapter 2), so *nọ*, presented in parallel with them, must have an analogous meaning. Clearly, the idiomaticised meaning of *nọ* in those fixed collocations can be used to indicate its original meaning. With the reconstructed spatial sense, the existence of the abstract sense of *nọ* can be explained as a result of the process of grammaticalisation whereby *nọ* loses its specific meaning of distance and become extremely abstract in idiomatic situations of conveying contrast.

(vi) spatial > contrastive (idiomatic)

In my proposal for the six semantic paths (i-vi), the way in which the demonstrative *nọ* has developed from the reconstructed spatial sense is represented in Figure 19. Based on the radial category model mentioned in section 8.2, I use arrow symbols leading from one sense to another sense to demonstrate the direction of the extensions of senses of *nọ* and abbreviations for mechanisms motivating each change to represent links between senses, i.e. as mentioned above, M for metaphor, I for metonymic inferencing without grammaticalisation and G for grammaticalisation.

Figure 19. Hypothesised semantic development for *nò*

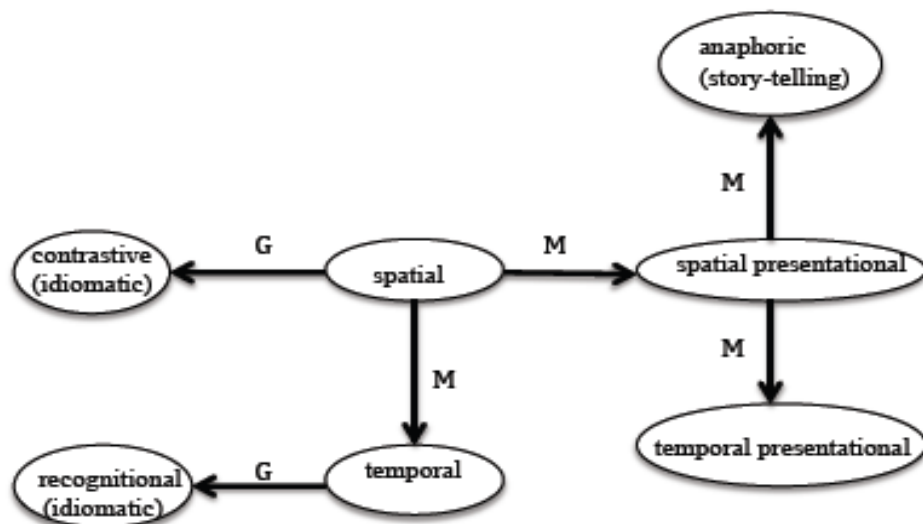


Figure 19 represents two ways for extensions to occur in *nò*: narrative orientation and idiomaticalisation. The meanings of *nò* can be narrative oriented when they are used in the anaphoric function as well as spatial and temporal presentational functions. Otherwise, they are idiomaticalised in the recognitional and contrastive usages. In both ways, the meanings of *nò* has not involved in a gradual process of development as in the case other demonstratives (which I will discuss shortly through the representative case of *áy*), i.e. becoming more and more subjective under processes of subjectification, but rather, they are based in the conventionalisation effect. As claimed in Narrog (2012: 106), “while textual and discourse orientation... can often be identified with a late stage of grammatical and semantic development, speaker orientation (subjectification) can be primarily identified with an early stage in the development of grammatical items”. In this context, the demonstrative *nò* may be the best illustration of a late stage of development of a demonstrative.

8.4.2 From deixis to interjection: The path of *áy*

As mentioned previously, the demonstrative *áy* can be viewed as a representative case, illustrating major tendencies of change that a demonstrative may undergo. Unlike *nò*, whose extended meanings are not strongly involved in the subjectification process, the case of *áy* shows a gradual process of development from more concrete to more abstract meanings as well as from more objective to more subjective meanings. By modelling the extensions of the meanings of *áy*, we can also understand general paths of change that other demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *đây/đó* and *kia* take, given that all of them take the same route of extensions, departing from ‘deixis’ to the destination of ‘interjection’ (as represented in Table 35, §8.1).

We have noted that the demonstrative *áy* has the widest variety of uses in the Vietnamese

demonstrative system. This includes the function of indicating the position of a location/entity in a situational context (a spatial sense), a place/character of a story in the narrative domain (a spatial presentational sense), a temporal setting in narrative time (a temporal presentational sense), a linguistic item in preceding discourse (an anaphoric sense) or something to be identified through the personalised or general knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer (as in recognitional, placeholder, or avoidance usages).

In addition, the demonstrative *áy* develops into other grammatical categories, functioning as a second or third person pronoun in person deixis, a connective and a reformulation marker expressing discourse cohesion, a particle conveying information that is psychologically at the same distance from the speaker and hearer, as well as an interjection encoding the speaker's attitude towards a situation. In this section, I propose that these uses of *áy* are polysemous senses, and it should be possible to trace how each sense evolved from another, ultimately tracking the evolution of the polysemy network back to a single ancestral sense.

The coexistence of thirteen different uses of *áy* is representative of the fact that as well as semantic change with the shifts of meanings between different domains (e.g. SPACE, NARRATIVE, DISCOURSE), syntactic change has also been occurring in the process of the development of the form *áy* over time. For example, the sentence-final particle *áy* (§6.3.3) is restricted to a position at the end of a sentence, which indicates that the form has changed syntactically, and like other forms in this particular grammatical function, *áy* is produced with a weak stressed and reduced form, which indicates that it underwent a process of phonological reduction. Based on this observation, I classify the synchronic senses of *áy* in terms of the two types of linguistic change in Table 37.

Table 37. Classified synchronic senses of *áy*

Senses undergone semantic change	Central sense	Senses undergone both semantic and syntactic changes (via grammaticalisation)
spatial presentational		3 rd person pronoun
temporal presentational		2 nd person pronoun
anaphoric	spatial	connective
recognitional		reformulation marker
placeholder		sentence –final particle
avoidance usage		sentence – internal particle
		interjection

I begin my discussion by considering how the synchronic senses subjected to the semantic change of *áy* are related to its central sense. First, similar to *nó*, the demonstrative *áy* is normally used to

provide background information at the beginning of a story (§5.2). *Áy* in *vùng áy* ‘that region’ and *làng áy* ‘that village’, for example, is a spatial presentational demonstrative, occurring with a noun indicating the location where the story takes place, and is a temporal presentational demonstrative when combined with a temporal noun as in *ngày áy* ‘that day’ and *thuở áy* ‘a long period of time in the past’ in order to indicate a temporal setting for a story, which is usually a past time. The basis of these presentational usages is the similarity between the reality domain and the narrative domain in terms of the spatio-temporal structures and point of view (§8.3). In situational contexts, *áy* refers to a referent that is distant relative to the speaker’s current location, while in narratives *áy* serves to indicate a place or location that belongs to the world of the characters. Given the tendency of semantic change from external situation to internal situation (Traugott, 1988; Traugott & König, 1991), the extension of the spatial sense *áy* in the situational reference to the spatial presentational sense in the narrative reference follows a documented path of semantic extension.

(i) spatial > spatial presentational

With regard to the temporal meaning of *áy*, it is important to mention again that this demonstrative can only indicate a past time in a story-telling context, not in a situational context, unlike the temporal demonstratives *này*, *đây*, *kia* and *nọ* (Chapter 3). Thus, it could also be expected that when the spatial demonstrative *áy* shifts to the internal field of reference (i.e. the narrative domain), the tendency of change from more concrete source to a more abstract target may operate twice: once from spatial to spatial presentational as shown in (i), and then again from spatial presentational to temporal presentational, as represented in (ii). It is noted that the distal meaning, as the original sense of the spatial demonstrative *áy*, is maintained in these two extended senses.

(ii) spatial presentational > temporal presentational

While *nọ* tends to be mainly used in the spatial and temporal presentational functions, i.e. narrative orientation (§8.4.1), instances of present-day uses of *áy* suggest that the occurrence of *áy* is particularly pervasive as the function of an anaphoric demonstrative (i.e. textual or discourse orientation), as if the demonstrative was specified for this function (§4.2.2). In the literature, the anaphoric sense of demonstratives has been argued to have arrived after the spatial sense, from when human beings had interactions with the environment (Johnson, 1987; G. Lakoff, 1986) before learning to engage in human conversation (Atkinson, 1979; Lyons, 1975). In addition, on the metaphor account, the use of spatial items to talk about discourse reflects the spatial metaphor DISCOURSE AS SPACE (cf. Fleischman, 1991). For example, the use of demonstratives to point

backwards and forwards in the discourse space, as is suggested by Bühler (1934), can be considered as a reflection of this structured mapping, because in these usages “the discourse is conceived as a visual space before the eyes, in which one can point to words in the same way as one points to things in space” (Mulder, 1992: 266).

Turning to the case of *áy*, we have noted that *áy* can be used both spatially and anaphorically. As represented in section 2.3.2, in the spatial sense *áy* denotes a distant referent which already has the hearer’s previous notice. Section 4.2.2 illustrates the anaphoric use in which *áy* commits to a linguistic referent that has been introduced previously, i.e. the hearer must have known about its existence. But how are these two meanings of *áy* related? As suggested in section 4.2.3, the choice of the proximal demonstrative *náy* or the distal *áy* in discourse is indicative of whether the discourse status of a discourse referent (or a topic) has high importance/high continuity or less importance/low continuity. The anaphoric meaning of *áy* (in opposition to *náy*) certainly expresses the subjectivity of the evaluation that one topic is less important than another, and by doing so, the speaker can direct the hearer to reorientate his attention to a more important topic that will probably come in the subsequent discourse. Through indicating the less importance/low continuity of a topic, the speaker is metaphorically ‘distancing’ it from the hearer’s attention. Based on the arguments for this space-to-discourse mapping in the literature as described above, it is reasonable to assert the anaphoric use of *áy* is a result of a domain shift, using *áy* (together with other demonstratives) from the source domain (SPACE) to serve in a target domain (DISCOURSE). Moreover, the extension of *áy* from the spatial sense to the anaphoric use is based on the grounds of the tendency of semantic change that meanings become more and more speaker-based (Traugott, 1988; Traugott & König, 1991).

When the demonstrative *áy* is used anaphorically, it emphatically marks familiarity, referring back to a discourse referent which was introduced earlier in the discourse. In the previous analysis related to the functions of *áy*, we have also noted that the criterion of familiarity is the basis of its recognitional sense, i.e. the speaker uses the demonstrative *áy* in the first mention of the intended referent with the belief that the hearer can identify it due to shared knowledge (§5.3). Basically, the speaker reminds the hearer of something familiar that she previously mentioned to him at least once in the discourse.

In most cases, the recognitional use of demonstratives occurs in first mentions while the anaphoric use appears in later mentions. However, there are also situations in which these two senses co-occur. That is, as Himmelmann (1996: 236) suggests, “later mentions of a given referent may also be recognitional”. I treat such a context as a bridging context between the anaphoric sense and the recognitional sense of *áy*, i.e. the demonstrative used in referring back to something previously mentioned may be understood as a reminder of what was introduced before rather than

just a backward reference. The use of *ấy* in the following example illustrates such a bridging context:

(231) Shop keeper: a- *Vậy thích thứ nào, cháu cứ nói! Kem đánh răng, hộp chì màu hay chai nước ngọt ...*
 tooth CL pencil color or CL water sweet
 ‘Then just tell (me) what you like. A tube of tooth paste, a box of colored pencils or a bottle of soft drink...’

Quy: b- *Bạn cháu thích con gấu bông đằng kia*
 friend grandchild like CL bear cotton over DEM.DIST
 kia!
 DEMPART
 ‘My friend likes the teddy bear over there!’

Shop keeper: c- *Con gấu bông? ...*
 CL bear cotton
 ‘Teddy bear?’

Quy: d- *Vâng ạ, chính con gấu bông có màu trắng đốm đen ấy đấy!*
 INTERJ INTERJ EMP CL bear cotton have color white
 spot black DEM.DIST DEMPART
 ‘Yes, it is white teddy bear with black spots *ấy*!’

(N. Á. Nguyễn, n.d. g)

The context of the conversation above is the following: early on in the narrative, Long wishes to give his sister a teddy bear but he does not have enough money to buy one. He then comes to a store with his friends to play a game of throwing balls into a basket in the hope of winning a teddy bear, which depends on how many times they can score. He fails on the last throw to get the biggest reward, i.e. the teddy bear, but the shop owner promises that next time if he wins, he can take the teddy bear home. At this point of the story, Long and his friends have come back to play again and he eventually wins. However, the shop owner does not keep his promise. Instead, in (231a) he is trying to offer the winner something else by suggesting some options other than the teddy bear. Thus in (231b), Quy (Long’s friend) points to the teddy bear in the store and indicates that it is what the winner wants. To avoid giving the teddy bear as prize, the shopkeeper asks, *Con gấu bông?* ‘Teddy bear?’ in (231c).

Drawing on this particular context, the use of *ấy* in the expression *con gấu bông có màu trắng đốm đen ấy* ‘that white teddy bear with black spots’ uttered in (231d) may have two interpretations. First, *ấy* is an anaphor because prior to being indicated by *ấy*, the intended referent *con gấu bông* ‘teddy bear’ has been mentioned twice in (231b) and (231c) and also, new information related to the teddy bear’s color, i.e. *màu trắng đốm đen* ‘white with black spots’, has been given in the

demonstrative expression marked with *áy*. Second, *áy* can also be read as a reminder in this case. As there is only one teddy bear in the store, it is obvious that the shop owner is trying to ignore his previous promise rather than not being aware of the intended referent. With regard to the speaker's reminding purpose, the descriptive information attached to the use of *áy* makes the referent more accessible.

Although the above context sounds a bit unusual, in that the shopkeeper is being deceptive, it is easy to imagine that recognition could be mistaken for anaphor, and vice versa. Such an ambiguous use of the anaphoric *áy* and the recognitional *áy* mediates the shift between these two senses. But which sense is extended from which other? Based on the theory of subjectification, we could expect the form *áy* to have the recognitional sense extended from the anaphoric sense. The anaphoric sense of *áy* is somewhat speaker-based as the choice of *áy* involves the speaker's evaluation of the importance of a discourse topic, but still, this use of *áy* is based on the textual situation helping the hearer to access the referent as a tracking device. The recognitional sense is more speaker-based since this use is entirely based on the speaker's subjective belief that the hearer can identify the referent through their shared knowledge and that the hearer can always make a request for clarification if necessary.

On the basis of the invited inferencing model (Traugott & Dasher, 2002), the extension of the anaphoric sense to the recognitional sense (in first mentions) of *áy* can be explained as follows: the anaphoric use of the demonstrative pre-supposes a discourse referent which is identifiable, thus is somehow familiar to the hearer. Without the previous mention of the intended referent in the discourse (i.e. the shared information), the familiarity effects do not arise. In those cases where the demonstrative is used in later mentions but the referent is familiar to the hearer even before the reference is made (i.e. in bridging context), the familiarity effect is greatly increased and the requirement of previous mentions in discourse having extended beyond the boundary of the discourse becomes broader, i.e. information shared by the speaker and the hearer in previous experience. This makes available the invited inference that knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer is required. Over time, the recognitional sense based on the shared experience comes to be preferred, resulting in a generalised invited inference. This generalised invited inference becomes an encoded meaning of the demonstrative *áy* when it is used in the first mentions. The extension of the anaphoric sense to the recognitional sense of *áy* is schematised as follows:

(iii) anaphoric > recognitional

Once the recognitional sense is stabilised, it is recruited to encode other meanings. Here I propose that the two uses of *áy* in the situations of word-formulation trouble that the speaker faces during

the speech production, that is, the placeholder (§5.4.1) and the avoidance device (§5.4.2), are extended from the recognitional sense. The re-analysis of these meanings of *ấy* is based on bridging contexts in which the inferences of new meanings are activated together with the recognitional sense. Consider the following example adapted from daily conversation:

(232) - Quán *ấy*, quán gì gần nhà Hùng *ấy*!
 store DEM.DIST store what near house Hung DEMPART
 ‘(Food) store *ấy*, the store called whatever which is near Hung’s house (you know)!’

In (232), the use of *ấy* could have either a placeholder-functioned or a recognitional reading. The context of (232) indicates that the demonstrative is used to temporarily hold the place representing the name of the food store while the speaker tries to remember, but it is also a reminder since the additional information of the store’s location *gần nhà Hùng* ‘near Hung’s house’ is provided to ensure that the hearer is able to identify the one that the speaker believes is familiar to him. By adding an explicit part indicating the word-formulation trouble like *quán gì* ‘the store called whatever’ to the descriptive information, the speaker signals that she is currently having problem in remembering the name of the mutually familiar store.

The utterance in example (233) clearly belongs to a conversation between some male colleagues, inviting each other to go out after work. *Ấy* in *món ấy* ‘that dish’ can be interpreted in two ways. It may refer to a type of food that the men have had before (i.e. recognitional), but the form *ấy* also invites the inferencing of ‘things for males that are not polite to mention’, for example embarrassing dishes like dog meat, some particular dishes that enhance males’ sexual ability or some sort of entertainment that involves paid women (i.e. avoidance usage).

(233) - Xong việc, anh em mình đi làm món
 finish job older-brother younger-sibling self go make dish
ấy tí nhi?
 DEM.DIST little PART
 ‘When finish working, shall we brothers go to have that dish?’

(Adapted from daily conversation overheard by the author)

The first possibly inferential meaning ‘an embarrassing dish’, dog meat for instance, is regionally culturally driven. In Vietnam, especially in central Vietnam (where the author comes from), eating dog meat is somewhat embarrassing as many local people follow a strand of Buddhism that proscribes the consumption of meat, especially dog meat. In order to save ‘face’ for himself (and the people who may join him), as well as to avoid provoking negative responses from others, the speaker avoids an explicit mention of the dish by using the expression *món ấy* ‘that dish’ instead.

This use can also be applied to other dishes whose explicit mentions may make the speaker feel embarrassed. The taboo against dog meat is regional, so the inference of *món áy* ‘dog meat’ will not occur if the participants are from another region, for example northern Vietnam, where dog meat is a customary dish for many occasions.

The second possibly inferential meaning ‘some sort of entertainment that involves paid women’ is more widely used, because this can be interpreted by not only the group involved but also outsiders. As indicated in section 5.4.2, meanings related to sexual issues simultaneously occur with the actual meaning that the speaker intends to encode through the use of *áy*. Therefore, the ambiguity of the use of *áy* in example (233) may occur in both the speaker’s intention and the hearer’s interpretation. The speaker may expect the hearer(s) to understand that he is trying to save ‘face’ by avoiding a direct reference while the hearer(s) can still recognise *món áy* ‘that dish’ due to their shared experience. On the hearer(s) side, it may be unclear whether the speaker is talking about a familiar dish or hinting at something that would embarrass them if clarified.

Drawing on the previous analysis in section 5.4, I suggest that these two uses of *áy* involve hearer-orientation: by using *áy* as a placeholder, the speaker signals the production problem that she is dealing with, but also invites the hearer(s) to join the searching process for the target word. By using *áy* as an avoidance device, the speaker intends to avoid an explicit mention of the word whose referent may cause offence to the hearer and consequently threaten the speaker’s self-image. In the light of the hearer’s attitudes and face needs, I recognise these meanings of *áy* as being a case of intersubjectivity. As proposed by Traugott and Dasher (2002), intersubjectivity is a mechanism of change by which meanings tend to index “speaker’s attention to addressee self-image”. Hence, the rise of intersubjective meanings are mostly found in euphemisms (e.g. *the Lord* ‘god’, *pass* ‘die’) or politeness (*please* > formulae like *If you please*, *saburahu* referent honorifics > *saburahu* addressee honorifics etc.) (Traugott, 2010). The development of meanings is organised along the lines of intersubjectivity as follows:

non/less subjective > subjective > intersubjective (Traugott & Dasher, 2002: 225)

The bridging contexts shown in (232) and (233) support the idea that intersubjectivity comes about through the invited inferences. In the recognitional reading, *áy* expresses the speaker’s subjective belief based on shared knowledge. In the placeholder or the avoidance reading, the use of *áy* actively involves the hearer, i.e. the hearer’s expected cooperation in seeking the target word (the placeholder) or judgement if inappropriate language is used (the avoidance usage). Assuming the well-attested change from subjectivised meanings to intersubjectivised meanings, then the

placeholder and the avoidance usages are later developments of the recognitional sense, as represented below:

(iv) recognitional > placeholder-/avoidance usage

We have seen that as a demonstrative, the form *áy* has several meanings, including spatial and temporal presentational, anaphoric, recognitional, placeholder and avoidance, all directly or indirectly extended from the spatial meaning. Throughout this thesis, we have also noted that *áy* displays a wide range of grammatical functions and have acquired different senses in addition to its basic meaning. *Áy* may be used as a person deictic marker when functioning as a second person or third person pronoun (§2.6.3); it denotes the relationship between discourse units when it functions as a connective (§4.3.1) or a reformulation marker (§4.3.2); it is a ‘you know’ marker in particle functions (§6.3.3); and it is a dissuading marker ‘don’t’ when it is used as an interjection (§7.6). I propose that these synchronic grammatical functions of the form *áy* outlined here are in fact the demonstrative *áy* under grammaticalisation. Specifically, I argue that the synchronically grammatical functions of *áy* support the grammaticalisation clines of demonstratives as proposed in Diessel (1999).

In Vietnamese, singular third person pronouns are formed from the demonstrative *áy* and a kinship noun, for example *anh áy* ‘he’, *chị áy* ‘she’, etc. As in the anaphoric function, *áy* refers to a previously established discourse referent whose content is restricted to ‘a person’. The development of the anaphoric demonstrative *áy* to the third person marker *áy* conforms the cline as suggested by Diessel (1999a: 119-120):

anaphoric demonstrative > third person pronoun

This development, according to Diessel (2006: 478), “is motivated by the functional overlap between the source and target”. The development into the new grammatical category then acquires a new meaning for the form. Thus, a difference between the anaphoric demonstrative and the third person pronoun derived from it could be expected (Diessel, 1999a, 2006). In section 4.2.2, we noted that the anaphoric demonstrative *áy* indicates the discontinuity of a discourse topic due to its less important status in the discourse, whereas as a third person marker, *áy* indicates the continuity of the current topic in the subsequent discourse.

When *áy* is used as a second person pronoun meaning ‘you’, it can appear in both forms, either *đàng áy* in which *áy* is adnominally used, or *áy* in an independent use as a pronominal. So, how did this grammatical function arise?

Although evidence for the use of *đằng ấy* as a third person pronoun in present-day Vietnamese is lacking, the likelihood of *đằng ấy* having been used as a third person marker may be supported by the following cases, where *đằng ấy* appears in juxtaposition with either singular or plural third person pronouns such as *nó* ‘it’, *họ* ‘they’ or *người ta* ‘they’:

- (234) *Đằng ấy nó đã làm ăn đằng hoàng rồi...*
 direction DEM.DIST 3SG ANT do eat good already
 ‘*Đằng ấy* it has already been doing good business...’

(*Share tip bóng đá [Share Football Betting Tips], 2010*)

- (235) *Cả năm anh đi làm quần quật. Họ có ngày
 whole year older-brother go do hard only when have day
 đằng ấy người ta hết việc, mới được nghỉ
 direction DEM.DIST 3PL end job new obtain relax
 như hôm nay.
 like today*
 ‘For the whole year, he has been toiling with work. Only when *đằng ấy* they run out of tasks to be given, will (he) have a relaxing time like today.’

(Tô, 1944)

- (236) *Đằng ấy họ sẽ cấp cho những nhà phát minh...*
 direction DEM.DIST 3PL ASP grant PREP PL CL invent
 ‘*Đằng ấy* they will offer grants for inventors...’

(Platonov, 1929)

In the examples above, *đằng ấy* is clearly not a locational adverb. It appears with a third person pronoun in the subject of a sentence, continuing what has been previously introduced. Since a location can not literally conduct a business as in (234), run out of jobs to be given as in (235) or offer a grant for inventors in (236), the occurrence of a third person pronoun like *nó* ‘it’, *người ta*, and *họ* ‘they’ following *đằng ấy* makes it clear that *đằng ấy* is associated with the people who do those actions. These instances suggest the possible transition from the locational meaning of *đằng ấy* ‘that direction’ to the third person marker *đằng ấy* ‘person in that direction’ through the place-person metonymy. In developing to a second person pronoun ‘you’, *ấy* changes from indicating a third person marker *đằng ấy* ‘person in that direction’ to a second person marker *đằng ấy* ‘you’, and finally by the process of grammaticalisation, *ấy* no longer acquires a spatial sense because a preceding spatial noun is not required. Historically, the second person marker *đằng ấy* ‘you’ probably precedes the pronominal use of *ấy* on its own, since functioning as a pronoun is not a typical syntactic feature of the demonstrative *ấy* (§1.3).

The use of *áy* in the category of person deixis may be an example illustrating the tendency of anaphoric demonstratives to provide the conceptual source for the development of third person pronouns, which again develop into second person pronouns (Diessel, 1999a, 2006; Heine & Song, 2011). Specifically, the second person pronoun *áy* has been used as a third person marker ('person/people in that direction') as in *đàng áy* before it shifted to a second person pronoun. The fact that *áy* can be pronominally used (i.e. on its own) to indicate the second person rather than the third person suggests that the former use is more grammaticalised than the latter, as schematised below:

(v) anaphoric > third person marker > second person marker > second person pronoun

Similarly, the sentence connective *áy thề mà/áy vậ mà* 'nevertheless' and the reformulation marker *áy là* 'that is' are based on the anaphoric *áy* since in these discourse functions, the connective expression as well as the construction *áy + COP* establish an anaphoric link between the current discourse and the previous one. But *áy* is not only used for a tracking purpose. Rather, it indicates the preceding discourse as a source causing the speaker's disappointment in unexpected outcomes when it is used as a connective (§4.3.1) and the speaker's belief that her referent will become clearer to the hearer by presenting more explicit phrasing of the preceding discourse when *áy* is a reformulation marker (§4.3.2). In these functions, *áy* is re-analysed in the syntactic feature of a pronominal. Applying the grammaticalisation pathway indicated in Diessel (1999a, 2006), we can reasonably assume that the sentence connective and the reformulation marker *áy* are derived from the anaphoric demonstrative *áy*, as in (vi).

(vi) anaphoric > sentence connective-/reformulation marker

The form *áy* is also used as a particle (Chapter 6). In the sentence-internal position, *áy* functions as a topic marker, emphasising the topic of an utterance (§6.1.1), while in the sentence-final position, *áy* marks hearer orientation, appealing to the hearer to recall the common ground of knowledge so that the hearer can perceive the given information in a certain way (§6.3.3). It would appear that the particle *áy* is a further step in the development of the recognitional demonstrative *áy* through the conventionalisation of conversational implicature. Both *áy* recognitional (*áy*¹) and *áy* particle (*áy*²) pre-suppose the knowledge that the speaker and the hearer share. However, *áy*¹ is more restricted to the personalised knowledge while the basis of the use of *áy*² is any common ground of knowledge on which the speaker and the hearer can agree. In extended use, the particle *áy* (*áy*²) is subjected to the process of (mor)phonological reduction and is grammatically optional (§6.1.1), but this is not

the case for the recognitional demonstrative *ấy* (*ấy*¹). When *ấy*¹ and *ấy*² co-exist, *ấy*² restrictedly occurs at the end of a phrase as in example (237) or an utterance as in example (238) in the reduced form of *í* and its omission would not result in an ungrammatical sentence. Hence, the particle *ấy* seems to have reached a strongly grammaticalised stage.

- (237) - Anh Nam *ấy*¹ *í* (*ấy*²) bảo là phải làm ngay.
 older-brother Nam DEM.DIST DEMPART tell cop must do immediate
 ‘It is brother Nam *ấy* who tells that (we) must do it immediately.’

(Cao, 2004: 226)

- (238) A- Mà *ấy*¹ mua cái áo *ấy*¹ chưa?
 2SG buy CL shirt DEM.DIST NEG_{PERF}
 ‘Have you bought (that) shirt *ấy* yet?’

B- Áo nào?
 shirt which
 ‘Which shirt?’

- A- Cái áo màu cam *ấy*¹ *í* (*ấy*²)!
 CL shirt color orange DEM.DIST DEMPART
 ‘(That) orange shirt *ấy* you know!’

(Adapted from daily conversation overheard by the author)

Note that the particle *ấy* can occur in both sentence-internal and sentence-final positions but the link between them is not clear due to the lack of data. As a result, it is difficult to reconstruct their historical process to determine whether the sentence-internal or the sentence-final *ấy* occurred first, although a difference between these uses can be drawn on their synchronic uses. That is, in comparing with the sentence-final *ấy*, the sentence-internal *ấy* is probably less omissible.

- (239) -[C]ái *ấy* thằng tổ chức mặt thịt nùng nục *ấy*,
 FOC CL.boy organisation face flesh fatty DEM.DIST
 nó phải nhận cô...
 3SG must accept aunt
 ‘The fatty organiser with fleshy face *ấy*, he accepted you...’

(Ma, 1985)

In (239) for instance, the omission of the sentence-internal *ấy* would change the character of the expression *cái thằng tổ chức mặt thịt nùng nục* ‘the fatty organiser with fleshy face’ in the utterance for two reasons. Syntactically, the co-occurrence of the mentioned expression and the singular third person *nó* ‘it’ as the subject of the utterance would become superfluous. Pragmatically, its removal would alter the pragmatic meaning because in this context, the sentence-internal *ấy* is also used to

focus the descriptive expression for the purpose of emphasising it as the topic in the on-going utterance. It seems plausible to suggest that the sentence-final *áy* precedes the sentence-internal *áy*, partly on the basis of the obligatory nature of the latter. According to Heine and Reh (1984: 67), “the more grammaticalisation processes a given linguistic unit undergoes, [...] the more does its use become obligatory in certain contexts”.

The relative recency of the sentence-internal *áy* is reinforced by example (240), which offers evidence of the process of semantic change which may have led to the interjective use of *áy*.

- (240) - Còn mà*y* *áy* Vũ... mà*y* không muốn chơi thì thôi...
 remain 2SG DEM.DIST Vu 2SG NEG want play TOP stop
 ‘And you *áy* Vu, (if) you do not want to play then (just) stop...’

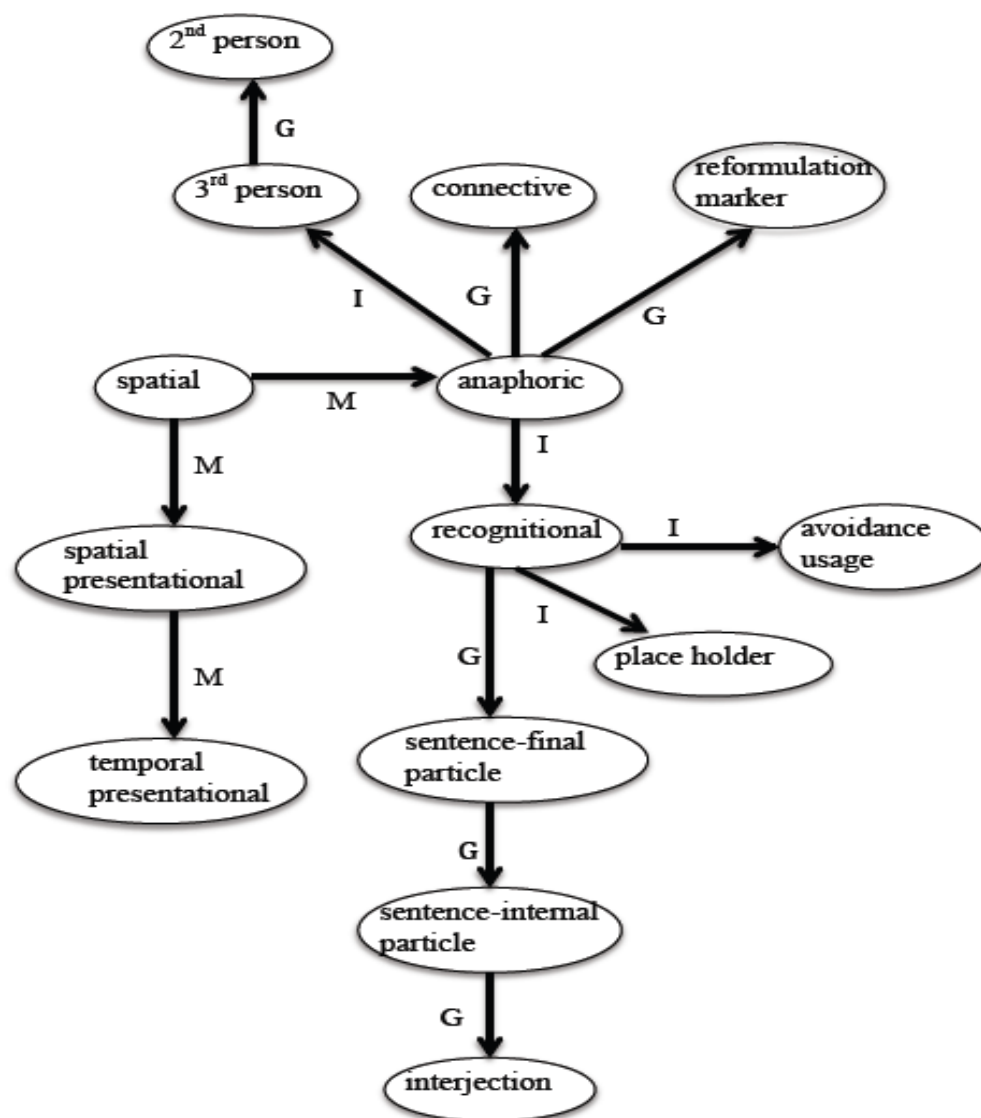
(Vani, 2013)

This example provides evidence that the particle *áy* tends to appear outside of a sentence structure. In this context, *áy* is used with a vocative clause that is syntactically independent of the rest of the utterance. *Áy* in (240) summons the hearer and signals that what is going to be said is related to the hearer.

The use of *áy* in (240) suggests the link between the sentence-internal *áy* and the interjection *áy*. Compared to the use of the sentence-internal *áy* as a topic marker in (239), the sentence-internal *áy* in a vocative clause as in (240) starts serving an interjection-like function, which is more expressive and interactional. When further grammaticalised into an interjection, the form *áy* stands on its own as an utterance. The syntactic change of *áy* from sentence constituent (i.e. a sentence-internal particle) to sentence equivalent (i.e. an interjection) can be considered as a re-analysis motivated by greater subjectification. The function of an interjection no longer represents the speaker’s inner world of her personal beliefs but rather the speaker’s outer world-stimulated attitudes. In this case, *áy* marks the speaker’s attitude of opposition/disagreement towards the situation by holding the hearer’s attention before the speaker explicitly dissuades the hearer from doing something. It could be expected that the sentence-final particle *áy* is grammaticalised into the sentence-internal particle *áy* by pragmatic inferencing. The interjection *áy* then arises via the generalisation of conversational implicature of the sentence-internal particle *áy*.

Figure 20 summarises the above analysis. Based on the proposed paths of extensions occurring in the case of the demonstrative *áy*, we can see that the demonstrative tends to become more productive in the anaphoric sense and less in the spatial sense. This allows a prediction that even if the demonstrative were to lose its spatial sense in the future, its remaining senses would continue unaffected and the demonstrative’s meaning would be confined entirely to the field of discourse-related functions.

Figure 20. Hypothesised grammatical and semantic development for *áy*



8.4.3 Concluding remarks

The polysemies of *nø* and *áy* established above suggest that following unidirectional tendencies, the Vietnamese demonstrative system has over time evolved in the same basic processes of semantic change. But these two cases also indicate that the extensions can result in two different polysemy networks: one can be more conservative and less affected by the dynamic nature of communication (i.e. *nø*), while the other can become more and more context-dependent and thus more responsive to changes (i.e. *áy*).

The case of *nø* is different from the rest of the system. It involves a late stage of semantic and grammatical development, resulting in idiomatized and narrative oriented meanings. More importantly, these extended senses of *nø* can only appear related to each other through the historical reconstruction of its now-defunct spatial meaning.

While *nọ* shows how the loss of a central sense can affect a polysemy network, the case of *áy* is more comprehensive in terms of covering most common, and indeed major paths of semantic change that can be applied to both proximal and distal demonstratives in the language. We have noted that all spatial demonstratives *này* ‘this’, *đây* ‘here’, *đấy/đó* ‘that/there’ and *kia* ‘that/there’ can be used in the anaphoric use, in the recognitional use (except for *đây* due to the fact that only adnominal demonstratives are appropriate for this use), in the particle function, and lastly in the interjective function. Based on recognised semantic changes, we can assume that over time the proximal and distal demonstratives are all on the way to more subjectification. First, both the proximal and distal demonstratives indicating an entity and location in situational contexts are employed to encode discourse referents in discourse deixis. Second, they have developed more extended uses, involving more functional and grammatical changes in terms of expressing the speaker’s attitude towards the situation and eventually encoding the hearer-oriented meanings. Therefore, the polysemous network modelled on the case of *áy* also implies common patterns of extensions occurring in the Vietnamese demonstrative system as follows: functions based in the external described situation develop into functions based in the textual situation (spatial > anaphoric), then to functions grounded in the speaker’s attitude towards the situation (anaphoric > recognitional > particle > interjection).

We have also noted that the individual semantic differences between the proximal *này* ‘this’, *đây* ‘here’ and the distal *áy* ‘that’, *đấy/đó*, and *kia* ‘that/there’ result in different extended meanings which are particularly associated with proximal terms or distal terms but not both. For example, only *này* and *đây* are appropriate in the cataphoric usage (§4.2.1) and the privacy usage (§5.5). Clearly, the hypothesised model of development of a distal demonstrative like *áy* will not represent paths of these extensions. But, the basis of nearness/farness mapping, as applied to those extended meanings of distal demonstratives (e.g. spatial and temporal presentational meanings), can apply to those distinctive extensions of proximal demonstratives. Thus, we may be confident in choosing the case of *áy* as representing recognised semantic changes in Vietnamese demonstratives.

8.5 Contributions to studies of Vietnamese demonstratives

This study shows the remarkable number of functions that Vietnamese demonstratives can perform, providing rich insight into the way Vietnamese people deal with ‘pointing’ in communication by using the seven terms *này* ‘this’, *đây* ‘here’, *áy* ‘that’, *đấy/đó*, *kia* ‘that/there’, and *nọ* ‘that’ in different contexts. Written texts have been adopted and analysed from the discourse analysis approach, giving in-depth understanding of how a demonstrative works in a certain situation, consistent with its nature of context-dependence.

The basic semantics of Vietnamese demonstratives are explicated on the basis of a two-way system approach, which is controversial in the Vietnamese linguistics literature (Chapter 2). That is, Vietnamese indicates something close to the speaker by the proximal terms *này* and *đây*, and by the distal terms *ấy*, *đấy/đó*, *kia* and *no* for something far from the speaker. This major finding offers an explanatory key to much of nearness/farness metaphoric extensions of proximal and distal demonstratives through expressing contrastiveness (§2.5), person deictic distinctions (§2.6), emotional distance (§2.7) in situational contexts, temporal relations in time (Chapter 3) and textual relations in discourse (Chapter 4). Underlying such mappings is the tendency for concrete concepts to be used to talk about abstractions.

The semantics of Vietnamese demonstratives are also shaped by subjectivity. The present study shows a wide range of extended functions in which demonstratives are used to express the speaker's attitude and emotion towards what has been said in a certain circumstance. These functions vary in terms of degree of subjective involvement, increasing from meanings grounded in the speaker's inner world-directed beliefs due to shared knowledge or community knowledge in first mention usages (Chapter 5) to meanings grounded in the speaker's attitudes towards information that falls within (i.e., psychological proximity) or outside (i.e., psychological distance) the speaker's territory in the particle function (Chapter 6), and eventually, to meanings that index the speaker's attitude towards the hearer and the situation (i.e., intersubjective meanings) as well as "keep things going in the conversation" (Fitzmaurice, 2004: 438) by creating/maintaining communicative contact (i.e., interactive meanings) in the interjection function (Chapter 7). Without considering subjectivity/intersubjectivity as a motivation of change, the extended usages of demonstratives cannot be adequately explained and semantic re-analysis cannot be achieved.

The nineteen functions of Vietnamese demonstratives established in the study are associated with two recognised fundamental functions of language in human communication. First, in their basic meaning, Vietnamese demonstratives perform a communicative function as according to Diessel (2006: 464), demonstratives in general "serve to coordinate the interlocutors' joint focus of attention". Second, in their extended meanings, demonstratives contribute to the expressive function of language, enabling the speaker's self-expression in terms of her individual attitude and emotion. The tendency of increased expressiveness/subjectivity in meanings of Vietnamese demonstratives reflects the effort of human beings to enhance communicative effectiveness in terms of expressing not only their thoughts but also emotions, and in the process, create a change in language.

The presence of a wide variety of senses of demonstratives in present-day Vietnamese can account for semantic change. The application of the theory of synchronic semantic relatedness, i.e. polysemy, and the theory of semantic extensions, i.e. subjectification, has clarified the existing confusion about the multi-functions of Vietnamese demonstratives. These theories facilitate the

understanding of how one sense of the demonstratives has evolved from another, following well-defined paths of metaphoric extensions and metonymic inferencing with or without the involvement of grammaticalisation. On this basis, the study strongly suggests that even in the absence of direct historical evidence, an internal semantic reconstruction is possible from a synchronic point of view.

This study is intended, then, to contribute to the field of linguistics in two ways. First, the study provides an in-depth documentation and analysis of the Vietnamese demonstrative system, which has previously been lacking. This comprehensive documentation and analysis could be used as a resource for diachronic or further cross-linguistic study. Second, it appears that the semantic evolution and polysemy of demonstratives has previously received relatively little attention in any language. It is therefore hoped that this research will contribute more generally to the study of the universal tendencies of grammaticalisation and language change, and the polysemy networks that can result from them.

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