Vietnamese Demonstratives Revisited*

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In this paper, I will try to show that Vietnamese demonstratives are to be analyzed not only in terms of distance but also in terms of space. I will first present L.C. Thompson's analysis and then my own.

1. Morphological Structure

In his *Vietnamese Grammar* (1965:142) Thompson lists the basic demonstratives in the table reproduced below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>Close to Speaker</th>
<th>* Remote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d- (first register)</td>
<td>dâu (even)</td>
<td>dây (short)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wherever'</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCE</td>
<td>nà (second register)</td>
<td>nà (an) other, that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'whichever'</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPORTION</td>
<td>bao (first register)</td>
<td>bây (extent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to whatever extent'</td>
<td>'to that [such extent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANNER</td>
<td>sào (first register)</td>
<td>sào (this way,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s- (second register)</td>
<td>'however'</td>
<td>this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v- (second register)</td>
<td></td>
<td>thus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1. Basic demonstratives (Thompson 1965)**

Thus Thompson is the first—if not the only author so far—to have arranged demonstratives according to their morphological features, so as to show their semantic interrelationships. In doing so, he points out the existence of subsyllabic

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morphemes in Vietnamese, a fact that the vast majority of students of Vietnamese have hardly recognized.

However, Thompson seems to be so preoccupied with the morphological regularity of the system he posits that he misses some important points, i.e. such frequently occurring items as (n)áy, dó, kia,¹ are not to be found in Table 1. To integrate these additional items, Thompson’s table (with manner and proportion demonstratives deleted) may be modified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D¹</th>
<th>D₁</th>
<th>D²</th>
<th>D₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+NOM(inal)</td>
<td>dâu</td>
<td>dány</td>
<td>dány</td>
<td>kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>place-what(²)</td>
<td>place-this</td>
<td>place-that₁</td>
<td>(place-)that₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>±NOM(inal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dó</td>
<td>kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(place-)that₁</td>
<td>(place-)that₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NOM(inal)</td>
<td>nào</td>
<td>nány</td>
<td>(n)áy</td>
<td>nó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>what</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>that₁</td>
<td>that₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Basic demonstratives (modified)

Table 2 makes clear the following points:

1) The opposition of the initials d-/n- correlates with the opposition of Place+Reference vs. Reference instead of Thompson’s Place vs. Reference. My English glosses stress this difference: dány bears the same contrastive relationship with nány as ‘Place-this’ does with ‘this’. In other words, all the demonstratives in the +NOM series are semantically broken down into two components (Place and Position) whereas those in the -NOM series have only one component, namely Position.

2) A +NOM demonstrative is a free morpheme. A -NOM demonstrative is a bound one. Consequently, the phonological contrast of d-/n- also reflects the syntactic contrast between free and bound, except in the case of dó where this opposition is neutralized.

3) By labelling his columns -ao/-áu,³ -ay/-áy and -áy/-o, Thompson implies that -ao and -áu are in fact two variants of a single morpheme (let us transcribe it abstractly as /-Aw/), and that -ay, -áy, and -o may be interpreted as three variants of another underlying morpheme, say /-Ay/. There is indeed other evidence for the alternation of -ao/-áu as in:

\[
\text{tao, tau 'I'; ráo, giâu 'fence'}
\]

¹ In fact, Thompson did mention and discuss them as “other forms” (p.253) implying that they are not basic demonstratives.
² The Vietnamese order Noun-Dem is maintained in our translation.
³ The difference -ao/-áu cited by Thompson in the Vietnamese standard orthography is merely a difference between /a/ and /á/ since the pronunciation of ao and áu is respectively /aw/ and /aw/. My postulated /-A/ is realized as either -a or -á in the context of nasal__y/ so we can have náy/ nány. Otherwise /-A/ is realized as -á.
But there is no morphophonemic evidence for any alternation among -ay, -ây and -o.

So, instead of two, I postulate three subsyllabic morphemes, namely /-Aw/, /-Ay/ and /-o/ [ɔ]. Moreover, we also find these three forms in the system of personal pronouns: tao/tau ‘I’, mày/mây ‘you’, nò ‘he, she, it’.

4) In place of a two-term system, there should be a three-term system (the unspecified D* not included) with:

- Ay in D1 and D2
- o in D2 and D3
- kia in D3

Notice that D2 is the term where we have at the same time -Ay and -o. As we will see later, this is because D2 occupies an intermediate morphological/semantic position between D1 and D3.

(5) Following Fillmore (1982:48), I have labeled D*, Dl, D2 and D3 respectively as Indefinite, Proximal, Medial and Distal but, as it will become clear in the following pages, such semantic categorization does not fully reflect other interpretations of deictic markers.

(6) For lack of a one-to-one correspondence between Vietnamese and English, I translate kia and nò in D3 as ‘that2’. While ‘that2’ corresponds to ‘over there’, ‘that1’ corresponds to ‘there’.

2. Interpretation and functioning

2.1 A reexamination

Semantic interpretation of Vietnamese demonstratives so far has not been entirely satisfactory. Take for instance dây which is translated by the English ‘here’ (Thompson 1965: 142). However, The Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English, Oxford, gives the meaning of ‘here’ as ‘in, at, to this point or place’. Therefore the meaning of ‘here’ can be broken down into three elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location/Direction</th>
<th>Position/Deictic orientation</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in, at, to</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>point/place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, dây has only two of these three elements, namely Place and Deictic orientation. Let us examine an English sentence and its translation into Vietnamese such as:

(1) ‘he arrives at the market’

nò điên chơ

The verb điên is equivalent to ‘arrive-at’, i.e. the semantics of điên incorporate the location/direction element expressed by ‘at’. So when we replace chơ by dây we
obtain a grammatical sentence where *dây* is a nominal exactly like *chợ* ‘market’. (This fact also accounts for the use of verbs like *dến* ‘arrive’, *di* ‘go’, etc. as coverbs of direction). Moreover, dictionaries give the meaning of *dây* as *chỗ* *này*, lit. ‘place, this’; the substitution of *chỗ* *này* for *dây* is possible in many cases (see also ex. 3 infra). Taking account of this semantic interpretation of demonstratives, we can now return to Table 2, where in the ±NOM category we have e.g. *dó* glossed as ‘(place-)*that*1 ‘place’ being a notional concept and ‘*that*1 a deictic marker. The parenthesized notation *(place)* means that the demonstrative can be interpreted either as having incorporated the component *place* or not. So the presence or absence of the semantic component *place* justifies the division of demonstratives into three lexico-syntactic series: +NOM, -NOM and ±NOM. The morphemes of the +NOM series have each a referent of their own and can function as independent NP’s. Those of the -NOM series have no referent of their own: they are only indexical terms which, added to a noun, permit us to single out the referent designated by the noun, either ostensively, or by relative ordering, or by reference to knowledge shared by the participants in the speech act—in short, with the internal or external parameters of the utterance.

So the +NOM demonstratives refer to a *place* and at the same time situate it in space/time. On the other hand, the -NOM demonstratives, since they are not free morphemes, require a noun whose referent they situate in space/time. The two items *dó* and *ki dispute are not involved in this distinction:

(2) *dó* là anh nó
    ‘That is his brother.’

(3) *người* *dó* là anh nó
    ‘That person is his brother.’

So far, the semantic interpretation of D1, D2, D3 is quite clear. But how about D*? D* can be considered as the neutral term with respect to D1, D2, D3. As such, D* may have two different semantic interpretations:

a) Intrinsically neither as D1, nor as D2, nor as D3 but, it can be contextually interpretable as any of them. Thus D* is an unspecified term that is used as a question-word:

(4) *chỗ* nào/dâu mua?
    ‘Where does it rain?’

b) Alternatively D* may incorporate the positions of D1, D2 and D3, all at the same time. In this case, the ‘*what*’ must be translated as ‘*every*’:

(5) *chỗ* nào/dâu cùng mua
    ‘it rains everywhere.’
In order for D* to have the interpretation 'every-place', the presence of the preverb cŭng 'also' is necessary. Cŭng like every is a quantifier. The difference is that every is part of the NP whose head is 'place', whereas cŭng is a verbal modifier and part of the predicate. It is interesting to note that it is only in this usage of dău in collocation with the quantifier cŭng that we have the possibility of reduplicating dău: dău cŭng mûa > dău dău cŭng mûa 'It rains everywhere'.

2.2 The distinction nọ/kia inside D3.

The distinction nọ/kia is best explained in terms of bidirectional time-reference vs. unidirectional time-reference. For the former kia may be used; for the latter only nọ is appropriate:

ngây kia (day, kia)  'the day after tomorrow, a day to come' or 'a day in the past, once upon a time'

ngây nọ (day, nọ)  'the other day (in the past)'

Kia refers to a point of time in the past as well as in the future, while nọ is a unidirectional time-reference morpheme: it always indicates a point of time in the past. This time-reference contrast related to the couple nọ/kia somewhat overlaps the contrast between reference in absentia and reference in prae-sentia. One way of looking at the past is by using a spatial metaphor—the past is behind us—it is then out of our visual field, so nọ refers to persons or things not visible to us whereas kia may refer to persons or things either present or absent.

2.3 Proximity and distance

Leaving aside the notion of place, the demonstratives operate according to a three-term system based on proximity/distance, with respect to the position of the speaker considered as the deictic center. Thompson characterizes dăy, dăy (p. 142) and kia (p.253) as follows:

dăy here, close to the speaker or newly introduced
dăy there, remote or already identified
kia that, there (more remote than dăy)

Examples can be found to illustrate Thompson's statement:

(6) dăy là bà U; dăy là bà V; kia là bà Y
D1 be Mrs. U D2 be Mrs. V D3 be Mrs. Y
'Here is Mrs U; there is Mrs V; over there is Mrs Y.'

A  \( \bar{ } \)  \( \bar{ } \)  \( \bar{ } \)  \( \bar{ } \)
S  \( \bar{ } \)  \( \bar{ } \)  U  V  Y.
However counter-examples can be found to challenge this ‘egocentric’ point of view. The interpretation of the example above is correct if the speaker S and the addressee A are side by side, looking in the same direction (they are in tandem). Yet if we suppose that they are face to face, and U, V and Y retain the same positions, but only U is in the visual field of both the speaker S and his addressee A, then the example above should be modified as follows:

(7) dây/dây là bà U; kia là bà V và bà Y
    'Here/there is Mrs. U; over there are Mrs V and Mrs Y.'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S & & & & A \\
\{ & & \} & & \{ \\
& U & & V & & Y \\
\end{array}
\]

In (7), dây will be used if U is closer to the speaker than to the addressee; other than that, dây would be more appropriate.

As we see from this simple example, we have a dichotomy D1,D2/D3 instead of a trichotomy D1/D2/D3. The dichotomy is made in accordance with the distinction between inside space (the space shared by the speaker and his addressee in the utterance situation) and outside space (i.e. space beyond the speaker and addressee).

2.4 Inside space/Outside space

We have seen that the relative positions of the participants in an utterance situation are important factors in interpreting the demonstratives.

In tandem, the I and the YOU become a WE, and the interpretation of demonstratives should be based on this WE.

Face to face, the space shared by I and YOU is different from the space when they are in tandem. But in both cases the parameter involved should not be I (the speaker) but WE (speaker and addressee):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{WE} / \text{YOU (in tandem)} & \text{dây} & \text{dây, dô} & \text{kia} \\
\text{I <-> YOU (face to face)} & \text{inside space} & \text{outside space} & \\
\end{array}
\]

It follows from this representation that (a) D1 dây is always in the inside space, (b) D3 kia is always in the outside space, (c) the D2 dây, dô are sometimes part of the inside space (and can then be used as 2nd personal pronouns YOU, see Sec. 2.5), but sometimes they are part of the outside space (then they are anaphoric, see Sec. 2.8). The choice in D2 is predictable from the morphology of its components: dây goes with dây-D1; dô goes with nô-D3 and nô 'he, she, it'.
2.5 Place and person

Place can be used (metaphorically) for person. It is easy now to understand why +NOM demonstratives can replace personal pronouns. Dày ‘the place where I am’ may refer to the person that occupies that place, namely ‘I’. Similarly, dấy ‘the place where you are’ may mean ‘you’. Example:

(8)  
dày đi chợ, dấy có đi không?
  D1 go market D2 aff. go neg.
  ‘I’m going to the market. What about you?’

2.6 Space and time

Space and time are related. The Vietnamese demonstratives illustrate this relationship on both the morphological and the functional levels.

a) Morphological:
   nầy/này ‘this’ (Place-Dem)
       nay ‘now’ (Time-Dem) hôm nay ‘today’ (hôm ‘evening’)
   (n)ày ‘that’ (Place-Dem)
       nấy ‘recent’ (Time-Dem) khi nấy ‘a moment ago’ (khi ‘moment’)

b) Functional:
   Kịa is a Time-Place demonstrative. Compare chỗ kịa ‘the place over there’ and-ngày kịa ‘the day after tomorrow’.

   Dày can have a spatial as well a temporal reference. For example, (9) Tao đi d้าย has the reading of ‘I am going somewhere (to a place I know)’ if it is the answer to the question: Mày đi đâu? ‘Where are you going?’, but can be interpreted as ‘I am going right now’ if the corresponding question is Mày chuta đi à? ‘Aren’t you going yet?’.

2.7 Contrastive distances/spaces

In Table 2., kịa seems to be an isolated form among morphemes having -Ay and -o as roots. Yet this morphophonemic isolation is only superficial—actually kịa can be used as a base to derive several other deictic morphemes indicating different time/place positions. Since kịa is exclusively a marker for non-participant space, its derived morphemes then refer to positions in that space. The derivation should obey a certain tonal ordering: we start with the ngang (high level)
tone of the base, then go to the huyën (low level) tone:4
kìa ‘over there’; kìa ‘farther than over there’

These two forms are found in dictionaries. However, the possibility of tonal derivation does not quite end there. Consider the expression:

(10) ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa
‘on and on into the future’

It seems clear that the terms must be in order of increasing remoteness, nevertheless we also find:

(11) ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa
or (12) ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa, ngày kìa

Indeed, the last three terms may be in any order at all. Thus we have an expression a bit like the English “farther and farther and farther ...” in which each term is taken as more extreme than the one preceding. However, unlike the English example, the terms in the Vietnamese expressions are all different, with the first two fixed and with the requirement that any further term must each be on a different oblique tone. Contrastive tones result in contrastive distances/spaces.

2.8 Tonal morpheme and Anaphora

Demonstratives locate and identify individuals not only by their position in the extra-linguistic situation but also by reference to the correlated expression in a textual context. In the last case, demonstratives are anaphoric. Example:

(13) Mày có biết ông A không? ông ấy/dó là ai?
you aff. know Mr.A neg Mr. that be who
‘Do you know Mr. A? Who is he?’

In (13) it is possible in the Southern dialects (from Danang southward) to replace ông ấy/dó by ông . To explain this phenomenon, we postulate the existence of a tonal morpheme.

Note that on the morphological level, D1 is contrasted to D2 as ngang/huyën (level) tones to sác (high rising) tone. As the vocalic nuclei are unstable (we have the alternation dáy/dó , and in some dialects (n)áy can be replaced by nó, and áy by i, the -NOM D2 can then be realized only by its most prominent and charac-

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4 The present Vietnamese (Northern dialects) tonal system is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Register</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>ngang( )*</td>
<td>sác(’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>huyën(’’)</td>
<td>näng(’”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* unmarked

In the Southern dialects, the hôi and ngã tones are collapsed into one oblique mid rising tone that may be marked either by the sign 9 or the sign ’ in writing.
teristic feature, the sác tone, which thus becomes a morpheme by itself. This sác tone combines with the tone of the word it modifies to give a mid rising broken tone which has all the features of the tone resulting from the collapse in the Southern dialects of the hóí and ngă tones from the Northern dialects (See note 4). For this reason the resulting tone may be marked either by the sign ʔ or - in writing.

(14) bèn (áy) bèn ‘that side’
(15) bà (áy) bà ‘that grandmother, she’.

One exception should be pointed out: a sác tone cannot combine with another sác tone. This fact explains why with a base like chú, it is impossible to derive chú (áy) —*chù.

That the sác tone combined with any of the other three tones (ngang, huyèn, năng) results in a neutralized ngă/hóí tone is very understandable since (i) the combining tones are shorter than the long resulting tone; (ii) the hóí/ngă tone is mid rising in the Southern dialects, so that its register is neutralized with respect to high and low. The Southern hóí/ngă thus has the contour, height and length appropriate for the combination of these tones.

The segmental partners of this tonal morpheme are nouns that can be used as substitutes for personal pronouns such as kinship terms and locative nouns, i.e. items that can incorporate a deictic marker so as to refer to individuals whether these are specified with respect to person, place or time.

3. Conclusion

In these few pages, it is impossible to accomplish an exhaustive study of demonstratives in Vietnamese. My aim is merely to “revisit” the morphology in relation to the lexico-syntactic and conceptual features of this category. In doing so, I have pointed out (a) the need to integrate other demonstrative forms into Thompson’s table; (b) the importance of the distinction between Place and Position (deictic orientation); (c) the interrelationship between Space and Distance, and between Place and Person; (d) and the close connexion of Space with Time (through morphological and functional features). (e) A tonal derivational morpheme is also postulated.

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