

**VIETNAMESE CLASSIFIERS AND (IN)DEFINITENESS:
A TEXT-BASED ANALYSIS**

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A TEXT-BASED ANALYSIS**

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A TEXT-BASED ANALYSIS**

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Vietnamesische numerische Klassifikatoren können als bestimmten oder unbestimmten Artikel interpretiert werden (vgl. Nguyen 2004). Auf der Grundlage eines Korpus schriftlicher und mündlicher Texte mit einer großen Anzahl unterschiedlicher Kontexte für die potenzielle Verwendung von Klassifikatoren, liefert diese Dissertation eine umfassende Darstellung der Verbreitung und der Funktionen vietnamesischer Klassifikatoren, indem sie die folgenden Fragen untersucht: (i) die Verwendung von Klassifikatoren aus der Perspektive des Diskurses, der Semantik und der Syntax; (ii) mögliche Auswirkungen dieser Faktoren auf die Funktion von Klassifikatoren als Marker für (Un-)Bestimmtheit; und (iii) das Vorhandensein von hierarchischen Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Ebenen der Grammatik.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie deuten darauf hin, dass die Verwendung eines Klassifikators in der [CL N]-Konstruktion im Gegensatz zur "ohne Klassifikator"-Substantivkonstruktion [N] von verschiedenen Faktoren abhängt.

- Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Substantive, die mit einem Klassifikator auftreten, sind sortierte Substantive mit (i) den Merkmalen der Uneindeutigkeit und der Unrelationalität, (ii) Diskurs und Semantik Prominenz (z.B. Protagonist, der Bestimmtheit, der Lebendigkeit, Bemerkenswertheit, Vertrautheit, Kontext des Fokus). (iii) Diskurs und Informationsstruktur (die wichtigsten Faktoren).
- Bestimmte unbelebte Substantive mit Hintergrund, zusammengesetzten Hauptwörtern, und Lehnwörtern treten häufig als "ohne Klassifikator"-Substantiv auf.

Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Funktion wird argumentiert, dass vietnamesische Klassifikatoren wie eine Variable funktionieren, die je nach Kontext die Funktion der Definitheit oder der Indefinitheit haben kann. Was den Ausdruck der Definitheit betrifft, so treten Klassifikatoren prototypisch bei definiten, belebten Substantiven in der Subjektposition auf. Die Definitheit, die durch vietnamesische Klassifikatoren ausgedrückt wird, basiert eher auf der Identifizierbarkeit zur Herstellung einer gemeinsamen Basis als auf der Eindeutigkeit.

In der Subjektposition erhalten Klassifikatoren nur in thetischen Aussagen eine unbestimmte Interpretation. In der Objektposition findet sich diese Funktion bei der Einführung neuer Begriffe (z.B. in Existenzsätzen und Konstruktionen mit Erscheinungsverben) und bei bestimmten Ereignistypen (Konstruktionen mit Leistungsverben). Unbestimmte Klassifikatoren finden sich auch in Kontexten der Spezifizierung, der Fokuselemente (Informationsfokus 'extra cái') und der Diskursprominenz (unbestimmte Demonstrative).

In der vorliegenden Studie wird auch versucht, die vietnamesische DP-Struktur anhand der syntaktischen Position und der syntaktischen Funktion von "extra cái" aufzuzeigen. Es wird gezeigt, dass "extra cái" den Informationsfokus, den Identifizierungsfokus und das Thema markieren kann. Es wird also argumentiert, dass es zwei syntaktische Positionen von "extra cái" gibt: der topikalisierte oder thematische Fokus "extra cái" wird inhärent in den D-Kopf eingefügt (vgl. Simpson 2005, 2018) und der Informationsfokus "extra cái" wird in FocP platziert (vgl. Nguyen 2004).

ABSTRACT

Vietnamese numeral classifiers can be interpreted as definite or indefinite (cf. Nguyen 2004). Based on a corpus of written and oral texts with a large number of different contexts for the potential use of classifiers, this dissertation provides a comprehensive account of the distribution and the functions of Vietnamese classifiers by exploring the following issues: (i) the use of classifiers from the perspectives of discourse, semantics, and syntax; (ii) potential effects of these factors on the function of classifiers as markers of (in)definiteness; and (iii) the existence of hierarchical relations between the different levels of grammar.

The results of this study indicate that the use of a classifier in the [CL N] construction in contrast to the bare-noun construction [N] depends on various factors:

- (i) The vast majority of nouns occurring with a classifier are sortal nouns with the features [-unique, -relational].
- (ii) The occurrence of the classifier clusters with subject position, protagonist(s), definiteness, animacy, specificity, and discourse prominence (e.g. common ground management, noteworthiness, familiarity, referentiality and context of focus/topic), while bare nouns cluster with loanwords, compound nouns, backgrounded information, relationality/uniqueness and non-specificity.
- (iii) Discourse and information structure are the most prominent factors which determine the use of Vietnamese classifiers. The influence of discourse is reflected in the pragmatic definiteness expressed by the classifier, while information structure enhances the use of a classifier in contexts of noteworthiness, familiarity, identification focus, information focus, focus particles and contrastive topic.
- (iv) The token frequency of definite inanimate backgrounded nouns, compound nouns and loanwords that occur as bare nouns predominates over that of the [CL N] construction.

From the perspective of function, it is argued that Vietnamese classifiers operate like a variable that can have the functions of definiteness and indefiniteness, depending on the relevant context. In terms of expressing definiteness, classifiers are found to occur prototypically with definite animate nouns in the subject position. These findings reflect the universal tendency of certain preverbal positions to be associated with definiteness in

SVO languages (Dubois 1980, 1987; Givón 1979; Keenan and Comrie 1977 and others). The definiteness which is expressed by Vietnamese classifiers is based on identifiability for establishing common ground rather than on uniqueness. This is in line with the prominence-based criteria that determine classifier use, and with the definite interpretation of preverbal [CL N] constructions if these preverbal positions are associated with topichood and the function of identifiability that goes with it (cf. Lambrecht 1994).

In the subject position, classifiers get indefinite interpretation only in thetical statements. In the object position, this function is found when new concepts are introduced (e.g. in existential clauses and constructions with verbs of appearance) and with specific types of events (constructions with achievement verbs). Indefinite classifiers are also found in contexts of specification (common ground management, noteworthiness), focus elements (information focus ‘extra *cái*’), and discourse prominence (indefinite demonstratives, referential existentials).

The present study also attempts to demonstrate the Vietnamese DP structure based on the syntactic position and the syntactic function of ‘extra *cái*’. It is shown that ‘extra *cái*’ can mark information focus, identificational focus, and topic. Thus, it is argued that there are two syntactic positions of ‘extra *cái*’:

- (i) It is inherently inserted in the D head, where its reading is always definite when its function is related to topichood (i.e. topicalized or topic focus ‘extra *cái*’) (cf. Simpson 2005, 2018);
- (ii) It is placed into FocP (which is projected by CLP where it gets definite or indefinite interpretation). It stays *in situ* in the FocP if it serves as an element of information focus (i.e. information focus ‘extra *cái*’ or an indefinite [*cái* CL N] construction). It will move from FocP to SpecDemP for checking the feature of identificational focus (i.e. identificational focus ‘extra *cái*’ or a definite [*cái* CL N] construction) (cf. Nguyen 2004).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CL	Classifier	PASS	Passive
COMP	Complementizer	PART	Particle
CONJ	Conjunction	PERF	Perfective
COP	Copula	PL	Plural
CT	Class-term	PLU.ART	Plural article
Def	Definite	POSS	Possessive marker
DEM	Demonstrative	PREP	Preposition
DP	Determiner Phrase	PROG	Progressive
EMPH	Emphasis	QUES	Question
FUT	Future	RC	Relative clause
Gen	Generality	REFL	Reflexive
Indef	Indefinite	RES	Resultative
N	Noun	SFP	Sentence final particle
NEG	Negation	SG	Singular
NP	Noun phrase	1.SG/ 2.SG/3.SG	First/ second/ third person singular
NUM	Numeral	SPEC	Specifier
NumP	Numeral Phrase	S/Subj	Subject

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Numeral classifiers are an areal characteristic of East and mainland Southeast Asian languages in the context of counting. This fact is well-known and has been frequently discussed in the literature since the middle of the 20th century (Emeneau 1951; Greenberg 1972; T'sou 1976; Bisang 1999; Erbaugh 2006; Li 2013; Zhang 2013; *inter alia*). Vietnamese is known as a prototypical numeral classifier (henceforth CL) language (Aikhenvald 2000). It has both individual CLs such as *cây*_{CL} for a tree/plant, a stick-shaped/plant-like object 'tree/ plant' in (1) and individuating CLs such as *gói*_{CL} for container 'box/package' in (2) (Zhang 2013).¹ Sentences such as (1) and (2) would be ungrammatical without the classifiers *cây*_{CL} for a tree/plant, a stick-shaped/plant-like object and *gói*_{CL} for container, respectively.²

(1) *Tôi có ba *(cây) bút.*
1.SG have three CL pen
'I have three pens.'

(2) *Anh ấy muốn mua một *(gói) thuốc lá.*
3.SG want buy one CL cigarette
'He wants to buy a pack of cigarettes.'

However, the function of classifiers as markers of referential status in the bare classifier construction (hence [CL N] construction) has been less frequently discussed until recently (Bisang 1993, 1999, 2015; Cheng and Sybesma 1999; Simpson 2005; Zhang 2013; Li &

¹ The derivation process of a classifier from a root noun will be discussed in Section 2.1.2 on the grammaticalization of Vietnamese classifiers.

² It is noted that the asterisk (*) in front of parentheses (...) means that the deletion of the elements within the parentheses is ungrammatical.

Bisang 2012; Jiang 2015; Simpson 2017; Bisang and Wu 2017; inter alia). In Vietnamese, classifiers in the [CL N] construction clearly have the function of reference. What is controversial is the question of whether they only express definiteness, or both definiteness and indefiniteness. Thus, Đ. H. Nguyen (1975), Le (2008), Tran (2011), and others claim that Vietnamese classifiers are exclusively interpreted as definite, while other Vietnamese linguists provide evidence for both functions (T. H. Nguyen 2004, Trinh 2011).

As example (3) from T. H. Nguyen (2004:30) shows, Vietnamese numeral classifiers can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. This example also reveals a remarkable difference from many Sinitic languages with [CL N] constructions, in which the definiteness or indefiniteness interpretation of a classifier depends on the preverbal or postverbal position of the [CL N] construction (Wang 2015; Li & Bisang 2012). In contrast, Vietnamese classifiers can have both functions irrespective of word order. In (3a), *con bò* [CL cow] is in the subject position and can be interpreted as ‘a cow’ or ‘the cow’. The same applies to *cuốn sách* [CL book] in the object position of (3b).

- (3) a. *Con bò ăn lúa kia!*
CL cow eat paddy over there
‘Look! A/the cow is eating your paddy.’
- b. *Mang cuốn sách ra đây!*
bring CL book out SFP
‘Get (me) a/the book(s).’

In Nguyen’s (2004) analysis, nouns without a classifier (bare nouns) can also be interpreted as either definite or indefinite in both positions. The only difference between the bare noun [N] construction and the bare classifier [CL N] construction is that the former can be interpreted as singular or plural, as shown in (4), while the latter can only express singular meaning.

- (4) a. *Bò ăn lúa kia!*
cow eat paddy over there
'Look! A/the cow(s) is/are eating your paddy.'
- b. *Mang sách ra đây!*
bring book out SFP
'Get a/the book(s)'

Even though examples (3) and (4) show that classifiers are not obligatory, and that they can express definiteness as well as indefiniteness, neither the conditions under which classifiers express these functions nor their specific referential meaning are well understood. Since definiteness or indefiniteness marking by Vietnamese classifiers strongly depends on discourse and information structure as in many other East and mainland Southeast Asian languages, looking at individual examples in isolation is not sufficient for modelling the function and the use of the [CL N] construction. Thus, a corpus of written texts and oral texts is needed as a basis for providing a comprehensive account of the use and the function(s) of classifiers in Vietnamese. Given the scarcity of adequate corpora, we set up our own corpus of Vietnamese based on two movies, one for generating 30 written texts (31,663 words), and another one for getting 30 oral texts (17,777 words). The texts which described the contents of these two movies were produced by 46 native speakers residing in Vietnam.³

Based on the analysis of this corpus with its total of 60 texts consisting of 49,440 words, our data confirm the general observation that classifiers in [CL N] constructions express definiteness as well as indefiniteness, irrespective of word order. They also show that the interpretation of numeral classifiers in terms of definiteness and indefiniteness depends on factors of discourse ([±protagonist], bridging and anaphora) and information structure (contrastive topics/focus, familiarity, and specificity) as well as on semantic (animacy and

³ Since we wanted to see whether there is any difference between the use of classifiers in written narratives and spoken narratives from the same individual speaker, 14 among our 46 native speaker informants participated in two experiments (in both written texts and oral texts). For details, see Chapter 3.

relationality/ uniqueness), and syntactic factors (modification structures and preverbal/postverbal position). In addition, it turns out that the definite function is more frequent than the indefinite function. Instances of indefinite [CL N] constructions mainly occur in a few specific contexts such asthetic statements, existential clauses, and constructions with specific verbs which introduce previously unidentified concepts into discourse (e.g. constructions with verbs of appearance). It is for that reason that the indefinite function of classifiers has been overlooked in a number of studies on Vietnamese.⁴

The present dissertation focuses mainly on the bare classifier ([CL N]) construction in order to shed light on the functions of classifiers (such as definiteness, indefiniteness, and specificity) as well as the factors which may affect the presence or absence of a classifier. The analysis of the corpus data will be based on the following properties shown in Table 1-1.

⁴ We find that morphological factors of word formation may also condition the classifier use in Vietnamese. However, the data in our corpus are not sufficient for a full morphological analysis. Thus, morphology will not be examined systematically in this dissertation.

Table 1-1 Properties used for examining the data in this study

Discourse factors and information structure	- foregrounding ([+protagonist]) and backgrounding ([-protagonist] nouns)			
	- contrastive topics			
	- bridging and associative anaphors			
	- specificity, information structure and discourse			
Semantic factors	animacy	[+animate]		
		[-animate]		
	relationality/ uniqueness ⁵	[-relational]	[-unique] (sortal nouns): stone, book, etc.	
			[+unique] (individual nouns): moon, etc.	
		[+relational]	[-unique] (relational nouns): sister, leg, part, etc.	
			[+unique] (functional nouns): mother, father, head, etc.	
Aspects of syntax	- demonstratives			
	- modification of stative verbs			
	- relative clauses			
	- prepositional phrases			
	- possessive constructions			
	- word order (classifiers express (in)definiteness in preverbal and postverbal positions)			
	- function and the syntactic position of the ‘extra <i>cái</i> ’ ([<i>cái</i> CL N] construction)			

⁵ The analysis of relational and unique nouns is based on Löbner’s (2011) categorization schema of Concept Types and Determination.

1.2 AIMS OF THIS STUDY

This study provides an analysis of the [CL N] construction with the goal of determining the conditions that may affect classifier use, as well as the function of classifiers as markers of definiteness or/and indefiniteness.

The motivations for this research are as follows:

First, not many publications have dealt with Vietnamese classifiers. The classifier system of Vietnamese was first formally examined by Emeneau (1951). Soon after this publication, there were more detailed descriptions of the Vietnamese classifier system in Nguyen T.C. (1975) and Thompson (1965). Other than that, Jones (1970), Allan (1977), Bisang (1999), and Simpson (2005) have included Vietnamese classifiers in their broader studies on numeral classifier systems in Southeast Asian languages in general. Adams (1989) deals with classifier systems in Vietnamese and other Austroasiatic languages.

Second, with the exception of Daley (1998), most studies on Vietnamese classifiers are based on individual sentences taken out of context. To avoid this problem, the present study is based on a corpus of texts produced by native speakers of Vietnamese.

Third, it is still unclear from the literature whether Vietnamese classifiers express definiteness and/or indefiniteness. For instance, Bisang (1999) and T. H. Nguyen (2004) state that Vietnamese classifiers can express either definiteness or indefiniteness. Simpson (2005, 2018) uses Vietnamese examples to argue for the common association of [CL N] sequences with referentiality and the definiteness effect. Simpson & Ngo (2018) considers Vietnamese a language that allows both classifier constructions and bare nouns to express definiteness. The alternation between classifiers and bare nouns, and also the issue of definiteness, does not seem to be thoroughly investigated in Vietnamese so far, because our data show that both bare classifier constructions and bare nouns can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite, depending on the context.

Bearing these issues in mind, the use of classifiers for expressing (in)definiteness is analysed from the perspectives of discourse, semantics, and syntax. In the context of discourse, the roles of foregrounding/backgrounding, bridging, and contrastive topics are examined. The semantic analysis will be based on animacy, relationality, and uniqueness (Löbner 1985, 2011). The syntactic analysis will focus on various types of modification constructions, such as determiner constructions, modification by stative-verb constructions, relative clauses, prepositional phrases, and possessive phrases. Moreover, the syntactic

analysis will examine the role of word order (preverbal vs. postverbal positions) and its function in information structure. At the end of this study, a hierarchy of factors that condition the occurrence of a classifier and the definiteness/indefiniteness function of classifiers in Vietnamese will be proposed.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND BASIC FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY

This dissertation aims to address the following issues:

First, is the use of the classifier in the [CL N] construction obligatory? What are the factors that determine its occurrence, and do these factors form a hierarchy?

Second, does the classifier in the [CL N] construction have the function of definiteness or indefiniteness? What determines its interpretation?

For the first issue, the examined data show that Vietnamese classifiers are not obligatory: only sortal ([-relational, -unique]) nouns tend to take a classifier. The use of a classifier with this type of nouns depends on the discourse features of foregrounding ([+protagonist]) and contrastive topic. It also depends on the semantic feature of animacy ([+animate]). As will be shown, it is possible to set up a hierarchy of factors that affect the use of classifiers in Vietnamese:

(5) *Schema of factors that affect the classifier use in Vietnamese:*

discourse and information structure ([+protagonist], [+topic], [+focus], [+specific]) > **semantic** ([+definite], [+animate]) > **syntactic** ([+subject])

The absence of classifiers is primarily determined by the semantic features of relationality and uniqueness (see also Löbner 2011), compounding, and loanwords (basically Sino-Vietnamese).

As for the second issue, the present study shows that the classifier is like a variable that can have the function of either definiteness or indefiniteness. The definiteness interpretation is dependent on information structure, (e.g. contrastiveness) or is strongly associated with definite preverbal subjects (see Keenan & Comrie 1977, Givón 1979, DuBois 1987).

Moreover, it is also associated with topic and focus (cf. also Li & Bisang 2012 for the case of Chinese). The indefinite function of classifiers is mainly associated with some specific constructions like thetical statements (Kuroda 1972; Sasse 1987, 1995), all new statements, existential clauses, indefinite demonstratives, and constructions with verbs of appearance and achievement.

In addition, to these findings, the present dissertation provides:

- (i) A suggestion for the grammaticalization process that led to the emergence of Vietnamese classifiers. This process takes four to five stages from a head noun to a class term and/or a classifier (Section 2.1.2).
- (ii) The syntactic structure of the classifier phrase (including the phrase with the ‘extra *cái*’) in the Vietnamese DP structure. It is suggested that Vietnamese has two types of ‘extra *cái*’ constructions, i.e. ‘topic extra *cái*’ and ‘focus extra *cái*’ (Section 6.4).

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of seven additional chapters.

Chapter 2 first provides some general information on the noun system in Vietnamese, such as bare nouns, class terms, and classifiers, as well as the grammaticalization of Vietnamese classifiers. The numeral classifier [Num CL N] construction, the bare classifier [CL N] construction, the headless classifier [CL DEM] construction, and the contexts in which a classifier can be omitted are also discussed. It also offers a theoretical distribution of the relevant factors which affect classifier use in Vietnamese, i.e. discourse and information structure, semantics, and syntax.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology applied in this study, covering the experimental design, selection of informants, collection of the data, and quality of the data.

Chapters 4–7 present the results. Chapter 4 examines discourse factors (e.g. foregrounding vs. backgrounding, contrastive topics, bridging and associative anaphora), information structure and specificity (cf. familiarity, noteworthiness, common ground management, referentiality, focus and topic). Chapter 5 investigates [CL N] constructions in combination with the semantic features [\pm animate], [\pm relational], and [\pm unique]. Chapter 6 focuses on various types of modificational structures, word order, and some specific constructions

such as thetical statements, existential clauses, indefinite demonstratives, constructions with verbs of appearance, and constructions with achievement verbs. This chapter also discusses the syntactic analysis of ‘extra *cái*’ in Vietnamese DP structure. Chapter 7 focuses on discussing the two important questions: (i) What connects the function of individuation as it applies to the context of counting and the function of (in)definiteness? (ii) What is the order with which the factors of discourse, semantics and syntax apply to the use or non-use of a classifier in contexts of (in) definiteness in Vietnamese?

Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings of this study.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL ISSUES

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on classifiers in Southeast Asian languages, especially Vietnamese classifiers, from the following perspectives:

Section 2.1 briefly introduces the two notions which are basic to this thesis, i.e. classifiers and definiteness/indefiniteness.

(b) Section 2.2 discusses the relationships between numerals, classifiers, and nouns, as well as the grammaticalization of classifiers in Vietnamese from the perspective of Löbel (1999) and Pham (2013). This section also provides suggestions for the diachronic process of a classifier formation, based on four groups of nouns and contexts in which classifiers are not required or optional.

(c) Section 2.3 describes issues of syntax, i.e. classified vs. non-classified nouns, and the bare classifier ([CL-N]) construction compared with the bare noun ([N]) construction. It also examines two approaches by T. H. Nguyen (2004) and Simpson (2005), which discuss the position of the classifier and ‘extra *cái*’ (an additional classifier in the classifier construction) in Vietnamese DP structure.

(d) Section 2.4 examines semantic issues, focusing mainly on the approaches of individualization/atomization, animacy, relationality/uniqueness, and classifiers in their definite or indefinite functions.

(e) The last section of this chapter presents issues of discourse, which are based on foregrounding/backgrounding, identifiability/familiarity, contrastive topics, bridging and associative anaphora, specificity, and information structure.

2.1 CLASSIFIERS AND (IN)DEFINITENESS

Classifiers and noun classes are basic kinds of noun categorization devices. In the case of Vietnamese, classification is expressed by numeral classifiers as they appear in the context of enumeration, definiteness and indefiniteness. A noun in Vietnamese cannot be directly counted without a classifier or a measure word as in *một *(con) chó và hai *(con) mèo* [one

CL_{animate} dog and two CL_{animate} cat] ‘one dog and two cats’ or *một *(hộp) bánh và hai *(tách) trà* [one CL_{box} cookies and two CL_{cup} cat] ‘one box of cookies and two cups of tea’. In other words, they are used to individuate (Greenberg 1975; Lyons 1977; Craig 1986; *inter alia*) or to atomize (Chierchia 1998) nominal concepts for making them accessible to counting (cf. Section 2.4). Numeral *classifiers* in this thesis include individual classifiers such as *con* ‘CL for animate nouns’ and measure phrase/individuating classifiers such as *hộp* ‘box of’ or *ly/ tách* ‘cup of’.

The word *definiteness* in this thesis refers to the concept (a noun or a noun phrase) which is assessed by the hearer as being activated in the speaker’s mind (speaker- and hearer-known) and it is identified (cf. Lambrecht 1994). In contrast, indefiniteness expresses the concept which is interpreted by the speaker as being inactivated in the hearer’s mind. In the texts from the corpus used in this study, it is reasonable to assume that indefinite nouns are generally interpreted as specific indefinite, given that the informants renarrate a story they previously watched on a screen. Thus, the concept is activated in the speaker’s mind and inactivated in the hearer’s mind. Based on the studies of Löbel (1999), Nguyen (2004), and Simpson 2005, 2018, we know that Vietnamese classifiers have the function of the (in)definiteness (cf. Section 2.3.3). An interesting question would be recommended: ‘What connects the functions of individuation in counting with the function of definiteness and indefiniteness?’⁶ The answer will be discussed in Section 7.1 Discussion of this thesis.

2.2 SOME GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE DOMAIN OF THE NOUN SYSTEM IN VIETNAMESE

This section is on:

- (i) The distribution of bare nouns, class terms, and classifiers, as well as the grammaticalization of classifiers in Vietnamese;

⁶ Thanks Professor Von Heusinger for inspiring me by this question.

- (ii) The properties of the [CL N] construction with or without numerals, headless classifier constructions, and contexts with optional classifiers.

2.2.1 Bare nouns (classified vs. non-classified nouns)

In one of the very early studies on Vietnamese nouns, Emeneau (1951:84) divides nouns into two classes. i.e. classified and non-classified. A classified noun is directly preceded by a classifier in contexts of enumeration, a non-classified noun does not take a classifier. However, Emeneau (1951:100) simply lists examples of non-classified nouns, and notes exceptions where some nouns that are commonly considered ‘classified nouns’ are treated as non-classified or occur in a bare form.

After checking all examples of non-classified nouns in Emeneau’s (1951) study, we find that non-classified nouns include:

- (i) temporal and spatial measurement nouns, such as *buổi* ‘half a day’, *ngày* ‘day’, *đêm* ‘night’, etc. (cf. Subsection 2.1.6 for more examples);
- (ii) nouns which are used as classifiers resulting from the reanalysis of N₁ (Löbel 1999), e.g. *lỗ* ‘hole’, *tên* ‘name’, etc. (cf. Subsection 2.1.2 for the analysis);
- (iii) unique nouns such as *trời* ‘sky, heaven’ (cf. Section 5.2 for more details);
- (iv) loanwords from Chinese (Sino-Vietnamese⁷), such as *dinh* 營 *yíng* ‘official residence of a high official’,⁸ *lực lượng* 力量 *lìliàng* ‘strength, force’, *phòng* 房 *fáng* ‘room’, *sở* 所 *suǒ* ‘place where one works’, *lễ* 禮 *lǐ* ‘religious ceremony/festival’, *giá* 價 *jià* ‘price’, *châu* 州 *zhōu* ‘continent’, and so on (cf. Section 2.1.6, *Contexts with optional classifiers*).

⁷ The term Sino-Vietnamese refers to words and morphemes which are borrowed from Chinese. They amount to one third of the Vietnamese lexicon, and may account for as much as 60% of the vocabulary used in formal texts (cf. DeFrancis 1977:8, Alves 2011, as well as the data on the following link: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Vietnamese_vocabulary)

⁸ The meaning is different from the original meaning of the Chinese character. It is considered a partial loanword. For instance, 營壘 *yíngshù* in Vietnamese is the official residence of a high official, or a house in a big field like a villa. In Chinese, however, it is a camp.

Simpson (2018) also presents several examples of non-classified nouns with Sino-Vietnamese words. However, we find that Sino-Vietnamese words, which are called ‘non-obligatory-classifier’ or ‘non-classified’ nouns, seem to behave differently from regular (or ‘pure’) Vietnamese nouns, which are called ‘obligatory-classifier’ or ‘classified’ nouns (cf. Emeneau 1951 and Simpson 2018, *inter alia*). Observations like these lead to the question of whether there generally exist two types of Vietnamese nouns which lead to two numeral classifier patterns in context of counting: one consisting of Sino-Vietnamese words (e.g. *anh hùng* ‘hero’, *thư ký* ‘secretary’, *giám khảo* ‘examiner’, etc., which can combine directly with numerals as *một anh hùng* [one hero] ‘a hero’, *hai thư ký* [two secretary] ‘two secretaries’, *ba giám khảo* [three examiner] ‘three examiners’) and the other one for regular (‘pure’) Vietnamese words (e.g. *sách* ‘book’, *cá* ‘fish’, *mèo* ‘cat’, *chó* ‘dog’, etc., which cannot combine directly with numerals as in *một *(cuốn) sách* [one CL book] ‘a book’, *hai *(con) mèo* [two CL cat] ‘two cats’, *ba *(con) chó* [three CL dog] ‘three dogs’)? In contexts of (in)definiteness, Sino-Vietnamese words mostly don’t occur with a classifier. However, the data in our corpus show that these non-classified nouns can occur with a classifier under certain conditions (for the details, cf. Sections 4.1, 5.1, and 7.2).

Considering classified nouns, let’s review bare nouns in Vietnamese. First, T. H. Nguyen (2004) states that bare nouns in Vietnamese are morphologically unmarked for number. Thus, they can be interpreted as singular, plural, or even generic, i.e. all Vietnamese count nouns are numberless/transnumeral nouns (Greenberg 1975; Chierchia 1998; Corbett and Fraser 2000; Rullmann and You 2006). As can be seen from the following examples, a bare noun can refer to one or more than one entity (6a), to mass substances (6b), or to generic nouns (6c). Thus, there is no lexical contrast between count and mass nouns at the level of bare nouns, even if they refer to discrete entities (Nguyen 2004).

- (6) a. *Tôi đi mua sách.*
1SG go buy book
'I go to buy a book/ books.'
- b. *Làm ơn châm thêm dầu!*
please pour more oil
'Pour/add more oil, please!'
- c. *Chó là loài vật thông minh và trung thành.*
dog COP animal intelligent and loyal
'Dogs are intelligent and loyal animals.'

Moreover, bare nouns in Vietnamese seem to be treated like mass nouns in that they cannot be directly counted without the help of a classifier (7a) or a measure phrase (7b) (T. H. Nguyen 2004). As shown in example (7), Vietnamese classifiers are used to individuate or atomize nominal concepts, which become countable because of the classifier (Greenberg 1975; Lyons 1977; Craig 1986; Chierchia 1998 *inter alia*).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (7) | a. <i>hai *(chiếc) xe</i> | b. <i>hai *(lít) dầu</i> |
| | two CL car | two litre oil |
| | 'two cars' | 'two litres (bottles) of oil' |

Thus, to express 'two dogs', one needs to use a classifier, as in (8b), while the form without the classifier is ungrammatical, as in (8a). Moreover, Vietnamese classifiers cannot stand alone as in (9a), function as direct objects by themselves as in (10a), or serve as subjects by themselves as in (11a). They must occur with a noun (as in 9b), a demonstrative in anaphoric use (as in 10b), or a numeral (as in 11b) (examples are taken from Le (2009)).

- (8) a. **hai chó*
two dog
- b. *hai con chó*
two CL dog
‘two dogs’
- (9) a. **sợi*
CL: long-thin-malleable objects
- b. *sợi dây*
CL string
‘a/the string’
- (10) a. **Tôi chọn sợi*
1.SG choose CL
- b. *Tôi chọn sợi này.*
1.SG choose CL DEM
‘I choose this one (= string).’
- (11) a. **sợi đủ rồi*
CL enough SFP
- b. *một sợi đủ rồi!*
one CL enough SFP
‘One string is enough.’

2.2.2 Class terms and the grammaticalization of Vietnamese classifiers

This subsection reviews the grammaticalization of Vietnamese classifiers based on studies on taxonomy in Vietnamese (Löbel 1999), and on class term compounding in Vietnamese (Pham 2013). The grammatical process from class terms (/class nouns) to classifiers is described by the following cline in Grinevald (2000:61-62): lexical > measure terms > class terms > classifiers.

Löbel (1999) and Pham (2013) also argue that class terms function as classifiers. Thus, they do not need a classifier when occurring with a numeral. Does a class term literally need a classifier when combining with a numeral? The solution to this puzzle will be shown at the end of this subsection.

2.2.2.1 Löbel (1999)

In Vietnamese, the process of lexical taxonomy is very common in the formation of nominal compounds. The taxonomically higher noun takes the first position and corresponds to the class noun/class term, which is further specified by the noun that follows it. Löbel (1999: 271) notes in her study on Vietnamese classifiers that a class noun, which is the head of the compound, can be considered a classifier, as is shown in (12).⁹ In (12b), the taxonomically higher class noun *cây* ‘tree/plant’ is used as a classifier for the noun *rau* ‘vegetable/ plant’ as the second element of the compound. The class noun *rau* ‘vegetable/ plant’, in turn, is described as functioning as a classifier for *cần* ‘celery’ in (12c).¹⁰ A taxonomically high noun like *cây* ‘tree/plant’ in (12a) cannot be combined with yet a higher class noun (cf. Emeneau 1951:94), but it is subsumed under the more comprehensive class expressed by the general classifier *cái*, which also denotes non-living things.

(12)	Compound:	Num	CL	N ₁		
	a.	<i>một</i>	<i>cái</i>	<i>cây</i>	‘a tree/plant’	
		one	CL	tree/plant		
	Classifier:	Num		N ₁	N ₂	
	b.	<i>một</i>		<i>cây</i>	<i>rau</i>	‘a vegetable’
		one		CL	vegetable/ plant	
	c.?	<i>một</i>			<i>rau</i>	<i>cần</i> ‘a celery’
		one			CL	celery

⁹ Löbel (1999b) also mentions meronymy in Vietnamese. However, we consider examples like the following ones in her study problematic, if not ungrammatical.

- (1) *hai chân chó
two leg dog
Intended: ‘two dogs’

¹⁰ However, we consider *rau* in *rau cần* ‘a celery’ a class-term/class noun, not a classifier (see Section 2.1.2.3). Thus, it should be used with a classifier like *bó* ‘a bunch of’ or *cây* ‘CL for tree/plant’, as in *một bó rau cần* ‘a bunch of celery’ or *một cây rau cần* ‘a celery’. It is a class term, a compound to be distinguished from many other vegetable plants in Vietnam, such as *rau húng quế* ‘basil’, *rau răm* ‘fragrant knotweed’, *rau ngò* ‘cilantro’, *rau mùi* ‘coriander’, *rau kinh giới* ‘marjoram’, *rau tía tô* ‘balm-mint’, and so on.

According to Löbel's (1999:299) notion, there are ten classifiers which function as 'core classifiers', as shown in (13). There is a large set of additional classifiers which are based on general properties of nouns (such as shape, animacy, function, etc.). According to Löbel (1999: 298), there are 144 nouns which can take the function of a classifier if they are in a taxonomic or a meronymic relation to the noun.

(13) A list of 'core' classifiers in Vietnamese (Löbel 1999)

- a. *cái* 'a non-living thing'
- b. *cây* 'a tree or plant, a stick-shaped or plant-like object'
- c. *chiếc* 'individual item'
- d. *con* 'a living thing that is not human'
- e. *hòn* 'a stone or stone-like object'
- f. *quả* 'a fruit; a round, globular object'
- g. *quyển* 'a volume'
- h. *sợi* 'hair, thread, cord, etc.'
- i. *tấm* 'a flat piece of material'
- j. *tờ* 'a sheet of paper, document'

Löbel (1999: 273) presents examples such as *xe* 'car', *chó* 'dog' and *sách* 'book' which can denote 'one unit' when they occur directly after a numeral without the use of an intermediate classifier as in (14b), (15b), and (16b). However, examples (14b), (15b) and (16b) turn out to be either problematic (14b) or fully ungrammatical ((15b) and (16b)) from our perspective. They should be phrased as *hai chiếc (xe) thiết giáp* 'two tanks' rather than as *hai con (chó) Eskimo* 'two Eskimo dogs' (15b). Similarly, (16b) should be replaced by *hai quyển (sách) tiểu thuyết* 'two novels' with a classifier. In fact, (15b) and (16b) are ungrammatical without a classifier. The difference between (14b) in contrast to (15b) and (16b) can be explained by the fact that the noun *xe* 'car' can be used as an individual classifier, while *chó* 'dog', *sách* 'book' cannot (cf. the analysis in Table 2-2 and Figure 2-1 for more details). The reason for this has to do with compounding and the potential of using the first element of a compound, i.e. the class noun, as a classifier.

- (14) a. *hai chiếc xe* ‘two cars’
 two CL:for vehicle car
- b. *?hai xe thiết giáp* *Intended: ‘two tanks’*
 two car iron armour
- (15) a. *hai con chó* ‘two dogs’
 two CL:living beings dog
- b. **hai chó Eskimo* *Intended: ‘two Eskimo dogs’*
 two dog Eskimo (dog)
- (16) a. *hai quyển sách* ‘two books’
 two CL:volume for book book
- b. **hai sách tiểu thuyết* *Intended: ‘two novels’*
 two book novel

To illustrate this and for further clarifying Löbel’s (1999) examples, let’s look at examples (17–19). Since a classifier is needed for each of the nouns, there is no doubt that they are classified nouns. This is shown by examples (a) and (b) in (17–19). The difference between them is that the nouns in examples (17a –19a) are single nouns, while the same nouns are part of nominal compounds whose first component has the function of a class noun in (17b –19b).¹¹

Class nouns plus their modifiers are used for forming new words, as in e.g. *xe thiết giáp* ‘**vehicle(s)**-iron-armour = tank(s)’ (to classify: *xe lửa* ‘vehicle(s) run by the power of fire = train’, *xe đạp* ‘vehicle(s) run by the power of human feet = bicycle’, *xe máy* ‘vehicle(s) run by the power of machine = motorbike’, etc.); *chó Eskimo* ‘Eskimo **dog(s)**’ (to compare

¹¹ Head nouns of compounds which are modified by one or more additional lexeme(s) are called ‘class terms’ (Haas 1942, DeLancey 1986; Craig 1986a, 1986b) or ‘class nouns’ (Bisang 1993, 1999, 2018:244).

with *chó săn* ‘hunting dog(s) = hound’, *chó Phú Quốc* ‘a breed of dog from Phu Quoc island=Phu Quoc Ridgeback’, *chó phốc* ‘a breed of ancestor German Pinscher mixed with Italian greyhounds and dachshunds = Miniature Pinscher’, etc.); **sách-tiểu-thuyết** ‘novel **book(s)**’ (to arrange with *sách văn học* ‘literature book(s)’, *sách toán* ‘mathematics book(s)’, *sách ngôn ngữ học* ‘linguistics book(s)’, etc.).

In contrast to Löbel’s (1999) analysis, it seems that these class nouns cannot fully take on the function of a classifier in combination with numerals. The structures of (17c–19c) are characterized by the absence of class nouns in constructions of [Num CL] (cf. Sections 2.1.1 and 7.2). Modifiers in these contexts can also be used anaphorically without their head nouns, because when *thiết giáp* ‘tank’ and *tiểu thuyết* ‘novel’ in examples (17) and (19) are used, one knows that they refer to a tank and a novel, respectively.¹² This is different in the case of *Eskimo*. Since it is unclear if *Eskimo* refers to the Eskimo people or to Eskimo dogs, it is necessary to choose either the classifier *người*_{CL} for human or *con*_{CL} for animate non-human for clarifying reference. In the context of (18c), the classifier *con* would have to be used in a headless classifier construction (cf. Section 2.1.5). Thus, a classifier has to be used with these words for associating them with the right semantic category (human, animal, etc.). This is particularly the case in the context of counting in (17d–19d).

¹² It is noted that in contexts of non-reference, such as checking lists, classifiers or even head nouns of these two modifiers can be omitted (cf. Section 2.1.6).

(17) a. *Tôi có hai chiếc xe.*

1.SG have two CL:for vehicle car

‘I have two cars.’

b. *Tôi có hai chiếc xe-thiết-giáp.*

1.SG have two CL car-iron-armour

‘I have two tanks.’

c. *Tôi có hai chiếc thiết-giáp.*

1.SG have two CL iron-armour

‘I have two tanks.’

d. *?Tôi có hai xe thiết giáp.*

1.SG have two car iron armour

Intended: ‘I have two tanks.’

(18) a. *Tôi đang nuôi hai con chó.*

1.SG PROG raise two CL dog

‘I am raising two dogs.’

b. *Tôi đang nuôi hai con chó-Eskimo.*

1.SG PROG raise two CL dog-Eskimo

‘I am raising two Eskimo dogs.’

c. *Tôi đang nuôi hai con Eskimo.*

1.SG PROG raise two CL Eskimo

‘I am raising two Eskimo dogs.’

d. **Tôi đang nuôi hai chó Eskimo.*

1.SG PROG raise two dog Eskimo

Intended: ‘I am raising two Eskimo dogs.’

- (19) a. *Lan cho tôi hai quyển sách.*
 Lan give 1.SG two CL:volume book
 ‘Lan gave me two books.’
- b. *Lan cho tôi hai quyển sách-tiểu-thuyết.*
 Lan give 1.SG two CL:volume book-novel
 ‘Lan gave me two novels.’
- c. *Lan cho tôi hai quyển tiểu thuyết.*
 Lan give 1.SG two CL:volume novel
 ‘Lan gave me two novels.’
- d. **Lan cho tôi hai sách tiểu thuyết.*
 Lan give 1.SG two book novel
 ‘Lan gave me two novels.’

The question that remains to be clarified is why (17d) with *xe* ‘car’ is still acceptable to a certain extent, while (18d) and (19d) are not. For that purpose, it is necessary to see what types of class nouns/class terms can be used in the function of a classifier. As it turns out, not all class nouns standing in a taxonomic relation within a nominal compound should be considered classifiers (cf. Löbel 1999:271). Nouns with a typical shape (such as *cây* ‘tree/plant’) or container function (such as *bao* ‘bag’, *xe* ‘car’, *ấm/bình* ‘pot’, etc.) can be derived as classifiers, but not the ones referring to sortal concepts, such as *chó* ‘dog’, *xe* ‘vehicle’, *sách* ‘book’, *rau* ‘vegetable’, etc. Here, the lexical item *xe* ‘car’ is used as an individuating classifier in its container function (but not in its sortal function) as in *hai xe vàng* ‘two **cart-loads** of gold’, *ba xe cát* ‘three cart-loads of sand’. Thus, its use in (17d) as *xe thiết giáp* ‘tank’ may be syntactically correct but it is associated with a questionable semantic interpretation (‘a cart-load of tanks’ instead of ‘two tanks’ as in (17c))

2.2.2.2 *Pham (2013)*

Pham (2013) presents another approach to Vietnamese class nouns which is based on Löbel's (1999) study of class term compounds (class nouns). He argues that Vietnamese class term compounds behave both like bare noun phrases and classifier phrases. In their function as classifier phrases, they can combine directly with numerals. Pham (2013) uses the examples in Table 2-2 to prove that class terms are used as morphological heads which define the taxonomic classification of nominal compounds. Compounds in this function show properties of bare nouns. Since bare nouns in Vietnamese can mark genericity and are morphologically unmarked for number (cf. Section 2.1.1), class terms can have the same function.¹³ However, unlike bare nouns, class terms cannot coordinate nouns under a shared classifier (Alexiadou 2011; Cheng and Sybesma 2009; Nguyen 2004; Jenks 2011). In other words, this notion can be considered the first step in arguing that a classifier should be used for a class noun when it combines with a numeral.

Table 2-1: Shared and non-shared features between class terms and bare nouns, from Pham (2013).

Shared features		Examples from Pham (2013: slides 12, 13, 14)	
		[bare noun]	[compound]
√	generic interpretation	<i>Chó ăn thịt.</i> dog eat meat 'Dogs eat meat.'	<i>Máy-bay đi rất nhanh!</i> machine-fly go quick very 'Airplanes go really quickly.'
√	underspecified for number	<i>Tôi có sách ở nhà.</i> 1.SG have book at home 'I have a/the book(s) at home.'	<i>Tôi có máy-tính ở nhà.</i> 1.SG have machine-calculate at home 'I have a/the computer(s) at home.'
X	cannot coordinate under a shared classifier	<i>một trăm trái chuối với cam</i> one hundred CL banana PRE orange 'one hundred (bananas and oranges)'	<i>*một trăm máy-bay với giặt</i> one hundred machine-fly PRE wash <i>Intended:</i> 'one hundred (airplanes and washing machines)'

¹³ Note that *chó* 'dog' and *sách* 'book' can become class terms in compounds. In other contexts, they are common nouns.

However, Pham (2013) also claims that class term compounds productively grammaticalize nouns into classifiers: Noun > Class term > Classifier (cf. Grinevald 2000). He further argues that Vietnamese compound nouns, especially class-term compounds, can be counted without the help of a classifier. According to Pham's survey, the use of the classifier *chiếc* is optional in (20) because the class term *máy* is also countable.

- (20) *tám* (*chiếc*) *máy* *bay*
 eight CL:unit machine fly
 'eight airplanes'

The results of Pham's (2013) survey led us to examine other class terms to see whether they really can combine directly with numerals. Let's first look at *trái/quả* 'fruit' which confirms Pham's (2013) analysis because it cannot only be used as a classifier for fruits, but also as a class term for fruit taxonomies. Thus, it is grammatical to combine it directly with a numeral, e.g. *mười trái/quả cam* 'ten oranges/ten orange fruits', *mười trái/quả chuối* 'ten bananas, ten banana fruits'. Moreover, *trái/quả* 'fruit' can also be used as a class term for 3-dimension objects in general as in *trái/quả đất* 'the earth', *mười trái/quả banh/bóng* 'ten balls'. In contrast, a linguistic ite like *bánh* 'cake', which is annotated the same as *trái/quả* 'fruit', cannot form taxonomic compounds that occur without a classifier in the context of counting. In other words, their taxonomic compounds need a classifier. According to Pham's (2013: slide 24) annotation, *bánh* 'cake' can not only be used as a head noun of nominal compounds for denoting types of food as in *bánh mì* 'bread', *bánh kem/ bánh ga-tô* 'gateau', or *bánh phở* 'rice noodle', but also the head of compounds picking up shape properties as in *bánh xe* 'wheel', *bánh lái* 'the rudder', *bánh răng* 'gear', etc. However, these taxonomic compounds need a classifier (21b). Otherwise, they are ungrammatical (21a).¹⁴

¹⁴ *Bánh* 'cake' is a classifier for objects with a 3-dimension cake-like shape, such as *hai bánh xà phòng* [two CL soap] 'two soaps', or *ba bánh pháo* [three CL firecracker] 'three piece-shape of firecrackers', etc.

(21)	a.	<i>*ba</i>	<i>bánh mì</i>		b.	<i>ba</i>	<i>ổ</i>	<i>bánh-mì</i>
		three	cake wheat			three	CL: _{nest-shape}	cake-wheat
								‘three loaves of bread’
		<i>*ba</i>	<i>bánh chưng</i>			<i>ba</i>	<i>cái</i>	<i>bánh-chưng</i>
		three	cake-stew			three	CL: _{general} CL	cake-stew
								‘three rice dumplings’
		<i>*ba</i>	<i>bánh xe</i>			<i>ba</i>	<i>cái</i>	<i>bánh xe</i>
		three	wheel			three	CL: _{general} CL	wheel
								‘three wheels’

Thus, it is suggested that class term compounds are preferably paired with a classifier when expressing a [Num-CL-N] construction. In the following section, we will provide the explanation and analysis underlying this suggestion.

2.2.2.3 Suggestions for the derivation process from a noun to a classifier

After examining the distribution and the formation of classifiers in Löbel’s (1999) and Pham’s (2013) analysis, we propose to classify Vietnamese nouns into four groups (cf. Table 2-2): Group 1 includes common nouns, Group 2 includes nouns that are borrowed from other languages, especially the so-called Sino-Vietnamese words from Chinese, Group 3 includes nouns that can also be used as class terms and as individual classifiers in contexts of counting, while Group 4 includes nouns that can be used for measuring (individuating classifiers). We will start with a short presentation of each group and a summary of their properties with examples in Table 2-2. Based on this information, we will develop a five-stage scenario for modelling the development from noun > class term > classifier at the end of this subsection.

Members of Group 1 correspond to the Vietnamese nouns which obligatorily take a classifier when combined with a numeral. They can develop into class-terms, but not into classifiers.

Members of Group 2 are loanwords (from English, French and from Chinese (Sino-Vietnamese)).¹⁵ Like the members of Group 1, they can take on the function of class-terms (notice that this contrasts with the hypothesis of non-classified nouns in Simpson & Ngo (2018:225)). Thus, *hệ thống* (Chinese 系統 *xìtǒng*) ‘system’ is used as a class term in compounds such as *hệ thống trường học* ‘school system’, *hệ thống giáo dục* ‘educational system’, *hệ thống chính trị* ‘political system’, *hệ thống khoa cử* ‘exam system’, etc. In general, the Sino-Vietnamese noun system seems to differ in various respects from the common Vietnamese nouns system. Here, further research is needed (cf. Section 7.3 for other findings about numeral classifier with Sino-Vietnamese nouns).

For the present study, it is interesting to see that members in this Group with Sino-Vietnamese origins do not obligatorily occur with a classifier. Thus, *phụ nữ* (Chinese: 婦女 *fù nǚ*) ‘woman’ only shows non-compulsory classifier use as in *hai (người) phụ nữ* [two (CL) man] ‘two women’. The same can be observed in *ba (cái) hệ thống* (Chinese: 系統 *xìtǒng*) [three (CL) system] ‘three systems’. Another interesting point we found out is that a Sino-Vietnamese compound with Chinese word-final head can be combined directly with a numeral, while ‘pure/regular’ Vietnamese compounds with their head-initial morpheme order cannot. Thus, the Sino-Vietnamese word *giáo viên* ‘teacher’ with its word-final head (cf. Chinese: 教員 *jiàoyuán* [teach person]) cannot take a classifier in the context of counting (e.g. *hai giáo viên* [two teacher] ‘two teachers’). In contrast, person-denoting Vietnamese words need to have a classifier like *người* ‘person, human being’ in *hai *(người) đàn ông* [two CL man] ‘two men’, *ba *(người) lính* [three CL soldier] ‘three soldiers’, etc.¹⁶

In the above Sino-Vietnamese example of *giáo viên* ‘teacher’, there is a clear-cut taxonomic relation between the head its preceding component. This is not the case in all Sino-Vietnamese words. Thus, the word *điện thoại* (Chinese: 電話 *diànhuà* [electrical voice]) ‘telephone’ lacks a representational ‘head’ which clearly corresponds to a superordinate

¹⁵ The average Vietnamese do not care about the origin of words. However, we find that Sino-Vietnamese mostly are compounds, and they seem to behave differently to common nouns. Moreover, the results from this thesis show that loan words or compounds tend to occur in bare forms (see Chapters 4 to 6 for more details). Thus, we divide Sino-Vietnamese into a separate group of nouns to examine.

¹⁶ Another examples: *phi hành gia* [fly person] ‘astronaut’, *sử gia* [historical person] ‘historian’, etc., can combine directly with a numeral.

concept like ‘machine/system’. For that reason, it needs a classifier *cái* for machine/system, e.g. *hai cái điện thoại* [two CL telephone] ‘two telephones’ even it is a Sino-Vietnamese word. Based on the above analysis, it can be assumed that some Sino-Vietnamese nouns are embedded with a class term, which functions as head noun and they can be developed as individual classifier, i.e. it is marked as + ‘plus’ in column 3 and some are embedded with a class term, which don’t have head noun to be developed to an individual classifier, i.e. it is marked as - ‘minus’ in column 3.

Members of Group 3 can be used as head nouns, as class terms and they can also be used as classifiers. For that reason, they are sometimes considered as non-classified nouns. Thus, Simpson & Ngo (2018:214) analyse *vết* ‘trace, mark, stain’ in *hai vết* ‘two marks’ as a non-classified noun because it can directly combine with a numeral. However, we suggest it is a noun of Group 3. It can occur with a classifier with numerals as in *hai cái vết* [two CL mark] ‘two marks’ and it can be analysed as a derived classifier if it is the head of a compound as in *hai vết nứt* [two CL crack] ‘two cracks’, *hai vết trầy/ hai vết xước* [two CL scratch] ‘two scratches’, *hai vết thương* [two CL wound] ‘two wounds’, *hai vết sẹo* [two CL scar] ‘two scars’, etc. The detailed analysis of the derivation of this type of noun will be discussed soon, as well as illustrated in Figure 2-2.

The members of Group 4 are called ‘temporary measure words’ by Nguyen Đ. H. (1957:127), who further describes them as ‘nouns that normally have their own classifier’ as head nouns in [Num-CL-N] constructions. In addition to this function, they can also be used on a temporary basis as measure nouns designating the quantity in which the nominal concept expressed by the noun they are combined with. For instance, the noun *cân* ‘scale’ in *một cái cân* [one CL **scale**] ‘a scale’ can be used as a measuring/identifying classifier designating the quantity of a mass noun like *thịt* ‘meat’ in *một cân thịt* [one CL meat] ‘one kilogram of meat’. Another example is the noun *thước* ‘ruler, yardstick’ in *một cây thước* [one CL **ruler**] ‘a ruler/yardstick’ in its function of an individuating classifier in *một thước vải* [one CL cloth] ‘one meter of cloth’ (cf. Figure 2-2 for detailed analysis).

The following Table 2-3 summarizes the above discussion. As one can see from columns (1) and (2), the members of all groups are nouns (N) and they can all be used as class terms. In spite of this, not all class terms can also take on the function of classifiers, as is shown in column (3) for individual (sortal) classifiers and in column (4) for individuating classifiers used for measuring nominal concepts. Members of Groups 1 and 2 can develop only to the stage of class-terms, which still need a classifier if they are counted. Compared

to Groups 1 and 2, members of Groups 3 and 4 cannot only occur as nouns or class terms but also as classifiers, some of them as individual classifiers (Group 3), some of them as individuating classifiers (Group 4).¹⁷

¹⁷ Nguyen (1975) proposed nouns which can maintain their original meaning as strong individuals. These nouns, which no longer maintain their original meanings but have transformed into classifiers based on general properties such as shape, animacy, function, etc., are called weak individuals.

Table 2-2: An inventory of nouns and their development as class terms (CT) and classifiers (CL).

Group of nouns	Examples	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		N	Class Terms	Individual CL	Individuating CL
Group 1 nouns → class terms	<i>chó</i> ‘dog’, <i>đường</i> ‘road’, <i>đàn</i> ‘musical instrument’, <i>máy</i> ‘machine’, <i>sách</i> ‘book’, etc.	+	+	-	-
Group 2 loanwords ¹⁸	From Chinese: <i>điện thoại</i> 電話 <i>điàn huà</i> ‘telephone’ (landline telephone or, nowadays, cell phone/mobile), <i>giáo viên</i> 教員 <i>jiàoyuán</i> ‘teacher’ (English, mathematic, dance), etc.	+	+	+	-
Group 3 classifiers for counting	<i>trái</i> (fruit > fruit > big round shape), <i>cây</i> (tree > tree > long-straight-rigid objects), <i>hạt</i> (seed > seed > small-rounded, seed-like), <i>ngọn</i> (top (of the tree) > top (of the tree) > pinnacle-like objects), <i>bánh</i> (cake made of rice/flour > various types of cakes > three dimensional shape and solid or cake-like objects)	+	+	+	-
Group 4 classifiers for measuring	<i>xe</i> ‘vehicle’, <i>núi</i> ‘mountain’, <i>bao</i> ‘bag’, <i>cân</i> ‘scale’, <i>thước</i> ‘ruler’, <i>ấm/bình</i> ‘pot’, <i>bát/chén</i> ‘bowl’, <i>nhà</i> ‘house’, etc.	+	+	-	+

¹⁸ Note that some foreign loanwords or words with obscure etymology like the following cannot be derived into class nouns: *cù lao* ‘island’, *mãng cụt* ‘mangosteen’, and *sầu riêng* ‘durian’ (from Malay), *cà-ra-vát* ‘tie’ (from French), *đầu lâu* ‘skull’, *mồ hôi* ‘sweat’ (cf. Đ.H. Nguyen, 1997).

The derivational process from a head noun to a class term and/or a classifier can be modelled in a scenario consisting of the following five stages:

- (i) Stage 1: noun: head nouns.
- (ii) Stage 2: compounding: head nouns become class nouns/class terms when combining with additional lexemes.
- (iii) Stage 3: a numeral is needed in combination with a numeral (this stage can also explain why a class term needs a classifier when combined with a numeral).
- (iv) Stage 4: shortening: when the class term and the classifier are homophones, one will be deleted to avoid redundancy (as is the case with nouns in Group 3).¹⁹ This stage can be skipped if the classifier is different from the class term (as is the case with nouns in Group 4).
- (v) Stage 5: a head noun derived as a classifier: a head noun develops into an individual classifier or an individuating classifier.

Figure 2-1 below further elaborates on the above derivational process and illustrates how members of Groups 3 and 4 start out from their nominal function and develop into class terms, and then into classifiers. As a member of Group 3, *cây* ‘tree’ (stage 1) can be used as a class term (stage 2) as in *cây xoài* ‘mango tree’, *cây chuối* ‘banana tree’, *cây cam* ‘orange tree’, etc. When the class term combines with a numeral, it is assumed to take *cây* as a classifier for trees/plants as in *một cây cây xoài* [Num CL CT N] ‘one mango tree’ (stage 3). As one can see here, the classifier and the class noun have the same form. To avoid redundancy, one of them is omitted as in *một ~~cây~~ ~~cây~~ xoài* [Num CL CT N] ‘a mango tree’ (stage 4). At the last stage (stage 5), the head noun *cây* becomes a classifier for counting long, straight, rigid objects which are not expressed by compounds headed by *cây* as in *một cây bút* ‘a pen’, *một cây nến* ‘a candle’, *một cây kiếm* ‘a sword’, etc.

By the same derivational process, the head noun *xe* ‘vehicle’ (stage 1) of Group 4 develops to a class term (stage 2) as in *xe máy* [vehicle machine] ‘motorcycle’, *xe đạp* [vehicle tread on pedal] ‘bicycle’, *xe hơi* [vehicle with gas] ‘car’, etc. When a member of this group combines with a numeral, the classifier *chiếc* for vehicle is needed, e.g. *một chiếc xe máy*

¹⁹ The argument of shortening by omitting class terms to avoid redundancy is also used by DeLancey (1986) for the Thai language, and Löbel (1999:307) for Vietnamese.

[Num CL CT N] ‘one motorcycle’ (stage 3). Since the classifier and the class term are not identical, there is no redundancy and stage 4 is blocked. If the head noun of this group becomes a classifier, it can only be interpreted in terms of an individuating classifier for measuring as in *một xe cát* [NUM CL_{cart-load} N] ‘a cart-load of sand’, *một xe gạo* ‘a cart-load of rice’, *một xe rơm* ‘a cart-load of straw’ (stage 5).

Figure 2-1 The derivation process from a head noun to a class term or a derived classifier.

Stages	Num	CL	Noun (Group 3)		Num	CL	Noun (Group 4)			
			head N	additional lexemes			head N	additional lexemes		
1. noun			cây “tree”				xe “vehicle”			
2. compounding			cây “tree”	cam ‘orange’ → ‘orange tree’ chuối ‘banana’ → ‘banana tree’ xoài ‘mango’ → ‘mango tree’			xe “vehicle” xe “vehicle” xe “vehicle”	máy ‘machine’ đạp ‘tread on pedal’ hơi ‘gas’	‘motorcycle’ ‘bicycle’ ‘car’	
3. combine with numeral	một một một	cây cây cây	cây cây cây	cam chuối xoài	‘one orange tree’ ‘one banana tree’ ‘one mango tree’	một một một	chiếc chiếc chiếc	xe xe xe	máy đạp hơi	‘one motorcycle’ ‘one bicycle’ ‘one car’
4. shortening	một một một		cây cây cây	cam chuối xoài	‘one orange tree’ ‘one banana tree’ ‘one mango tree’					
5. noun derived as classifier			cây (CL for long, straight, rigid objects) Ex. một cây nến ‘one candle’ một cây bút ‘one pen’ một cây kiếm ‘one sword’				xe (container, a cart – load of) Ex. một xe cát ‘a cart-load of sand’ một xe gạo ‘a cart-load of rice’ một xe rơm ‘a cart-load of straw’			

Although the derivational process from a noun to a classifier is not the main topic of this study, it was briefly discussed above for the following reasons (for further details, cf. the data in Chapters 4 – 7):

- (i) It relates to the different types of classifiers in [CL N] constructions, which as mentioned in this study includes individual and individuating classifiers.
- (ii) When examining the nouns occurring in bare classifier constructions [CL N] in our data, it is found that the obligatoriness of a classifier depends on various factors. One of them is related to the four groups discussed here. This particularly applies to the tendency of loanwords or compounds to be used without a classifier.

2.2.3 The [Num CL N] construction

The capacity to productively use nouns as classifiers can also be seen in the examples of the [Num CL N] construction given in (22). This example demonstrates that various nouns (those which are both bold and underlined) can become classifiers. For instance, as in (12b), the meaning of the root noun *lá* is ‘leaf’. The core classifier for this noun is *chiếc*, as in *một chiếc lá* [one CL leaf] ‘a leaf’. At the next stage, the noun *lá* ‘leaf’ can be used as a classifier for two-dimensional objects, as in *một lá thư* [one CL letter] ‘a letter’ (22b), or in *một lá cờ* [one CL flag] ‘a flag’, *một lá số tử vi* [one CL horoscope/nativity] ‘a sheet of paper with horoscope/nativity’, *một lá gan* [one CL liver] ‘a liver’, etc. Similarly, the nouns *cây* ‘tree’, *bông* ‘flower’, *nụ* ‘bud’ in (22a), and the noun *ngôi* ‘throne’ in (22c) can be used as shape classifiers as in *một cây hoa* [one CL_{stem} flower] ‘a flower (with stem)’, *một bông hoa* [one CL_{flower} flower] ‘a (blooming) flower’, *một nụ hoa* [one CL_{bud} flower] ‘a (bud) flower’, and *một ngôi nhà* [one CL_{throne} house] ‘a house’. Nouns in Vietnamese can not only function as individual classifiers (22a–c), but they can also be used as individuating classifiers (22e). The meaning of the root nouns marked in bold, *bao* and *núi*, are ‘bag’ and ‘mountain’, respectively. The core classifiers for these nouns are the general classifier *cái*, as in *một cái bao* [one CL bag] ‘a bag’ and *ngọn/đỉnh* ‘peak’, or *quả/trái* ‘round shape’ as in *một ngọn núi/một quả núi* [one CL mountain] ‘a leaf’. At the next stage, the noun *bao* ‘bag’ and *núi* ‘mountain’ can be used themselves as an individuating classifiers for objects occurring in large quantity as in *một bao đá* [one CL stone] ‘a bag full of stone’ and *một núi đá* [one CL stone] ‘a mountain of stone’.

It is noticeable that in (22), classifiers which are marked in bold are individuating classifiers, while the rest of them are individual classifiers.

(22)

<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Object's prosodic properties</i>	<i>Examples of [Num CL N]</i>
a. hoa 'flower'	-a flower still in bud - flower : focusing on blooming - bloom + stem (cây 'plant/tree') -a branch with flowers and leaves	một nu hoa một bông hoa một cây hoa một cành/ nhánh hoa
b. thư 'letter'	- thin (leaf-shape) (lá 'leaf')	một lá thư
c. nhà 'house'	-general CL <i>cái</i> -built based on the root -'in high position' (ngôi 'throne') -the size of the house (big)	một cái nhà một căn nhà một ngôi nhà một tòa nhà
d. gỗ 'wood'	-segmented wood (small) -a piece/chunk of wood (cut) -a (thin shape) chunk of wood -a block of wood (cube & big shape) -a (round shape) chunk of wood	một mảnh gỗ một khúc gỗ một tấm/miếng gỗ một khối gỗ một khoanh gỗ
e. đá 'stone'	-a small, rounded stone (precious) -a small, rounded stone (normal) -a stone/rock (big size) -a block of stone - a bag of stone (bao 'bag') - mountain-shaped (núi 'mountain')	một viên đá một cục/hòn đá một tảng đá một khối đá một bao đá một núi đá

From a syntactic perspective, classifiers are considered obligatory in numeral classifier constructions, i.e. a numeral cannot quantify a noun without the presence of such a classifier. As in (23), the numeral and the head noun are connected by the classifier *quyển* 'a book

volume’. The classifier makes the head noun countable by restricting its denotation to an individual item.

- (23) *hai *(quyển) sách*
 two CL book
 ‘two books’

From a historical perspective, classifiers most often come from nouns (DeLancey 1986; Aikhenvald 2000; Pham 2013). Thus, the classifier *cây* ‘CL for long, skinny, and hard objects’ is derived from the one-dimensional shape of the concept ‘tree’ which is also the meaning of *cây* as a full noun. For instance, *cây* is used as a classifier for *nến* ‘candle’, *kiếm* ‘sword’, *bút* ‘pen’, *đũa* ‘chopstick’, etc.:

- (24) *hai cây nến/kiếm/bút/đũa.*
 two CL candle/sword/pen/chopstick
 ‘two candles/swords/pens/chopsticks (two chopsticks = a pair of chopsticks)’

In some classifier languages, the use of the classifier is rigidly determined by individual lexical items, while in other languages, classifier use is less rigidly determined and can add additional semantic information to the meaning of the head noun. In Vietnamese, the choice of classifiers permits the differentiation of subtle shades of meaning. For example, ‘two candles’ can be expressed either as in (25a) or in (25b) in Vietnamese. Although both classifiers *ngọn* and *cây* can occur with *nến* ‘candle’, the classifier *ngọn* in (25a) is used for tall, pinnacle-like objects (such as, *ngọn tháp* [CL tower] ‘the/a tower’, *ngọn hải đăng* [CL lighthouse] ‘the/a lighthouse’, etc.) or objects which have a peak-head shape like a candle’s light (such as *ngọn lửa* [CL fire] ‘the/a fire’, *ngọn núi* [CL mountain] ‘the/a mountain’, etc.). In contrast, the use of the classifier *cây* in (25b) evokes the image of a cylinder for long and rigid objects (such as *cây đũa* [CL chopstick] ‘the/a chopstick’, *cây kiếm* [CL sword] ‘the/a sword’, *cây gậy* [CL stick] ‘the/a stick’, *cây mía* [CL sugarcane] ‘the/a

sugarcane’, etc.). This issue has been investigated by many researchers, e.g. Burling (1965), Craig (1986), Haas (1942), and many others.

Numeral classifiers have captured the attention of linguists and others interested in language for a variety of reasons. Most obviously, linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, and other scholars have been interested in the classificatory function of numeral classifiers and what insights it might offer into the speaker’s worldview (Gil 2005).

- (25) a. *hai ngon nển* vs. b. *hai cây nển* ‘two candles’
 two CL candle two CL candle

From the perspective of discourse and semantics, the numeral classifier construction [Num (≥ 2) CL N] is not only used for quantifying a noun, but also in the context of (in)definiteness. In the special case of [Num (= 1 *một* ‘one’) CL N] as presented in (26), we can get only indefinite interpretation (for numerals equal/higher 2, cf below).²⁰ Here, *một* introduces *ông thầy* [CL teacher] ‘male teacher’ and *quyển sách* [CL book] ‘book’ as new referents into discourse. *Một* ‘one’ would not be used subsequently, after these referents have been previously mentioned in the discourse. Thus, [*một* ‘one’ CL N] in this context is interpreted as indefinite.

- (26) *Tôi có một ông thầy rất hay tặng sách cho học sinh.*
 1.SG have one CL_{male} teacher very often present book PREP student
Thầy tặng cho tôi một quyển sách.
 teacher_{male} present for 1.SG one CL book
 ‘I had a male teacher, who often gave book(s) to his student(s) as a present. [He] presented me a book.’

²⁰ Nguyen (2004:31) mentions that the morpheme *một* (which can have the same function as the numeral ‘one’) is normally used in Vietnamese noun phrases for the initial mention of a referent, carrying an indefinite interpretation.

More recently, some researchers found that classifiers in Vietnamese can express definiteness as well as indefiniteness in the [CL N] construction (Nguyen 2004:30, Kirby 2006, and others). Data collected from our experiments also show that this construction can express both functions. In (27), *chiếc xe* [CL car] can be interpreted as either ‘a car’ (indefinite) or ‘the car’ (definite). The [CL N] construction *chiếc xe* [CL car] on the first line is indefinite because the car is introduced as a new concept. Later on, the same construction expresses definiteness in line 2, because it is now activated in the reader’s or the hearer’s mind.

(27) *Written text 1, sentence 26*

Anh ta bước vào nhà thì lại bị đứa con chơi chiếc xe
 3.SG step PREP house, CONJ EMPH PASS CL son play CL car
đẩy trúng vào chân khiến anh ta ngã ngựa vào chiếc xe.
 push RES PREP leg cause 3.SG fall.back PREP CL car
 ‘He entered the house, he ran into his son who was playing and hit **a car** [i.e. a toy car] with [one of his] legs and [that] made him fall down onto **the car**.’

The above discussion leads to the question of whether the numeral classifier construction [Num CL N] can also express (in)definiteness if the bare classifier construction can be interpreted as definite or indefinite. The answer is ‘yes’, with the exception of [*một* ‘one’ CL N]. With numerals higher than one, the [Num CL N] construction can also express both functions. Example (28) is one of several cases illustrating this issue clearly. Most indefinite [Num CL N] constructions are introduced into discourse by an existential clause. Later on, they are mentioned within the demonstrative determiner construction and get definite interpretations. Thus, (28) *ba đứa bé trai* [three CL boy] ‘three boys’ in (28) is first introduced in line 1 with indefinite reading. However, in line 2 the same phrase can be interpreted as definite, because it was already mentioned in the previous sentence.

(28) *Oral text 26, sentence 19 & 21*

Trong khi đó, có ba đứa bé trai đang đứng bên lề đường...

meanwhile exist three CL boy PROG stand by sidewalk

Ba đứa bé trai giúp bé trai bị té đặt cân xe lên

three CL boy help CL boy PASS fall-down put CL pear RES

phía trước xe đạp và chào tạm biệt đứa bé trai.

PRE front of bicycle and say goodbye CL boy

‘Meanwhile, there were **three boys** standing on the pavement... **These three boys** helped the boy who fell down on the street to put [his] basket of pears on the front side of [his] bicycle and they said goodbye to [him]’.

Another issue related to numeral classifiers is Nguyen’s (2004) approach to the focus marker *cái* (or ‘extra *cái*’) as the only element that can be inserted between the numeral and the classifier to mark that some parts in the noun phrase are in focus. In (29), the speaker would like to warn the hearer to be careful about THE TWO black DOGS (but not the three black cats, (29a)), or to be careful about THE TWO BLACK DOGS (but not the white or the yellow ones (29b)).²¹

(29) *Hãy coi chừng! Hai cái con chó đen hay cắn trộm lắm.* [Nguyen 2004:114]

IMP careful two CÁI CL dog black often bite stealthily much

a. ‘Be careful! THE TWO black DOGS often bite without barking.’

b. ‘Be careful! THE TWO BLACK DOGS often bite without barking.’

It is noted that the present study focuses mainly on the bare classifier construction ([CL N] construction), not the [Num CL N] construction. However, the issue of the [Num CL N] construction and the ‘extra *cái*’ construction will be briefly discussed again in Section 6.4 with regard to their syntactic position.

²¹ The scope interpretation of this example is author [Quang Kim Ngoc]

2.2.4 The [CL N] construction

As was pointed out previously, the bare classifier construction can express either definiteness or indefiniteness. The following examples (30) and (31) not only demonstrate that the [CL N] construction can receive either a definite or an indefinite reading; they also show that the role of the classifier in this situation is to render a noun singular, as well.

(30) *Con mèo đang chạy qua đường kia!* [+animate]

CL cat PROG run across street SFP

‘Look! **[A]/the cat** is running across the street.’

But not: ‘Look! Cats are running across the street.’

(31) *Tôi mua cái túi tặng mẹ.* [-animate]

1.SG buy CL bag present 3.SG

‘I bought **a/the bag** for my mom as a present (a gift).’

But not: ‘I bought bags for my mom as a gift.’

The function of the classifier in [CL N] clearly is singular and (in)definite. Its indefinite function can be further specified as specific indefinite. Some Vietnamese linguists have also shown that the [CL-N] construction can replace bare nouns with generic interpretation (e.g. Nguyen 1975 and Ho 2003). In the view of these linguists, there are two patterns for expressing genericity: one with bare nouns and the other with the [CL N] construction. This is exemplified in (32a and 33a) and (32b and 33b), respectively. Vietnamese linguists consider that the former group of examples provides the means of talking about the entire class of things (here, bats and buffaloes) in general, while the latter is concerned with a **certain individual** (bat or buffalo) representing the entire class of bats and buffaloes. This issue is in contrast to Pham’s (2013) and Trinh’s (2011) analyses that Vietnamese bare nouns allow generic interpretations and are underspecified for number (‘trans-numeral’), while bare classifier phrases (the [CL-N] construction) cannot have generic interpretations

and are singular (or atomic predicates).²² In my view, the analysis in terms of genericity is not convincing because the [CL N] construction should be interpreted as specific indefinite, not as an indefinite generic, in this context. Moreover, sentence (33b) can have alternative interpretations. One interpretation is contrastive as in ‘THE BUFFALO likes soaking in the water more than THE COW does’. Such an interpretation fits into a context in which the speaker and the hearer saw a buffalo soaking in the water and a cow standing in the field.

(32) Examples taken from T. C. Nguyen (1975:42)

a. *Đôi thuộc loài có vú.* [bare plural generic]

bat belong mammal

‘Bats belong to mammals.’

b. *Con đôi thuộc loài có vú.* [indefinite singular generic]

CL bat belong mammal

‘A bat belongs to mammals.’

(33) Examples taken from Ho (2003:20)

a. *Trâu thích ngâm mình vào nước hơn bò.* [bare plural generic]

buffalo like soak body in water than cow

‘Buffaloes like soaking in the water more than cows do.’

b. *Con trâu thích đắm mình vào nước hơn con bò.* [indef. sing. generic]

CL buffalo like soak body in water than CL cow

‘A buffalo likes soaking in the water more than a cow does.’

There was no instance in my corpus on the use of [CL N] in which bare classifier phrases had a generic interpretation.

²² Note that Pham (2013) does not mention the interpretation of definite or indefinite in these two types.

2.2.5 Headless classifier constructions in Vietnamese

In classifier constructions with no overt head noun (N), the classifier gets an anaphoric function. This is possible in combination with a numeral (34a), a demonstrative (34b), a wh-word (34c), an adjective (34d), a possessed noun (34e), or a relative clause (34f). Since *quyển* is the classifier for books, all phrases in example (34) are grammatical if they refer to the contextually implied concept of ‘books’, i.e. all phrases are grammatical with an omitted head noun which can refer to ‘book’ (Tran 2011:10).

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------|--|
| (34) | a. Num + CL | một quyển | [one CL] ‘one (book)’ |
| | b. CL + DEM | quyển này | [CL this] ‘this one’ |
| | c. CL + Wh-word | quyển nào? | [CL which] ‘which one?’ |
| | d. CL + ADJ | quyển mỏng | [CL thin] ‘the thin one’ |
| | e. CL + POSS | quyển của bà | [CL of 3.SG] ‘the one of grandmother’ |
| | f. CL + REL | quyển bà tặng | [CL (that) grandmother present]
‘the one that grandma gave (as a gift)’ |

We concur with Tran (2011:11) that headless classifier constructions are very common in Vietnamese. The head noun may be omitted under the following conditions:

First, the head noun has been sufficiently identified by the previous context and thus contributes to old information. As shown in (35), the referent *sách* ‘book’ is mentioned at the beginning of the utterance. Thus, it can be omitted in the later part of the sentence

- (35) *Có hai quyển sách, bạn muốn mượn quyển dày hay quyển mỏng?*
 have two CL_{:volume} book, 2.SG want borrow CL thick or CL thin
 ‘There are two books; do you want to borrow the thick one or the thin one?’

Second, the head noun can be omitted when the object/entity being referred to is physically present. For example, in the context of buying bread at a bakery, as in (36), the seller and the buyer can simply use the appropriate classifier with either a numeral (or a demonstrative), leaving out the noun that names the object (the bread).

- (36) *Seller:* *Chị mua mấy ổ?*
 2.SG buy how many CL:loaf of bread
 ‘How many loaves [of bread] do you want to buy?’
- Buyer:* *Hai ổ*
 two CL: bread
 ‘Two loaves [of bread].’

The anaphoric construction in Vietnamese that gives classifiers the status of a pronoun replacing the omitted head noun has been discussed by a number of Vietnamese linguists (cf. Diep 2003, Nguyen 1975, Hoang 1996, Phan 1988, and Đinh 1997 for more information). The next section will discuss contexts in which a classifier can be omitted.

2.2.6 Contexts with optional classifiers

There are certain contexts in which a classifier can be absent from the [Num-CL-N] construction. Even though they will be of no further relevance for this dissertation, they are briefly mentioned here because in addition to these highly specific contexts, there are some other constructions in which a classifier can be omitted. These specific contexts are mentioned sporadically in previous research (cf. Emeneau 1951, Truong 1970, Löbel 1999, Gil 2005, Simpson and Ngo 2018, and others). Thus, we would like to systematize them in order to provide a more comprehensive look at Vietnamese classifiers before deeply examining the conditions which affect the presence or absence of a classifier, as well as its definite or indefinite function.

Context 1: *nouns in non-referential contexts* (cf. Löbel 1999:294).

Grammar books of Vietnamese usually claim that numeral classifiers are obligatory in the numeral-plus-noun environment, and speakers of Vietnamese will typically judge the absence of a classifier in such constructions to be ungrammatical. However, Gil (2005:228) lists a particular context in which numeral classifiers are frequently absent. The context is associated with food stalls and restaurants. In an eating establishment, a group of five people placing their orders might ask for *ba gà hai bò* ‘three chicken two beef’, without any classifiers, and the person taking the order will shout back to the cook *ba gà hai bò* ‘three chicken two beef’, again without any classifiers.

We consider this context a type of non-referential context. In example (37), the person taking the order speaks to the cook with the aim of listing orders, as well as telling his colleague *how many bowls of Phở (Vietnamese rice noodles) he needs to cook in total for that table*, so it will be easy for him to calculate the total number of bowls that they sold and the price for the five bowls of Vietnamese rice noodles. The speaker focuses mainly on the quantifier, while the nouns in these contexts are non-referential.

- (37) *Ba gà hai bò, tổng cộng năm tô/ hai trăm ngàn.*
 three chicken two beef total five CL two hundred thousand
 Lit.: ‘Three chicken, two beef, five bowls of Pho in total, which costs two hundred thousand Vietnam Dong.’

In a situation to that in (37), a person is listing things that (s)he wants to buy, so that the seller can count more quickly how many volumes the customer wants, and he or she can calculate the cost for these five volumes faster. As in the previous example, the speaker is rather focusing on the total number of things than on individualized items.

- (38) *Ba sách, hai tạp chí, năm quyển. Anh cho xin mười đô.*
 three book two magazine five CL_{for volume} 2.SG give please ten dollars
 ‘Three books, two magazines, five (in total). Please give me ten dollars.’

This type of non-referentiality of nouns is also found in the modifier constituent (the words in bold) of a compound noun in Vietnamese, such as in examples (39) and (40). Here, the classifier can similarly be omitted because the counted noun is not individualized. Thus, no classifier occurs to individualize *phòng* ‘room’ in (39). The same applies to the other examples in (40):

(39) *nhà ba phòng*

house three room

‘a three-room house’

(40) a. *xe ba bánh*

cart three wheel

‘a three-wheel cart’

b. *taxi năm chỗ*

taxi five seat

‘small taxi’ (lit ‘taxi with five seats’)

(in comparison to a ‘taxi with seven seats’)

c. *tượng Phật nghìn tay nghìn mắt*

statue Buddha thousand hand thousand eye

‘a Buddha statue with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes’

Context 2: *nouns which correspond to a unit of measurement.*

This includes measurement units of ten, 12, or 100, e.g. *chục* ‘ten’, *tá* ‘dozen/12’ or *trăm* ‘hundred’) shown in (41a), units of length or weight, e.g. *mét* ‘metre’ or *ký* ‘kilogram’ in (42), area measurement units, e.g. *héc-ta* ‘hectare = 10,000m²’, *mẫu* ‘Vietnamese measurement unit of 10,000m²’, *sào* ‘Vietnamese measurement unit of 1,000m²’, *tỉnh* ‘province’, *thành phố* ‘city’, *nước* ‘country’, etc.), measurement units of time (*ngày* ‘day’, *tháng* ‘month’, *đêm* ‘night’, etc.), and measurement units of money (*đô-la* ‘dollar’, *xu* ‘cent’, *đồng* ‘Vietnam dong’ in (43). Emeneau (1951:100) lists some of these as non-classified nouns. In some languages (like Mandarin Chinese), the measurement unit is used as a ‘classifier’ (measurement classifier). For example: 一斤蘋果 *yī jīn píngguǒ* [one CL apple] ‘one pound of apple’, 三尺布 *sān chǐ bù* [three CL cloth] ‘three feet of cloth’, etc. From this point of view, we propose that this is the same case in Vietnamese, i.e. the

semantic scope of these nouns already includes a unit for counting or measuring; thus, a classifier is not required in these contexts (cf. Simpson & Ngo's (2018) approach, in which *ngày* 'day' is a noun which functions as a classifier; also Truong (1970) for the same notion).

However, it is noted that unlike Chinese, these nouns can combine with the focus marker *cái* 'the additional element which is used with a classifier' in contexts of specification (such as noteworthiness, focus, etc.). For instance: *ngày xưa, cái ngày mà mình còn học chung lớp với nhau* [day old CAI day REL we still learn together class with each other] 'upon days, THE days that we were still in the same class' (cf. Section 6.3 for more details about the focus marker *cái* or [*cái* CL N] construction).

- (41) a. *một chục (*quả) trứng* = b. *mười quả trứng* [ten eggs]
 one ten (*CL) egg ten CL egg
- một tá (*cái) khăn* = *mười hai cái khăn* [twelve towels]
 one dozen (*CL) towel ten two CL towel
- 'a dozen of towels' 'twelve towels'
-
- (42) *một mét (*tám) vải* *một ký (*viên) đường*
 one metre (*CL) cloth one kilogram (*CL) sugar
- 'one-metre (long) of cloth' 'one kilogram of sugar'

- (43) a. *một ngày/đêm*²³ b. *một tỉnh/nơi* c. *một đô la/xu*
 one day/night one province/place one dollar/cent
 ‘a/one day/night’ ‘a/one province/place’ ‘a/one dollar/cent’

Context 3: *Abstract nouns in Sino-Vietnamese.*

Context 3-1: abstract nouns in loanwords.

Abstract nouns in loanwords can combine directly with a numeral, as shown in (44). Most of these nouns are Sino-Vietnamese, e.g. *tư tưởng* (思想 *sīxiǎng*) ‘thought(s)’, *quan niệm* (觀念 *guānniàn*) ‘concept(s)’, *thần thân* (精神 *jīngshén*) ‘spirit’ (see Emeneau (1951:100) for non-classified nouns):

- (44) a. *một tư tưởng* b. *một tinh thần* c. *một quan niệm*
 one thought one spirit one concept
 ‘one thought’ ‘one spirit’ ‘one concept’

Context 3-2. Abstract nouns formed by nominal heads denoting abstract concepts.

In English, there are many words that can act as both nouns and verbs, e.g. *act* [V] - *an act* [N], *call* [V] - *a call* [N], *fight* [V] - *a fight* [N], and so on. In Vietnamese, verbs can be derived into nouns by adding words like *cái* ‘general classifier’, *sự* ‘thing’, *nỗi* ‘feeling (negative)’, or *niềm* ‘feeling (positive)’ before stative verbs (45a–d) or by adding words like *trận* ‘thing that happens and repeats for a period of time’ (45e), *cuộc* ‘thing that

²³ Simpson & Ngo (2018) assume that *ngày/đêm* functions as a classifier in CL⁰; the head noun that legitimately occurs combined with this time expression is *trời* ‘time’ (the original meaning of *trời* is sky), as shown in (1). The phenomenon of nouns functioning as classifiers exists in many languages. Such nouns can be analysed either as head nouns of nominal projections, or as measure words/classifiers (cf. the alternation in English between ‘two bags’ and ‘two bags of gold’ (also cf. Truong 1970).

- (1) a. *một ngày/đêm (trời)*
 one day/night time
 ‘one day/night (of time)’.
- b. [DP [NumP hai [CLP ngày_k [NP ngày_k]]]]
 two. day
 ‘two days’

happens and lasts for a period of time’ before active verbs to express event nouns (45f)²⁴. In our view, the above nominal head nouns are derived from the following Chinese words: 個 *gè* ‘classifier, individual’ (Sino-Vietnamese *cá* → Modern Vietnamese *cái*), 事 *shì* ‘thing’ (Sino-Vietnamese *sự*), 餓 *něi* ‘hungry, dispirited, flimflam’ (Sino-Vietnamese *nỗi*), 念 *niàn* ‘commemoration, idea, thought’ (Sino-Vietnamese *niệm* → Modern Vietnamese *niệm*), 陣 *zhèn* ‘battle array, disposition of troops’ (Sino-Vietnamese *trận*), 局 *jú* ‘gathering’ (Sino-Vietnamese *cục* → Modern Vietnamese *cuộc*).

(45) Emeneau (1951: page number):

- a. *cái đẹp* [*cái* beautiful] ‘beauty’, *cái kết* [*cái* conclude] ‘ending’, etc.
- b. *sự thật* [*sự* true] ‘truth’, *sự lừa đảo* [*sự* cheat] ‘fraud’, etc.
- c. *nỗi buồn* [*nỗi* sad] ‘sadness’, *nỗi đau* [*nỗi* hurt] ‘suffering’, etc.
- d. *niềm vui* [*niềm* happy] ‘happiness’, *niềm tự hào* [*niềm* proud] ‘pride’, etc.
- e. *trận đấu* [*trận* fight] ‘combat’, *trận chiến* [*trận* fight] ‘war’, etc.
- f. *cuộc sống* [*cuộc* live] ‘life’, *cuộc biểu tình* [*cuộc* protest/demonstrate] ‘demonstration’, *cuộc nổi loạn* [*cuộc* rebel] ‘rebellion’, etc.

Context 4: *nouns in word restriction contexts, especially in Vietnamese literature.*

There are specific patterns used in Vietnamese poetry or idioms which are characterized by strict limitations of syllables. One of them is the four-word restriction pattern found in idiomatic phrases and poetry as in (46). Another pattern is the six-eight-word restriction patterns used in poems, folk poetry, folk songs, or proverbs as illustrated in (47). Finally, an example from the seven-word restriction is presented in (48).

²⁴ Emeneau (1951) refers to these nouns as non-classified nouns without further explanation.

(46) Examples of Vietnamese idioms:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. <i>năm châu bốn bể</i>
 five continent four sea²⁵
 ‘the world’</p> | <p>b. <i>ba chân bốn cẳng</i>
 three foot four leg
 ‘in a hurry’</p> |
|---|--|

Example (47) is extracted from a Vietnamese folk poem called *Thằng Bòm* ‘The village fellow Bom’.²⁶ It illustrates a Vietnamese folk poem written in the style of ‘six-eight’ (six-syllable and eight-syllable) which was influenced by China’s Tang poetry.

- (47) ‘*Thằng Bòm có cái quạt mo*
 CL-boy Bom have CL fan spathe (of betel (areca) tree)
Phú Ông xin đổi ba bò chín trâu...’
 Phu Ong beg exchange three cow nine buffalo

‘Bom has an areca spathe fan, Phu Ong begs him to exchange **three cows and nine buffaloes** for his fan.

Example (48) illustrates another example of Vietnamese poetry in the style of the seven-syllable poetry, which is influenced from the so-called ‘seven-syllable, four-line’ Tang poetry. The poet has to follow rhyme rules as well as restrictions on the number of words.²⁷

²⁵ Just a conventional saying from ancient Vietnamese people (the five continents: Asia, America, Africa, Australia and Europe; the four seas: the Pacific Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Southern Ocean. It may also be influenced by the Chinese compound 四海 *sìhǎi* ‘four oceans’).

²⁶ People often give the name *Bòm* to someone who is stupid and naive. *Quạt mo* was a very common areca spathe fan in the past. In fact, this fan is a part of a leaf from an areca tree. Phu Ong is a Sino-Vietnamese word; 富翁 *fùwēng* means ‘a rich man’. In this story, Bom is a very poor boy, whereas Phu Ong is very rich but greedy. Phu Ong heard that Bom had a magic fan (it is actually just a common fan). Henceforth, he used many ways to get the fan by exchanging it for whatever he can afford.

²⁷ These two sentences were extracted from the poem ‘I love my wife’, which was written by a Vietnamese poet and satirist named Tú Xương (1871–1907) and published by Viet Nam Education Publisher in 1987.

- (48) ‘*Quanh năm buôn bán ở mom sông*
 year in, year out trade in a part of land along the river
Nuôi đủ năm con với một chồng...’
 feed enough five children and one husband
 ‘Year in, year out, she trades along the river to feed five children and her husband.’

Since our study will focus on the conditions where it is preferable to use or not to use a classifier, this section concludes with a few examples on Sino-Vietnamese nouns, whose behavior is quite different from purely/regular Vietnamese nouns. Here are some examples from the data which show that Sino-Vietnamese words tend to occur as bare nouns: *đồng nghiệp* 共同作業 *gòngtóng zuòyè* ‘colleague’, *bạn đồng sự* 伴同事 *bàn tóngshì* ‘colleague’, *đối tác* 對方合作 *duìfāng hézuò* ‘partner’, *dịch vụ* 交易服務 *jiāoyì fúwù* ‘service’, *cơ hội* 機會 *jīhuì* ‘chance/opportunity’, *gia đình* 家庭 *jiātíng* ‘family’, and *cảnh* 景 *jǐng* ‘scene’. However, a classifier can be used when speakers want to emphasize or focus on these concepts (49) (for more details, cf. Section 6.2.3.1), or when these Sino-Vietnamese words are mentioned as definite after previous introduction (50).²⁸

- (49) [CL N_{Sino-Vietnamese}, -def](*Written text 20, sentence 28*)
Lúc này, có viên cảnh sát vào hỏi xem tình hình vì
 time DEM, have CL-policeman come ask see situation because
hai vợ chồng cãi nhau.
 two wife husband argue
 ‘This time, there came [a] policeman asking why this couple argued with each other.’

²⁸ Context of (49): After making a big effort to cook for the wife, the husband finally finished preparing the breakfast for the wife, but she did not want to eat it. The husband tried to force the wife to eat and at this time, a man (policeman) came and said something to them. Context of (50): The husband’s colleague came to pick up the husband to go to work, but the husband let him wait outside, because he was so busy with the mess he made in the kitchen.

(50) [CL N_{Sino-Vietnamese}, +def] (*Written text 2, sentence 23*)

Người bạn đồng sự ló đầu vào hối thúc anh.

CL colleague poke- head -in urge 3.SG

‘**The colleague** poked his head through the window urging him to leave for work.’

More contexts related to Sino-Vietnamese nouns will be analysed throughout this study. Having considered the classifier construction and the contexts with optional classifiers, we will move on to syntactic factors in the next section.

2.3 ISSUES OF SYNTAX

The research of Emeneau (1951) on Vietnamese nouns will be reviewed first. Then, two approaches to classifier patterns in DP structure from Simpson (2005) and T. H. Nguyen (2004) will be examined, with the aim to reach a better understanding of the underlying structure of Vietnamese DP constructions.

2.3.1 Classified nouns vs. non-classified nouns

One of the earliest studies of nouns in Vietnamese is the study of Emeneau (1951). He raises the issue of the presence or absence of a classifier in Vietnamese in examples like (51-53). As seen in examples with (a), the noun *cổng* ‘gate’ occurs with a classifier, whereas the noun *chuyện* ‘story’ in the ones with (b) occurs without a classifier, although these two nouns are put in the same context occurring with a numeral (called ‘numerator’ by Emeneau 1951) (51), a demonstrative (52), or a numeral and a demonstrative (53):

(51) a. *hai cái cổng*
 NUM CL gate

‘two gates’

b. *hai chuyện*
 NUM story

‘two stories’

- (52) a. *cái cổng ấy*
 CL gate DEM
 ‘that gate’
- b. *chuyện ấy*
 story DEM
 ‘that story’
- (53) a. *hai cái cổng ấy*
 two CL gate DEM
 ‘those two gates’
- b. *hai chuyện ấy*
 two story DEM
 ‘those two stories’

To solve his puzzle, Emeneau (1951:85) proposed a major distinction between two types of nouns in Vietnamese, i.e., classified nouns and non-classified nouns. Classified nouns need a classifier to be countable, whereas non-classified nouns can be quantified directly without a classifier. The schema of the numerated construction is illustrated in Table 2-1.

Table 2-3: The schema of the numerated construction from Emeneau (1951:85).

Numerator	Classifier	Classified noun	±Attribute(s) ²⁹	Demonstrative numerator
	Non-classified noun			

Emeneau’s (1951) schema of the numerated construction predicts that (i) when a numeral occurs with a classified noun, it is followed by a classifier followed by the classified noun, or (ii) when a demonstrative occurs with a classified noun, it is preceded by a classified noun and followed by a classifier. However, when a numeral or a demonstrative occur with a non-classified noun, it is immediately preceded or followed, respectively, by a numeral without any intervening classifier. In addition to that, Emeneau (1951) also observes that classifiers can be omitted when occurring with a classified noun in the same context.

²⁹ According to Emeneau (1951:85), an attribute may be a noun, a numerator (rather rarely), a pronoun, a personal name (rather rarely), a verb or a verb phrase, or a complete predication (sometimes introduced by the conjunction *mà*). In a number of instances, a classifier acts as a head followed by a verb attribute; e.g. *người¹ lạ²* ‘a stranger’ (literally: person¹ who is strange²), with no indication of gender or the like, such as is carried sometimes by a noun classified by the classifier *người*.

2.3.2 The [CL N] construction vs. bare N construction

Emeneau (1951) considers (54) and (55) exceptions to classified nouns. A classifier can be omitted when a demonstrative numerator is involved. He states that a classifier is expected to occur, especially when it is associated with the WH-word *nào* ‘which’ or the demonstrative *này* ‘this’. However, (54) and (55) do not meet this expectation. To account for these ‘exceptions’, he argues that nouns denoting the locative of a position verb (54) or the goal of a motion verb (55) take no classifier when combined with a WH-word or a demonstrative:

(54) *Hai anh muốn ngồi bàn nào?* (Emeneau 1951:99)

Two 2.SG (politeness) want sit table which

‘At which table do (the two of) you want to sit?’

(55) *Chị làm ơn bỏ-giùm -vào bao này.* (Emeneau 1951:99)

2.SG (politeness) do favour put- help -into bag DEM

‘Please put (the thing) into this bag for me.’

Based on Nguyen (1975), we assume that the nouns *bàn* ‘table’ and *bao* ‘bag’ in the contexts of (54) and (55) carry no classifier because their predicates do not provide information on their properties which may be useful for identifying *bàn* ‘table’ or *bao* ‘bag’. To illustrate this, let’s look at example (56) from Nguyen (1975). Here, the noun *bàn* ‘table’ takes the classifier *cái* in (56a), but appears in its bare form in (56b). In (56a), the property expressed by the predicate is about *bàn* ‘the table’, which is identified as *dài quá* ‘being too long’. In contrast, the predicate does not contribute to the identification of *bàn* ‘the table’ in (56b). In fact, (56b) is just a description of the number of persons who sit around a table for which no further identificational properties of *bàn* ‘the table’ are given. Thus, no classifiers are used in (54) and (55) in analogy to (56b).

- (56) a. *Cái bàn này dài quá!* (Nguyen 1975)
 CL table DEM long too
 ‘This table is too long.’
- b. (**Cái*) *bàn này có bốn người.*
 (*CL) table DEM have four person
 ‘There are four persons at this table.’

The data in our corpus show that most of the nouns in demonstrative constructions occur with a classifier. Exceptions are found mostly when the noun is relational, non-identificational, a loanword or backgrounded. From such a perspective, the absence of classifiers in (54) and (55) may not only be due to predicates which do not contribute to the identification of *bao* ‘bag’ and *bàn* ‘table’ in terms of Nguyen (1975) but also to the fact that these nouns are borrowed from Chinese (包 *bāo* ‘bag’ and 盤 *pán* ‘plate’, respectively).³⁰

Observing the occurrence of classifiers, Emeneau (1951:100) also shows his confusion when he finds the same noun *tàu* ‘ship’ used without a classifier in (57a), but with the classifier *chiếc* in (57b). If one examines the contexts of the noun’s occurrence with/without a classifier in more detail, one finds that (57a) seems to focus on the type or kind of ship which does not contribute to identify it (e.g. *tàu chở khách* ‘ship(s) that transport passengers’ or *tàu chở hàng* ‘ship(s) that transport goods’). In contrast, the word *chỉ chuyên* ‘only specialize in’ in (57b) maximally identifies the ship. It is only that ship that runs in that direction. Thus, the use of a classifier is preferred in this context.

³⁰ *Bao* ‘bag’ is borrowed in its entirety from the Chinese word 包 *bāo* ‘bag’. However, 盤 is a Nom characters (*chữ Nôm* 字喃, IPA: [cĩ? nom], literally ‘southern characters’), in earlier times also called *quốc âm* ‘national sounds’ or *chữ nam* ‘southern characters’, which is a logographic writing system formerly used to write the Vietnamese language. It used the standard set of classical Chinese characters to represent and some native Vietnamese words, while new characters were created on the Chinese model to represent other words.). It was borrowed from Chinese 盤 *pán* ‘plate’ with the meaning *bàn ghé* ‘table chair’ (<http://hannom.huect.vn/default.aspx>). Its status as a partial loanword with this meaning (may be) because the phonetic pronunciation of 盤 *pán* ‘plate’ in *Han-Viet* (Sino-Vietnamese) is *bàn* ‘table’. For more information about Nom characters, visit the following link: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chữ_Nôm.

- (57) a. *vì tàu này, là tàu chỉ chở ...*
 because ship DEM, be ship only transports
 ‘because this ship is a ship that transports only (mail and first-class passengers).’
- b. *vì chiếc tàu ấy, chỉ chuyên chạy đường ấy.*
 because CL ship DEM, only specialize run road DEM
 ‘because that ship is restricted for running in that direction.’

2.3.3 Classifier syntax in Vietnamese ([CL N] and [*cái* CL N])

The [CL N] construction is commonly associated with indefiniteness (cf. Daley (1998), Bisang (1999), Löbel (1996), and Nguyen (1997) on Nung, Hmong and Vietnamese). However, it is noted that the [CL N] construction in Vietnamese can express either definiteness or indefiniteness (cf. T. H. Nguyen (2004); Trinh (2011)). This section will discuss the function of classifiers as markers of definiteness and/or indefiniteness, including the classifier doubling construction ([*cái* (hence the ‘extra *cái*’) CL N]) as analysed by T. H. Nguyen (2004) and Simpson (2005, 2018).³¹ The syntactic function and position of ‘extra *cái*’ in the Vietnamese DP structure are controversial in these two approaches.

This study attempts to examine this special doubling classifier construction because the ‘extra *cái*’ may affect the interpretation of [CL N] constructions. Moreover, it is a controversial issue. Simpson & Ngo (2018:224) argue that it significantly enforces definite

³¹ The ‘extra *cái*’ construction can be considered the only case of two classifiers occurring in sequence in Vietnamese (it does not co-occur with its homonymous classifier). Even though it has been considered as ‘old-fashioned’ (Emeneau 1951; Nguyen Đình Hoa 1957) it is commonly found in modern Vietnamese, especially in the oral data of my experiment. Thompson (1965) briefly mentions the ‘extra *cái*’ construction. Unfortunately, he calls *cái* the ‘general classifier’, and this blurs the specific function of this classifier in the ‘extra *cái*’ construction. Some other researchers claimed that *cái* carries a pejorative connotation (Thompson 1965; Nguyen K.T. 1981; Nguyen Đ.H. 1997). But this is not necessarily the case, since *cái* can be used to focus on something positive as well as negative. *Cái* is also used to formally draw the hearer/reader’s attention to focused information in the noun phrase. Nguyen Đ.H. (1997) notes that the [*cái* CL N] construction is found more in elder-generation speakers.

interpretation. In contrast, it is considered a definiteness marker and a focus marker by T. H. Nguyen (2004). Given this controversial situation, we examine the doubling classifier construction based on the analysis of our data (especially in oral texts) to find out its syntactic function and its position in the Vietnamese DP structure.

2.2.3.1 T. H. Nguyen (2004)

T. H. Nguyen (2004) shows that Vietnamese [CL N] constructions can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite (cf. example (3) in Section 1.1). Moreover, he argues that ‘extra *cái*’ serves as a focus marker (cf. earlier research, e.g. Emeneau (1951), Nguyen Đ. H. (1957 and 1997), Duong (1971), Nguyen.T.C. (1975), Nguyen (1981)). In Nguyen’s (2004) analysis, it is an adjunct, left-adjoined to the classifier phrase. T. H. Nguyen (2004) implies that ‘extra *cái*’ is structurally higher in the tree than the classifier in the classifier phrase. In his view, *cái* in (58) signals focus on the property of the noun in *ngựa đen* [horse black] ‘BLACK horse’ (not the BROWN one). In our analysis, it can also focus on the noun phrase in *con ngựa đen* [CL horse black] ‘the BLACK HORSE’ (not the other ones) in the context that there are a lot of toy animals in different colours in front of me and I only like the black one. Moreover, one can see that ‘extra *cái*’ can intervene between a numeral and a CLP, thus, numerals surface higher than ‘extra *cái*’ in the noun phrase. Same as example (58b), his interpretation that it signals focus on the noun *trà sen* ‘the LOTUS tea’ (not the jasmin tea). In our analysis, it can also focus on the noun phrase the noun phrase in *hai ấm trà sen* ‘the two pots of lotus-tea’ in the context that I made two pots of lotus tea for you however in certain reason you forgot to drink them and now ‘the TWO POTS OF LOTUS TEA’ were stales. It is noted that indefinite *một* ‘one’ does not co-occur with the focus marker *cái*, e.g. *a very book I bought vs. the very book that I bought (Nguyen (2004:121)).³²

³² However, our oral data does show that indefinite *một* ‘one’ can co-occur with the focus marker *cái*; see Section 6.3 for more details and evidence.

(58) a. *Tôi thích* [CLP[FOCP*cái* CLP[CL*con ngựa đen*]]].

1.SG like CÁI CL horse black

‘I like the BLACK horse (but not the brown one).’

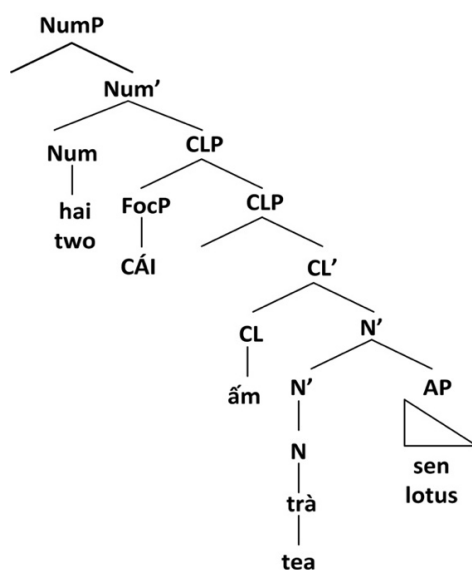
b. [NumP*Hai* [CLP[FOCP*cái* CLP[CL*ấm trà* *sen*]]] *thiu rồi!*

two CÁI CL tea lotus stale already

‘The two pots of LOTUS tea are already stale.’

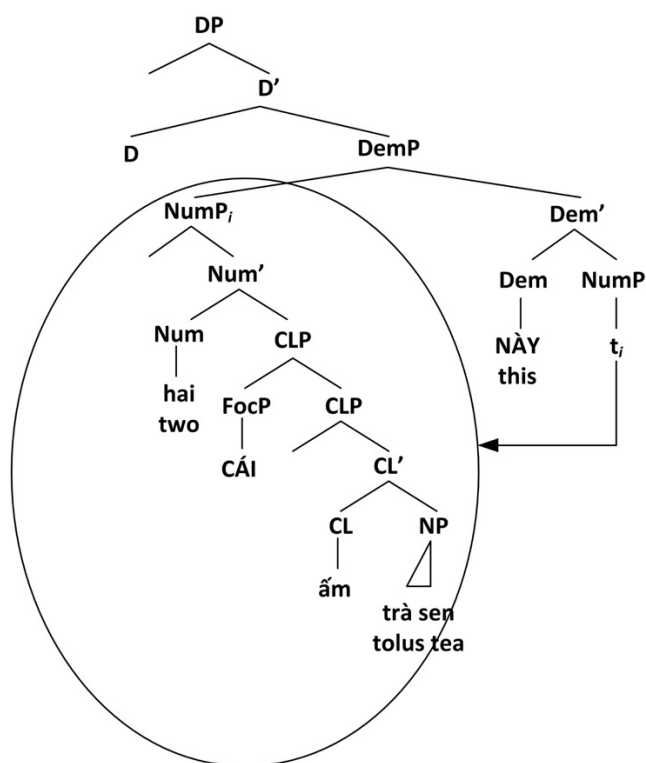
Thus, from Nguyen’s (2004) analysis, the simplest account of the nominal word order of the classifier phrase with ‘extra *cái*’ is shown in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-2: The syntactic position of the ‘extra *cái*’, from Nguyen (2004:114).



Nguyen (2004:116) also notes that when the [*cái* CL N] construction or the [NUM *cái* CL N] construction occur with the definite demonstrative *này/kia* ‘this/that’, they are expected to move to the specifier position of the DemP to get definite reading. The movement condition is triggered because the demonstrative phrase (DemP) in Vietnamese is a complement of D. One advantage of projecting DemP is that it provides an extra landing site for XP movement. Example (58b) is illustrated by Figure 2-3 with the demonstratives *này/kia* ‘this/that’ in the D position and the NumP in SpecDP:

Figure 2-3: The Vietnamese classifiers and DP structure from Nguyen ((2004:120).



More interestingly, T. H. Nguyen (2004) provides empirical evidence that Vietnamese has a set of lexical elements base-generated at D (cf. (59)). He proposes that Vietnamese noun phrases are DPs, where the head D is associated with [\pm definite]. D may be filled by the plural determiner *các*, which marks the noun phrase as [$+$ definite]. These functional heads select the classifier phrase as their complement. The definite noun phrase in (59a) is shown in Figure 2-4a. D may also be filled by the indefinite article *một* 'one'. Nguyen proposes that *một* 'one' may well have developed from the homonymous numeral, and that it moves from its base-generated position in Num to D. The indefinite noun phrase in (59c) is illustrated as Figure 2-4b. However, Nguyen shows his confusion about the syntactic position of *những* because it can play the role of both indefinite article and definite article and can be followed by a full definite DP, as is shown in (59b). He suggests reanalysing *các* and *những* as quantifiers, but he leaves this issue to future research.

(59) Examples from Nguyen (2004:118–123):

a. *các* [+PL; +def]:

các *CÁI* *con* *mèo* *này*
 +def/PLU.ART CÁI CL cat DEM
 ‘these very cats’

b. *những* [+PL; -def]:

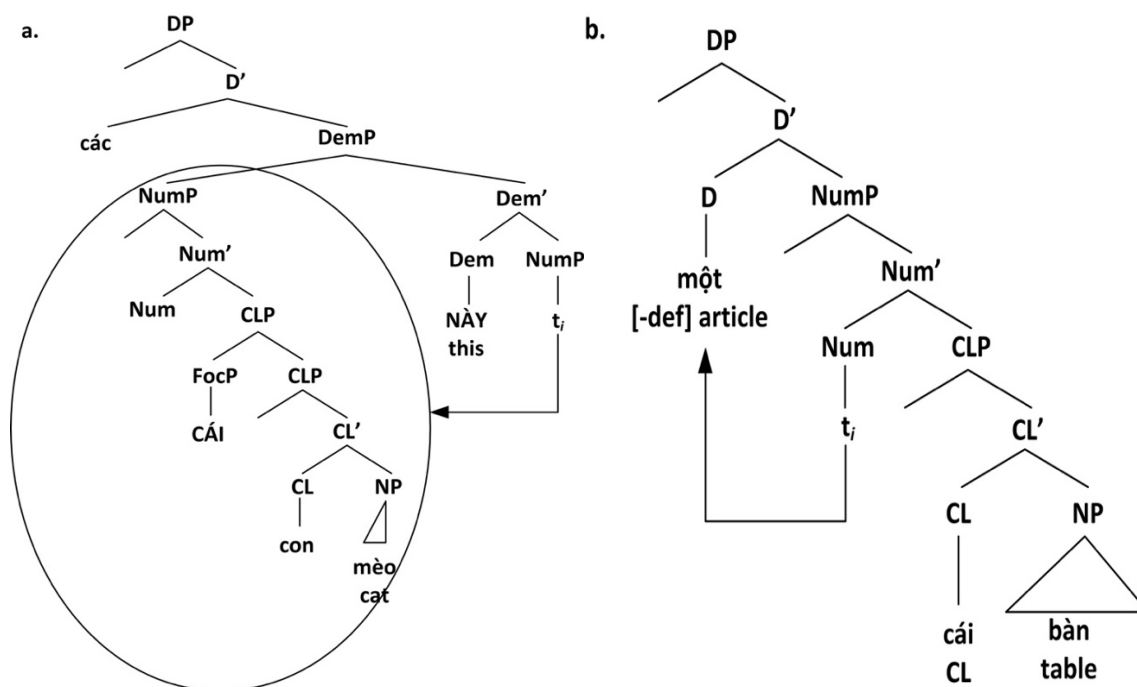
những *cuốn* *sách* *mới* *này*
 +/(-)def/PLU.ART CL book new DEM
 ‘these new books/some of these new books’

c. *một* [-PL; -def]:

một *cái* *bàn*
 one CL table
 ‘a table’

Figure 2-4 illustrates the definite and indefinite noun phrases from (59b) and (59c) in Nguyen’s (2004) analysis, respectively. However, the analysis that *một* ‘one’ moves from its base-generated position in Num to D is not convincing (cf. Simpson 2005) because the presence of a numeral blocks the raising of CL (over Num) to D in terms of the Head Movement Constraint. It is thus suggested that the whole numeral phrase moves from NumP to DemP or DP. The solution for this suggestion will be shown in Section 6.3 of this study.

Figure 2-4: The Vietnamese DP structure with [\pm definite] articles from Nguyen ((2004:120 & 122))



2.2.3.2 Simpson (2005, 2018)

In contrast to T. H. Nguyen (2004), Simpson (2005 & 2018) argues that ‘extra *cái*’ can be inserted into the position of Spec-DP or D^0 and stay in situ, i.e. there is no CL-to-D movement. He posits that the [Num CL N] construction can only be interpreted as indefinite as in (60a), while the construction with ‘extra *cái*’ is interpreted as inherently definite, because ‘extra *cái*’ significantly enforces definite interpretation (60b).

(60) a. *Tôi mua tám cái ghế.* (Simpson 2005:812)

1.SG buy eight CL chair

‘I bought eight chairs.’

b. *Hai cái con chó* (Simpson & Ngo 2018:224)

two CL.DEF. CL dog

‘the two dogs’

As for numeral classifier phrases, he suggests that [Num CL N] will consequently be automatically interpreted as indefinite, as the classifier remains *in situ* in CL and has clearly not been raised to D. Moreover, when there is a numeral, it will not be possible to raise CL (over Num) to D because of the Head Movement Constraint, which explains the non-occurrence of forms such as [$*\text{CL}_i \text{Num } t_i \text{NP}$]. Instead, a demonstrative has to be inserted either into D^0 (or possibly SpecDP) to trigger definite interpretation.³³

As for the constructions with ‘extra *cái*’, Simpson (2005) first uses examples from Nguyen (1997) as shown in (61) and argues that ‘extra *cái*’ is interpreted as definite, given its position in D. This provides clear empirical support for the CL-to-D hypothesis, and it is suggested that classifiers may indeed sometimes occur in higher D^0 -type heads in definite DPs. In other words, Simpson’s (2005) perspective on the position of ‘extra *cái*’ in the [*cái* CL N] constructions is different from that of T. H. Nguyen (2004). Simpson considers the raising of a classifier from CLP to DP a reasonable solution for the interpretation of a classifier as either definite or indefinite. He argues that ‘extra *cái*’ is base-generated in D^0 /Spec DP because *cái* occurs with the regular classifier, resulting in sequences with clear definite interpretation, i.e. there is no CL-D movement in [*cái* CL N] constructions.

³³ Simpson (2005) notes that bare classifiers also occur with demonstratives in Hmong, Vietnamese, and Nung, e.g.:

- (i) tu ma nay (Nung)
 CL NP DEM
 ‘this dog’

As noted earlier, the DP-final position of classifiers in Hmong, Vietnamese, and Nung is taken to result from leftward movement of the constituent following Dem. If one now assumes that bare classifiers are raised to D, there may be two possible analyses of Dem. It could be assumed that demonstratives in Hmong, (continuation of footnote 33) Vietnamese, and Nung are in SpecDP and that the D’ constituent dominating CL (in D), Num, and NP raises leftward. Alternatively, one could assume the existence of a DP-shell structure as suggested in Simpson & Wu (2000) to account for languages such as Spanish, which clearly allow the co-occurrence of determiners and demonstratives. In such a DP-shell, both the determiner (or classifier) and the demonstrative may be generated in D^0 positions.

Historically it can be suggested that the possibility of inserting a general classifier directly into the higher posited D^0 position has resulted from a sequence of movement and reanalysis. After a certain initial period of simple CL-to-D movement with the classifier instantiating both heads CL and D, it can be suggested that frequent raising of the general classifier to D^0 may have allowed for it to be re-analysed as (potentially) just a D^0 -element permitting simple insertion into D^0 and allowing for CL^0 to be lexicalised and instantiated by a second classifier.

(Simpson 2005: 819)

(61) Simpson (2005: 819: quoted from Nguyen (1997))

a. *Cái con dao [anh cho tôi mượn], nó thật sắc!* (

CÁI CL knife you give me borrow 3.SG really sharp

‘The knife you gave me is really sharp.

b. *Cái chiếc bàn này*

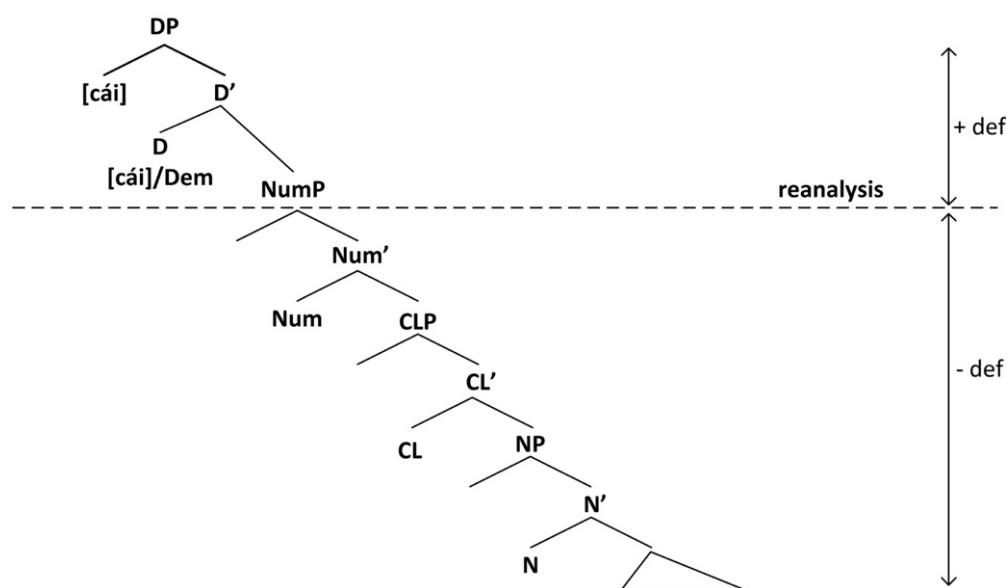
CÁI CL table DEM

‘this table’

Simpson (2005:18) concludes that either CL-to-D or demonstrative insertion into D^0 /Spec DP, or general classifier insertion into D^0 (where available), can be suggested to achieve the same basic goal of overtly specifying the DP as being definite. The explanation of Simpson’s (2005) study on Vietnamese DP structure is summarized as Figure 2-5.³⁴

³⁴ Simpson’s (2005:18) notion that classifiers may be re-analysed as either definite or indefinite determiners would seem to indicate again that such elements are not inherently definite or indefinite but come to be associated with either definiteness or indefiniteness due to their frequent use in certain constructions. In this study, we follow this idea but we replace it for checking (as checking for head movement) from a [\pm definite] interpretation to a [+definite] interpretation.

Figure 2-5: Vietnamese classifiers and DP structure, based on Simpson's analysis (2005:18).



At the next stage, Simpson & Ngo's (2018) analyse 'extra *cái*' from the perspective of its occurrence with different types of nouns, i.e., obligatory-classifier nouns (62a), optional-classifier nouns (62b), and non-classified nouns (62c).³⁵ In the case of obligatory-classifier nouns and optional-classifier nouns, they argue that the classifier position CL is filled with the regular classifier available for such nouns, as illustrated in (63a) representing (62a), and (63b) representing (62b). As for non-classified nouns, they note that a classifier is also selected when 'extra *cái*' occurs with it. However, with these nouns the classifier position in the 'extra *cái*' construction must be occupied by the noun that is present, raised to the classifier position from N, as shown in (63c) representing (62c). The hypothesis for the

³⁵ The optional-classifier nouns and non-classified nouns in Simpson & Ngo (2018) are Sino-Vietnamese words like *nhân viên* 人員 *rényuán* 'employee', *quản lý* 管理 *guǎnlǐ* 'manager', *truyền thuyết* 傳說 *chuánshuō* 'legend', *hệ thống* 系統 *xìtǒng* 'system', *xã hội* 社會 *shèhuì* 'society' (fully-loanwords), or *phụ huynh* 父兄 *fùxiōng* 'parents', *màu sắc* 色 *sè* 'colour', *góc* 角 *jiǎo* 'corner, a quarter of something' (partial-loanwords (characterized by the fact that they only borrow the meaning or the sound of the components involved) (cf. contexts 3-1 in Section 2.1.6 for abstract nouns in loanwords) and measure units of an utterance *câu nói* 'sentence, saying', *tiếng nói* 'voice' (cf. context 2 in Section 2.1.6). Our data show that Sino-Vietnamese and nouns of measure units tend to occur in bare form, a classifier is selected when they are used in specific contexts such as focus or noteworthiness, etc. Therefore, we suggest that optional-classifier nouns and non-classified nouns should be listed as optional-classifier nouns. The non-classified nouns are nouns used in non-referential contexts (cf. contexts 3-1 in Section 2.1.6). However, this issue is not the main concern of our study and it would need a broader corpus.

analysis in (63c) is that non-classified nouns like *truyện thuyết* ‘legend’ may be taken to raise to the head of the classifier selected by ‘extra *cái*’ via movement from its base position in N. Vietnamese is thus a language with overt N-to-CL movement (cf. also Simpson 2008:830-833).³⁶

(62) Examples taken from Simpson & Ngo (2018:225-226)

a. *hai *(cuốn) sách* vs. *hai cái *(cuốn) sách*
 two CL book two CL.DEF CL book
 ‘(the) two books vs. the two books’

b. *hai (người) nhân viên* vs. *hai cái *(người) nhân viên*
 two CL employee two CL.DEF CL employee
 ‘(the) two employees vs. the two employees’

c. *hai truyện thuyết* vs. *hai cái truyện thuyết*
 two legend two CL.DEF legend
 ‘(the) two legends vs. the two legends’

(63) a. [DP \emptyset [QP *hai* [caiP *cái* [CLP *cuốn* [NP *sách*]]]]]
 two CL.DEF CL book
 ‘the two books’

b. [DP \emptyset [QP *hai* [caiP *cái* [CLP *người* [NP *nhân viên*]]]]]
 two CL.DEF CL employee
 ‘the two employees’

c. [DP \emptyset [QP *hai* [caiP *cái* [CLP *truyện thuyết* [NP ~~*truyện thuyết*~~]]]]]
 two CL.DEF legend
 ‘the sentences/legends’

³⁶ For future work it is proposed to examine classifiers with (‘pure’) Vietnamese nouns and Sino-Vietnamese nouns separately.

However, our data show that the doubling classifier constructions [Num *cái* CL N] and the [*cái* CL N] construction can also be interpreted as indefinite. This leads us to the following questions:

- (i) What is the syntactic function and the syntactic position of ‘extra *cái*’ in Vietnamese?
- (ii) Can Sino-Vietnamese words be derived from a N to a classifier, as shown in (63c)? If they cannot, *cái* in this context may only be a classifier for the noun, and this implies there is only a distinction between obligatory classifier nouns vs. optional-classifier nouns with the class of non-classified nouns being non-existent (cf. Table 2-2 An inventory of nouns and their developments as class terms (CT) and classifiers (CL) in Section 2.1.2.3 for the suggestion that Sino-Vietnamese words can be derived into class-terms but not into classifiers).

This issue will be discussed in detail in Sections 4.4.6, 6.3, and 7.2 (on directions for future research).

2.2.3.3 Summary

Based on the above discussion of T. H. Nguyen (2004) and Simpson (2005, 2018), the following three questions arise:

- (i) First, regarding the syntactic position of ‘extra *cái*’: is it an adjunct (FocP) to the classifier phrase (as T. H. Nguyen (2004) suggested), does it stay in situ in Spec DP (as in Simpson’s (2005) approach), or is it a definite *cái* phrase which is inserted into DP (as in Simpson & Ngo’s (2018) analysis)?
- (ii) Second, as for the syntactic function of ‘extra *cái*’: if the [Num *cái* CL N] and [*cái* CL N] constructions can be interpreted as definite or indefinite, which is the context in which it gets indefinite interpretation and which is the context in which it gets definite interpretation?
- (iii) Third, if the [numeral (>1)-CL-N] construction in Vietnamese can also be interpreted as either definite or indefinite (based on our findings), is raising of the whole numeral classifier construction from CLP to DP also possible?

Answers to these questions will be shown in Section 6.3.

2.4 ISSUES OF SEMANTICS

This section first reviews the individualization/atomization function of classifiers, then the features of animacy and relationality/uniqueness, because of the important role that the latter two features play in syntax and semantics. Finally, this section also introduces the notions of definiteness and indefiniteness as it is associated with the [CL N] construction in Vietnamese.

2.4.1 Individualization/atomization

The semantic functions of the classifier have been discussed in terms of individualization since Greenberg (1972) (cf. also Bisang 1999, Craig 1986, Greenberg 1974, Lyons 1977, Paris 1981, and Tang 1990). In formal semantics, Chierchia (1998) introduced the notion of atomization. Both accounts will be briefly presented in this section.

Greenberg (1974) considers the function of the classifier to be associated with individuation. A nominal concept has to be individuated before it can be quantified by a numeral (Bisang 1999, Paris 1981, Tang 1990). Li and Bisang (2012), based on Greenberg (1974), claims that all nouns are mass nouns in classifier languages and that classifiers serve to profile a property that is intrinsic to the concept expressed by the noun for making it accessible to counting. Classifiers with this function are called individual classifiers, which are used with count nouns. Classifiers which define the unit by which a nominal concept is counted are called individuating classifiers. They correspond to measurement words (a cup of water, a loaf of bread, etc.³⁷) or collective words (a cart-load of sand, a group of swans) and can be used with mass nouns or count nouns. The classifier function of ‘denoting individual unit[s]’ has also been noted by Vietnamese linguists such as Ly (1998), Nguyen P.P. (2002), and Nguyen T.C (1975).

Chierchia (1998:72) starts out from the notion of atoms, which are defined as singleton sets. In his approach of theoretical semantics, nominal concepts have to be atomized for counting, i.e., they have to be singled out as singleton sets of larger sets of atoms by a numeral

³⁷ As for standard measure words like litre, meter, kilogram, etc., they also behave as individuating classifiers.

classifier. In Chierchia's analysis, nouns of classifier languages all behave as English *furniture*, whose lexical meaning does not distinguish between singular (singleton set) and plural (set consisting of $n \geq 2$). In other words, mass nouns, such as *furniture* in English, are inherently plural and do not need additional plural marking. With such nouns, the function of the classifier consists in singling out atoms for counting (cf. English **two furniture* vs. *two pieces of furniture*).

In a more recent study, Sudo & Trinh (2009) assume that nouns in Mandarin and Vietnamese can be extended to include atomic and plural individuals, e.g. [*chó*] = [dog] U [dog-s] vs. [CL *chó*] = [dog] (see also Link 1983). The classifier takes a predicate and returns the set of atomic individuals in the extension of that predicate (cf. Chierchia 1998, Trinh 2007).

Since the present study is focusing on the definite or indefinite interpretation of the classifier in the [CL N] construction, it will not focus on the classifier functions of individuation or atomization in the context of counting. However, what will be discussed in Section 7.1 are potential connections between the function of the classifier in counting and its function in the context of definiteness/indefiniteness.

2.4.2 Animacy

Animacy plays an important role in grammar. This can be clearly seen from the animacy hierarchy as it was introduced by Silverstein (1976) and Dixon (1979), which is involved in such divergent domains of grammar as alignment, differential object marking, direct/inverse marking, or number marking on nouns. If one examines the hierarchy in its full form as it is presented by Croft (2003: 130) in (64), one can see that it is not only concerned with animacy, but also includes person and referentiality:

(64) Animacy hierarchy (Croft 2003: 130):

first/second person pronouns > third person pronouns > proper names > human
common noun > non-human animate common noun > inanimate common noun.

The feature of animacy is limited to the part of the animacy scale that runs from human to animate (non-human) to inanimate. Animacy generally contributes to prominence (cf. Bornkessel-Schlesewsky and Schlewsky 2009 for a good survey). Another important scale that contributes to prominence is the definiteness scale, which runs from personal pronoun to proper name to definite specific NP to non-specific NP (cf. Aissen 2003 on the relevance of these two scales for differential object marking). As will be shown from the data from our experiments, both scales have their impact on the referential use of classifiers as there is a strong tendency for using classifiers with definite animate nouns.

Results of the data analysis show that most of the [+animate] nouns take a classifier, whereas [-animate] nouns may take an optional classifier. Most, but not all, of the [-animate] nouns in our data are relational nouns, compounds, or backgrounded nouns. Moreover, our data show that [-animate] nouns occur frequently without a classifier because of their backgrounding properties, rather than because of their animacy properties (cf. Section 5.1 for more details).

2.4.3 Relationality/uniqueness

The distinction between [\pm relational] nouns and [\pm unique] nouns, as discussed by Löbner (1985, 2011), is of crucial importance for describing the use of classifiers in Vietnamese. Based on the features of [\pm unique] and [\pm relational], Löbner (2011) distinguishes four different types of nouns: unique nouns only refer to one object of the respective kind in a given context, e.g. *pope*, *US president*, *Georgia*, *weather*, *temperature*, etc.³⁸ Relational nouns are binary terms involving a further argument in addition to the referential argument. Examples of relational nouns are kinship terms, terms for non-unique parts, and a wide variety of de-verbal nouns. Non-unique, relational nouns are suitable for use with indefinite as well as definite determiners, both singular and plural (if they are count nouns).

The combination of [\pm unique] ([\pm U]) and [\pm relational] ([\pm R]) nouns yields the four basic semantic types of nouns discussed in Löbner (2011). He refers to [-relational] nouns with the feature [-unique] as ‘sortal nouns’, whereas the ones with the feature [+unique] are

³⁸ It is noted that the default use of uniqueness is singular definite. Plural, indefinite, and quantificational use require special marking.

‘individual nouns’. [+relational] nouns are either called ‘relational nouns’ if they are [-unique], or ‘functional nouns’ if they are [+unique]. This is shown in Table 2-4, which provides short definitions of each type of noun along with some illustrative examples.³⁹

Table 2-4: Basic distinctions of the four types of nouns discussed by Löbner (2011)

Name	Type	Meaning/concepts	Features	Examples
Sortal	<e, t>	Sortal concepts. Sortal nouns include terms for natural kind as well as kinds of artefacts, but they are by no means the only lexical subtypes. (Löbner 2011: 280)	[-U, -R]	water, stone, book, adjective, etc.
Individual	<e>	Individual concepts, which assign a unique referent to every appropriate context of utterance. Inherent uniqueness. (Löbner 2011: 281)	[+U, -R]	moon, weather, date, Maria, etc.
Relational	<e, <e, t>	Binary relational concepts, involving a further argument in addition to the referential argument. Relational nouns characterize their referents in terms of a particular relation to some other object - possessor. (Löbner 2011:281)	[-U, +R]	sister, leg, part, attribute, etc.
Functional	<e, e>	Functional concepts, involving one argument: the possessor. Functional concepts are restricted to domains of appropriate possessors and of appropriate contexts of utterance. (Löbner 2011:282)	[+U, +R]	[R]: father, author, president, etc. [U]: head, top, cover, etc. abstract aspects: age, size, price, etc.

³⁹ Note the difference between type of noun and polysemy. A noun represents a certain type only with respect to a given lexical reading. For example: *child* has both a *relational reading* ‘direct descendant of’ and a *sortal reading* ‘non-adult’; *moon* has both an *individual reading* ‘moon of the earth’ and a *relational reading* ‘natural satellite of’; *subject* can be a grammatical term (*functional*) but it can also mean ‘member of a state’ (*relational*) or ‘individual, person’ (*sortal*). The different interpretations in terms of types of nouns depends on context, with cross-linguistic differences of what is accepted as grammatical (Löbner 2011:282).

Results from the data collected in this study show that the vast majority of nouns in the [CL N] construction are sortal nouns ([-relational]/[-unique]). These sortal nouns occur significantly more often with a classifier. In contrast, [CL N] constructions with relational and unique nouns have a strong tendency to occur without a classifier. For instance, most relational nouns in written texts are found to occur without a classifier, among them *chồng* ‘husband’, *vợ* ‘wife’, and *con* ‘son’ ([+animate]), as well as *mắt* ‘eye’, *mặt* ‘face’, *chân* ‘leg’, *lưng* ‘back’, *thân* ‘body’, *mông* ‘buttocks’, and *bụng* ‘stomach’ ([-animate]). The same situation with relational nouns occurring as bare nouns is also found in oral texts. The analysis of my data is discussed in detail in Section 5.2.

2.4.4 Classifiers and definiteness vs. indefiniteness

As already mentioned in Section 2.1.4 on the syntactic function of the classifier in non-counting contexts, a [CL N] construction denotes not only singularity, but is either ‘commonly associated with referentiality or definiteness effects’ (Simpson 2005:13). In Vietnamese, ambiguity between a definite or indefinite reading still abounds in the [CL N] construction. In earlier studies by Vietnamese linguists, the [CL N] construction was assumed to be generally definite (cf. N. Le 2008; T. C. Nguyen 1975). Then T.H. Nguyen (2004) mentioned that classifiers can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. Two years later, Kirby (2006) summarized the functional range or semantic restrictions of Vietnamese classifiers in different constructions in a table, which is presented below as Table 2-5. According to this table, bare nouns in Vietnamese are transnumeral, i.e. they can be interpreted as singular or plural and they can also be used to express definite, indefinite, or generic meaning. The [CL N] construction can be interpreted as singular only, and either definite or indefinite. Finally, the [Num-CL-N] construction can only be interpreted as indefinite in Kirby’s (2006) analysis.

Table 2-5: Restriction of semantic properties of classifiers in Vietnamese (Kirby 2006).

	Bare NP	[CL-N]	[Num-CL-N]
Definiteness	Indef/Def/Gen	Indef/Def	Indef
Number	SG/PL	SG	-

Based on the data from our study, this table needs to be enriched by some further specifications, as in Table 2-6. In the column under [CL-N], the singular interpretation is strictly specified and limited to individual classifiers. In the column under [Num-CL-N], it is necessary to further specify if the numeral is one or higher than one.

Table 2-6: *Semantic properties of classifiers in Vietnamese.*

	Bare NP	[CL-N]	[Num-CL-N]
Definiteness	Indef/Def/Gen	Indef/Def	- Indef [<i>một</i> ‘one’-CL-N] - Indef/Def (Num \geq 2)
Number	SG/PL	SG (individual)	SG/PL (depends on the numeral)

The fact that the [Num (>1) -CL-N] construction can be used with definite and indefinite interpretation is shown in (65). Here, the same phrase *ba cậu bé* [three CL boy] ‘three boys’ is interpreted as indefinite in the first sentence, because the referents are first introduced in the context with the existential verb *có* ‘exist/have’. In the next sentence, the same structure is interpreted as definite, since it was mentioned in the previous context.

(65) *Oral text 7, sentences 8, 9*

Gần đó thì có ba cậu bé thấy cậu bé này bị té...

nearby TOP exist NUM CL boy see CL boy DEM PASS fall-down

A, sau đó cậu bé này đang chuẩn bị đi thì ba cậu bé

PART after that CL boy DEM PROG prepare go CONJ NUM CL boy

mới thấy có một cái nón.

just see exist NUM CL hat

‘Nearby, there were **three boys** [who] saw the boy was falling down... Ah, after that, [when] the boy was going to leave, **the three boys** just found that there was a hat [on the ground].’

Considering the effect of word order on the interpretation of a classifier, Bisang (2015) notes in his manuscript that Vietnamese classifiers can express definiteness and indefiniteness, irrespective of word order.⁴⁰ Based on currently available data, he provides the following typological outline of classifiers in East and Southeast Asian languages:

- (i) Classifiers mark definiteness and indefiniteness, irrespective of word order: **Vietnamese** and some Sinitic languages (e.g. Jiangwu, Hui, Wu, Hakka, Min, Gan, etc., cf. also Wang 2013).
- (ii) Classifiers express definiteness and indefiniteness, depending on word order: a large number of Sinitic languages (e.g. the Wu dialect of Fuyang, cf. Li & Bisang 2012).
- (iii) Classifiers only mark definiteness: Hmong, Cantonese, etc.
- (iv) Classifiers only mark indefiniteness: various Kadai languages (cf. Gerner 2006).
- (v) Classifiers occur in different forms for distinguishing definite from indefinite: some Sinitic languages (Wenzhou dialect), Weining Ahmao.

Comparing (66a, b, and c) with (66d), one can see that, unlike Chinese, the [CL N] construction in Vietnamese can appear in either the subject or the object position with definite or indefinite interpretation.⁴¹ In Mandarin, [CL N] is only possible in the postverbal position, where it gets indefinite reading as in (66a). Although the [CL N] sequence is found preverbally and postverbally in the Wu dialect, there is a clear-cut distinction between the preverbal definite interpretation and the postverbal indefinite interpretation (66b). In Cantonese, the preverbal [CL N] construction is limited to definiteness, while it gets either definite or indefinite reading in the postverbal position as in (66c). In contrast to the Sinitic languages presented in (66a–c), the definite vs. indefinite interpretation of [CL N] constructions does not depend on word order in Vietnamese (66d). The interpretation of a classifier in the [CL N] construction will be discussed thoroughly in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

⁴⁰ In contrast, the interpretation of definiteness vs. indefiniteness depends on word order in many Sinitic languages.

⁴¹ (66 a–c) are taken from Li and Bisang (2012).

(66) a. (*ge) *laoban mai le liang che* [Mandarin]

CL boss buy PFV CL car

‘The boss bought a car.’

b. *ko lopan ma lo bu ts^hots^{hi}* [Wu]

CL boss buy PFV CL car

‘The boss bought a car.’

c. *go luoban maai zo ga ce* [Cantonese]

CL boss buy PFV CL car

‘The boss bought a/the car.’

d. *Ông chủ đã mua chiếc xe.* [Vietnamese]

CL boss PFV buy CL car

‘A/the boss bought a/the car.’

More interestingly, this study also considers the effect of specificity, referentiality, and various discourse properties on the classifiers’ use, as well as their interpretation as definite or indefinite.

2.5 ISSUES OF DISCOURSE

In Vietnamese, discourse and information structure play a major role in the use and the function of classifiers, as it impacts the meaning of the classifier in terms of definiteness/indefiniteness. In addition, the feature of foregrounding and in particular the question of whether a given noun represents a protagonist ([+protagonist]), crucially determines the use of a classifier. Other relevant factors that affect the use or non-use of a classifier are contrastive topic, bridging, and associative anaphora. Finally, there are various effects of specificity which will also be considered as driven by discourse. discourse-prominent properties, to see how they trigger the occurrence of the classifier in Vietnamese.

2.5.1 Foregrounding and backgrounding ([±protagonist])

Concepts of foregrounding versus backgrounding adopted in this thesis follow the classical definition of Hopper (1979). In this view, foregrounded or core elements advance and maintain a story line, while backgrounded elements further elaborate on it by providing information about the setting.

Since it is hard to find a definition of the notion of protagonist in linguistic literature, this thesis follows general assumptions of literary studies, which define protagonists as main characters (animate or inanimate) in a story, a movie, or a play.⁴² They are seen as core elements and they are foregrounded and maintain the story line. In the Pear Story, the farmer and the boy are main characters and protagonists, since they maintain the story line. Or in ‘The over coat’ (in Vietnamese: *Chiếc áo-khoác* [CL coat]) - one of the famous short stories by Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852), Akaky Akakievich Bashmachkin and ‘the coat’ can be regarded as the protagonists of the story. While Akaky is considered an animate protagonist, the coat is an inanimate protagonist. The function of inanimate protagonists is to connect the structure and the plot of the story or to depict the characteristic and psychological development of the main characters.

Sometimes, a certain difference is made between the main character and a protagonist (cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XM3ngsGwt1g>). In such contexts, the main character is the central focus of the story, it is the character with whom the audience can identify and get immersed into the story. In contrast, the identification of the audience with the protagonist can be vague, while it also drives the development of the story. In the present thesis, no difference is made between main character and protagonist. Both are core elements of the story which maintain the story line.

Since no antagonist is found in our stories (the Pear Story and Papa, Cook, papa), this concept will not be discussed here. We only distinguish between protagonists and non-protagonists.

In Vietnamese, a protagonist is generally introduced by an indefinite construction with the numeral *một* ‘one’ and taken up later by the [CL N] construction as in (67). In this example,

⁴² On this definition, cf. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/protagonist>.

the referents ‘fisherman’ and ‘monkey’ are introduced in the discourse with *một* ‘one’: *một ngư dân* [one N] ‘a fisherman’ and *một con khỉ* [one CL N] ‘a monkey’.

As one can see, the first protagonist, *một ngư dân* ‘a fisherman’ does not take a classifier (CL), while the second one does. This is due to the fact that the word for ‘fisherman’ is a Chinese loanword from 漁民 *yú mǐn*, which consists of *ngư* 漁 *yú* ‘to fish’ and *dân* 民 *mín* ‘man’. It is, therefore, redundant if the classifier *người* ‘man’/‘classifier for person or man’ is added. However, because ‘fisherman’ is one of the two protagonists in this story, it is taken up later by the [CL N] construction in the form of *người ngư dân* ‘the fisherman’. The other protagonist is a monkey. It is first introduced with the structure [one CL:animate monkey] *một con khỉ* ‘a monkey’ and then taken up by the [CL N] construction *con khỉ* ‘the monkey’.

In contrast to protagonists, backgrounded nouns in the story almost always appear in their bare form, e.g. *thành* ‘city’, *lưới* ‘net’, etc. When backgrounded nouns are first mentioned in the discourse, they are also introduced with the [one CL N] construction, as in *một con cá* ‘a fish’.

- (67) *Câu chuyện của ngư dân và con khỉ* ‘The story of a fisherman and a monkey’
(extracted from *100 Stories for Children*, page 142)

Ngày xưa, trong thành cổ có một ngư dân tên là Khalifa, ...

long time ago in city old have one fisherman name COP Khalifa

Một ngày, ông ta mang lưới ra ngoài thành đánh cá như mọi ngày....

one day 3.SG take net outside city fishing as everyday

Ông ta tiếp tục tung lưới, khi kéo lên thì thấy một con khỉ...

3.SG continue throw net, when pull PRE CONJ see one CL monkey

Nghe lời con khỉ, người ngư dân bán tin bán nghi tung lưới.

listen to CL monkey CL fisherman half believe half doubt throw fishing-net

Quả nhiên, ông đánh được một con cá ...

Indeed 3.SG fish RES one CL fish

‘Long time ago, in an old city, there was **a fisherman** whose name was Khalifa ...

One day, he went out of the city with [his] fishing net as usual... He threw the net

for a while and [at that time] when he pulled up the net, he saw **a monkey**...

Following what **the monkey** said, **the fisherman** threw the fishing net [even though] with some doubts. He indeed caught **a fish** ...’

As will be shown later in this thesis, [+protagonist] nouns have a strong tendency to take a classifier, while [-protagonist] nouns do not (see Section 4.1).

2.5.2 Contrastive topics

There is an impressive body of literature on contrastive topics (cf. Buring (2007) and his analysis in terms of question-subquestion structures combined with alternative semantics). For the purposes of this study, a discourse-based definition in which two activated topic referents are contrasted will be sufficient (cf. Lambrecht 1994:183, 291–195).

Results of the data show that most nouns in contrastive contexts take a classifier. As shown in (68), the husband's anger and his intention to make his wife eat some food is contrasted with his wife's reaction of refusing to give in. Thus, the nouns for both the husband and the wife take a classifier in this context. The two [CL N] constructions are connected to each other by a contrastive word *nhưng* 'but' (cf. Section 4.2 for more information).

(68) (*Written text 26, sentence 36*)

Thấy thái độ của vợ mình, ông chồng điên-máu-lên và
 see attitude POSS wife self CL husband get crazy and
bắt ép ăn, nhưng bà vợ vẫn không ăn.
 force eat CONJ CL wife still NEG eat

'Seeing the behaviour of his wife, the husband got crazy and [tried to] force her to eat, but the wife still did not eat.'

2.5.3 Bridging and associative anaphora

In bridging, a certain entity which is interpreted as definite at its first mention is implicitly associated with a previously introduced discourse referent (Clark & Haviland 1977). This phenomenon is also known under the term of associative anaphora (Hawkins 1978, Hawkins 1991). Example (69) is a typical example of bridging. Since waiters stereotypically belong in a restaurant, their presence can be taken for granted in such an environment. They are implicitly activated by the mention of the restaurant and can thus be interpreted as definite without being explicitly introduced earlier (cf. I-implicatures in Levinson 2000:37–38, 126–127).

(69) John went to a restaurant. **The waiter** was impolite.

In general, associative anaphora (elements inferred by bridging) are characterized by the following three properties (Huang 2000: 249):

- (i) They are usually definite (but they can also be indefinite; see Levinson 2000:182);
- (ii) There is some semantic and/or pragmatic relationship between the anaphor and its antecedent; and
- (iii) The relation between anaphor and antecedent is not strictly co-referential.

The data show unexpected results on the bridging relation in Vietnamese, i.e., nouns in bridging contexts can occur either with or without a classifier. Thus, the bridging relation as such does not necessarily trigger classifier marking. The analysis of bridging and associative anaphora will be further explored in Section 4.3.

2.5.4 Specificity, information structure, and discourse

The observation by Emeneau (1951) in Section 2.2.1 that the same noun sometimes occurs with a classifier and sometimes without a classifier leads to the assumption that classifier use may be related to specificity and information structure. Thus, it is necessary to examine the notions of various types of specificity and discourse prominence, and more specifically, to investigate the effect of these properties on the occurrence of classifiers in our data.

For discussing the factors that trigger classifier use, this section adopts the concepts of noteworthiness as discussed by Ionin (2006) and von Heusinger (2011), the concept of familiarity shown in Li and Bisang 2012, as well as Kiss's (1998) discussion of information focus and identificational focus and topic.

2.5.4.1 Noteworthiness

Ionin (2006) discusses the relation between referentiality (Fodor & Sag 1982) and discourse prominence (Givón 1983) in the context of indefinite *this* in English (cf. Perlmann 1969, Maclaran 1980, Prince 1981, Heusinger 2011). She argues that indefinite *this* not only behaves as a referential operator in the sense of Fodor & Sag (1982), but also as the felicity condition of 'noteworthiness'.

Specificity as noteworthiness assumes that the use of presentative *this* in example (70a) signals that the speaker intends to assert a noteworthy property of the referent into

discourse, while the use of indefinite *this* in (70b) is not felicitous because no such property is mentioned.

(70) English (quoted from Heusinger 2011:10)

a. I put **a/*this* 1\$ stamp** on the letter and realized too late that it was worth a fortune.

b. I put **a/**this* 1\$ stamp** on the letter. I wanted to mail the letter to Europe.

Of particular interest to our study is that a classifier is selected in the indefinite context if the speaker intends to insert an interesting or noteworthy property of the new referent into discourse (cf. example (71) and Section 4.4.2 for a more detailed analysis of this issue). In our written and oral texts of Vietnamese, noteworthiness is present in the following conditions:

- (i) Introduction of the appearance of protagonists (cf. the analysis of the information focus in ‘extra *cái*’ in Sections 4.4.6 and 6.3.1, and the analysis of indefinite demonstratives in Sections 2.4.4.4 and 4.4.4);
- (ii) Introduction of a new referent which is related to the protagonist(s) or the development of the story line (cf. the analysis of focus as common ground management in Section 2.4.4.1 and 4.4.1, and the discussion of classifier use in constructions with verbs of appearance and verbs of achievement in Sections 6.3.2.2 and 6.3.2.3);
- (iii) Introduction of an interesting referent/entity in a specific context (in contrast to a normal context). For example, our data show that most loanwords appears in their bare form, but the Chinese *cảnh sát* 警察 *jǐngchá* ‘policeman’ in (71) occurs with a classifier, even though it is interpreted as indefinite. This can be explained by the speaker implying that the appearance of a policeman in this context is interesting or noteworthy because his appearance was not only related to the protagonists, i.e. he solved the argument between husband and wife, but he was also an element that participated in the story and helped to conclude the story. The second sentence of (71) is that the couple stopped arguing, and they pretended nothing had happened. When the policeman turned his back to leave

their house, the wife continued with her intention to get revenge on her husband by throwing a bowl of soup in her hand at her husband, but unfortunately it flew into the back of the policeman, and the story ends here (cf. Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 for more details).

(71) (*Written text 20, sentence 28*)

Lúc này, có viên cảnh sát vào hỏi xem tình hình vì

time DEM have CL policeman enter ask see situation because

hai vợ chồng cãi nhau.

two wife husband argue each other

‘This time, there was [a] policeman who entered and asked why the couple was arguing with each other.’

2.5.4.2 *Indefinite specific*

There are many definitions of specificity in the literature. This study will be based on referential specificity in terms of von Heusinger’s (2011) contrast between normal context and specific context. Based on this distinction and the notion of ‘referential intention’, let’s examine the indefinite interpretation of the noun phrase ‘a doll’ in the minimal pair of (72a) vs. (72b). The indexical expression ‘a doll’ in (72a), which is expressed by the [one CL N] construction, refers to any doll or referent that the speaker does not specifically have in mind (normal context). In contrast, the [CL N] construction ‘a doll’ in (72b) refers to a specific doll or referent that the speaker has in mind (specific context) (cf. Fodor & Sag 1982, Heim 2011 for the notions of referential indefinites). Thus, example (72b) shows that the use of a classifier is associated with specific indefinite interpretation. To sum up, the ordinary indefinite noun with *một* ‘one’ does not allow existential entailment (cf. 72a) or presupposition, while the indefinite classifier phrase does (72b).

(72) a. *Hôm qua, tôi đi chợ mua một con búp bê cho con gái tôi.*
 yesterday 1.SG go market buy one CL doll for daughter my
 ‘Yesterday, I went to the market to buy a doll for my daughter.’

-/-> (There was a doll)

b. *Hôm qua, tôi đi chợ mua con búp bê cho con gái tôi.*
 yesterday 1.SG go market buy CL doll for daughter my
 ‘Yesterday, I went to the market to buy a/the doll for my daughter.’

→ (There was a doll)

Example (73) is a good example of the indefinite specific interpretation of the [CL N] construction. In this context, the use of the [*một* ‘one’ CL N] construction is dispreferred (or not felicitous), as it is not the presupposition for this context. In other words, the indefinite classifier phrase [CL N] here allows the existential inference that there was a specific doll in the speaker’s mind, but he/she bought the wrong one from the perspective of the daughter.

(73) *Hôm qua, tôi đi chợ mua (*một) con búp bê cho con gái tôi.*
 yesterday 1.SG go market buy one CL doll for daughter my
Về nhà, nó nói ‘Không phải con này, mẹ ơi!’
 back home 3.SG say NEG CL DEM mother SFP

‘Yesterday, I went to the market to buy [*a/the] doll for my daughter. When I was back to the house, she said that ‘It’s not this one, mom!’

Of particular interest is that our data also shows that the [CL N] construction, which is interpreted as indefinite, relates to specificity as discourse prominence. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.4.3.

2.5.4.3 Indefinite demonstratives

Previous studies on demonstratives in English and German show that the demonstrative *this* in English and *dies* in German not only have a definite interpretation, but also an ‘indefinite’ or ‘presentative’ interpretation (cf. examples (74) and (75)) (cf. Maclaran 1982, von Heusinger 2011; and also Ionin 2006). The nominal phrase *this man* and *dieser Fremde* are clearly indefinite, because they are used in an existential context. They are discourse- and speaker-new:

(74) English (quoted from von Heusinger 2011:10)

There is **this man** who lives upstairs from me who is driving me mad because he jumps rope at 2 a.m. every night.

(75) German (von Heusinger 2011: 18):

Gestern kam ich in eine Bar und da war **dieser Fremde**, der mich die ganze Zeit anstarrte.

‘Yesterday I walked into a bar and there was **this stranger** who stared at me all the time.’

The indefinite use of the demonstrative in Vietnamese is in the dimension of hearer-new but speaker-known information (specific indefiniteness). Although previous studies of Vietnamese mostly describe the demonstratives *này/kia/đó* in [CL N Dem] (or even [*cái* CL N Dem]) in the context of definiteness, the indefinite use of this construction is worth discussing here because it is evidence for the use of classifiers in contexts of specificity.⁴³ In (76a), the noun phrase *quyển sách này* [CL N DEM] ‘this book’ is clearly interpreted as indefinite, as it appears in the existential context. This context can be assumed to be referential indefinite (cf. Fodor & Sag (1982) for existential indefinites and referential indefinites, and Section 6.2.3.1 for indefinite object constructions). In contrast, the same

⁴³ Note that demonstratives *kia/đó* in this structure are different from the [+nominal] demonstrative *kia/đó* (cf. P. P. Nguyen 1992 for the details of the latter).

construction is interpreted as definite in (76b). In other words, Vietnamese *này/kia/đó* can be used in definite and indefinite contexts (cf. Perlmann 1969, Maclaran 1980, Prince 1981, Ionin 2006 for English indefinite *this* and von Heusinger 2011 for German indefinite demonstratives *dies* ‘this’ and *so’n* ‘such a’).

(76) a. indefinite demonstrative

Có quyển sách này tôi muốn giới thiệu cho bạn.
 exist CL book DEM_{indef} 1.SG want introduce PRE 2.SG
 ‘There is **this_{indef} book** that I want to introduce to you.’

b. definite demonstrative

(Cái) quyển sách này cực kỳ hay nên tôi muốn bạn đọc nó.
 CAI CL book DEM_{def} extremely good CONJ 1.SG want 2.SG read 3.SG
 ‘**This_{def} book** is extremely good. Thus, I want to you to read it.’

Adopting the definite reading of demonstratives from von Heusinger (2011), the semantics of the definite (deictic discourse) reading and indefinite reading of the demonstratives *này/kia/đó* can be summarized as follows (cf. also Kaplan 1977/ 1989):

(77) a. [CL (N) *này/kia/đó*] in its definite reading:

There is a demonstration d focussing on (raising the attention to) a unique referent such that the referent is N or N which is marked by the anaphoric classifier (cf. von Heusinger 2011:25 for definite (/deictic) reading of demonstrative *dies* in German)

b. [CL (N) *này/kia/đó*] in its indefinite reading:

There is an intention by the speaker to focus on (to raise the attention to) a unique referent such that the referent is N or N which is marked by the anaphoric classifier (cf. von Heusinger 2011:25 for indefinite reading of demonstrative *dies* in German)

Both readings of demonstratives are found in our data. More interestingly, they occur with and without a classifier. However, the examples of indefinite readings of demonstratives are rare. Only there are found in the oral corpus (one of them is (78); for the two others in Section 4.4.4). Thus, the frequency data which are used to examine the occurrence of the classifier and their interpretations can only be applied to the definite demonstratives (cf. Section 6.1.2 for more details).

(78) *Oral text 25, sentence 1-3*

Có ông kia là một nhà bán ổi.

exist man that COP one CL sell guava

‘There was *that man*, he was a guava seller.’ (*that man* will turn out to be the protagonist of *The Pear Story*)

2.5.4.4 *Focus and topic*

Von Heusinger (2011) notes that specificity is also related to topicality. While the topical element in (79a) can be understood as a specific expression, the non-topicalized element in (79b) can only express an existential claim:

(79) English (von Heusinger 2011:13):

a. *Some ghosts* live in the pantry; others live in the kitchen.

b. There are *some ghosts* in the house.

Seen from the perspective of classifier use in Vietnamese, our data show that classifiers are selected if a nominal phrase occurs in the context of focus and topic. In (80), the [+relational] noun *mặt* ‘face’ occurs with its classifier as it appears with the focus particles *chỉ còn* ‘only’ and *mỗi* (on focus particles, cf. König 1991). If there is no focus particle, the bare form is used (see Section 5.2 for more details).

(80) [+definite focus] *Written text 29, sentence 31*

Lúc bấy giờ, người chồng nghe thấy bèn trôi lên khỏi mặt nước,

time that CL husband hear RES CONJ rise up out-of surface water

toàn thân ông là bọt xà phòng chỉ còn thấy mỗi khuôn mặt.

whole body 3.SG COP foam only see only CL face

‘At that time, the husband heard (the bell), then he moved out of the water. His whole body was full of soap foam, except [the] face [lit.: one can just only see **[his] face**].’

The contexts of focus with definiteness are found in the identificational focus ‘extra *cái*’ ([+focus, +definite]) constructions, while the contexts of focus with indefiniteness are presented with the information focus ‘extra *cái*’ constructions (cf. Section 4.4.6 and Section 6.3 for more detailed analysis of ‘extra *cái*’).

Example (81) illustrates the use of ‘extra *cái*’ in the context of indefinite focus. It is used to introduce the appearance of the protagonist (the farmer) and it has the status of discourse-new/speaker-known. Thus, it is interpreted as specific indefinite. The nominal phrase with information focus ‘extra *cái*’ in (81) can also be explained as expressing specificity in the sense of discourse prominence, as it is followed by successive sentences in which it is taken up by the anaphoric pronoun *ông* ‘he’.

(81) [-definite focus] *Oral text 5 (Sentences 2 and 3)*

Có một cái ông nông dân, ông đang hái lê. Ông bắc cái cầu thang

exist one *cái* CL farmer 3.SG PROG pluck pear 3.SG set CL ladder

leo lên cái cây. Ông hái một đống lê, ông bỏ vô trong cái tạp dề ...

climb up CL tree 3.SG pluck one CL pear 3.SG put PREP CL apron

‘There was **a certain farmer**, **he** was plucking pears. **He** [leaned] a ladder [against the tree] to climb up the tree. **He** plucked a pile of pears and then **he** put [them] into an apron ...’

If the classifier occurs with nouns in the topic position, it is interpreted as definite. Example (82) illustrates the use of a classifier with a contrastive topic (cf. Section 2.4.2 for more examples). In (83), we find the classifier in a topicalized nominal phrase (cf. Section 4.4.6 for a more detailed analysis).

(82) CL-use in the context of contrastive topic (*Written text 13, Sentence 38*)

Trong khi, người vợ tiếp điện thoại của mẹ mình, người chồng đành
while CL wife catch phone POSS mother-self CL husband have to
bỏ đi vào nhà tắm.
leave PRE bathroom

‘While the wife caught the phone from her mother, the husband had to leave for the bathroom.’

(83) CL-use in context of topicalized (*Oral text 24, Sentence 11*)

Con dê, nó cứ kêu và nó nguẩy nguẩy cái đầu.
CL goat 3.SG always shout and 3.SG shake shake CL head

‘As for **the goat**, it always shouted and shook its head.’

The syntactic analysis of focus and topic with (in)definite function will be presented in Section 6.3.

2.5.4.5 Specificity as familiarity

Specificity is sometimes associated with familiarity. Familiarity is one form to create cohesion between the speaker and the addressee (Hartmann & Stork 1972). Li and Bisang (2012:17) compare familiarity with uniqueness and state that empirical data show that definiteness associated with classifiers in Sinitic languages rather depends on familiarity than on uniqueness. As they show with the example presented in (84) from Wu Chinese, unique nouns can either occur with or without a numeral classifier.

In (84a), the bare noun *t^hin* ‘sky’ implies uniqueness, and refers to the one and only sky for all of us. It is a generic sentence expressing that the sky is blue in general. In contrast, *ban t^hin* [CL sky] in (84b) is an episodic sentence expressing that the sky is blue in a particular situation (bound by a certain temporal or spatial index). Thus, uniqueness itself does not guarantee a definite interpretation of [CL N]. The use of [CL N] rather depends on ‘situation-ostension’, a pragmatic notion related to ‘familiarity’ (Li & Bisang 2012:17).

- (84) a. *T^hin zi lan ko* [Generic] [Wu]
 sky be blue SFP
 ‘The sky is blue (in general).’
- b. *Ban t^hin gintso man lan* [Episodic] [Wu]
 CL_{piece} sky today very blue
 ‘The sky is blue today.’

In Vietnamese, the situation seems to be similar. Since finding examples like (84) requires corpora which are much larger than the two corpora used in this study, we present another example from a Vietnamese dictionary in (85). In (85a) and (85b) the noun for ‘sky’ is inherently definite, but it occurs as a bare noun in the former and with a classifier in the latter. The bare noun *trời* ‘sky’ in (85a) is understood generically as the endless outer space seen from the earth with its general property of being full of stars. In contrast, the classifier phrase *bầu trời* [CL sky] in (85b) denotes space seen from the earth as it currently relates to the speech situation. The speaker employs the classifier for informing the hearer that he or she is referring to the sky as it currently exists and as it can be perceived by the speaker and the hearer in a shared temporal or spatial environment.

(85) Nguyen, K.T. et al. 2005: 116, 1686):

a. *Trời đầy sao.* [Generic]

sky full star

‘The sky is full of stars.’

b. *Bầu trời đầy sao.* [Episodic]

CL_{round}, bound by spatial indexes sky full star

‘THE sky is full of stars.’

Further evidence for the discourse dependency of classifier use with [+unique] nouns comes from the fact that the noun *trời* ‘sky’ can take several different classifiers, e.g. *bầu trời* [CL:_{round} sky], *khung trời* [CL:_{frame} sky], *vùng trời* [CL:_{area} sky], etc. The selection of a specific classifier out of a set of possible classifiers depends on the particular property of the sky the speaker wants to highlight for facilitating its identifiability to the hearer. In such a situation, selecting a particular classifier is even compulsory, as shown in (86). The speaker creates a specific view on the sky as it is relevant to her/him and the hearer. This ‘dream sky’ is then anchored in space and time as it relates to the speech situation by a classifier (cf. Section 5.2 for other examples of non-sortal nouns with a classifier).

(86) * (*Khung/bầu/vùng*) *trời mơ ước của hai chúng ta đây rồi!*

CL sky dream POSS two 2.PL here SFP

‘Our dream sky/world is here!’

From the above analysis, we can argue that the selection of a concrete classifier depends on the properties of the concept expressed by the noun as it relates to the speech situation.

2.6 INTERIM SUMMARY

This chapter has provided a general overview of theoretical issues concerning the nominal domain of Vietnamese, e.g. bare nouns, class terms, classifiers and their grammaticalization, the numeral classifier construction [Num CL N], the bare classifier construction [CL N], the headless classifier construction. At a next stage, the chapter reviewed the [CL N] construction in terms of syntax, semantics, and discourse, with the aim of identifying conditions that affect the use of classifiers and their association with definiteness and indefiniteness.

The syntactic analysis started out from Emeneau's (1951) notion of classified and non-classified nouns. Then, we reviewed the approaches of T. H. Nguyen (2004) and Simpson (2005) to the function of classifiers as (in)definiteness markers, including their arguments concerning the position of 'extra *cái*' in Vietnamese DP structures. Nguyen considers it a focus marker that moves from CLP to D⁰, whereas Simpson argues that it is an embedded element that attaches in D⁰/SpecDP because the [*cái* CL N] construction always gets definite interpretation. The syntactic position and function of 'extra *cái*', as well as some related issues regarding the use of classifiers and their function as (in)definiteness markers in DP structures, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The review of semantic issues in this chapter has focused on the functions of individualization (Greenberg 1972, Bisang 1999) and atomization (Chierchia 1998), animacy, and the features of relationality or uniqueness (Löbner 2011). The same chapter also described the classifier with its functions of definiteness and indefiniteness (Simpson 2005, 2013, T. H. Nguyen 2004, J. Kirby 2006, Bisang 2015). Chapter 5 will show our findings on the effects of semantic factors on classifier use.

Finally, various aspects of discourse and information structure were examined, e.g. foregrounding and backgrounding (Hopper 1979), contrastive topic (Lambrecht 1994, Büring 2007), bridging and associative anaphora (Clark 1977, Hawkin 1978, 1991), noteworthiness (Ionin 2006, von Heusinger 2011), familiarity (Hartmann & Stork 1972; see Li & Bisang 2012 for discussion of familiarity in Wu dialects), referential indefinites (Fodor & Sag 1982, Heim 1982), and indefinite demonstratives (Perlmann 1969, Maclaran 1980, Prince 1981, Ionin 2006, von Heusinger 2011), as well as contexts of focus and topic (cf. König 1991 for focus particles; Michaud and Brunelle 2016:2055-2056 for focus and

topic markers in Vietnamese). The effects of these properties on the use of classifiers and their interpretation will be discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a general outline of the experiments, including research design and the process of selecting research material and informants. It also discusses the research data (written texts and oral texts data) used in this study.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1.1 General outline

Two experiments were designed for data collection: one for written texts and the other for oral texts. In the first experiment, informants were asked to write down what they saw in a silent movie to explain the movie to a third person who had not seen the movie before. In the second experiment, they were asked to watch another silent short film and to retell it orally to a third person who had not seen the movie before. The data created by these two experiments were used to examine if classifiers can express both definiteness and indefiniteness, and to identify the factors that determine the use of classifiers for expressing these functions.

The analysis of classifier use is based on a corpus of 30 written texts and 30 oral texts collected from 46 native speakers of Vietnamese (25 female and 21 male). Among them, 14 (five female and nine male) participated in experiments for both written texts and oral texts, another 16 (ten female and six male) took part only in the experiment for written texts, while the remaining 16 (ten female and six male) participated only in the experiment for oral texts. Each experiment included texts from 15 male and 15 female informants. The reason for this design was to figure out if there is any difference in classifier use between the two modalities of written texts and oral texts.

The experiments were conducted by the author of this thesis in Ho Chi Minh City (Southern Vietnam) with the help of some friends who played the role of story listeners in order to exclude the possibility that informants might think that the author had watched the story before.

3.1.2 Selection of informants

Informants were either students of the author's friends or colleagues, all of whom were working and/or studying in Ho Chi Minh City. Criteria for selecting informants included age, gender, educational background, and regional dialect. Before presenting the overview of the 46 informants, it is important to explain the choice of regional dialect.

Experiments were conducted in Ho Chi Minh City, which is a place where millions of people from other cities and provinces have come to study, work, and live since the end of the 20th century. Therefore, the residents of Ho Chi Minh City have diverse dialectal backgrounds. For that reason, it is hard to find people who have lived in Ho Chi Minh City for over 60 years. Thus, the author selected people whose dialect backgrounds were southern, rather than people who have lived in Ho Chi Minh City for over 60 years.

There are two reasons for selecting southern dialect speakers. First, the author of this study speaks southern Vietnamese. Second, this selection serves to ensure grammatical and lexical consistency. An example of lexical difference is the notion of 'custard apple', which is expressed by the words *quả na* (northern) or *trái mãng cầu* (southern). Moreover, classifiers for fruit (*quả* vs. *trái*) or for bowls of rice also differ: a bowl of rice in northern Vietnamese would be *một bát cơm*, but in southern Vietnamese it would be *một chén cơm*.

As pointed out above, the participants were residents of southern Vietnam, i.e. their home towns were scattered between Quảng Nam province down to the southernmost province of Cà Mau. People who came from northern Vietnam, or lived with parents who came from the northern area, as well as people whose parents belonged to ethnic minorities, were excluded.

Table 3-1 provides information about the age, gender, and educational background of the 46 informants (25 female and 21 male informants) who participated in the two experiments.

Table 3-1: Basic information about the 46 informants who participated in the experiments for written texts and oral texts

No.	Gender	Age	Educational background	No.	Gender	Age	Educational background
1	Female	35	Theatre director, B.A. (College of Theatre)	24	Female	21	Student (USSH)
2*	Female	35	Secretary, B.A. (USSH**)	25	Female	22	Student (USSH)
3*	Female	35	Accountant, B.A. (Laws)	26	Male	34	Programmer, B.A. (Uni of I.T)
4	Female	35	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	27*	Male	39	Lecturer (USSH)
5	Female	38	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	28 *	Male	40	Businessman, B.A. (USSH)
6*	Female	30	Interior, B.A. (Architecture)	29*	Male	24	Lecturer (Uni of A. & F.)
7	Female	37	Lecturer, Ph.D.	30*	Male	28	Freelancer, B.A. (USSH)
8	Female	34	Accountant, B.A. (U.NS)	31	Male	30	Manager, B.A. (Can Tho Uni)
9	Female	38	Lecturer, Ph.D.	32*	Male	28	Lecturer (University of A. & F.)
10	Female	34	Officer, B.A. from USSH.	33	Male	25	Programmer, B.A. (Uni of I.T.)
11	Female	28	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	34	Male	33	Officer, B.A. (Uni. of Economy)
12	Female	40	Officer, B.A. (Laws)	35*	Male	26	Reporter, B.A. (USSH)
13	Female	27	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	36	Male	23	Student (University of I.T.)
14	Female	22	Student (Laws)	37*	Male	22	Student (Uni. of Agri. & Forestry)
15	Female	20	Student (Hutech***)	38*	Male	22	Student (USSH)
16	Female	21	Student (Hutech)	39*	Male	22	Student (USSH)
17*	Female	22	Student (Uni. of Laws)	40	Male	20	Student (Medical University)
18*	Female	22	Student (Uni. of Laws)	41	Male	21	Student (USSH)
19	Female	22	Student Laws)	42	Male	23	Student (Uni. of Agri. & Forestry)
20	Female	23	Student Laws)	43	Male	23	Student (Uni. of Agri. & Forestry)
21	Female	22	Student (USSH)	44	Male	24	Student (University of I.T.)
22	Female	21	Student (USSH)	45	Male	23	Student (USSH)
23	Female	22	Student (USSH)	46	Male	21	Student (USSH)

*: Informants who participated in two experiments (written texts & oral texts).

USSH: University of Social Sciences and Humanities (USSH).

Hutech: Ho Chi Minh University of Technology.

Laws: University of Laws

U. NS: University of Natural Sciences.

Tables 3-2 and 3-3 provide information on the informants who participated in the experiments of the written and the oral texts, respectively. Each table shows that there were 15 female informants and 15 male informants between the age of 20–40 for each experiment. Each gender is represented by eight graduate students and seven undergraduate students. In general, differences of age and dialect are minimal. This contributes to the homogeneity of the data.

Table 3-2: Basic information about the 30 informants who participated in the experiment for written texts.

No.	Gender	Age	Educational background	No.	Gender	Age	Educational background
1	Female	35	Theatre director, B.A. (College of Theatre)	26	Male	34	Programmer, B.A. (University of I.T.)
2*	Female	35	Secretary, B.A. (USSH**)	27*	Male	39	Lecturer (M.A.)
3*	Female	35	Accountant, B.A. (University of Laws)	28 *	Male	40	Businessman, B.A. (USSH)
4	Female	35	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	29*	Male	24	Lecturer (Uni. of Agri. & Forestry)
5	Female	38	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	30*	Male	28	Freelancer, B.A. (USSH)
6*	Female	30	Interior, B.A. (University of Architecture)	31	Male	30	Manager, B.A. (Can Tho University)
7	Female	37	Lecturer, Ph.D.	32*	Male	28	Lecturer (University of A. & F.)
10	Female	34	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	35*	Male	26	Reporter, B.A. (USSH)
14	Female	22	Student (University of Laws)	37*	Male	22	Student (University of A. & F.)
15	Female	20	Student (Hutech)	38*	Male	22	Student (USSH)
16	Female	21	Student (Hutech)	39*	Male	22	Student (USSH)
17*	Female	22	Student (University of Laws)	40	Male	20	Student (Medical University)
18*	Female	22	Student (University of Laws)	44	Male	24	Student (University of I.T)
19	Female	22	Student (University of Laws)	45	Male	23	Student (USSH)
20	Female	23	Student (University of Laws)	46	Male	21	Student (USSH)

Table 3-3: Basic information about the 30 informants who participated in the experiment for oral texts.

No.	Gender	Age	Educational background	No.	Gender	Age	Educational background
2*	Female	35	Secretary, B.A. (USSH**)	27*	Male	39	Lecturer (M.A)
3*	Female	35	Accountant, B.A. (University of Laws = U. of Laws)	28*	Male	40	Businessman, B.A. (USSH)
6*	Female	30	Interior, B.A. (University of Architecture)	29*	Male	24	Lecturer (University of Agri. & Forestry = University of A. & F.)
8	Female	34	Accountant, B.A. (University of Natural Sciences)	30*	Male	28	Freelancer, got B.A. from USSH.
9	Female	38	Lecturer, Ph.D.	32*	Male	28	Lecturer (University of A. & F.)
11	Female	28	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	33	Male	25	Programmer, B.A. (University of Informatic and Technology= U.I.T.)
12	Female	40	Officer, B.A. (University of Laws)	34	Male	33	Officer, B.A. (U. of Economy)
13	Female	27	Officer, B.A. (USSH)	35*	Male	26	Reporter, B.A. (USSH)
17*	Female	22	Student (University of Laws)	36	Male	23	Student (University of I.T.)
18*	Female	22	Student (University of Laws)	37*	Male	22	Student (University of A. & F.)
21	Female	22	Student (USSH)	38*	Male	22	Student (USSH)
22	Female	21	Student (USSH)	39*	Male	22	Student (USSH)
23	Female	22	Student (USSH)	41	Male	21	Student (USSH)
24	Female	21	Student (USSH)	42	Male	23	Student (Uni. of Agri. & Forestry)
25	Female	22	Student (USSH)	43	Male	23	Student (Uni. of Agri. & Forestry)

3.1.3 Material

The method of reporting the content of a film is well-known since the publication of the famous ‘Pear Story’ (Chafe 1980). For the purpose of this research, we needed two films with multiple protagonists, frequently changing scenes with different perspectives and a great number of animate and inanimate objects involved in a variety of actions expressed by transitive and intransitive verbs.

It took almost a month to find two suitable movies. Originally, we planned to use a silent movie made in Vietnam or made by Vietnamese, to make it easier for informants to retell the story. However, we were not able to find a suitable one. After a month, we decided to select two silent movies made in other countries which were available on YouTube: the first movie is ‘Cook, Papa, Cook’ for the experiment of written texts and the second one is ‘Pear Story’ for the experiment of oral texts.⁴⁴

‘Cook, Papa, Cook’ is a movie of 9 minutes and 38 seconds in length. It is a very lively film with three protagonists: a husband, a wife, and their son. The film is characterized by quarrels between the husband and his wife. The story starts at eight o’clock in the morning and soon after that the couple is pouring water on each other. As a result, the wife feels that she cannot stand her husband any longer and that she does no longer want to make breakfast for her family. So, her husband not only has to cook by himself before going to work but he also wants to prove himself that he is a good cook. But as it turns out he cannot even cope with the simplest tasks. He is unable to cut bread, he has no experience in putting the bread into a toaster and he has no idea of how to turn on a toaster. In the end, he turns the kitchen into a big mess. Despite this, he manages to make some kind of breakfast, but his wife even refuses to taste it. He tries to threaten her but with no success. At the end of the story, a bowl of soup is thrown at the back of the husband while he is about to leave for work.

The duration of the ‘Pear Story’ (Chafe 1980) is 5 minutes and 54 seconds. It has two protagonists, a farmer and a young boy who stole the farmer’s basket of pears. The movie

⁴⁴ This is the webpage of ‘Cook, Papa, Cook’ (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OITJxh51z3Q>) and ‘Pear story’ (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bRNSTxTpG7U>).

begins with a scene in which the farmer is plucking pears on the tree in a farm. He works very hard, climbing up and down the ladder to put the pears into baskets under the tree. He is so concentrated on his work that he does not see who comes along or what happens under the tree. Then, a young boy on his bicycle arrives and steals a basket of pears. As the basket is too heavy, he has to push the bike and walk alongside it. On the way, he sees a girl who is passing by him. Since he stares at her too much, he bumps into a rock and falls over. The pears roll out everywhere on the road. At that time, three other young boys come along. They help the boy to put his bicycle back on and to collect the pears. To show his gratitude, the boy gives each of them a pear for their help and kindness. They take the pears, eat them and walk away in the opposite direction. That direction leads to the farmer's place. The farmer descends from the tree. He finds that one of the basket filled with pears has disappeared. While he tries to find out what has happened, the three boys walk passed him, each of them eating a pear. The film ends with a scene in which the farmer stupidly watches how the boys walk away.

These two movies basically meet our research criteria and their length is appropriate too. Nonetheless, they turned out to be difficult for some informants who did not know how to name certain objects which are uncommon in Vietnam. Thus, some informants skipped mentioning these objects; others tried to explain them by comparing them with similar objects in Vietnam or by creating a large number of new compounds. For instances:

- In written texts, 'toaster' was expressed by various names, including *dụng cụ-kẹp-bánh mì* [tool-clip-bread], *cái-kẹp-bánh mì* [thing-clip-bread], *lò-kẹp* [oven-clip], *lò-nướng* [oven-bake], *lò nướng nhỏ* [oven-bake-small], *máy-nướng-bánh mì-nhỏ* [machine-bake-bread-small], *máy nướng* [machine-bake], *máy-ép* [machine-press]. These compounds are created because Vietnamese normally eat fresh sandwiches which don't need to be toasted. Thus, there are not many people know what a toaster looks like. The concept of 'bathrobe' was rendered by words like *áo choàng* 'cloak', *áo khoác* 'coat', *áo tắm* 'suit-bathing', *bộ đồ ngủ* 'suit-sleeping', etc. because it is unknown to most Vietnamese in the context of taking a shower.
- Similarly, in oral texts, 'pear' was expressed as *quả ổi* 'CL_{for fruit} guava', *trái ổi Đài Loan* 'CL_{for fruit} guava Taiwan', *trái cóc* 'CL_{for fruit} ambarella', *trái hồ lô* 'CL_{for fruit} calabash/gourd', etc. because 'western' pears are uncommon in Vietnam. The prototypical 'Asian' pears in Vietnam occur in shades of yellow (not green) and are rounder in shape.

When we analysed the two types of texts, it turned out that the differences between the oral and the written use of classifiers is minimal. Similarly, classifier use does not differ between gender (male vs. female) educational background (graduated vs. under-graduated) and age (between 20 and 40). The only difference is concerned with the length of the texts, i.e., the written texts are almost twice as long as the oral texts. Accordingly, the frequency of classifier use as well as the appearance of [CL N] vs. [N] vs. [N-compound] in written texts is much higher than in oral texts. But this does not affect the findings of this thesis.

3.1.4 The experiments

The experiment of written texts: The informants watched the film ‘Cook, papa, cook’ on the screen of a personal computer and then moved to a different place in the same room to write down what they saw in the film with their own words with the time frame of one to two hour(s). They were free to either use hand-writing on a piece of paper or to type their story into a computer. Most (but not all) of them chose typing into a computer. The experimenter (the author) was not present in the room when the informants were re-narrating the story. After finishing their stories, the informants handed in their texts to the experimenter outside the room. A sample of a written text is shown in Appendix 20.

The experiment of oral texts: Like in the first experiment, informants watched the film ‘The Pear Story’ on the screen of a personal computer. After having watched it, they retold the content of the film with their own words to a person who did not watch it before. The experimenter was not present in the room when informants were retelling the story. The hearers had to sit beside the informants to listen to the story and record it. In this experiment, twelve persons were asked to listen to the stories told by the informants. Some of them listened to only one informant but others listened to more than one informants (as Table 3-4). An example of an oral text is shown in Appendix 21.

For the audio-recording, the author used the software *Voice memos* in iPhone 4, whose recording quality was sufficient for transcription. The voice of the hearers/listeners sometimes were heard in the recorded files, because they asked the informants whenever the story was not clear for them or when they could not follow the story. After having retold the story, the informant and the hearer returned the iPhone 4 to the experimenter outside the room to check the recorded file. There was no damaged file.

Table 3-4: Basic information of the people who participated as hearers in the experiment for oral texts.

No.	Gender	Age	Occupation	No.	Gender	Age	Occupation
1.	Female	42	secretary (5)	7.	Male	42	lecturer (1)
2.	Female	36	officer (2)	8.	Male	45	lecturer (4)
3.	Female	51	cleaning staff (1)	9.	Male	30	lecturer (3)
4.	Female	24	student (2)	10.	Male	33	technician (2)
5.	Female	25	student (2)	11.	Male	22	student (3)
6	Male	47	technician (3)	12	Male	38	engineer (2)

3.2 RESEARCH DATA

3.2.1 Written text data

Quality of the data: Most of the informants described the film in detail. The length of the 30 written texts varies between 491 to 1,944 words. The whole corpus consists of 31,663 words (as shown in Table 3-5 below). It may be important to mention in this context that there were no subtitles in the movie. The only written information was presented in the form of small texts in English with short remarks on individual scenes or short quotations of what the actors said. However, this information hardly affected the written output of the informants. In fact, many informants did not refer to the actors as they were described in these texts but rather used their own wording. To give an example, ‘the husband’ was referred to by terms like ‘the man with the glasses’ or ‘the man outside the car’. One informant referred to the ‘mother-in-law’ as the ‘the elderly lady’ or ‘her [the wife’s] friend’.

Table 3-5: The length of the 30 written texts produced by the 30 informants in Ho Chi Minh City.

No.	Gender	No. of words	No.	Gender	No. of words
1.	Female	1,129	16.	Male	1,311
2.	Female	984	17.	Male	880
3.	Female	491	18.	Male	1,500
4.	Female	934	19.	Male	602
5.	Female	594	20.	Male	549
6.	Female	810	21.	Male	796
7.	Female	946	22.	Male	612
8.	Female	1,553	23.	Male	1,379
9.	Female	677	24.	Male	1,447
10.	Female	599	25.	Male	565
11.	Female	723	26.	Male	1,051
12.	Female	937	27.	Male	1,061
13.	Female	1,037	28.	Male	1,119
14.	Female	3,222	29.	Male	1,944
15.	Female	1,202	30.	Male	1,009
		15,838			15,825

There is no unnatural or ungrammatical sentence in this corpus. In some sentences there are spelling problems. For instance, in (87), *xô nước* ‘bucket of water’ was written as *sô nước* ‘intended: bucket of water’ in the original text of an informant. However, sentences with spelling problems do not affect the output of the study. Thus, they are included in the statistical analysis.

(87) (*Written text 9, sentence 11*)

Cô vợ xách nguyên xô (xô) nước cậu bé vừa mang vào đổ lên người anh ta.

CL-wife bring whole CL water CL-son just bring into pour on body 3.SG

‘The wife brought the bucket of water that the son brought in to pour it onto his body.’

3.2.2 Oral text data

Quality of the data: Most of the audio recording files are very clear. Their length varies from 1 minute 58 seconds to 6 minutes 25 seconds. After transcription, the overall size of the oral corpus is 17,777 words. The length of the 30 oral texts varies between 321 and 1,061 words, as shown in Table 3-6.

Because stories were transcribed directly from the tape recorder, repetition of words and sentences was inevitable. For instance, in (88), the numeral *một* ‘one’ was repeated three times in one sentence.⁴⁵

(88) (*Oral text 9, sentence 8*)

*Rồi sau đó thì ông có đánh rơi một cái quả, **một, một, một** cái trái*

CONJ after that COMP 3.SG have drop one CL fruit one one one CL fruit

ông mới đem lên ông lấy cái khăn ông lau lau lau

3.SG just bring up 3.SG take CL towel 3.SG clean clean clean

‘After that, he dropped a fruit, picked it up, and (he) cleaned it with a towel’.

⁴⁵ Note that in a certain context, the repetition of a verb (in this context, the verb *lau* ‘clean’) implies multiple repetition.

Table 3-6: The length of the 30 oral texts produced by the 30 informants in Ho Chi Minh City.

No.	Gender	Recording duration	No. of words	No.	Gender	Recording duration	No. of words
1.	Female	1:58	405	16.	Male	2:23	402
2.	Female	4:58	913	17.	Male	2:11	334
3.	Female	2:25	413	18.	Male	1:54	402
4.	Female	3:58	729	19.	Male	2:17	341
5.	Female	2:09	472	20.	Male	4:01	616
6.	Female	6:25	1,031	21.	Male	2:54	449
7.	Female	2:06	317	22.	Male	6:06	860
8.	Female	2:41	520	23.	Male	2:29	349
9.	Female	4:02	619	24.	Male	5:38	921
10.	Female	2:07	349	25.	Male	2:28	392
11.	Female	5:48	1,061	26.	Male	4:04	770
12.	Female	2:40	547	27.	Male	1:59	320
13.	Female	6:20	1,042	28.	Male	6:22	927
14.	Female	2:41	522	29.	Male	4:12	641
15.	Female	1:45	321	30.	Male	4:45	792
			9,261				8,516

As mentioned in Section 3.1.4, the hearers sometimes interrupted the informants to ask questions or to clarify what they heard because they did not know the movie. This is indicated as follows in the transcription:

(89) (Oral text 5, sentences 9-14)

*Trong khi đó, có một người a dắt một con dê đi ngang hai giỏ
 meanwhile, have one person PART lead one CL goat go pass two CL
 ở đi ngang ba giỏ trái cây. Con dê đứng lại nhìn một lát
 PART go pass three CL fruit CL goat stand still look one moment
 và bị người đàn ông kéo đi, thì nó mới chịu đi.
 and PASS CL man pull go, COMP it just accept go*

‘Meanwhile, there was a man who led a goat passing by with **two**, no, passing by with **three** baskets of fruit. The goat stopped to look [around] for a while and then was pulled by that man to go [ahead] and it went on.’

A: *Người nghe: ‘người đàn ông này là người đàn ông chăn dê đúng không?’*
 person-listen CL man DEM COP CL man herd goat QUES

B: *Người kể: ‘Người đàn ông chăn dê.’*
 person-tell CL man herd goat

A: *Người nghe: ‘Nó nhìn giỏ trái cây à?’*
 person-listen 3.SG look CL fruit SPF

B: *Người kể: ‘Nó nhìn giỏ trái cây.’*
 person-tell 3.SG look CL fruit

A: Listener: ‘That man is a shepherd, isn’t he?’

B: Story-teller: ‘A shepherd.’

A: Listener: ‘It (the goat) looks at the basket of fruits, right?’

B: Story-teller: ‘It looks at the basket of fruits.’

Finally, no unnatural or problematic sentences were found in the 30 oral texts, except some instances of self-initiated repair.⁴⁶ For instance, the bold-italic part in (90) shows that the speaker first mentioned *ông* ‘he - the farmer’, then (s)he promptly changed his/her perspective to the baskets on the ground. Thus, the sentence must be interpreted as ‘there came a boy with a bicycle, and then he saw three baskets of fruit on the ground, when the farmer was still on the tree’. Instances of repair like this will be taken as they were produced by the speakers.

(90) (Oral text 23, sentence 6)

*Sau đó thì có một cậu bé đi xe đạp đến. **thì thấy ông***
 after that TOP have one CL boy ride bike come TOP see 3.SG
***đang... thì thấy dưới đất có ba giỏ** còn ông nông dân*
 PROG TOP see down ground have three CL CONJ CL farmer
thì vẫn đang ở trên cây.
 CONJ still PROG PREP tree

‘After that, a boy arrived on his bicycle and saw him [the farmer] ... saw that on the ground, there were three baskets of fruit, while the farmer was still on the tree.’

⁴⁶ Definition: Self-initiated repair is a repair that the speaker of the utterance that needs repair makes without a prompting from another participant. For example: ‘I need a new bolt for my oil filt - *um*, PAN.’ (<http://www.glossary.sil.org/term/self-initiated-repair>).

CHAPTER 4. DISCOURSE FACTORS

Discourse and information structure play a major role in the use and the function of classifiers in terms of definiteness and indefiniteness. This chapter presents more details from the two corpora.

Section 4.1 discusses foregrounding and backgrounding in terms of the feature ([±protagonist]). It will show clearly that classifiers primarily occur with [+protagonist] nouns, especially if the nouns are [+definite] subjects. Section 4.2 shows a strong correlation between the function of contrastive topic and the presence of a classifier. In contrast, the classifier is optional in contexts of bridging and associative anaphora even though it is definite (cf. Section 4.3). As for indefiniteness, our data show that classifier use is strongly associated with specificity (cf. Section 4.4). Finally, Section 4.5 summarizes all findings.

4.1 FOREGROUNDING/BACKGROUNDING

4.1.1 General results of foregrounding/backgrounding

The definition of foregrounding vs. backgrounding adopted in this thesis follows the classical paper of Hopper (1979). In his view, foregrounded or core elements advance and maintain a story line, while backgrounded elements further elaborate on it by providing information about the setting (cf. Section 2.4.5).

Protagonists are foregrounded referents who are leaders or principal persons who carry on the story. In my experiment, the frequency data in Table 4-1 show very clearly that protagonist nouns almost always appear with a classifier, especially in the oral texts. 91.4% of the token nouns denoting protagonists take a classifier, whereas only 8.6% of them occur in their bare form in written texts. In the oral texts, the frequency of nouns occurring with a classifier is even higher, i.e. nearly hundred percent of the foregrounded nouns take classifiers, while there is only one instance of a protagonist occurring without a classifier (99.6% occurring with a classifier, in contrast to only 0.4% occurring as bare nouns).

Table 4-1: Token frequency of nouns denoting *protagonists* with/without a CL.

[± CL]	[+CL]	[-CL]
Written texts	91.4% (1,130 instances)	8.6% (106 instances)
Oral texts	99.6% (283 instances)	0.4% (1 instances)
Total	93% (1,413 instances)	7% (107 instances)

As for the definiteness and indefiniteness of the classifier in the [CL N] construction with [+protagonist] nouns, Table 4-2 shows the frequency with which classifiers are associated with these two referential functions in the subject position and in the object position in written and in oral texts. It also shows that foregrounded nouns are mostly definite in the 60 texts of our two corpora. 93% (1,394 instances) of the nouns referring to a protagonist occur with a classifier, while only 7% (106 instances) take no classifier. Moreover, most of the nouns denoting protagonists occurring with a classifier and having definite interpretation appear in the subject position (73%, i.e. $897 + 193 = 1,090$ instances out of 1,500 instances). This shows that the status of protagonist is a strong factor supporting the use of a classifier. In contrast, protagonists occurring as bare nouns appear mostly in the object position, i.e., 92% of bare nouns (98 instances) take the object position, while only 8% (9 instances) occur in subject position. These bare nouns are interpreted as definite (also cf. Trinh 2011). It is remarkable that protagonist nouns occurring as bare nouns are only found in written texts but not in oral texts. The reason for that is that the three protagonist nouns in the written texts are relational nouns denoting kinship (father, mother, and son) and that relational nouns tend to occur in their bare form (cf. Section 5.2 for details on relational nouns). The two protagonists in the oral texts (the boy and the farmer) are not in a kinship relationship. Thus, no (animate) relational nouns are found in the oral texts.

Finally, Table 4-2 also shows that [CL N] constructions can have definite or indefinite function (1,500 instances (99%) of classifiers in protagonist nouns are definite, while only 20 instances (1%) have the reading of indefiniteness). None of the indefinite [CL N] constructions havethetic function (cf. Section 6.2). The only exception in which a protagonist is in athetic function is found in (86), in which there is no classifier (bare noun). This exception also shows that bare nouns can express definiteness or indefiniteness in Vietnamese.

Table 4-2: Token frequency of nouns denoting *protagonists* with/without CL and their expression as (in)definiteness in written texts and oral texts (cf. Appendix 3).

[+pro]	Written texts				Oral texts				Total
	subject		object		subject		object		
	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	
[+def]	897	8	214	98	193	0	90	0	1,500 (1,394+CL, 106-CL)
[-def]	19	0	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	0	0	20 (19+CL, 1-CL)
Total	916	8	214	98	193	1	90	0	

4.1.2 Foregrounding/backgrounding in written texts

An examination of the written texts shows that the action in the film ‘Cook, papa, cook’ is clearly driven by three protagonists, i.e. a husband, his wife, and their son. The husband was referred to as *chồng/chàng* ‘husband’, *đàn ông* ‘man’, or *bố/cha* ‘father’. One of the informants used the name *Jenkin*, as it was given in the film (*ông Jenkin* ‘Mr. Jenkin’). Nevertheless, this is just the only case in our data. The default classifier used for humans is *người* ‘human’; however, the noun for ‘husband’ is also marked by other classifiers, e.g. *ông* ‘mister (in formal contexts)’ or *anh* ‘brother’. His wife was referred to as *vợ* ‘wife’, *phụ nữ* ‘woman (Sino-Vietnamese)’, *mẹ* ‘mother [in scenes with her son]’ or *con gái* ‘daughter [in scenes with her mother]’. It also takes the default classifier for humans *người* ‘human’ or other classifiers such as *cô* ‘mistress’, *bà* ‘lady’, *mụ* ‘lady (informal form)’, or *chị* ‘elder sister’. Finally, the son occurs with the classifiers *đứa* ‘CL for children’, *cậu/chú* ‘uncle’ (CL for young man) or *thằng* ‘CL for young man/boy (informal use)’. Table 4-3 shows that these protagonists occur with a classifier in 1,130 instances (91.4%). Only in 106 cases (8.6%) do they occur without a classifier.

Table 4-3: Token frequency of nouns denoting protagonists occurring with/without a CL in written texts.

	Husband	Token frequency (Subj/Obj)	Wife	Token frequency (Subj/Obj)	Son	Token frequency (Subj/Obj)
+CL	<i>người chồng</i> CL husband	248 (221 / 26)	<i>người vợ</i> CL wife	191 (158 / 33)	<i>người con-trai</i> CL son	7 (5 / 2)
	<i>anh chồng/chàng</i> CL husband	100 (92 / 8)	<i>cô vợ</i> CL wife	91 (84 / 7)	<i>đứa con-trai</i> CL son	65 (52 / 13)
	<i>ông chồng</i> CL husband	128 (109 / 19)	<i>bà vợ</i> CL wife	74 (57 / 17)	<i>cậu con-trai</i> CL son	16 (13 / 3)
	<i>người đàn-ông</i> CL man	78 (72 / 6)	<i>mụ / chị vợ</i> CL wife	6 (5 / 1)	<i>cậu bé</i> CL boy	21 (19 / 2)
	<i>người bố / ông bố</i> CL father	16 (13 / 3)	<i>người phụ-nữ</i> CL woman	20 (17 / 3)	<i>thằng bé / thằng con</i> CL boy	2 (0 / 2)
	<i>ông Jenkin</i> Mr. Jenkin	11 (11 / 0)	<i>bà mẹ</i> CL mother	1 (1 / 0)	<i>cậu / nhóc</i> CL child	1 (1 / 0)
	<i>người cha / ông cha</i> CL father	14 (9 / 5)	<i>cô con gái</i> CL daughter	1 (0 / 1)	<i>đứa bé / đứa trẻ</i> CL child	40 (31 / 9)
1,130	CL husband	594 (473/121)	CL wife	384 (322/62)	CL son	152 (121/31)
-CL	<i>chồng</i> 'husband'	22 (1 / 21)	<i>vợ</i> 'wife'	62 (6 / 55)	<i>con</i> 'son'	11 (0 / 11)
	<i>bố</i> 'father'	5 (0 / 5)	<i>con-gái</i> 'daughter'	3 (0 / 3)	<i>con trai</i> 'son'	2 (1 / 1)
	<i>cha</i> 'father'	1 (0 / 1)				
106	Husband	28 (1/27)	Wife	65 (6/58)	Son	13 (1/13)

In order to double check if the frequency data are significant and reliable, the software of origin lab 8.0 (<http://www.originlab.de>) was used.⁴⁷ In this test, I also examine the occurrence of protagonists with or without a classifier in both the preverbal (subject) and the postverbal (object) position. The test is summarized in Figure 4-1. Each bar illustrates mean values of the data about protagonist nouns. A vertical line in the middle of each bar stands for the standard deviation concerning that bar.⁴⁸ The significance value diminishes with the increasing length of the line. Most of these significance lines are relatively small, i.e. the data are reliable and significant.

Let us first examine bars 1, 2, 3, and 4 which present the statistical significance data of the protagonist *chồng* ‘husband’. The deviation of mean values of the protagonist *chồng* ‘husband’ in these four bars is small. Thus, the result is significant. Bar 1 and bar 2 show that the mean value of [husband, **Subj**, +CL] (the red bar) is almost five times higher than the one of [husband, **Obj**, +CL] (the green bar), i.e. protagonists tend to take classifiers in the subject position rather than in the object position. In contrast, bars 3 and 4 demonstrate that protagonists rarely occur as bare nouns in the subject position, bare nouns being preferred in the object position..

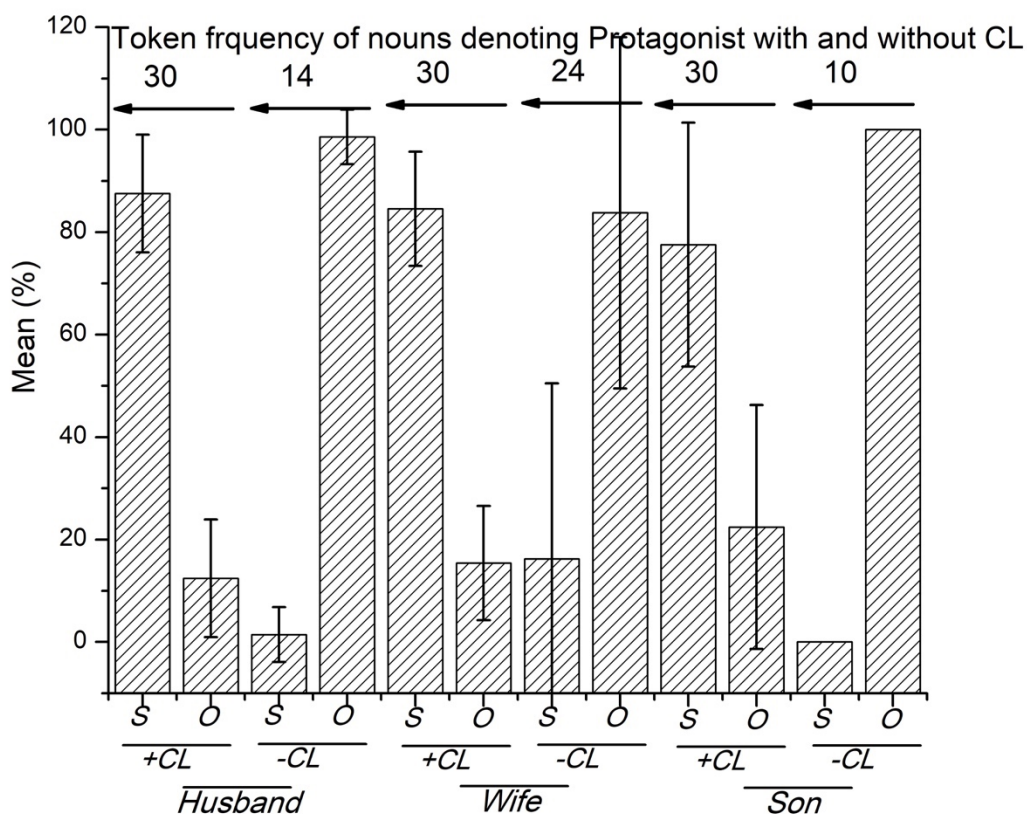
Similar results are found when checking the deviation of mean values for the protagonists *vợ* ‘wife’ and *con trai* ‘son’. This is shown by bars 5 to 12. The results suggest again that nouns denoting protagonists tend to take a classifier when they occur in the subject position rather than in the object position. Protagonists with no classifier mostly occur in object position. However, considering the number of protagonist nouns that informants use in the object position, they are less frequent in the subject position (cf. numbers of informants above the leftward arrows on each pair of bars).

⁴⁷ For more detail about the test of statistical significance, please visit the webpage: <https://web.csulb.edu/~msaintg/ppa696/696stsig.htm>

⁴⁸ a. $\bar{X} = \frac{X_1 + X_2 + \dots + X_n}{n}$ (to calculate the ‘mean value’)

b. $\Delta = \frac{\sqrt{(X_1 - \bar{X})^2 + (X_2 - \bar{X})^2 + \dots + (X_n - \bar{X})^2}}{n}$ (to calculate the ‘standard deviation value’)

Figure 4-1 Token frequency of nouns denoting [+protagonist] with/without a classifier in written texts



Observing the statistical data of protagonist nouns, it is found that there is a strong tendency for classifiers to be used with nominal concepts that are prominent in discourse. Example (91) offers an impression of how the classifier is used with foregrounded (protagonist) elements. It also illustrates clearly that foregrounded elements occur with a classifier, while backgrounded concepts are expressed by bare nouns. As can be seen, a referent is first introduced by an indefinite construction with the numeral *một* 'one', e.g. *một người đàn ông* [one CL N] 'one man'. It is taken up later by the [CL N] construction *người đàn ông* [CL N] 'the man' which bears definite reading. However, backgrounded words such as *kính* 'glass' or *giường* 'bed' occur in their bare forms.

(91) (Written text 24, sentence 7)

*Cảnh phim đầu tiên là một người đàn ông vẫn đeo kính đang
 CL scene first COP one CL man still wear glasses PROG
 nằm ngủ trên giường. Người đàn ông thức dậy, chồm lên, quay đầu
 lie sleep on bed CL man wake up, straighten.up, turn head
 nhìn qua chỗ khác rồi bỗng nhiên ngủ lại.
 look through place other then suddenly sleep again*

‘[In] the first scene, there was a man wearing his glasses while sleeping on [his] bed. The man woke up, straightened up and looked around, then he suddenly fell asleep again.’

Considering examples (92) and (93), they provide more evidence for the behaviour of nouns in foregrounded and backgrounded contexts, respectively. In (92), the protagonist nouns *đứa bé* [CL kid] ‘son’, *người cha* [CL father] ‘husband’ and *bà vợ* [CL wife] ‘wife’ are used with a classifier expressing definiteness. In contrast, backgrounded nouns such as *bánh mì* ‘bread’, *hộp* ‘box’, *máy kẹp bánh nướng* ‘toaster oven’ in (93) take the bare form.

(92) **Foregrounded elements** (Written text 12, sentence 3):

*Đứa bé là con trai của hai vợ chồng lấy ly nước và
 CL baby COP CL son POSS two wife husband take glass water and
 đổ vào người cha nhằm đánh thức ông dậy, nhưng ông
 pour into CL father aim wake 3.SG awake CONJ 3.SG
 lại nghĩ là bị bà vợ tạt.
 EMPH think COMP PASS CL wife throw*

‘**The boy**, the son of the couple, took a glass of water and poured it onto [his] father to wake him up, but he [i.e. the father] thought that the glass of water was thrown on him by [his] wife.’

(93) **Backgrounded elements** (*Written text 2, sentences 27, 29*):

Ông tìm bánh mì trong hộp và chuẩn bị nướng bánh... Ông không

3.SG look for bread PREP box CONJ prepare bake cake 3.SG NEG

biết làm thế nào để gọt vừa bánh mì cho vào máy kẹp bánh nướng.

know how to cut fit bread put into machine-clip-bread-bake

‘He [the husband] looked for **bread** in a **box** and prepared it for being toasted... He did not know how to cut it for fitting it into [**a**] **toaster**’.

Results of the frequency data show that 106 instances (8.6%) of the foregrounded nouns occur as bare forms. These cases occur when the head noun involved is a relational noun.⁴⁹ In the data, the relevant relational nouns expressing protagonists are kinship terms. In a typical example, the unmarked relational noun is in a possessive relation to a preceding protagonist noun marked by a classifier. Example (94) is about the relationship between *đứa con* [CL N] ‘the son’ and *bố* (relational N) ‘[his] father’. It starts out from the perspective of the son who is one of three protagonists. Thus, it takes a classifier (in this case *đứa* ‘CL for child’) to mark the protagonist as a definite referent. In contrast, *bố* ‘father’ is mentioned from the perspective of his relationship with *đứa con* ‘son’ and thus occurs in the bare form.

(94) (*Written text 16, sentence 29*)

Đứa con thấy bố nổi giận lại cười.

CL son see father get.angry CONJ laugh

‘Even though the son saw [his] father getting angry, he laughed.’

⁴⁹ I am referring here to what is called ‘inherent relationality’ by Löbner (2011). Löbner (2011) himself distinguishes four conceptual types of nouns, two types of inherently relational nouns (relational and functional nouns) and two types of non-inherently relational nouns (sortal and individual nouns) (cf. Section 5.2).

A similar case is shown in example (95). The relational noun *vợ* ‘wife’ is associated with the classifier-marked antecedent *chồng* ‘[her] husband’. Thus, the wife occurs as a bare noun, while the noun referring to the husband takes the classifier *người* ‘CL for human’. The noun *chồng* ‘[her] husband’ is used with a classifier because it refers to a definite protagonist and because the sentence is constructed from that perspective.

(95) (*Written text 16, sentence 9*)

Người chồng không thể giả bộ ngủ được nữa và
 CL husband impossible pretend sleep can anymore CONJ
tỉnh dậy cãi nhau với vợ.
 wake.up quarrel PRE wife

‘It was no longer possible for **the husband** to pretend to sleep anymore and he woke up and quarrelled with **his wife**.’

Finally, (96) illustrates a more complex relational context. It consists of two relationships: (i) husband and wife and (ii) mother and daughter. It starts out from the perspective of the wife. Thus, her mother is first introduced in a relation with her as *mẹ* ‘mother’ in a bare form. It is then expressed by a more complex construction consisting of a classifier for marking it as a definite referent, followed by *vợ* ‘wife’ in the possessor position: *người mẹ vợ* ‘the mother of the wife’. The subsequent three kinship terms are unmarked. The second relational noun *con gái* ‘daughter’ is related to *người mẹ* ‘mother’, whereas the third relational noun *chồng* ‘husband’ is associated with two different antecedents, e.g. *người vợ* ‘the wife’ and *người mẹ vợ* ‘the mother-in-law’. Thus, the relational nouns *con gái* ‘daughter’ and *chồng* ‘husband’ occur in their bare forms.

(96) (*Written text 16, sentence 20*)

Trong khi đó, người vợ; đang nói chuyện điện thoại với mẹ;
 PRE time DEM CL wife PROG talk phone with mother,
người mẹ; vợ; khuyên con gái; nên tiếp tục cố gắng dạy chồng;
 CL mother wife advise daughter should continue try.hard teach husband
và lấy ví dụ của mình cũng mất nhiều năm mới đưa
 CONJ take example POSS self also lose many year only lead
chồng; vào nề nếp được.
 husband into orderly.routine be.able.

‘While [the] wife was talking with [her] mother on the phone, [her] mother [lit. the mother of the wife] advised [her;] daughter to keep on trying hard to teach [her;] husband and she gave her own experience of how she spent many years only to manage teaching proper manners to [her;] husband.’

4.1.3 Foregrounding/backgrounding in oral texts

In the ‘Pear Story’, events are carried on by two protagonists: a farmer and a boy. The farmer is mentioned as either *nông dân* ‘farmer’ and *đàn ông* ‘man’. Classifiers used with the farmer are the default classifier *người* ‘human_{CL} for humans’, *bác* ‘uncle_{CL} for respect’, and *ông* ‘mister_{CL} for masculine’. The boy is presented by the nouns *bé trai* ‘boy’, *bé/nhỏ* ‘child’, *nhóc* ‘child [implies intimacy, playfulness]’ and it can select various suitable classifiers, e.g. *đứa* ‘child, offspring_{CL} for children’, *cậu* ‘uncle_{CL} for young boy/man’, and *thằng* ‘CL_{for young man/boy} (informal use).⁵⁰

Table 4-4 provides frequency data of all nouns denoting these two protagonists. The data show that nouns denoting protagonists almost always occur with a classifier (283 out of 284 instances). Only in one instance the protagonist is expressed by a bare nouns (cf. example (97)). Moreover, about two thirds of the nouns presenting these two protagonists appear in the subject position (193 (79+114) instances out of 283 instances (68%)), while

⁵⁰ *bé/nhỏ* can be interpreted as an adjective ‘small’ or a noun ‘kid’ (Nguyen, K.T., 2005). In this context, *bé/nhỏ* is used as a noun.

only one third are found in the object position (90 (13+77) instances out of 283 instances (32%) appear in object positions. These results again confirm that classifiers tend to be used with nominal concepts that are prominent in discourse (the foregrounded nouns or protagonists).

Table 4-4: Token frequency of nouns denoting protagonist with/without a classifier in oral texts.

[±CL]	Farmer	Token frequency (Subj/Obj)	Boy	Token frequency (Subj/Obj)
+CL	<i>người/ ông/ bác nông dân</i> [CL farmer]	88 (77 / 11)	<i>cậu/ thằng/ đứa bé</i> [CL boy]	176 (103 / 73)
	<i>người đàn ông</i> [CL man]	4 (2/2)	<i>đứa bé trai</i> [CL boy]	11 (7/4)
	*51		<i>thằng nhỏ/ nhóc</i> CL (small) boy	4 (4/0)
283	92 instances (79 as subject and 13 as object)		191 instances (114 as subject and 77 as object)	
-CL	<i>nông dân</i>	1	<i>nhỏ /nhóc / bé (trai)</i>	0
1	1 instance as subject		0 instance	0

In addition, the data show that most of the protagonists are definite. The only exception with an indefinite protagonist noun is shown in (97). Here the protagonist *nông dân* ‘farmer’ occurs as a bare noun when it is first mentioned as a new referent or the first participant of the story in the subject position. However, it is important to note here that *nông dân* ‘farmer’ is a Chinese loanword derived from 農民 *nóng mìn* ‘farmer’. Based on the observation from our data, loanwords in Vietnamese tend to occur as bare nouns (cf. Sections 5.1. and 6.1.2 for more examples of loanwords from our data).

51 There is one informant who used the compound noun *người làm vườn* [person do garden] ‘the gardener’ (oral text F16) for referring to ‘the farmer’. I did not count this instance of an agent noun as a [CL N] construction.

(97) (Oral text 18, sentence 1)

Nông dân là một người đàn-ông nam, mập, râu thì
 farmer COP one CL man male fat moustache TOP
râu quai nón mà màu đỏ.⁵²
 beard CONJ colour red

‘[The] farmer was a man who was fat and had a beard, and his beard was red.’

With the exception of (97), all other instances with nouns denoting protagonists are introduced with the [*một* ‘one’ CL N] construction, i.e. concepts that are assumed to be unfamiliar to the hearer are introduced through an indefinite construction with a numeral as in (98). Later in the text, the same entities are definite and occur in the [CL N] construction. Thus, the protagonist in example (98) is introduced by the indefinite numeral classifier construction [*một* ‘one’ CL N] in the form of *một người nông dân* ‘a farmer’ and it is taken up later by the [CL N] construction as *người nông dân* ‘the farmer’.

⁵² Vietnamese men mostly have moustaches. Therefore, the default interpretation of *râu* is ‘moustache’. One can assume that the informant wants to emphasise that the man (the farmer) in the movie has a beard, not a moustache.

(98) **Foregrounded element** (*Oral text 20, sentences 1-3*)

Câu chuyện được bắt đầu vào một buổi sáng tại, trên một cánh đồng, có
 CL story PASS begin in one morning at on one CL field have
một người nông dân leo lên trên một cái thang, đang hái một loại
 one CL farmer climb up on one CL ladder PROG pick one kind
trái cây nào đó giống trái lê. Ông a người nông dân hái
 fruit certain like CL pear 3.SG PART CL farmer pick
đầy bỏ vào túi ...
 full put PRE pocket

‘The story begins in a field in a morning. There was a farmer, [he] climbed up a ladder to pluck a kind of fruit, [something] like pears. **[The] farmer** plucked as many pears as possible and put them in a pocket.’

As for backgrounded/non-protagonist nouns in the oral texts, the data show that non-protagonists tend to occur as bare forms. However, it seems that animacy plays an important role here, as [+animate, -protagonist] nouns manifest themselves with a classifier in foregrounded as well as in backgrounded situations. In example (99), *người đàn ông* [CL man] ‘the man’ and *con dê* [CL goat] ‘the goat’ are first mentioned as *một người đàn ông* [one CL man] ‘a man’, and *một con dê* [one CL goat] ‘a goat’. Later on, they occur with a classifier plus the demonstrative *này* ‘this’ as *người đàn ông này* ‘[the] man’ and *con dê này* ‘[the] goat’, respectively.

(99) **Foregrounded and backgrounded elements** (*Oral text 30, sentence 5-7*)

Thì cùng lúc đó, xuất hiện một người đàn ông đi ngang qua
 PART same time DEM appear one CL man go pass over
và ông dắt theo một con dê. Và thì con dê này
 and 3.SG lead along one CL goat CONJ TOP CL goat DEM
không chịu đi. Người đàn ông này vẫn cố gắng dắt và lôi
 NEG agree go CL man DEM still try lead CONJ pull
con dê này đi ngang qua chỗ ông này để trái cây.
 CL goat DEM go pass over place man DEM put fruit

‘At the same time, there came a man, he pulled a goat. And then, **[the] goat** did not want to continue walking. **[The] man** tried to lead and pull it walking out of the place where [that] man (the farmer) put his baskets of fruit.’

In contrast, the results are different if the backgrounded nouns are inanimate. Most of them appear in the bare form. As in (100), the [-animate, -protagonist] nouns *thang* ‘ladder’, *cần xé* ‘basket’, *lê* ‘pear’, etc., occur as bare forms, even though they were introduced earlier.

(100) **Backgrounded elements** (*Oral text 26, sentence 6*)

Khi bỏ trái lê vào cần xé xong, ông ấy tiếp tục leo
 when put CL pear PRE basket RES 3.SG continue climb
lên thang và hái lê...
 PRE ladder CONJ pick pear

‘After putting the pear into the basket, he continued climbing up the ladder and picking pears.’

4.2 CONTRASTIVE TOPICS

Results from the analysis of contrastive topics as discussed in Section 2.4.3 show that classifiers are used quite frequently in the 60 narrative texts. The frequency analysis shows that classifier use is very strongly associated with contrastiveness. In fact, the classifier is used in 84 nouns (66 in written texts and 18 in oral texts) of the corpus (cf. Appendix 4). There are no bare nouns in the context of contrastive topics. All nouns have the property of [+animate].

In most examples, the action/state of one protagonist is contrasted with the action/state of another protagonist. As shown in (101), the anger of the husband and his intention to make his wife eat some food is contrasted with his wife's refusal to give in. Both 'the husband' and 'his wife' occur with a classifier, i.e. *ông*_{CL} for male and *bà*_{CL} for female, respectively. The clauses containing the two bare classifier constructions are linked by the contrastive conjunction *nhưng* 'but'.

(101) (Written text 26, sentence 36)

Thấy thái độ của vợ mình, ông chồng điên-máu-lên
 see attitude POSS wife self CL husband get-crazy
và bắt ép ăn, nhưng bà vợ vẫn không ăn.
 CONJ force eat but CL wife still NEG eat

'Seeing the behaviour of his wife, **the husband** got crazy and [tried to] force her to eat, but **[his] wife** still did not eat.'

Example (102) is another example of two contrastive topics, this time linked by the conjunction *còn* 'while/whereas'. Here, the actions of the son in the kitchen are contrasted with the action of his mother in the bedroom (described as 'the wife' from the perspective of the husband). The son takes the classifier *đứa*_{CL} for young boy, and 'the mother' occurs with the classifier *bà*_{CL} for female. In this context, contrastiveness is again supported by the adverbial subordinator *còn* 'while/whereas'.

(102) (*Written text 26, sentence 23*)

Đứa con trai thì đứng lên kệ-bếp và vẽ bậy lên tường,

CL son COMP stand up kitchen-base and draw disorderly on wall

còn bà vợ thì nằm ăn đồ ăn nhanh với vẻ mặt khoái chí.

while CL wife TOP lie eat fast-food PRE expression delightful

‘[His] son stood on the kitchen base (cabinet) and scribbled [something] onto the wall, while [his] wife was lying in bed, eating fast food with a facial expression of delight.’

The data also provide examples of contrastive situations between a protagonist and non-protagonists. For instance, in (103), *thằng bé* [CL boy] ‘the boy’ is contrasted with *bọn trẻ* [CL children] ‘the children’, who leave the scene in the opposite direction. As one can see here, both ‘the boy’ and ‘the children’ appear with a classifier and the clauses in which they occur are connected again by the contrastive conjunction *còn* ‘while/whereas’.

(103) (*Oral text 6, sentence 31*)

Thằng bé tập tễnh dắt xe đi vài bước, còn **bọn trẻ** thì

CL boy limping lead bike go few step CONJ CL kid COP

đi theo hướng ngược lại.

go toward direction opposite

‘The boy led the bike limpingly, while, the children walked in the opposite direction of the boy.’

Finally, there are also contrastive contexts between two non-protagonist nouns. In example (104), the action of *con dê* [CL goat] ‘the goat’ is contrasted with the action of *cái ông đó* [CÁI CL DEM] ‘the man’. In other words, in this context, the desire of the goat to eat the fruit is contrasted with the attempt of the shepherd to prevent it from eating the fruit because it does not belong to him. Both ‘the goat’ and ‘the man’ occur with a classifier and are connected by the contrastive conjunction *nhưng mà* ‘but’.

(104) (*Oral text 4, sentence 8*)*Con dê thì nó muốn ăn cái trái đó, nhưng mà cái ông đó*

CL goat TOP it want eat CL fruit DEM CONJ CÁI CL DEM

ông kéo nó đi ra khỏi cái đường đó để cho nó khỏi

3.SG pull 3.SG go out of CL road DEM so that 3.SG NEG

ăn cái cái trái lê.

eat CÁI CÁI CL pear.

‘The goat wanted to eat [the] fruit, but [the] man pulled it out of [that place], so that it could not eat the pear.’

4.3 BRIDGING AND ASSOCIATIVE ANAPHORS

Results from the data on bridging (cf. Section 2.4.4 and Appendix 5 for the contexts of bridging and associative anaphors found in the texts) show that nouns can occur either with or without a classifier. Since we did not find any examples of bridging or associative anaphora in spoken texts, the results discussed in this section are only from the 30 written texts. There are 180 instances of nouns in a bridging relation in the written corpus, as shown in Table 4-5. Out of these nouns, 29 instances (16%) take a classifier, while 151 instances (84%) occur in the bare form. Thus, the bridging relation does not strongly support the use of the [CL N] construction.

Table 4-5: Token frequency of nouns in bridging contexts occurring with/without a classifier.

[CL N] vs. [N]	Written texts	Oral texts
With a classifier	29 instances (16%)	0
Without a classifier	151 instances (84%)	0

Given the implicit availability and identifiability of the referent in question, it is more economic not to mark it explicitly.

Example (105) shows a case in which classifiers are used with bridging. It opens the story and starts with the introduction of a family as a whole by the explicit use of the indefinite construction [*một* ‘one’ N] *một gia đình nọ* ‘a certain family’.⁵³ When mentioning a family, one always thinks of a father, mother, and a child. Thus, the nouns *chồng* ‘husband’ and *vợ* ‘wife’ are in a bridging relation to ‘the family’. Because husband and wife typically are part of a family, they are interpreted as definite by bridging. In this context, they are introduced with a classifier (*người chồng* [CL husband] ‘the husband’, *người vợ* [CL wife] ‘the wife’ and *đứa con trai* [CL son] ‘the son’).

(105) **Bridging** [+relational, +animate, +CL] (*Text 6, sentence 1*)

Vào tám giờ sáng ở **một gia đình nọ**. Khi chuông báo thức reo
 at eight o'clock morning in one family certain when bell alarm ring
 vang **người chồng** giật mình thức dậy, lén nhìn **người vợ** nằm giường
 loud CL husband startled awake stealthy look CL wife lie bed
 bên kia. Thấy cô ta còn ngủ say, thì người chồng nằm xuống ngủ
 over there see 3.SG still sleep well CONJ CL husband lie down sleep
 tiếp. Trong khi đó, **đứa con trai**- con của họ- đã thức dậy trước đó.
 again meanwhile CL son child POSS them PERF wake up before

‘At 8:00 in the morning **in a certain family**, when the alarm clock rang, **[the] husband** got startled and woke up. He looked stealthily at **[his] wife** who was sleeping on the opposite side of the bed. Seeing that she still slept deeply, he (the husband) lay down and continued sleeping. At that time, **[the] son** – their son – has woken up earlier.’

⁵³ Because *gia đình* ‘family’ is a Chinese loan word (家庭 *jiātíng* ‘family’) it is assumed to occur directly after a numeral (cf. Section 2.3.3)

Example (106) also shows [+relational] nouns in a bridging context as in the previous example but this time they occur as bare nouns. Here, the two body-part expressions *mông* ‘buttocks’ and *lưng* ‘back’ are both in a part-whole relation to an earlier phrase *người (ông)* [body 3.SG] ‘(his) body’. In spite of this, they are not marked by a classifier.

(106) Bridging [+relational, +animate, -CL] (*Text 19, sentence 27*)

Lửa lan ra người ông nên ông ta phải nhanh chóng mở
 fire spread RES body 3.SG CONJ 3.SG must quickly open
vòi nước xối vào mông, vào lưng.
 faucet flush PREP buttocks on back.

‘The fire spread onto his body, therefore, he had to open the faucet quickly to flush water on [his] buttocks and [his] back.’

The presence of a classifier in the bridging context of (105) and its absence in (106) seems to be due to the fact that the nouns in the former example denote animate concepts in the function of protagonists, while the nouns in the latter example are backgrounded and inanimate concepts. For that reason, we check effects of relationality and animacy on the occurrence of a classifier in a bridging context.

Table 4-6 shows that there is a certain correlation between relationality and animacy. Most of the bridging contexts in this study are non-relational and inanimate. However, if one combines [+relational] and [+animate] nouns, one can see that the seven examples of relational nouns with a classifier in a bridging context are all animate (and protagonists, i.e. all animate nouns in the written texts are protagonists). This result again shows that [+animate] and [+protagonist] are factors that affect the occurrence of classifiers.

As can also be seen from Table 4-6, most nouns in a bridging context are inanimate and non-relational (173 instances out of 180 (96%)). Only 13% of these nouns (22 out of 173) occur with a classifier. In contrast, 151 instances of them (87%) occur in their bare form.

Table 4-6: Token frequency of classifier use in a bridging context with [\pm relational] and [\pm animate] nouns.

[\pm relational] vs. [\pm animate]	[+relational]		[-relational]		Total
	[+CL]	[-CL]	[+CL]	[-CL]	
[+animate]	7	0	0	0	7
[-animate]	0	0	22	151	173
Total	7		157		180

To conclude this subsection, some examples on the use of classifiers in bridging contexts with [\pm relational] and [\pm animate] nouns are discussed. Example (107) illustrates one of the relatively rare cases of an inanimate noun occurring with a classifier. The context of this example is that of a bathroom in which the husband is busy shaving. The relevant noun is *khăn lau* ‘towel’ whose familiarity is given as part of the activity of wiping soap from the face:

(107) [**-relational, -animate, +CL**] (*written text 8, sentence 32*)

Anh chồng lau xà bông trên mặt. Anh chồng quăng cái khăn lau
 CL husband wipe soap on face. CL husband throw CL towel
xuống sàn.
 down floor

‘[The] husband wiped the soap from his face. He threw the towel down on the floor.’

In contrast, *bồn (tắm)* ‘bath-tub’ and *xà phòng* ‘soap-foam’ in (108) take no classifier even though they clearly are in an associative relation to *phòng tắm* ‘bath room’.

(108) [-relational, -animate, -CL] (*written text 9, sentences 35, 37, 38*)

Trong phòng-tắm, người đàn ông đang nằm dưới bồn kỳ cọ thân.

PRE bathroom, CL man PROG lie under bathtub scrub body

Người đàn ông lau xà phòng trên người, mặc đồ ngủ⁵⁴ bước ra ngoài.

CL man wipe soap PRE body put-on sleeping-jacket step outside

‘In the bath room, the man lay in the bath-tub and scrubbed his body...[He] (the man) wiped the soap foam off his body, put on [his] bathrobe and went out.’

In short, contexts of bridging and associative anaphors cause nouns to get a definite interpretation that is commonly associated with the occurrence of a classifier. However, the data show that these contexts do not seem to trigger classifier use automatically. In fact, the data show that nouns in these contexts occur more often as bare nouns, i.e. bare nouns in Vietnamese can express definiteness. Given the clear distribution of classifier use with [+animate] relational nouns (7 instances out of 7) and the absence of classifiers with [-animate] non-relational nouns (151 out of 173) in bridging contexts, it is difficult to say which of the factors decides classifier use, animacy or relationality.

4.4 SPECIFICITY, INFORMATION STRUCTURE, AND DISCOURSE

The ability of classifiers to get specific reading was shown in section 2 (cf. Section 2.2.2 ([CL N] vs. [N]), Section 2.3.4 ([CL N] vs. [±definite]), and Section 2.4.4.2 (specificity and information structure vs. [±definite])). The various types of specificity found in our corpus is presented in this section.

At the same time, it is important to point out that classifiers in the function of specific indefinite classifiers are also found in various specific structural environments which will be presented in Chapter 6 (cf.thetic statements in Section 6.2.2, indefinite demonstratives

⁵⁴ As mentioned in Section 3.1.3, Vietnamese rarely uses bath-jackets after taking a shower or a bath. They directly put on the clothes they need for wearing at home or for going out. Therefore, the bath-jacket in this context was expressed by informants as *đồ ngủ* ‘sleeping clothes’, *áo choàng* ‘coat’, *áo khoác* ‘jacket’, etc.

in Section 6.2.3.1, verbs of appearance in Section 6.2.3.2 and achievement verbs in Section 6.2.3.3).

4.4.1 Common ground (CG) management

While Common Ground (GC) content is about the truth-conditional content provided by the CG, GC management is about the communicative goals and interests of interlocutors and the strategies by which presuppositions are developed in discourse (Krifka 2007). Based on this view, we argue in this section that classifiers are selected at the stage of CG management as specific referents to be managed for presupposition (cf. Krifka (2007)). In each case, the ‘tool’ for management is a specific referent. In Vietnamese, such cases are often introduced by focus adverbs like *bèn, liền, lập tức* ‘immediately/ at once’.

Examples (109) and (110) belong to the same context. In (109), the CG content can be described as follows: the wife was chatting on the phone leisurely without knowing that her husband already stood beside her (he was out talking with two men outside the door). These ‘valid’ notions added to the husband’s rage against his wife and made him ‘immediately’ (Vietnamese *bèn*) take *a pair of scissors* to cut the telephone line and to stop his wife from talking with someone other than himself. The scissors in this emergent management occur with a classifier as a specific referent, even though they are previously unidentified.

- (109) [+CL, +specific, -def] (*Written text 6, sentences 12 and 13*)

*Anh đến chỗ vợ ngồi nghe điện thoại, nhưng cô vợ vẫn thản nhiên
 3.SG come place wife sit hear telephone CONJ CL wife still leisurely
 nói chuyện điện thoại mà không chú ý đến anh. Anh ta bèn
 talk telephone FOC NEG notice PREP him 3.SG immediately
 cầm cây kéo cắt đứt sợi dây để cô ta không còn nghe điện thoại được.
 take CL scissor cut RES CL wire so-that 3.SG NEG hear telephone RES*

‘He came to the place where [his] wife was talking on the phone, but she was still talking without noticing him. He immediately took a pair of scissors to cut the telephone line, so that she could not talk on it anymore.’

In contrast, the CG content of (110) is the naughty boy (their son) who pushed a toy car into his father’s foot and caused him to fall down. Then, the topic changes to another scene in which the husband cut the telephone line by a pair of scissor, while the wife was on the line. Thus, it seems there is no CG management. Given the absence of a discourse relation between the two events, the scissors are expressed as bare nouns..

- (110) [-CL, -specific, -def] (*Written text 5, sentences 13 and 14*)

*Cậu bé nghịch ngợm đẩy xe vào chân bố, ông bố té ngã trên chiếc xe.
 CL boy naughty push car PREP foot father CL father fall down PREP CL car
 Người chồng lấy kéo cắt đứt dây-điện thoại, trong khi cô vợ đang nói chuyện.
 CL husband take scissor cut RES wire telephone while CL wife PROG talk*

‘The naughty boy pushed the toy car into his father’s foot, [he] (the father) fell down on the car. The husband cut the telephone wire with a pair of scissors, while the wife was talking (on the phone).’

4.4.2 Noteworthiness

Specificity as noteworthiness assumes that the speaker intends to point out a noteworthy unidentified element which is important for the story line (cf. Section 2.5.4.1 for the notion of noteworthiness).

Example (111) begins with the interjection *a* which implies that the speaker intends to assert a noteworthy element of the story. The new referent ‘hat’ is introduced in the interjection phrase to note that it is a noteworthy element. This element selects a classifier and has indefinite interpretation. Later on, in the second line, it is mentioned again as a definite element with a classifier. Another noteworthy element is the stone which made the boy fall down. Both, the hat and the stone, are neither [+protagonist] nor [+def] but they are mentioned with a classifier because of their noteworthiness in the story line (cf. Section 4.1 for the argument that [+protagonist] and [+def] nouns prototypically occur with a classifier)

(111) (*Oral text 16, sentences 13 and 14*)

*A, thằng này quẹt vô con nhỏ rớt cái nón. Xong rồi, khi nó
INT CL DEM swipe CL girl drop CL hat CONJ when 3.SG
nhìn cái nón thì nó đụng cục đá té xe.*

look CL hat FOC 3.SG. hit CL stone fall bike

‘Well, as for the boy who swiped the girl, he has lost [a] **hat**. After that, when he looked at the hat, he hit into [a] **stone** and fell down.’

Another example with a specific context containing noteworthy elements is (112). In this example, the classifier is used for introducing the new referents of *bàn* ‘table’ and *súng* ‘gun’ as noteworthy elements. They are ‘valid notions’ because the husband intended to threaten his wife by forcing her to eat the soup he made. At that stage, the audience cannot know what would happen at a next stage. These noteworthy elements are inserted for preparing the hearer for the surprise effect in the next scene in which *súng* ‘the gun’ turns out to be *cái tẩu thuốc* ‘a smoking pipe’ (cf. Section 6.2.3.2 for structure with verbs of appearance).

(112) [+CL, +specific, -def] (*Written text 2, sentence 42-44*)

*Người chồng bực tức, đi lại cái bàn, mở hộc bàn ra, và giả bộ
 CL husband angry go come CL table open drawer RES and pretend
 làm động tác giả như lấy khẩu súng... Người vợ vừa múc muỗng thức ăn
 do act fake like take CL gun CL wife just take spoon food
 định đưa vào miệng thì thấy anh chồng chìa ra cái tẩu thuốc
 intend put into mouth FOC see CL husband come out CL smoking pipe
 chứ không phải khẩu súng. ...
 FOC NEG CL gun*

‘The husband was angry. [He] went to **a table**, opened the table drawer and pretended to take **a gun**. The wife was just about to put the spoon [of soup] into her mouth, but [what] the husband [used to threaten her] was a smoking pipe, not the gun.’

Noteworthiness can also be associated with the indefinite demonstrative construction and with information focus with ‘extra *cái*’ (cf. Sections 4.4.4, 6.2.3 and 6.3 for more details analysis).

4.4.3 Indefinite specifics

Referential specificity is expressed by a contrast between the normal context and specific context (cf. Section 2.4.3, von Heusinger 2011). Good examples of this type of specificity are (113) and (114). In both of them, the noun phrases occur with a classifier.

In (113), the action takes place in the kitchen, a place which is normally not associated with a concept like *máy giặt* ‘washing machine’. Thus, there is no bridging context for this concept and it can be interpreted as indefinite. More precisely, it is indefinite specific, because the narrator of the story has seen previously in the film that the man had his son sit on that washing machine. So, the washing machine is speaker-known.

Similar to (113), *cái nĩa* [CL fork] ‘a fork’ in (114) is used as a specific referent when it is used for opening a can which is hard to open. The situation is special because the husband opens the can by jabbing it with a fork, which is already known to the speaker. Thus, it is indefinite specific again.

(113) [+CL, +specific, -def] (*Written text 12, sentence 18*)

Ông bắt đầu đi chuẩn bị bữa sáng, ông ôm đứa bé vào bếp

3.SG begin go prepare breakfast 3.SG bring CL-boy enter kitchen

và đặt nó ngồi lên chiếc máy-giặt đặt trong bếp.

CONJ put 3.SG sit PREP CL washing-machine put PRE kitchen

‘He began preparing breakfast. He carried the boy and got into the kitchen, and then he put him down and let him sit on **[a] washing machine which was put in the kitchen.**’

(114) [+CL, +specific, -def] (*Written text 4, sentence 28*)

Ông lấy đồ hộp ra và cố mở nó bằng cái nĩa. Ông đâm

3.SG take can-food out and try open it by CL fork 3.SG stab

mạnh và nước từ trong hộp bắn ra tung toé vào mặt ông.

strongly and water from inside can splatter PREP face 3.SG

‘He took a can out and tried to open it with **[a] fork**. He jabbed it. The water from the can splashed into his whole face.’

4.4.4 Indefinite demonstrative

Even though most demonstrative constructions are definite, there are three instances of indefinite interpretation in the oral texts (the following two examples and example (78) in Sections 2.5.4.3). Indefinite demonstratives are introduced in this section because they are associated with specificity.

As mentioned in 2.5.4.3, the indefinite demonstrative *this* in English is only used felicitously if it introduces an interesting or ‘noteworthy’ concept into discourse (cf. Ionin 2006). In Vietnamese, the situation is somewhat different. Indefinite demonstratives are ‘felicitously used’ in the context of *specificity and discourse prominence*, whereby prominence means ‘referential persistence’ or ‘topic shift’. Thus, indefinite demonstratives have the potential to introduce a referent that will be mentioned again and may even become a topic in the subsequent discourse (von Heusinger 2011).⁵⁵

In (115), the DP *ông này* ‘this man’ is introduced in the text as a specific referent which is clearly ‘noteworthy’ because it will turn out to be the protagonist of the story. It occurs together with the existential verb *có* ‘there is’ and is interpreted as indefinite even if it occurs in [CL DEM]. In the clauses that follow this first mention, it is treated as a topic which is taken up by the pronoun *ông* ‘he’.

(115) *Oral text 14, sentences 1 and 2*

Chuyện nó không-có-gì, nói chung nội dung nó chỉ là câu chuyện

story 3.SG nothing generally content 3.SG only COP CL story

đời thường thôi. Có ông này, ông là người nông dân, thì

life normal SFP exist CL DEM 3.SG COP CL farmer TOP

ông đang thu hái mấy cái trái giống như trái lê xanh.

3.SG PROG collect PLU CL fruit look like CL pear green

‘The story was nothing special, its content was just about a daily life story. There was **this man**, he was a farmer and he was collecting the fruits which looked like green pears.’

⁵⁵ Example of context of *specificity as discourse prominence* from von Heusinger (2011) as follow:

- a. There was a king and the king had a daughter and he loved his daughter ...
- b. There was a king and # the season was very short and hot ...

Another example with an indefinite demonstrative found in our data is (116). The protagonist (the farmer) is introduced as a new referent in the story with the bare classifier ‘extra *cái*’ ([exist + *cái* + CL + N + DEM_{indef}]) construction. It is ‘discourse.

(116) *Oral text 9, Sentences 1 and 2*

Chào thầy, vừa rồi thì em có xem một cái đoạn clip quay lại

hello teacher earlier TOP 1.SG FOC watch one *cái* CL v.clip record RES

cảnh sống ở một vùng nông thôn. Là cái bác nhà vườn này

scene life PREP one area countryside COP *cái* CL farmer DEM

đang vào mùa thu hoạch những cái trái chín để chuẩn bị

PROG PREP season harvest PLU CL fruit ripe in-order-to ready

đưa ra thị trường bán

send PREP market sell

‘Hello teacher, I have just watched a video clip about the life in a countryside. The story was about **this very farmer**, he was [busy] in harvesting the ripe fruits so that he could bring them to the market for selling.’

Indefinite demonstratives can already be found in earlier Vietnamese literature as in the following example (117) which was written in the year 1882 by the first Vietnamese linguist Truong, Vinh Ky (1837—1898). These structures are mostly used in the introductory sentence of short stories. From these data, it may be argued that the [exist + (*cái*) CL (/N) + DEM_{indef}] construction is mostly used at the beginning of a story, more specifically, it is popularly used for a certain genre of short stories in Vietnamese (cf. Appendix 21 for more examples).

(117) *Quoted from Nguyen, Vy Khanh (2018)*

Dụng mưu làm thuốc ‘Use intelligence as medicine’ (Truong Vinh Ký, 1882)

Có **đưa con gái kia** khi vươn vai làm-sao

exist CL girl that when stretch shoulder without knowing reason

trật tay xuống không được, cứ giờ lên như vậy mãi...

sprained arm down NEG RES continually raise up like that forever

‘There was *that girl*, when she was stretching her arms, she sprained her arms without knowing how it could happen like that. Her hands had always to be risen up, she was not able to put them down..’

4.4.5 Familiarity/identifiability (CL with definite interpretations)

Section 2.5.4.5 showed that the selection of a specific classifier depends on the properties of the concept expressed by the noun as it matters for a given speech situation (familiarity) rather than on uniqueness. This section shows how discourse and information structure enhance the use of classifiers with [+unique] nouns, which in unmarked contexts mostly take no classifier (cf. Section 5.2). Given the small number of nouns with this feature in our sample, it is only possible to discuss individual examples.

As one can see in (118), the non-sortal noun ([+unique]/[-relational]) *đất* ‘earth, ground’ is interpreted as definite by the classifier *mặt* for flat surfaces because it is in the function of contrastive focus.⁵⁶ The author of this text starts her story from the perspective of the protagonist, a farmer, who is up ‘on a tree’ (*trên một cái cây* [up-on one CL tree]). After having described a series of the farmer’s actions up there, her attention suddenly moves to the position of the baskets ‘down on the ground’ (*dưới mặt đất* [down-on CL ground]), which is contrasted to the position up on the tree.

⁵⁶ *Mặt* has the meaning of ‘face’. In this context, it is a classifier for objects with a flat surface. As a full noun, it can be interpreted as a [+relational] noun as in *mặt bàn* [surface table] ‘the surface of the table’.

(118) *Oral text 13, sentence 8*

Ông leo lên một cái thang để ông leo lên một cái cây
 3.SG climb PREP one CL ladder so that 3.SG climb PREP one CL tree
 để ông hái. Ông hái xong, thì ông leo xuống
 so that 3.SG pluck 3.SG pluck RES CONJ 3.SG climb down
 cái thang đó, xuống đó. Rồi ông, dưới mặt đất
 CL ladder DEM down DEM CONJ 3.SG down CL ground
 sẽ có ba cái giỏ...
 FUT have three CL basket

‘He climbed **up** a ladder for getting on [a] tree to pluck [the fruits]. After having plucked [them], he went down [the] ladder. Then, he, [**down**] **on the ground**, there were three baskets...’

In contrast to (118), *đất* ‘earth, ground’ does not get a classifier in the non-contrastive situation of the following example:

(119) *(Oral text 28, sentence 20)*

Có ba sọt trái cây dưới đất, không có ai trông nom hết.
 Exist three CL fruit under ground NEG have who take.care at.all.
 ‘There were three baskets of fruits **on the ground**, but nobody was taking care of them.’

Moreover, our data show that the majority of definite classifiers is used in anaphoric contexts in which a previously introduced concept is taken up with a classifier for pointing out the speaker’s assumption that it can be identified by the hearer. Thus, the referent is generally first mentioned in the [one CL N] construction and later on, it is taken up in the [CL N] construction (cf. also examples with foregrounded nouns, nouns in contexts of contrastive topic and of bridging as discussed in Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3).

Taken together, these facts are strong indicators that the definiteness expressed by the classifier rather marks pragmatic definiteness than semantic definiteness in terms of Löbner (1985). In the framework of Schwarz (2009, 2013), Vietnamese definite classifier rather express anaphoric or ‘strong’ definiteness rather than unique or ‘weak’ definiteness.

4.4.6 Focus, topic, and (in)definiteness

Table 4-7 briefly summarizes the contexts of focus and topic in which classifiers can be interpreted as definite and indefinite (cf. Section 2.5.4.4). In the context of focus, definiteness is associated with contexts of identificational focus and contrastive focus, while indefiniteness is related to information focus and indefinite specific. Information focus is also related to ‘extra *cái*’ as [NUM *cái* CL N], [*cái* CL N], or [CL (N) DEM_{indef}] in referential existential contexts. Topicality generally goes with definiteness. Thus, our data on contrastive topics demonstrated that most nouns in this condition take a classifier and are interpreted as definite. Some definite nouns are topicalized for discourse prominence.

Table 4-7: Contexts of focus and topic with (in)definiteness.

<i>CL-N</i>	<i>[+definite]</i>	<i>[-definite]</i>
<i>Focus</i>	- identificational focus and - contrastive focus	- information focus (referential existential context, indefinite ‘extra <i>cái</i> ’) and - specific focus (specific context vs. normal context)
<i>Topic</i>	- contrastive topics and - topicalized	---

We also find examples of ‘information focus extra *cái*’ and ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’ in our oral database (for the syntactic analysis, cf. Section 6.3). In (120), the concept of ‘a boy’ is first introduced as a new referent of the story. It is clearly indefinite because it occurs in an existential context. The speaker uses information focus ‘extra *cái*’ here to introduce the boy as the second protagonist with his status as ‘noteworthy’ new information (Ionin 2006).

(120) *Oral text 13, Sentence 11*

Lúc mà ông leo lên ông hái thì có một cái thằng bé
 time REL 3.SG climb up 3.SG pluck FOC exist one cái CL boy
đạp một chiếc xe đạp màu đỏ chạy về hướng của ông.
 ride one CL bike red run toward POSS him

‘At the time when he ([the farmer]) was climbing up [the tree] to pluck [fruits].
 There was **a very boy**. [He] (the boy) was riding a red bicycle toward him.’

In example (121), the boy from example (120) is now mentioned by the same informant as identified information in the identificational focus ‘extra *cái*’. This creates contrastive meaning in the sense that THE BOY fell down, not THE GIRL. Since both referents were mentioned in previous context, they are interpreted as definite (on contrastive topics, see Section 4.2). The two clauses in which the two contrasted elements appear are connected by the conjunction *còn* ‘but’.

(121) *Oral text 13, Sentence 18*

Người nghe: Con bé té?

hearer CL girl fall

Người kể: ‘Không, cái thằng này té, còn con bé, nó không bị gì hết.’

speaker NEG cái CL DEM fall CONJ CL girl 3.SG NEG suffer *nothing*

‘Story-hearer: ‘The girl fell down?’

Story-teller: ‘No, [it was] **this boy fell down**, as for the girl, she suffered from nothing.’

Since contrastive topics are discussed in Sections 2.5.2 and 4.2 (cf. also Appendix 4), this section will show examples of focus topic (122) and topicalization (123).

The basket of fruits in (122) combines the functions of topic and focus. It is interpreted as definite because it was mentioned in the previous context. Even though it is not foregrounded, it is expressed as the topic of this sentence as one can see from the anaphoric pronoun *nó* ‘it’ by which it is taken up in the comment. At the same time, the speaker considers it as an ‘important/noteworthy’ information in terms of focus that causes the boy (the second protagonist) to fall down.

(122) [+topic, +focus] *Oral text 1, Sentences 6 and 7*

Cái giỏ trái cây, nó để ở đầu xe thì nó không có chắc chắn

CL basket fruit. 3.SG put PREP head bike FOC 3.SG NEG stable very

lắm... thì cái giỏ trái cây, nó bị đổ xuống và cậu cũng té luôn

very TOP CL basket fruit. 3.SG PASS fall down and he also fall FOC

‘The basket of fruit, it was put on the handlebar of the bicycle. [So], it was not very stable... As for the basket of fruit, it fell and he ([the boy]) also fell down.’

Example (123) illustrates topicalization by the use of the topic particle *á*. Here, *cái trái này* ‘this type of fruit’ is topicalized to emphasize the negation that Vietnam did not have it.

(123) [+specific, topicalized] *Oral text 2, Sentences 1 and 2*

Chuyện kể về một cái bác nông dân, buổi sáng trèo lên một cái cây

story tell about one cái CL farmer morning climb up one CL tree

mà bác trồng á để bác hái trái cây. Thì cái trái này á

RES 3.SG plant PART SO that 3.SG pluck fruit TOP cái CL DEM TOP_{PART}

ở Việt Nam không có...

in Vietnam NEG have

‘The story was about a farmer. In the morning, [he] climbed up a tree that he planted...you know... so that he [could] pluck fruits. As for this [kind of] fruit ... you know... Vietnam did not have [this kind of fruit].’

4.5 INTERIM SUMMARY

In this chapter, the following observations were made. First, a classifier is nearly always obligatory with foregrounded/protagonist nouns, in contexts of contrastiveness and in contexts of common ground management, noteworthiness and referential specificity. It is not obligatory with backgrounded nouns, bridging, inanimate nouns, and loanwords. Second, classifiers can be associated with definiteness or indefiniteness, depending on context.

Table 4-8 summarizes the obligatoriness and the expression of Vietnamese classifiers in terms of discourse factors. Most of the animate nouns denoting protagonists appear with a classifier and are interpreted as definite. Indefinite interpretations of the [CL N] constructions are found only inthetic statements (cf. Subsection 6.2.2). Since the data do not cover inanimate protagonists, further tests for inanimate nouns denoting protagonists are needed to see how inanimate nouns behave with respect to classifier use when they function as protagonists (cf. Section 5.1).

Since examples of specificity and information structure were limited, no frequency analysis was conducted. However, based on the data, we can argue that common ground management, noteworthiness, referential specificity, familiarity as well as focus and topic affect classifier use, especially with indefinite interpretations.

Table 4-8: The obligatoriness of Vietnamese classifiers and the expression of (in)definiteness in discourse.

Conditions		Frequency		Expression of CL as (in)definiteness	
		+CL	-CL	[+ def]	[- def]
Discourse factors	Foregrounded/protagonist	93%	7%	√ (99%)	√ (1%)
	Contrastive topic	100%	0%	√ (100%)	
	Bridging/associative anaphora	16%	84%	√ (100%)	
Specificity and information structure	Common ground management	√			√
	Noteworthiness	√			√
	Referential specificity (referential existential)	√			√
	Familiarity	√		√	
	Focus	√		√	√
	Topic	√		√	

CHAPTER 5. SEMANTIC FACTORS

This chapter discusses the results and finding of the occurrence of classifiers with the semantic features of animacy, relationality, or uniqueness, as presented in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively. Section 5.1 shows not only how much the semantic feature of [+animate] conditions the presence of a classifier, but also discusses whether [+animate] or [+protagonist] affect the classifier use more strongly. Section 5.2 analyses classifier use with [±relational] and [±unique] nouns based on the four noun types of relationality and uniqueness which are defined by Löbner (2011). Although animacy, relationality, and uniqueness are semantic features, the way they trigger the classifier use is in vice versa, i.e. [+relational] and [+unique] nouns condition the absence (instead of the presence) of classifier use in Vietnamese. The following sections will demonstrate the issues with detailed data.

5.1 ANIMACY

Animacy plays an important role in grammar (cf. Section 2.4.2). In this section, the data are analysed based on the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976 and Dixon 1979), especially with nouns bearing the features [±animate] and [±definite]. Generally, the data from the corpus show a very clear correlation between the [±animate] property of nouns and the presence of classifiers.

Table 5-1 shows that the token frequency of [+animate] nouns occurring with classifiers is a lot higher than without classifiers. In other words, there is a clear preference for using a classifier with animate nouns in written texts and oral texts. In contrast, inanimate nouns tend to appear in their bare form rather than with a classifier, especially in the written texts. Let us examine the detailed statistical analysis of the written and the oral texts separately.

In the written texts, one can see that 1,176 instances out of the 1,299 instances (91%) of the animate nouns take a classifier, while only 123 instances (9%) of the animate nouns have no classifier. In contrast with animate nouns, only 393 instances (20%) of the inanimate nouns occur with a classifier, while 1,566 of them (80%) appear in their bare form.

In the oral texts, the token frequency of animate nouns occurring with a classifier is even higher. More specifically, 395 instances (99%) appear with a classifier, while only four

instances (1%) occur without a classifier. However, it is remarkable that the frequency of inanimate nouns appearing with/without a classifier in oral texts is about equal: 48% (349 instances) vs. 52% (382 instances).

Comparing the statistical data from the written and the oral texts, it turns out that the behaviour of animate nouns with a classifier is the same throughout the whole corpus. In contrast, inanimate nouns occurring in the bare form behave differently in the oral texts and the written texts. There is a difference in the results of inanimate nouns occurring in the bare form between written texts and oral texts, e.g. 80% vs. 20% in written texts, 52% vs. 48% in oral texts. The reason for this difference will be explained after checking whether the data is significant or not.

Table 5-1: Token frequency of classifier use with [\pm animate] nouns in written texts and oral texts (see Appendix 5).

[\pm animate] nouns	Written texts		Oral texts	
	[+animate]	[-animate]	[+animate]	[-animate]
With a classifier	1,176 (91%)	393 (20%)	395 (99 %)	349 (48 %)
Without a classifier	123 (9%)	1,566 (80%)	4 (1 %)	382 (52%)
Total	1,299 instances	1,959 instances	399 instances	731 instances

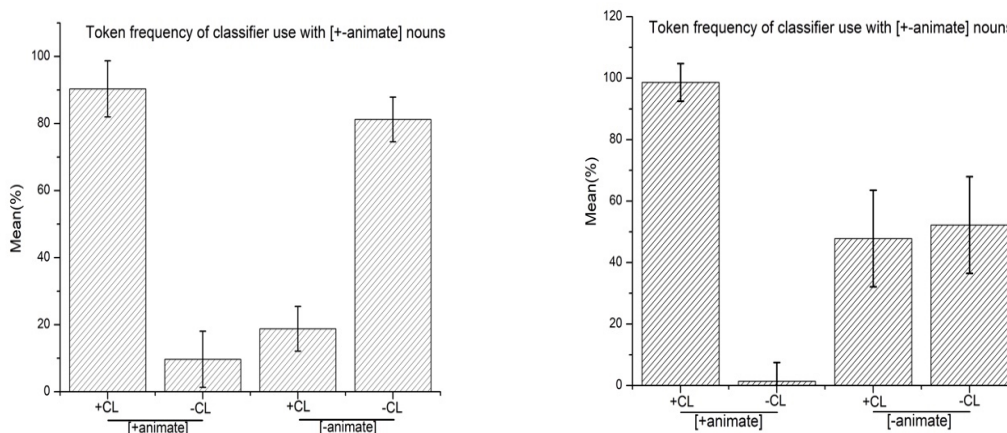
In order to prove that the results in Table 5-1 are reliable and significant, these data were double-checked by applying the statistical significance test to examine the mean value and the deviation value of the result (cf. Figure 5-1). In this figure, only the significance value of the result in Table 5-1 is examined. The significance of the mean value diminishes with the increasing length of the line in the middle of each bar. The longer the line is, the larger the deviation value is and the less significant it is.

As shown in Figure 5-1, the first two bars represent nouns denoting [+animate] nouns occurring with and without classifiers, while the second two bars stand for [-animate] nouns with and without classifiers, respectively. Generally, this figure shows that the results are significant, because the standard deviation of the lines (black lines in the middle) of each bar is relatively small. If one compares the first two columns of the figure (animate nouns occurring with or without classifiers, respectively), one can see that this exception not only does not affect the argument that [+animate] nouns prominently appear with a classifier, but makes it clearer that the feature of [+animate] can be another factor affecting the presence of a classifier as well.

In addition, Figure 5-1 also shows the notable result that the behaviour of inanimate nouns (the second two columns) differ between written texts and oral texts. The two bars representing inanimate nouns in written texts illustrate that inanimate nouns tend to occur in the bare form (80%, comparing with only 20% of inanimate nouns taking a classifier). As for the oral texts, it seems that inanimate nouns can appear with or without a classifier (48% compared with 52%). The reasons that lead to such a difference between inanimate nouns in written texts and oral texts are the following:

- (i) The total number of inanimates occurring in the bare form in written texts (1566 instances) is much higher than in the oral texts (382 instances).
- (ii) There are more inanimate nouns being used in positions of focus/emphasis in the oral texts than in the written texts. Since these functions are associated with the use of a classifier, higher frequencies of inanimate nouns with a classifier are to be expected (the discussion of classifiers as a focus marker will be examined in Section 5.2). In spite of this, classifiers are not obligatory with animacy.

Figure 5-1: Token frequency of classifier use with [\pm animate] nouns in written texts (left) and oral texts (right).



Now let us turn to some examples. In the first example in (124), the noun *bé* ‘boy’ occurs with the classifier *cậu* ‘CL for young boy’ in the [CL N] construction. The presence of the classifier is due the fact that this noun is [animate] and that it is one of the two protagonists.

(124) [+animate, +CL] (*Oral text 19, sentence 12*)

Cậu bé thấy thế tặng mỗi người một trái lê ...

CL boy see that present each person one CL pear

‘The boy saw that he gave each of them one pear.’

As for [+animate] nouns occurring as bare nouns, the data show that most of the nouns in these contexts are relational nouns (e.g. *bố* ‘husband’, *vợ* ‘wife’, *con* ‘son’, *mẹ vợ* ‘mother-in-law’, etc.) (cf. Section 5.2 for more detail) or Sino-Vietnamese words⁵⁷ (e.g. *đồng nghiệp* 同業 *tóngyè* ‘colleague’, *đối tác* 對作 *dùizuò* ‘partner, counterpart’, *nông dân* 農

⁵⁷ There are fully-integrated loanwords, like *nông dân* 農民 *nóngmín* ‘farmer’ and *sếp* ‘chief’, and partly-integrated loanwords, such as *đồng nghiệp* 同業 ‘colleague’ (Chinese: 同事 *tóngshì* ‘colleague’), *đối tác* 對作 ‘partner, counterpart’ (Chinese: 合作對像 *hézuò duìxiàng*/ 合作夥伴 *hézuò huǒbàn* ‘partner, counterpart’), etc.

民 *nóngmín* ‘farmer’). In (125), we find the Sino-Vietnamese word *đồng nghiệp* ‘colleague’, while the word *sếp* ‘chef, boss’ in (126) is borrowed from French.

(125) [+animate, -CL] Sino-Vietnamese word (*Written text 9, sentence 23*)

Đồng nghiệp đến, anh chồng bước ra nhưng vấp phải cái cửa ngã nhào nhào.

colleague arrive CL husband walk PREP CONJ trip RES CL door fall flurry

‘[A] colleague (of the husband) came. He walked out and bumped into the door and tumbled.’

(126) [+animate, -CL] loanword from French (*Written text 30, sentence 37*)

Ông chồng ra mở cửa nói rằng mình đang làm đồ-ăn-sáng,

CL husband out open door say COMP N_{reflexive} PROG make breakfast

khoảng năm phút nữa xong sẽ đi làm với sếp.

around five minute later finish FUT go work PRE boss

‘The husband went out to open the door. [He] said that he was making breakfast and would be finished in five minutes. After that he would go to work with [his] boss.’

In the following example, the inanimate noun *xô* ‘bucket’ takes the classifier *cái*. Since it was introduced when the boy, as one of the protagonists, first appeared with it, its interpretation is definite.

(127) [-animate, + CL] (*Written text 2, sentence 8*)

Cậu ta đã đặt cái xô ngay giữa bố và mẹ.

3.SG PERF place CL bucket right between father and mother

‘He put **the bucket** right between his father and mother.’

However, definiteness does not necessarily induce the occurrence of a classifier with [-animate] nouns, as in (128). Even though *thang* ‘[the] ladder’ and *cây* ‘[the] tree’ are previously mentioned, they occur as bare nouns. A vast number of inanimate nouns from the data occurring in their bare form are associated either definite or indefinite meaning.

(128) [-animate, -CL] (*Oral text 27, sentence 3*)

Sau đó, ông ấy lại leo lên thang và leo lên cây hái tiếp.

after that 3.SG again climb up ladder CONJ climb on tree pluck continue

‘After that, he [the farmer] climbed up the ladder and climbed onto the tree [again] to continue plucking [pears].’

Table 5-2 is on the use of classifiers in combination with animacy and (in)definiteness. The data show that animate nouns tend to occur with a classifier and are interpreted as definite (98% vs. 2% in written texts, and 100% vs. 0% in oral texts), while inanimate nouns tend to occur in the bare form even if they express definiteness (75% vs. 25% in the written texts and 88% vs. 12% in the oral texts). The data also show that nouns occurring with a classifier are preferably interpreted as definite, irrespective of whether they are animate or inanimate. Most of the contexts in which animate nouns occur with a classifier in indefinite function (the 2% in the written texts) are thetical statements and the animate nouns are protagonists of the story (cf. Sections 4.1 and 6.2). In contrast, there are not many contexts in which bare animate nouns are interpreted as indefinite in the data. In fact, there are only examples (129) and (130) above. About a quarter of the inanimate nouns occurring with a classifier are indefinite (26% in the written texts and 22% in the oral texts). Most of these nouns are indefinite specific (cf. Section 4.1 for more details on backgrounded inanimate nouns occurring with CL) or they occur in contexts which are used for introducing new entities (e.g. existential clauses, locative clauses, constructions with verbs of appearance, or

sometimes in the specific construction with [V + achievement] (these issues will be analysed in more detail in Section 6.2.3).⁵⁸

Looking at the frequencies presented so far, classifier use is very strongly associated with [+animate], [+definite] as well as with [+protagonist]. Interestingly enough, there is a certain opposite tendency with indefinite nouns since inanimate nouns are interpreted much more frequently as indefinite than animate nouns (2% ([+CL, +ani]) vs 26% ([+CL, -ani]) in written texts and 0% ([+CL, +ani]) vs. 22% ([+CL,-ani]) in oral texts). As pointed out above, the 2% of indefinite animate nouns taking a classifier are used in thetical statements (cf. Section 6.2.2).

Table 5-2: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns and their expression of definiteness and indefiniteness in written texts and oral texts.

	Written texts				Oral texts			
	[+animate]		[-animate]		[+animate]		[-animate]	
	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL
Definite	1,154 (98%)	122 (99%)	290 (74%)	1,170 (75%)	395 (100%)	3 (75%)	285 (78%)	336 (88%)
Indefinite	22 (2%)	1 (1%)	103 (26%)	396 (25%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	64 (22%)	46 (12%)
Total	1,176	123	393	1,566	395	4	349	382

As for the situations in which inanimate nouns express indefiniteness but occur in their *bare form* (25% in written texts and 12% in oral texts), most of them are compound nouns or backgrounded nouns (cf. Section 4.1). In (129), nouns such as *dụng cụ kẹp dùng để nướng bánh* ‘toaster’ and *lò nướng* ‘oven’ are compound nouns. They are composed of the lexemes *dụng cụ* ‘tool’ and *lò* ‘oven’ in the head position (class-nouns) followed by modifiers of different degrees of complexity. Both compounds can optionally take the

⁵⁸ Because there are not many examples with semifactive verbs in the data, this study mainly focuses on the occurrence of a classifiers with different noun types. Checking classifier use with different verb classes would need another study.

general classifier *cái* in other contexts (with definite interpretation). Here, they are found to occur in their bare form, and they are interpreted as indefinite because they are first mentioned in this context. In (130), the noun *kéo* ‘scissors’ is an inanimate and backgrounded noun. It also appears in its bare form and is interpreted as indefinite because it is first mentioned in this context (cf. Section 4.1 on *kéo* ‘scissors’ with a classifier in indefinite specific function).

(129) [-animate, -CL, -definite] [compound] (*Written text 4, sentences 19 and 20*)

Ông không-tài-nào cắt cho nó vừa với dụng-cụ kẹp dùng để
 3.SG impossible cut for 3.SG fit PRE tool clip use to
nướng bánh ... Ông ... ném (nó) vào lò nướng.
 bake cake. 3.SG. throw 3.SG PRE oven

‘He (the husband) was unable to cut (the breads) to fit in [a] clip tool which was used to bake cake ([a toaster])... He threw (it) into [an] oven.’

(130) [-animate, -CL, -definite] [backgrounded nouns] (*Written text 8, sentence 47*)

Ông chồng đứng kế-bên vợ, lấy kéo cắt-đứt dây điện thoại.
 CL husband stand beside wife take scissors cut RES wire telephone

‘The husband stood beside (his) wife. He took (a pair of) scissors and cut off the telephone wire off.’

The data also show that not only [-animate, -protagonist] nouns can appear as bare nouns, but also [+animate, -protagonist] nouns, especially non-human, animate and backgrounded ([-protagonist]) nouns, as shown in (131).⁵⁹ Here, *dê* ‘goat’ is an animate noun, a non-protagonist, and it is non-human. In this context, the goat is of minor importance to the main plot of the story. The informant simply wants to communicate that ‘the person’ in this context leads the goat past the basket of pears without anything happening until the boy (one of the protagonists) arrived. Thus, the goat is presented as backgrounded information

⁵⁹ Note that all animate nouns in written texts are human and protagonist. Thus, we can only examine [+animate, non-human, backgrounded] nouns in oral texts.

to lead the hearer to the more important part of the story. Since *dê* ‘goat’ is a non-human, backgrounded element in the story, it preferably occurs with no classifier.

(131) (*Oral text 15, sentence 3*)

Giờ ông đang trên cây, thì có một người dắt dê đi
 Now 3.SG PROG on tree TOP have one person lead goat go
ngang qua, thì qua thôi không có gì hết.
 pass by CONJ pass PART NEG have thing at.all

‘Now, [when] he was on the tree, there was a man who led a goat going past [the basket under the tree]. [They] just passed by [it] [but] nothing happened (they did not doing anything, such as he did not steal the basket of pears, like the boy).’⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Example (129) is analysed as a serial verb construction within a relative clause [lead **goat** go past] ‘there is a person, this person led a goat pass by’ with *dê* ‘goat’ as a singular noun. At first reading, one might think of analysing *một người dắt dê* [one person lead goat] in (129) separately as a relative construction ‘someone who leads the goat’ or even as a compound noun ‘a shepherd’. However, this analysis is not pertinent. The word for ‘shepherd’, which is commonly used by many other informants in my data, is *người chăn dê* [person tend/rear sheep] as shown in the example below (*oral text 11, sentence 8*). As one can see, the noun *dê* ‘goat’ is introduced separately by the indefinite construction [one CL N]:

Lúc đó, có một người à một [người chăn dê] dắt một con dê đi ngang qua.
 time DEM have one person PART one person tend goat lead one CL goat go pass by.

‘At that time, there was a person, a shepherd, he led a goat pass by’.

Since classifier use is not only determined by [\pm animate] or more specifically by [\pm human], but also by [\pm protagonist], it is necessary to check which of the semantic features of [\pm animate]/[\pm human] or [\pm protagonist] is stronger. As Table 5-3 shows, nearly all nouns with [+human, +protagonist] in the data occur with a classifier ([+CL]). This effect is more consistent in oral texts (283 instances = 99.6% vs. 1 instance = 0.4%) than in written texts (1,130 instances = 91% vs. 106 instances = 9%), because there is only one example of a [+human, +protagonist] noun occurring in its bare form (cf. (97)) in the oral texts. A more detailed analysis of the 106 instances of nouns with [+human, +protagonist] having no classifier shows that they are relational nouns (e.g. *vợ* ‘wife’, *con* ‘son’, *chồng* ‘husband’, *vợ (của) mình* ‘[his] wife’, *con (của) mình* ‘[his/her] son’, *chồng (của) mình* ‘[her] husband’, etc.; cf. Section 4.1 and the analysis of relationality in Section 5.2).

Nouns with the features of [+human, -protagonist] tend to occur with a classifier (46 instances, or 73% with a classifier, vs. 17 instances, or 27% without in the written texts, and 83 instances (100%) vs. no instances in the oral texts). In this case, most of the bare forms are compounds such as *mẹ vợ* ‘mother-in-law’ and *đối tác làm ăn* ‘business partner’ or loanwords such as *đồng nghiệp* ‘colleague’, *nông dân* ‘farmer’ and *sếp* chef (French) ‘boss’. This is consistently attested in this study, as is shown in examples (99), (125), (126) (also see Appendix 1 for their token frequency).

It is remarkable that nouns with the features [-human, +animate, and -protagonist] also prominently occur with a classifier. Nouns with these features of are not found in the written texts, but they are found in the oral texts, where all of them refer to animals (e.g. mule, goat, donkey). 28 instances (93%) of [-human, -protagonist] nouns occur with a classifier, while only nouns of this type occur without a classifier. Thus, [\pm human] is not considered a feature affecting the occurrence of a classifier in our data. What matters are the features of [\pm animate] and [\pm protagonist]. These matters will be discussed in Section 5.1 Animacy and Subsection 7.2.2.1 Animacy vs. Protagonist.

Table 5-3: Token frequency of animate nouns denoting [\pm human] and [\pm protagonist] with/without CL in written texts and oral texts (cf. Appendix 6).

[+ani]	Written texts			Oral texts		
	[+human, +pro]	[+human, - pro]	[-human, - pro]	[+human, +pro]	[+human, - pro]	[-human, - pro]
[+CL]	1,130 (91%)	46 (73%)	0	283 (99.6%)	83 (100%)	28 (93%)
[-CL]	106 (9%)	17 (27%)	0	1 (0.4%)	0	2 (7%)
Total	1,236	63	0	284	83	30

Thus, there seems to be a strong tendency for animate nouns, especially animates with the feature [+protagonist], irrespective of whether they are [+animate] or [+human], to take a classifier. The following example in (132) illustrates the case of a noun with the features [-human, -protagonist] occurring with a classifier. Here, *con la* [CL mule] ‘the mule’ is used with the default classifier *con*_{CLfor animate nouns} ‘offspring’ in the positions of the subject and the object.

(132) (Oral text 6, sentence 9)

*Người đàn ông này dắt con la đi thẳng. Con la thì vừa-đi-
CL man DEM lead CL mule go straight CL mule COP be-going
vừa-ngúc ngoắc, có lẽ là không muốn đi theo người đàn ông này.
be-shaking(head) maybe COP NEG want go follow CL man DEM*
‘[The] man led **the mule** to go straight. **The mule** may not have wanted to follow the man, because it was shaking its head while walking.’

It is notable that nearly all 28 examples of [-human, -protagonist] animates occurring with a classifier are interpreted as definite. Only in the case of (133) is there a [-human, -protagonist] noun whose classifier is interpreted as indefinite. Thus, definiteness may also be responsible to a certain extent for the high frequency of classifier use (Table 6-7 and Table 6-8 in Chapter 6). Here, the new referent ‘goat’ is introduced with a classifier for animate nouns, *con* ‘offspring’ (CL for animate nouns).⁶¹ Right after that, it is mentioned as a class-term compound to further specify the taxonomic status of the goat, e.g. *dê núi* ‘wild goat’ (to be compared with *dê cỏ* [goat grass] ‘domestic goat’).

(133) (*Oral text 16, sentence 7*)

Có một người dẫn con, con đó chắc là con dê,
 have one person lead CL CL DEM maybe CL goat
dê -núi á chị, đi ngang qua.
 goat mountain PART 2.SG go pass over
 ‘There was a man who led a ... a ... that animal ... may be a goat, you know, a wild goat, passing by.’

From the analysis of the data, it is found that there is a similarly high degree of classifier use with [+animate] nouns as with [+protagonist] nouns, regardless to the feature of [±human]. This raises the question of which factor is stronger, discourse ([±protagonist]) or semantic ([±animate])? The answer of this question will also be discussed in Chapter 7, subsection 7.2.2.1.

⁶¹ There are two types of determiner constructions in Vietnamese, one with definite interpretation, which is assumed to correspond to ‘the’ in English ([+definite] interpretation), and another one which corresponds to ‘certain’ in English ([-definite] interpretation). Thus, *con dê* ‘CL goat’ in this context can be interpreted as [-definite, +specific] (this issue will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.1.2), because it is followed by a constituent of a classifier and an indefinite determiner *con đó* ‘CL DEM’ and the verb *chắc là* ‘maybe/perhaps’

To summarize, the above analysis shows that:

- (i) Animacy is one of the most prominent factors that affect classifier use in Vietnamese, i.e. most of the [+animate] nouns take a classifier. Most of the contexts in which animate nouns occur with a classifier have definite interpretation (98%). The remaining 2% of nouns occurring with a classifier (in the written texts) with indefinite interpretation are thetical statements and existential clauses (this issue will be analysed in more detail in Section 6.2).
- (ii) Classifier use is not obligatory with [-animate] nouns. Most inanimate nouns occurring with *a classifier* with indefinite interpretation (26% in the written texts and 22% in the oral texts) occur in contexts of specificity (see Section 4.4), in contexts of introducing new entities (e.g. existential clauses, constructions with verbs of appearance). These issues will be analysed in more detail in Section 6.2)

5.2 RELATIONAL NOUNS AND UNIQUE NOUNS

This section focuses on the frequency of classifier use with [\pm unique] nouns and [\pm relational] nouns. The combination of these two features yields the four basic semantic types of nouns discussed in Löbner (2011): [-relational] nouns with the feature [-unique] are called ‘sortal nouns’, while the ones with the feature [+unique] are termed ‘individual nouns’. [+relational] nouns are either called ‘relational nouns’ if they are [-unique] or ‘functional nouns’ if they are [+unique] (cf. Section 2.4.3).

Table 5-5 provides examples of concrete [\pm relational] and [\pm unique] nouns found in the written and the oral texts. Relational nouns can be animate or inanimate (e.g. husband, wife, and son vs. eye, face, leg, back, body, buttocks, leg, and stomach). Relational nouns tend to occur without a classifier, while non-relational nouns optionally occur with classifiers.

Table 5-4: Some examples of [\pm relational], [\pm unique] in written texts and oral texts.

	[+relational] nouns		[-relational] nouns	
	[+unique] Functional nouns	[-unique] Relational nouns	[+unique] Individual nouns	[-unique] Sortal nouns
Written texts	<p>bụng (ông/anh) chồng stomach CL husband 'the husband's stomach'</p> <p>bị tạt nước vào mặt PASS throw water in face 'to get thrown water at [the] face'</p> <p>mặt vợ /anh chồng/ông face wife/CLhusband/ 3.SG '[the wife's/the husband's/his] face'</p>	<p>chân anh (bị bỏng) leg he PASS burn 'his leg was burnt'</p> <p>buông tay release hand 'release one's hand'</p> <p>dùng tay bẻ chiếc hộp use hand break CL box 'use a hand to break the box'</p>	<p>giơ ngón trỏ lên trời raise pointer up sky 'pointed at the sky'</p> <p>ông ta nhìn lên trời 3.SG look up sky và thở dài ngao ngán. and sigh tiredly 'He looked up at the sky and sighed tiredly.'</p>	<p>chiếc xe đồ chơi của con CL car toy POSS son '[The] toy car of the son'</p> <p>cái túi áo của ông CL pocket POSS him 'his pocket'</p> <p>(chiếc) giường của CL bed POSS cha mình/bố father self/father 'the bed of [his/the] father'</p>
Oral texts	<p>cậu bé đã ngoài đầu lại CL boy PERF turn head back để nhìn cô bé đó. to look CL girl DEM 'The boy turned his head to look at the girl.'</p>	<p>lấy tay giật chiếc nón use hand seize CL hat '[The girl student took] the hat away with her hand.'</p> <p>chân cậu bé cũng bị leg CL boy also PASS thương nặng wound seriously 'The boy's leg was wounded seriously.'</p>	<p>dưới (mặt) đất under CL ground 'on the ground'</p> <p>mọi thứ lăn long lóc everything roll and roll trên mặt đất on CL ground 'Everything rolled on the ground in all directions.'</p>	<p>con dê hay người đàn ông CL goat or CL man đều chú ý tới cái sọt both notice PREP CL basket 'The goat or the man both took notice of that basket.'</p> <p>cậu bé này đã CL boy DEM PERF vấp phải cục đá. stumble PASS CL stone '[The] boy stumbled over a stone.'</p>

A more detailed summary of classifier use with [\pm relational] and [\pm unique] nouns is given in Table 5-5 (cf. Löbner 2011 for the concepts of relationality and uniqueness). The table shows clearly that the number of [\pm relational] and [\pm unique] nouns in the written texts is much higher than in the oral texts even though classifier use is similar in both text types. For that reason, the analysis of this table will be based on the total number of the whole corpus (numbers marked in bold). As is illustrated in the table, functional nouns with their features of [+relational, +unique] tend to occur without a classifier. There are 83 instances (98%)

occurring without a classifier, while only 2 instances (2%) take a classifier. A similar result is shown for relational nouns with their features of [+relational, -unique]. Here, 56 instances (98%) occur without a classifier, in contrast to only one instance (2%) appearing with a classifier. As for individual nouns ([-relational, +unique]), there is again only one instance (4%) occurring with a classifier, while there are 22 instances (96%) occurring without a classifier. In contrast, sortal nouns ([-relational, -unique]) can occur either with or without a classifier with similar frequency (2,309 instances with a classifier (55%) vs. 1,913 instances without a classifier (45%)). This shows that [+relational] nouns and [+unique] nouns show a strong tendency to occur without a classifier, only [-relational, -unique] nouns occur significantly more often with a classifier.

Table 5-5: Token frequency of classifiers with [\pm relational], [\pm unique] nouns in written texts and oral texts. (see Appendix 8).

[\pm relational] and [\pm unique] nouns	[+relational]				[-relational]			
	[+unique] functional		[-unique] relational		[+unique] individual		[-unique] sortal	
	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL
Written texts	2 (2%)	76 (98%)	0 (0%)	48 (100%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	1,567 (50%)	1,563 (50%)
Oral texts	0 (0%)	7 (100%)	1 (11%)	8 (89%)	1 (5%)	20 (95%)	742 (68%)	351 (32%)
Total	2 (2%)	83 (98%)	1 (2%)	56 (98%)	1 (4%)	22 (96%)	2,309 (55%)	1,914 (45%)

On [\pm relational]: The results show very clearly that nearly all [+relational] nouns appear as bare nouns: 139 out of 142 instances (98%) of [+relational] nouns are bare nouns, while only three out of 142 (2%) take a classifier. These figures contrast with results from [-relational] nouns, of which 2,310 instances (54%) appear with a classifier and 1,935 instances (46%) without a classifier. Looking at the exceptional cases, one may ask for the factors that support [+relational] nouns to occur with a classifier. Checking the contexts of these three instances – two in written texts with the relational nouns *mặt* ‘face’ and *mông* ‘buttocks’ and one in the oral texts with relational noun *chân* ‘leg’ – shows that classifiers in these contexts have either the function of focus (134) or are used in a context of definiteness ((135) and (136)).

In example (134), the words *chỉ còn* ‘only’ and *mỗi* are focus particles, which typically mark the exclusion of alternatives (cf. König 1991). The [+unique/+relational] noun *mặt* ‘face’ which occurs with the two focus particles *chỉ còn* ‘only’ and *mỗi* ‘only’. The noun *mặt* ‘face’ takes the position between these two particles to emphasize that the foam covers almost the whole of the husband’s body, leaving unaffected only his face. In other words, the informant uses the [CL N] construction after the structure *chỉ còn ... mỗi* ‘except’ to emphasize that the foam has covered the whole body of the husband **except for** his face. Thus, the focus marker exhaustively singles out one part of the body which is not affected. This use of the classifier with explicit focus particles proves the focus function of the classifier (cf. Subsection 7.2.1.3 for focus function of a classifier). It is noted that the sentence will sound unnatural, if the classifier is not selected here. In other words, a classifier seems to be obligatory in the context of focus particles. Sentence (134) was written to report the scene from 3:07 to 3:09 in the movie, the informant saw only the husband’s face and he reported that fact with a classifier to focus/single out ‘the (husband’s) face.’

(134) (*Written text 29, sentence 31*)

Lúc bấy giờ, người chồng nghe thấy bèn trỗi lên khỏi mặt
time that CL husband hear RES immediately rise up out-of surface
nước, toàn thân ông là bọt xà phòng chỉ còn thấy mỗi khuôn mặt.
water whole body 3.SG COP foam only see only CL face
‘At that time, the husband heard (the bell), then he moved out of the water. His whole body was full of soap foam, except (the) face [lit.: one can just only see **(his) face**].’⁶²

Another instance of a [+relational] noun with a classifier is shown in (135) from the written texts. Here, the noun *mông* ‘buttocks’ occurs first with no classifier. It takes a classifier only in its second mention. Since the buttocks are part of the background, they don’t get a classifier when they are introduced. In spite of this, they are activated when being mentioned the second time. For that reason, one can argue that the classifier is selected for expressing definiteness.

⁶² After mentioning the husband’s face, the narrator continues telling how the husband was trying to call his wife from the bath-tub. And then, the topic shifts to his wife.

(*Written text 29, sentence 32-34*):

Ông gọi người vợ của mình. Người vợ tay vẫn còn cầm ống nghe đáp lại chồng mình.
3.SG call CL wife POSS self CL wife hand still take handset reply husband self
Và sau đó màn hình hiện lên dòng chữ: ‘Ra mở cửa đi, tôi đang bận.’
and then screen appear CL word out open door PART 1.SG PROG busy

‘He called his wife. The wife, her hand still taking the handset, replied her husband. And then, a sequence of words appeared on the screen: ‘Go to open the door, I am busy.’

(135) (*Written text 1, sentence 45*)

Bị nóng mông, anh ta mở vòi nước xịt mát cho cái mông,
 PASS hot buttocks 3.SG open water tap spray cool for CL buttocks
thì lúc đó, bạn anh ta chồm từ ngoài cửa sổ vào hối
 CONJ time DEM friend 3.SG prance from outside window in urge
anh ta nhanh lên kẻo trễ giờ.
 3.SG hurry up otherwise late

‘[His] buttocks were burnt, he turned on the tap and sprayed cool water onto **the buttocks**, at that time, his friend gesticulated from outside of the window to urge him to hurry up and not be late.’

A similar pattern is found in example (136) from an oral text. *Chân* ‘leg’ is mentioned first as a bare noun ([+relational] noun) and then occurs with a classifier for expressing definite at its second mention.

(136) (*Oral text 4, sentence 21*)

Lê đổ ra tung toé, hình như nó bị đau chân nữa, thấy nó
 pear pour out everywhere seems 3.SG PASS hurt leg more see 3.SG
sờ sờ cái chân.
 touch touch CL leg

‘The pears rolled out everywhere, it seemed that his leg was hurt, (because I saw) that he touched (his) leg.’

Having discussed the context for the occurrence of inanimate, relational nouns with a classifier, we further examine the context of animate, relational nouns in examples (137) and (138). The results from Table 5-5 show that [+animate, +relational] nouns generally do not take a classifier likewise. However, there are some examples of classifier use with nouns modified by stative verbs (cf. Section 6.1.3 for more detail). In example (137), the

reason for marking the head noun *con trai* ‘son’ [CL N] with a classifier (*câu*) may be its function as a protagonist. But in addition to that, the father as another protagonist starts realizing that his son was the perpetrator of a bad action, which is expressed by the modifying stative verb *ngịch ngợm* ‘naughty’. Since this is a new and most likely surprising property of his son in this context, another reason for selecting a classifier is the focal information provided by the stative verb.

(137) (*Written text 10, sentence 2*)

Câu con trai nghịch ngợm nghĩ ra một trò đùa để trêu chọc bố ...

CL son naughty think RES one joke to tease father

‘The naughty son figured out a joke to tease [his] father...’

In the following example, the motivations for using a classifier are again the [+protagonist] function of the head noun *chồng* ‘husband’ and focus. In this case, the focus is not on a modifying stative verb but on a possessor which is expressed by the reflexive marker *mình* ‘self’. The structure of the nominal possession construction is [POSSESSED (*của*) POSSESSOR] with *của* ‘of’ being an optional possession marker (cf. Section 6.1.6 for a detailed analysis). The focus function of the possessor is overtly introduced by the focus particle *ngoài* ‘except’, which generates again the noteworthiness or surprisal effect of who was the person who threw water on the wife.

(138) (*Written text 30, sentence 8*)

Khi giật mình vì bị tạt nước, bà vợ liền thức giấc nhìn xung quanh xem ai làm và chả có ai ngoài ông chồng của mình.
 when startle due.to PASS throw water, CL wife immediately awake look
 around see who do CONJ NEG have who except CL husband POSS self
 ‘Being startled by the water (which is thrown by the son), the wife woke up immediately and looked around to find who did it. But there was nobody, except **HER husband.**’

Two other instances of [+relational] nouns are found in example (139), the noun *chân* ‘foot’ occurs without a classifier but *mông* ‘buttocks’ occurs with a classifier. The interpretation of this sentence crucially depends on the function of the adverbial subordinator *nên* ‘therefore, to the extent that’ which creates a context in which the situation gets worse and worse and culminates in a rather unexpected situation in which the husband even burns his buttocks. This situation can be compared to the situation created by a focus particle like ‘even’. Thus, again, it is focus that triggers the use of the focus particle with the relational noun *mông* ‘buttocks’.

(139) (*Written text 13, sentence 35*)

Ông ấy bị bỏng và đau quá nên ôm chân lên và không giữ được thăng bằng nên té vào chiếc chảo đang cháy đó, cái mông của ông ấy đã bị phỏng.
 3.SG PASS burn CONJ hurt very CONJ hold foot up and NEG keep
 được thăng bằng nên té vào chiếc chảo đang cháy đó, cái mông
 RES balance CONJ fall into CL pan PROG burn DEM CL buttocks
 của ông ấy đã bị phỏng.
 POSS 3.SG PERF PASS burn

‘(His foot) burnt, he got hurt; therefore, he lifted it up and hold it, then he could not keep himself in balance. He felt down on [the] burning pan and **even** his **BUTTOCKS** burnt.’

Even though there are not many instances of [+relational] nouns with a classifier, the ones we found in our texts all are related to a focus function which explicitly marked by a focus particle. From such a perspective, one can conclude that the use of a classifier in a [CL N] construction depends more strongly on discourse factors than on semantic factors.

About the [±unique]: the data show very clearly that [+unique] nouns mostly appear as bare nouns. Only three out of 108 (2+83+1+22) unique nouns (3%) take a classifier, while 105 of them (97%) occur in their bare forms. These figures contrast with the results for [-unique, -relational] nouns, for which the use of a classifier is much more frequent (see Table 5-6). Two of the three [+unique] nouns also have the feature [+relational] and were discussed above in (138) and (139).

The single example with [+unique] and [-relational] taking a classifier is presented in (140), in which the noun *đất* ‘earth/ground’ occurs with the classifier *mặt* for flat surfaces.⁶³ Here, the position of *trên một cái cây* [on one CL tree] ‘on a tree’ is in contrast with the position on the ground. The informant first describes a series of the farmer’s actions. Suddenly, her attention shifts to the baskets on the ground whose position she contrasts with the position up in the tree. Thus, a classifier is used here for expressing contrastive focus. In this context, using a classifier is preferred even though the ground is mentioned for the first time.

⁶³ *Mặt* has the meaning of ‘face’. In this context, it is a classifier for objects with a flat surface. As a full noun, it can be interpreted as a [+relational] noun as in *mặt bàn* [surface table] ‘the surface of the table’.

(140) (*Oral text 13, sentence 8*)

Ông leo lên một cái thang để ông leo lên một cái cây để
 3.SG climb up one CL ladder so that 3.SG climb up one CL tree to
ông hái. Ông hái xong, thì ông leo xuống cái thang đó,
 3.SG pluck 3.SG pluck RES CONJ 3.SG climb down CL ladder DEM
xuống đó. Rồi ông, dưới mặt đất sẽ có ba cái giỏ...
 down DEM CONJ 3.SG, under CL ground FUT have three CL basket
 ‘He climbed a ladder for getting on [a] tree to pluck [the fruits]. After having
 plucked [them], he went down the ladder. Then, he, **down on the ground**, there
 were three baskets...’

In contrast to (140), *đất* ‘earth, ground’ in (141) does not occur with a classifier because it is not used in a focus context. Thus, *đất* ‘the ground’ in this context is a backgrounded noun.

(141) (*Oral text 28, sentence 20*)

Thì có ba sọt trái cây dưới đất, không có ai trông nom hết.
 TOP exist three CL fruit under ground NEG have who take-care at all
 ‘There were three baskets of fruits down on the ground, but nobody was taking
 care [of them].’

5.3 INTERIM SUMMARY

Table 5-6 briefly summarizes the frequency of classifier use in relation to the semantic features of [\pm animate], [\pm relational], [\pm unique] and the function of definiteness and indefiniteness. The following results were presented in this chapter.

Firstly, there is a clear preference for using a classifier with [+animate] nouns in both written texts and oral texts (90% vs. 10%), while [-animate] nouns tend to occur as bare nouns (65% vs. 35%). This section also clarifies the hierarchical relationship between the discourse feature [+protagonist] and the semantic feature [+animate]. In general, the data showed that most animate nouns occurring with a classifier are protagonists. Animate nouns occurring without a classifier are backgrounded nouns or relational nouns. More specifically, there is some evidence from example's (138) – (140) showing that the feature of [+protagonist] has a stronger effect on the presence of a classifier in Vietnamese than that of [+animate].

Secondly, one can clearly see that classifiers can have the function of both definiteness and indefiniteness with animate as well as with inanimate nouns even though there is a strong bias for definiteness overall. From the 90% of [+animate] nouns with a classifier 88% are interpreted as definite, while only 2% show indefinite interpretation (cf. Table 5-6). The 2% of indefinite animate nouns with a classifier occur in the thetical statements in which protagonists are introduced into the story (cf. Section 6.2.2).

As for the 35% of [-animate] nouns occurring with a classifier, 22,5% show definite reading, while 12,5% are interpreted as indefinite. The higher value of 22,5% for the definite interpretation of [-animate] nouns with a classifier seems to be related to the overall strong tendency of associating classifiers in [CL N] with definiteness. The 12,5% of indefinite inanimate nouns with a classifier are found in the contexts of specificity, noteworthiness, and focus (cf. Section 4.4).

Finally, the features of [+relational] and [+unique] block the presence of a classifier. Most nouns with these features appear in their bare form and have definite reading. Only [-relational, -unique] nouns occur significantly more often with a classifier (55% with a classifier vs. 45% without a classifier). The function that supports classifier use with nouns having these features is focus, at least in the few examples that were presented in this chapter.

Table 5-6: The obligatoriness of classifiers with semantics factor and their interpretation as (in)definiteness.

Conditions				Obligatoriness		CL as (in)definiteness	
				[+CL]	[-CL]	CL[+def]	CL[-def]
Semantic factors	Animacy	[+animate]		90%	10%	88%	2%
		[-animate]		35%	65%	22,5%	12,5%
	Relational	[+rel]	[+unique] functional	2%	98%	√	
			[-unique] relational	2%	98%	√	
		[-rel]	[+unique] individual	5%	95%	√	
			[-unique] sortal	55%	45%	√	√

CHAPTER 6. SYNTACTIC FACTORS

This chapter looks at the syntactic properties of classifier use. For that purpose, it first presents more complex syntactic constructions consisting of a nominal head plus a classifier (cf. Section 6.1) in combination with demonstratives, stative verbs (adjectives), relative clauses, prepositional modifiers and possessors. These additional constituents are all summarised under the cover term of modification even though the status of demonstratives under this heading can be seen critically. Each of these constructions with their syntactic properties will be related to the features of discourse and semantics presented in Chapters 4 and 5 ([+protagonist], [+definite], [+animate], [+topic], [+specific]; cf. Table 4-2).

Since the definite or indefinite interpretation of the classifier depends on the position of the [CL N] construction relative to the verb in many Sinitic languages (cf. Wang 2013 for a survey), this issue is described in Section 6.2. As will be shown, word order does not rigidly determine the (in)definite interpretation of the classifier.

Section 6.3 offers a syntactic analysis of ‘extra *cái*’ in Vietnamese DP structure based on its functions in the contexts of topic and focus as mentioned in Section 4.4.6.

Finally, Section 6.4 presents a hierarchy of discourse, semantic, and syntactic factors that determine the use of classifiers.

6.1 CLASSIFIERS AND MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTIONS

6.1.1 Introduction

Before analysing and showing the effects of syntactic factors on the presence of classifiers, it is necessary to introduce the modification structures of Vietnamese in general. The following examples illustrate the demonstrative phrase (142), adjectival modifiers (143), relative clauses (144), prepositional phrases (145), possessive constructions (146) and the multiple occurrence of different modification constructions in a single DP. As one can see from these examples, modificational structures are always situated to the right-periphery of classifiers. Moreover, these examples also show that the occurrence of a classifier contributes to the meaning of a sentence.

The examples in (a) are characterized by the presence of a classifier, which is absent in the (b) examples. As can be seen from all (b) examples, the interpretation of ‘book’ *sách* in these constructions is transnumeral, i.e. the noun can be interpreted as either plural or singular (cf. Section 2.2.1). In contrast, all constructions in the (a) examples with a classifier can only mark singular (cf. Section 2.2.4) or specificity (cf. Sections 2.5.4 and 4.4). This might be the reason for why the absence of a classifier in (147b) with multiple modifiers makes the sentence marginal or unnatural. The more modifiers occur with a noun, the more specified or individuated it gets and the more necessary is the use of a classifier.

Another interesting point is the use of the classifier in (146). The occurrence of *của* ‘of possessive constructions marker’ is related to the presence of a classifier (the statistical results about the relationship between the use of *của* and classifiers use will be discussed in detail in Section 6.1.5).

(142) a. *Quyển sách [này] Dem hay quá!*

CL book DEM interesting SFP

‘This book is very interesting!’

b. *Sách [này] Dem hay quá!*

book DEM interesting SFP

‘This/these book(s) is/are very interesting!’

(143) a. *Đây là một quyển sách [hay] AP.*

this is one CL book interesting

‘This is an interesting book.’

b. *Ở đây có sách [hay] AP.*

here have book interesting

‘There are interesting books here./There is an interesting book here.’

(144) a. *Quyển sách [vừa được tặng]_{RC} đẹp quá!*

CL book just PASS present beautiful SFP

‘The book [that was presented] is so beautiful!’

b. *Sách [vừa được tặng]_{RC} đẹp quá!*

book just PASS present beautiful SFP

‘The book(s) [that was/were presented] is/are so beautiful!’

(145) a. *Quyển sách [trên bàn]_{PP} là của tôi.*

CL book PREP table COP belong to 1.SG

‘The book on the table is mine.’

b. *Sách [trên bàn]_{PP} là của tôi.*

book PREP table COP belong to 1.SG

‘The book(s) on the table is/are mine.’

(146) a. *Đây là quyển sách [của tôi]_{PossP} vs. *quyển sách [tôi]*

This COP CL book POSS 1.SG CL book 1.SG

‘This is my book.’

Intended: ‘my book’

b. *Đây là sách [của tôi]_{PossP} vs. ?sách [tôi]*

This COP book POSS 1.SG book 1.SG

‘This is/these are my book(s).’

Intended: ‘my book’

- (147) a. *Bạn thấy [quyển sách [mới] [ở trên bàn] [vừa được tặng]*
 2.SG think CL book new PREP table just PASS present
[đó] [của tôi]]]]]]_{DP} đẹp không? ⁶⁴
 DEM POSS 1.SG beautiful Q_{marker}
 ‘Do you think [THE] new book on the table that has just been presented to me is beautiful?’

- b. *?Bạn thấy [sách [mới [trên bàn] [vừa được tặng]*
 2.SG think book new PREP table just PASS present
[đó] [của tôi]]]]]] đẹp không?
 DEM POSS 1.SG beautiful Q_{marker}

Intended: ‘Do you think [THE] book on the table that was presented to me is beautiful?’

As pointed out above, the more modifier structures appear, the more specified a head noun is, and the more likely is the occurrence of a classifier. Thus, the use of a classifier is strongly preferred in (148). However, it should be noted that complex structures with multiple modifier structures are rarely found in narrative texts, especially in spoken language. Nominal structures sound unnatural if the head noun does not take a classifier in constructions with multiple modifiers (148a).

- (148) a. **bút [mà tôi được tặng vào ngày sinh nhật thứ 18 của mình]*
 pen REL 1.SG PASS present PREP birthday 18th POSS self

Intended: ‘the pen presented to me (as a gift) on my eighteenth birthday’

- b. *chiếc/cây bút [mà tôi được tặng vào ngày sinh nhật thứ 18 của mình]*
 CL pen REL 1.SG PASS present PREP birthday 18th POSS self

‘The pen presented to me (as a gift) on my eighteenth birthday’

⁶⁴ Also see Table 6-11 for the analysis of word order in multiple modifier constructions.

6.1.2 Demonstratives

In our data, there are five types of demonstrative constructions:

- (i) [N-DEM]
- (ii) [CL-DEM]
- (iii) [(*cái*) CL-N- (adj) DEM]
- (iv) [NUM-CL-N- (adj) DEM]
- (v) [Num-CL-DEM]⁶⁵

This study focuses only on the first three types of demonstrative constructions, because they can help examine the occurrence of classifiers, as shown in Table 6-1 (cf. Appendices 9 and 10 for examples of demonstrative constructions in written texts and oral texts).

As can be seen from Table 6-1, there are 188 demonstrative constructions in the corpus: 164 (130+33+0+1) instances in the oral texts vs. 24 (2+5+0+17) instances in the written texts. Thus, there are more examples in the oral texts than in the written texts. This might be due to a tendency of using more demonstratives in oral communication for identifying objects than in written communication.

Out of the above 188 instances, 170 instances (90%) appear with a classifier, while only 18 out of 188 instances (around 10%) occur without a classifier. This means that most nouns in demonstrative structures tend to take a classifier. Examining the 10% of constructions of the type [N DEM], it is found that their head nouns are mostly relational nouns (*tay* ‘hand’), general nouns (*trái cây* ‘fruit’, *việc/điều* ‘thing’), and loanwords from English (*Cờ-líp* ‘video clip’) or Chinese (Sino-Vietnamese: *gia đình* 家庭 *jiātíng* ‘family’, *cảnh* 景 *jǐng* ‘scene’, *dịch vụ* 貿易服務 *màoyì fúwù* ‘service’, *cơ hội* 機會 *jīhuì* ‘chance’, and so on).

⁶⁵ Note that we also found indefinite demonstrative constructions in our corpus. Given their small number, they will not be considered in our statistical analysis.

Table 6-1: Determiner demonstrative constructions used in written texts and oral texts (cf. Appendices 9 &10).

(cái) CL-N- DEM				N-DEM			
Written		Oral		Written		Oral	
+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani
2	5	130	33	0	17	0	1
170 instances				18 instances			

Example (149) illustrates the absence of a classifier with loanwords. The noun *dịch vụ* ‘service’ is a shortened form of the Chinese compound 貿易服務 (Sino-Vietnamese: *mậu dịch phục vụ*) ‘trade services’.

(149) Sino-Vietnamese noun (*Written text 13, sentence 17*)

Ông chồng, lúc này, đành phải ra ngoài và nói với

CL husband time DEM just have to go out CONJ talk PREP

người giao báo và giao sữa rằng vợ ông ngày mai sẽ

person deliver newspapers and deliver milk COMP wife his tomorrow FUT

*thanh toán tiền cho **dịch vụ này**, rồi vội đi vào nhà.*

pay money for service DEM CONJ hurry go into house

‘At this time, [the] husband just had to go out and tell the newspaperman and the milkman that tomorrow his wife would pay for **the service**, then he rushed back into the house.’

In most cases, demonstratives go with a classifier. This is shown by example (150), in which we find the classifier *người*. Most demonstrative constructions are interpreted as definite, irrespective of the presence/absence of a classifier. As a consequence, the demonstrative structures in the data are often translated with the definite article ‘the’, rather than ‘this/that’.

(150) *Written text 24, sentence 55*

Người đàn ông bên ngoài tiếp tục vào mở cửa nhắc nhở người đàn ông này.

CL man outside continue come open door remind CL man DEM

‘The man outside came to open the door again to remind **[the]** man (the protagonist).’

Moreover, if one examines the occurrence of a classifier with animate and inanimate nouns in this type of construction, one can see that classifier use is preferred for both types of nouns. Considering the data in Table 6-2, from the 170 instances with a classifier, 132 instances (78%) are [+animate] nouns and 38 instances (22%) are [-animate]. Moreover, there is not a single instance with a [+animate] noun that does not take a classifier in the demonstrative construction, i.e. all 132 instances of animate nouns occur with a classifier in this type of construction.

As for inanimate nouns in the demonstrative construction, 38 out of 56 instances (68%) appear with a classifier, while only 18 instances (32%) occur without a classifier. Nouns in the [N Dem] construction are relational nouns, general nouns, compound nouns, and loanwords. Thus, the feature [+animate] strongly supports classifier use, while [-animate] nouns can occur either with or without a classifier, depending on the category of the noun (see Section 5.1).

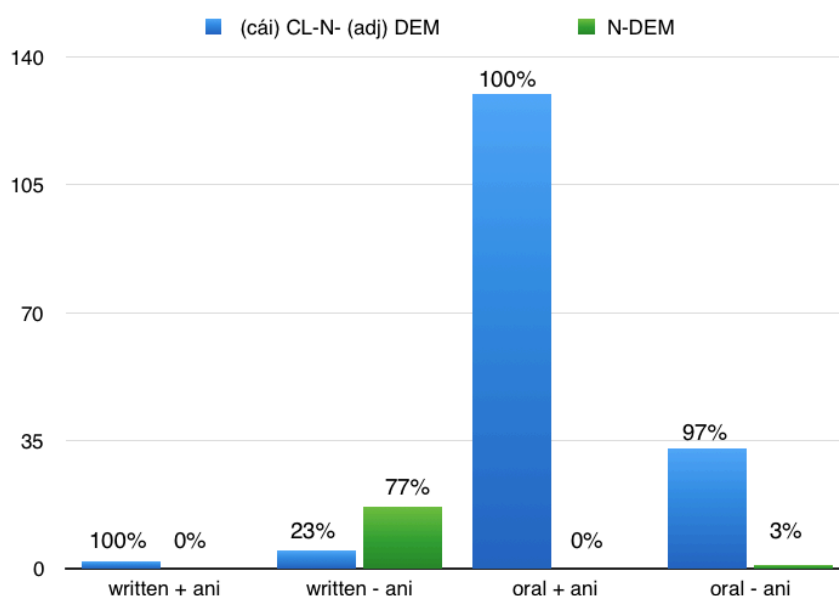
Table 6-2: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns occurring with/without a classifier in demonstrative determiner constructions in both written texts and oral texts.

[(CL)-N-Dem]	Total	Written texts	Oral texts
[+CL, +ani]	132	2	130
[+CL, -ani]	38	5	33
[-CL, +ani]	0	0	0
[-CL, -ani]	18	17	1

In order to get a clearer picture of the data in the written and the oral texts, the results are summarized in Figure 6-1. The blue bars indicate nouns with a classifier, and the green ones display nouns without a classifier. Even a first impression shows a clear preference of demonstrative constructions with a classifier, since there are more blue bars (four bars) than green ones (two bars), especially in oral texts (163 out of 170 instances).

The highest bar in Figure 6-1 also shows that there is a strong tendency for a classifier to be used with animate nouns in demonstrative constructions of the oral texts (130 examples). It remains unclear whether the higher use of classifiers with animate nouns in the written texts is significant, because only two instances of this construction are found against no instance of an animate noun occurring without a classifier. As for the [N DEM] constructions in both text types, most of the head nouns are relational nouns (*tay này* ‘this hand’), general nouns (*trái cây này* ‘this kind of fruit’, *việc này /điều này* ‘this thing’), and loanwords from English (*cờ-líp này* ‘this video-clip’) or Chinese (Sino-Vietnamese): *gia đình* (家庭 *jiātíng*) *này* ‘this family’, *cảnh ấy* (景 *jǐng*) ‘that/the scene’, *dịch vụ này* (貿易服務 *màoyì fúwù*) ‘this/the service’, *cơ hội ấy* (機會 *jīhuì*) ‘that chance’, and so on) (cf. Appendix 10 for more detail). This confirms again the absence of classifiers with relational nouns, general nouns, and loanwords (cf. Section 5.2).

Figure 6-1: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns in demonstrative constructions occurring with/without a classifier in both written texts and oral texts.



To summarize this section, most of the nouns, especially [+animate] nouns in demonstrative determiner constructions, take classifiers. Relational nouns, loanwords, and compounds are mostly inanimate nouns, and they appear mostly without a classifier (cf. Sections 4.1, 5.1, 5.2 for the argument that relational nouns, loanwords, compounds, and inanimate nouns tend to appear in bare form). All instances of the demonstrative constructions in our corpus get definite interpretation (except the three indefinite demonstratives, cf. Appendices 10, 11 for more examples of demonstrative in written texts and oral texts). Thus, they are expected to take a classifier. The demonstratives *này/kia/đó* ‘this/that’ in demonstrative constructions with definite interpretation can be considered to correspond to the definite article ‘the’ in English).

6.1.3 Modification by stative verbs

There are 61 instances of [(CL)-N-adjective] constructions in which a stative verb (called “adjective” for short) modify a noun in our corpus. As shown in Table 6-3, most of the head nouns in this type of construction occur with a classifier, irrespective of animacy. Thus, 48 of them (80%) occur with a classifier, while only 12 of them (20%) appear without a classifier. Moreover, most nouns in these constructions are inanimate nouns. More specifically, there are 50 instances (83%) of inanimate nouns vs. ten instances (17%) of animate nouns. Among the 50 instances of inanimate nouns, 38 instances (76%) occur with a classifier vs. 12 instances (24%) which occur without a classifier.

It is remarkable that all animate nouns have a classifier. The reason for that is that all the [+animate] head nouns in these constructions are foregrounded and/or protagonists (cf. Sections 4.1 and 5.1 on the clustering of classifier use with foregrounded/protagonist nouns and animacy). It would be interesting to see how inanimate nouns behave in this context, but unfortunately all inanimate nouns in our data are backgrounded.

Table 6-3: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns occurring with/without a classifier in nouns modified by stative verbs in written texts and oral texts (cf. Appendices 12 & 13).

[(CL)-N-adjective]	Total	+CL		-CL	
		[+animate]	[-animate]	[+animate]	[-animate]
Written texts	40	9	21	0	10
Oral texts	20	1	17	0	2
Total	60	10	38	0	12

Example (151) illustrates the occurrence of a classifier with [+animate] head noun. If ‘the man’ in *người đàn ông tội nghiệp* [CL man poor] ‘the poor man’ does not take a classifier in the context of this example, the sentence is pragmatically inadequate for the following reasons: (a) ‘the man’ is mentioned in the previous context, i.e. it is definite and expected to occur later with a classifier; (b) it is the protagonist (=the husband) of the story (cf. Sections 4.1 and 5.1). The same analysis applies to other animate head nouns as e.g.: *cậu*

con trai nghịch ngợm [CL son naughty] ‘the naughty son’ (the son is a protagonist), *người phụ nữ trẻ tuổi* [CL woman young] ‘the young woman’ (the wife is a protagonist) (cf. Appendices 12 & 13 for more details).

(151) [+animate] (*Written text 14, sentence 35*)

Người đàn ông tội nghiệp, mình đầy xà bông, mặc vội chiếc áo-choàng

CL man poor body full soap put-on hurry CL coat

ra mở cửa.

out open door

‘[The] poor man with his soaped body put on a coat in a hurry and went out to open the door.’

In contrast to animate nouns, classifiers are not obligatory with inanimate nouns in constructions modified by a stative verb. In the case of (152), the [-animate] noun *xe đạp* ‘bicycle’ takes the classifier *chiếc* but it could equally well occur without a classifier in this context. Thus, one can say *đi chiếc xe đạp màu đỏ* (with CL *chiếc*) or *đi xe đạp màu đỏ* (without classifier *chiếc*). Probably the noun *xe đạp* ‘bicycle’ occurs with a classifier in this context in analogy to a whole series of new referents which were introduced in the preceding context as indefinite nouns with the numeral *một* ‘one’ as in *mặc một bộ đồ dài* [wear one CL clothing long] ‘wear long clothing’, *đội một chiếc nón rộng vành* [wear one CL hat wide brimmed] ‘wear a wide brimmed hat’ and *choàng một cái khăn-màu-nâu* [clasp one CL towel colour brown] ‘clasp a brown towel’. Only the last item in this series, i.e. the bicycle, does not show a classifier.⁶⁶ That is also the reason why *chiếc xe đạp* [CL bike] in this context gets indefinite reading.

⁶⁶ This example again proves that a class term compound noun like *xe đạp* [vehicle pedal/cycle] ‘bicycle’ takes a classifier when it occurs with a numeral (see Sections 2.3.2 & 2.3.3).

(152) [-animate] (*Oral text 21, sentence 12*)

*Chú bé này mặc một bộ đồ dài, sơ mi quần dài, đội một
 CL boy DEM wear one CL clothes long shirt pants wear one
 chiếc nón rộng vành và choàng một cái khăn màu nâu, đi
 CL hat- wide-brimmed CONJ cover one CL scarf color brown ride
 chiếc xe đạp màu đỏ.
 CL bike colour red*

‘The boy was wearing long clothes, a shirt with long pants, a wide-brimmed hat, and a brown scarf (on his neck). He rode **a red bicycle**.’

Only two examples of [-animate] nouns occur without a classifier in the oral texts. Both of them have no classifier, irrespective of their interpretation as definite or indefinite. The [-animate] nouns that occur without a classifier in the written texts are mostly compound nouns. This is illustrated by (153).

(153) [-animate] (*Written text 1, sentence 39*)

*Người đàn ông cho cả⁶⁷ lò-nướng-bánh nhỏ vào lò nướng lớn
 CL man put whole oven-bake-cake small into oven-bake big
 và bật lửa.
 and light fire (of firelighter)*

‘The man put the whole **toaster** into **the oven** and lit the firelighter.’

⁶⁷ In Vietnamese, *cả* ‘whole’ can be optionally followed by a classifier. Here is an example with *cả* followed by a classifier:

*Tôi ăn-hết cả cái bánh to mà vẫn đói.
 1.SG eat-up whole CL cake big CONJ still hungry
 ‘I ate up a whole big cake, but I am still hungry.’*

The corpus data also show that the definiteness or indefiniteness of a noun does not covary with the presence or absence of a classifier. This can be seen from Table 6-4.

Table 6-4: Token frequency of nouns occurring with/without a classifier and their expression of (in)definiteness in noun-adjective constructions.

[(CL) -N- adjective]	Total	[+def]				[-def]			
		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL	
		+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani
Written texts	37	9	11	0	7	0	7	0	3
Oral texts	23	1	6	0	0	0	14	0	2
Total	60	10	17	0	7	0	21	0	5

As the above Table shows, nouns modified by stative verbs can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. Overall, among 48 (10+17+21) instances with classifier, 27 instances (56%) are interpreted as definite, while the remainder (21 instances or 44%) get an indefinite interpretation. This finding clearly proves that a classifier can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. However, the data also show that classifiers with definite interpretation tend to occur more frequently in the written texts than in the oral texts. In the written texts, 27 out of 37 instances (73%) have a definite reading, while ten instances (18%) get an indefinite interpretation. In contrast, only seven out of 23 instances (30%) get definite interpretations in the oral texts, while 16 instances (70%) have indefinite readings. This result shows that the absence of classifiers in Vietnamese can also be associated with definite or indefinite interpretation, depending on the context (cf. Trinh 2011).

Table 6-4 also shows that the ten [+animate] nouns modified by stative verbs in the data all have a classifier with definite interpretation. Example (156) further below represents the single example in oral texts with these properties mentioned in Table 6-4 (cf. Appendix 12 for more evidence from the written texts).

While the [+animate] nouns always have definite interpretation when occurring with a classifier, the situation with [-animate] nouns is more open. As will be illustrated by some examples in the remainder of this section, [-animate] nouns can be definite or indefinite irrespective of whether they occur with or without a classifier. Thus, the [-animate] noun *dao* ‘knife’ is definite in (154) and (155) even though it takes a classifier in (154) and remains without a classifier in (155).⁶⁸

(154) [-animate, +CL, +def] (*Written text 17, sentence 38*)

Thế là ông ta lại dùng chiếc dao lớn chặt từng hộp⁶⁹ -ra cho vào đĩa.
 CONJ 3.SG EMP use CL-knife big chop- each can -RES put in dish
 ‘Then, he used **the big knife** to chop the can and put the food on [a/the] dish.’

(155) [-animate, -CL, +def] (*Written text 24, sentence 40*)

*Cuối cùng, lấy được cái bánh hình chữ nhật, người đàn ông cầm
 dao cỡ lớn chặt xuống từng khúc và ép vào khuôn bánh.⁷⁰*
 Finally take RES CL-bread rectangle CL man take
 knife size big chop down each chunk CONJ press into form bread
 ‘‘Finally, (the man) got bread in a rectangle shape, he chopped it into small
 chunks with **the big knife**, and pressed it into a bake form [actually a toaster]’

The classifier can also be associated with indefiniteness. This is shown by the two [-animate] nouns in examples (156) and (157). The former noun occurs with a classifier, while the latter has no classifier.

⁶⁸ Note that there are only five nouns with no classifier that get an indefinite interpretation in constructions of modification by stative verbs.

⁶⁹ *hộp* ‘box’ in this case is the shortening from *đồ hộp* ‘canned food’, thus it is interpreted as ‘a can’.

⁷⁰ ‘Cook, Papa, Cook’ is a silent comedy movie; the actor overacted the action of cutting bread as chopping bread.

(156) [-animate, +CL, -def] (*Oral text 16, sentence 4*)

Thì có lượm lại trái kia và lau bằng

TOP have pick back CL DEM CONJ clean by

cái khăn quần cổ màu đỏ.

CL towel wind neck colour red

‘You know, (he) did pick up [that] fruit and cleaned [it] with [a] **red scarf** (which had been used to cover his neck).’

(157) [-animate, -CL, -def] (*Written text 14, sentence 50*)

Người đàn ông bỏ-dở cái chảo, và lấy- bánh mì tròn -ra.

CL man leave CL pan CONJ take- bread round -RES

‘[The] man left the pan there and took out [a] **bread in round shape**.’

The scene described in example (156) is from 0:50 in the movie ‘Pear Story’ and the scene described in example (157) is roughly from 5:04 in the movie ‘Cook, Papa, Cook’. In the first scene in (156), the informant seems to focus on ‘[the] red scarf’ of the farmer when the colour of the scarf is prominently seen by the informant as part of the farmer’s appearance. Since this makes the colour of the scarf known to the informant, while that information is new to the hearer, the classifier can be associated with specific indefiniteness in this example. In contrast, the action described in (157) happened much faster than in (156). For that reason, one might argue that the modifier construction as a whole is indefinite non-specific.

Summarizing the findings of this Section on the [(CL)-N-adjective] construction, the following two aspects can be pointed out: First, a large number of [+animate] nouns appear with a classifier, especially the ones with the features [+definite, +protagonist]. The classifier is not obligatory for [-animate] nouns (cf. Table 6-3). Second, a classifier in the construction of [(CL)-N-adjective] can express either definiteness or indefiniteness, depending on the context (cf. Table 6-4).

6.1.4 Relative clauses

As in the case of modification by stative verbs, data on relative clauses show that nouns in this type of construction tend to occur with a classifier. Table 6-5 shows that 144 instances (78%) of the nouns modified by a relative clause occur with a classifier, in contrast to 41 instances (22%) which appear with no classifier. Of the 144 instances with a classifier, 67 examples (47%) are found in the written texts and 74 examples (53%) in the oral texts. The corpus of relative clauses shows similar results for written texts and oral texts.

There are 41 instances (22%) of nouns in relative clauses occurring without a classifier: 18 examples from the written texts and 23 examples from the oral texts. A closer examination of these instances shows that most of them are compound nouns (e.g. *đồ ăn/thức ăn* ‘food’, *bọt xà phòng* ‘soap foam’, *bữa sáng* ‘breakfast’), general nouns (e.g. *cách* ‘way’) or locational nouns (e.g. *chỗ/nơi* ‘place’).

Table 6-5: Token frequency of nouns occurring with/without a classifier in relative clauses in written texts and oral texts (cf. Appendices 13 & 14).

Relative clause	Total	+CL		-CL	
		[+animate]	[-animate]	[+animate]	[-animate]
Written texts	86	17	50	0	18
Oral texts	99	39	35	0	23
Total	185	56	88	0	41
		144 instances		41 instances	

It is worth noting in Table 6-5 that there is no instance of [+animate] nouns occurring without a classifier as in the case of modifying adjectives in Table 6-3, in contrast to the 56 instances which appear with a classifier. This can be seen again as evidence for the strong tendency of [+animate] nouns to take a classifier. The frequency of inanimate nouns occurring with a classifier in relative-clause constructions is also high: 88 out of 129 (88+41) inanimate nouns (68%) take a classifier. This contrasts with only 41 instances (32%) occurring without a classifier. Most inanimate nouns without classifier are general nouns or nouns denoting location, as shown in (158) and (159) from the written and the oral corpus, respectively.

In (158), *thức ăn* ‘food’ is a general noun appearing without a classifier in the relative clause. Apart from *thức ăn* ‘food’, there are ten (out of 19) instances of nouns in relative clauses occurring in bare forms are *chỗ* ‘general noun with a location meaning’, *người* ‘general noun with a human referent’, *thứ* ‘thing’, etc. Interestingly enough, most of the examples with nouns that don’t have a classifier in the oral texts are formed by the locational noun *chỗ/nơi* ‘place’, as is shown in example (159) (cf. Appendices 14 & 15 for more details).

(158) (*Written text 7, sentence 31*)

Người-vợ vì ăn quá nhiều bánh ngọt, nên khó chịu,
 CL-wife because eat too many cakes CONJ unpleasant
 buồn nôn, không muốn ăn **thức-ăn người chồng mang vào.**
 nausea NEG want eat food CL husband bring PREP

‘Because of eating too many cookies, the wife felt uncomfortable and nauseous.
 She did not want to eat [**the**] **food that the husband brought in** (for her).’

(159) (*Oral text 6, sentence 37*)

Lúc này thì chuyển bối cảnh về **chỗ** mà người đàn ông đang hái lê.
 time DEM COMP move scene PREP place REL CL man PROG pluck pear

‘This time, the background was changed to [**the**] **scene, in which the man was plucking pears.**’

It is worth noting that sentences with general nouns, like *chỗ/nơi* ‘place’, *người* ‘person’, etc. can be considered a special type of relative clause. *Chỗ/nơi* ‘place’ in relative clauses also functions as a relative clause marker for location, as shown in (160).

(160) (*Written text 9, sentence 31*)

Anh ta vội vã mở vòi nước và quay chỗ đang bốc khói trên người

he hastily open faucet CONJ turn place PROG fuming PREP body

vào để dập lửa.

PREP in order to extinguish fire

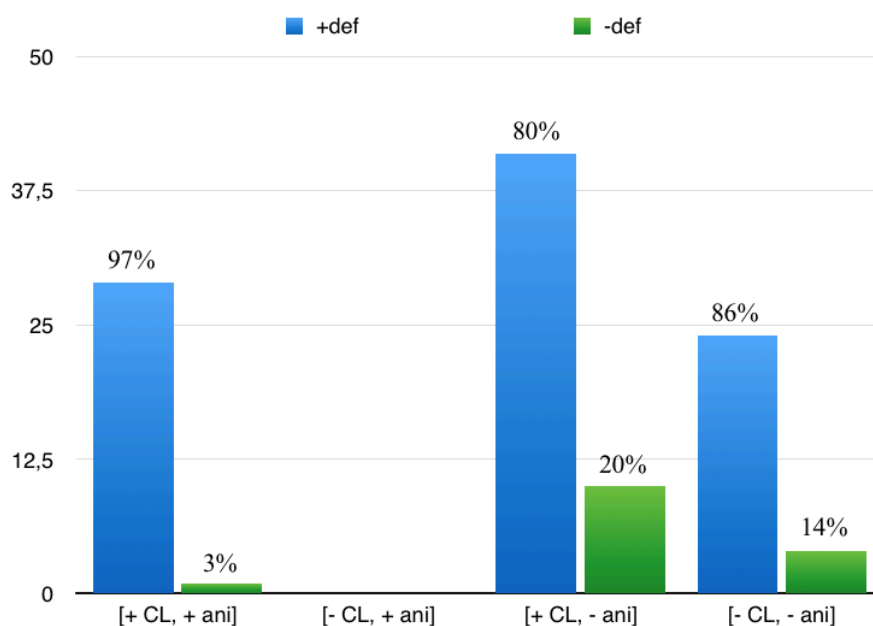
‘He turned on the water tap quickly and turned **the part where it was fuming on his body** into the water to extinguish the fire.’

If one considers the [\pm animate] nouns occurring with a classifier, and their function of marking definiteness or indefiniteness simultaneously, one can see that nouns having a definite interpretation tend to occur with a classifier, as shown in Figure 6-2.

In Figure 6-2, the blue bars represent the total number of nouns with definite interpretation, while the green ones represent the nouns with indefinite interpretation. Most nouns (over 80%) in this type of construction show definite interpretation. Moreover, most nouns with definite interpretation occur with a classifier. More specifically, 97% of the definite animate nouns and 80% of the definite inanimate nouns have a classifier. Although examples of nouns occurring with a classifier and having indefinite interpretation are not very frequent in the data (3% with animate nouns and 20% with inanimate nouns), this proves that a classifier can express both definiteness and indefiniteness.

Figure 6-2 also shows that the overall proportion of inanimate nouns found in this type of construction is considerably higher than that of the animate nouns. Moreover, there are clearly more inanimate nouns with indefinite interpretation than animate nouns (cf. the green columns). It is noted that most inanimate nouns in our data tend to be backgrounded and backgrounded nouns can express both definiteness and indefiniteness in contrast to foregrounded nouns which tend to get definite interpretations (cf. Section 4.4). Among the indefinite nouns, 20% occur with a classifier, while 14% appear without a classifier. However, [-animate] nouns in specific contexts may also occur with a classifier. Thus, a classifier may be considered to function as a specific marker in such contexts (cf. Appendices 15, 16 for more examples).

Figure 6-2: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns in relative clauses occurring with/without a classifier and their expression of (in)definiteness.



Examples (161) and (162) are the two examples in which animate indefinite nouns occur with a classifier. These two instances are found in the same text, i.e. Oral Text 16. The head nouns in these two examples are a bit tricky, because *nhỏ* ‘child’ can be interpreted as ‘little girl/ little boy’. People specify gender by adding a classifier for specifying gender.⁷¹

In (161), when *nhỏ* ‘child’ combines with ‘the general classifier’ *con*, it is interpreted as [CL-little girl]. In contrast, when *nhỏ* ‘child’ combines with *thằng* ‘classifier for young boys’, it is interpreted as [CL-little boy], as in (162). The relative clause constructions in these two examples have indefinite interpretations, because they are first introduced into the story. A classifier is needed in these contexts, because without a classifier for gender, the default interpretation for both sentences is ‘little girl’ and this would be incompatible with the story presented in the film.

⁷¹ The root meaning of *nhỏ* is ‘small/little one’, and is used mostly in Southern Vietnam. However, *nhỏ* is used in informal contexts.

(161) [+CL, +animate] (*Oral text 16, sentences 9&10*)

Khi mà ông quay lại trên cây tiếp tục hái...

when 3.SG turn back PREP tree continue pluck

thì à có thằng nhỏ [chạy xe đạp]_{RC} đi lại.

TOP SPF have CL:for boy child ride bike come

‘When he was back to the tree to continue plucking (pears)... then ... hmm ... there came a boy riding on a bike.’

(162) [+CL, +animate] (*Oral text 16, sentence 12*)

Cái a đi trên đường thì nó bắt gặp con nhỏ

PART PART go PREP road TOP 3.SG encounter CL:for girl child

[chạy xe đạp ngược chiều với nó]_{RC}.

ride bicycle opposite direction PREP 3.SG

‘Well, the ... hmm ... on the way ... it’s that ... he met **[a] girl, who was riding a bike from [the] opposite side.**’

To summarize: This section has presented the following observations. First, most of the nouns in relative clauses take a classifier and have definite interpretation but there are also indefinite [CL-N] constructions with a relative clauses. Second, nouns denoting location or general nouns (e.g. fruit, food, breakfast, etc.) tend to appear without a classifier. Third, animate nouns tend to occur with a classifier, while inanimate nouns can appear without a classifier. Inanimate nouns in specific contexts may also occur with a classifier. Thus, a classifier may be considered to function as a specific marker in such contexts.

6.1.5 Prepositional phrase modifiers

Nouns modified by prepositional phrases are not very frequent in the corpus. Only 29 examples are found in the corpus (eight examples in the oral corpus and 21 instances in the written corpus). Table 6-6 displays the token frequency of nouns modified by prepositional phrases occurring with or without a classifier.

As shown in the table, nouns in this type of modificational construction tend to appear with a classifier: there are 19 (13+6) instances with a classifier and ten instances without a classifier. From the 19 nouns occurring with a classifier, 13 (68%) are inanimate nouns, compared with only six instances (32%) denoting animates. It is noticeable that there is no context in which [+animate] nouns occur without a classifier in both written and oral texts, i.e. all 10 instances occurring without a classifier are [-animate].

Table 6-6: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns occurring with/without a classifier in nouns modified by prepositional phrases in written texts and oral texts (cf. Appendix 13).

[(CL)-N-PP]	Total	+CL		-CL	
		+Animate	-Animate	+Animate	-Animate
Written texts	21	5	9	0	7
Oral texts	8	1	4	0	3
Total	29	6	13	0	10

The [-animate] nouns with no classifier are, with the exception of *giường* ‘bed’, mass nouns (e.g. water, food, oil), general nouns (e.g. fruits, meat), and compound nouns (e.g. toys, bread). In (163), the compound noun *đồ chơi* ‘toy’ appears without a classifier and is interpreted as indefinite because it is first mentioned in this context. The husband as one of the protagonists has no idea what is going to happen to him until he trips over a toy of his son.

(163) Compound noun (*Written text 1, sentence 11*):

Hai người vẫn tạt nước vào nhau và người đàn ông
 two person still splash water into each-other CONJ CL man
vấp phải đồ-chơi trên sàn nhà té ngã giữa.
 trip RES toy PREP floor fall down

‘The two of them splash water on each other, and then [the] man fell down on the floor by tripping over [a] toy on the floor.’

Table 6-7 shows that 26 (18+8) out of 29 nouns modified by a prepositional phrase (90%) get definite interpretation, in contrast to only three instances (10%) with indefinite reading. As for the three nouns with indefinite interpretation, only one of them occurs with a classifier (cf. (164) below), while the other two appear with no classifier. Out of the 29 nouns modified by a prepositional phrase, 19 (18+1) have classifier (66%) and ten do not take a classifier (34%). Table 6-7 also show that 18 out 19 instances with classifier (95%) get definite reading, in contrast to only one instance (5%) with indefinite interpretation.

Table 6-7: Token frequency of nouns occurring with/without a classifier and their expression of (in)definiteness in prepositional phrases.

[(CL)-N-PP]	Total	+DEF		-DEF	
		+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL
Written texts	21	13	5	1	2
Oral texts	8	5	3	0	0
Total	29	18	8	1	2

Example (164) presents the single example with a classifier-marked indefinite interpretation in our corpus. It is used in the following context: the wife was chatting with her mother on the telephone. She was focused only on the phone and did not care about what was happening in the house. At the same time, her husband had to face a lot of problems. When he saw her chatting on the phone, he was very upset. Up to this point, the

audience has no idea what the husband will be doing to stop his wife from chatting. Then, he saw a pair of scissors near the phone, so he took them and cut the phone line. In this context, the pair of scissors are clearly indefinite. What is remarkable is that the sentence sounds unnatural, if the noun *kéo* ‘scissors’ does not take a classifier. This can be taken as an illustration of how concrete specification (by a prepositional phrase in this case), enhances classifier use even with indefinite nouns..

(164) (*Written text 24, sentence 33*)

Đứng dậy, người đàn ông lấy cây kéo gần chiếc điện thoại

stand up CL man take CL scissors nearby CL telephone

cắt đường dây, ...

cut line

‘[The] man stood up, took **[a] pair of scissors near the telephone** and cut the telephone line.’

In this type of constructions, classifiers are also used in contexts of specification. Thus, modification by a prepositional phrase reduces the potential referents to which a given linguistic sign may be assigned and causes the head noun to receive a specific interpretation. For that reason, the noun modified by a prepositional phrase in (164) occurs with a classifier, while the non-modified noun in (165) does not. This was also shown in (147a, b) in Section 6.1.1, where it was shown that the more modifiers a noun has, the more specified or individuated it gets and the more likely it is that it occurs with a classifier (cf. Appendix 16 for more examples in which *kéo* ‘a pair of scissors’ is used with or without a classifier).

(165) (*Written text 2, sentence 21*)

Người chồng nảy ra ý định dùng kéo. cắt đứt dây-điện-thoại.

CL husband explode idea use scissors cut RES telephone cord

‘The husband had an idea of using [**a pair of**] **scissors** to cut off the telephone cord.’

To sum up, the findings of this subsection show that nominal compounds or general nouns modified by prepositional phrases tend to occur without a classifier. Other types of nouns prefer taking a classifier in the same construction. The use of classifiers in this type of construction may be due to:

- (i) Definiteness (95% of definite nouns occur with a classifier),
- (ii) Animacy (all six animate nouns occur with a classifier, cf. Table 6-6),
- (iii) Specificity (cf. Appendix 16 for inanimate nouns occur with a classifier in specific contexts).

6.1.6 Possessive constructions

6.1.6.1 Introduction to Vietnamese possessives

Before discussing the use of classifiers for the expression of definiteness/indefiniteness in possessive constructions, two types of Vietnamese possessive constructions will be introduced: predicative possessive constructions or verbal possessive constructions as illustrated in (166a), and nominal possessive constructions as in (166b). This subsection focuses mainly on the latter construction, because a great number of examples with nominal possessive constructions are found in the data.

(166) a. *Tôi có một căn nhà.* [predicate possession construction]

1.SG have one CL house

‘I have a house.’

b. *Căn nhà của tôi* [nominal possessive construction]

CL house POSS 1.SG

‘[a/the] house of mine’

The word order in Vietnamese nominal possessive constructions is [POSSESSED – (*của*) – POSSESSOR] (Taylor & MacLaury 1995:351). Both possessor and possessed nouns in Vietnamese can occur with a classifier (167). Alternatively, only one of them takes a classifier (168). If the possessor is indefinite, the construction will be as in (169).

The presence or absence of a classifier before the possessed noun leads to different interpretations. In example (167) with its classifier-marked possessed noun, the focus is on *cái mũi* ‘the nose’ of the elephant, while there is no focus effect in example (168) which simply states that the elephant has a very long nose. It is noted that the possessor nominals *tôi* ‘mine’ in (166b) and *con voi* ‘elephant’ in (167) denote an entity (an animal or even person in other contexts) which are known to both the speaker and the hearer. They serve as reference points for helping the hearer to identify the particular ‘house’ or ‘nose’ that the speaker has in mind.⁷² When the possessor is indefinite, as seen in example (169), its classifier-marked possessed noun should be used in a specific context, e.g. in the context of a toy elephant and its nose.

(167) *Cái mũi của con voi rất dài.*

CL nose POSS CL elephant very long

‘[THE NOSE] of the elephant is very long.’

⁷² Taylor and MacLaury (1995:219) consider possessed nominals to play a special pragmatic role and to affect the syntactic structure of the possessive phrase.

- (168) *Mũi của con voi rất dài.*
 nose POSS CL elephant very long
 ‘The elephant’s nose is very long.’

- (169) *Mũi/?Cái mũi *(của) một con voi*
 nose CL nose POSS one CL elephant
 ‘[The] nose of an elephant’

The focus of this study lies exclusively on the possessed noun as the head of the whole possessive construction. Possessor nouns in our data are identified and are sometimes expressed by reflexive pronouns (cf. (170)). The following three phrases with *của* ‘of’ are presented in (170): (i) *chồng (của) cô ấy* [husband of her] ‘her husband’, (ii) *chiếc nhẫn của cô ấy* [CL ring of her] ‘her ring’, and (iii) *chồng (của) mình* [husband of (her)self] ‘her husband’. There are no differences between these possessor nouns, since they are clearly identified because they are expressed either by a pronoun or by a reflexive. As for the possessed nouns, *chồng* ‘husband’ occurs without a classifier, while *nhẫn* ‘ring’ takes the classifier *chiếc*_{CL} for inanimate thing. Looking at, (i) and (iii), one can additionally see that *của* ‘of’ does not occur with kinship terms or animate nouns like ‘husband’.

- (170) ¹ *Chồng của cô ấy là một tỷ phú, anh ấy tặng cô ấy*
 husband POSS 3.SG COP one billionaire 3.SG present 3.SG
² *rất nhiều đồ đắt tiền. Nói chiếc nhẫn của cô ấy không*
 Many thing expensive only CL ring POSS 3.SG only
³ *đã giá bạc tỷ. Cô ấy luôn tự hào về chồng của mình.*
 EMPH price billion 3.SG always proud of husband of herself
 ‘Her husband is a billionaire, he presented her a lot of valuable things. Only [her] ring cost even a billion. She is always proud of her husband.’

6.1.6.2 *The occurrence of classifiers in possessive nominal constructions*

This Subsection first describes all the relevant possessive constructions found in the data. Second, it will address the following questions: Is there a correlation between the use of *cúa* ‘of’ and the use of a classifier in combination with the semantic features of relationality and alienability?

As can be seen from Table 6-9, there are no less than 201 possessive nominal structures in the data, 166 of them in the written texts and 35 of them in the oral texts. The table shows that most head nouns in possessive constructions have no classifier. This is in contrast to other modification constructions in which head nouns appear more frequently with a classifier, e.g. in demonstratives, modification by stative verbs, relative clauses, and prepositional phrases.

In general, there are 154 out of 201 instances (77%) of nouns in possessive constructions with no classifier, and 47 out of 201 instances (23%) of these nouns which occur with a classifier. However, the result is heavily influenced by the results from written texts, because there are more than four times (166 instances vs. 35 instances) more possessive constructions in the written corpus than in the oral corpus. The comparison of the oral and the written corpus shows divergent percentages in the two corpora: In the oral corpus, 22 instances (63%) take a classifier, while only 13 (2+11) instances (37%) take no classifier. In contrast, 141 (46+95) possessive constructions (85%) from the written texts have no classifier, and only 25 (12+13) possessive constructions have a classifier (15%).

If one examines the use of classifiers with respect to the feature [\pm animate], one can also see that head nouns in this type of construction show a great tendency not to have a classifier, regardless of animacy. In the whole corpus, 141 (35+106) out of 201 instances (70%) are inanimate nouns, while 60 (12+48) out of 201 instances (30%) are animate nouns. Of the 141 inanimate nouns, 106 (75%) have no classifier, while only 35 have one (25%). The result is similar to that of animate nouns, i.e. 48 nouns (80%) with no classifier contrast with only 12 nouns (20%) with a classifier.

Table 6-8: Token frequency of nouns occurring with/without a classifier in possessive constructions (especially before a possessee noun) in written texts and oral texts.

Possessive	Total instances	+CL		-CL	
		+Animate	-Animate	+Animate	-Animate
Written texts	166	12	13	46	95
Oral texts	35	0	22	2	11
Total	201	12	35	48	106
		47 instances (23%)		154 instances (77%)	

A series of questions arise here: Does the feature [+animate] behave differently in possessive constructions? What is the most crucial factor or feature conditioning the absence of a classifier in this type of construction? Is it [+relational] (cf. Section 5.2)? In order to address these questions, Table 6-9 shows the interaction between the features [\pm animate] and [\pm relational] with the use of classifiers in possessive constructions.

The table shows that 118 (112+6) relational nouns (95%) occur without a classifier. Only six relational nouns (5%) appear with a classifier. Among the 118 [+relational] nouns with no classifier, 87 (74%) are [-animate], which contrast with only 31 instances (26%) of [+animate] nouns. Based on these findings, it is argued that the impact on classifier use depends more on the feature [\pm relational] than on the feature [\pm animate].

As for non-relational nouns, the table shows that they tend to occur with a classifier. In fact, their behaviour is similar to what was shown in Section 5.2, i.e. only non-relational nouns show a significant preference for occurring with a classifier. However, it should be noted that no [+animate, -relational] nouns are found in the oral texts. This is probably due to this type of construction being quite rare in the corpus. On the other hand, the data show that most of the non-relational nouns with no classifier are compounds, backgrounded information, or inanimates (e.g. *dây điện thoại của vợ mình* ‘his wife’s telephone line’, *giường của người bố* ‘the father’s bed’).

Table 6-9: Token frequency of [\pm animate, \pm relational] nouns occurring with/without a classifier in written texts and oral texts.

Possessive	[\pm animate]	+relational		-relational	
		+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL
Written	+ani	2	29	10	17
	-ani	2	83	11	12
Total (166)		4	112	21	29
Oral	+ani	0	2	0	0
	-ani	2	4	20	7
Total (35)		2	6	20	7

Among the six exceptional cases of [+relational] nouns occurring with a classifier, two of them are [+animate] nouns and four are [-animate] nouns. The [+relational, +animate] nouns with classifiers are all protagonists. As is shown in (171), *chồng* ‘husband’ occurs with a classifier. The use of a classifier in this context is supported by two factors. First, the head noun. Is a protagonist (cf. Section 4.1), and second, it combines with a focus marker *ngoài* ‘except’, which is used by the informant/writer to express the wife’s surprise.⁷³ Based on the above findings, one can argue that the features [+focus] and [+protagonist] (discourse factors) are stronger than the features [+relational] and [+animate] (semantic factors) in determining the occurrence of a classifier (cf. Section 5.1 for the argument that discourse factors affect classifier use more than semantic factors).

⁷³ Note that persons or things being marked by a focus marker are always more specific or ‘identifiable’ to both the speaker and the hearer.

(171) (*Written text 30, sentence 8*)

Khi giật mình vì bị tạt nước, bà vợ liền thức giấc
 when startled because PASS toss water CL wife immediately awake
nhìn xung quanh xem ai làm và chả có ai ngoài
 look around see who do CONJ NEG have who except
ông chồng của mình.
 CL husband POSS self

‘Being startled by the water, the wife woke up immediately, and looked around to find out who did it. But there was nobody, except **[her] husband.**’

The same factors of discourse also hold in the case of [-animate, +relational] nouns. The correlation between [\pm focus] and [\pm relational] is that relational nouns tend to occur in their bare form if they are not used in a focused context. More specifically, when a relational noun takes a classifier, this is most likely due to focus. In (172), *mông* ‘buttocks’ is a functional noun with the features [+relational, +unique] (cf. Section 2.3.3). It normally occurs in its bare form, but it appears with the general classifier *cái*, expressing focus in this context. The idea behind using *cái* as a focus marker here is that *mông* ‘buttocks’ are the most unlikely body parts to be burnt (cf. Section 5.2).

(172) (*Written text 13, sentence 35*)

Ông ấy ... ôm chân lên nên té vào chiếc chảo đang cháy
 3.SG hold foot RES CONJ fall PREP CL pan PROG burn
đó, cái mông của ông ấy đã bị phỏng.
 DEM CL buttocks POSS 3.SG PERF PASS burn

‘He (got burnt, he got hurt; therefore, he) lifted it up to hold it, (then he could not keep himself in balance). Then, he fell down onto [the] burning pan and even/in addition got **his buttocks** burnt’.

As for the non-relational nouns, it turns out that most of them are definite. Moreover, most of them combine with the possessive marker *của* ‘of’ in both written texts and oral texts. Thus, in (173), *nón* ‘hat’ is a non-relational noun, and it is interpreted as definite in this context. Thus, a classifier is to be expected.

(173) (*Oral text 23, sentence 13*)

Cô bé mới a giựt cái nón của cậu bé rớt.

CL girl just PART pull.off CL hat POSS CL boy drop

‘The girl just ... hmm ... pulled off the boy’s hat.’

In order to figure out whether *của* ‘of’ can really affect the occurrence of a classifier, the token frequency of [\pm relational, \pm classifier] nouns is summarized in Table 6-11, which additionally includes the feature of [\pm alienable] (Haspelmath 2008), because *của* ‘of’ does not seem to combine with inalienable nouns.

The results in Table 6-10 suggest that most relational nouns occur without *của* ‘of’: 106 (99+4+1+2) out of 153 instances (69%) occur without *của* ‘of’, in contrast to 47 (11+12+7+12+1+4) instances (31%) which do.⁷⁴ More specifically, nouns with the features [+relational, -alienable] tend not to use *của* ‘of’, i.e. 102 instances (82%) do not combine with *của* ‘of’, while 23 instances (18%) do (e.g. *mặt vợ* ‘the wife’s face’, *người mình* ‘his body’).

As for the combination of [\pm của ‘of’] and [\pm CL], Table 6-10 shows that there are 87 instances occurring with *của* in contrast to 114 instances occurring without *của*. Among the 87 instances occurring with *của*, 41 (47%) have a classifier, in contrast to 46 (53%) which have none. It seems that the occurrence of *của* is not correlated to the presence of classifiers. What about the feature of [\pm alienable]?

⁷⁴ The followings are examples of [+alienable, + *của* ‘of’] appearing in written texts and oral texts, respectively. Written texts: *cái túi (áo) của ông chồng* ‘the husband’s pocket’, *chiếc xe đồ chơi của đứa con trai* ‘the toy car of the son’, *người đối tác làm ăn của ông ta* ‘his business partner’. Oral texts: *chiếc thang của ông ta* ‘the ladder of him’, *chiếc xe đạp của cậu bé* ‘the bike of the boy’, *cần xé lê của ông* ‘his basket of pears’, *rổ trái cây của ông ta* ‘his basket of fruits’, *cái nón của cậu bé* ‘the hat of the boy’.

Appendices

As for the correlation between [\pm alienable] and [\pm CL], the results show that 76 instances (38%) are nouns with the feature [+alienable], in contrast to 125 (62%) which are nouns with the feature [-alienable]. From the 76 instances with the feature [+alienable], 39 (51%) occur with a classifier, in contrast to 37 (49%) which are bare nouns. It also seems that the feature [\pm alienable] is not correlated to the presence of classifiers.

Concerning the correlation among the features [\pm relational], [\pm alienable], [\pm c \acute{u} a ‘of’], and [\pm CL], results show that neither the feature [+alienable] nor the feature [\pm c \acute{u} a ‘of’] affect the presence of a classifier. It is only the features [+relational, -alienable] which may affect the absence of a classifier, because all [-alienable] nouns in my data are [+relational] and most of them tend to occur as bare nouns.⁷⁵

Table 6-10: Token frequency of [\pm relational, \pm classifier] nouns occurring with/without the possessive constructions marker c \acute{u} a ‘of’.

Possessive constructions	Features	[+relational]				[-relational]				Total
		[+alienable]		[-alienable]		[+alienable]		[-alienable]		
		[+CL]	[-CL]	[+CL]	[-CL]	[+CL]	[-CL]	[+CL]	[-CL]	
Written texts	[+c \acute{u} a]	11	12	7	12	8	12	0	0	62
	[-c \acute{u} a]	0	4	0	99	0	1	0	0	104
Total		11	16	7	111	8	13	0	0	166
Oral texts	[+c \acute{u} a]	0	1	0	4	15	5	0	0	25
	[-c \acute{u} a]	0	0	2	1	5	2	0	0	10
Total		0	1	2	5	20	7	0	0	35

⁷⁵ I do not discuss the feature [\pm relational] any further here, because it was already summarized in Table 6-9.

Figures 6-3 and 6-4 are used to summarize this subsection on possessive constructions. The two Figures present the data from Table 6-09 and Table 6-10, respectively. Only the salient aspects will be discussed. Figure 6-3 is to illustrate potential interactions between the features [\pm animate], [\pm relational], and [\pm CL]. The blue bars stand for animate nouns and the green ones for inanimate nouns. As one can see, the [+relational, -animate] nouns prominently occur without a classifier (cf. the highest bar with [+relational, -CL]). The percentage of [-relational, -animate] nouns with or without a classifier is clearly less pronounced. In general, one can argue that [+relational] nouns clearly affect the absence of a classifier, regardless of animacy.

Figure 6-3: Token frequency of [\pm animate, \pm relational] nouns occurring with/without classifiers (see Table 6-10).

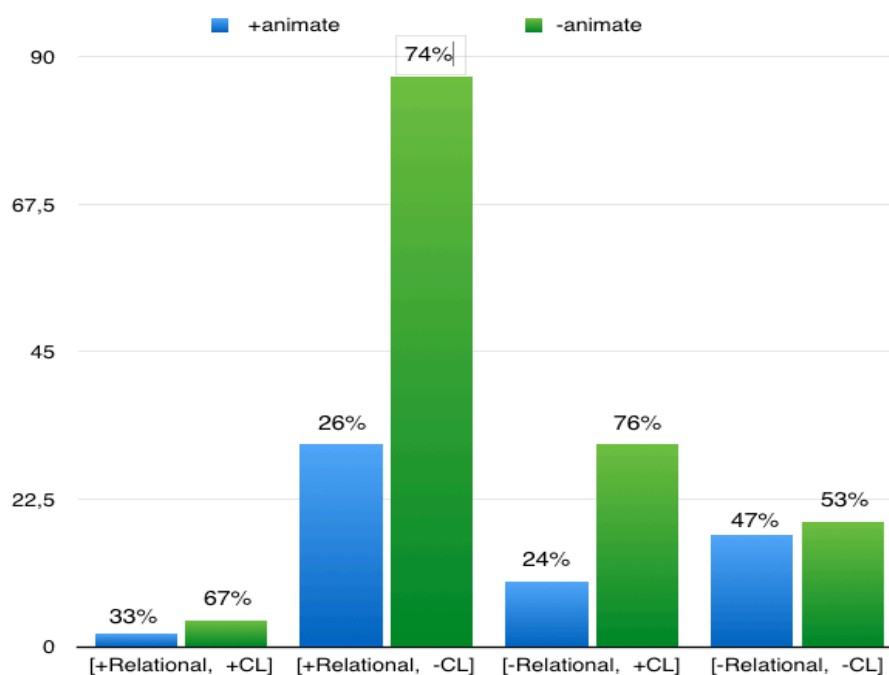
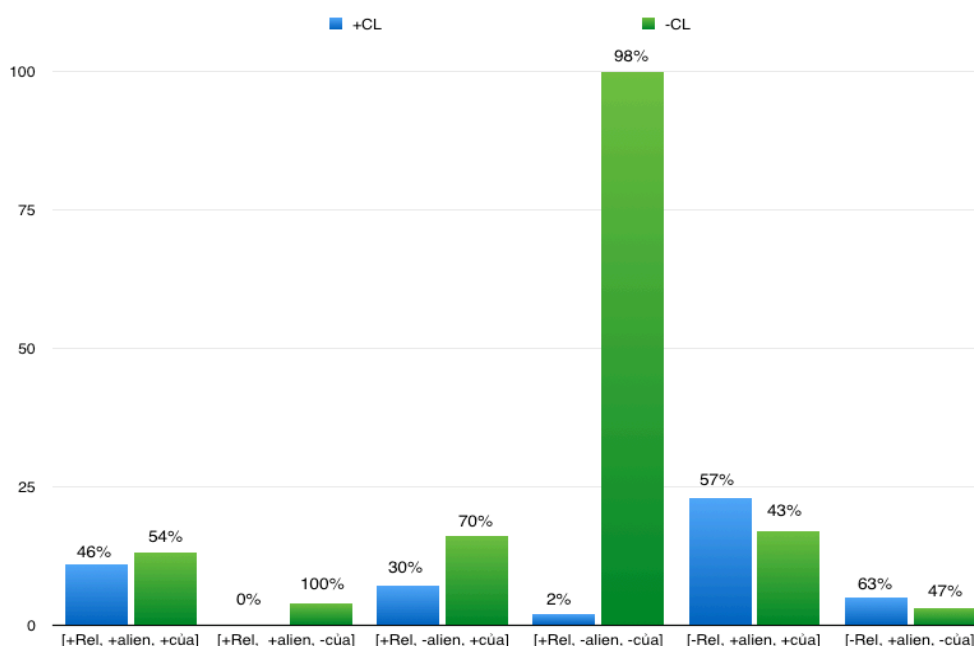


Figure 6-4 illustrates the occurrence of classifiers with the features [\pm relational], [\pm alienable], and [\pm của ‘of’]. The blue bars represent nouns occurring with a classifier, and the green bars represent those occurring without a classifier. The most prominent bar is the green bar with nouns denoting [+relational, -alienable, -cửa ‘of’] occurring without a classifier. The features determining the absence of a classifier in these contexts are [+relational] and [-alienable], while [\pm cửa ‘of’] is not important because the absence of a classifier is high in [+relational, -alienable, +cửa] as well as in [+relational, -alienable, -cửa]. It is also notable that all [-alienable] nouns in the data are [+relational] nouns (e.g. *chồng mình* ‘her husband’, *vợ anh ta* ‘his wife’, *bố cậu* ‘his father’, *con trai của họ* ‘their son’, *bạn cô vợ* ‘the wife’s friend’, *mẹ mình* ‘her mother/ the wife’s mother’, etc.) (cf. Appendixes 17 and 18 for more examples).

Figure 6-4: Token frequency of [\pm relational], [\pm alienable], and [\pm cửa ‘of’] with the presence/absence of a classifier (cf. Table 6-10).



In addition to the features discussed so far, topicalization seems to affect the use of a classifier in possessive constructions as well, as in many other constructions. Potential evidence comes from example (174), in which the noun for ‘pocket’ is topicalized by the presence of the general classifier *cái* (cf. Thompson 1965, Cao 1992 for the felicitous use

of a topic+comment order in Vietnamese). The topic marking here is illustrated by a variety of passive-like structures (cf. Simpson and Ho (2013), Michaud and Brunelle 2016 for further details about passive construction in Vietnamese).

(174) *Written text 3, sentence 56*

Cái túi của ông bị thủng, để lộ ra ‘súng’

CL pocket POSS 3.SG PASS have.holes let reveal gun

vốn. chỉ là cái tẩu thuốc.

originally FOC COP CL smoking-pipe

‘His pocket had holes, it reveals that the so-called “gun” actually was just [a] **smoking pipe.**’

6.1.7 Interim summary

This section summarizes the results from all types of modification structures in the written and the oral texts in Table 6-11.

The extent to which classifiers are obligatory varies for the different constructions. As Table 6-11 shows, head nouns have a relatively strong tendency to take a classifier in most modifier constructions. The percentage of classifier use decreases from 90% with demonstrative constructions to 80% with adjectival modification, 78% with relative clauses and 66% with prepositional phrases. The only exception is the possessive construction in which only 23% of all head nouns occur with a classifier.

Table 6-11 also shows that classifiers clearly are associated with definite and indefinite interpretation in the modifier constructions of our corpus. In accordance to the overall more frequent definite interpretation of classifiers, definiteness is dominant in most modifier constructions. In fact, 100% of the head nouns with a classifier in the demonstrative construction and in the possessive construction are definite. High percentages are also found with prepositional phrases (18 out of 19 cases are definite (95%)) and relative clauses (132 out of 144 cases are definite (92%)). Modification by stative verbs is the only

exception with more or less equal percentages (27 out of 48 cases are definite (56%), 21 cases or 44% are indefinite).

Table 6-11: The presence/absence of classifiers and their expression of (in)definiteness in modification structures in written texts and oral texts.

Conditions	Nouns with/without a classifier		Expression of classifiers as markers of [±definite]	
	[+CL]	[-CL]	[+ def]	[- def]
Demonstratives	90% (170 instances)	10% (18 instances)	100% (170 instances)	0%
Modification by stative verbs	80% (48 instances)	20% (12 instances)	56% (27 instances)	44% (21 instances)
Relative clauses	78% (144 instances)	22% (41 instances)	92% (132 instances)	8% (12 instances)
Prepositional phrases	66% (19 instances)	34% (10 instances)	95% (18 instances)	5% (1 instance)
Possessive constructions	23% (47 instances)	77% (154 instances)	100% (47 instances)	0%

6.2 WORD ORDER ([CL N] IN PREVERBAL AND POSTVERBAL POSITIONS)

In numeral classifier systems of many Sinitic languages, the referential status expressed by the classifier in [CL N] depends on word order (cf. Wang (2013) for details). Examples (175) and (176) from Li & Bisang (2012) illustrate the correlation between word order and the definite/indefinite interpretation of a classifier in the [CL N] construction in Mandarin, the Wu dialect of Fu Yang, and Cantonese.

The examples in (175) illustrate the use of the [CL N] construction in the preverbal subject position. While the [CL N] construction is ungrammatical in the subject position of Mandarin (175a), it is grammatical in the subject positions of Wu and Cantonese (cf. (175b) and (175c) respectively), where the classifier gets definite interpretation..

(175) [CL N] in the subject position (Li & Bisang 2012: 338)

Context: Where is the book?

a. Mandarin:

nà běn shū, (*ge) xuéshēng mǎi-zǒu le
that CL book CL student buy-away PERF

‘That book, the student(s) has/have bought it.’

b. Wu Chinese of Fu Yang:

pen cy ke ia'sn ma le tɕ^hi die
CL book CL student buy PFV go SFP

‘The book, the student bought (it).’

c. Cantonese:

bun syu, go hoksaang maai-jo la
CL book, CL student buy-PFV SFP

‘The book, the student bought (it).’

In the postverbal position, the use of the [CL N] construction is acceptable in all three languages (176). In Mandarin (176a) and the Fu Yang dialect of Wu (176b), the classifier is indefinite, while it can have definite or indefinite interpretation in Cantonese (176c).

(176) [CL N] in the object position (Li & Bisang 2012: 338-339)

a. *wo mai-le liang che.* [Mandarin]

1.SG buy-PFV CL car

‘I bought a car.’

b. *nge ma le bu ts^hots^hi.* [Wu Chinese]

1.SG buy PFV CL car

‘I bought a car.’

c. *Keuih maai-zo gaa ce.* [Cantonese]

3.SG sell-PFV CL car

‘I sold a car / the car.’

The subsections in the remainder of this section present the results from our corpus on the existence of a potential correlation between the preverbal/postverbal position of [CL N] in Vietnamese in 6.2.1. The next two subsections present indefinite subjects inthetic statements in 6.2.2 and predicates whose arguments are associated with indefiniteness in 6.2.3.

6.2.1 Results from the Vietnamese database

In Vietnamese, the [CL N] construction can occur either preverbally or postverbally, and it expresses either definiteness or indefiniteness irrespective of word order. This can be seen from Table 6-12.

As for the use of the [CL N] construction in the subject position, there is a very strong preference for definite interpretation (see the figures in bold for both written texts and oral texts). There are 1,359 (1040+319) out of 1,490 (1040+319+118+13) instances (91%) of nouns in the subject position occurring with a classifier, in contrast to only 131 (118+13) instances (9%) without a classifier. From the 1,359 instances of the [CL N] construction with a classifier, 1,329 (1012+317) (98%) are interpreted as definite, in contrast to only 30 (28+2) instances (2%) with indefinite interpretation. From the 131 instances of bare nouns

in the subject position, 98 (86+12) (75%) have definite interpretation, in contrast to 33 (32+1) (25%) with indefinite interpretation.

In the object position, the functional asymmetry between definite and indefinite interpretation is not as strong as in the subject position. In spite of this, the definite interpretation still clearly dominates over the indefinite interpretation: 795 (432+363) out of 954 instances (83%) are definite, compared to only 159 (97+62) instances (17%) with indefinite interpretation. In spite of this, nouns in postverbal position do not take obligatory classifiers. In the written texts, 1,571 out of 2,100 (1571+529) nouns (75%) occur without a classifier, in contrast to 529 nouns (25%) occurring with a classifier. In the case of the oral corpus, the distribution of the bare noun [N] vs. the [CL N] construction is roughly equally distributed: 425 (53%) with a classifier vs. 373 (47%) without a classifier. In general, Table 6-12 shows that bare nouns as well as the [CL N] construction can occur in either the subject position or in the object position, and can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite.

Table 6-12: Token frequency of the presence/absence of a classifier in subject and object positions and their expression of (in)definiteness (cf. Appendix 15).

Nouns in narrative	Written texts				Oral texts			
	Subject		Object		Subject		Object	
	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL
Definite	1,012	86	432	1,206	317	12	363	327
Indefinite	28	32	97	365	2	1	62	46
Total	1,040	118	529	1,571	319	13	425	373

To start with, let us look at the definite use of the classifier in the subject position (177) and in the object position (178). The noun phrases in both contexts were mentioned previously. Thus, the classifiers are interpreted as definite.

(177) **Definite subject** (*Oral text 26, sentence 9*)

Con lừa cứ nhìn vào các cần xé lê như muốn đứng-lại và ăn lê.

CL donkey always look inside PL CL pear like want stop CONJ eat pear

‘**The donkey** kept on looking inside the baskets of pears as if [he] wanted to stop and eat them (the pears).’

(178) **Definite object** (*Written text 9, sentence 14*)

Bực mình, anh chồng đóng sầm cửa khiến cô vợ giật mình,

angry CL-husband slam door cause CL-wife startled

rồi bỏ vào nhà tắm.

CONJ leave for bathroom

‘Angrily, the husband slammed the door. That startled **the wife**. Then he went to the bathroom.’

As can be seen from Table 6-12 as well, there are also a few examples in which classifiers occurring in the subject position are associated with indefiniteness. Most indefinite nouns in the subject position in our data are thetical statements (for more on theticity, cf. Tsunoda 1972 and Sasse 1988). In such statements, the entire clause is seen as non-activated information which is assumed by the speaker not to be in the hearer’s mind. Thus, nouns of this type are generally indefinite (cf. Section 6.3.1 for more examples).

The indefinite use of [CL N] is illustrated by (179), which consists of two sentences which occur at the very beginning of the story as it was told by the informant of Written Text 12. The two sentences provide a description of the initial scene as it was presented in the film. In the first sentence, the subject *đồng hồ báo thức* ‘alarm clock’ is used with the classifier for things (/inanimate) *chiếc*. In the second sentence, the subject *đàn ông* ‘man’ gets the default classifier for humans *người*.

(179) Indefinite Subject (*Written text 12, sentences 1 and 2*)

Chiếc đồng hồ báo thức reo lên lúc 8 giờ đúng.

CL clock alarm ring up at 8 o'clock exactly

Người đàn ông đang ngủ thì bị nước văng tung tóe vào mặt.

CL man PROG sleep CONJ PASS water splash PREP face

‘The alarm clock rang at eight o’clock sharp. There was a man who was sleeping, and [suddenly] [his] face was splashed with water.’

It should be noted that indefinite bare nouns can also appear in the subject position. The sentences in (180) are again from the very beginning of a text. The scene opens with a specification of the time (eight o’clock in the morning), and is followed by the noun *đồng hồ* ‘clock’ without a classifier in the subject position. Then, the first protagonist *chồng* ‘husband’ is introduced by a classifier, which can only be interpreted as indefinite in this context. Other protagonists are introduced after that. The wife takes *cô* as a classifier and is interpreted as definite through a bridging relationship to the husband. In the same way, the son is mentioned as *đứa bé* [CL child] ‘child’, so it can be interpreted as indefinite in this context.

(180) (*Written text 8, sentences 1-4*)

Đồng hồ báo thức lúc 8 giờ sáng. **Anh-chồng** bị đánh thức bởi

clock alarm at 8 o'clock morning CL husband PASS awaken by

tiếng chuông, nhưng anh ta tiếp tục ngủ. Cô vợ vẫn ngủ say

sound bell CONJ 3.SG continue sleep CL wife still sleep well

Đứa bé thức dậy, đánh vào cha mình làm ông ấy tỉnh giấc.

CL child wake up hit PREP father self make 3.SG wake up

‘[An] alarm rang at 8 o’clock in the morning. [The] husband was wakened by the sound, but he continued to sleep. [His] wife still slept well after the alarm. [The] child woke up and then hit his father to wake him up.’

If one combines the use of classifiers in the subject position and in the object position with the semantic feature of animacy, one can see the correlation between subject position, definiteness, and animate nouns. The figures in Table 6-13 reflect the well-known preference of animate subjects and inanimate objects (cf. DuBois 1987, Givón 1979). As already discussed in Section 5.1, animate nouns occur much more frequently with a classifier than inanimate nouns. Table 6-13 shows that there is a clear preference of animate nouns in the subject position. There are 1,269 nouns (85%) in the subject position denoting [+animate], in contrast to only 221 nouns (15%) denoting [-animate]. An opposite correlation is observed in the object position. Here, 2,469 nouns (85%) are [-animate], in contrast to only 429 nouns (15%) which are [+animate]. The figures also confirm that classifiers tend to occur in the subject position rather than in the object position, especially with nouns denoting animates rather than inanimates.

Table 6-13: Distribution of instances of [\pm animate] nouns in the subject and object position.

	Subject		Object	
	[+animate]	[-animate]	[+animate]	[-animate]
Written texts	1,006	152	293	1,807
Oral texts	263	69	136	662
Total	1,269 (85%)	221 (15%)	429 (15%)	2,469 (85%)

Example (181) shows an inanimate noun with a classifier in the object position. At its first mention, the [CL N] construction *chiéc xe₁* ‘[a] car’ represents a backgrounded concept which is not activated in any way by previous context and cannot be inferred through bridging. Thus, it is interpreted as indefinite. Later on, at its second mention, *chiéc xe₂* ‘[the] car’ is taken up again by a [CL N] construction in the second line. This time *chiéc xe₂* is definite.

(181) **Definite subject** (*Oral text 26, sentence 9*)

Con lừa cớ nhìn vào các cần xé lê như muốn đứng-lại và ăn lê.

CL donkey always look inside PL CL pear like want stop CONJ eat pear

‘**The donkey** kept on looking inside the baskets of pears as if [he] wanted to stop and eat them (the pears).’

In (182), a noun in the object position occurs with a classifier and is interpreted as indefinite. Since *cái thang* [CL ladder] ‘a ladder’ and *cây lê* [CL_{tree} pear] ‘a pear tree’ are introduced in the first sentence of the story, they are interpreted as indefinite. *Trái lê* [CL pear] also occurs with a classifier, but this time, the classifier has definite interpretation through a bridging relation to ‘the pear tree’.

(182) **Indefinite object** (*Oral text 26, sentence 1*)

Có một người đàn ông đang ở trên cái thang bắc lên

Exist one CL man PROG PREP CL ladder connect PREP

cây lê và đang hái trái lê.

CL pear CONJ PROG pluck CL pear

‘There was a man on **a ladder**, which was propped up against **a pear tree**. He was plucking **the pear**.’

To sum up, Table 6-14 illustrates how the feature [±animate] interacts with each cell of the row of [+definite], [-definite] occurring with or without a classifier in the subject and object positions.

The table reveals that of the 1012 (978+34) instances of subject nouns with definite interpretation from the written texts, 978 (97%) are [+animate], in contrast to only 34 instances (3%) which are [-animate]. A similar picture is found in the oral texts: 262 nouns (83%) out of 317 nouns which are interpreted as definite in the subject position are [+animate]. In contrast, only 55 nouns (17%) are [-animate].

In general, nouns which are interpreted as definite in the subject position show a significant tendency to take a classifier. More specifically, out of 1,359 instances of subject nouns with a classifier (marked in bold), 1,329 (1012+317) (98%) are [+definite]. In contrast, only 30 (19+9+2) instances (2%) have a [-definite] interpretation. This result may be taken as an indicator that classifiers are strongly associated with definiteness in Vietnamese. Nouns in the object position mostly denote [-animate] nouns. However, classifier use is clearly less prominent in that position, irrespective of animacy.

To conclude, classifiers prototypically occur with definite nouns and animate nouns in the subject position. However, it is notable that most animate nouns in the data are protagonists. Protagonist nouns occur very frequently with a classifier in both the subject and the object positions of the corpus data (cf. Section 4.1).

Table 6-14: Instances of nouns denoting [±animate] occurring with/without a classifier in subject and object position and their expression of (in)definiteness.

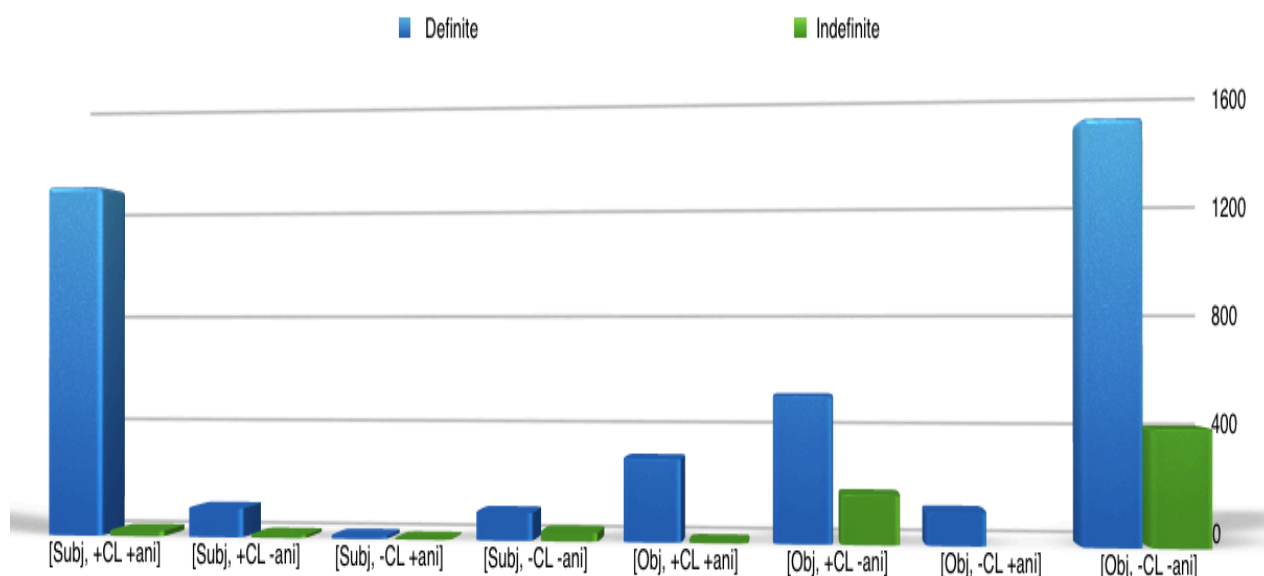
[± def]	Written texts								Oral texts							
	Subject				Object				Subject				Object			
	+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL	
	[±ani]		[±ani]		[±ani]		[±ani]		[±ani]		[±ani]		[±ani]		[±ani]	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
+Def	978	34	8	78	176	256	114	1,092	262	55	0	12	133	230	3	324
-Def	19	9	1	31	3	94	0	365	0	2	1	0	0	62	0	46
Total	997	43	9	109	179	350	114	1,457	262	57	1	12	133	292	3	370

Last but not least, Figure 6-5 intends to show a clearer picture of the figures in Table 6-13. As shown in the chart, the blue bars represent nouns which are interpreted as definite and the green ones stand for those interpreted as indefinite. After discussing how [±animate] interacts with [±definite] and [±CL] in the subject and object positions, we now focus on the discussion of the most prominent points in the chart.

At first glance, the prominence of the blue colour shows that most nouns are interpreted as definite. There are two dominant bars which reflect definite interpretation ([subject, +CL,

+ani] and [object, -CL, -ani]). They reflect the occurrences of animate subjects and inanimate objects. Thus, [+definite, +animate] subject nouns preferably occur with classifiers, whereas [+definite, -animate] objects preferably occur without classifiers.

Figure 6-5: Token frequency of [\pm animate] nouns serving as subject and object occurring with/without a classifier and their expression of (in)definiteness.



To summarize the use of classifiers in preverbal and postverbal positions, Figure 6-6 and the examples in this section strongly support the idea that the (in)definiteness interpretation of the classifier is not rigidly determined by the position of the [CL N] construction relative to the verb. However, there is a strong preference for interpreting classifiers as definite. This tendency is particularly strong with the [CL N] construction in the subject position. These findings correspond to the universal tendency of associating definiteness with certain preverbal positions in SVO languages (Keenan & Comrie 1977, *inter alia*). As already mentioned in Li & Thompson (1976), this tendency also works in Mandarin. Vietnamese also shows a similar tendency. Vietnamese classifiers operate like variables that take on referential functions associated with these positions.

The exceptional occurrences of classifiers with indefinite subjects are related to particular contexts likethetic statements (cf. example of indefinite subject in (179) and the following Section 6.2.2). Other contexts in which the [CL N] construction is associated with indefiniteness are existential clauses (structures with the verb *có* ‘exist’ or the copula *là* ‘be’), structures with verbs of appearance. These issues will be shown in more details in the next two subsections.

6.2.2 Indefinite subjects (thetic statements)

As mentioned above, indefinite subjects in our database are quite limited (only 2% of the preverbal [CL N] constructions are indefinite, compared with 98% that are definite). This limited number of examples is mostly linked to subjects inthetic statements (Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987, 1995). Thetic utterances appear in contrast to categorical utterances. Sasse (1995) defines both types as follows:

*Categorical utterances are said to be bipartite predications, involving a **predication base**, the entity about which the predication is made, and a **predicate**, which says something about the predication base. In other words, one of the arguments of the predicate is picked out as a “topic” in the literal sense, namely, an object about which something is asserted. Thetic utterances, on the other hand, are **monomial** predications (called “simple assertions” in Sasse 1987); no argument is picked out as a predication base; the entire situation, including all of its participants, is asserted as a unitary whole.*

(Sasse 1995:4–5)

In utterances of this type, the entire clause is seen as inactivated information (often backgrounded) that is assumed by the speaker not to be present in the hearer’s mind. Thus, nominal participants ofthetic utterances are generally indefinite. The following two examples constitute the beginning of the story as it was told by two different informants. They provide a description of the initial scene as it was presented in the film. In the first sentence of both examples, the subject *đồng hồ báo thức* ‘alarm clock’ is marked by the classifier *chiếc*. Similarly, the subject *đàn ông* ‘man’ gets the default classifier for humans *người* in the second sentence of both examples:

(183) (*Written text 1, sentences 1 and 2*)

Chiếc đồng hồ báo thức reo lên báo hiệu đã tám giờ sáng,

CL clock alarm ring RES signal PERF eight o'clock morning

Người đàn ông mở mắt liếc nhìn sang vợ-mình.

CL man open eye glance toward wife-self

‘An alarm clock rang to signal that it was already 8:00 in the morning. [A] man opened his eye and glanced at [his] wife.’

(184) (*Written text 12, sentence 1, 2*)

Chiếc đồng hồ báo thức reo lên lúc tám giờ đúng.

CL clock alarm ring up at eight o'clock exactly

Người đàn ông đang ngủ thì bị nước văng tung tóe vào mặt.

CL man PROG sleep TOP PASS water splatter PREP face

‘An alarm-clock rang at exactly 8:00. There was a man, who was sleeping and then [his] face was splattered with water.’

6.2.3 Indefinite predicates

The data illustrate that classifiers which express indefiniteness in the object position are not only present in the context of specificity (cf. Section 4.4), but also in argument-structure constructions with existential verbs, verbs of appearance, and verbs of achievement. In addition, this section also shows the distinction between ordinary existential indefinite constructions [exist + numeral + CL + N] and specific existential constructions [exist + CL + N] as well as definite demonstrative (cf. Section 6.1.2) vs. indefinite demonstrative constructions in Vietnamese.

6.2.3.1 *Existential clauses and locative clauses*

Existential sentences of the type ‘there is’ are typically used to introduce previously unidentified entities. Thus, classifiers in this type of construction are typically interpreted as indefinite. The data show that most instances of this type of construction have the structural pattern [existential verb + Num + CL+ N] as in (185). This type construction is found mostly in the oral corpus.

(185) (Oral text 20, sentences 1 and 2)

Câu chuyện được bắt đầu vào một buổi sáng tại một cánh đồng,
 CL story PASS begin in one morning at one CL field
có một người nông dân leo lên trên một cái thang, đang hái
 exist one CL farmer climb up on one CL ladder PROG pluck
một loại trái cây nào đó giống trái lê.
 one kind fruit some certain like CL pear

‘The story began at a morning in a field. There was a farmer, who was climbing up a ladder.[He] was plucking a certain kind of fruits like pears.’

Even though the [existential verb + numeral + CL + N] construction is a prototypical expression of the existential clause in Vietnamese, there are several instances in which the numeral or even the classifier is omitted. In (186) and (187), the entities *cảnh sát* ‘policeman’ and *xe cứu hỏa* ‘fire truck’ have not been mentioned before. Thus, they are clearly indefinite. The noun *cảnh sát* ‘policeman’ takes the classifier for officers *viên*, while *xe cứu hỏa* ‘the fire truck’ appears in its bare form. Notice that *cảnh sát* ‘police’ is a Chinese loanword (警察 *jǐngchá*) and *xe cứu hỏa* ‘fire truck’ is a compound formed by a class term (*xe* ‘car, vehicle’). As discussed earlier in this study (Sections 2.1.4, 4.1, 5.1, and 5.2), loanwords and compounds are expected to occur as bare nouns. The reasons for why *cảnh sát* ‘policeman’ in (186) takes a classifier, while *xe cứu hỏa* ‘fire truck’ does not are the following:

- (i) The classifier is used with *cảnh sát* ‘policeman’ to individuate this nominal concept (only one policeman), while the bare noun *xe cứu hỏa* ‘fire truck’ can refer to one or more than one entity (extinguishing fire normally requires more than one fire truck) (see Section 2.1.1 for the differences between classifiers and bare nouns). Thus, if the classifier *chiếc*_{CL for vehicle} would be used in this context, this would trigger singular interpretation.
- (ii) The classifier is used in (186) because of its specific context, i.e. the appearance of the policeman at the end of the story is unexpected and noteworthy (cf. Section 4.4). It is discourse-new, speaker-new, and it introduces an ‘noteworthy’ property into the discourse (cf. Ionin (2006) for arguments regarding felicitous use of the indefinite demonstrative).

(186) (*Written text 20, sentence 28*)

*Lúc này, có viên cảnh sát vào hỏi xem tình hình vì
time DEM have CL policeman enter ask see situation because
hai vợ chồng cãi nhau.
two wife husband argue RECIP*

‘This time, there was [a] policeman who entered and asked why this couple was arguing with each other.’

(187) (*Written text 20, sentence 25*)

*Gần đó, có xe-cứu-hỏa và lập tức đến xịt nước
nearby exist fire-engine CONJ immediately come spray water
vào chữa cháy nhưng làm cho mọi thứ hỏng hết.
PREP extinguish fire CONJ cause everything ruin*

‘Nearby, there was/were [a/few] fire truck(s), it/they arrived immediately to extinguish the fire. However, it also ruined everything.’

Another verb that implies indefiniteness is the copula verb *là* ‘be’ in identification constructions of the type ‘this is a N’ or ‘there is a N’ (existential construction). Example (188) begins with the locative expression *bên cạnh đó* ‘at the side of it, beside’, and then introduces a series of indefinite objects marked by a classifier, which are interpreted as indefinite.

(188) (*Written text 14, sentence 2*)

Bên cạnh đó là cái kệ nhỏ, cái bình và ly nước
 beside DEM COP CL shelf small CL bottle and CL water
được đặt lên trên nó.
 PASS place upon 3.SG

‘Beside [him] was a small shelf with a bottle and a glass of water placed on it.’

Previous Context: The man who wore a pair of glasses woke up. He opened his eyes for a moment, had a look around himself, ignored the alarm clock and went on sleeping.

From these examples, it is assumed that there are two types of existential clause in Vietnamese: existential indefinites and referential indefinites. The ordinary existential indefinite is expressed by the [existential verb + numeral + CL + N] construction, while the specific existential indefinite construction is expressed by the [existential verb + CL + N] construction.

Considering the context of (189), the scissors here are clearly interpreted as indefinite because they occur in an existential construction. However, it is presented by a specific existential indefinite because the existence of the scissors can be considered specific (speaker-known, hearer-new). It can be considered discourse prominent when it is mentioned in the context of ‘topic shift’ (cf. von Heusinger 2011 for ‘topic shift’). It links to the part of the background context that the wife just kept on chatting on the phone until the husband could not stand her anymore and wanted to stop her talking. The scissors appeared just in the right moment. The sentence would not be felicitous if the scissors would be expressed by the [one CL N] construction or without a classifier as a bare noun.

(189) (*Written text 4, sentences 15 and 16*)

Trong khi đó, cô vợ vẫn còn đang tiếp tục cuộc điện thoại.
 meanwhile CL wife still PROG continue N_{marker} telephone
Trên bàn có cây kéo, ông cầm lấy và cắt dây điện thoại
 PRE table exist CL scissor 3.SG take and cut telephone-wire
để bà không còn nói chuyện được nữa.
 so that 3.SG NEG any talk RES more

‘Meanwhile, the wife was still on the phone. There was a pair of scissors on the table, he (the husband) took [it] to cut the telephone wire so that [his] wife could not talk anymore.’

6.2.3.2 Structures with verbs of appearance

Constructions with verbs of appearance are used to introduce previously unidentified elements into discourse. Typical verbs of this type are ‘to be’, ‘appear, come up’, ‘turn out to be’, ‘reveal’, ‘come out to light’, ‘detect’, etc. In such cases, the postverbal noun in the predicate position is indefinite.

In (190) and (191), *tẩu thuốc* ‘smoking pipe’ takes the general classifier *cái* and appears in the [CL N] construction. Since the smoking pipe is hidden in the husband’s pocket, it is unknown to the audience/reader. The interpretation of the [CL N] construction after the verbs *lòi ra* ‘come to light/appear’ and *lộ ra ... vốn chỉ là* ‘reveal something’ are clearly indefinite.

(190) (*Written text 15, sentence 61*)

Nhưng sau đó, cái túi áo của ông chồng bị lủng, lòi ra
 CONJ after that CL pocket POSS CL husband PASS burst, show out
cái tẩu thuốc, chứ không phải vật gì có thể gây nguy hiểm.
 CL smoking-pipe, CONJ_{EMPH} NEG something can cause danger

‘However, after that, his pocket burst and what came to light was a smoking pipe, definitely nothing that may cause any danger.’

(191) (*Written text 3, sentence 56*)

Cái túi của ông. bị thủng, để lộ ra ‘súng’

CL pocket POSS 3.SG PASS let reveal gun

vốn chỉ là cái tẩu thuốc.

originally FOC COP CL smoking-pipe

‘His pocket was burst out and what was actually revealed was just a smoking pipe, not a “gun”.’

Sometimes the meaning of verbs implying the emergence of unidentifiable concepts are highly specific. This can be shown by the verb *vấp* ‘trip, walk into, stumble over’ in (192), in which the object *đá* ‘stone’ is marked by the classifier *cục*. The boy, who is one of the two protagonists, as well as the audience could not know what would happen when the boy was looking at the girl rather than at the road while riding his bike. Thus, the stone is clearly not activated and is interpreted as indefinite.

(192) (*Oral text 25, sentence 14*)

Mãi mê nhìn gái nên nó Vấp phải cục đá và té xuống đường.

passionately look girl CONJ 3.SG trip RES CL stone CONJ fall down road

‘[He] looked at the girl passionately ... and thus ... he stumbled over [a] stone and fell down on the road.’

6.2.3.3 Structures with [verb + achievement]

The database shows that the indefinite [CL N] construction seems to occur more frequently with the [verb + achievement] construction, such as *cán trúng/cán lên* ‘ride onto’, *húc trúng* ‘hit onto’, *đụng phải* ‘hit into’, *rớt xuống* ‘drop down’, *bỏ quên* ‘forget and leave’, *bay rớt* ‘blow and drop’, *giục (quăng) đi* ‘throw away’, etc. This type of construction can be used to ‘raise attention’ to the ‘goal’. If it is used to introduce or ‘raise attention’ to a discourse-new ‘goal’, it relates to a specific entity. A good example is (193). Here, the objects of the

verbs *bay rớt* ‘blow and drop’ and *cán trúng* ‘ride onto’ take a noun with a classifier. Since the hat as the object of the first verb and the stone as the object of the second verb are unknown to the audience/hearer, they are interpreted as indefinite.⁷⁶ The indefinite interpretation of the stone is also related to the surprise effect it has on the boy who did not concentrate on riding his bicycle but rather looked after a girl.

It is also remarkable that only two informants introduced the hat and the stone with the ordinary indefinite construction [*một* CL N]. Interestingly enough, these informants introduced them with activity verbs as in *thấy một cục đá* [see one CL N] ‘see a stone’, or *đội một cái nón* [wear one CL N] ‘wear a hat’.:

(193) (*Oral text 20, sentence 23 and 24*)

Khi chạy ngang, có-thể-là do mãi mê và gió thổi bay
 when ride past maybe because absorbed CONJ wind blow RES
rớt cái nón. Cậu bé bị lật tay-lái và cán-trúng cục đá.
 drop CL hat CL boy PASS up-side-down handlebar and trip-RES CL stone
 ‘When riding past the girl, [the boy] maybe because [he] was absorbed [in looking at her) or [maybe) the wind was blowing, dropped **a hat**. The boy suffered from [the problem that) the handlebar was shaken, then [he] tripped on **a stone**.’

Most informants used [CL N] for the concepts of ‘the hat’ and ‘the stone’ in contexts like the following: the boy dropped the hat, the hat toppled down, the wind blew and the hat fell down, the boy bumped into a stone, etc. An another example to support this is shown in (194). Here, use of a classifier is felicitous because the hat is considered a specific or ‘noteworthy’ element which is associated with the achievement verb *phát hiện ra* ‘recognize/point out that’. Moreover, *cái nón* [CL hat] is interpreted as indefinite in the first

⁷⁶ One more clue to tell us that this noun phrase is unknown to the hearer is after hearing (184), the hearer asked the informant to confirm who dropped the hat. The informant had to answer the question by repeating it.

sentence, as it is not previously mentioned in the text. Later on, using the same construction, [CL hat], it is interpreted as definite, since it was already mentioned in the previous context.

(194) *Oral text 3, Sentence 9*

Khi ba thằng bé đó đi thì phát hiện ra là thằng nhóc hồi nãy

when three CL boy DEM go FOC recognize RES COP CL boy earlier

bỏ quên cái nón. Nên là đã gọi thằng nhóc đó quay lại và lấy cái nón.

forget CL hat therefore PERF call CL boy DEM turn back and take CL hat

‘When those three boys went away, they recognized that the boy, who they met before, forgot **[his] hat** (the boy left [his] hat behind). Thus, [they] called that boy back to return [him] **[his hat]**.’

6.3 SYNTAX OF ‘EXTRA CÁI’ IN VIETNAMESE DP STRUCTURE

This section discusses the syntactic analysis of information focus, identificational focus, and the different functions of ‘extra *cái*’. In previous studies, ‘extra *cái*’ is mentioned mainly as a focus marker or an emphatic element (cf. Nguyen, Đ.H. 1997, Nguyen, T.H. 2004, inter alia). The syntactic analysis in this section shows that ‘extra *cái*’ is not only used in the context of focus (cf. Sections 2.5.4.4 on information focus and Section 4.4.6 on identificational focus) but also in the context of topic (‘topic extra *cái*’). The following questions will be addressed in particular:

- (i) How can we analyse complex DP structures in Vietnamese? As was shown in Section 6.1, some DP structures with a classifier are interpreted as definite (i.e. possessive clauses), while others can be interpreted as definite or indefinite.
- (ii) What is the syntactic position of ‘extra *cái*’? In Nguyen’s (2004) approach, it is a focus marker placed in Spec CLP, while Simpson (2005) argues that it stays in Spec DP or D₀. Which factor determines the movement of ‘extra *cái*’?
- (iii) What does our database show about the function of ‘extra *cái*’ in Vietnamese?

Before describing ‘extra *cái*’, the syntactic analysis of combinations of different modifier constructions is described in Section 6.3.1 on multiple modification structure. The remaining three Subsections are dedicated to the three different functions of ‘extra *cái*’, i.e. topic focus (6.3.2), information focus (6.3.3) and identificational focus (6.3.4).

6.3.1 The syntactic analysis of multiple modification structures

Before discussing the above research questions (i) — (iii), this Section presents the analysis of complex DP structures with combinations of different types of modifier constructions and their word-order options in terms of Nguyen (2004).

The first case is the combination of **the relative clause (RC)** and **the adjectival phrase (AP)**. We concur with T. H. Nguyen (2004) that the adjective occurs closer to the head noun than the relative clause (see (195a) vs. (195b)).

(195) *RC vs. AP (Nguyen 2004:59)*

- a. *Tôi thích cái đầm [mới]_A [mà cô ấy chọn]_{RC}*
 1.SG like CL dress new REL 3.SG choose
 ‘I like the new dress that she chose.’
- b. **Tôi thích cái đầm [mà cô ấy chọn]_{RC} [mới]_A*
 I like CL dress REL 3.SG choose new

The second case is the combination of **RC** and **prepositional phrase (PP)**. Nguyen T. H. (2004) states that a RC can occur either before or after a PP in Vietnamese.⁷⁷ However, it

⁷⁷ Nguyen’s (2004:60) survey of 81 Vietnamese native speakers notes that 71% said that both orders are acceptable. However, 80% of 81 informants had a preference of (a), i.e. the PP is closer to the head than the RC.

a. *Cho tôi xem cuốn sách [trên bàn]_{PP} [mà anh mới mua]_{RC}*
 give 1.SG see CL book on table REL 2.SG just buy

‘Show me the book that you just bought on the table.’

b. *Cho tôi xem cuốn sách [mà anh mới mua]_{RC} [trên bàn]_{PP}*
 give 1.SG see CL book REL 2.SG just buy on table

‘Show me the book that you just bought on the table.’

is suggested that the prepositional phrase should be placed closer to the head noun than the relative clause (cf. (196a) vs. (196b)). If the PP is preceded by the relative clause, it may not only be interpreted as a modifier of the head noun but it could also be analysed as an adjunct of the verb within the relative clause as in (196b).⁷⁸ For this reason, the order PP before RC is preferred in Vietnamese if both constituents are to be interpreted as modifiers of the head noun.

(196) *RC vs. PP*

a. *Quyển sách [trên sô-pha]_{PP} [mà anh bảo em đọc]_{RC} rất hay!*

CL book PREP sofa REL 2.SG ask 1.SG read very interesting

‘The book that you asked me to read on the sofa was very interesting.’

b. ?*Quyển sách [mà anh bảo em đọc]_{RC} [trên sô-pha]_{PP} rất hay!*

CL book REL 2.SG ask 1.SG read PREP sofa very interesting

Intended: ‘The book that you asked me to read and which is now on the sofa was very interesting.’

or: ‘The book that you asked me to read [**it**] on the sofa was very interesting.’

The third case is the combination of **AP** and **PP**. We concur with T. H. Nguyen (2004) that a modifying prepositional phrase follows an adjectival phrase (AP > PP).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Example which shows that a prepositional Phrase can functions as existential phrase:

A: An đâu? → ‘Where is An?’

An where

B: (Nó) trên sô-pha. → ‘(She is) on the sofa.’

3.SG PREP sofa

She is on the sofa.

⁷⁹ Nguyen (2004) presents the following example. He argues that if the position is reversed, then the meaning of the sentence changes. More specifically, the adjectival phrase can be interpreted as a predicate modifying the noun within the PP (cf. sentence b).

a. *Cuộc sống [mới]_{AP} [ở Mỹ]_{PP}*

CL life new in America

(197) *AP vs. PP*

a. *Tôi rất thích công việc [mới]_{AP} [ở Đức]_{PP}.*

1.SG very like job new in Germany

‘I like the new job in Germany very much.’

b.* *Tôi rất thích công việc [ở Đức]_{PP} [mới]_{AP}.*

1.SG very like job in Germany new

The fourth case is the combination of **AP** and **possessive phrase (PossP)**: There is only one possible word order, in which the AP precedes the PossP (cf. (198a) vs. (198b)).⁸⁰

(198) *AP vs. PossP*

a. *Tôi đang tìm đôi giày [mới]_{AP} [của tôi]_{PossP}.*

1.SG PROG look-for CL shoe new POSS 1.SG yet

‘I am looking for my new shoes.’

b.* *Tôi đang tìm đôi giày [của tôi]_{PossP} [mới]_{AP}.*

1.SG PROG look-for CL shoe POSS 1.SG new

The fifth case is the combination of **PP** and **PossP**. There is only one possible way to place a PP and a PossP. The prepositional phrase precedes a possessive phrase, as is shown in (199a) vs. (199b). When the order is reversed, the resulting sentence will be interpreted as a sentence with a zero copula, i.e., if the PP is placed too far from the head noun, it may no

‘a new life in America’

b.* *Cuộc sống [ở Mỹ]_{PP} [mới]_{AP}*

CL life in America new

⁸⁰ T. H. Nguyen (2004) did not examine the order between AP and PossP, nor the order between PP and PossP.

longer be part of the DP, or it may be interpreted as a modifier of the possessor noun (which would not make sense in the case of (199b)).

(199) *PP vs. PossP*

a. *Căn nhà [gần bờ sông]_{PP} [của tôi]_{Poss} rất đẹp!*

CL house near bank river POSS 1.SG. v

‘My house which is near the riverbank is very beautiful!’

b. ?*Căn nhà [của tôi]_{Poss} [gần bờ sông]_{PP} rất đẹp!*

CL house POSS 1.SG near bank river

The sixth case is the combination of **RC** and **PossP**. Nguyen T. H. (2004:65) claims that a possessive phrase can either precede the relative clause or follow it. The possible order between them is not so clear, although he notes that the former is more commonly used and preferred over the latter.⁸¹ If a possessive phrase is too far from the head noun it can be interpreted as an adjunct within the modifying relative clause (200b).

(200) *RC vs. PossP*

a. *Cây bút [của An]_{Poss} [mà bạn vừa mượn]_{RC} hư rồi!*

CL pen POSS An REL 2.SG just borrow break SFP

‘An’s pen that you have just borrowed was broken.’

b. *Cây bút [mà bạn vừa mượn]_{RC} [của An]_{Poss} hư rồi!*

CL pen REL 2.SG just borrow. POSS An break SFP

‘The pen [that you have just borrowed from An]_{RC} was broken.’

⁸¹ Nguyen (2004:65) claims that a possessive phrase can either precede the relative clause (as shown in (a)) or follow it (cf. (b)). However, the former is more commonly used and preferred than the latter.

a. *Cuốn sách [của thư viện]_{Poss} [mà tôi đang đọc]_{RC} hay lắm.*

CL book POSS library REL 1.SG PROG read interesting very

‘The library book I am reading is very interesting.’

b. *Cuốn sách [mà tôi đang đọc]_{RC} [của thư viện]_{Poss} hay lắm.*

CL book REL 1.SG PROG read POSS library interesting very

‘The library book I am reading is very interesting.’

The seventh case is the combination of **AP** and **Dem**. Here, we totally agree with Nguyen (2004) that when the adjectival phrase and the demonstrative co-occur, the demonstrative is required to occur at the end of the DP (201a).⁸² Since demonstratives generally take the rightmost position in a DP, the adjective phrase can no longer be part of the DP if it takes the position after the demonstrative (201b).

(201) *AP vs. Dem*⁸³

a. Tôi chọn con heo [màu hồng]_{AP} [này]_{Dem}

1.SG choose CL pig pink DEM

‘I choose this pink pig.’

b.*Tôi chọn con heo [này]_{Dem} [màu hồng]_{AP}

1.SG choose CL pig DEM pink

Intended: ‘I choose this pig because it is pink (and I like pink).’

The eighth case is the combination of **PP** and **Dem**. Like the relative order between PP and PossP, there is only one possible way to combine a PP and a Dem, in which the PP precedes the demonstrative (cf. (202a) vs. (202b)).

⁸² Nguyen (2004:61) notes that if the demonstrative is placed to the left of the AP, the resulting string is not a noun phrase but a sentence with a null copula, as contrasted in (a) and (b):

a. Cô gái [dễ thương]_{AP} [này]_{Dem}

CL girl easy love DEM

‘this lovely girl’

b. Cô gái [này]_{Dem} [dễ thương]_{AP}

CL girl DEM easy love

‘This girl **is** lovely.’

⁸³ T. H. Nguyen (2004) does not show any example with this order.

(202) *PP vs. Dem*

a. *Chiếc xe đạp [gần nhà kho]_{PP} [kia]_{Dem} của ai?*
 CL bicycle beside house-store DEM POSS who
 ‘[The] bike which is near the storehouse belongs to whom?’

b. **Chiếc xe đạp [kia]_{Dem} [gần nhà kho]_{PP} của ai?*
 CL bicycle DEM near house-store POSS who

Intended: ‘[The] bike, the one which is placed near the storehouse, belongs to whom?’

The ninth case is the combination of **RC** and **Dem**:⁸⁴ As shown in (203a), the relative clause precedes a demonstrative. The relative clause can no longer be a part of the DP if it occurs after the demonstrative (203b). Moreover, only the order of (203a) is found in the corpus. Thus, the order should be [RC] [DEM] (cf. Section 6.1.2).

⁸⁴ T. H. Nguyen (2004) notes that (1a) is restrictive, whereas (1b) is non-restrictive. However, Nguyen’s survey shows that the order of the former is more commonly used than the latter (i.e. [Dem][RC]) is dispreferred. In addition, we cannot see a non-restrictive reading in (1b). Instead, a non-restrictive structure should have the structure of (2):

1. *RC vs. Dem* (Nguyen 2004: 62)

a. *Tôi thích cái đầm [(mà) cô ấy chọn]_{RC} [này]_{Dem}.* [restrictive]
 1.SG like CL dress REL 3.SG choose DEM
 ‘I like this dress that she has chosen.’

b. *Tôi thích cái đầm [này]_{Dem} [(mà) cô ấy chọn]_{RC}* [non-restrictive]
 1.SG like CL dress DEM REL 3.SG choose
 ‘I like this dress, which she has chosen.’

2. *Tôi thích cái đầm [này]_{Dem}, cái [(mà) cô ấy chọn]_{RC}.*
 1.SG like CL dress DEM CL REL 3.SG choose
 ‘I like this dress, the one that she has chosen.’

(203) *RC vs. Dem* (Nguyen 2004: 62)

a. *Thằng bé [đang đi xe đạp]_{RC} [kia]_{Dem}. dễ-thương quá!*

CL boy PROG ride bike DEM easy love very

‘[THE] boy who was riding a bike (over there) is so cute!’

b.* *Thằng bé [kia]_{Dem} [đang đi xe đạp]_{RC} dễ-thương quá!*

CL boy DEM PROG ride bike easy love very

Intended: ‘That boy **is** riding a bike. He looks so cute!’⁸⁵

Finally, the tenth case is the combination of **PossP** and **Demonstrative (Dem)**. Example (204) shows clearly that the PossP - Dem order makes the sentence ungrammatical (cf. (204a)), while the Dem-PossP order does not (cf. (204b)).⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The non-restricted structure of (187b) is presented in Vietnamese as follows :

Thằng bé [kia]_{Dem}, (cái) thằng mà [đang đi xe đạp]_{RC}, dễ-thương quá!

CL boy DEM cái CL REL PROG ride bike easy love very

‘That boy, who **is** riding a bike, looks so cute!’

⁸⁶ Nguyen (2004:66) assumes that the PossP in (a) has a restrictive meaning, while the PossP in (b) is a non-restrictive modifier. He also notes that the result of his survey shows that the PossP-Dem order in (a) is less common than the Dem-PossP order in (b). He further notes that this result is probably related to a **possible ambiguity** as to whether the demonstrative is modifying the head noun of the PossP or that of the higher phrase (Nguyen 2004:66).

a. *Tôi không thể cho-mượn những cuốn sách [của tôi]_{PossP} [này]_{Dem}*

1.SG NEG can lend PL CL book POSS 1.SG DEM

‘I cannot lend these books of mine.’

b. *Tôi không thể cho-mượn những cuốn sách [này]_{Dem} [của tôi]_{PossP}*

1.SG NEG can lend PL CL book DEM POSS 1.SG

‘I cannot lend these books of mine.’

- (204) a. **Con dao [của tôi]_{PossP} [này]_{Dem} rất sắc, dùng cẩn thận nha!*
 CL knife POSS 1.SG DEM very sharp, use carefully SFP
- b. *Con dao [này]_{Dem} [của tôi]_{PossP} rất sắc, dùng cẩn thận nha!*
 CL knife DEM POSS 1.SG very sharp, use carefully SFP
- ‘This knife of mine is very sharp, please use it carefully.’

Table 6-15 summarizes the relative order of co-occurrent modifier constructions within the DP of Vietnamese. At a first stage, the relative order of the first three construction types (AP, PP, RC) is presented. As the above results have shown, the AP is placed before PP, and both of them are placed before RC. Thus, the relative order of these three modificational structures is AP > PP > RC.

At a second stage, the modificational structures of the first stage (AP, PP, and RC) were checked for their word order options in combination with the possessive phrase (PossP). The results showed that modificational constructions of all three modificational structures of the first stage precede PossP. Thus, the relative order of multiple modification structures in the second round is AP > PP > RC > PossP.

At a third stage, the relative order of the modification structures of the first stage (AP, PP, and RC) were analysed for potential word order options with the demonstrative construction (Dem). The results of the relative order of multiple modification structures in this round is AP > PP > RC > Dem.

Finally, integrating the finding that PossP and Dem have the order Dem > PossP, it can be concluded that the relative order of multiple modification structures in Vietnamese will be AP > PP > RC > Dem > PossP.

Table 6-15: The relative order of modification structures in multiple modification constructions in Vietnamese.

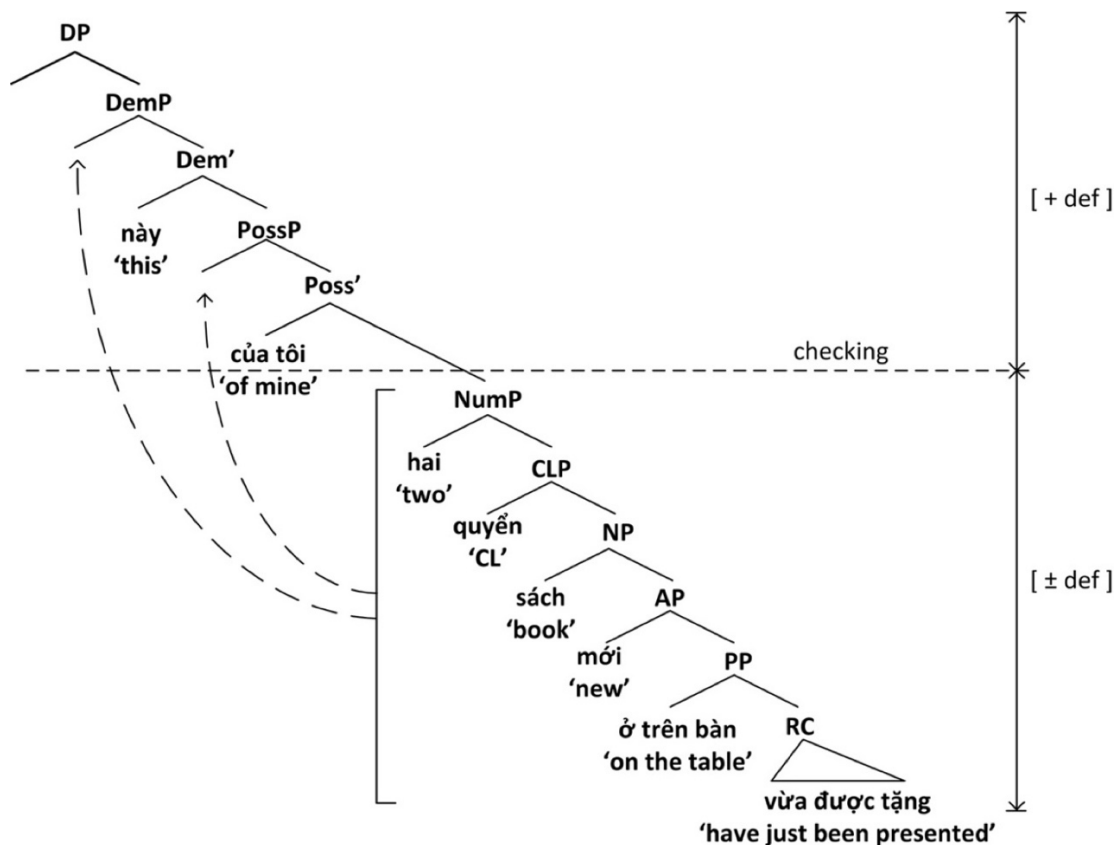
Co-occurrent constituents		Relative order of co-occurrent constituents	Relative order of multiple modification structures in Vietnamese
1.	RC vs. AP	AP > RC	(1) AP > PP > RC
2.	RC vs. PP	PP > RC	
3.	AP vs. PP	AP > PP	
4.	AP vs. PossP	AP > PossP	(2) AP > PP > RC > PossP
5.	PP vs. PossP	PP > PossP	
6.	RC vs. PossP	RC > PossP	
7.	AP vs. Dem	AP > Dem	(3) AP > PP > RC > Dem
8.	PP vs. Dem	PP > Dem	
9.	RC vs. Dem	RC > Dem	
10.	Dem vs. PossP	Dem > PossP	(4) Dem > PossP
SUMMARY		(1)+ (2) + (3) + (4)	N-head AP > PP > RC > Dem > PossP

Based on the relative order of the multiple modification constructions and the approaches from Nguyen T. H. (2004) and Simpson (2005) in Section 2.2.3, the complex DP structure is extended/refined by the addition of (i) the possessive construction, because it is also relevant for the occurrence of a classifier or the ‘extra *cái*’, and (ii) the functions of definiteness and indefiniteness associated with the different modificational constructions (cf. Figure 6-6).

As already discussed in Section 6.1, classifiers or nouns modified by demonstratives and possessive constructions always function as definite (100%), while they express definiteness or indefiniteness if modified by APs, PPs, or relative clauses. Thus, it is suggested that the CLP or the NumP will be checked as [±definite], while the DemP and the PossP are checked as [+definite]. When the CLP or the NumP (with the exception of [*một* ‘one’-CL-N]) occurs with the definite demonstrative (with the exclusion of the indefinite demonstrative construction, cf. Section 6.2.3.1) or occurs with a possessive, the

whole CLP or NumP can move to Spec-DemP (for the demonstrative construction) or to Spec-PossP (for the possessive construction) to get a definite interpretation:

Figure 6-6: Complex modificational structures in Vietnamese.



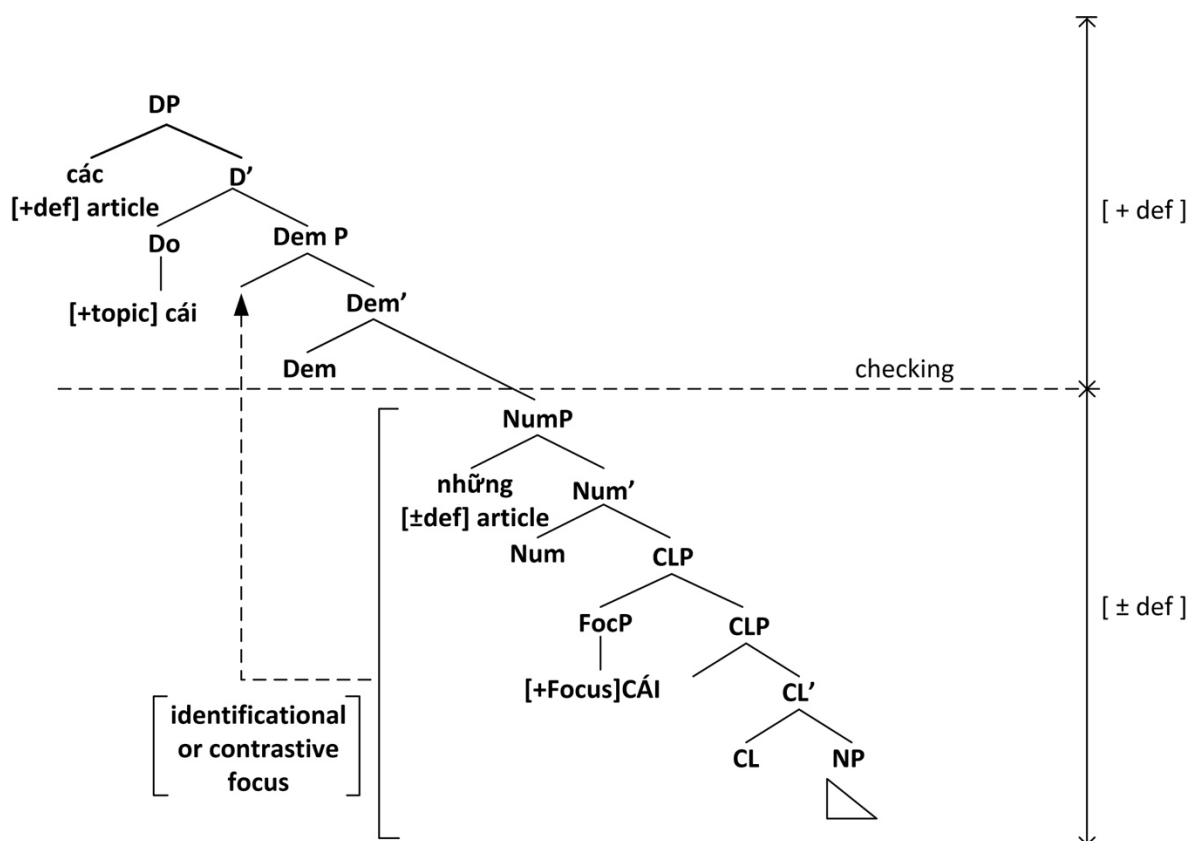
Now, let us move on to the function of ‘extra *cái*’ in Vietnamese and its syntactic position as mentioned in Section 2.2.3. Based on Nguyen T. H. (2004), Simpson (2005), and our corpus data, we assume that there may be two types of classifier constructions with ‘extra *cái*’: (1) the ‘**topicalized extra *cái***’ and (2) the ‘**focus extra *cái***’. It is noted that there are two ‘focus extra *cái*’; one is the ‘**identificational/contrastive focus extra *cái***’, and the other is the ‘**information focus extra *cái***’. The reasons for this suggestion are as follows:

- (i) Topics are associated with definiteness (cf. Rizzi 1997 and Kiss 1998 on the expression of focus by movement to designated syntactic positions, and Simpson 2005 for the insertion of ‘extra *cái*’ into Spec-DP or for its remaining in situ in D⁰). Focus differs from topic in that focus is not necessarily identifiable or pragmatically salient in discourse, and is thus open to both the indefinite interpretation and the definite interpretation, even though the default interpretation is indefinite (Lambrecht 1994:262).
- (ii) Adopting the argument of Kiss (1998) for two types of focus, she distinguishes identificational/contrastive focus and information focus. Identificational focus expresses exhaustive identification and occupies the specifier of a functional projection, while information focus conveys new information and involves no syntactic reordering. Our oral corpus shows that [(*cái*) CL N (modification)] can be used to express topic or definiteness for identificational/contrastive focus and it can also be used in existential clauses for information focus (this issue will be discussed below and is presented in Figures 6-8 and 6-9).
- (iii) The construction with ‘extra *cái*’ can not only mark focus, but it can also be interpreted as indefinite. It gets an indefinite reading in the [NUM *cái* CL N] construction (existential clause) and a definite reading in the [*cái* CL N (modification)] construction. More interestingly, we find that (i) ‘extra *cái*’ is the ‘topicalized extra *cái*’ in Simpson’s (2005) analysis, while it is ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’ or ‘definite extra *cái*’ (not the ‘information focus extra *cái*’) in Nguyen’s (2004) and Simpson & Ngo’s (2018) study, respectively. Both studies do not mention the ‘information focus extra *cái*’ (the indefinite interpretation of the classifier phrase with ‘extra *cái*’).
- (iv) The suggestion of two syntactic positions for ‘extra *cái*’ can help to solve the problem that [NUM *cái* CL N] can get both a definite and an indefinite interpretation.

Although Simpson (2005), Simpson and Ngo (2018), and T. H. Nguyen (2004) do not make a clear cut off point between ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’ and ‘informational focus extra *cái*’, it is suggested that ‘topicalized extra *cái*’ will be inserted and stay in situ in the position of head D (D₀), while ‘focus extra *cái*’ will be located in the focus phrase (FocP). As for ‘focus extra *cái*’, ‘information focus extra *cái*’ stays in FocP which is projected by CLP,

while ‘identificational/contrastive focus extra *cái*’ can move from FocP to DemP for being checked as definite in contexts of contrastive or identificational focus (cf. Figure 6-7).

Figure 6-7: The syntactic position of the ‘extra *cái*’ (based on its functions).

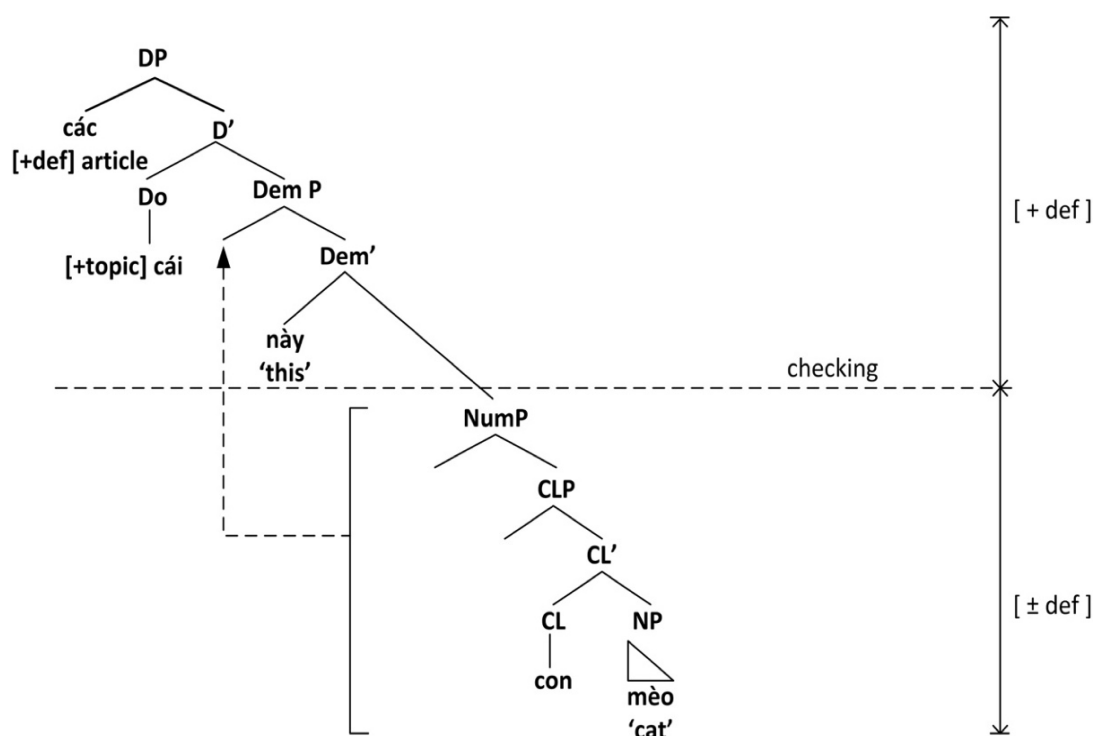


As for the position of ‘topicalized extra *cái*’, it is suggested that it be inserted into the head D (D_0) for the following reasons:

- (i) It is mostly interpreted as definite (cf. Nguyen 2004 and Simpson 2005).
- (ii) It is mostly used in contexts of topicalization or contrastive topic.
- (iii) It is claimed that it is inserted into the head D position but not into Spec-DP because the [+definite] plural article *các* seems to be located higher than ‘extra *cái*’. Nguyen’s (2004) argues that *các* ‘definite plural’ is placed in D_0 and the ‘extra *cái*’ is in FocP, which is projected by NumP (cf. Figure 2-3a in Section 2.2.3.1). However, because *các* is a [+definite] plural article and ‘topicalized extra *cái*’ is suggested to be inserted into the head D (D_0), Nguyen (2004) proposes that *các* is based generated in Spec DP. Thus, an example such as *các*

cái con mèo này [+def (PLU.ART) *cái* CL cat DEM] ‘these very cats, (they fight each other the whole day)’ in the function of a topicalized DP can be analysed as follows.

Figure 6-8: The syntactic position of the [+definite] article *các* with the ‘topicalized extra *cái*’.



- (iv) In contrast to Nguyen (2004), the above Figure 6-9 proposes that the [±definite] article *những* is inherently inserted into Spec-NumP and the [-definite] article *một* ‘one’ stays in situ in its base-generated head position of Num (cf. Section 2.2.3.1). The classifier phrase with *những* and the numeral phrase will be checked by movement at the interpretational stage. Thus, they can move from NumP to Spec-DemP when they get definite interpretation. There is no movement when the nominal phrase with *những* and *numeral* get indefinite interpretation.

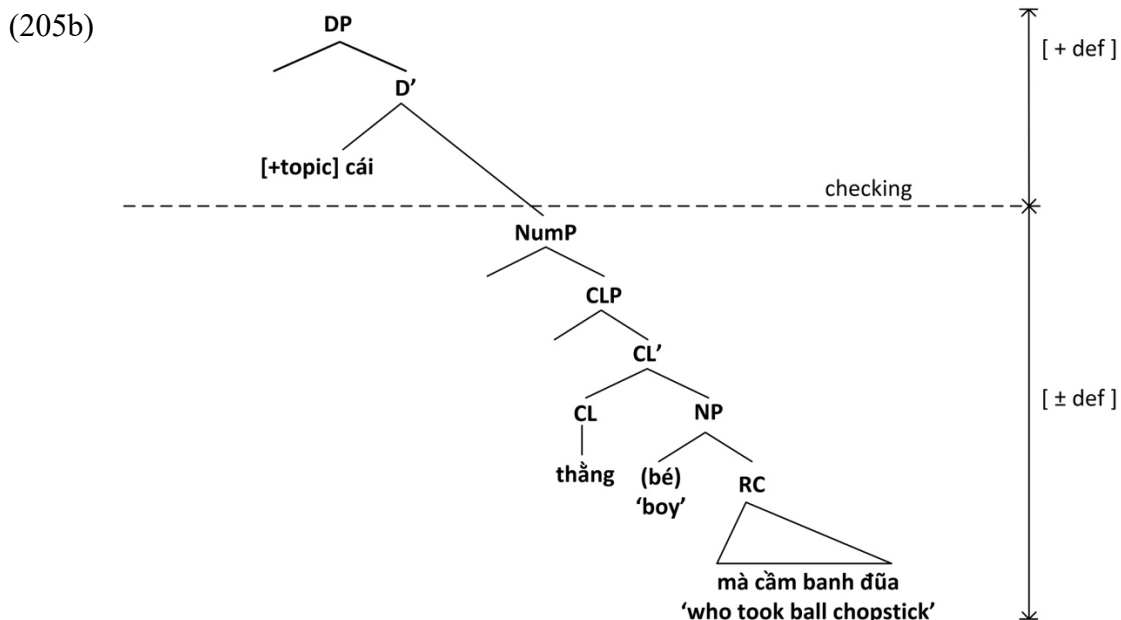
6.3.2 Topic extra *cái*

This Subsection offers a syntactic analysis of ‘topic extra *cái*’. A good example of that construction from our corpus is given in (205a, b). Here, the DP *cái thằng mà cầm banh-đũa* ‘THE boy who took the toy (with ball and chopsticks)’ is expressed as the topic of this sentence. As it is characteristic of topics, the above DP is taken up by the anaphoric pronoun *nó* ‘it’ at the beginning of the comment. The syntactic analysis of (205a) is given in (205b).

(205a) *Oral text 24, sentence 27*

Cái thằng mà cầm banh-đũa, nó đi một đoạn
 CÁI CL REL take ball-chopstick (toy) 3.SG walk one CL_{for road}
nó mới thấy cái nón mà cậu bé rớt hời này, rồi nó ...
 3.SG FOC see CL hat REL CL boy drop earlier then 3.SG.

‘As for the boy who took the toy (consists of a ball plus chopsticks), he walked for a while, he just saw the hat that the boy (the protagonist) dropped down earlier, then he ...’



6.3.3 Information focus extra *cái*

The ‘information focus extra *cái*’ is placed in the Spec CLP because:

- (i) It occurs mostly in the [NUM (including *một* ‘one’) *cái* CL N].
- (ii) This position is open to either an indefinite (for all numeral classifier phrases) or a definite interpretation (for numerals ≥ 2), even though the default interpretation is indefinite.

The position of ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’ is placed in the Spec CLP, and it moves to Spec-DemP to get definite interpretation because:

- (i) It occurs mostly with definite modifiers such as demonstrative determiners, possessives, or relative clauses in the [*cái* CL N modifier] construction.
- (ii) It is mostly used in contexts of contrastive topic.
- (iii) It is mostly interpreted as definite (cf. Figure 6-8 or T. H. Nguyen (2004))

In previous studies, ‘focus extra *cái*’ is mentioned mainly as a focus marker or an emphatic element (cf. Nguyen T.C 1997, Nguyen T.H. 2004, inter alia). If one looks at these earlier studies from the perspective of Kiss (1984), one can see that these studies only discuss the identificational focus ‘extra *cái*’. What they miss in their analyses is ‘information focus extra *cái*’. Nguyen (2004:121) even notes that ‘extra *cái*’ cannot combine with the indefinite marker *một* ‘one’.⁸⁷ However, the following example (206) illustrates that ‘extra *cái*’ can also be interpreted as indefinite focus (information focus) if it occurs in the [NUM (including *một* ‘one’) *cái* CL N]. Examples (206) and (207) both describe the appearance of the boy (the second protagonist of the story). The difference that is relevant here is that

⁸⁷ Nguyen (2004:121) notes that indefinite *một* ‘one’ does not co-occur with the focus marker *CÁI*.

- a. **một CÁI cuốn sách MỚI*
 one/a FOC CL book new
 Intended: ‘the VERY one NEW book’
- b. *hai CÁI cuốn sách MỚI.*
 two CÁI CL book new
 ‘the VERY two NEW books’

the noun denoting the boy (*bé*) occurs with the ‘information focus extra *cái*’ in (206), while it does not take ‘extra *cái*’ in (207).

In (206), the boy is a new referent and it takes ‘information focus extra *cái*’ because the informant was impressed by the appearance of the protagonist, who was riding a bicycle that was bigger than his size. Thus, the informant used the focus strategy with the ‘information focus extra *cái*’ to introduce new information (which will be important because the boy is considered the second protagonist of the story). After having introduced the boy, the informant used the anaphoric pronoun *nó* to take up the focalized DP as a topic in the next clause (cf. Michaud and Brunelle 2016). In contrast, the boy in (207) is introduced as a non-protagonist. The context here is that the farmer placed his baskets under a fruit tree. The man who was leading a goat passed the tree on which the farmer was plucking pears without anything happening. Then, the boy appeared. The informant may consider the boy as a non-protagonist. His appearance in the story is nothing special until he goes under the tree and steals the fruits of the farmer (the other protagonist). In such a context, ‘extra *cái*’ is not used.

(206) *Oral text 24, sentences 12 and 13*

Sau đó thì người nông dân này ... lại tiếp tục leo lên cây hái quả.

after that TOP CL farmer DEM again continue climb up tree pluck fruit

Thì có một cái thằng bé, nó chạy chiếc xe đạp khổng lồ hơn

TOP exist one CÁI CL boy 3.SG ride CL bicycle size big than

cái vóc dáng chạy lại.

CL tall/shape come

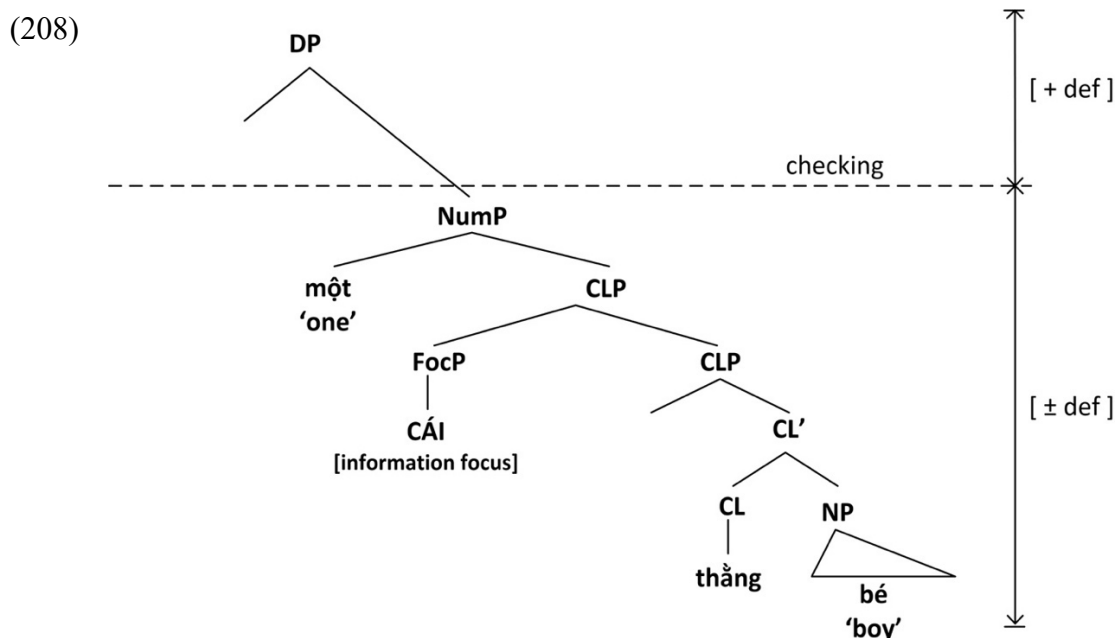
‘After that, [this] farmer climbed up the tree again to pluck the fruits. Then, there appeared **a boy**, **he** came by riding a bicycle whose size was bigger than him.’

(207) *Oral text 29, sentences 5 and 6*

*Người nông dân đó cũng không ham mà ông ta vẫn dẫn dê
 CL farmer DEM FOC NEG greedy FOC 3.SG still lead goat
 đi tiếp. Sau đó thì có một cậu bé chạy một chiếc xe đạp
 go continue after TOP exist one CL boy ride one CL bicycle
 đến ngay dưới chân cái cây đó
 come right under trunk CL tree DEM*

‘That farmer was also not greedy, he led the goat going on. After that, hmm, there was **a boy** riding a bicycle right under that tree.’

The [NUM *cái* CL N] construction in example (206) is illustrated by (208). It is interpreted as indefinite, and ‘extra *cái*’ here functions as a marker of information focus (which is quite different from ‘extra *cái*’ in the [*cái* CL N modifier] construction)]. The account of the ‘information focus extra *cái*’ of the nominal phrase as follows:



6.3.4 Identificational focus

This Section provides a syntactic analysis of ‘extra *cái*’ in the context of identificational focus.

Example (209) is an interesting example because it demonstrates ‘extra *cái*’ in its function of information focus (first mention) and in its function of identificational focus (second mention).

(209) *Oral text 23, sentence 9*

Cậu lo nhìn cô bé, không để ý trên đường thì trên đường

3.SG focus look CL girl NEG notice PREP road COMP on road

có một cái hòn đá to xuất hiện... Cậu bé mới chạy xe

exist one CÁI CL stone big appear... CL boy FOC ride bike

vấp phải cái hòn đá này.

trip RES CÁI CL stone DEM

‘He (/The boy) focused on looking at the girl, [thus he] did not notice the road.

There appeared [**a**] **very big stone** (on the road) ... The boy, while riding

bicycle, bumped right into **THAT big stone**.’

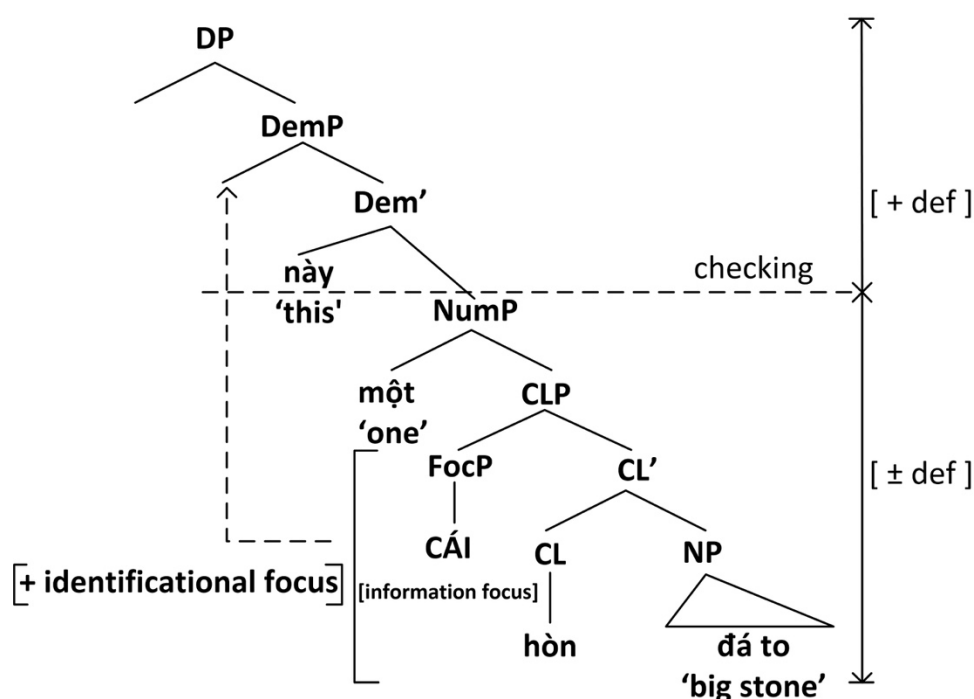
In the above example, the concept of ‘stone’ is first introduced as new information in the story. It is clearly indefinite because it occurs in an existential context. Consequently, it is expressed by the ‘information focus extra *cái*’ with the indefinite marker *một* ‘one, a’. Alternatively, the stone could also be seen in the light of ‘noteworthy’ new information (Ionin 2006) because it provides the surprising reason for why the boy fell down from his bicycle. The syntactic analysis of ‘information focus extra *cái*’ was given in the previous subsection.

At its second mention, the stone is taken up in the ‘identification focus extra *cái*’ construction in the form of *cái hòn đá này* ‘this VERY stone’. Its function here is to identify the factor that made the boy to fall from his bicycle as a consequence of his careless behaviour. The stone in the second mention is identified and interpreted as definite, i.e. the

classifier phrase with the extra *cái* as *cái hòn đá* [cái CL N] moves from the numeral classifier phrase to the determiner phrase to combine with the determiner demonstrative *này* ‘this’ as *cái hòn đá này* [cái CL N DEM], where it gets its identificational focus interpretation.

Figure 6-9 jointly presents the syntactic analysis of ‘information focus extra *cái*’ and ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’. It illustrates the movement of the ‘extra *cái*’ classifier construction from Spec CLP to Spec DP for checking the identificational focus feature.

Figure 6-9: The syntactic positions of the ‘information focus extra *cái*’ and ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’.



It is noted that not only the [*cái* CL N] construction can move to Spec DP, but also the [Num⁸⁸ *cái* CL N] construction as a whole for expressing topic, contrastive topic or identificational focus. In (210), the noun phrase *ba cái thằng bé khác* [three *cái* CL N modifier] ‘another three boys’ in the first line clearly gets indefinite interpretation, as it appears in an existential context (cf. Figure 6-10 for the syntactic analysis). Thus, the extra

⁸⁸ With Num ≥ 2.

cái in this numeral classifier phrase is placed into the Spec CLP position, which can be combined with the numeral classifier phrase. Since it is definite in its second mention, it is now definite and takes the subject position. For that reason, extra *cái* this time moves together with the numeral classifier phrase to SpecDP in order to combine with the definite demonstrative *đó* ‘those’.

(210) *Oral text 21, Sentences 8 and 9*

Bên cạnh đường có ba cái thằng bé khác đang đứng chơi ở đó.

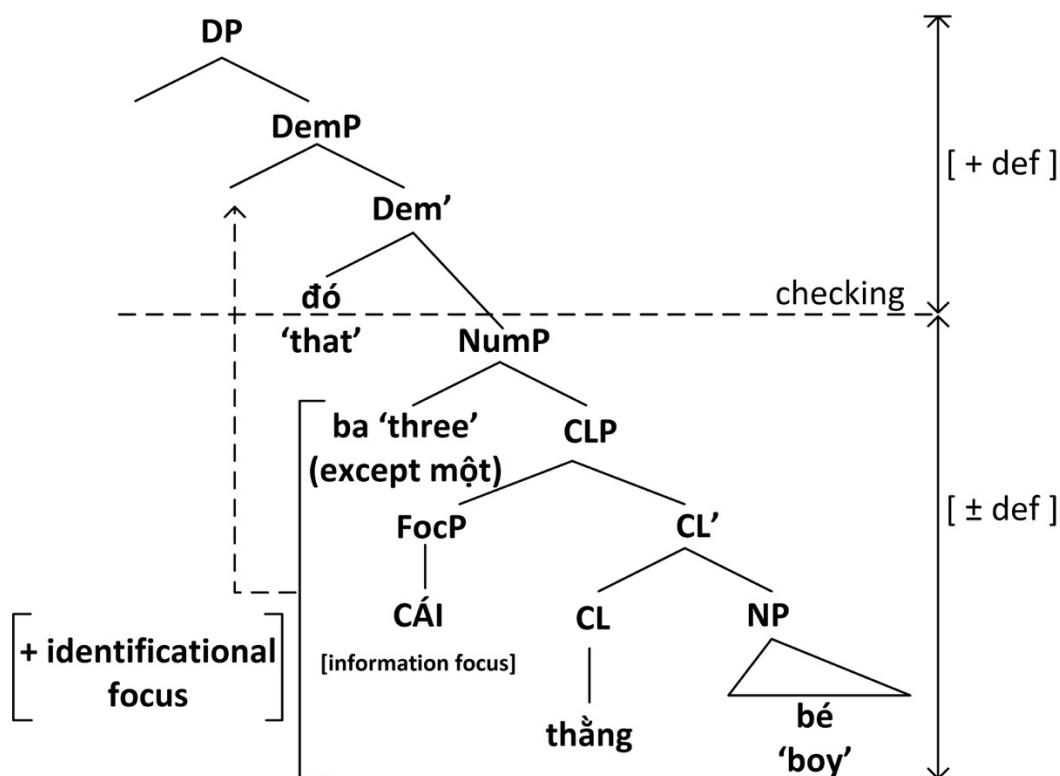
beside road exist three CÁI CL boy other PROG stand play over there

Ba cái thằng bé đó thấy thằng đi xe đạp té xuống thì chạy lại giúp đỡ.

three CÁI CL boy DEM see CL ride bike fall down TOP come help

‘(Over there) beside the road, there were **three other boys** who were standing to talk and play. **Those three boys** saw the bike boy fall down, [so] [they] came to help him.’

Figure 6-10: Identificational focus extra *cái* in the second mention of (215):



In the following example (211), ‘identificational focus extra *cái*’ is used in a contrastive situation. There is a contrast between the small boy and the big boy. For expressing this function, the following strategies are applied:

- (i) The clauses in which the two DPs occur are connected by the contrastive conjunction *còn* ‘as for, while’;
- (ii) They are followed by the contrastive topic marker *thì*.
- (iii) They are taken up by the co-referential anaphoric pronoun *nó* in their respective comments (cf. Michaud and Brunelle 2016 for the use of *thì* and other focus topic expressions).⁸⁹

The ‘extra *cái*’ in this context is interpreted as definite because it was introduced in the earlier context. What is particularly remarkable about ‘identificational focus ‘extra *cái*’ is that it is only used for ‘the big boy’ (not for the small boy) because he or his actions are relevant to the second protagonist of the story (the boy) and the situation that led to his falling from the bike.

⁸⁹ Michaud and Brunelle (2016:2055-2056) note that *thì* is a contrastive topic marker in Vietnamese. It has the effect of contrasting the topic with its alternatives, as shown in (1a). Moreover, it can be used after an entire sentence to set a piece of information as a common ground which is explained by the following clause (which corresponds to ‘so’ in English) as in (1b) below. When the topic is co-referential with the subject, the use of the anaphoric pronoun *nó* in the subject position is used.

(1a). *Mãng cụt thì ai cũng thích*

Mangosteen TOP who also like

‘Everybody likes mangosteens (as opposed to other fruits).’

(1b). *Hôm qua Phương đi chợ thì hôm nay ở nhà.*

yesterday Phương go marker so today stay home

‘Yesterday, Phương went to the market, so today she stays at home.’

(1c). *Tây, nó không biết dỗ con.*

West 3.SG NEG know soothe child

‘Westerners don’t know how to soothe their children (as opposed to the Vietnamese).’

(211) *Oral text 24, sentence 13*

*Chỉ có hai thằng, **thằng nhỏ** thì nó lại nó phải đồ cho*
 only exist two CL CL small FOC 3.SG come 3.SG clean clothes for
*cậu bé, còn **cái** **thằng cao lớn** thì nó lại nó lượm những cái*
 CL boy CONJ CÁI CL tall big TOP 3.SG come 3.SG pick-up PLU CL
quả để lại vào cái rổ cho cậu bé đó và dựng xe lên.
 fruit put back PRE CL basket for CL boy DEM and stand bicycle up
 ‘There were only two boys. (As for) the small one, he came ... he cleaned dust
 (from his clothes) for the boy, while **the taller one**, he came ... he picked up
 the fruits (and) put them back into the basket for the boy ... (and he helped him)
 put his bike back up.’

The above analyses show how information structure, whose general importance for the use of classifiers in Vietnamese was described in Section 5.1, are reflected in syntax.

6.4 INTERIM SUMMARY

Section 6.1 showed that most nouns in modification constructions tend to occur with a classifier with the clear exception of the possessive construction whose head nouns mostly consisted of relational nouns. However, when relational nouns are put in a special context (e.g. focus) they occur with a classifier. As for the interpretation of definite vs. indefinite in these constructions, the results show that demonstrative and possessive constructions always got a definite interpretation (with the exception of indefinite demonstratives), while relative constructions, prepositional constructions, and constructions modified by a stative verb can have both definite and indefinite interpretations.

Section 6.2 showed that classifiers in Vietnamese differ from many Sinitic languages because the [CL N] construction can get definite or indefinite interpretation irrespective of word order. In spite of this, classifier use is preferred in the subject position with definite interpretation. However, the indefinite interpretation of the [CL N] position in the subject position is found inthetic statements. In the case of the position, indefinite interpretation is

found in specific structures such as in referential existential clauses, structures with verbs of appearance, and structures with [verb + achievement].

In Section 6.3 it was argued that there are two types of ‘extra *cái*’ constructions in Vietnamese: one is the ‘**topicalized extra *cái***’, and the another is the ‘**focus extra *cái***’, whereby the latter is further divided into ‘information focus extra *cái*’ and ‘identificational/contrastive focus extra *cái*’. Thus, ‘extra *cái*’ is assumed to have two syntactic positions. The former, which has a definite interpretation, is in the head D position, whereas the latter is placed in the FocP which is projected by CLP as it is open to either an definite or an indefinite interpretation. More specifically, this section also showed that the [+identificational/contrastive focus] features can cause the whole ‘extra *cái*’ classifier construction and the whole numeral (except *một* ‘one’) ‘extra *cái*’ classifier construction to move to SpecDemP to get definite interpretation.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

This chapter focuses on the following two questions: (i) What connects the function of individuation as it applies to the context of counting and the function of (in)definiteness? (ii) What is the order with which the factors of discourse, semantics and syntax apply to the use or non-use of a classifier in contexts of (in) definiteness in Vietnamese?

7.1 ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUATION AND (IN)DEFINITENESS

As mentioned in Section 2.4.1, the semantic function of the classifier in the context of counting is associated with individuation (Greenberg 1972 & 1974, Bisang 1999, Paris, 1981, Tang 1990, and Li & Bisang 2012) or atomization (Chierchia 1998). This section is based on the notion of individuation, which is also discussed by many Vietnamese linguists, among them Ly (1998) and Nguyen P.P. (2002). Nguyen T.C. (1975) describes the function of classifiers in the light of ‘denoting individual unit[s]’. This function is found in individual classifiers used with count nouns as well as with individuating classifiers for measuring nominal concepts. As is the topic of this thesis, classifiers are also associated with definiteness and indefiniteness. In this chapter, we briefly outline Bisang’s (1999) hypothesis that the factor that bridges the functional domains of individuation and reference (definiteness/indefiniteness) is classification. It is needless to say that a more extensive study would be needed to prove this hypothesis.

In the context of counting, classification can be used for establishing conceptual boundaries of objects by referring to properties like animacy, shape, size, consistency et. In the context of (in)definiteness, classification contributes to the creation of different sets of objects and is directly associated with identification because it restricts the type of objects relevant to a given discourse situation. Based on Bisang (1999), a classifier helps to narrow down the search domain and thus contributes to the identification of an object in a given context. Given that Vietnamese classifiers rather express pragmatic definiteness (Löbner 1985) associated with identifiability, this function fits very well with the use of classifiers in the context of referentiality. Of particular importance for (in)definiteness his view, classification.

But even in the context of counting classifiers can support the identification of objects.

Bisang (1999) presents three relevant contexts:

- Classifiers naturally restrict the search domain in the incremental analysis of sequences of [Num CL N]. As soon as the hearer reaches the position of CL, the number of potential Ns is restricted to nouns which are semantically compatible with the class denoted by the classifier. For instance, a classifier for round object restricts the domain of potential nouns to objects with round shape (Bisang 1999:143).
- In languages that differ between the use of a general classifier like Chinese *ge* and specific classifiers with their semantics, it turns out that the general classifier is used for familiar concepts which were previously introduced and are thus identifiable, while the specific classifier is used with concepts that are introduced into the discourse (cf. Erbaugh 1986, 2002).
- Classifiers can be used anaphorically in [Num CL] constituent with no nominal head. The following example is uttered in a context in which people were talking about books. If somebody wants to ask about the number of books, it is sufficient to use the question word for ‘how many’ plus the classifier:

(212) 你 買 了 幾 本 ?

ni mai-le ji ben?
you buy-PFV how.many CL

‘How many [ben-like thing] did you buy?’

In Vietnamese, one easily finds similar situations. Let’s suppose that you are in a test of Vietnamese proficiency and you receive the following question:

(213) *Question with multiple choices*: Please choose the correct answer to fill in the blank:

một quyển ...(?)....

one CL

A. *táo* ‘apple’

B. *gà* ‘chicken’

C. *sách* ‘book’

When checking all the nouns provided here, one finds that *táo* ‘apple’ should select a classifier for fruit such as *trái* or *quả*. The noun *gà* ‘chicken’ does not fit either because it needs a classifier for animals or for animate beings such as *con* ‘general classifier for animate nouns’. The only suitable candidate is *sách* ‘book’ because *quyển* is the classifier for books and volumes. In such a way, classifiers contribute to the identification of objects even in the context of counting.

7.2 HIERARCHICAL RELATION OF DISCOURSE, SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC FACTORS CONDITIONING THE PRESENCE OF A CLASSIFIER USE IN VIETNAMESE

Based on the general observation of the data, specifically in Sections 4.1, 4.4, 5.1, 5.2, and 6.2.1, it is clear to find that the occurrence of classifiers clusters with nouns in the subject position (syntax factor); nouns with [+definite, +animate] feature (semantic factor) and protagonist(s), specific/focused elements (discourse factors). The occurrence of bare nouns clusters with loanwords, backgrounding, relationality/uniqueness, or non-specific entities. In this section, we attempt to find out if a factor dominates other factors in selecting a classifier. Thus, each pair of factors such as discourse and semantic as well as semantic and syntax will be discussed respectively.

7.2.1 Semantic ([+definite], [+animate]) and Syntax ([+subject])

Animate nouns, definite nouns and nouns in the subject position very frequently take a classifier. As can be seen from Table 6-14, 91% ($1040+319*100/1490$) of all subject nouns take a classifier, while only 9% ($118+13*100/1490$) occur in their bare form. Among the 91% of subject nouns with a classifier, 93% ($997+262*100/1359$) are animate nouns, while only 7% ($57+43*100/1359$) are inanimate nouns. In the case of subject nouns without a classifier, we get a different picture. Among the 9% of subject nouns without a classifier, only 8% ($9+1*100/131$) are animate nouns, while 92% ($109+12*100/131$) are inanimate nouns. This shows that it is not the syntactic position of subject as such that determines the use of a classifier but rather its animacy. The factor of definiteness presents a similar picture. There are 93% or 1,329 ($978 + 34 + 262 + 55$) definite nouns with a classifier and

only 7% or 98 (8 + 78 + 0 + 12) definite nouns without a classifier.⁹⁰ Thus, definiteness and animacy are of about equal importance for determining the use of a classifier in the subject position.

Table 7-1: Instances of nouns denoting [\pm animate] occurring with/without a classifier in subject position and their expression of (in)definiteness

Subjects with [\pm def]	Subjects with [\pm CL] & [\pm animate]							
	Written texts				Oral texts			
	[+CL]		[-CL]		[+CL]		[-CL]	
	[+ani]	[-ani]	[+ani]	[-ani]	[+ani]	[-ani]	[+ani]	[-ani]
[+def]	978	34	8	78	262	55	0	12
[-def]	19	9	1	31	0	2	1	0
Total	997	43	9	109	262	57	1	12
	1040		118		319		13	

Moreover, it is noted that most inanimate nouns in the subject position take a classifier when they get definite interpretation. Thus, 89% or 89 (34 +55) inanimate nouns with a classifier are definite, while only 11% or 11 (9 + 2) inanimate nouns are indefinite. Example (214) is another illustration of a definite inanimate noun with a classifier. Here, *chảo thức ăn* [CL food] ‘the pan of food’ was already mentioned in the previous context. Through bridging, *miếng thịt trong chảo* [CL meat in pan] ‘the meat in the pan’ gets definite interpretation. *Miếng* is a classifier, which used for two-dimensional objects and gets the interpretation of ‘slice’ in this example.

⁹⁰ Note that indefinite nouns generally occur with a much lower frequency with a classifier than definite nouns. The percentages of the relatively few indefinite nouns are about equal, i.e. there are 48% or 30 (19 + 9 + 0 + 2) indefinite nouns with a classifier and another 52% or 33 (1 + 31 + 1 + 0) with no classifier.

(214) Subject with [-animate, +def] (*Written text 5, sentences 25, 26*)

Khi anh ta quay lại, mọi thức ăn đều cháy khét trên bếp ...

when 3.SG come back every food totally charred on stove

Anh chồng cầm chảo thức ăn đang cháy, lắc đầu thở dài.

CL husband take CL food PROG charred shake head sigh

Miếng thịt trong chảo rớt xuống chân anh ta...

CL meat in pan fall down foot his

‘When he [the husband] came back, all the food was charred on the stove... The husband took the pan of charring food [in his hand], shook [his] head and sighed. The [slice of] meat in the pan fell down on his foot.’

Indefinite inanimate subjects with a classifier are only found in thetical statements (cf. Section 6.2.2 for more examples).

To conclude, one can see from this section that definite and animate nouns play an important role in conditioning the use of a classifier the subject position. Thus, the factors of definite and animate (semantics) dominate over the word order (syntax).

7.2.2 Discourse and Semantic

This section is focused on the hierarchical relation between discourse factors and semantic factors and the type of definiteness that is expressed by the classifier. It starts with modeling the relation between the features of [\pm protagonist] and [\pm animate] in subsection 7.2.2.1 and then goes on checking classifier use in the interaction between information structure and semantics in terms of the features [\pm relational] and [\pm unique] in subsection 7.2.2.2. Finally, subsection 7.2.2.3 provides evidence on the basis of non-sortal nouns that classifiers are associated with pragmatic definiteness rather than semantic definiteness (Löbner 1985, 2011).

7.2.2.1 *Protagonist and animacy*

As we shown so far, there is a similarly high degree of classifier use with [+animate] nouns (93%) as with [+protagonist] nouns (93%), regardless of the feature of [±human] (cf. Sections 4.1 and 5.1). This subsection will try to figure out if the two features of [±protagonist] and [±animate] show the same effects on the use of classifiers in Vietnamese or if one of them dominates the other.

Since it turned out in Section 4.1 that [+animate, -protagonist] nouns mostly occurred without a classifier because some of them were (i) Sino-Vietnamese words and some of them were (ii) backgrounded, it is necessary to examine [-animate, +protagonist] nouns for seeing if they obligatorily take a classifier. If yes, this proves that the discourse-based feature [+protagonist] is higher in the hierarchy than the semantics-based feature of animacy. The problem is that nouns with the features [+protagonist, -animate] are not available in our data. For that reason, we had to search for examples from other sources, e.g. Vietnamese books and narrative texts on the internet.⁹¹ Luckily, there are quite a few examples in picture books and story books.

One good example is *Tấm thảm bay* ‘The flying carpet’. It was published by Viet Nam Education Publisher in 2003. The title of the book implies that *tấm thảm* ‘carpet’ [CL N] is a protagonist and it is an inanimate protagonist. In (215), the carpet occurs with the classifier *tấm* ‘CL for cloth’ in every single instance in which it is mentioned. After being introduced in the first sentence, it is seven times mentioned with the phrase *tấm thảm* [CL carpet] ‘the carpet’. The function of *tấm thảm* [CL carpet] ‘the carpet’ (inanimate protagonist) is to connect the structure and the plot of the story, or to depict the characteristic and psychological development of *chàng trai* [CL young-man] ‘the young man’ (the main character). The animate main character after being introduced in the first sentence is later taken up in the following three constructions: [CL N], [CL], or [N] as in

⁹¹ Data from other sources:

- Internet: Vietnamese short stories (<http://www.truyenngan.com.vn>), Vietnamese major online newspaper (<https://tuoitre.vn>, <https://vnexpress.net>, <https://thanhnien.vn>), ...
- Vietnamese books: picture books for children (the flying carpet, the horn of deer, etc.).
- The book ‘Truong Vinh Ky (1837-1898): elite of Vietnam, which shows the literature and writings of Vietnamese in the 19 century

chàng trai [CL young-man] ‘the young-man’, *chàng* [CL] ‘he’ and *trai* ‘[the] young man’. Since the inanimate protagonist always appears in the [CL N] construction as *tấm thảm* [CL carpet] ‘the carpet’, it is reasonable to assume that nouns which serve as protagonists generally occur with a classifier, irrespective of animacy. If this analysis is correct, it can be argued that the discourse-based feature [+protagonist] more strongly determines classifier use than the semantics-based feature of animacy.

(215) *Tấm thảm bay* ‘The flying carpet’ – pages 1, 4, 5, and 6)

Ngày xưa, có hai mẹ con nhà nọ sống bằng nghề dệt
 day ancient have two mother son house certain live by job weave
thảm ... Ba tháng sau, người mẹ dệt được một tấm thảm rất
 carpet three month later CL mother weave RES one CL carpet very
đẹp. Trên tấm thảm có hình mặt trăng, mặt trời, những
 beautiful PREP CL carpet have picture CL moon CL sun PL
vì sao, có chim muông bay lượn, hươu chạy trên đồng cỏ và nhiều
 CL star have birds fly deer run PREP meadow and many
hình người nhảy múa. Dân trong vùng rủ nhau tới xem tấm thảm.
 figure man dance people in region call each.other come see CL carpet
Nhưng căn nhà của hai mẹ con thì chật hẹp mà người xem tới
 CONJ CL house POSS two mother son COP small CONJ person see come
quá đông nên không-ai nhìn rõ tấm thảm. Thế là hai mẹ
 too crowded CONJ nobody see clear CL carpet CONJ two mother
con đem treo tấm thảm ra sân để mọi người cùng nhìn rõ.
 son bring hang CL carpet out yard so-that everybody together see clear
Bỗng có một cơn gió mạnh thổi tới và cuốn tấm thảm bay đi.
 suddenly have one CL wind strong blow in and blow CL carpet fly RES

Bị mất tấm thảm, bà mẹ rất buồn rầu. Chàng trai an ủi mẹ:
 PASS loose **CL carpet**, CL mother very sad CL boy comfort mother
 – ‘*Mẹ đừng buồn, con sẽ đi tìm tấm thảm về cho mẹ.*’
 mother NEG sad 1.SG will go find **CL carpet** back for 2.SG
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a mother and her son who lived on weaving
 carpets ... Three months later, the mother had finished weaving a very beautiful
 carpet ([one CL N]). There were images of the sun, the moon, and stars on it and
 there were flying birds, deer running on the meadow and people dancing on the
 carpet ([CL N]). Citizens there called one another to come to see the carpet ([CL
 N]). However, the house of the mother and her son was too small for so many
 people who came to see the carpet, nobody [was able to] see [it] ([CL N]) clearly.
 Thus, they [the mother and her son] hung the carpet ([CL N]) up in the yard
 outside the house for everybody to see [it] clearly. Suddenly, there came a strong
 wind that blew the carpet ([CL N]) away. When the carpet ([CL N]) was lost, the
 mother was very sad. The young man tried to comfort [his] mother:
 - “Mother, please don’t be so sad, I will go to find the carpet ([CL N]) back for
 you.”

Other examples supporting this argument include (216) and (217), in which [-animate] nouns serving as protagonists always occur with a classifier. The first instance in (216) is taken from a story on the internet (cf. <http://www.truyenngan.com.vn/truyen-ngan/truyen-ngan-song/455-buc-tranh-bi-boi-ban.html>). It is called *bức tranh bị bôi bẩn* ‘The painting which was disfigured’. Again, the title clearly shows that the inanimate noun *bức tranh/ bức họa* [CL N] ‘the painting’ is a protagonist of the story. It is first introduced as *một tuyệt tác* ‘a beautiful work of art’.⁹² Then, in the remaining story, it always occurs with the classifier *bức* ‘CL_{for one-dimensional objects}’ appearing as *bức tranh/ bức họa* ‘painting’, no matter whether it is in the subject or the object position.

⁹² Note that *tuyệt tác* is a Chinese loanword 絕作; thus, it can combine directly with a numeral.

(216) *Bức tranh bị bôi bẩn* ‘the painting which was disfigured’

Có một anh chàng họa sĩ từ lâu ôm-áp ước-mơ để lại cho hậu thế
 have one CL male painter from long time embrace dream leave for posteriority
một tuyệt-tác... *Người họa sĩ làm việc miệt mài suốt nửa năm.*
 one wonderful-work CL painter work passionately during half year
Chàng say mê bức họa tới mức quên ăn quên ngủ. Khi bức
 3.SG passionate CL-painting till level forget eat forget sleep when CL
tranh hoàn thành, nó sẽ đưa tên tuổi của chàng sống mãi với
 painting complete 3.SG FUT give name age POSS 3.SG live forever PREP
thời gian... Cứ thế, chàng từ từ lùi ra xa để chiêm ngưỡng bức
 time CONJ 3.SG slowly go-backward-far to enjoy CL
tranh mà không biết rằng mình đang tiến tới mép sân thượng ...
 painting CONJ NEG know COMPL self PROG go to edge terrace
Bất chợt, một người đàn ông tiến tới giá vẽ. Ông ta chớp lấy một cây cọ
 Suddenly one CL man come-to easel 3.SG seize one CL brush
nhúng nó vào hộp màu và bôi nguệch ngoạc lên bức tranh.
 dip 3.SG into box colour and paint scribble on CL painting
 ‘There was a painter who had a dream a long time ago, in which he gave posterity
 a wonderful work. The painter worked passionately for half a year. He was so
 passionate about [his] painting that he forgot about eating and sleeping. When
 the painting was completed, it might make him become famous ... Thus, he kept
 moving backward to enjoy [his] painting without realizing that he was moving to
 the edge of the terrace ... Suddenly, there was a man coming toward the easel.
 He quickly took a brush, dipped it into the colour box and scribbled [something]
 onto the painting.’

Another story from the Internet with nouns having the features [-animate] and [+protagonist] is called *Vết nứt của viên kim cương* ‘The crack in the diamond’ (cf. <http://www.truyenngan.com.vn/truyen-ngan/truyen-ngan-song/27178-vet-nut-cua-vien-kim-cuong.html>). As shown in (217), the noun *kim cương* ‘diamond’ is first introduced with the indefinite construction [một CL N] appearing as *một viên kim cương* ‘a diamond’. Later on, it is always mentioned with the classifier *viên* ‘CL for (small) things in cubic shape’ appearing as *viên kim cương* [CL diamond], irrespective of which noun is used for denoting it (e.g. *viên kim cương* ‘diamond’ [CL diamond] or *viên đá quý* ‘precious stone’ [CL stone precious]). The noun *kim cương* ‘diamond’ is a Sino-Vietnamese loanword (金刚石 *jīngāngshí* ‘diamond’). This type of loanword normally does not take classifiers (cf. Section 4.1). However, it takes a classifier throughout this text because of its status as a protagonist in the text. The same rule also applies to the noun *vết nứt* ‘the crack’, which is also a foregrounded element in this text. This compound noun is formed by *vết* ‘a mark/smear’ and *nứt* ‘crackle’. Although compound nouns tend to occur without classifiers, *vết nứt* ‘the crack’ takes the general classifier *cái* because it is a foregrounded element in this context. *Vết nứt* ‘the crack’ of the diamond sets up the story line and leads the reader through the story.

(217) *Vết nứt của viên kim cương* ‘The crack of the diamond’

Một doanh nhân đã mua một viên kim cương khổng lồ ở Nam Phi,
 one businessman PERF buy **one CL diamond** huge in Africa
kích thước của nó bằng lòng đỏ trứng-gà. Người đàn ông rất buồn
 size POSS 3.SG equal yolk egg-chicken CL man very sad
vì phát hiện-ra một vết nứt bên trong viên đá quý này. Ông ta
 because discover-RES one CL crack inside **CL stone** precious DEM 3.SG
đưa viên kim cương cho thợ-kim-hoàn với hi vọng tư vấn sẽ làm gì
 give **CL diamond** PREP jeweller PREP hope consult FUT do thing
với cái vết nứt đó. Ông thợ lắc đầu và nói: ‘Viên kim cương
 with CÁI CL crack DEM CL jeweller shake head and say **CL diamond**
có thể chia ra hai phần, ...’ Cầm viên kim cương, cậu dùng búa đập một
 can divide RES two parts Take **CL diamond** 3.SG use axe hit one
nhát dứt khoát chia viên đá quý ra làm đôi không chút rụt rè ...’
 stroke decisively divide **CL stone** precious RES half NEG a.bit.of hesitate
 ‘A business man bought a huge diamond in Africa; it was as big as the yolk of an
 egg. However, the man was very sad, because he discovered a crack inside this
 precious stone. He gave the diamond to a jeweller with the hope that he could
 remove the crack for him. The jeweller shook his head and said: “The diamond
 can be divided into two, ...” [He] took the diamond and cut [it] hard into two
 parts with an axe without a moment’s hesitation ...’

The above three examples provide supporting evidence that the discourse factor of [+protagonist] has a stronger impact on the use of a classifier than the semantic factor of [+animate].

**7.2.2.2 Uniqueness/relationality and identifiability-based
definiteness**

Discourse and information structure do not only take influence on the presence or absence of a classifier in Vietnamese, they also affect its meaning (cf. Sections 2.5.4 and 4.4.6). This subsection provide evidence that the definiteness expressed by the classifier is discourse-based. The same subsection also shows how discourse enhances the use of classifiers with [+unique] nouns which otherwise show a strong preference to occur as bare nouns in our data (cf. Section 5.2).

With these properties, the definiteness associated with the classifier corresponds to the findings of Li and Bisang (2012: 17) on identifiability. As they show in example (218) from the Wu dialect of Fuyang, uniqueness is not a necessary condition for the definite interpretation of the [CL+N] construction. Unique concepts can be expressed either by bare nouns or by the [CL+N] construction. A [+unique] [-relational] noun like *thin* ‘sky’ in (218) occurs in its bare form if the sky is understood generically as the one and only one sky for all of us. Thus (218a) is a generic sentence expressing that the sky is blue in general. In contrast, the classifier in *ban thin* [CL sky] (218b) indicates that the speaker means the sky as it is relevant for a given speech situation with its temporal or spatial properties, and that s/he thinks that the hearer can identify it (Li and Bisang 2012: 17):

(218) Wu dialect of Fuyang (Li and Bisang 2012: 17)

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------|
| a. | <i>thin zi lan ko</i>
sky be blue SFP
‘The sky is blue (in general).’ | [generic] (Wu dialect) |
| b. | [ban thin] gintso man lan
CL sky today very blue
‘The sky is very blue today.’ | [episodic] |

If the sky is understood as unique (‘the sky is blue in general’), the noun appears in its bare form (*thin* ‘sky’, in (218a)). In an episodic sentence like (218b), the speaker refers to the sky as it is familiar to both the speaker and the addressee in the situation of speech. In such

a situation can optionally use a classifier. Thus, the use of a classifier in its definite function is determined by familiarity and identifiability rather than by uniqueness.

In Vietnamese, the situation seems to be similar. Since finding examples like (218) needs a much larger corpus than the two corpora used here, we present another example from a Vietnamese dictionary in (219) (Nguyen, K.T. et al. 2005:116 and 1686). As is explained in that dictionary, *trời* ‘sky’ (219a) refers to the endless outer space seen from the earth, whereas *bầu trời* ‘sky’ [CL sky] (219b) denotes the inner space seen from the earth. This explanation is compatible with the idea that *trời* indicates the sky in its generic function with the properties it is usually associated with, while *bầu trời* [CL sky] refers to the sky as it is familiar to the speaker in the moment of speech and as it can be identified by the speaker and the hearer in a shared environment.

(219) a. *Trời đầy sao.*

sky tonight full star

‘The sky is full of stars tonight.’

b. *Bầu trời đầy sao.*

CL sky tonight full star

‘THE sky is full of stars tonight.’

Further evidence for the discourse dependency of classifier use with [+unique] nouns comes from the fact that the noun *trời* ‘sky’ can take several different classifiers, e.g. *bầu trời* [CL:round sky], *khung trời* [CL:frame sky], or *vùng trời* [CL:area sky], etc. The selection of a specific classifier out of a set of possible classifiers depends on the particular property of the sky the speaker wants to highlight for facilitating its identifiability to the hearer. In such a situation, selecting a particular classifier is even compulsory:

(220) * (*Khung/Bầu/Vùng*) *trời mơ ước của hai chúng ta đây rồi!*

CL sky dream POSS two 2.PL here SFP

‘Our dream sky/world is here!’

Since the sky is described here from the perspective of a clearly identifiable entity as it is relevant to the current context, the use of a classifier is strongly preferred. Thus, it is proposed that the function of classifiers with this type of noun is to situate the concept they express in the discourse situation. If a classifier is used with unique nouns, e.g. ‘sky’ or ‘earth, ground’, it indicates that the speaker is referring to [the] sky or [the] earth as it currently presents itself at the moment of speech.

In other examples of non-sortal nouns with a classifier in (221), the [+unique, -relational] noun *đất* ‘earth, ground’ is marked by the classifier *mặt* ‘face/surface’ in a situation of contrastive focus. As in the case of the sky in (220), this noun is also compatible with other classifiers, among them *mảnh/miếng* ‘piece’ and *vùng* ‘area’. In example (221), a classifier is used with unique nouns *đất* ‘earth, ground, land’, it indicates that the speaker is referring to [the] land as it currently presents itself at the moment of her speech. The land is presented here from the perspective of a clearly identifiable entity as it is relevant to the current context, thus, the use of a classifier is also strongly preferred. The selection of a concrete classifier depends again on the properties of the concept expressed by the noun as they matter for the speech situation.

(221) *Em đang nghĩ về *(vùng/mảnh/miếng) đất hứa của chúng ta.*

1.SG PROG think PREP CL land promised POSS two 2.PL

‘I am thinking of our promised land.’

Nouns with the feature of [+unique] very rarely occur with a classifiers in the [CL+N] constructions (cf. Section 5.2 on the strong preference of sortal nouns ([-unique]/[-relational])). Moreover, the majority of definite classifiers (98%) is used in anaphoric contexts, in which a previously introduced concept is taken up with a classifier for pointing out the speaker’s assumption that it can be identified by the hearer. Even two of the four non-sortal nouns with a classifier get their classifier in an anaphoric context (cf. (139) and (140) in Section 5.2; for the other two, cf. following subsection 7.2.2.3 on focus/topic). Taken together, these facts are strong indicators that the definiteness expressed by the classifier rather marks pragmatic definiteness than semantic definiteness in terms of Löbner (1985). In the framework of Schwarz (2009, 2013), Vietnamese definite classifiers rather express anaphoric or ‘strong’ definiteness than unique or ‘weak’ definiteness.

7.2.2.3 Information structure and relationality/ uniqueness

Focus and topic in comparison to relationality/uniqueness provide additional evidence for the higher impact of discourse/information structure on classifier selection than semantics. While non-sortal nouns (nouns with [+relational] or [+unique]) rarely take a classifier, section 4.2 showed that contrastive topics generally take a classifier and section 5.2 presented examples in which classifiers are used in contrastive focus and in combination with focus particles.

In (222), an additional example of the noun *đất* ‘earth/ground’ with the features [+unique, -relational] is presented. This noun is interpreted as definite by the classifier *mặt*⁹³ for flat surfaces because in the context of contrastive focus. The informant starts her story from the perspective of the protagonist, a gardener/farmer, who is up ‘on a tree and is concentrated on plucking pears’. After having described a series of the farmer’s actions as well as a series of events that happened under the tree, the informant inserted her thoughts about the reason why the boy decided to steal the basket of fruits. For that purpose, she contrasts the positions of the farmer, who was concentrating on plucking pears ‘up on the tree’ (*ở trên cây*) and the boy, who was standing ‘down on the ground’ (*ở dưới mặt đất*) without being noticed by the farmer. In sentences 19 and 20 of (222), the informants’ focus moves from the farmer up in the tree to the position of the fruits rolling everywhere on the ground. The verbal construction *lăn long lóc* ‘roll everywhere’ indicates that she moves her vision along with the rolling of the fruits everywhere on the ground.

⁹³ *Mặt* has the meaning of ‘face’. In this context, it is a classifier for objects with a flat surface. As a full noun, it can be interpreted as a [+relational] noun as in *mặt bàn* [surface table] ‘the surface of the table’.

(222) (*Oral text 11, sentence 13 and 19, 20*)

¹³*Người làm vườn này quá tập trung và hình như là không chú ý
 CL gardener DEM so concentrate and seem COP NEG notice
 gì ở dưới mặt đất nữa.
 anything down CL ground anymore*

^{19,20}*Chiếc xe đâm vào một tảng đá bự dọc đường và đổ cái rổ trái cây
 CL bike hit into one CL stone big along street and fall CL fruit-basket
 của mình. À, rồi à, mọi thứ lăn long lóc trên mặt đất.
 of self PART then PART every thing roll and roll on CL ground*

‘This gardener was so concentrated [on plucking pears] and it seemed that he did not notice anything [happened] down on the ground anymore... The bicycle hit into a big stone along the street, [that made] his fruit-basket fell. Hmm... then ... hm ... everything [the fruits] rolled everywhere on the ground.’

Generally, classifiers primarily occur with sortal nouns [-unique, -relational], while [+relational] and [+unique] nouns tend to appear in their bare form. If non-sortal nouns take a classifier in our examples from the corpus, they do this in the context of topic or focus).

7.2.3 Interim Summary

In summary, the occurrence of a classifier depends on different factors and contexts. The discussion in this Section has shown that syntactic factors are less important for the use of a classifier than semantic factors (Subsection 7.2.1) and that discourse factors have in turn a stronger impact on classifier use than semantic factors (Subsection 7.2.2).

Subsection 7.2.1 provided evidence that definiteness and animacy trigger nouns in the subject position to occur with a classifier. Thus, it is not the syntactic position of subject that determines the use of a classifier but rather the animacy and the definiteness of the noun in that position.

Subsection 7.2.2 on the relevance of discourse and information structure for the use of a classifier showed that the discourse feature of [protagonist] has a stronger impact on classifier use than the semantic feature of [animate] (Subsection 7.2.2.1). The dominance of information structure over the semantic features of [+relational] and [+unique] was shown in Subsection 7.2.2.2 and the overall relevance of discourse/information structure for the meaning of the definiteness associated with the classifier was described in subsection 7.2.2.3. Thus, Vietnamese classifiers are associated with pragmatic definiteness (Löbner 1985, 2011) or strong definiteness (Schwarz (2009, 2013)).

The above findings show that the presence of a classifier is subject to a hierarchy of the following structure:

discourse and information structure ([+protagonist], [+topic], [+focus],
[+specific]) > semantic ([+definite], [+animate]) > syntactic ([+subject])

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the major findings of this study based on the research questions which are mentioned in Section 1.3, and proposes directions for future research.

8.1 MAIN RESULT OF THIS STUDY

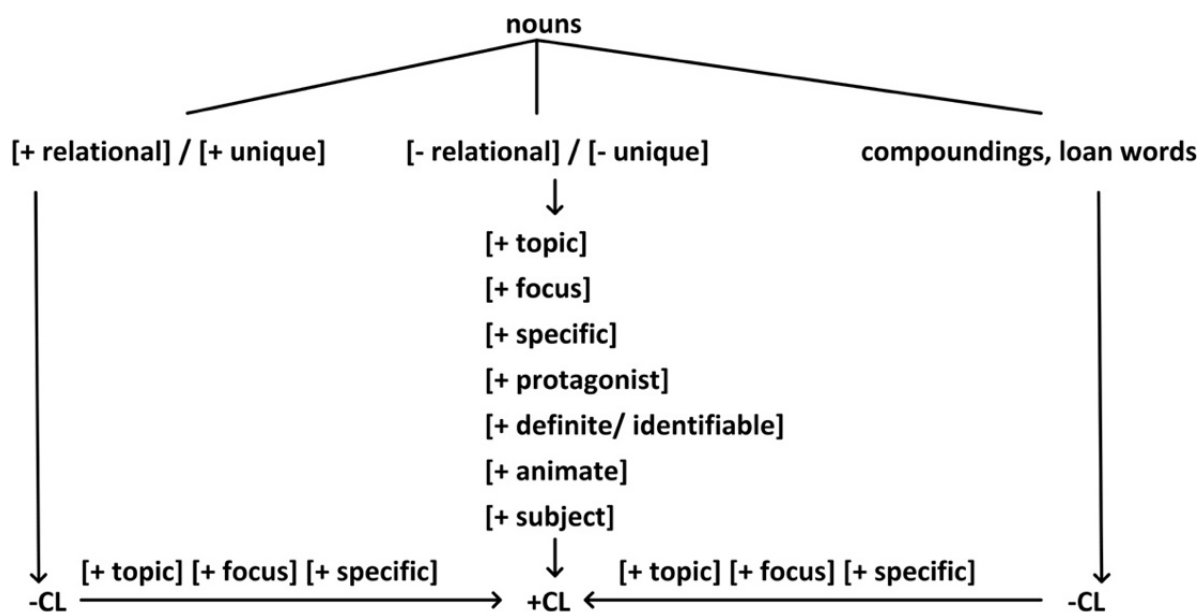
The results of this study have shown that the occurrence of a classifier is associated with various prominence-based criteria in terms of discourse, semantic, and syntactic factors. The main findings can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The overwhelming majority of nouns occurring with a classifier are sortal nouns [-unique, -relational]. Nouns with the features of [+relational] and [+unique] tend to appear in their bare form (cf. Chapters 5, 6 and 7).
- (ii) The occurrence of classifiers clusters with the following factors: protagonist(s), topic, focus, definiteness, specificity, animacy and the subject position. In contrast, the occurrence of bare nouns clusters with loanwords, backgrounding, relationality/uniqueness, and non-specific indefiniteness (cf. Sections 4.1, 4.4, 5.1, and 5.2).
- (iii) Classifiers express definiteness as well as indefiniteness, but there is a clear preference for using classifiers in definite contexts. If one considers both word order and animacy, one can see that classifiers are found prototypically with definite animate nouns in the subject position. In contrast, bare nouns show higher token frequency in the object position with definite inanimate nouns.
- (iv) There are certain semantic environments which support the indefinite interpretation of a classifier:
 - a. Indefinite subjects are found in thetical statements (cf. Section 6.2.2).
 - b. Indefinite objects of verbs introducing new concepts in referential existential clauses (constructions with the verbs *có* ‘there is/are’ and *là* ‘be’), constructions with verbs of appearance and [verb + achievement] constructions (cf. Section 6.2.3).
 - c. The indefinite function of classifiers can also be found in contexts of specificity (e.g. referential specific, noteworthiness, indefinite

demonstrative) and in the case of ‘information focus extra *cái*’ (common ground management) (cf. Section 4.4).

- (v) Discourse and information structure play the most important role in determining the function as well as the presence/absence of a classifier:
 - a. The definiteness expressed by classifiers is based on identifiability in discourse (cf. Section 7.2.2), and the indefiniteness expressed by classifiers is associated with specificity (cf. Section Section 4.4);
 - b. Information structure strongly affects the use of classifiers and their function in terms of definiteness vs. indefiniteness (cf. especially Section 6.2.2 for indefiniteness and theticity, Sections 6.2.3 and 4.4 for indefiniteness and specificity, and Section 7.2.3).
- (vi) There are two types of ‘extra *cái*’ constructions in Vietnamese: one is ‘topicalized extra *cái*’ and the other is ‘focus extra *cái*’. The syntactic position of the former, which has a definite interpretation, is in the head D position, whereas latter is placed in the FocP which is projected by CLP as it is open to either definite or indefinite interpretation. More specifically, Section 6.3 showed that [+identificational/contrastive focus] features can cause the whole ‘extra *cái*’ classifier construction and the whole numeral (except *một* ‘one’) ‘extra *cái*’ classifier construction to move to Spec-DemP to get definite interpretation.
- (vii) Prominence-based criteria affecting classifier use in Vietnamese can be summarized as follows in Figure 7-1:

Figure 8-1: Prominence-based criteria affecting classifier use in Vietnamese.



These results tie in with more general typological aspects, as well as with findings from other languages with numeral classifiers expressing definiteness and indefiniteness.

The observations in (i) confirms and further specifies the findings of Simpson (2017: 324) on the Wu variety of Jinyun that nouns denoting ‘specifically unique individuals/elements’ predominantly appear as bare nouns [N]. These results show the potential relevance of Löbner’s (1985, 2011) four basic types of nouns for understanding the association of classifiers in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages with definiteness and indefiniteness.

The results in (ii) show that classifiers in Vietnamese are strongly associated with prominence-based criteria. Nouns that lack prominence ([+backgrounded], [-specific]) tend to remain unmarked. This finding relates to Lambrecht’s (1994) notion of pragmatic salience in discourse and von Heusinger’s (2011) notions of specificity, referentiality, and discourse prominence.

The findings in (iii) reflect a universal tendency to associate animate subjects in clause-initial positions of SVO languages with definiteness (Keenan and Comrie 1977, Givón 1979, DuBois 1987, inter alia). This tendency is also well-known for word order in Sinitic languages (Li and Thompson 1976, Sun and Givón 1985, LaPolla 1995). Chen (2004:1166)

talks about definiteness-inclined preverbal positions and indefiniteness-inclined postverbal positions in Mandarin Chinese. As can be seen from the results on Vietnamese, the interpretation of the classifier in terms of definiteness vs. indefiniteness is not as rigidly determined by word order as in Cantonese or in the Wu dialect of Fuyang (cf. the discussion of (175) and (176) in Section 6.2). Finding the reasons for this difference will certainly require more research based on more data.

In the case of Sinitic, Li and Bisang (2012) argue that the definiteness interpretation of subjects is due to a process of grammaticalization in which the definiteness properties of the topic position were passed on to the subject position (cf. the classical grammaticalization pathway from information structure to syntax in Givón 1979). Similarly, the observation on Sinitic languages that postverbal [CL+N] constructions are preferably indefinite, but do not exclude definiteness, can be derived from the association of informational focus with the postverbal position (Xu 2004). As Lambrecht (1994:262) points out, focus differs from topic in that it tends to be non-identifiable or pragmatically non-salient in discourse but it does not exclude identifiability or salience. For that reason, it is open to both indefinite and definite interpretation, even though the default interpretation is indefinite. If this analysis is true, one may argue that in Sinitic the classifier in [CL+N] is like a variable that takes on the [\pm definite] function that corresponds to its syntactic position if it is not overwritten by some stronger factors. In Vietnamese, this scenario turns out to be problematic because the classifier generally favours definite interpretation (cf. point (i) above). Even in the postverbal position, 83% of the [CL+N] constructions are definite (cf. Section 6.2.1), a percentage that does not harmonize with the default interpretation of postverbal informational focus or specificity. A solution that immediately comes to mind is the claim that the classifier has reached a higher degree of grammaticalization with a clear tendency toward definiteness in Vietnamese, but that is rather an *ad hoc* solution which needs further substantiation in future research.

Even though the factors of semantics (animacy, uniqueness, relationality) and syntax (subject, object) clearly have their impact on the presence or absence of the classifier in contexts of definiteness and indefiniteness, discourse and information structure are potentially stronger (cf. points (v) and (vi) above). The dominance of discourse factors is not only reflected in the question of whether a classifier is used, it is also directly encoded in the type of definiteness that is expressed by the classifier. As discussed in Section 2.4.4.1, classifiers mark identifiability rather than uniqueness (cf. also Li and Bisang 2012 on

Sinitic). Thus, they express pragmatic definiteness rather than semantic definiteness in terms of Löbner (1985, 2011) or anaphoric ('strong') definiteness rather than unique ('weak') definiteness in terms of Schwarz (2009, 2013). In addition to the discourse-based definiteness expressed by the classifier, contrastive topics (Section 4.2) as well as contrastive focus and focus particles (Section 5.2) enhance the probability of the use of the [CL+N] construction. Thetic statements as another instantiation of information structure play an important role in the indefinite interpretation of [CL+N] in the subject position (Section 6.2.2). The indefinite interpretation of [CL+N] in the object position marked by information structure is presented by information focus and specificity (Sections 4.4, 6.2.3, and 6.3).

Finally, there are more specific environments, as mentioned in points (iv), (v) and (vi), which support the use of a classifier in contexts of indefinite interpretation (Sections 4.4, 6.2.2, 6.2.3, and 6.3).

From a more general perspective, our study has shown that the definiteness or indefiniteness expressed by classifiers in Vietnamese depends on factors of semantics, syntax, discourse, and information structure that are well-known from numerous studies of other languages. What makes the data on Vietnamese and other East and mainland Southeast Asian languages particularly relevant from a typological perspective is the observation that the weighting of these factors differs cross-linguistically. In Vietnamese, discourse factors are particularly prominent. For further corroborating these observations and for comparing them with the situation in other mainland Southeast Asian languages one would need a much larger corpus. We understand the corpus discussed here to be a starting point for Vietnamese.

8.2 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Having summarized the results and discussions of this study, here are some suggestions for further research.

This study provided a preliminary examination of the interaction of classifiers with semantic noun types (as shown in Table 1-1; Löbner 1985). However, our findings show that some special structures, such as structures with verbs of appearance and [verb + achievement] constructions are also related to the presence of a classifier in Vietnamese

(cf. Sections 6.2.3.2 and 6.2.3.3). A suggestion that comes to mind immediately is that verb classes might also affect classifier use and their interpretation in Vietnamese. It would be interesting to conduct a survey to discover more prominent elements or factors that condition classifier use in Vietnamese from the perspective of verb classes and aspect markers. Considering the contrastive interpretations between the two sentences in (223), it is found that [CL N] gets a definite interpretation when occurring with the perfective aspectual construction *đã ...rồi* and the achievement verb *mua được* ‘be able to buy’, especially with the final particle *nhé*. This implies that the speaker wants to confirm the information to the hearer (cf. 223b). In contrast, the [CL N] construction in (223a) occurs in an environment without perfective aspectual marking or a sentence final particle ‘*nhé/nhá/nha*’. Thus it is interpreted as indefinite. The factor that triggers classifier selection in this context is specificity because the noun for ‘book’ must be specific in the context of (223a). In other words, example (223a) refers to a speaker-known referent, while (223b) indicates a referent which is speaker-known and hearer-known.

(223) a. *Tôi đi mua cuốn sách rồi về liền.*

1.SG go buy CL book then back immediately

‘I am going to buy **a book**. Then I will be back immediately.’

b. *Tôi đã mua được cuốn sách rồi nhé!*

1.SG PERF buy RES CL book already SFP.

‘Hey, I bought **the book** already!’

More generally, it is possible that the classifier has reached a higher degree of grammaticalization with a clear tendency towards definiteness in Vietnamese. But that is a rather *ad hoc* solution which needs further substantiation (cf. Section 8.1). Thus, it would be interesting to conduct a more comprehensive survey on classifiers in the context of indefiniteness for providing stronger evidence for this argument.

Of particular interest is that Sino-Vietnamese words (which are called non-classified nouns by Emeneau 1951 and Simpson 2018, *inter alia*) seem to behave differently from other ‘pure’ Vietnamese nouns (which are called ‘obligatory-classifier’ or ‘classified’ nouns by the same authors). There may exist two rules for Vietnamese numeral classifier patterns: one rule for patterns with Sino-Vietnamese words and another rule for regular or ‘pure’ Vietnamese words (cf. 2.2.1). Moreover, it is found that the former can function as specific markers, while the latter are used for counting (cf. example (238) for [NUM+Sino-Vietnamese] vs. [NUM+CL_{spec}+Sino-Vietnamese]).

Considering example (224), both (a) and (b) are interpreted as indefinite. However, example (224b) refers to a specific referent, while the other implies a non-specific referent (224a). From this example, it can be argued that:

- (i) There are two parallel numeral classifier patterns in Vietnamese: the pattern [NUM+Sino-Vietnamese] corresponds to [NUM+CL+N], while [NUM+CL+Sino-Vietnamese] corresponds to the indefinite [CL + N] construction.
- (ii) Classifiers in Vietnamese are associated with the feature of [+specific], especially in the context of referring/specific indefiniteness. However, this argument needs more research based on more data.

- (224) a. *Cô ấy sắp kết hôn với một anh kiến trúc sư*
 3.SG near-FUT marry PREP one CL architect
dù không biết rõ về anh ta. [indefinite, referring]
 though NEG know well PREP Him
 # *dù không quen ai làm nghề này.* [indefinite, non-referring]
 though NEG know who do job DEM.
 ‘She is going to marry an architect
 though she does not know him well.
 # though she does not know anyone (with this job).’
- b. *Cô ấy muốn kết hôn với một kiến trúc sư*
 3.SG want marry PREP one architect
 # *dù không biết rõ về anh ta.* [indefinite, referring]
 though NEG know well PREP Him
dù không quen ai làm nghề này. [indefinite, non-referring]
 though NEG know who do job DEM.
 ‘She wants to marry an architect
 # though she does not know him well.
 though she does not know anyone (with this job).’

Finally, Simpson & Ngo (2018) argue that a non-classified noun can occur directly with a numeral as well as with ‘extra *cái*’ because it can function as a classifier by N-to-CL movement. However, we consider the non-classified nouns which are mentioned in the study optional-classifier nouns, because most of the examples are Sino-Vietnamese. If Sino-Vietnamese nouns take classifiers optionally (cf. Section 2.2.6 and examples (62) and (63) in Section 2.2.3.2 Simpson (2005, 2018)), one can assume that the classifier *cái* with Sino-Vietnamese nouns corresponds to ‘extra *cái*’ (one may talk about ‘extra *cái*’+ non-classified nouns’ in this case). Thus, *hai cái hệ thống* [two ‘extra *cái*’ CL system] in (225) can be interpreted as ‘two systems’ in the context of (225a) and ‘THE two systems’ in the

context of (225b). In (225a), the ‘two systems’ are information focus ‘extra cái’, while they are identificational focus ‘extra cái’ in (225b). Note that the modificational parts in the example are optional (cf. Section 6.3 for two types of ‘extra cái’).

(225) a. *Tôi có hai cái hệ thống (này), nhờ anh kiểm tra giúp.*

1.SG exist two CL_{Foc[-DEF]+Spec} system DEM ask for 2.SG check help

‘I have (these_{indef}) **two systems** and I would like to ask you to check them for me.’

b. *Hai cái hệ thống (tôi nhờ anh), anh kiểm tra xong chưa?*

two CL_{DEF.top+Spec} system I have you 2.SG check finish yet

‘THE two systems (that I had you check for me), have you finished (them) yet?’

Thus, it would be interesting to conduct a survey on the functions of classifiers in these two patterns for answering the following questions:

- (i) Are there two parallel numeral classifier systems in Vietnamese?
- (ii) If yes, is there any distinction between them?
- (iii) If there is only one system, should we conclude that there are no non-classified nouns in Vietnamese, arguing that optional-classifier nouns are Sino-Vietnamese words?

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Token frequency of nouns denoting [±protagonist] occurring with/without CL in subject and object positions in 30 written texts.

Informants	[+protagonist]												[-protagonist]							
	Husband				Wife				Son				Mother (in law)				Colleague/partner/bo ss			
	+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL	
	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0	S	0
1	31	4	0	0	9	4	0	5	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
2	16	6	0	1	11	2	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	12	0	0	3	7	1	1	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
4	7	3	0	0	11	2	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
5	16	1	0	1	11	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	12	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
7	16	1	0	0	13	3	0	2	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	40	0	0	2	17	0	0	9	9	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	9	5	0	0	8	3	0	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
10	12	0	0	5	8	0	1	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
11	18	1	0	1	15	4	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
12	7	5	0	0	11	3	0	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1
13	21	2	0	2	12	2	0	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
14	36	1	0	0	24	0	0	3	11	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
15	29	4	0	1	13	2	0	1	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
16	29	5	1	4	16	5	0	5	8	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
17	13	2	0	0	9	0	0	6	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Appendices

18	4	1	0	2	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
19	3	0	0	2	7	0	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
20	18	2	0	1	10	4	1	1	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	10	0	0	0	9	1	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	11	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	30	5	0	0	11	3	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0
24	29	2	0	0	14	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
25	6	3	0	0	5	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	22	1	0	0	15	5	0	0	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
27	19	4	0	1	12	2	0	1	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	0
28	14	3	0	1	8	5	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
29	19	2	0	0	14	1	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
30	18	4	0	0	7	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	52	6	1	2	32	6	6	5	12	3	0	1	5	4	0	8	23	14	2	7
	6	8		7	2	2		9	1	1		3								

Appendix 2. Token frequency of nouns denoting [\pm protagonist] occurring with/without CL in subject and object positions in 30 oral texts.

Informants	[+protagonist]								[-protagonist]															
	Farmer				Boy				Girl				Other boy(s)				Man/shepherd				Goat/mule/cal f			
	+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL	
	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O
1	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
2	4	2	0	0	8	5	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
3	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
4	3	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
5	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
6	4	1	0	0	5	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	7	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
7	2	1	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	4	1	0	0	7	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
9	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	6	0	0	0	8	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
12	3	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
17	3	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendices

20	4	1	0	0	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
22	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
23	2	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	8	1	0	0	8	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
25	6	3	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	1	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	8	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
29	1	1	0	0	9	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
30	2	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
	7	1	1	0	1	7	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	8	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	9	0	0	0	0
	9	3			1	7			7	1			4				7				9					
					4																					

Appendix 3. Examples of protagonists which are interpreted as indefinite occurring in subject positions in 30 written texts and 30 oral texts.

1. Oral texts 18, sentence 1 (1x)

Nông dân là một người đàn-ông nam, mập, râu thì râu quai nón mà

farmer COP one CL man male fat face hair COP beard
CONJ

màu đỏ.⁹⁴

colour red

‘[The] farmer was a man, who was fat and had a beard, but his beard was red.’

2. Written texts 1, sentence 1-2 (1x)

Chiếc đồng hồ báo thức reo lên báo hiệu đã tám giờ sáng.

CL clock alarm ring on signalling asp 8 o'clock morning

Người đàn ông mở mắt liếc nhìn sang vợ-mình.

CL man open eye glance toward wife-self

‘[The] alarm clock rang to signal that it was already 8:00 in the morning. [A] man opened his eye and glanced at his wife.’

3. Written texts 2, sentence 3 (1x)

Đứa bé thức dậy, hất một ly nước vào cha.

Cl-boy wake up throw one CL water onto father

‘[The] boy woke up, threw a glass of water onto the father.’

⁹⁴ In Vietnamese, *râu* is a general word for face hair. Vietnamese men mostly have moustaches, therefore *râu* has a default interpretation of ‘moustache’, not ‘beard’. Thus, this informant wants to emphasise that the man (the farmer) in the movie has a beard, as compared with a moustache.

4. Written texts 4, sentence 3 (1x)

Đứa bé là con trai của hai vợ chồng lấy ly nước và đổ vào

CL kid COP CL son POSS two wife husband take CL water and pour onto

người cha để đánh thức ông dậy.

CL father to wake him up

‘[The] boy, son of the couple, took a glass of water and poured it onto the father to wake him up.’

5. Written texts 5, sentence 1-2 (2x)

Buổi sáng, cậu bé thức dậy, lấy ly nước tạt vào người bố đang ngủ để

morning CL boy wake up take CL water throw onto CL father PROG sleep to

đánh thức ông.

wake up him

‘In the morning, [the] boy woke up. He took a glass of water and poured it onto the father who was sleeping in order to wake him up.’

6. Written texts 6, sentence 1 (2x)

Vào 8 giờ sáng, ở một ngôi nhà nọ, khi chuông-đồng hồ-báo thức,

at 8 o'clock morning in one CL house certain when bell-clock-alarm

reo vang, người chồng giật mình thức dậy lên nhìn qua người vợ nằm

ring loud CL husband startle awake stealthy look toward CL wife lie

giường bên kia. Trong khi đó, đứa bé trai - con của họ đã thức dậy trước đó.

bed opposite CONJ CL boy son POSS them PERF wake up before

‘At 8:00 in the morning, in a house, when the alarm clock rang aloud, [the] husband was startled and woke up. He stealthily looked toward his wife who was lying on the bed opposite. Meanwhile, [the] boy- their son- had already woken up before.’

7. Written texts 8, sentence 1-4 (1x)

Đồng hồ báo thức lúc 8 giờ sáng. Anh-chồng bị đánh thức bởi

clock alarm at 8 o'clock morning CL-husband PASS awaken by

tiếng chuông, nhưng anh ta tiếp tục ngủ. Cô vợ vẫn ngủ say

sound- bell CONJ 3.SG continue sleep CL wife still sleep well

Đứa bé thức dậy, đánh vào cha mình làm ông ấy tỉnh giấc.

CL kid wake up hit PREP father self make 3.SG wake up

‘[The] clock alarmed at 8:00 in the morning. [The] husband was awakened by the alarm, but he slept again. [His] wife still slept well after the alarm. [The] kid woke up, hit his father to wake him up.’

8. Written texts 11, sentence 1 (1x)

Tám giờ sáng, đứa con trai thức dậy khi mà cha mẹ nó còn đang ngủ.

eight o'clock morning CL son wake up when_{RC} parents 3.SG still PROG sleep

‘8:00 in the morning, the son got up when his parents still slept.’

9. Written texts 12, sentence 3 (1x)

Chiếc đồng hồ báo thức reo lên lúc 8 giờ đúng.

CL clock alarm ring up at 8 o'clock exactly

Người đàn ông đang ngủ thì bị nước văng tung tóe vào mặt.

CL man PROG sleep CONJ PASS water splatter onto face

‘[The] alarm clock rang at exactly 8:00 in the morning. [The] man who was sleeping had water splattered onto his face.’

10. Written texts 14, sentence 1-4 (3x)

Đồng hồ báo thức reo đúng 8 giờ sáng. Người đàn ông đeo kính tỉnh giấc, chợt mở mắt nhìn, lơ nó đi và tiếp tục ngủ. Ở phía bên kia, người phụ nữ (có lẽ là vợ của anh ta) vẫn ngủ ngon lành. Chỉ có đứa bé đã ngồi dậy và trông có vẻ hốt hoảng.

alarm clock ring right 8 o'clock morning CL man wear eye-glass awoke suddenly open eyes look ignore 3.SG RES and continue sleep PREP side other CL woman (maybe COP wife POSS him) still sleep soundly only CL boy PERF sit up and look panic

‘[The] alarm clock rang at 8:00 in the morning. [The] man who wore glasses awoke, he opened his eyes and looked around, then he continued sleeping...On the other side, [the] woman (maybe his wife) still slept soundly. Only [the] boy got up already and looked panicked.’

11. Written texts 16, sentence 1-4 (2x)

Vào lúc tám giờ sáng, chuông báo thức reo. Người bố tỉnh dậy nhưng không thèm thức và ngủ tiếp. Người vợ thì vẫn ngủ ngon như

at (time point) eight o'clock morning bell alarm ring CL father awake CONJ NEG want get up and sleep continue CL wife COP still sleep soundly as if

không nghe-thấy gì. Còn đứa con thì thức dậy và đi đến giường của người bố.

NEG hear anything CONJ CL son COP get-up and go to bed POSS CL father

‘At 8:00 in the morning, [the] alarm bell rang. [The] father woke up, but he did not want to get up, he continued sleeping. [The] wife was still sleeping well as if she heard nothing. Meanwhile, the son got up and went toward the father’s bed.’

12. Written texts 17, sentence 1 (1x)

Lúc 8 giờ sáng, đồng hồ-báo thức reo-lên. Người chồng mở mắt ra

at 8 o'clock morning alarm-clock ring-up CL husband open eye out

nhưng chưa thấy vợ mình ngủ dậy nên nhắm mắt lại ngủ tiếp.

CONJ NEG see wife self wake up therefore close eye RES sleep continue.

‘At 8:00 in the morning, [the] alarm clock rang. [The] husband opened his eyes but he saw his wife didn’t get up; thus, he closed his eyes and continued sleeping.’

13. Written texts 23, sentence 1 (2x)

Kim-đồng hồ-báo thức chỉ đúng 8 giờ sáng.

wise-clock-alarm point right 8 o'clock morning

Ông bố và bà mẹ đang ngủ trên hai chiếc giường riêng biệt...

CL father and CL mother PROG sleep on two CL bed separately

‘[The] clockwise of the alarm clock pointed 8:00 in the morning. [The] father and [the] mother were sleeping on two separate beds.’

Appendix 4. Examples of contrastive topics in 30 written texts and 30 oral texts

Text	Examples in Oral texts
Note	No examples in Texts 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29.
1	<p>S15. <i>Người vợ nói chuyện điện thoại, trong khi đó, người chồng đi vào nhà tắm.</i> CL wife talk telephone meanwhile CL husband go into bathroom ‘The wife was telephoning, meanwhile, the husband went to the bathroom.’</p> <p>S17. <i>Người đàn ông mở nước nóng chuẩn bị tắm, trong lúc đó người vợ vẫn đang nói chuyện điện thoại với mẹ cô ấy.</i> CL man open water hot prepare bathing meanwhile người vợ vẫn đang nói chuyện điện thoại với mẹ cô ấy. CL wife still PROG talk telephone with mother her ‘The man opened the hot water tap preparing to take a shower, meanwhile, the wife kept on talking with her mother on telephone.’</p>
2	<p>S13. <i>Trong khi, người vợ tiếp điện thoại của mẹ-mình, người chồng</i> while CL wife catch telephone POSS mother-self CL husband <i>đành bỏ đi vào nhà tắm.</i> must leave for bathroom ‘While the wife was catching her mother’s telephone call, the husband left for the bathroom.’</p>
3	<p>7. <i>Người vợ tiếp điện thoại, trong khi anh chồng bắt đầu vào</i> CL wife talk telephone while CL husband began enter <i>nhà tắm kỳ cọ trong bồn đầy xà bông.</i> bathroom scrub in tub full soap ‘The wife was talking on the phone, while the husband began getting in the bath and scrubbed himself in the bathtub full of soap.’</p>
4	<p>S8. <i>Con dê thì nó muốn ăn cái trái đó nhưng mà cái ông đó ổng</i></p>

	<p>CL goat COP 3.SG want eat CL fruit DEM CONJ CL man DEM 3.SG <i>kéo nó đi ra khỏi cái đường đó để-cho nó khỏi ăn cái cái trái lê.</i> pull it go out of CL way DEM so-that 3.SG NEG eat CL CL CL pear ‘The goat, it wanted to eat those fruits, but the man pulled it out of that place, so that he could not eat the pears.’</p>
F5	<p>14. <i>Người chồng lấy kéo, cắt đứt dây điện thoại,</i> CL husband take scissors cut off cord telephone <i>trong khi, cô vợ đang nói chuyện.</i> meanwhile CL wife PROG talk. ‘The husband took a pair of scissors, cut the telephone cord off while the wife was talking on the phone.’</p>
6	<p>S31. <i>Sau khi mà đỡ giỏ lê lên cho thằng bé rồi thì thằng bé tập tễnh</i> after lift CL pear on for CL boy already COP CL boy limping <i>dắt xe đi vài bước, còn bọn trẻ thì đi theo hướng ngược lại.</i> lead bike go few step CONJ CL kid COP go toward opposite ‘After lifted the basket of pears for the boy, the boy led the bike limpingly, while the other boys walked in the opposite directions.’</p> <p>S41. <i>Ba thằng bé đi thẳng, còn ông đó thì đứng lại.</i> three CL boy go straight CONJ man Dem COP stand still ‘Those three boys went straight, whereas the man stood still.’</p>
9	<p>S16. <i>Thì giúp đỡ xong, ba người bạn nhỏ này đi</i> COP help RES three CL friend little DEM go <i>một-cách-rất-là-vô-tư, còn cái bé còn lại thì chạy xe đi mất.</i> disinterestedly CONJ CL CL remain COP ride bike go away ‘After helping the boy, these three little boys left disinterestedly, while, the boy led the bike walking away.’</p>

<p>11</p>	<p>S9. <i>À, dê này rất thích ăn trái cây, nó đã xuyết hót cái đống</i></p> <p>SPF goat DEM very like eat fruit 3.SG PERF almost eat CL CL</p> <p><i>trái cây của ông đi rồi, nhưng mà lúc đó thì</i></p> <p>fruit POSS him away already CONJ time that COMP</p> <p><i>người chăn dê đã kịp kéo con dê đi.</i></p> <p>CL goatherd PERF in time pull CL goat go</p> <p>‘Well, this goat liked fruits very much, he almost ate a heap of fruits in the basket, meanwhile, at that time, the goatherd pulled it away from the basket of pears in time.’</p>
<p>12</p>	<p>S15. <i>Thì à, xong rồi cậu bé tiếp tục đi còn ba anh em</i></p> <p>COMP SPF, then CL boy continue go, CONJ three brothers</p> <p><i>thì đi về hướng bác nông dân đang hái trái cây.</i></p> <p>COP go toward CL farmer PROG pick fruit</p> <p>‘Then, the boy continued going, while those three brothers went toward the place where the farmer was picking fruits.’</p>
<p>13</p>	<p>S30. <i>Người kể: ‘không, cái thằng này té, còn con bé nó không</i></p> <p>story teller NEG CL boy DEM fall, CONJ CL girl she NEG</p> <p><i>bị gì hết á, con bé xẹt qua thôi đó.’</i></p> <p>PASS what at-all SFP CL girl flash over SFP SFP</p> <p>Story-teller: ‘No, the boy fell down, while, the girl encountered nothing, she just passed by him very fast, that’s it.’</p> <p>S38. <i>Trong khi, người vợ tiếp điện thoại của mẹ mình, người chồng</i></p> <p>while CL wife catch phone POSS mother-self CL husband</p> <p><i>đành bỏ đi vào nhà tắm.</i></p> <p>have to leave PRE bathroom</p> <p>‘While the wife caught the phone from her mother, the husband had to leave for the bathroom.’</p>

15	<p>S9. <i>Nó nhặt lê xong thì nó cũng vội vàng đạp xe bỏ đi</i> 3.SG pick pears RES COP 3.SG also hastily ride bike leave <i>xong cái nó dắt xe đi, còn cái nón rớt lại.</i> RES SFP 3.SG take bike go while CL hat drop back ‘After picking the pears, he left with the bike hastily. He led the bike to leave, while the hat was still on the ground.’</p>
22	<p>S3. <i>Con dê thì nó cũng nhìn vào trái đó trong cái cái thúng</i> CL goat COP 3.SG also look into fruit DEM inside CL CL basket <i>cái thúng ở dưới, nhưng người đàn ông đó cũng dắt con dê đi qua luôn.</i> CL basket under CONJ CL man DEM also lead CL goat go pass away ‘The goat also looked at those fruits in a basket on the ground, but the man led him passing away.’</p>
	<p>S22. <i>Ông này vẫn cứ chăm chú hái từng cái mà ông không có</i> CL DEM still ahead focus pick each CL REL 2.SG NEG <i>để ý gì hết, còn cậu bé thì đi một-cách-vội-vã, đi a đi nhanh.</i> attent any at all CONJ CL boy COP go quickly go SPF go fast ‘The man still focused on plucking pears one by one, he did not pay attention to anything, meanwhile, the boy went quickly, went, went very fast.’</p>
23	<p>S10. <i>Ông kia ông dắt con lừa đi lướt qua, còn ông này, cái ông</i> CL DEM he lead CL donkey go through over. CONJ CL DEM CL man <i>mà ông hái lê thì ông tiếp tục vẫn leo lên cây và hái tiếp.</i> REL 2.SG pick pear CONJ 2.SG continue still climb up tree and pick continue ‘That man, he led the donkey passing by, while, this man, the man who was plucking pears, he kept on ascending the tree and kept on plucking (pears).’</p>

<p>24</p>	<p>S28. <i>Chỉ có hai thằng, một thằng nhỏ thì nó lại nó phải, phải đồ</i> only have two CL one CL small COP he come he brush brush clothes <i>cho cậu bé, còn cái thằng cao lớn thứ-2 thì nó lại nó lượm những</i> for CL boy CONJ CL CL tall big second COP he Emph he pick PLUART <i>cái quả, nhặt nó để lại vào cái rổ, cái cái cái thúng cho cho cậu bé.</i> CL fruit pick it put back into CL basket CL CL CL basket for for CL boy ‘Only two boys, the small one came to clean the clothes for the boy, while, the second one, taller and bigger, he came to help the boy to pick up the fruits and put them back into the basket.’</p>
<p>28</p>	<p>S19. <i>cậu bé cũng nhẹ-nhẹ để lên xe, cái xe thì không có бага phía-trước,</i> CL boy also lightly put on bike CL bike age NEG baggage in front <i>để phía trước, thì chạy, còn người nông dân vẫn tiếp tục hái.</i> put in front COP ride, CONJ CL farmer still continue pick ‘The boy also put [it] slightly on [his] bike, the bike who had no baggage in front, put in front [of the bike], meanwhile, the farmer was still plucking pears on the tree.’</p> <p>S35-36. <i>Cho ba cái quả xong thì à cậu bé xe đạp đi đường cậu bé xe đạp, còn</i> give three CL fruit RES FOC PART CL boy bike go way CL boy bike CONJ <i>ba cậu bé này đi cái hướng ngược lại về phía người nông dân đang hái.</i> three CL boy DEM go CL direction opposite toward CL farmer PROG pick ‘After giving him three fruits, the boy with the bike continued on his way, meanwhile, these three boys went on the opposite direction toward the place where the farmer was picking fruits.’</p>
<p>30</p>	<p>S12. <i>con bê nó cứ ngoái đầu lại nó nhìn hai cái giỏ trái cây đó,</i> CL calf 3.SG always turn head back 2.SG look two CL CL fruit DEM</p>

	<p><i>nhưng mà cái anh thanh niên đó thì lại lôi con bê đi.</i></p> <p>CONJ CL CL youth DEM emph pull CL calf away</p> <p>‘The calf, it kept turning his head back in order to look inside those two baskets of fruits, while, the young man pulled it to go away.’</p>
	<p>S22. <i>Hai cậu bé thì giúp nhặt trái cây bỏ lại vào trong giỏ, còn một</i></p> <p>two CL boy COP help pick fruit put back into inside basket CONJ one</p> <p><i>cậu bé thì phải đồ giúp cậu bé này và giúp cậu bé này đứng-dậy.</i></p> <p>CL boy COP brush clothes help CL boy DEM and help CL boy DEM stand up</p> <p>‘Two boys helped the boy to pick the fruits and put back into the basket, while the other boy brushed the clothes for the boy and helped him stand up.’</p>

Appendix 5. Examples of bridging contexts in 30 written texts

Inf	Examples of bridging relations in written texts	+CL	-CL
F1	<p>14. <u>Chuông điện thoại</u> reo và người vợ bắt máy. bell telephone ring and CL wife catch machine (phone) ‘The telephone’s bell rang and the wife caught the phone.’</p> <p>S15-17. ...Người chồng đi vào <u>nhà tắm</u>. Người đàn ông mở nước nóng chuẩn bị tắm, CL husband go into bathroom CL man open water hot prepare bathing trong lúc đó, người vợ vẫn đang nói chuyện điện thoại với mẹ cô ấy. meanwhile CL wife still PROG talk telephone with mother her ‘The husband went to the bathroom... [He] opened hot water tap preparing to take a shower, meanwhile, the wife kept on talking with her mother on telephone.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F2	<p>S1. <u>Trong một gia đình nọ</u>, có hai vợ chồng chung sống in one family certain have two wife husband together live với cậu con trai sáu tuổi. with CL son six year-old ‘In a certain family, there was a couple living together with [their] six year-old son.’</p> <p>S2,3 Vào một buổi sáng khi đồng hồ điểm tám giờ, cậu con trai at one morning when clock strike eight o’clock CL son <u>thức dậy sớm hơn bố mẹ mình</u>. Sau đó, cậu đã đến giường awake early than parents self after that 3.SG PERF come bed và gọi- bố cậu -thức dậy. and wake father his -up ‘One morning, when [the] clock struck 8:00. [The] son woke up earlier than his parents. After that, he came to [the] bed to wake his father up.’</p>	+ani,+ rel	-ani, -rel
	<p>S10. Họ bắt đầu cãi vã trong lúc <u>chuông điện thoại reo</u> 3.PL start argue at time bell telephone ring <u>vang</u>, bà vợ đã đưa tay bắt máy. loud CL wife PERF give hand catch phone ‘They start arguing, at that time, [the] telephone rang, the wife stretched [her] hand to catch the phone.’</p>		-ani, -rel

Appendices

	<p>13. Trong khi, người vợ tiếp <i>điện thoại</i> của mẹ mình, người chồng</p> <p>While CL wife catch phone POSS mother self CL husband</p> <p><i>đành bỏ đi vào nhà tắm và mở nước ngâm mình tắm trong bồn.</i></p> <p>must leave for bathroom and turn-on water soak body bath PRE bathtub</p> <p>‘While the wife talked to her mother on the phone, the husband had to go into the bathroom, he turned on the water and soaked in the bathtub.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>21. Người chồng nảy ra ý định dùng kéo cắt đứt dây-điện thoại.</p> <p>CL husband explode idea use scissor cut off telephone-cord</p> <p>‘The husband had an idea of using a pair of scissors to cut the telephone cord off.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>28. Ông không biết làm thế nào để gọt vừa bánh mì cho vào máy kẹp bánh nướng.</p> <p>3.G NEG know how to peel fit bread put in toaster</p> <p>‘He did not know how to peel the bread to fit the toaster.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>30. Cuối cùng, ông cũng chọn được một loại bánh mì tương đối</p> <p>finally, 3.SG Emph choose RES one type bread relatively</p> <p><i>ổn để bỏ vào lò nướng.</i></p> <p>good to put in toaster</p> <p>‘Finally, he could choose a type of bread which fit the toaster quite well.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>32. Ấm nước và chảo thịt rán trên bếp cũng đang đỏ lửa</p> <p>CL water and pan meat fry on stove also PROG on fire</p> <p><i>nhưng người chồng không để tâm.</i></p> <p>CONJ CL husband NEG notice</p> <p>‘The kettle of water and the frying pan on the stove were burning but the husband did not notice.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F3	<p>7. Người vợ tiếp điện thoại, trong khi anh chồng bắt đầu vào</p> <p>CL wife talk telephone CONJ CL husband began enter</p> <p><i>nhà tắm kỳ cọ trong bồn đầy xà bông.</i></p> <p>bathroom scrub in tub full soap</p> <p>‘The wife was talking on the phone, while the husband began getting in the bath and scrubbed himself in the bathtub full of soap.’</p>		-ani, -rel

	<p>11. Trong khi đó, chị vợ vẫn mãi mê <u>nói chuyện điện thoại</u>. meanwhile CL wife still passionately talk telephone</p> <p>12. Anh chồng tức giận lấy kéo cắt đứt dây-điện thoại. CL husband angry take scissor cut off cord-telephone</p> <p>‘Meanwhile the wife was still talking on the phone passionately. The husband was angry, he took a pair of scissors and cut off the telephone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>17. Anh cố nhét mẩu bánh vào lò-vi-ba để nướng. 3.SG try stuff CL bread into microwave to bake</p> <p>‘He tried to stuff the cube of bread into the microwave (toaster) to bake.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F4	<p>8. Nghe tiếng chuông <u>điện thoại</u>, cô vợ bắt máy, ... hear sound bell telephone CL wife catch machine</p> <p>‘Hearing the telephone rang, the wife caught the phone, ...’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>10. Anh đi vào <u>buồng tắm</u> và bắt đầu tắm. Có tiếng chuông cửa, 3.SG go into bathroom and start bath have sound bell door</p> <p>anh chồng ló đầu ra-khỏi bồn tắm, ... CL wife poke- head -RES bath tube</p> <p>‘He went to the bathroom and started taking a bath. The doorbell rang, the husband poked his head out of the bathtub.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>11. Anh chồng vứt chiếc khăn lau mặt, lẩm bẩm gì đó CL husband throw CL towel wipe face muttering something</p> <p>rồi cũng ra khỏi bồn, mặc áo và đi ra cửa. then also out from bathtub put-on shirt and go out door</p> <p>‘The husband threw the face towel, muttered something and then went out from the bathtub, put on clothes and went out to open the door.’</p>	-ani, -rel	-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>14. Trong khi đó, cô vợ vẫn còn đang tiếp tục <u>cuộc điện thoại</u>, meanwhile CL wife still PROG continue N-telephone</p> <p>trên bàn có cây kéo, ông cầm lấy và cắt dây điện thoại, on table have CL scissors 3.SG take RES and cut telephone-cord</p> <p>biết dây điện thoại bị cắt đứt, tiện tay cô cầm điện thoại know telephone-cord PASS cut off convenient 3.SG take telephone</p> <p>táng vào bụng ông chồng. hit into stomach CL husband</p> <p>‘Meanwhile, the wife still continued with the call. There was a pair of scissors on the table, he took it up and cut the cord off. Knowing the cord was cut off, the wife conveniently took the handset to beat into the husband’s stomach.’</p>		-ani, -rel

Appendices

	<p>20. (<i>trong nhà bếp</i>) <i>quá bực tức, ông cố sức dồn miếng bánh mì vào</i> in kitchen very annoy 3.SG effort stuff CL bread into <i>dụng cụ- kẹp dùng dây cột lại và ném vào lò nướng.</i> tool clip use wire tie RES and throw into oven ‘(In the kitchen) so angry, he (the husband) tried to stuff the slice of bread into the toaster, tied it up with the wire and threw it into the oven.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>21. <i>Bên ngoài cổng, một người đàn ông đang ngồi trong một chiếc</i> outside gate. one CL man PROG sit in one CL <i>xe hơi có vẻ là đối tác của ông, đang bấm còi xe inh ỏi,</i> car seem COP partner POSS him PROG press honk loudly ‘Outside the gate, a man was sitting in a car. He may be his partner. He was pressing the horn loudly.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. <i>Trong bếp, chảo đồ ăn đang bốc khói, các lò nướng thì</i> in kitchen pan food PROG fuming PLU oven COP <i>ngùn ngụt lửa, ông cầm chảo và đồ ăn rớt vào chân ông.</i> burning 3.SG take pan and food drop on foot his ‘In the kitchen, the pan was fuming, the ovens were burning. He took the pan, the food dropped down on his feet.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F5	<p>7. <i>Điện thoại reo, cô vợ nghe máy,</i> telephone ring CL wife hear machine ‘(The) telephone rang, the wife caught the phone.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>9. <i>Anh chồng lấy áo choàng đi vào nhà tắm...Người chồng đang</i> CL husband took jacket go into bathroom CL husband PROG. <i>tắm trong bồn-nước đầy xà-phòng, vội mặc áo-choàng đi ra mở cửa.</i> bathing PRE bathtub full soap hurry put-on bathrobe go out open door ‘The husband was taking a jacket (bathsuit) and went into the bathroom. He was bathing in the bathtub with full of soap, put on the bathsuit hurriedly and went out to open the door.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>14. <i>Người chồng lấy kéo cắt đứt dây điện thoại,</i> CL husband take scissors cut off cord telephone <i>trong khi, cô vợ đang nói chuyện.</i> CONJ CL wife PROG talk ‘The husband took a pair of scissors, cut the telephone cord off while the wife was talking on the phone.’</p>		-ani, -rel

	<p>19. Anh chồng một tay vợ quần áo, một tay cắp con trai CL husband one hand take clothes one hand bring CL son vào nhà bếp, đặt cậu bé lên kệ-bếp. into kitchen put CL kid on kitchen-set ‘The husband took the clothes with one hand, and brought his son to go to the kitchen with another hand. He put his son (to sit) on the counter of the kitchen.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. (<u>vào nhà bếp</u>) Ông ta tức giận, lấy dây quấn quanh (in the kitchen) 3.SG annoy take wire wrap around máy-nướng-bánh, rồi bỏ cả vào lò nướng. machine-bake-cake CONJ put all into oven ‘He was annoyed, he took a wire and wrapped around the toaster. Then he put them into the oven.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>24. Đối tác của người chồng đến, ngồi trên xe hơi bóp còi partner POSS CL husband come sit on car press honk ra hiệu, người chồng đi ra bảo đợi anh ta nấu bữa sáng. signal CL husband go out tell wait him cook breakfast ‘The partner of the husband came, he sat on a car and pressed the horn to inform the husband (the he had already come). The husband went out and asked his friend to wait for him making breakfast.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>25. Mọi thức ăn đang <u>cháy khét trên bếp</u>, khói bay mịt mù. every food PROG burning on stove smoke fly gloomy ‘(When he came back to the kitchen) everything was burning on the stove, everywhere covered with the smoke.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F6	<p>1. Vào 8 giờ sáng ở <u>một ngôi nhà no</u>, khi chuông đồng hồ at eight o’clock morning in one CL house certain when bell clock báo thức reo vang, người chồng giật mình thức dậy lén nhìn alarm ring loud CL husband startle wake up stealthy look qua người vợ nằm giường bên kia. toward CL wife lie bed side DEM ‘At 8:00 in the morning, in a house, when [the] alarm clock rang, the husband startled and woke up. He looked stealthily toward his wife who was lying on the opposite bed.’</p>	+ani,+ rel (2x)	

<p>7. Khi họ vẫn đang tiếp tục cãi nhau thì <u>chuông điện thoại</u> when 3.PL still PROG continue argue COMP bell telephone <i>reo, chị vợ nhắc máy trả lời mẹ của cô ta.</i> ring CL wife pick-up phone answer mother POSS her ‘When they were arguing with each other, [the] phone rang, the wife took the phone to answer her mother.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
<p>8. (anh chồng thì đi vào trong <u>nhà tắm</u>) Trong lúc cô vợ đang nghe CL husband COP go into bathroom while CL wife PROG listen <i>mẹ nhắc nhở thì anh chồng đang thư giãn với</i> mother remind CONJ CL husband PROG relax with bọt xà phòng trong bồn tắm. foam-soap in bathtub ‘(the husband went into the bathroom) While the wife was listening to her mother’s reminders, the husband was relaxing with the soap foam in the bathtub.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel (2x)</p>
<p>9. Lúc ấy, ở <u>ngoài cửa</u> thì người-giao-sữa và người-giao- time that outside door COPM person-deliver-milk and person-deliver- <i>báo đang nhấn chuông, hai vợ chồng lại đùn đẩy</i> newspaper PROG press bell two wife-husband emph push-for <i>việc mở cửa cho nhau, lát sau anh chồng đành chấp nhận</i> thing open door for each other later on CL husband must accept <i>mặc áo choàng bước khỏi bồn tắm để ra mở cửa.</i> put-on jacket step out bathtub to out open door ‘At that time, outside the door, a milkman and a newspaperman press the (door) bell, the couple again pushed “[the] duty” of going out to open the door to each other. A moment later, the husband had to put on his “bath jacket”, stepped out of the bathtub and went out to open the door.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel (3x)</p>
<p>13. Anh ta bèn cầm cây kéo cắt đứt sợi <u>dây-điện</u> He immediately take CL scissors cut off CL wire-electric <i>để cô ta không còn nghe điện thoại được.</i> so that 3.SG no longer hear telephone RES ‘He took a pair of scissors immediately to cut the telephone wire, so that she could not talk on the phone anymore.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>

	<p>17. <i>Một lát sau anh làm thành một mớ hỗn độn trong bếp,</i> a moment after 3.SG make become one CL mess in kitchen <i>anh không biết làm sao kẹp được vỉ nướng lại bèn</i> 3.SG NEG know how clip RES furnace-bar RES immediately <i>lấy dây-điện của nó quấn quanh, rồi cho nguyên vỉ nướng bánh vào một</i> use wire-electric of its wrap around, then put whole furnace-bar into one <i>lò nướng khác rồi đốt lửa lên, ở bếp bên cạnh thì anh đang</i> oven another then burn fire RES in stove beside COP 3.SG PROG <i>đun ấm nước với ngọn lửa to.</i> boil CL water with CL fire big ‘A moment later, he made a mess in the kitchen. He did not know how to grip the furnace bar, then he used its electric wire to wrap around it. After that, he put the whole stuff into the oven, then he turned on the fire. At the next stove, he boil [a] kettle of water with [a] big fire.’</p>	<p>-ani, -rel (2x)</p>	<p>-ani, -rel (3x)</p>
	<p>19. <i>Lúc này trong bếp, lò nướng đã bốc cháy dữ dội,</i> time DEM in kitchen, oven PERF burn seriousy <i>ấm nước sôi và chảo thịt đang nướng cũng đang bốc cháy.</i> CL water boiling and CL meat PROG grill also PROG burn ‘This time, in the kitchen, the oven was burning seriously, the kettle of boiling water and the burning meat pan were also burning.’</p>	<p>-ani, -rel (2x)</p>	<p>-ani, -rel</p>
<p>F7</p>	<p>8. <i>Lúc đó chuông điện thoại reo, người vợ bắt máy,...</i> time that bell telephone ring CL wife catch machine ‘At that time, the telephone’s bell rang, the wife caught the phone.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
	<p>10. <i>Người chồng vào buồng tắm mở nước tắm, ông ta mở</i> CL husband enter bathroom turn-on water bath 3.SG turn-on <i>vòi nước nóng, nước quá nóng khiến ông ta suýt phỏng.</i> tap water hot water too hot cause him nearly burn ‘The husband entered the bathroom, turned on the water. He turned on the hot water tap. The water was so hot that he nearly got burnt.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
	<p>16. <i>Người chồng liền lấy cái kéo cắt dây-điện thoại,</i> CL husband immediately take CL scissors cut telephone-cord <i>người vợ nổi-điên-lên thẳng tay đánh mạnh vào bụng người chồng.</i> CL wife get mad ruthlessly beat strong into stomach CL husband ‘The husband immediately took a pair of scissors to cut the telephone cord, the wife got angry, she beat the husband’s stomach ruthlessly.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>

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	<p>21. <i>Cuối cùng, người chồng lấy sợi dây cột khúc bánh mì vào</i> finally CL husband use CL wire fasten CL bread into <i>máy nướng bánh mì rồi bỏ vào lò vi sóng.</i> machine-bake-bread CONJ put into microwave ‘Finally, he (the husband) used a wire to fasten the cube of bread in the toaster and then put it in the microwave.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
F8	<p>15. <i>Lúc ấy, chuông điện thoại reng. Cô vợ cầm ống nghe nói chuyện.</i> time that, bell telephone ring CL wife take handset talk ‘At that moment, the telephone rang. The wife took the handset and spoke.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>22. <i>Anh chồng bước vào nhà tắm, vặn vòi nước nóng.</i> CL husband walk into bathroom, twist tap water hot ‘The husband walked into the bathroom, turned on the hot water tap.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. <i>Anh ta ngồi trên bồn tắm, nước quá nóng làm anh ta giật mình.</i> 3.SG sit on bathtub water too hot make him startle ‘He sat on the bathtub, the water was so hot that it made him startled.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>32. <i>Anh chồng lau xà bông trên mặt. Anh chồng quăng cái khăn lau xuống sàn.</i> CL husband wipe soap on face CL husband throw CL-towel down floor ‘The husband wiped the soap on his face. He threw the towel down on the floor.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>34. <i>Anh chồng khoác áo-choàng-tắm bước ra-ngoài.</i> CL husband put on bathrobe walk out ‘The husband put on the bathrobe and walked out.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>47. <i>Anh chồng đứng kế bên vợ, lấy kéo cắt đứt dây-điện-thoại.</i> CL husband stand next to wife take scissors cut RES cord-phone ‘The husband stood next to his wife, took a pair of scissors and cut the phone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>54. <i>(Anh chồng mở cửa vào phòng-bếp) Anh ta đặt đứa bé lên bàn-bếp.</i> CL husband open door enter kitchen 3.SG put CL child on table-kitchen ‘The husband opened the door to the kitchen, he put his son on the kitchen table.’</p>		-ani, -rel

	<p>57. Trong <i>phòng-bếp</i>, <i>đưa bé lấy phấn vẽ lên tường</i>, in kitchen CL child take chalk draw on wall <i>anh chồng đặt chảo lên bếp</i>. CL husband put pan on stove ‘In the kitchen, the son took a piece of chalk and drew on the wall, the husband put the pan on the stove.’</p>		-ani, -rel (3x)
	<p>73. <i>Trở lại phòng bếp, anh chồng quấn dây điện xung quanh</i> turn back kitchen CL husband wrap wire electric around <i>máy sấy. Sau đó, anh ta nhét tất cả vào lò nướng</i>. toaster then he stuff all into oven ‘Turning back to the kitchen, the husband used the wire to wrap around the toaster. Then he stuffed all into the oven.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>74. <i>Anh ta bật lửa, hơ dưới lò nướng</i>. he turn-on fire, heat under oven. <i>Kế bên lò nướng là chiếc chảo đang bốc khói trên bếp</i>. next to oven COP one pan PROG smoking on stove ‘He turned on the fire to heat the oven. Next to the oven is the scorched pan on the stove.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F9	<p>21. <i>Anh ta cắt đứt dây-điện thoại, đứng cười khoái chí</i>. He cut off cord-telephone stand chuckle ‘He cut the telephone cord off, stood and chuckled.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>26. <i>Khi đó trong bếp, anh ta cắt hết chiếc bánh này</i> time that in kitchen, he cut out CL-bread this <i>tới chiếc bánh khác, cho vào lò nướng</i>. to CL bread other put into oven (toaster) ‘She ate the cookies one by one enjoyably. That time in the kitchen, he cut out the bread one by one, put it in the toaster.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>28. <i>...quay vào bếp thì khói bay mù mịt do bánh trong lò cháy đen</i>. ... turn back kitchen TOP smoke flow densely because bread in oven char. ‘(After asking the colleague to wait for him to make the breakfast), he returned to the kitchen, the smoke spiralled densely because the bread in the oven was burnt.’</p>		-ani, -rel

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<p>F 10</p>	<p>2. <i>khi đồng hồ điểm đúng 8 giờ mà chưa thấy bố mẹ</i> when clock strike exact 8 o'clock CONJ NEG see parents <i>thức dậy nên cậu con trai nghịch ngợm nghĩ ra</i> wake up therefore CL-son naughty think rslt <i>một trò đùa để trêu chọc bố bằng cách tạt một ly nước</i> one joke to tease father by throw one CL water <i>làm ướt bố.</i> make wet father ‘One morning, when the clock struck 8:00 but (he) did not see the parents wake up, the naughty son thought of a joke to tease the father by throwing a glass of water to make him wet.’</p>	<p>+ani, +rel</p>	
	<p>12. <i>Ông Jenkin đành phải rời bồn tắm, mặc đồ vào và tiến ra cửa.</i> Mr. Jenkin have to leave bathtub put clothes on and move out door ‘Mr. Jenkin had to leave the bathtub, put on the clothes and went out.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel (2x)</p>
	<p>16. <i>Người vợ vẫn tiếp tục buôn điện thoại không để ý gì. Người chồng</i> CL wife still continue chat telephone NEG notice CL husband <i>liền lấy cái kéo cắt dây điện thoại.</i> immediately take CL scissors cut cord-phone ‘The wife still chatted on the phone without noticing (the husband was falling down). The husband immediately took a pair of scissors and cut the telephone-line.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
<p>F 11</p>	<p>11 <i>Sau khi người chồng vào phòng tắm, ông mở</i> after CL husband enter bathroom he open <i>vòi nước và bắt đầu tắm.</i> faucet and began bath ‘After entering the bathroom, the husband opened the faucet and started taking a bath.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
	<p>16. <i>Người vợ vẫn đang nói chuyện điện thoại,</i> CL wife still PROG talk telephone <i>người chồng lấy cái kéo sau đó cắt dây điện thoại</i> CL husband take CL-scissors then cut cord-telephone <i>nhưng người vợ vẫn không hay biết.</i> but CL wife still NEG know ‘The wife still kept on talking on the phone, the husband took a pair of scissors, then cut the telephone line off, but the wife did not know.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>

	<p>20. <i>Trong nhà bếp, người chồng lấy bánh mì ra rồi lấy dao gọt</i> in kitchen CL husband take bread RES CONJ take knife peel <i>cho nó nhỏ lại cho vừa lò nướng nhưng không được.</i> for it small rslt for fit toaster but NEG possible ‘In the kitchen, the husband took the bread out then he used a knife to peel it smaller to fit the toaster, but it did not work. He used a knife to chop bread into pieces and stuffed it in.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
F 12	<p>12. <i>Anh chồng vứt chiếc khăn lau mặt lẩm bẩm gì đó</i> CL-husband throw CL-towel mutter something <i>rồi cũng ra khỏi bồn, mặc áo và đi ra cửa.</i> CONJ also our RES bathtub wear bathrobe and go out door ‘The husband threw the towel and muttered something, then he also got out of the bathtub, put on the clothes and went out.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>15. <i>Trong khi đó, cô vợ vẫn-còn đang tiếp tục cuộc điện thoại,</i> meanwhile CL wife still PROG continue CL telephone <i>trên bàn có cây kéo, ông cầm lấy và cắt dây-điện thoại...</i> on table have CL scissors he take and cut cord-phone... ‘Meanwhile, the wife still kept on with the phone call. There was a pair of scissors on the table, he took it up and cut the telephone line.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>22. <i>Quá bực tức, ông cố sức dồn miếng bánh mì vào</i> too angry he try stuff CL bread into <i>dụng cụ kẹp dùng dây cột lại và ném vào lò nướng.</i> tool-clip use wire tie RES and throw into oven ‘Too angry, he was trying to stuff the slice of bread into the toaster and tied it up then threw it into the oven.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. <i>Bên ngoài cổng, một người đàn ông đang ngồi trong một</i> outside gate one CL man PROG sit PRE one <i>chiếc xe hơi có vẻ là đối tác của ông, đang bấm còi xe inh ỏi,</i> CL car seem COP partner POSS him PROG press honk loudly ‘Outside the gate, a man was sitting in a car, he seemed to be his partner, was pressing the horn loudly.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>25. <i>Trong bếp, chảo đồ ăn đang bốc khói, các lò nướng</i> in kitchen CL food PROG fuming PL oven <i>thì ngọn ngạt lửa, ông cầm chảo và đồ-ăn rớt vào chân ông.</i> conj on fire 3.SG take pan and food drop on foot his ‘In the kitchen, the pan of food was fuming. The oven and stove were on fire, he took the pan and the food dropped on his foot.’</p>		-ani, -rel -ani, -rel

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<p>F 13</p>	<p>1. Một buổi sáng như thường ngày, lúc 8 giờ, khi one morning as usual, at 8 o'clock when đồng hồ báo thức vang lên thì cả hai vợ chồng họ đều đang ngủ. clock alarm ring, both two wife husband that PROG sleep 2. Người chồng dù có nghe thấy chuông báo thức CL-husband despite emp.hear alarm nhưng ông ấy chỉ mở mắt ra nhìn rồi ngủ tiếp. but he just open eyes rslt looked then sleep continue. ‘A morning as usual, at 8:00, the alarm clock rang, the couple were sleeping. The husband though heard the alarm but he just opened his eyes for a look and then then he was back to sleep.’</p>	<p>+ani, +rel</p>	
	<p>13. Rồi bỗng có một cú điện thoại vang-lên, cô vợ đã bắt máy. and suddenly exist one CL phone ring-RES CL wife PERF catch machine ‘And suddenly, there came a phone call, the wife picked up the phone.’</p>	<p>-ani, -rel</p>	
	<p>21. Vì tức quá nên người chồng đã dùng cưa kéo because angry very CONJ CL husband PROG use CL scissors trên bàn cắt đứt dây-điện thoại khiến cho cô vợ không thể on table cut off cord-telephone cause CL wife NEG able dùng điện thoại nữa. to use telephone anymore ‘Due to the anger, the husband used a pair of scissors on the table to cut the telephone line, so that she could not use the telephone anymore.’</p>	<p>-ani, -rel</p>	
	<p>26. Ông ấy ấm con đi-vào nhà bếp và bắt chảo lên 3.SG hold son enter kitchen and put pan on nấu đồ ăn, đun nước rồi cắt bánh mì. cook food boil water and then cut bread ‘He held the son, entered the kitchen, put the pan on the oven and cooked, boiled the water and then cut the bread.’</p>	<p>-ani, -rel</p>	
<p>F 14</p>	<p>2. Người đàn-ông đeo kính tỉnh giấc, chợt mở mắt nhìn,... CL man wear eyeglass awake suddenly open eyes look ‘The man who wore glasses awoke, he just opened his eyes and had a look around (then, he ignored everything and slept again).’</p>	<p>-ani, +rel</p>	
	<p>23. Điện thoại chợt reo, ... Người vợ tươi cười bắt máy, telephone suddenly ring CL-wife smile catch machine(phone), ‘The telephone suddenly rang... The wife picked-up the phone happily.’</p>	<p>-ani, -rel</p>	

	<p>28. (anh chồng vào nhà tắm). Người chồng khom người bật CL husband get-in bathroom CL husband bend body open vòi-nước-nóng rồi ngồi lên thành bồn tắm. faucet-water-hot then sit on bar bathtub ‘The husband bent his body to open the hot water faucet, then he sat on the bathtub bar.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>42. Ông ta tìm thấy cái kéo và quyết định cắt dây-nói-điện thoại. he find CL scissor and decide cut wire-connect-telephone ‘He found a pair of scissors and he decided to cut the telephone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>49. (Trong bếp, người chồng...). Đứa con đang vẽ bậy PRE kitchen CL husband CL child PROG draw dirty trên tường, trong khi người bố đặt chảo lên bếp. PRE wall CONJ CL husband put pan on stove. ‘(In the kitchen, the husband ...). The son was drawing on the wall, while the father, put the pan on the stove.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>61. Tức mình, ông ta lấy dây điện của máy nướng Upset, he take wire electric of toaster quấn nó lại thật chặt, rồi cho cả đồng đó vào lò nướng. wrap it rslt tightly, and put all into oven. ‘Upset, he used the electric wire of the toaster and wrapped it tightly, then put that stuff into the oven.’</p>		-ani, -rel
F 15	<p>19. Người chồng mở van nước nóng rồi ngồi lên thành bồn tắm. CL husband open valve water hot the sit on bar bathtub. ‘The husband opened the hot water valve and sat on the bar of the bathtub.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>24. Cho nên, người chồng đành phải khoác áo khoác vào CONJ CL husband have to put bathrobe RES và đi ra trả lời họ. and go out answer them. ‘Therefore, the husband had to put the bathsuit on and went out to talk with them.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>30. Ông thấy vợ của mình vẫn tiếp-tục nghe điện thoại, chắc-là 3.SG find wife POSS self still continue hear phone maybe bực bội trong người nên ông lấy cái kéo cắt dây-điện-thoại. unhappy in body CONJ 3.SG took CL scissors cut phone-cord. ‘He found his wife was still talking on the phone, maybe the husband was frustrated, therefore he took a pair of scissors and cut the telephone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel

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	<p>42. Người đối tác ngồi ngoài xe và bấm còi ra hiệu. CL partner sit outside car and press honk signal... 'The partner was sitting in the car and pressed the horn to signal him.'</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>43. Khi này, người chồng bỏ máy nướng bánh mì As earlier, CL- husband put toaster vào lò nướng, đun nước và bắt chảo lên. Cho nên, into oven boil water and put pan RES therefore khi ông ta vào thì mọi thứ đã cháy lên. when he back CONJ everything asp burn RES 'Before, the husband had put the toaster into the oven, boiled the water and put the pan on the stove, therefore, when he came back, everything was charred.'</p>		-ani, -rel (3x)
	<p>45. Nhưng không may, ông ta té vào cái chảo đang cháy. But unfortunately 3.SG fall PRE CL pan PROG burn Người chồng bèn mở vòi nước để dập đám cháy trên mông CL husband go open tap to extinguish CL fire on buttocks trong tư thế khá kì cục. in pose pretty weird 'Unfortunately, he fell down on the burning pan. The husband opened the water tap to extinguish the fire on his buttocks in a very weird pose.'</p>		-ani, -rel
F 16	<p>18. Vào phòng-tắm, người chồng bật- nước thật nóng -lên. enter bathroom, CL husband turn- water really hot RES 'In the bathroom, the husband turned on the hot water in maximum volume.'</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>19. Sau đó, vô tình ngồi lên thành-bồn và bị nóng giật-mình. after that accidentally sit on bathtub and PASS hot startle 'After that, he accidentally sat down on the edge of the basin and he was startled by the heat (of water).'</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>21. ...người chồng đã bắt đầu xả xà-phòng ra và tắm. ... CL husband PROG start pump soap RES and bath 'The husband started pumping soap and took a bath.'</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>37. Ở trong bếp, đứa con đứng trên kệ-bếp in kitchen CL kid stand on kitchen-set và vẽ đầy trên tường bếp. and draw fully on wall-kitchen. 'In the kitchen, the son stood on the counter of the kitchen and drew fully on the kitchen wall.'</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)

	<p>38. Còn người chồng đã cho nguyên liệu CONJ CL husband PERF put ingredients và bắt đầu đặt chảo lên bếp nấu. and start put pan on stove cook. ‘Meanwhile, the husband put the ingredients and the pan on the stove. He started cooking.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>42. Vợ một miếng bánh mì cắt hình-tam-giác có-sẵn take one CL-bread cut triangle exist-already gần đó cũng không nhét vào lò được. near there also NEG insert PRE oven RES ‘He took a slice of triangle bread which already existed nearby but he was not able to put it into the oven (/toaster).’</p>		-ani, -rel
F 17	<p>16. (Ông vẫn đi-vào nhà tắm...) Trong lúc người chồng 3.SG still get-in bathroom while CL husband đang ngâm mình thoải mái trong bồn tắm ... PROG soak body comfortable in bathtub ‘(He still got into the bathroom,...) While the husband was soaking in the bathtub leisurely, ...’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>17. ông chồng đành vội vàng mặc áo chạy ra ngoài CL husband have to hurry put-on bathrobe run outside mà chưa lau sạch bọt-xà phòng trên người. CONJ NEG wipe clean foam PRE body ‘(The wife refused to open the door, therefore) the husband had to put on the bathrobe quickly and rushed out without wiping the foam on his body.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>34. Trở lại nhà bếp thì mọi thứ đã bốc cháy: back kitchen COP everything PERF burning máy pha cà phê, chảo thức ăn, lò nướng. coffee machine CL food oven ‘Turning back to the kitchen, everything was burning: the coffee machine, the pan of food and the oven.’</p>	-ani, -rel	-ani, -rel
F 18	<p>11. Khi vào nhà, ông ta thấy vợ-mình vẫn-còn đang nói-chuyện when enter house 3.SG see wife-self still PROG talk điện thoại. Ông ta bèn lấy kéo cắt-đứt dây-điện thoại. telephone 3.SG immediately take scissors cut-off wire-telephone ‘Entering the house, he saw his wife was still talking on the phone, he just took a pair of scissors and cut off the telephone-cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel

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	<p>17. Khi trở lại vào bếp ông ta thấy đồ-ăn trên bếp lò when come back into kitchen 3.SG see food PRE stove đều <u>đang cháy</u>, khói, lửa bốc-lên mù mịt, ... both PROG burn smoke fire rise-up dusky ‘When he returned to the kitchen, he saw the food on the stove was burnt, smoke and fire rose up dusily.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
F 19	<p>23. Ông ta bỏ đại ‘sản phẩm’ vô lò châm lửa 3.SG put carelessly product into oven make fire rời ra cửa và nói: ‘Đợi tôi ăn sáng đã!’ then out door and say wait me eat breakfast SFP ‘He put his “product” into the oven carelessly and made the fire, then he went out and said: “Wait for me to have breakfast first.”’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>27. Lửa lan ra <u>người ông</u> nên ông ta phải nhanh chóng fire spread out body his therefore 3.SG must quickly mở vòi nước xối vào mông, vào lưng. open faucet pour PRE buttocks onto back ‘The fire spread on his body, therefore he had to open the faucet quickly to flush onto his buttocks and his back.’</p>		-ani, +rel (2x)
F 20	<p>1. Vào một buổi-sáng như bao ngày khác của on one morning like many day other of một <u>gia đình</u> gồm 2 vợ chồng và đứa con trai nhỏ. one family of 2 parents and CL-son small ‘On a morning as usual of a family with a couple and their son.’</p>	+ani, +rel	
	<p>18. Người chồng liền lấy kéo cắt-đứt dây điện thoại. CL husband immediately take scissors cut off wire-telephone ‘The husband used a pair of scissors to cut off the telephone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>24. Một lúc bất cẩn, ông chồng làm <u>cháy</u> nhà-bếp và khói bốc-lên. one time careless CL husband cause burn kitchen CONJ smoke rise-up ‘A moment of carelessness, the husband caused the kitchen to burn. The smoke rose up.’</p>		-ani, -rel

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F 21	<p>15. Trong khi đó, người chồng đi tắm và tận hưởng cảm giác meanwhile CL husband go shower and enjoy feeling sảng khoái trong bồn tắm vào buổi sáng. refreshing in bathtub in morning 'Meanwhile, the husband went to take a shower and enjoyed the feeling of refreshing in the bathtub in the morning.'</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. Người chồng đã dùng kéo cắt đứt dây-diện thoại CL husband PERF use scissors cut-off cord-telephone và rất hả hê về điều này. and very satisfied about thing DEM 'The husband used a pair of scissors to cut the telephone-cord off and he was satisfied in doing that.'</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>30. Mọi thứ trong nhà bếp trở nên hỗn độn, bình nước every thing in kitchen become chaos CL water đang sôi, chảo dầu đang cháy... PROG boil CL oil PROG burn 'Everything in the kitchen became chaos, the kettle of water was boiling, the pan was burning.'</p>	-ani, -rel (2x)	
F 22	<p>1. Chuông báo thức ngân vang nhưng cả-hai-vợ-chồng bell alarm ring loudly but both-two-wife-husband đều muốn vùi đầu vào chiếc gối êm. both want bury head into CL pillow soft. 'The alarm rang loudly but the couple still wanted to continue sleeping with their soft pillows.'</p>	-ani, -rel	
	<p>17. (Có lẽ ông chưa bao giờ làm điểm tâm...) Ông ta cắt maybe 3.SG never made breakfast ... 3.SG cut mẩu bánh mì thật to, nhồi nhét vào chiếc lò nướng mãi không xong. CL bread real big stuff into toaster still NEG complete '(Maybe, he had never made breakfast before...) He cut a big piece of bread and stuffed it into the toaster for a very long time but it did not work.'</p>	-ani, -rel (2x)	

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	<p>20. Ông ta cứ ra sức nhét cả luôn bánh mì và lò nướng 3.SG keep attempt cram whole both bread and toaster <i>tổng thẳng vào lò vi sóng...</i> throw directly into microwave ‘He made every effort to cram both the bread and the toaster directly into the microwave...’</p>		-ani, -rel
F 23	<p>17. (suốt thời gian người chồng <u>đang tắm</u>...) Người chồng xả during time CL husband PROG bath CL husband pump <i>nước vào bồn tắm và cho xà phòng vào bồn để tắm.</i> water into bathtub and give soap into tub to bathe ‘(The wife was talking on the phone during the time the husband was bathing...) The husband pumped the water into the bathtub and put the soap into it to bathe.’</p>		-ani, -rel (3x)
	<p>20. Người chồng buộc phải bận áo choàng vào trong lúc CL husband must put bathsuit on while <i>cơ thể đang đầy xà bông tắm bước ra khỏi buồng tắm.</i> body Prog full soap-bath step out off bath room ‘The husband had to put on the bath jacket while his body was full of soap, went out to open the door to meet the milkman and the newspaper boy.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. Người chồng tức giận đã dùng kéo cắt dây điện thoại CL husband angry PERF use scissor cut wire telephone <i>để không cho người vợ nói chuyện điện thoại với mẹ.</i> to NEG let CL wife talk phone telephone with mother ‘The husband was angry. He used a pair of scissors to cut the telephone cord to interrupt his wife. Then he laughed happily.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>30. (anh ta ... bước vào nhà bếp và nấu ăn...) Người chồng lấy chảo 3.SG enter kitchen and cooking CL husband take pan <i>để lên bếp và bật lửa để nấu, trong khi cậu con trai</i> put PRE stove and turn-on fire to cook CONJ CL son <i>đang dùng bút vẽ vẽ lên tường-nhà bếp.</i> PROG use pen draw draw on wall-kitchen ‘The husband put the pan on the stove and turned on the fire to start cooking, whereas his son was drawing on the kitchen wall with a pen.’</p>		-ani, -rel (4x)

F 24	<p>24. (Người đàn ông mở cửa bước vào phòng-tắm...) Người đàn ông bước CL man open door come into bathroom CL man step <i>đến bồn-tắm mở nước nóng, ngồi xuống cạnh bồn ...</i> to bathtub open water hot sit down beside bathtub ‘(The man opened the door and got into the bathroom...) The man came to the bathtub and open the hot water, sat down by the bathtub.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>26. Trong phòng tắm, người đàn ông đang nằm dưới bồn kỳ cọ thân. in bathroom CL man PROG lie under bathtub clean body ‘In the bathroom, the man was lying in the bathtub and cleaning his body.’</p>		-ani, +rel
	<p>29. Người đàn ông lau xà phòng trên người, mặc đồ ngủ bước ra ngoài... CL man clean soap on body wear bathsuit step outside ‘The man cleaned the soap on his body, put on the bathsuit and went out.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>35. (Trong phòng-bếp) người đàn ông bỏ chảo lên bếp-ga. conj CL-man put pan on gas stove <i>mở lửa lớn, rồi đặt miếng thịt vào.</i> open fire big then put CL meat in ‘In the kitchen, the man put the pan on the gas stove and turned the fire on. Then he put the meat in it.’</p>	-ani, -rel	-ani, -rel (3x)
M 25	<p>1. Người chồng cầm kéo cắt đứt dây-điện thoại và cười há hê. CL husband take scissors cut-off telephone cord and laugh gloatingly ‘The husband took a pair of scissors to cut the telephone-line off and then laughed gloatingly.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>14. Ông ta đặt bánh mì vào máy nướng nhưng lại không biết 3.SG put bread in toaster but EMPH NEG know <i>cách nướng nên đặt luôn cái máy này vào lò nướng.</i> way bake CONJ put also CL toaster DEM into oven ‘He put the bread into a toaster but he did not know how to bake; therefore, he put this toaster into the oven.’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>15. Lúc đó, ấm nước đang sôi chảy vào time that CL water PROG boil flow into <i>cái chảo-chiên-thịt làm khói bay mù mịt.</i> CL frying-pan make smoke fly darksome ‘At that time, the kettle of water was boiling, the boiled water splashed into the frying pan. It made the kitchen fume.’</p>	-ani, -rel	-ani, -rel (2x)

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	<p>16. <i>Đôi tác làm ăn của ông ta chạy xe đến</i> partner business POSS 3.SG drive car come <i>và bóp kèn hối thúc người chồng.</i> and press honk urge CL husband ‘His partner came with a car and pressed the horn to urge him.’</p>		-ani, -rel
M 26	<p>14. <i>Tức mình, ông ta khoác tạm bộ đồ ngủ chạy ra mở cửa</i> upset 3.SG coat temporarily pyjama run out open door <i>mặc dù người vẫn dính đầy xà phòng.</i> although body still smear full soap ‘Being upset, he covered his pyjama (bathrobe) temporarily to run out to open the door, although his body was full of soap.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>18. <i>Nói mãi không nghe, ông chồng liền lấy kéo</i> say continuously NEG hear CL husband at once take scissors <i>cắt đứt sợi dây tone điện thoại.</i> cut off CL-telephone-cord ‘The husband attempted to ask the wife stop talking but she did not listen to him, he immediately took a pair of scissors and cut the telephone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>23. <i>Đưa con trai thì đứng lên kệ bếp và vẽ bậy lên tường.</i> CL son COP stand on kitchen-set and draw disorderly on wall ‘The son stood on the kitchen set and drew on the wall disorderly.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>25. <i>Người chồng đang mãi mê cho bánh mì vào lò kẹp</i> CL husband PROG engross put bread into toaster <i>rồi cho lò kẹp vô lò vi sóng, ...</i> and put toaster into microwaves, ‘When he was trying to put the bread into the toaster, then he put the toaster into the microwave (oven).’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>27. <i>Lò vi sóng và chảo thịt đều bị cháy. ...</i> microwave and CL meat both PASS burn ‘The microwave (oven) and the meat-pan were burnt.’</p>		-ani, -rel
M 27	<p>16. <i>Vào phòng tắm, người chồng lạnh-run, thế nên mở nước</i> enter bathroom CL husband get-chill therefore turn-on water(tap) <i>thật nóng xả vào bồn.</i> really hot pour into bathtub ‘In the bathroom, the husband felt cold; thus, he turn on the hot water tap to let the water flow to the bathtub.’</p>		-ani, -rel

	<p>20. Người chồng lấy khăn để lau bớt bọt-xà bông trên mặt,... CL husband take towel to clean less foam on face ‘The husband took a towel to clean his face from the foam (and grumbled).’</p>		-ani, -rel (2x)
	<p>21. Ông khoác áo-choàng-tắm vào và đi ra. 3.SG wear bathrobe on and go out ‘He put on the bathrobe and went out.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>28. Ông chồng bèn lấy kéo cắt- dây điện thoại -đi ... CL husband at.once take scissor cut wire telephone RES ‘The husband used a pair of scissors to cut off the telephone cord.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>35. Người chồng đang cố-gắng cắt bánh mì để cho vào cái nướng-bánh-mì. CL husband PROG try cut bread to put into CL bake-bread ‘The husband was making his effort to cut the bread, so that he could put it into the toaster.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>38. Ông chồng lấy dây quấn- cái-nướng-bánh-mì -lại CL husband take string wrap CL-toaster RES rồi cho vào lò nướng và đốt lò lên. then put into oven and burn oven up ‘(The husband was very annoyed) he used the wire of the toaster to wind the toaster. Then he put them into the oven and lighted it up.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>39. Lúc này có một người đàn ông đi xe đến và nhấn kèn gọi. time this exist one CL man go car come and press horn call ‘This time, there was a man (who) came with a car. He pressed the horn to signal.’</p>		-ani, -rel
M 28	<p>26. Ở đầu tiên, trong cái bọc tức, ông ta vội vội vàng vàng cầm CL first, in N-marker exasperated he hurryingly take lên cắt cắt, gọt-gọt phần ở ngoài để cho vào lò nướng bánh mì. RES cut-cut peel-peel part outside to put into toaster ‘For the first loaf of bread, with exasperation, the husband picked it up quickly and cut around it, so that he could put it into the toaster.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>33. Ông ta quyết định quăng hết tất cả vào lò vi sóng ... 3.SG decide throw all into microwave ‘He decided to throw all of them into the microwave...’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>34. Ngay lúc ấy, người bạn đưa đón ông ta đi làm đến và bấm còi hối thúc. at time that CL friend pick up him go work come and press honk urge ‘At that time, the friend who drives him to work came and pressed the horn to urge him.’</p>		-ani, -rel

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M 29	<p>22...ông bước đến xả nước nóng vào bồn tắm...</p> <p>3.SG come pump water hot into bathtub</p> <p>‘He came to open the hot water in the bathtub.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>29. Người chồng ...vợ được chiếc kéo liền nhanh chóng cắt dây-điện thoại...</p> <p>CL husband seize RES CL scissor at.once quickly cut telephone cord</p> <p>‘The husband seized a pair of scissors. Right after that, he cut the telephone cord quickly.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>30. Người vợ sau khi phát hiện ra, tay trái vẫn còn cầm ống nghe</p> <p>CL wife after spot hand left still take handset</p> <p>liền múa một vòng-cung tống thẳng chiếc ống-nghe vào bụng của</p> <p>at.once turn one round push directly CL handset PRE tummy POSS</p> <p>chồng-mình.</p> <p>husband- self</p> <p>‘After noticing that the left hand was still holding the handset, the wife immediately made a circle and then hit the handset (of the telephone) directly into the husband’s tummy.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>40. Trong lúc đó, bạn-đồng-nghiệp của ông lái xe đến</p> <p>in time DEM friend-colleague POSS him drive car come</p> <p>và nhấn còi xe inh ỏi để gọi ông.</p> <p>and press horn loudly to call him.</p> <p>‘At that time, a colleague of him came with his car. He pressed the horn loudly to call him.’</p>		-ani, -rel
	<p>48. Lúc này chiếc lò nướng đang bốc cháy phừng phực vì</p> <p>time this CL toaster PROG burn actively because</p> <p>lúc này trong cơn bực tức, ông đã nhét một chiếc máy</p> <p>before in Nmarker angry 3.SG PERF put one CL machine</p> <p>gì đó vào lò nướng và châm lửa</p> <p>certain into oven and set fire</p> <p>‘At this time, the toaster was burning actively. Because when he was angry, he put a certain machine into the oven and set it on fire.’</p>	-ani, -rel	-ani, -rel (2x)

<p>M 30</p>	<p>1-2. Ở một gia đình gồm-có hai-vợ-chồng và một đứa con- trai. Ông chồng PRE one family consist couple and one CL son CL husband đã dậy trước và liếc-nhìn vợ-mình đã dậy chưa. PERF get-up first and glance wife-self PERF get up or not ‘In a family with a couple and their son. The husband had already woken up and glanced toward his wife to see if she woke up or not.’</p>	<p>+ani, +rel</p>	
	<p>10. Hai vợ chồng đang cãi nhau thì một cú điện thoại two wife husband PROG quarrel COP one CL telephone gọi tới. Bà vợ bắt máy. come CL wife catch telephone (machine) ‘A phone call came while the couple were quarrelling. The wife caught the phone.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
	<p>16. Đang tắm nước nóng khá-là-thoải mái thì một hồi chuông PROG bath water hot rather comfortable CONJ one CL bell reo lên, ông chồng kêu bà vợ ra mở cửa. ring RES CL husband ask CL wife go-out open door ‘While, [the husband] was taking bath with hot water comfortably, a bell rang, he asked his wife to go out to open the door.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>
	<p>28. Ông chồng tìm cách trả đũa bằng cách lấy cây kéo CL husband find way retaliate by way take CL scissors cắt-đi dây-điện thoại để cho không nghe điện thoại nữa. cut-RES telephone cord in order to NEG hear phone anymore ‘The husband retaliated her (the wife) by using a pair of scissors to cut off the telephone cord, so that she could not talk via the phone anymore.’</p>		<p>-ani, -rel</p>

Appendix 6. Token frequency of nouns denoting [±animate] occurring with/without CL in subject and object positions and their expressing of (in)definiteness in 30 written texts.

Informants	[+animate]								[-animate]							
	+CL				-CL				+CL				-CL			
	Subj		Obj		Subj		Obj		Subj		Obj		Subj		Obj	
	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def
1	47	1	11	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	19	4	4	0	42	11
2	30	0	8	1	0	0	4	0	2	0	3	6	3	2	42	14
3	22	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	1	5	0	1	2	18	11
4	23	0	8	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	12	0	1	1	30	15
5	29	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	7	2	2	0	25	13
6	22	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	3	6	1	1	40	12
7	35	0	5	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	6	6	2	3	50	13
8	68	0	3	0	0	0	12	0	2	0	29	3	5	3	95	25
9	22	0	12	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2	1	26	6
10	21	0	3	0	1	0	11	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	18	6

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11	37	1	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	5	6	0	0	28	7
12	22	0	12	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	7	3	2	1	33	13
13	36	0	5	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	4	2	3	1	27	10
14	70	4	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	15	6	5	3	60	24
15	49	0	6	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	8	4	0	4	40	15
16	52	4	10	0	1	0	12	0	2	0	14	2	4	2	61	24
17	21	3	4	0	1	0	7	0	2	0	6	3	5	2	31	8
18	10	0	3	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	25	5
19	16	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	23	6
20	34	0	8	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	17	6
21	23	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	21	7
22	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	1	19	6
23	41	2	11	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	16	3	5	1	50	16
24	44	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	17	6	10	0	63	21
25	12	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	22	12
26	46	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	16	4	2	0	20	16

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27	39	0	10	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	13	1	4	0	43	19
28	26	1	9	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	11	2	3	0	35	7
29	38	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	3	1	20	8	8	1	51	9
30	26	0	8	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3	6	1	0	37	8
	978	19	176	3	8	1	114	0	34	9	256	94	78	31	1092	365

Appendix 7. Token frequency of nouns denoting [±animate] occurring with/without CL in subject and object positions and their expressing of (in)definiteness in 30 oral texts.

Informant	[+animate]								[-animate]							
	+CL				-CL				+CL				-CL			
	Subj		Obj		Subj		Obj		Subj		Obj		Subj		Obj	
	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def	+def	-def
1	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	1	0	0	12	1
2	17	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	8	1	1	0	15	1
3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	2	0	0	6	2
4	7	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	17	4	2	0	8	2
5	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	14	3	1	0	2	0
6	21	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	18	0	0	0	37	5
7	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	4	0	0	7	1
8	14	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	1	0	0	9	1
9	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	1	0	11	1
10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	1	1

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11	16	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	5	2	1	0	12	1
12	9	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	2	0	0	6	1
13	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1	0	0	23	2
14	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	2	0	0	10	1
15	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	2	0	0	9	4
16	3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6	0	0	6	2
17	8	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	1	0	9	2
18	4	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	3	1
19	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	11	0
20	11	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	9	3	0	0	13	2
21	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	2	0	0	8	0
22	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	2	0	0	12	1
23	10	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	15	2
24	20	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	14	2	1	0	10	4
25	11	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	5	1
26	13	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	20	3	0	0	19	2

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27	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	0	5	2
28	14	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	17	5	0	0	18	0
29	17	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	11	1
30	11	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	8	1	0	0	11	2
	262	0	133	0	0	1	3	0	55	2	230	62	12	0	324	46

Appendix 8. The frequency of nouns denoting [\pm human] & [\pm protagonist] occurring with/without classifiers in 30 written texts and 30 oral texts.

Informant	Animate nouns in written texts						Animate nouns in oral texts					
	[+human,+pro]		[+human, -pro]		[-human, -pro]		[+human,+pro]		[+human, -pro]		[-human, -pro]	
	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL	+CL	-CL
1	59	5	1	1	0	0	5	0	2	0	1	0
2	38	4	1	0	0	0	19	0	5	0	2	0
3	22	8	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	1	0
4	28	1	3	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	0
5	32	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	0
6	24	0	2	1	0	0	12	0	14	0	2	0
7	40	3	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0
8	69	11	2	1	0	0	16	0	2	0	2	0
9	31	2	3	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
10	22	12	2	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0
11	43	3	1	0	0	0	17	1	3	0	2	0

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12	32	1	2	2	0	0	15	0	1	0	0	0
13	39	7	2	0	0	0	3	0	7	0	0	0
14	72	3	3	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	0
15	54	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
16	63	12	3	1	0	0	4	0	4	0	2	0
17	28	6	0	2	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0
18	11	4	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0
19	14	4	3	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
20	43	3	0	0	0	0	16	0	4	0	1	0
21	26	1	0	0	0	0	8	0	2	0	2	0
22	17	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	0
23	52	2	2	3	0	0	10	0	3	0	0	0
24	49	0	2	0	0	0	20	0	2	0	2	0
25	18	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	2	0	0	0
26	53	0	0	1	0	0	13	0	10	0	0	0
27	44	2	5	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0

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28	33	3	3	0	0	0	15	0	2	0	1	0
29	41	2	2	0	0	0	15	0	4	0	3	0
30	33	1	0	1	0	0	10	0	5	0	2	0
TT	1130	106	46	17	0	0	283	1	83	0	28	2

Appendix 9. Token frequency of relational and unique nouns in 30 written texts and 30 oral texts.

Informants		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	TT
Nouns	±CL	Relational nouns in 30 written texts																														
Head	+CL	0	0	0	0			0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0		0			0			0	0	0						0
	-CL	0	1	1	2			2	1		1	1	2	1	2	1	3		1			1			1	1	1					
Stomach	+CL	0	0														0	0													0	0
	-CL	1	0														2	1													1	5
Face	+CL	0	0		0	0		0	0	0				0		0	0								0		0	0	1	0		1
	-CL	1	0		1	1		1	1	1				1		1	1								2		1	2	0	1		15
Buttocks	+CL	1	0				0		0							0		0	0	0				0				0		0	1	
	-CL	1	1				2		1							1		2	1	1				4				3		1	18	
Body	+CL	0	0					0	0			0			0	0		0		0							0				0	
	-CL	0	2					1	1			1			1	1		1		2							1				11	
Back	+CL		0					0												0											0	
	-CL		1					1												1											3	
Mouth	+CL							0																							0	

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Wife	+CL	13	13	8	13	12	6	16	17	11	8	19	14	14	24	15	21	9	5	7	14	10	5	14	17	7	20	14	13	15	10	384	
	-CL	5	1	4	1	1	0	2	9	2	7	2	0	4	3	1	5	6	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	66	
Son	+CL	11	3	1	5	3	5	7	12	6	2	5	6	2	11	6	8	4	1	4	9	6	1	3	1	2	10	7	3	5	2	151	
	-CL	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	
Mother	+CL			1			0	0	2					0	1		1	0				0		1			0	1		1		8	
	-CL			0			1	2	1					1	0		1	0					3		2			1	1		0		13
Nouns	Relational nouns in 30 written texts																																
Head	+CL	0										0	0																			0	
	-CL	1										1	1																				4
Body	+CL											0																					0
	-CL											1																					1
Eye	+CL						0																										0
	-CL						1																										
Hand	+CL				0						0																	0		0			0
	-CL				1						1																	1		2			5
Foot	+CL				1							0																					1
	-CL				1							1																					2

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Ground	+CL			0										1	0	0			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0		1		
	-CL			1										6	1	1			2	1	1	1			1	1			1	1	1	1
Neck	+CL							0																							0	
	-CL							1																							1	
Shadow	+CL																													0	0	
	-CL																													1	1	

Appendix 10. Examples of demonstrative determiners in 30 written texts

Informants	Modification of demonstratives	Modification of noun phrases
6	<i>cơ hội ấy</i> [chance DEM] ‘that chance’	
8	<i>cảnh ấy</i> [scene DEM] ‘that scene’	
11	<i>việc này</i> [thing DEM] ‘this thing’	
13	<i>-dịch vụ này</i> [chance DEM] ‘this chance’ <i>-chiếc chảo đang cháy đó</i> [CL pan PROG burn DEM] ‘that burning pan’	
14	<i>-việc đó, điều đó, chuyện đó</i> [thing DEM] ‘that thing’ <i>-cảnh đó</i> [scene DEM] ‘that scene’	
15	<i>việc này</i> [thing DEM] ‘this thing’	
16	<i>hai người kia</i> [two CL DEM] ‘those two persons’	
18	<i>việc đó, điều đó</i> [thing DEM] ‘that thing’	
21	<i>hai ông này</i> [two CL DEM] ‘these two mans’	
22	<i>ổ bánh-mì đó (2x)</i> [CL bread DEM] ‘that loaf of bread’	
24	<i>- người đàn-ông này</i> [CL man DEM] ‘this man’ <i>- căn nhà này</i> [CL house DEM] ‘this house’ <i>- ba người này</i> [three CL DEM] ‘these three persons’	
25	<i>- cái máy này</i> [CL machine DEM] ‘this machine’ <i>- người bạn kia</i> [CL friend DEM] ‘this friend’ <i>- cảnh này</i> [scene DEM] ‘this scene’	
27	<i>điều đó</i> [thing DEM] ‘that thing’	
28	<i>- ổ thứ 2 kia</i> [CL second DEM] ‘that second loaf of bread’ <i>- hai ổ kia</i> [two CL DEM] ‘those two loaves of bread’ <i>- cái lò nướng nhỏ nhỏ kia</i> [CL oven small DEM] ‘that small oven’ <i>- việc đó</i> [thing DEM] ‘that thing’	
29	<i>-câu nói này</i> [CL saying DEM] ‘this saying’ <i>-miếng thịt đó</i> [CL saying DEM] ‘that slice of meat’ <i>-người phụ nữ có mái tóc ngắn được uốn nếp kỹ-càng cùng với</i>	

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	<p>CL woman have CL hair short PASS curling carefully together with <i>chiếc bịt-mắt</i> <i>vẫn-còn</i> <i>đeo ở-phía-dưới</i> <i>cằm</i> <i>áy</i></p> <p>CL sleep-mask-blindfold still wear under chin DEM</p> <p>‘[that] woman who had a short perfect wavy hairs with a sleep mask blindfold eye shade wearing under her chin’</p>	
30	<p><i>gia đình này</i> [family DEM] ‘this family’</p>	

Note: PP: prepositional phrases, AP: adjectival phrases, NP: noun phrases.

Appendix 11. Examples of demonstrative determiners and noun phrases in 30 oral texts.

Informants	Modification of demonstratives	Modification of noun phrases
1	<i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (2), <i>ba cậu bé đó</i> ‘those three boys’ (5), <i>hai cái giỏ trái cây đó</i> ‘those two baskets of fruit’ (2), <i>ba cái trái cây đó</i> ‘those three fruits’, <i>cậu bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>cậu bé đó</i> ‘that boy’ (2), <i>cái giỏ đó</i> ‘that basket’ (2), <i>cái giỏ trái cây đó</i> ‘that basket of fruit’ (2), <i>trái đó</i> ‘that fruit’, <i>cái anh thanh niên đó</i> ‘THAT young man’	
2	<i>ba cậu bé kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (3), <i>hai người kia</i> ‘those two men’, <i>hai trái kia</i> ‘those two fruits’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (4), <i>cậu bé kia</i> ‘that boy’ (2), <i>cô bé này</i> ‘this girl’, <i>cô bé kia</i> ‘that girl’, <i>chú dê này</i> ‘this goat’, <i>chú dê đó</i> ‘that goat’, <i>cái trái này</i> ‘this fruit’, <i>cái cây này</i> ‘this tree’	
3	<i>ba đứa bé đó</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba đứa bé kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba thằng nhóc đang đứng đó</i> ‘those three boys who are standing there’, <i>ba đứa kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba đứa này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba quả đó</i> ‘those three fruits’, <i>thằng nhóc đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>thằng nhóc kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>người nông dân này</i> ‘this farmer’, <i>bé gái đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>cái trái đó</i> ‘that fruit’, <i>cái trái rớt xuống đất đó</i> ‘THAT fruit which is falling down on the ground’	
4	<i>ba cái thằng nhóc này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba đứa nhóc này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba cái trái lê đó</i> ‘those three pears’, <i>ba đứa này</i> ‘these three boys’ (3), <i>ba cái thằng này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>người đàn ông đó</i> ‘that man’, <i>con nhỏ con gái đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>thằng nhóc đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>cái túi đó</i> ‘that bag’, <i>cái nón đó</i> ‘that hat’, <i>trái lê đó</i> ‘that pear’ (2), <i>cái tạp dề trắng đó</i> ‘that white apron’, <i>cái trái lê dưới đất đó</i> ‘that pear on the ground’, <i>thằng kia</i> ‘that boy’	
5	<i>ba thằng đó</i> ‘those three boys’ (2), <i>cái thằng bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>thằng bé này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>con nhỏ đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>(cái) ông này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>cái ông đó</i> ‘that man’, <i>cái trái đó</i> ‘that fruit’, <i>cái đường đó</i> ‘that road’	

6	<i>ba đứa kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>chú bé này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>người đàn ông này</i> ‘this man’ (3), <i>thằng bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>cái trò chơi đó</i> ‘that game’	
7	<i>ba cậu bé kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (5), <i>người đàn ông kia</i> ‘that man’, <i>cái giỏ đó</i> ‘that basket’	
8	<i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (2), <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>cô bé này</i> ‘this girl’, <i>cái cây này</i> ‘this tree’ (2), <i>cây này</i> ‘this tree’	
9	<i>ba người bạn nhỏ này</i> ‘these three little friends’, <i>ba cái bạn nhỏ này</i> ‘these three little friends’ (2), <i>ba bạn nhỏ này</i> ‘these three little friends’, <i>em bé này</i> ‘this little boy’, <i>cái bạn nhỏ này</i> ‘this little boy’, <i>bạn nhỏ này</i> ‘thí little boy’, <i>cái bác nhà vườn này</i> ‘this farmer’, <i>cái sọt trái cây đó</i> ‘that basket of fruits’, <i>bạn này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>em này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>bé này</i> ‘this little boy’, <i>bác này</i> ‘this man’	
10	<i>ba bạn này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba bạn đó</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba bạn con trai khác</i> ‘those other three boys’, <i>bạn nam này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>người đàn ông đó</i> ‘that man’, <i>cái trái xanh xanh đó</i> ‘that green fruit’, <i>bạn đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>bạn này</i> ‘this boy’ (3)	
11	<i>ba người bạn này</i> ‘these three friends’ (2), <i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba bạn này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>cậu bé đó</i> ‘that boy’ (2), <i>cô bé đó</i> ‘this girl’, <i>người làm vườn này</i> ‘this farmer’(3), <i>cái giỏ trái cây đó</i> ‘that basket of fruit’, <i>cái gốc cây đó</i> ‘that stump’	
12	<i>ba anh em kia</i> ‘those three brothers’, <i>ba anh em này</i> ‘these three brothers’, <i>cái bác nông dân này</i> ‘this farmer’, <i>cái cô bé đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>cái trái đó</i> ‘that fruit’, <i>cái sọt trái cây đó</i> ‘that basket of fruit’	
13	<i>hai trái cóc kia</i> ‘those two ambarellas’, <i>ba thằng này</i> ‘these three boys’ (2), <i>ba người này</i> ‘these three persons’ (3), <i>thằng bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>con bé này</i> ‘this girl’ (3), <i>cái người đàn ông này</i> ‘this farmer’, <i>con nhỏ này</i> ‘this girl’, <i>cái thang đó</i> ‘that ladder’ (2), <i>cái túi đó</i> ‘that bag’ (3), <i>clip đó</i> ‘that clip’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’, <i>thằng này</i> ‘this boy’ (4), <i>cái thằng này</i> ‘THIS boy’	
14	<i>ba thằng nhỏ này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba thằng bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (2), <i>ba bé trai khác</i> ‘those other boys’, <i>ba trái lê đó</i> ‘those three pears’ (2),	

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	<i>thằng bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>bé gái đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>cái sọt đó</i> ‘that basket’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’	
15	<i>mấy thằng đó</i> ‘those boys’	
16	<i>ba thằng đó</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba người này</i> ‘these three persons’, <i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba trái đó</i> ‘those three fruits’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (9x), <i>cậu bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>cậu bé đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>thằng bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>con nhỏ đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>thằng này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>con đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’ (2), <i>trái kia</i> ‘that fruit’, <i>cái này</i> ‘this thing’	
17	<i>ba cậu bé đó</i> ‘those three boys’ (2), <i>ba cậu bé kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (3), <i>người nông dân kia</i> ‘that farmer’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>người nông dân kia</i> ‘that farmer’	
18	<i>hai cái giỏ này</i> ‘these two baskets of fruit’, <i>những quả này</i> ‘these fruits’, <i>những cái trái này</i> ‘these fruits’, <i>ba cái thằng bé này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba thằng bé khác</i> ‘those other three boys’, <i>ba cái giỏ đó</i> ‘those three baskets’, <i>ba đứa này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>thằng bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (3), <i>cái giỏ này</i> ‘this basket’, <i>cái ông này</i> ‘this man’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’ (3)	
19	<i>ba người đó / ba người kia</i> ‘those three persons’, <i>chiếc nón đó</i> ‘that hat’	
20	<i>người đàn ông này</i> ‘this man’	
21	<i>ba thằng nhóc này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba cái thằng kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba thằng nhóc kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba đứa nhóc đang chơi này</i> ‘these three boys who are playing’, <i>thằng nhóc đi xe đạp đó</i> ‘that boy who was riding bike’, <i>người đàn ông đó</i> ‘that man’, <i>thằng nhóc đó</i> ‘that boy’ (3), <i>thằng nhóc này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>cái trái này</i> ‘this fruit’ (2), <i>cái trái cây đó</i> ‘that fruit’, <i>trái đó</i> ‘that fruit’	
22	<i>mấy đứa bé kia</i> ‘those children’ (2), <i>mấy đứa bé khác</i> ‘those other children’, <i>mấy người này</i> ‘these persons’, <i>mấy người kia</i> ‘those persons’, <i>mấy đứa kia</i> ‘those children’, <i>mấy người đó</i> ‘those persons’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (3), <i>cái giỏ này</i> ‘this basket’, <i>cái giỏ đó</i> ‘that basket’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’ (2), <i>cái ông kia</i> ‘that man’, <i>ông kia</i> ‘that man’ (3), <i>cái ông đó</i> ‘that man’, <i>ông đó</i> ‘that man’	

23	<i>ba đứa này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>người dắt dê này</i> ‘this shepherd’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>cái hòn đá này</i> ‘that stone’, <i>cái trái cây đó</i> ‘that fruit’ (2)	
24	<i>ba đứa bé đó</i> ‘those three boys’ (2), <i>ba đứa bé này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba thằng này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>cô bé đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>cái thằng cao lớn đó</i> ‘that taller one’, <i>cậu bé đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>người nông dân này</i> ‘this farmer’ (3), <i>cô bé này</i> ‘that girl’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>cái thằng bé này</i> ‘THIS boy’, <i>cái nón đó</i> ‘that hat’, <i>cái giỏ đó</i> ‘that girl’, <i>cái cảnh này</i> ‘this scene’, <i>đoạn clip đó</i> ‘that clip’, <i>thằng kia</i> ‘that girl’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’, <i>cái thằng cao lớn thứ hai</i> ‘the second taller one’	
25	<i>ba người đó</i> ‘those three persons’ (2), <i>ba thằng này</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>anh chàng đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>ông kia</i> ‘that man’	
26	<i>ba đứa bé trai này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba đứa bé trai khác</i> ‘those other three boys’, <i>cô học sinh nữ này</i> ‘this girl student’ (2), <i>đứa bé trai kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>đứa bé trai này</i> ‘this boy’ (8), <i>người thanh niên này</i> ‘this young man’	
27	<i>những đứa bé đó</i> ‘those children’, <i>cậu bé đó</i> ‘that boy’	
28	<i>những cái trái đó</i> (2) ‘those fruits’, <i>những cái cây này</i> ‘these trees’, <i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (5), <i>ba đứa bé này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>người nông dân này</i> ‘this farmer’ (3), <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>cô bé này</i> ‘this girl’ (2), <i>thằng bé này</i> ‘this boy’, <i>cái cây này</i> ‘this tree’ (2), <i>cậu này</i> ‘this boy’ (2), <i>người này</i> ‘this man’	<i>cậu bé xe đạp</i> (2x) ‘the bike boy’
29	<i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’ (2), <i>ba cậu bé trai kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>ba cậu bé trai khác</i> ‘those other three boys’, <i>những sọt trái cây đó</i> ‘those baskets of fruit’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (3), <i>cậu bé đó</i> ‘that boy’, <i>cậu bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>người nông dân đó</i> ‘that farmer’ (2), <i>câu chuyện này</i> ‘this story’ (2), <i>cái lê này</i> ‘this pear’, <i>cái nón đó</i> ‘that hat’, <i>cái cây đó</i> ‘that tree’	
30	<i>ba cậu bé này</i> ‘these three boys’, <i>ba người này</i> ‘these three persons’, <i>ba cậu bé kia</i> ‘those three boys’, <i>cậu bé đang cầm đồ chơi kia</i> ‘that boy who is taking a game’, <i>người đàn ông này</i> ‘this man’, <i>con dê này</i> ‘this goat’, <i>cậu bé này</i> ‘this boy’ (9), <i>cậu bé kia</i> ‘that boy’, <i>đoạn phim này</i> ‘this film’, <i>giỏ trái cây kia</i> ‘that basket of fruit’, <i>cái giỏ kia</i> ‘that basket’, <i>ông này</i> ‘this man’ (3), <i>cái này</i> ‘this thing’	

Appendix 12. Examples of modification of stative verbs (adjectival clauses) in 30 written texts.

Text	Adjectival clauses in written texts	[± CL]		[± def]		[± relational/ ±unique]		[± animate]	
		+CL	-CL	+def	-def	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<p><i>Người đàn ông cho cả lò nướng bánh nhỏ vào lò nướng lớn và bật lửa</i></p> <p>CL man put whole small-baking-machine into big-baking-machine and turn-on fire</p> <p>‘The man put the whole small baking machine (toaster) into the big baking machine (oven) and then turned on the stove.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
			-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Anh ta lấy con dao lớn để chặt hộp thức ăn làm đôi.</i></p> <p>3.SG use CL big knife to chop CL food make two</p> <p>‘He used a big knife to chop the can of food into two halves.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Anh ta làm rơi thức ăn nóng trên chảo xuống chân</i></p> <p>3.SG drop food hot on pan down foot</p> <p>‘He dropped the hot food from the pan to his foot.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	NO EXAMPLE from Texts 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9								

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6	<p><i>Anh đang đun ấm nước với ngọn lửa to.</i> 3.SG PROG boil CL water with CL fire big ‘He was boiling a kettle of water with a big fire.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ấm nước sôi ... cũng đang bốc cháy</i> CL water boil also PROG burn ‘The boiling kettle of water (and the pan of meat which was grilling on the stove) were also getting burnt.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
8	<p><i>Anh ta lấy miếng bánh to-hơn đặt vào máy sấy.</i> 3.SG take CL bread big-ger put in toaster ‘He took the bigger piece of bread and put into the toaster.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
10	<p><i>Cậu con trai nghịch ngợm nghĩ ra một trò đùa...</i> CL son naughty think RES one joke ‘The naughty son thought of a joke ...’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Cậu con trai lém lỉnh phụ họa bằng cách bật ô che đầu.</i> CL son clever accompany by turn-on umbrella cover head ‘The clever son accompanied (his father) by turning on the umbrella to cover his head.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
		+CL	-def				-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Ông còn té xuống ngồi vào cả cái chảo nóng</i></p> <p>3.SG also fall down sit on whole CL pan hot</p> <p>‘He also fell down on a hot pan.’</p>							
11	<p><i>Người chồng đi lấy cái áo khô choàng lên người</i></p> <p>CL husband go get CL shirt dry cover on body</p> <p>‘The husband took a dry shirt to cover his body.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel	-ani
	<p><i>Ông bị ngã và ngồi lên phải cái chảo đang nóng</i></p> <p>3.SG PASS fall and sit on PASS CL pan PROG hot</p> <p>‘He fell down and sat on a hot pan.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	NO EXAMPLE from Informants 12, 13, 15							
14	<p><i>Con của họ ... bước ra từ cánh cửa chính giữa.</i></p> <p>son POSS them step out from CL door middle</p> <p>‘Their son stepped out from the middle door.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	<p><i>Người phụ nữ lớn tuổi dặn dò cô ta phải biết răn đe chồng.</i></p> <p>CL woman elderly advice her must know threaten husband</p> <p>‘The elderly woman advised her to know how to threaten (her) husband.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani

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	<p><i>Người đàn ông tội nghiệp, mình đầy xà bông, mặc vội chiếc áo-choàng ra mở cửa.</i></p> <p>CL man poor body full soap wear hurry CL coat go-out open door</p> <p>‘The poor man, body full of soap, put on the coat hurriedly and went out to open the door.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Người đàn ông bỏ dở cái chảo, và lấy bánh mì tròn ra.</i></p> <p>CL man leave CL pan and take bread round out</p> <p>‘The man left the pan and took the round piece of bread out.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cuối cùng, bất lực cầm cái chảo đen xì lên.</i></p> <p>finally inefficient take CL pan black up</p> <p>‘Finally, he took the charring pan up inefficiently.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
16	<p><i>Cuối cùng, ông...dùng dao to chặt thành khoanh...</i></p> <p>finally 3.SG use knife big chop into zoning</p> <p>‘Finally, he used a big knife to “chop” (the piece of bread) into slices.’</p>		-CL		-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người chồng quyết định dùng dao lớn bổ đôi cái hộp ra</i></p> <p>CL husband decide use knife big cut duo CL box RES</p> <p>‘The husband decided to use the big knife to cut the box into two halves.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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17	<p><i>Cậu con trai ma mãnh</i> thấy vậy cũng cười toe toét. CL son cunning see that also laugh ‘The cunning son saw that and laughed.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Ông ta liền lấy con dao lớn</i> chặt từng miếng bánh ra. 3.SG at.once take CL knife big chop each CL bread RES ‘He immediately took a big knife to chop the piece of bread.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông ta lại dùng chiếc dao lớn</i> chặt từng hộp ra cho vào đĩa. 3.SG emph use CL knife big chop each can RES put in dish ‘He used the big knife to chop each of the can and then, put (the food) on the dish.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	NO EXAMPLE from Informants 18, 19								
20	<p>...<i>một gia đình</i> gồm hai vợ chồng và <i>đứa con trai nhỏ</i>. one family of two parents and CL son small ‘... a family with a couple and their small son.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
21	<p><i>Anh bị cậu con trai tinh nghịch</i> làm cho ngã... 3.SG PASS CL son naughty cause fall ‘He fell down caused by his naughty son.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	

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22	<p><i>Cả-hai-vợ-chồng đều muốn vùi đầu vào chiếc gối êm</i></p> <p>couple both want bury head into CL pillow soft</p> <p>‘...the couple still wanted to sleep on their soft pillows.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông chồng ... trượt ngã ngay trên cái chảo nóng.</i></p> <p>CL husband slip fall right on CL pan hot</p> <p>‘The husband fell down right on the frying pan.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
23	<p><i>Ông chồng lấy một ổ bánh mì to tròn ra và cắt bằng con dao nhỏ.</i></p> <p>CL husband take one CL bread big oval out and cut by CL knife small</p> <p>‘The husband took out one piece of big and round bread, then cut it with a small knife.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người chồng cố nhét vào máy nướng bánh mì nhỏ nhưng cũng không được.</i></p> <p>CL husband try stuff into machine-bake-bread-small but either NEG RES</p> <p>‘The husband tried to stuff (the piece of bread) into the small toaster but it did not work either.’</p>		-CL		+def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông chồng cố gắng dùng dây-điện của máy-nướng bánh mì nhỏ quấn mấy miếng</i></p> <p>CL husband try use electric-wire of bake-machinebread small wrap PL CL</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>bánh mì vừa chặt khúc cố nhét vào máy-nướng-bánh-mì-nhỏ và bỏ vào lò nướng.</i></p> <p>bread just chop piece try stuff into toaster-small and put into oven</p> <p>‘The husband tried to use the wire of the toaster to wrap the piece of bread and the small toaster together and then put (them) into the oven.’</p>							
	<p><i>Thức ăn nóng vô tình rơi vào chân bên trái của ông chồng.</i></p> <p>food hot incidentally drop on foot-left of CL husband</p> <p>‘The hot food dropped down on the husband’s left foot.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
24	<p><i>Người phụ nữ trẻ tuổi tươi cười nói chuyện.</i></p> <p>CL woman young smile talk</p> <p>‘The young woman was talking happily.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani
	<p><i>Người đàn ông lấy ra cái bánh hình tròn rồi dùng dao cắt.</i></p> <p>CL man take out CL bread round then use knife cut</p> <p>‘The man took the bread in the box, he picked out a round bread and cut it with a knife.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani

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	<p><i>Cuối cùng, lấy được cái bánh hình-chữ-nhật,</i> finally take RES CL bread rectangle <i>người đàn ông cầm dao cỡ lớn chặt xuống từng khúc.</i> CL man take knife size big chop down each chunk ‘Finally, he got the piece of bread in rectangle-shape, he chopped it into small chunks with a big knife.’</p>		-CL		-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông cầm con dao cỡ lớn chặt thẳng vào hộp đồ ăn.</i> 3.SG take CL knife size big chop directly into CL food ‘He used a big knife to chop directly into the can of food.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	NO EXAMPLE from Informants 25, 27, 29								
26	<p><i>Ông ta bị đưa con đẩy chiếc xe kéo đồ chơi lớn vào người và té bật ngửa lên chiếc xe.</i> 3.SG PASS CL son push CL rickshaw toy big into body and fall back-up on CL car ‘He fell down by a big toy rickshaw pushed on him by his son.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
28	<p><i>Lần này rút kinh nghiệm, ông ta chộp lấy con dao côi, cán lớn.</i> time this take experience 3.SG grab CL knife big handle big. ‘This time, he had more experience, he grabbed the big knife with big handle.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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<p>30</p>	<p><i>Ông chồng lấy con dao lớn chặt đồ-hộp ra làm đôi</i> CL husband take CL knife big chop canned-food RES into two-halves <i>để lấy đồ-ăn ra.</i> to take food out ‘The husband used a big knife to chop the can into two halves to take the food out.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>			<p>-def</p>		<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
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Appendix 13. Examples of modification of stative verbs in 30 oral texts.

Text	Adjectival clauses in oral texts	[± CL]		[± def]		[± relational/ ±unique]		[±animate]	
		+CL	-CL	+def	-def	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<i>cái khăn-quần-cổ màu-đỏ</i> CL scarf red 'a red scarf'	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	No example from Texts 2, 3, 4								
5	<i>chiếc khăn-quàng màu-đỏ</i> CL scarf red 'a red scarf'	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	No example from Texts 6,7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.								
9	<i>cái thằng cao lớn thứ-hai</i> CL boy tall big second 'THE second big tall boy'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
10	<i>chiếc xe-đạp màu-đỏ</i>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani

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	CL bike red 'a red bicycle'							
17	<i>áo màu đỏ bordoux, đỏ sậm</i> shirt colour red Bordeaux red dark 'a Bordeaux red, dark red shirt'		-CL		-def		-rel	-ani
18	No example from Texts 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30							
19	<i>cái tạp dề màu trắng</i> CL apron colour white 'a white apron'	+CL			-def		-rel	-ani
	<i>trong cái tạp dề trắng</i> PRE CL apron white 'in the white apron'	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
21	<i>Chú bé này ... đi chiếc xe đạp màu đỏ</i> CL boy DEM... ride CL bike colour red 'The boy rode a red bike.'	+CL			-def		-rel	-ani

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	<p><i>đi trên đường à gồ ghề, khắp khắp nhiều đá</i></p> <p>ride on road SPF rugged, uneven many stone</p> <p>‘rode on a rugged and uneven road with many stones’</p>		-CL		-def		-rel		-ani
25	<p><i>chơi cái trái banh nhỏ nhỏ</i></p> <p>play CL CL ball small small</p> <p>‘played a small ball’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
27	<p><i>Ông đeo cái a cái khăn màu đỏ lên cổ ông.</i></p> <p>he wear CL SFP CL scarf-color-red on neck his</p> <p>‘He put a red scarf on his neck.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
29	<p><i>có cái túi bự ở dưới (cái tạp dề)</i></p> <p>have CL pocket big under</p> <p>‘The apron had a big pocket on it.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani

Appendix 14. Examples of relative clauses in 30 written texts

Text	Relative clauses in written texts	[± CL]		[± def]		[± relational/ unique]		[± animate]	
		+CL	-CL	+def	-def	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<p>... <i>tạt sang chỗ người vợ đang nằm ngủ</i></p> <p>throw toward place CL wife PROG lie sleep</p> <p>‘... throw toward the place where the wife was sleeping’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p>... <i>đổ nước ra ly tạt sang chỗ chồng</i></p> <p>... pour water out glass throw toward place husband</p> <p>‘pour the water into the glass and throw into <i>the husband’s place</i>’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Anh ta ... lại ngã oạch vào cái chảo đang cháy.</i></p> <p>3.SG gain fall strongly into CL pan PROG fire</p> <p>‘He ... fell down strongly on the <i>pan which was burning.</i>’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
2	<p>... <i>uốn nắn chồng như cách bà đã làm với chồng-bà lúc-xưa.</i></p> <p>contort husband as way she PERF do with her-husband past-time</p> <p>‘... contorted her husband as the way that she did with him in the past.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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3	<p><i>Anh chàng ...buộc chị vợ ăn bữa sáng mình đã dày-công nấu.</i></p> <p>CL man force CL wife eat breakfast-self PERF thick-effort cook</p> <p>‘The man ... forced his wife to eat <i>the breakfast that he had spent a lot of effort to cook.</i>’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
4	<p><i>Ông đặt nó ngồi lên chiếc máy-giặt đặt trong bếp.</i></p> <p>3.SG put it sit PRE CL washing-machine place in kitchen</p> <p>‘The husband put him (his son) to sit on <i>a washing machine which was put in the kitchen.</i>’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông nhảy lò cò và té vào cái chảo còn nghi ngút khói.</i></p> <p>3.SG hop and fall in CL pan still fuming</p> <p>‘He hopped and fell down on <i>the pan which was still fuming.</i>’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
5	<p><i>Người chồng đang tắm trong bồn-nước đầy xà phòng vội mặc áo choàng đi ra mở cửa.</i></p> <p>CL husband PROG bath PRE bathtub full soap</p> <p>hurriedly wear jacket go out open door</p> <p>‘The husband who was bathing in the bathtub full of soap put on the bath-suit quickly and went out to open the door.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	

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	<p><i>Anh chồng cầm cái chảo đang cháy, lắc đầu thở dài,...</i></p> <p>CL husband hold CL pan PROG burn shake head sigh</p> <p>‘He took the pan which was burning, shook his head with a sigh,...’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Nóng quá, anh ta lao đảo và té ngồi vào cái chảo đang cháy.</i></p> <p>hot too 3.SG stagger and fall sit into CL pan PROG burn</p> <p>‘Feeling hot, he staggered, then fell down in the pan which was burning.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
6	<p><i>Người chồng ... lén nhìn qua người vợ nằm giường bên kia.</i></p> <p>CL husband stealthily look PRE CL wife lie bed side other</p> <p>‘The husband (woke up) and looked toward the wife who was lying on the bed opposite stealthily.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Anh ... ngã xuống đất mà lại để mông lên ngay lòng chảo đang cháy khét.</i></p> <p>3.SG fall down ground EMPH put buttocks on right center pan PROG char</p> <p>‘He fell down on the ground and his buttocks were put right on the centre of the pan which was burning to char.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Anh ta rót một ly nước khác hắt lại người vợ đang ngủ.</i></p> <p>3.SG pour one CL water another throw back CL wife PROG sleep</p> <p>‘He poured another glass of water and threw it back on the wife who was sleeping.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	

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	<p><i>Ấm nước sôi và chảo thịt đang nướng cũng đang bốc cháy</i></p> <p>CL water boil CONJ CL meat PROG grill also PROG burn</p> <p>‘The boiling kettle of water and the pan of meat which was grilling (on the stove) were also getting burnt.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cô ta ... ném nguyên tô súp vào chiếc áo-vest bảnh bao anh ta đang mặc.</i></p> <p>3.SG throw whole CL soup PRE CL vest cool 3.SG PROG wear</p> <p>‘She ... threw the whole bowl of soup into [the] very cool vest that he was wearing.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
7	<p><i>Người cha ... nghĩ rằng người vợ đang ngủ ở giường bên kia tạt nước vào mình.</i></p> <p>CL father... think COMP CL wife PROG sleep in bed side that throw water into self</p> <p>‘The father thought that the wife who was sleeping in the bed opposite threw the water on him.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Cô vợ lấy cái xô đựng nước này-giờ trút hết lên đầu người chồng.</i></p> <p>CLwife take CL bucket contain water past-to-now drain all on head CL husband</p> <p>‘The wife used a bucket which contained the water from earlier till now to toss all of it onto her husband’s head.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ đang ngủ ngon giật mình thức-giác.</i></p> <p>CL wife PROG sleep well startle wake-up</p> <p>‘The wife who was sleeping well startled and then woke up.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	

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	<p>Cái áo-khoác-tắm ông ta đang mặc bốc-khói-nghi-ngút. CL bathrobe 3.SG PROG wear get-burn-and-fuming ‘The bathrobe that he was wearing got burnt and fuming.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ ... không muốn ăn thức ăn người chồng mang vào.</i> CL wife NEG want eat food CL husband bring PRE ‘The wife did not want to eat the food that the husband brought in for her.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
8	<p><i>Anh ta đặt miếng bánh vừa chặt vào một máy sấy.</i> 3.SG put CL bread just chop RES one dryer ‘He put the piece of bread that he has just chopped into a toaster.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Kế bên lò nướng là chiếc chảo đang bốc khói trên bếp.</i> next-to oven COP CL pan PROG fuming PRE stove ‘Next to the oven was a pan which was fuming on the stove.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
9	<p><i>Anh ta vụng về làm rơi thức ăn đang còn nóng vào chân rồi ngồi lên luôn cái chảo đang cháy.</i> 3.SG clumsy drop food PROG still hot PRE foot CONJ sit PRE right CL pan PROG burn ‘He was clumsy; thus, he caused the food which was still very hot to drop on his foot. Then, he fell and sat down right on the pan which was burning.’</p>	+CL	-CL	+def +def			- rel -rel		- ani -ani

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	<p><i>Anh ta vội vã mở vòi nước và quay chỗ đang bốc khói</i></p> <p>3.SG hastily open faucet and turn place PROG fuming</p> <p><i>trên người vào để dập lửa.</i></p> <p>on body into put distinguish fire</p> <p>‘He opened the faucet quickly and turn the part which was fuming on his body into the water to extinguish the fire.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
10	<p><i>Cô vợ thì thoải mái nghỉ-ngoi, tận hưởng chờ</i></p> <p>CL wife COP comfortably take-a-rest enjoy wait</p> <p><i>bữa sáng do chồng làm.</i></p> <p>breakfast by husband make</p> <p>‘The wife was taking a rest comfortably and waiting for the breakfast made by her husband happily.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người đồng nghiệp lúc nãy bước vào.</i></p> <p>CL colleague time past enter</p> <p>‘The colleague who was mentioned earlier entered.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
11	<p><i>Ông trả thù vợ lại bằng cách đổ nước vào ly và</i></p> <p>3.SG revenge wife back by way pour water into glass and</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	

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	<p><i>hắt vào người vợ đang ngủ.</i> toss at CL wife PROG sleep 'He got revenge on his wife by pouring the water into a glass and tossed it onto <i>his wife who was sleeping.</i>'</p>							
12	<p><i>Ông ôm đứa bé vào bếp và đặt nó ngồi lên chiếc máy-giặt đặt trong bếp.</i> CL washing-machine located in kitchen 'He took the boy into the kitchen and put him to sit on [the] washing machine which was put in the kitchen.'</p>	+CL			-def		-rel	-ani
	<p><i>Ông nhảy lò cò và té vào cái chảo còn nghi-ngút-khói.</i> 3.SG hop and fall PRE CL pan still fuming 'He hopped and then fell on <i>the pan which was still fuming.</i>'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
13	<p><i>Cậu bé đã đến lấy cốc nước đang ở trên bàn cạnh giường-ngủ của ba rồi hắt nước lên người ông ấy.</i> CL kid PERF come get CL water PROG exist PRE table beside bed POSS father then toss water PRE body him 'The boy came to take <i>the cup of water which was put on the table near his father's bed</i> and then tossed the water on the father's body.'</p>	+CL			-def		-rel	-ani

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14	<p><i>Người đàn ông đeo kính tỉnh-giác, ...</i> CL man wear eye-glass wake-up, ... ‘The man who was wearing the eyeglasses woke up...’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Người vợ sẽ thấy ngon khi ăn đồ anh ta nấu.</i> CL wife FUT feel delicious when eat food he cook ‘The wife would enjoy the delicious food he cooked.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Đứa bé con đang ngồi trên tủ gần-đây vỗ tay cổ vũ việc đang diễn ra.</i> CL child PROG sit on closet nearby clap hand support thing PROG happen ‘The son who was sitting on the table near by clapped his hand to support what happening.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
15	<p><i>Chân ông ta đụng-vào chiếc xe-đồ-chơi của đứa con để trên sàn nhà.</i> leg 3.SG hit-RES CL toy-car POSS CL son put on floor ‘His leg hit into the toy car of the son which was put on the floor.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Nhưng không may, ông ta té vào cái chảo đang cháy.</i> CONJ unfortunately 3.SG fall PRE CL pan PROG burn ‘But unfortunately, he fell down onto the pan which was burning.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
16	<p><i>Người vợ liền lấy xô nước đứa con để-lại xối hết lên người chồng.</i> CL wife immediately take CL water CL son leave toss RES PRE CL husband ‘The wife immediately took the bucket of water that the son left (for them) and tossed it onto the husband.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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<p><i>Chuông reng, người chồng đang lặn ngụp trong xà bông</i> bell ring CL husband PROG submerge PRE soap <i>thò-đầu-ra bảo vợ mở cửa.</i> peek-head-out ask wife open door ‘The bell rang, the husband who was submerging in the bathtub full of soap peeked his head out from the foam of soap and asked his wife to open the door.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Cái chảo đặt từ ban-đầu bắt đầu sôi sùng sục.</i> CL pan set from beginning start boil strongly ‘The pan which was placed (on the stove) at the beginning started to boil strongly.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Người chồng lại ngồi trúng cái chảo đang cháy</i> CL husband EMPH sit RES CL pan PROG burn <i>đã vứt xuống hồi nãy và bị cháy quần áo.</i> PROG throw PRE before and PASS burn clothing ‘The husband did sit right on the burning pan that he had thrown down before and his clothing got burnt.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Người vợ giả bộ ói và chê bai đồ ăn của chồng mang cho.</i> CL wife pretend vomit and decry food POSS husband bring for ‘The wife pretended to vomit and decried the food that the husband brought for her.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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17	<p><i>Nóng quá, ông nhảy cẫng-lên nhưng lại ngã ngay vào cái chảo đang cháy.</i> hot too 3.SG jump RES CONJ fall right into CL pan PROG burn ‘Being burnt, he jumped up and fell down right on the pan which was burning.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
18	<p><i>Ông ta cầm chảo lên thì miếng đồ ăn đang cháy rớt trúng chân, ông ta nóng quá 3.SG take pan up COP CL food PROG burn fall RES foot 3.SG hot very vứt chảo ngồi xuống đất thì lại ngồi trúng cái chảo đang bốc cháy.</i> throw pan sit down ground COP EMPH sit RES CL pan PROG burning ‘He took up the pan, the food which was being burnt dropped down right on his foot. He got burnt; thus, he threw the pan and sat down on the ground. Unfortunately, he sat right on the pan which was burning.’</p>	+CL(2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)
19	<p><i>Người vợ bắt điện thoại để phân bua với chủ-nợ về khoản tiền chậm trả.</i> CL wife take telephone to explain with creditor about CL money late pay ‘The wife picked up the phone to explain to the creditor about the (sum) of money that they paid late.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
20	<p><i>Người chồng đành phải đi ra ngoài mở cửa với CL husband have to go outside open door with chiếc khăn-tắm quấn-quanh người còn đầy xà-phòng.</i> CL bath-towel wrap-around body still full soap. ‘The husband had to go out with a bath towel wrapped around his body full of soap in order to open the door.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Vừa vào phòng, ông chồng bị đứa con đang chơi đùa với chiếc xe-đồ chơi</i> just enter room CL husband PASS CL son PROG play with CL toy-car <i>đẩy trúng làm ngã.</i> push RES cause fall ‘Just entering the room, the husband was caused to fall down by the son who was playing with his toy car.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
21	<p><i>Người vợ đã dùng xô nước đứa con vừa mang đến</i> CL wife PERF use CL water CL child just bring there <i>đổ hết lên người chồng mình.</i> pour RES PRE body husband self ‘The wife used the bucket of water which was brought in by her son to pour all of it onto her husband’s body.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
22	<p><i>Cả quả trứng chiên trên chảo kế-bên cũng văng-tung-tóe.</i> even CL egg fry PRE pan beside also splatter ‘Even the egg which was frying in the pan next to him also splattered.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông vội vã kéo vòi nước để xả vào cái mông đang bốc-khói-ngùn-ngụt của mình.</i> 3.SG hurriedly pull faucet to discharge CL buttocks PROG fuming-strongly POSS self ‘He took the faucet quickly to discharge the water onto his buttocks which were being burnt seriously.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel			-ani

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<p>23</p>	<p><i>Người vợ cầm xô nước mà đứa con trai vừa mang ra</i> CL wife take CL water REL CL son just bring out <i>và đổ lên người của người chồng.</i> and pour PRE body POSS CL husband. ‘His wife took the bucket of water that her son had just brought in to pour on her husband’s body.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>Sau đó, anh ta lấy bộ đồ-vest đang để trên ghế</i> after that 3.SG take CL clothe-vest PROG put on chair <i>và ãm đứa con bước vào nhà-bếp và nấu-ăn.</i> and bring CL child step in kitchen and cook ‘After that, he took the vest on a chair and brought his son to the kitchen. Then, he started cooking.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>Người vợ ở bên ngoài lấy đồ ăn đã giấu sẵn ra ...</i> CL wife stay outside take food PERF hide already out ‘The wife stayed outside (the kitchen). She took out the food which was hidden by her earlier and started eating.’</p>		<p>-CL</p>		<p>-def</p>		<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>Ông buông cái chảo đang cháy-khét xuống đất và ôm</i> 3.Sg drop CL pan PROG charred down ground and hold <i>cái chân trái bị phỏng nháy nháy, vô tình dẫm vào miếng</i> CL foot-left PASS burned jump jump incidentally step PRE CL</p>	<p>+CL (4x)</p>		<p>+def(4 x)</p>		<p>+rel (1x)</p>	<p>-rel (3x)</p>		<p>-ani (4x)</p>

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<p><i>thức ăn đang cháy và té ập mông vào cái chảo thức ăn</i> food PROG burn and fall hit buttocks into CL pan food <i>đang cháy nằm phía-dưới sàn mà ông buông rơi lúc nãy.</i> PROG burn lie under floor REL 3.SG release fall earlier ‘He released the pan which was burning to hold his left foot which is getting burnt and hopped. Accidentally, he hopped on a piece of food which is also burning and fell down. His buttocks sat right on the burning pan that he dropped on the floor earlier.’</p>								
<p><i>Ông chồng...bung thức ăn để trên mâm mà anh ta</i> CL husband bring food put PRE trap REL 3.SG <i>vừa chuẩn bị xong và đem ra cho người vợ.</i> just prepare RES and bring out for CL wife ‘The husband (changed the vest and) brought the food on the tray which was just done by him and went to give it to his wife.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		
<p><i>Người vợ ném tô thức ăn cô đang cầm trên tay mà</i> CL wife throw CL food she PROG handle PRE hand REL <i>người chồng đã yêu cầu cô ta ăn vào lưng của anh chồng.</i> CL husband PERF require her eat into back POSS CL husband ‘The wife threw the bowl of food that the husband asked her to eat on her hand into the husband’s back.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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24	<p><i>Cậu bé xuống giường tiến tới người đàn ông vừa ngủ lại khi-nãy.</i></p> <p>CL boy descend bed go to CL man just sleep back earlier</p> <p>‘The boy stepped down from his bed and went to the man who just got back to sleep earlier.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Ông... dẫm phải miếng thịt còn nóng té ngã-xuống,</i></p> <p>3.SG step RES CL meat still hot fall down</p> <p><i>mông lại đè trúng cái chảo đang nóng.</i></p> <p>buttocks EMPH press RES CL pan PROG hot</p> <p>‘He ... stepped on the meat which was still very hot and fell down. His buttocks fell exactly right on the pan which was also very hot.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
25	<p><i>Ông ngã vào xô nước mà đứa con trai vừa mang vào...</i></p> <p>3.SG fall PRE CL water REL CL son just bring PRE</p> <p>‘He fell down on the bucket of water that his son had brought in.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông ta hốt hoảng cầm chiếc chảo chiên thịt đang bốc-cháy</i></p> <p>3.SG panic hold CL pan fry meat PROG burn</p> <p><i>nhưng lại bất cẩn làm thịt và dầu trong chảo rớt xuống chân.</i></p> <p>CONJ careless make meat and oil PREpan fall down leg</p> <p>‘He took the frying pan which was burning in a panic; however, because of his carelessness, he caused the meat and the oil in the pan to drop down on his foot.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Ông ... mang thức ăn vào cho người vợ đang nằm trên giường.</i></p> <p>3.SG bring food PRE for CL wife PROG lie PRE bed</p> <p>‘He (changed the formal clothes and) brought the food for the wife who was lying on the bed.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
26	<p><i>Bà vợ liền lấy cái xô mà cậu con trai của mình đem vô xối hết lên người ông chồng.</i></p> <p>bring PRE pour RES PRE body CL husband</p> <p>‘The wife took immediately the bucket (of water) that the son brought in and tossed all the water on her husband’s body.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông chồng làm đổ chảo thịt đang cháy lên giò và vụng về cứ tiếp-tục diễn-ra khi ông chồng tiếp tục ngồi lên cái chảo thịt đang cháy mới vứt.</i></p> <p>happen when CL husband continue sit on cái CL meat PROG throw just throw</p> <p>‘He made the pan of meat which was burning fall down on his foot. His clumsiness just kept on happening one by one when he again sat down on the burning pan which was thrown (on the floor) earlier.’</p>	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)
27	<p><i>Chảo ông đặt trên bếp cũng có hiện tượng cháy khét.</i></p> <p>pan 3.SG put PRE stove also have phenomena charred</p> <p>‘The pan that he put on the stove was also getting to be charred.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Vô tình, ông nhảy trúng vào miếng thịt nóng khi nãy, ông té xuống và ngồi lên chiếc chảo đang cháy làm mông ông nóng phồng và áo chòang bị cháy.</i></p> <p>accidentally 3.SG jump RES PRE CL meat hot earlier 3.SG fall down and sit on CL pan PROG burn make buttocks his hot burn and coat PASS burn</p> <p>‘Unintentionally, he jumped right on the very hot slice of meat which was getting burnt earlier. He fell down and sat on the pan which was burning. That made his buttocks burnt and his coat also caught fire.’</p>	+CL(2x)	+def(2x)			-rel(2x)		-ani(2x)
	<p><i>Người đàn ông khi nãy lại vào gọi ông chồng lần nữa.</i></p> <p>CL man earlier again enter call CL husband time more</p> <p>‘The man who was mentioned earlier came back to call the husband one more time.’</p>	+CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
28	<p><i>Người bạn đưa đón ông ta đi làm đến và bấm còi hối thúc.</i></p> <p>CL friend pick up him go work come and press honk urge</p> <p>‘The friend who give him a ride to go to work and back from work came. He pressed the horn to urge him (the husband).’</p>	+CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Ông bèn dùng tay phải với lấy bình nước và tay trái với lấy chiếc cốc-thủy-tinh đặt trên tủ-kê-đầu-giường ở phía bên-phải của mình.</i></p> <p>CL glass put on night-table headboard in direction right-side POSS self</p> <p>‘He stretched his right hand to take a bottle of water immediately. Then, his left hand was also stretched out to take the glass which was putting on the night table on his right side near by the headboard.’</p>	+CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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<p><i>Người vợ cũng với lấy bình nước đổ đầy vào cốc đặt ở</i> CL wife also stretch take CL water pour full into glass put at <i>tủ-kê-đầu-giường bên trái mình tạt thẳng vào chồng mình.</i> night-table side left self toss straight into husband self ‘The wife also stretched to take the bottle of water and poured into the glass which was put on the night table in her left side full. Then she tossed it directly onto her husband.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Người vợ nhanh tay nhấc chiếc điện thoại đặt ở trên</i> CL wife fast hand pick-up CL telephone put PRE <i>chiếc tủ-kê-đầu-giường bên phải mình.</i> CL night-table side right self ‘The wife quickly picked up the phone which was put on the night table at her right side.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Cậu bé thấy cha mình bước qua liền đẩy chiếc xe đẩy mà mình đang chơi</i> CL boy see father self step PRE immediately push CL cart REL self PROG play <i> khiến người chồng té.</i> cause CL husband fall ‘The boy saw his father come, he immediately pushed the cart that he was playing with (toward him) to make him fall down.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p>No example in Texts 29, 30</p>								

Appendix 15. Examples of relative clauses in 30 oral texts.

Text	Relative clauses in oral texts	[± CL]		[± def]		[±relational /unique]		[± animate]	
		+CL	-CL	+def	-def	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<i>cái trái giống như trái hồ lô</i> CL fruit like as CL gourd 'a fruit which looked like a gourd'	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<i>con nhỏ chạy xe đạp ngược chiều với nó</i> CL little ride bike opposite direction with him 'the girl who was riding a bicycle from his opposite direction'	+CL			-def		-rel	+ani	
	<i>thằng nhỏ chạy xe đạp</i> CL child ride bike 'the child who was riding a bicycle'	+CL			-def		-rel	+ani	
	<i>cái túi mang trước ngực</i> CL pocket wearing front chest 'the pocket that he was wearing on his chest'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<i>cái giống như cái bóng-bàn</i> thing like as CL pingpong-ball 'something which looked like a ping-pong ball '	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Cái thằng cầm cái đồ giống bóng-bàn đi-lại trả cái nón.</i> cái CL take CL thing like ping-pong-ball come return CL hat ‘The boy who was taking something like a ping-pong ball came and returned the hat to him (the boy).’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Thằng bé ăn cắp đưa cho thằng đó ba trái...</i> CL child steal give for CL DEM three CL ‘The boy who stole pears gave that child three pears.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
2	<p><i>cậu bé chạy xe đạp</i> [CL boy ride bike] ‘the boy who was riding a bicycle’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>cái cây lúc trước mà những quả lê này được bẻ xuống</i> CL tree last time REL PLU CL pear DEM PASS pluck down ‘the tree from which these pears were plucked’</p>	+CL					-rel		-ani
3	<p><i>cái chỗ ông này đang thu hoạch</i> CL place man DET Prog collect ‘the place where the man was collecting pears’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>cái giỏ mà để đầy những quả hay trái này á</i> CL basket REL put full PLU CL or CL DEM PART ‘the basket which was loaded full of these fruits’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>thằng nhóc hồi nãy</i> [CL child time last] ‘the child that was mentioned earlier’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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4	thằng mới tung tung bóng [CL just hop hop ball] ‘the one who hopped the ball’	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	thằng chạy xe đạp [CL ride bicycle] ‘the one riding (a) bike’ (2)	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)	+ani (2x)	
5	cái trái vừa rơi xuống CL fruit just drop down ‘the fruit which just dropped down from the tree’	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	Cậu bé quan sát người nông dân hái trái cây CL boy observe CL farmer pluck fruit ‘The boy observed the farmer who was plucking fruits.’	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	Người nghe: ‘giỏ nào, giỏ có trái cây, đúng không?’ CL hear CL which CL have fruit right NEG The hearer: ‘which basket? Is that the one with fruit?’	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
6	cái lúc mà thằng nhóc này chở cái thùng trái-cây đi CL time REL CL boy DEM carry cái CL fruit RES ‘the time when this boy carried THE basket of fruit away’	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	cái thằng nhóc mà đi ăn-trộm cái thùng trái cây á cái CL boy REL go steal cái CL fruit SPF ‘THE boy who stole THE basket of fruit’	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<p><i>Khi thằng nhóc ăn trộm cái trái-cây á được lại cái nón, ...</i></p> <p>when CL boy stole CL fruit SPF get back CL hat</p> <p>‘When the boy who stole fruit got back his hat...’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>chỗ ông kia đang hái trái cây</i></p> <p>place man DEM PROG pick fruit</p> <p>‘the place where the man was plucking fruits’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>thằng bé mặc áo màu xanh</i></p> <p>CL boy wear shirt colour green</p> <p>‘the boy who was wearing the green shirt’ (4x)</p>								
	<p><i>thằng bé ăn-trộm lê</i></p> <p>CL boy steal pear</p> <p>‘the boy who stole the pears’</p>								
	<p><i>thằng bé bị ngã kia</i></p> <p>CL boy PASS fall DEM</p> <p>‘THE child who fell down’ (2x)</p>								
7	<p><i>Mấy đứa bé kia đi ngang qua cái chỗ mà cái ông</i></p> <p>PLU CL child DEM go pass over CL place REL cái CL</p> <p><i>cái ông nông-dân ổng đang hái lê.</i></p> <p>cái CL famer he PROG pluck pear</p> <p>‘Those children went passing by THE place where THE, THE farmer was plucking pears.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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8	<p><i>người đàn ông hái trái-cây này</i> CL man pluck fruit DEM ‘THE man who plucking fruits’</p>								
9	<p><i>Có một cái thằng bé, nó chạy chiếc xe đạp khổ lớn-hơn cái vóc dáng chạy lại.</i> exist one cái CL boy 3.SG ride CL bike size big-ger CL body ride come ‘There came a boy who was riding a bicycle whose size was bigger than the boy.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cái thằng mà cầm banh-đũa, nó đi một đoạn nó mới thấy</i> cái CL REL take ball-chopstick 3.SG go one distance 3.SG just see <i>cái nón mà cậu rớt hồi nãy</i> CL hat REL 3.SG drop time last ‘The boy who was holding the game chopstick and ball, he went for a while, then he saw the hat that he dropped earlier.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Nó mới đem cái nón đó lại cho cái cậu bé đang dẫn xe.</i> 3.SG just take CL hat DEM come for cái CL boy PROG lead bicycle ‘He brought THE hat to give to the boy who was leading the bicycle.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Cái thằng nó cầm banh-đũa, nó mới lấy ba quả lại</i> cái CL 3.SG take ball-chopstick 3.SG just get three CL come <i>nó chia cho mỗi thằng một quả.</i> 3.SG share for each CL one CL ‘The one who was holding the game chopstick-ball took three pears and then shared one pear for each of them.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<p><i>Ba thằng này thì tiếp tục đi hướng, về hướng về</i> three CL DEM COP continue go direction toward direction toward <i>nơi mà người nông dân đang hái quả.</i> place REL CL farmer PROG pluck fruit ‘These three boys continued going toward, toward the direction, toward the place where the farmer was plucking pears.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
10	<p><i>Ba người đó tiếp tục ra-đi, đi ngang qua cái ông đang cặm-cụi hái ổi.</i> three CL DEM continue leave go pass PRE CL man PROG concentrate pluck guava ‘Those three boys continued going. They went by the man who was concentrating on plucking guava.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
11	<p><i>Ông quay sang lượm cái trái lê vừa bị rớt lúc nãy</i> 3.SG turn PRE pick cái CL pear just PASS drop time last <i>và dùng chiếc khăn đang đeo trên cổ để lau-sạch nó.</i> and use CL scarf PROG wear PRE neck to wipe-RES it ‘He turned back to pick up the pear which was dropped on the ground earlier. Then he used the scarf which he was wearing on his neck to wipe it.’</p>	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)
	<p><i>Cô học-sinh nữ này đã lấy tay giật chiếc nón mà đứa bé trai đang đội trên đầu.</i> CL student girl DEM PERF use hand snatch CL hat REL CL boy PROG wear on head ‘This girl student used her hand to snatch the hat which was being worn on the boy’s head.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Nhìn-thấy cái nón mà đứa bé trai bị giật bởi cô học-sinh nữ đang nằm ở trên đường.</i> see CL hat REL CL boy PASS snatch by CL student girl PROG lie on road</p>	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)

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	<p><i>đứa bé trai này lượm cái nón và chạy lại đưa cho đứa bé trai chở cần xé lê.</i></p> <p>CL boy DEM pick CL hat and run PRE give PRE CL boy carry CL pear</p> <p>‘Seeing the hat which was snatched by the girl student on the ground, the boy picked up the hat and gave it back to the boy who was carrying the basket of pears.’</p>							
	<p><i>Đứa bé trai chở cần xé lê cảm ơn đứa bé trai đưa mình cái nón.</i></p> <p>CL boy carry CL pear thank CL boy give self CL hat</p> <p>‘The boy who carried the basket of pears thanked the boy who gave him the hat.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani
	<p><i>Ba người họ vừa đi, vừa ăn lê do đứa bé trai kia vừa cho.</i></p> <p>three people them going eating pear by CL boy DEM just give</p> <p>‘Three of them were going and eating the pears which were given by the boy.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
12	<p><i>Cậu bé chạy xe đạp chạy đến chỗ người đàn ông đang hái trái lê.</i></p> <p>CL boy ride bike ride to place CL man PROG pick CL pear</p> <p>‘The boy rode the bicycle to the place where the man was plucking pears.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
	<p><i>Trong lúc này, ba cậu bé vừa-ăn trái lê vừa-tiến-lại</i></p> <p>PRE time this three CL boy eating CL pear coming-toward</p> <p><i>nơi người đàn ông đang hái trái lê.</i></p> <p>place CL man PROG pluck CL pear</p> <p>‘At this time, three boys were eating pears, coming toward the place where the man was plucking pears.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
13	<p><i>Cậu cũng nhẹ-nhẹ để lên xe, cái xe thời không-có бага ở-phía-trước.</i></p> <p>3.SG also lightly put on bicycle CL bicycle time NEG have baggage in-the-front</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani

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	<p>‘He put (the basket of fruit) slightly in the front of the bicycle, the one which has no baggage in front at that time.’</p>								
	<p><i>Cậu bé quay lại nhìn cô-bé-này thì rớt cái nón, rớt cái nón đang đội trên đầu...</i> CL boy turn back look CL girl DEM TOP drop CL hat drop CL hat PROG wear on head ‘The boy turned back to look the girl, at this time, he dropped [a] hat. Dropped the hat that he was wearing on his head.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ba cậu bé này đi ... về phía người nông dân đang hái lê.</i> three CL boy DEM go toward CL farmer PROG pick pear ‘These three boys went ... toward the direction where the farmer was plucking pears.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
14	<p><i>Chú dê thấy lê để dưới đất đó, thấy trái-cây để trong những cái sọt trái-cây đó cũng không ăn.</i> CL goat see pear put PRE ground DEM see fruit put PRE PLU cái CL fruit DEM also NEG eat ‘The goat did not eat, although it saw those pears on the ground, saw those fruits in those baskets of fruits.’</p>		-CL (2x)	+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)
	<p><i>Họ đi tới nơi mà có cái cây mà người nông dân đó đang hái trái.</i> 3.PL go to place REL have CL tree REL CL farmer DEM PROG pluck fruit ‘They went to the place where there has a tree and the farmer was plucking fruits on that tree.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người nông dân đó nghi ngờ ba cậu bé này là người lấy giỏ trái cây của mình.</i> CL farmer DEM suspect three CL boy DEM COP person take CL fruit POSS self ‘The farmer suspect that these three boys were the person who stole his basket of fruits.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	

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15	<p><i>đi ngang qua chỗ ông này để trái-cây</i></p> <p>go pass PRE place man DEM put fruit</p> <p>‘went passing by the place where the man put his fruits’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cậu bé cầm đồ-chơi cầm ba trái cây lại chia cho hai người bạn của mình.</i></p> <p>CL boy hold toy take three fruit come share PRE two CL friend POSS self</p> <p>‘The boy who holding the toy took the fruit and went back to share with his other two friends.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>quay trở lại chỗ người đàn ông đang thu hoạch trái cây</i></p> <p>turn back place CL man PROG collect fruit</p> <p>‘turn back to the place where the man collecting fruits’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
16	<p>không để nó ăn trái-cây trong giỏ của ông nông dân đó.</p> <p>NEG let it eat fruit inside basket POSS CL farmer DEM</p> <p>‘did not let it (the goat) eat the fruits inside the basket of the farmer’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cái giỏ trái cây, nó để ở đầu-xe.</i></p> <p>cái CL fruit 3.SG put PRRE head-bike</p> <p>‘The basket of fruit, he put it in the front part of his bike.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>đi ngang cái cây, cây ổi mà người nông dân vừa hái</i></p> <p>go PRE CL tree CL guava REL CL farmer just pluck</p> <p>‘went by a tree, the guava tree which the farmer was just (climbing up) to pluck (the pears).’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<i>cậu bé đứng cầm đồ chơi kia</i> CL boy stand hold toy DEM 'the boy who standing there with his toy'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
17	<i>cậu bé chạy xe đạp/ cậu bé đi xe đạp này</i> CL boy ride bicycle / CL boy ride bicycle DEM 'the boy who is riding a bicycle' (3x)	+CL (3x)		+def (3x)			-rel (3x)	+ani (3x)	
	Lúc này, <i>cậu bé mặc áo đỏ mới cầm ba cái trái mà cậu bé ăn-cắp á,...</i> time this CL boy wear shirt red just take three CL fruit REL CL boy steal SPF 'At this time, the boy who was wearing red shirt just took three pears which were stolen by that boy.'	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)	+ani (2x)	
	<i>đi ngang qua chỗ cái cây mà bác nông dân bác hái á,</i> go pass PRE place CL tree REL CL farmer he pick SPF 'went passing by the place where there was a tree and the farmer climbing up that tree to pluck fruits on it.'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
18	<i>đi ngang qua chỗ cái ông nông dân vừa-mới hái.</i> go pass PRE place cái CL farmer just pluck 'went passing by the place where the farmer had just plucked fruits on it'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
19	<i>Có một thằng nhóc chạy xe đạp, chạy, chạy tới chỗ của ông đang hái trái lê.</i> exist one CL boy ride bicycle ride ride to place POSS CL PROG pluck CL pear 'There was a boy who riding a bicycle. He rode, rode to the place where the man plucking pears.'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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<p><i>Có một thằng cầm trên tay cái giống như là cái vợt bóng bàn với cái trái bóng</i> exist one CL hold PRE hand CL like as COP CL racket ping-pong with cái CL ball <i>đang tung tung tung.</i> PROG hop hop hop ‘There was a boy who was holding in his hand a thing which looked like a ping-pong racket with a ball was hopping on it.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Thằng nhóc mà có cái xe chạy đi á thì ba cái thằng này á,</i> CL kid REL have CL bike ride away SPF CONJ three cái CL DEM SPF <i>nó cũng bỏ-đi luôn.</i> 3.PL also leave SPF ‘The boy who has a bike rode away, then, these three boys also left.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Rồi thằng mới tung tung bóng mới lượm cái nón đỏ đem tới trả cho</i> CONJ CL just hop hop ball just pick CL hat DEM bring PRE return for <i>thằng chạy xe đạp.</i> CL ride bike ‘And then, the one who was hopping the ball picked up THE hat and brought it toward the boy who was riding a bike to return it to him.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Thằng chạy xe đạp mới lấy cái nón ...</i> CL ride bike just take CL hat ‘The one who was riding bike took the hat...’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<p><i>Ba đứa này ... gặp cái ông hái lê hồi nãy còn trên cây á, ...</i> three CL DEM meet CL man pick pear time last still on tree SPF ‘These three boys ... saw the man who plucking pears earlier still on the tree.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
20	<p><i>Ông bỏ lên trên cái cái tạp dề ông đeo mà trên có cái túi á</i> he put upon CL CL apron he wear Rel on have CL pocket SPF. ‘He put (them-the pears) into the apron with a small pocket on it that he was wearing.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ba thằng ... đi ngang lại cái chỗ mà cái ông mà bị mất cái giỏ lê.</i> CL DEM go pass back CL place REL CL man REL PASS loss CL CL pear ‘Three boys ... walked back and passed by the place where the man whose his basket of pears was stolen.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
21	<p><i>Ông nhặt cái trái lê rơi dưới đất lên, ...</i> 3.SG pick cái CL pear drop under ground up ‘He picked up the pear which was dropped down on the ground, ...’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Khi mà đi ngang qua chỗ lê á, thì họ dừng-lại một-chút, nhìn vào chỗ lê.</i> when go pass PRE place pear SPF CONJ they stop a while look inside place pear ‘When they passed by the place where there were the pears, they stopped for a while. Then, looked into that place (place where there were the pears).’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người nông dân hái lê ban-đầu leo lên cây lại tiếp tục công việc của mình.</i> CL farmer pick pear firstly climb up tree again continue work POSS self ‘The farmer who was plucking pears at the beginning of the story climbed up the tree again to continue his work.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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<p>Đưa bé mặc áo màu-vàng đỡ nó lên và phui quần áo cho nó. CL kid wear shirt yellow lift him up and brush clothes for him ‘The boy who was wearing the yellow shirt lifted him up and cleaned the dust for him.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
<p>Đưa bé mặc áo màu-đỏ và xanh á thì giúp nó bỏ lê vào giỏ. CL child wear shirt red and blue SPF COP help him put pear into basket ‘The child who was wearing the red and blue shirt, he helped him to put the pears back into the basket.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
<p>Chúng nó nhặt được cái a cái a cái nón-rộng-vành của thằng bé đi xe đạp á 3.PL pick RES CL a CL a CL hat- wide-brimmed of CL boy ride bike SPF đánh rơi. make drop ‘They found the wide-brimmed hat of the boy who dropped it.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p>Thằng bé mặc áo màu-xanh huýt-sáo gọi thằng bé kia đứng-lại. CL boy wear shirt blue whistle call CL boy DEM stop ‘The boy who was wearing the blue shirt whistled to ask (signal) the boy to stop.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
<p>Khi thằng bé mặc áo màu-xanh trả nón cho nó, thì thằng bé mà ăn-trộm lê when CL boy wear shirt blue return hat for 3.SG TOP CL boy REL steal pear á lấy ba trái lê đưa cho thằng bé mặc áo xanh. SFP take three CL pear give PRE CL boy wear shirt blue ‘When the boy who wearing the blue shirt returned the hat for him (the protagonist), the boy who stole the pears took three pears to give to the boy who wearing the blue shirt.’</p>	+CL (3x)		+def (3x)			-rel (3x)	+ani (3x)	

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	<p><i>Thằng bé mặc áo màu-xanh còn lau trái lê vào áo cho sạch sẽ nữa.</i> CL boy wear shirt blue EMPH wipe CL pear on shirt for clean EMPH ‘The boy who wearing the blue shirt even made the pear clean by wiping it with his shirt.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani		
	<p><i>thằng nhóc đi xe đạp</i> CL boy ride bicycle ‘the boy riding (a) bike’</p>									
	<p>Lúc này thì chuyển bối-cảnh về <i>chỗ mà người đàn ông đang hái lê.</i> time this TOP change background PRE place REL CL man PROG pick pear ‘At this time, the background was changed to the place where the man was plucking pears.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani	
22	No example								+ani	
23	<p>đến <i>chỗ cái cây mà người đàn ông kia đang hái trái.</i> toward place CL tree REL CL man DEM PROG pick fruit ‘toward the place where there was a tree and the man plucking fruits on it’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani	
	<p><i>ngó chừng lên người đàn ông đang hái trái-cây ở trên cây</i> look carefully PRE CL man PROG pick fruit PRE tree ‘looked up to the man who was plucking fruits on the tree carefully’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani		
	<p><i>Ba cậu bé này mới chào cậu bé chạy xe đạp đi.</i> three CL boy DEM just say-goodbye CL boy ride bike go ‘These three boys just said goodbye to the boy who was riding a bike and left.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani		

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	<p><i>Cậu bé chạy xe đạp mới tặng cho ba cậu bé ba cái trái để-mà ăn.</i></p> <p>CL boy ride bike just present for 3 CL boy 3 CL fruit to eat</p> <p>‘The boy who was riding a bike gave those three boys three pears to eat.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
24	<p><i>Trong-quá-trình mình té mình có bị rớt <u>cái nón</u>.</i></p> <p>during process self fall self have PASS drop CL hat</p> <p><i>cái mũ đội ở trên đầu lúc sáng.</i></p> <p>CL hat wear PRE head time morning</p> <p>‘During the time he fell down, he also dropped his hat, the hat that he wore on his head this morning.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ba cái bạn nhỏ này đi cái hướng về gốc-cây,</i></p> <p>three CL friend little DEM go CL direction toward stump</p> <p><i>về cái vườn mà bác nông dân lúc nãy hái trái.</i></p> <p>toward CL garden REL CL farmer last moment pick fruit</p> <p>‘These three little friends went toward the direction of the stump, the field where the farmer (who appeared earlier) was plucking fruits.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
25	<p><i>Có một người đàn ông leo lên cái cây hái <u>cái trái xanh xanh</u>,</i></p> <p>exist one CL man climb up CL tree pick CL fruit green green</p> <p><i>nhìn giống giống như-là <u>trái ổi</u> mà nó bầu bầu giống như <u>trái lê</u>.</i></p> <p>look like like as CL guava CONJ it oval oval like as CL pear</p> <p>‘There was a man climbing up a tree to pluck a kind of green fruit which looked like a guava but it had a round shape like a pear.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani

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26	<p><i>đưa bé trai chở cần xé lê</i></p> <p>CL boy carry CL pear</p> <p>‘the boy who carrying the basket of pears’</p>							
	<p><i>trên cái con đường mà đầy đá-sỏi</i></p> <p>on CL CL road REL full grave</p> <p>‘on the road which is full of graves’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	<p><i>đi ngang qua chỗ mà cây lê của người làm vườn.</i></p> <p>go pass PRE place REL CL pear POSS CL gardener</p> <p>‘passed by the place that had the farmer’s pear tree’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
27	<p><i>nhìn lên cái ông, người, bác nông dân đang hái trái cây á</i></p> <p>look up cái CL CL CL farmer PROG pick fruit SPF</p> <p>‘looked up at the, the, the farmer who was plucking fruits’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani
	<p><i>trên đường mà cậu bé đó chở cái sọt trái cây của bác nông-dân đi á</i></p> <p>on way REL CL boy DEM carry cái CL fruit POSS CL farmer go SPF</p> <p>‘on the way that the boy carrying the farmer’s basket of fruit, ...’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
	<p><i>nhặt hộ trái-cây trong cái sọt trái-cây đó</i></p> <p>pick help fruit PRE cái CL fruit DEM</p> <p>‘helped to picked up the fruit in that basket of fruit’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani

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	<i>Ba anh-em thì đi về hướng bác nông dân đang hái trái-cây</i> three brothers COP go toward direction CL farmer PROG pluck fruit 'Three brothers walked toward the direction that the farmer was plucking fruits.'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
28	<i>Ông đổ cái túi mà ông bỏ trái cây á ra cái sọt đó,</i> he pour CL pocket Rel he put fruit SFP out CL basket DEM <i>cái sọt mà mấy người bán chuối, bán đồ hay bỏ vô á.</i> CL basket Conj some people sale banana, sale thing often put in SFP 'He poured the pocket in which he put the fruit out into the basket, the basket that the banana salesman or other salesman used.'	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)
29	<i>Cái nón á người ta hay đội là cái nón á nón-cói mà rộng vành đan lại á.</i> CL hat PART people usually wear COP CL hat PART straw-hat REL wide-brimmed knit together SPF 'The hat, the one that people usually wear was the wide-brimmed hat that people use straw to knit together.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
30	<i>đi ngược-lại tới chỗ a người đàn ông mà đang hái lê</i> go backward PRE place PART CL man REL PROG pick pear 'went backward to the place where the man was plucking pears'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<i>cậu bé cầm đồ-chơi/ cậu bé đang cầm đồ-chơi kia</i> CL boy hold toy CL boy PROG hold toy DEM 'the boy who was taking a game'	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		+ani (2x)

Appendix 16. Examples of prepositional phrases in 30 written texts and oral texts.

Text	Prepositional phrases	[±CL]		[±def]		[±relational]		[±ani]	
		+CL	-CL	+def	+rel	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<i>Người đàn ông vấp-phải đồ chơi trên sàn-nhà té-ngã-ngửa.</i> CL man trip-on toy on floor fall-upside-down 'The man tripped on a toy on the floor and fell upside down.'		-CL		-def		-rel		-ani
	<i>Người đàn ông ... lại vấp phải đồ trên sàn ngã nhào xuống đất.</i> CL man again trip-on thing on floor fall down ground 'The man (rushed out) and again he tripped on the toy on the floor and fell down on the ground.'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
2	<i>Ấm nước và chảo thịt rán trên bếp cũng đang đổ lửa.</i> CL water and CL meat fry on stove also PROG on fire 'The bottle of water and the pan of meat on the stove were also on fire.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
4	<i>Ông lấy bình nước ở đầu giường đổ vào ly ...</i> 3.SG take CL water PRE headboard pour into glass 'He took the bottle of water on the headboard and poured the water into a glass...'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
5	<i>Miếng thịt trong chảo rớt xuống chân anh ta.</i> CL meat in pan drop down leg 3.SG 'The meat in the pan dropped down on his foot.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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6	<i>Cánh cửa nằm giữa hai chiếc giường mở ra.</i> CL door locate between two CL bed open RES 'The door in between two beds opened.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
7	<i>Ông ta ... ngã-cái-oạch vào cái chảo nóng dưới sàn.</i> 3.SG fall-CL-ouch into CL pan heat under floor 'He (stood unstably and) fell down on <i>the very hot pan on the floor.</i> '	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
8T	<i>Người bán báo trao đổi điều gì đó với người chồng qua ô kính nhỏ trên cánh cửa.</i> person sell newspaper discuss something PRE CL husband through CL glass small on CL window 'The newspaper boy discussed something with the husband through a small glass on the window.'	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<i>Anh ta vấp-phải đồng đồ đạc dưới đất.</i> 3.SG trip-on CL stuff under ground 'He stumbled [<i>the</i>]stuff on the ground.'	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
	<i>Anh ta nhìn thấy người đàn ông trong chiếc xe hơi.</i> 3.SG see CL man PRE CL car. 'He saw a man in a car.'	+CL			-def		-rel	+ani	
	<i>Đúng lúc đó, người đàn ông trong xe hơi mở cửa gọi anh chồng.</i> right time that CL man in car open door call CL husband 'Right at that time, <i>the man in the car</i> opened the door and started calling the husband.'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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12	<p>Ông lấy bình nước ở đầu-giường đổ vào ly và tạt thẳng về phía người vợ. 3.SG take CL water at headboard pour into glass and toss straight toward CL wife ‘He used <i>the bottle of water on the headboard</i> poured into a glass and tossed it directly toward his wife.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
13	<p>Người chồng đã dùng cây kéo trên bàn cắt đứt dây điện thoại... CL husband asp use CI-scissors on table cut of cord telephone ‘The husband used <i>a pair of scissors on the table</i> to cut the telephone cord.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
14	<p>Rồi đóng cái cửa sau lưng vợ-mình thật mạnh. then close CL door behind back wife-self really strong ‘Then, closed <i>the door behind his wife</i> strongly.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
16	<p>Thất vọng, người chồng vô tình đổ đồ ăn trong chảo đang cháy Frustrated CL husband accidentally drop food PRE pan PROG burn vào chân và bị phỏng. into leg and PASS burn ‘Being frustrated, the husband caused the food in that burning pan to accidentally drop down on his foot. Thus, he got burnt.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
17	<p>Ông chồng đành vội vàng mặc áo chạy ra ngoài mà chưa lau sạch CL husband have to hurry wear clothes run outside CONJ NEG wipe clean bọt xà-phòng trên người. foam soap PRE body ‘The husband had to put on clothes quickly and rushed out without wiping the foam on his body.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p>Cậu con trai ranh mãnh với chiếc ô-che-đầu xách xô nước đi-vào. CL son naughty with CL umbrella bring CL water enter ‘The naughty son with an umbrella on his head came in with a bucket of water.’</p>	+CL		+def	+rel				
18	<p><i>Khi trở-lại vào bếp, ông ta thấy đồ ăn trên bếp-lò</i> when come-back PRE kitchen 3.SG see food PRE stove <i>đều đang cháy, khói, lửa bốc lên mù mịt.</i> all PROG burn smoke fire rise RES dusky ‘When he returned to the kitchen, he saw the food on the stove was burnt, smoking and fire rose dusky.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
19	<p><i>Người đàn ông ở ngoài vào giục:</i> CL man outside enter urge ‘The man outside came in to urge him: “I have been already waiting for a long time, tell me if you want to go or not?”’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Người bạn ở ngoài lại vào giục.</i> CL friend outside again enter urge. ‘The friend outside came in again to urge.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
22	<p><i>Cuối cùng, ông chồng đành lấy hết đồ-hộp trong tủ cho ra đầy những tô đĩa.</i> finally CL husband have-to take RES can-food inside cupboard display full PLU bowl plate ‘Finally, he had to took all the canned food in the cupboard, and then put them into many bowls and dishes.’</p>		-CL		-def		-rel		-ani

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<p>23</p>	<p><i>Khi anh vào nhà bếp thì bánh mì trong lò nướng và thức ăn trên bếp đang cháy-khét.</i> when he enter kitchen COP bread inside oven and food on stove PROG char ‘When he got back to the kitchen, the piece of bread in the oven and the food on the stove were getting charred.’</p>		<p>-CL (2x)</p>	<p>+def (2x)</p>			<p>-rel (2x)</p>		<p>-ani 2x</p>
<p>24</p>	<p><i>Từ cánh cửa giữa hai cái giường, cậu bé mở cửa tay cầm dù và xách xô nước đi ra.</i> from CL door between two CL bed CL boy open door hand take umbrella and take CL water go out ‘From the door between two beds, the boy opened it and stepped out with an umbrella and a bucket of water on his hand.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>Người đàn ông bên ngoài bất ngờ chồm vào cửa-sổ nhà-bếp...</i> CL man outside suddenly lean into window kitchen ‘The man outside suddenly leaned on the kitchen window...’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>	<p>+ani</p>	
	<p><i>Người đàn ông bên ngoài tiếp tục vào mở cửa nhắc nhở người đàn ông này.</i> CL man outside continue enter open door remind CL man DEM ‘The man outside opened the door, he came again to remind this man.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>	<p>+ani</p>	
	<p><i>Đứng dậy, người đàn ông lấy cây kéo gần chiếc điện-thoại cắt đường dây.</i> stand RES CL man take CL scissor near CL telephone cut line wire ‘The man stood up, he took a pair of scissors near the telephone to cut the telephone line.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>			<p>-def</p>		<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>

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25	<p><i>Ông ta hốt hoảng cầm chiếc chảo chiên thịt đang bốc-cháy</i> 3.SG panic hold CL pan fry meat PROG burn <i>nhưng lại bất cẩn làm thịt và dầu trong chảo rớt xuống chân.</i> CONJ careless make meat and oil PRE pan fall down leg ‘He took in a panic the frying pan which was burning; however, because of his carelessness, he caused the meat and the oil in the pan to drop down on his foot.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
26	<p><i>Hai người thi nhau lấy ly và lọ nước kế-bên</i> two people compete together get glass and CLwater beside <i>tạt nhau như hai đứa con-nít đang vọc nước.</i> toss each-other as two CL children PROG play water ‘Two of them took turns to use the glass and the bottle of water nearby to toss to each other like two children were playing water.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cậu bé ném cái ly nước trên tủ-đầu-giường vào</i> CL boy throw cái CL water PRE night-table PRE <i>mặt người cha đang ngủ say ke .</i> face Cl-father PROG sleep well ‘The son tossed the glass of water on the night table (beside the bed) toward his father’s face who was sleeping very well.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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27	<p><i>Thất vọng, ông buông-thả tay-cầm chảo xuống thì</i> disappointed 3.SG release handle pan down COP</p> <p><i>miếng thịt trong chảo rơi đúng vào chân.</i> CL meat PRE pan fall right PRE foot</p> <p>‘Disappointed, he released the handle of the pan. Thus, the meat in the pan dropped right on his foot.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Thức ăn trong hộp bắn thẳng vào mặt ông...</i> food PRE can shoot directly PRE face 3.SG</p> <p>‘The food inside the can splashed directly into his face.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
28	<p><i>Ổ bánh mì vào thời của ông ta không giống -như bình thường.</i> CL bread PRE age POSS him NEG same-as normal</p> <p>‘The (shape of the) bread at his age was not similar to what we saw today.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
29	<p><i>Người vợ liền lấy ngay xô nước dưới chân</i> CL wife immediately take immediately CL water PRE foot</p> <p><i>trút thẳng vào đầu chồng mình.</i> pour straight PRE head husband self</p> <p>‘The wife seized the bucket of water near his foot immediately and poured it on her husband’s head.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Thịt muối trong chảo thì cháy-khét bốc-khói nghi-ngút..</i> meat salt PRE pan COP charred fuming strongly</p> <p>‘The salted meat in the pan was burnt and fuming seriously.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

ORAL TEXTS									
6	<i>cái thúng ở dưới</i> CL basket under 'a basket on the ground'	+CL			-def			-rel	-ani
8	<i>Trái-cây trong giỏ cũng đổ ra ngoài.</i> fruit PRE basket EMPH roll outside 'Even the fruits in the basket rolled out (on the street).'		-CL	+def				-rel	-ani
12	<i>Người đàn ông đang đứng nhìn ... chiếc giỏ trống còn-lại.</i> CL man PROG stand look CL basket empty remain 'When the man was standing there to look ... the empty basket remained.'	+CL		+def				-rel	-ani
	<i>Ông leo-xuống ông đổ cái cái trái lê trong cái cái cái tạp dề của ông ra mấy cái rổ.</i> 3.SG climb-PRE 3.SG pour CL CL CL pear inside CL CL CL apron POSS him out some CL basket 'He descended the tree, he poured the pears in his apron into the baskets.'	+CL		+def				-rel	-ani
21	<i>cái thúng ở dưới</i> CL basket under 'the basket on the ground'	+CL		+def				-rel	-ani
22	<i>cái cậu bé ở dưới</i> CL boy under 'the boy under the tree'	+CL		+def				-rel	+ani

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<p>24</p>	<p><i>Vô-tình, chiếc xe va vào cái viên đá lớn ở-dưới đường</i> accidentally CL bike crash PRE CL CL stone big down on road <i>mà không tránh kịp</i> CONJ NEG avoid in time ‘Accidentally, the bike crashed into a big stone on the street. He could not avoid it in time.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>			<p>-def</p>		<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
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Appendix 17. Examples of possessives in 30 written texts.

Text	Possessives	±CL		±Def		± relational		±animate	
		+CL	-CL	+def	-def	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<i>Đứa con đã thức-dậy và đến bên giường của cha nó.</i> CL son PERF get-up and come beside bed POSS father his 'The son already woke up and came by his father's bed.'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<i>Người vợ liền lấy thùng nước tạt hết vào người-anh ta.</i> CL wife immediately take CL water toss all into body-3.SG 'The wife immediately took a bucket of water and tossed it all onto the husband's body.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Trong-khi-đó thì vợ-anh ta lại nằm lên giường và lấy bánh ra ăn.</i> meanwhile COP wife-3.SG EMPH lie PRE bed and take cake out eat 'Meanwhile, his wife lay on her bed and took the cake out to eat.'		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
2	<i>Trong-khi người vợ tiếp điện thoại của mẹ-mình, ...</i> while CL wife catch phone POSS mother-self 'While the wife caught her mother's telephone call, ...'		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<i>Cậu đã đến giường và gọi bố-cậu thức dậy.</i> 3.SG PERF come bed and call father-3.SG get up 'He came to the bed to wake his father up.'		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<i>Thì-ra-là người bạn-làm-ăn của người chồng đến rủ đi làm cùng.</i> turn-out-COP CL friend-business POSS CL husband come ask go work together 'It turned out that the business friend of the husband came to ask him to go to work together.'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<p><i>Đột nhiên bạn-làm-ăn của chồng bước vào.</i> suddenly friend-business POSS husband step PRE 'Suddenly, the business friend of the husband came in.'</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>hất về phía giường của vợ-mình nhằm mục đích trả đũa</i> toss toward bed POSS wife-self for purpose retaliate 'tossed toward his wife's bed in order to retaliate'</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
3	<p><i>Miếng thịt rơi xuống làm chân anh bị bỏng, mông anh ta bốc cháy.</i> CL meat fall down make leg-3SG PASS burn buttocks 3SG get fire 'The slice of meat dropped down causing his foot to get burnt, his buttocks caught fire.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Cô vợ ... tức giận ném cái tô vào lưng-anh-chồng.</i> CL wife angry throw CL bowl PRE back-CL-husband 'The wife got angry; thus, she threw the bowl into her husband's back.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
4	<p><i>Cô vợ vớ-lấy xô nước và đổ hết vào người-anh-chồng.</i> CL wife grab CL water and pour all into body-CL-husband 'The wife grabbed the bucket of water, then poured it all onto her husband's body.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Cô cầm điện thoại tâng vào bụng-ông-chồng</i> 3.SG take telephone hit PRE stomach-CL-husband 'She used the telephone to hit her husband's tummy.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Ông cầm chảo và đồ ăn rớt vào chân-ông.</i> 3.SG take pan and food drop PRE foot-3.SG 'He took the pan, then, the food dropped down on his foot.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p><i>Nước từ trong hộp bắn-ra-tungtóa vào mặt-ông.</i> water from inside can splash PRE face-3.SG ‘The water in the can splashed onto his face.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Ông bước vào phòng-ngủ của hai vợ chồng.</i> 3.SG walk into bedroom POSS two wife husband ‘He got into their bedroom.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ đã ném tô thức-ăn vào lưng ông chồng.</i> CL wife PERF throw CL food PRE back CL husband ‘The wife threw the bowl of food into her husband’s back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
5	<p><i>rót một ly nước tạt lại vào mặt vợ</i> pour one CL water throw back PRE face wife ‘Poured a glass of water and tossed into his wife’s face’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Đôi tác của người chồng đến.</i> partner POSS CL husband come ‘The husband’s partner came.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Miếng thịt trong chảo rớt xuống chân-anh ta,</i> CL meat PRE pan drop PRE foot-3.SG ‘The slice of meat in the pan dropped down on his foot.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Có vợ thẳng-tay ném tô thức ăn vào người anh chồng.</i> CL wife straight-hand throw CL food PRE body CL husband ‘The wife ... threw the bowl of food into the husband’s body without any hesitation.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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6	<i>Đứa bé ... hất ly nước lọc vào mặt ba nó.</i> CL boy... toss CL water pure PRE face father 3.SG 'The boy ... tossed the glass of pure water into his father's face.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
7	<i>Nó rót nước vào-trong ly tạt vào mặt người cha.</i> 3.SG pour water PRE glass toss PRE face CL father 'He poured the water into a glass and then tossed it into his father's face.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Cô vợ lấy cái xô đựng nước này-giờ trút hết lên đầu người chồng.</i> CLwife take CL bucket contain water past-to-now drain all on head CL husband 'The wife used a bucket which contained the water from earlier till now to toss all of it onto her husband's head.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Ông chạy ra, thấy người bạn-làm-ăn của mình đang ngồi trên xe</i> 3.SG run out see CL friend-business POSS self PROG sit PRE car 'He went out, he saw his business friend was sitting in a car.'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<i>Người bạn-làm-ăn của chồng lại vào-tận phòng ngủ để gọi</i> CL friend-business POSS husband EMPH come-RES bedroom to call 'The husband's business friend came deeply to their bedroom to call him.'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<i>Người vợ ném cả tô thức-ăn vào sau-lưng áo người chồng</i> CL wife throw whole CL food PRE back shirt CL husband 'The wife threw the whole bowl of food into the back of the husband's shirt.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Người-bạn làm ăn của ông ta thò đầu vào hỏi: ...?</i> CL friend-business POSS 3.SG poke head RES ask 'His (the husband's) business friend poked his head in and asked ...'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	

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8	<p><i>Anh ta ... rót một ly nước đầy tạt lên mặt vợ.</i> 3.SG ... pour one CL water full toss PRE face wife ‘He (stretched his hand to take the bottle, then he) poured a glassful of water and tossed it into his wife’s face.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Cô vợ cầm xô nước tạt vào mặt anh chồng.</i> CL wife take CL water toss PRE face CL husband ‘The wife took a bucket of water and tossed it into her husband’s face.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Cô vợ đấm vào bụng anh chồng.</i> CL wife punch PRE stomach CL husband ‘The wife punched into her husband’s tummy.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Cô vợ đá vào mông chồng.</i> CL wife kick PRE buttocks husband ‘The wife kicked into her husband’s buttocks.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Anh ta đang cài cúc-áo của chiếc áo-vest mới.</i> 3.SH PROG button button POSS CL vest new ‘He was buttoning the button of the new vest.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cô vợ ném tô thức-ăn vào lưng anh ta.</i> CL wife throw CL food PRE back 3.SG ‘The wife threw a bowl of food into his (the husband’s) back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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9	<p><i>Họ tiếp tục cãi-vã thì bạn cô vợ gọi đến.</i> they continue argue CONJ CL CL wife call come ‘They were still arguing, then the call of the wife’s friend came.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Cô vợ cầm nguyên đĩa thức-ăn ném vào người anh ta.</i> CL wife take whole CL food throw PRE body 3.SG ‘The wife took a whole dish of food and threw it onto his body.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Cậu ta đẩy nguyên chiếc xe đẩy đang chơi vào người ông-ta.</i> 3.SG push whole CL trolley PRO play PRE body 3.SG ‘He pushed a whole car which he was playing into him (his body).’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
10	<p><i>Sau-đó, có một cuộc điện thoại gọi đến từ mẹ của bà Jenkin</i> after-that have one CL telephone call come from mother POSS Mrs.Jenkin ‘After that, there came a telephone call from Mrs. Jenkin’s mother.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Đúng-lúc-đó, có đồng nghiệp của ông Jenkin đến gọi ông đi làm.</i> right-that-time have colleague POSS Mr.Jenkin come call him go work ‘Right at that time, Mr. Jenkin’s colleague came to call him to go to work.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
11	<p><i>Người cha bị trượt ngã vì giẫm phải chiếc xe đồ chơi của con-mình,</i> CL father PASS slip fall because step RES CL car toy POSS son-self <i>bà vợ nhân cơ hội lấy cả xô nước đổ lên đầu ông chồng.</i> CL wife take opportunity grab whole CL water pour over head Cl-husband ‘The father slipped and fell down because he stepped on his son’s toy car. The wife took this chance, grabbed the whole bucket of water and poured it on the husband’s head.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Ông chồng đang nấu-ăn thì đồng nghiệp của ông ta đến.</i> CL husband PROG cook CONJ colleague POSS 3.SG come ‘When the husband was cooking, his colleague came.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Người vợ lấy đĩa thức-ăn ném vào sau lưng chồng.</i> CL wife take CL food throw PRE behind back husband ‘The wife took the dish of food and threw it into the husband’s back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
12	<p><i>Cô vợ vớ-lấy xô nước và đổ hết vào người anh chồng.</i> CL wife grab CL water and pour up on body CL husband ‘The wife grabbed the bucket of water and poured it onto the husband’s body.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Ông cầm chảo và đồ ăn rớt vào chân ông.</i> 3.SG take pan and food drop PRE foot 3.SG ‘He took the pan, then the food dropped onto his foot.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ đã ném tô thức-ăn vào lưng ông chồng.</i> CL wife PERF throw CL food PRE back CL husband ‘The wife threw the dish of food into the husband’s back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
13	<p><i>Cậu bé đã ... hất nước lên người ông ấy.</i> CL child PERF toss water PRE body 3.SG ‘The child ... tossed the water on his body.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ cầm xô nước đổ toàn-bộ lên đầu chồng mình.</i> CL wife hold CL water pour all PRE head husband self ‘The wife took the bucket of water and poured all of it onto her husband’s head.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p>... – người đó là mẹ của cô ấy. person DEM COP mother POSS 3.SG ‘... - that person was her mother.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p>Cô vợ tức giận rồi dùng ống-nhệ đánh vào bụng chồng. CL wife angry and use handset beat PRE stomach husband ‘The wife was so angry. She used the handset (of the telephone) to hit her husband’s belly.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p>Cái mông của ông ấy đã bị phỏng. CL buttocks POSS 3.SG PERF PASS burn ‘His buttocks got burnt.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel			-ani
	<p>Cô quăng tô thức-ăn vào lưng chồng mình. she throw CL food PRE back husband self ‘She threw the bowl of food into her husband’s back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
14	<p>Đứa bé lấy bình nước tạt vào mặt ông. CL boy take CL water throw pre face 3.SG ‘The boy took the bottle of water and tossed it into his face.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p>Người vợ... đá vào mông anh chồng. CL wife kick PRE buttocks CL husband ‘The wife ... kicked the husband’s buttocks.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p><i>Hai người-lạ đã xách nách ông chồng và đòi tiền mua sữa và báo.</i> two stranger PERF carry armpit CL husband and ask-for money buy milk and newspapers 'The two strangers carried the husband's armpit. They asked for the payment for milk and newspapers.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Đồng nghiệp của người chồng bấm còi-xe trước nhà, giục ông-ta đi làm.</i> colleague POSS CL husband press honk front house urge 3.SG go work 'The husband's colleague pressed the horn in front of his house in order to urge the husband to go out to work.'</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Người vợ dùng hết sức ném tô thức-ăn vào lưng chồng mình.</i> CL wife use all effort throw CL food into back husband self 'The wife used all her effort to throw the bowl of food into the husband's back.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
15	<p><i>Con-trai của họ ... tạt nước vào mặt người chồng.</i> son POSS 3.PL ... toss water PRE face CL husband 'Their son ... tossed the water into the husband's face.'</p>		-CL (2x)	+def (2x)		+rel (2x)		+ani	-ani
	<p><i>Người phụ nữ thấy thế bèn lấy cái xô nước đổ đầy người của ông ta.</i> CL woman see that immediately take cái CL water pour full body POSS 3.SG 'The woman saw that, she immediately took the bucket of water and poured all of it onto his (the husband's) body.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Đứa con đẩy một chiếc xe-đồ-chơi khá lớn vào chân ông ta từ phía sau.</i> CL son push one CL toy-car rather big PRE leg 3.SG from behind 'The son pushed a rather big toy car from behind into his leg.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p><i>Bà vợ bèn lấy cánh-tay thụi vào bụng của chồng một cái.</i></p> <p>CL wife immediately use arm punch PRE stomach POSS husband one CL</p> <p>‘The wife immediately used her arm to punch (a fist) into her husband’s belly.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Trong lúc người chồng nấu-ăn, thì đối-tác-làm-ăn của ông ta đến.</i></p> <p>while CL husband cook CONJ business-partner POSS 3.SG come</p> <p>‘While the husband was cooking, his business partner came.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Nhưng sau.đó, cái túi-áo của ông chồng bị lủng, lòì-ra cái tẩu-thuốc.</i></p> <p>But later CL pocket POSS CL husband PASS burst turn-out CL smoking-pipe</p> <p>‘But later, the husband’s pocket was burst, it turned out to be a smoking pipe.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cùng-lúc-đó, người đối tác-làm ăn của ông ta xuất hiện.</i></p> <p>at the same time CL business-partner POSS 3.SG appear</p> <p>‘At the same time, his business partner appeared.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Từ đằng-sau, bà vợ ném đĩa thức-ăn vào lưng ông ta</i></p> <p>from behind CL wife throw CL food PRE back 3.SG</p> <p>‘From behind, the wife threw the dish of food into his back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
16	<p><i>Người chồng vô tình giẫm phải chiếc xe-đồ-chơi của đứa con</i></p> <p>Cl-husband accidentally step RES CL toy-car POSS CL child</p> <p>‘The husband stepped accidentally on his son’s toy car.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ nổi-giận đánh vào bụng chồng .</i></p> <p>CL wife angry hit PRE stomach husband</p> <p>‘The wife was angry, she hit her husband’s tummy.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p><i>Người chồng ... lấy kéo ra cắt dây-điện-thoại của vợ.</i></p> <p>CL husband take scissor out cut cord-telephone POSS wife</p> <p>‘The husband stood near the wife, he took out a pair of scissors and cut the telephone line of his wife.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Người vợ cầm tô thức-ăn ném vào đầu chồng.</i></p> <p>CL wife take CL food throw PRE head husband</p> <p>‘(The husband went out to the door, then) the wife took the dish of food and threw it into her husband’s head.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Còn đưa con thì thức dậy và đi đến giường của người bố</i></p> <p>CONJ CL son COP get up and go to bed POSS CL father</p> <p>‘About the son, he woke up and went to the father’s bed.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
17	<p><i>Cậu bé đã lấy ly nước đổ vào mặt bố-mình làm ông ấy thức-dậy.</i></p> <p>CL boy PERF take CL water pour PRE face father-self make 3.SG wake-up</p> <p>‘The son took a glass of water poured onto the father’s face to wake him up.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Nhìn-thấy vợ-mình cựa-quậy, ông ta nghĩ rằng vợ mình đã làm việc đó</i></p> <p>see wife-self stirring 3.SG think COMP wife-self PERF do thing DEM</p> <p>‘Seeing (the) wife stirring, he thought that his wife did (tossed the water into him) it.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Ông trả đũa bà-ấy bằng cách tạt thẳng ly nước vào mặt bà</i></p> <p>3.SG retaliate 3.SG by way throw straight CL water PRE face her</p> <p>‘He (the husband) retaliated against her (the wife) by tossing the glass of water directly at her face.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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<p><i>Bà vợ cũng trả đũa lại chồng-mình bằng cách tương tự.</i></p> <p>CL wife also retaliate back husband-self by way similar</p> <p>‘The wife also retaliated against her husband the same way.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Người chồng đã vô-tình đạp phải đồ-chơi của con trai nên đã té-ngã.</i></p> <p>CL husband PERF accidentally step PASS toys POSS CL son therefore PERF fall</p> <p>‘The husband stepped on the toy of the son accidentally; thus, he fell down on the floor.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Người vợ đã được lợi thế và đổ cả xô nước lên người chồng mình.</i></p> <p>CL wife PERF PASS advantage and pour whole CL water PRE body husband self</p> <p>‘The wife took that advantage (that the husband fell down on the floor), thus, she poured a whole bucket of water on her husband’s body.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
<p><i>Người vợ vẫn say-sưa nói chuyện với mẹ-mình.</i></p> <p>CL wife still deep-in talk PRE mother-self</p> <p>‘(Outside the bathroom) the wife was still deep in talking with her mother.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Ông ta lại bị đấm con-trai làm ngã bởi chiếc xe-đẩy của cậu.</i></p> <p>3.SG EMPH PASS CL son made fall by CL trolley POSS him</p> <p>‘He fell down by the trolley of his son.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Ông ta đã cắt dây-điện-thoại của vợ-mình và cười hả hê.</i></p> <p>3.SG PERF cut telephone-cord POSS wife-self and smile gloatingly</p> <p>‘He cut his wife’s telephone line and then smiled gloatingly.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p><i>Ông ta... bất cẩn để thức-ăn rơi vào chân-mình.</i></p> <p>3.SG careless let food fall PRE feet-self</p> <p>‘He was careless and let the food drop down on his foot.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
18	<p><i>Khi này, đứa bé đã thức dậy nhưng bố mẹ nó vẫn-còn đang ngủ</i></p> <p>time this CLbaby PERF wake up but father mother it still PROG sleep</p> <p>‘At this time, the son already woke up but his parents were still sleeping.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Bố nó nghĩ rằng chắc là vợ mình đã tạt nước mình</i></p> <p>father 3.SG think COMP must be wife self PERF toss water self</p> <p>‘His father thought that this must be his wife tossing the water on him.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Thằng con của họ mở cửa đem vào một xô nước.</i></p> <p>CL son POSS them open door bring PRE one CL water</p> <p>‘Their son opened the door and brought a bucket of water in (to resupply them).’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Người vợ bắt đầu điện thoại nói-chuyện với bà bạn của mình.</i></p> <p>CL wife start telephone talk PRE CL friend POSS self</p> <p>‘The wife ... started talking on the telephone with her friend.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Ông ta bèn hứa hẹn với họ là vợ-mình sẽ trả tiền cho họ vào ngày mai.</i></p> <p>3.SG immediately promise with them COMP wife-self FUT pay money for them in tomorrow</p> <p>‘He just promised them that his wife would pay the money for them tomorrow.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	

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	<p><i>Thế là mông ông ta cũng bốc khói.</i></p> <p>CONJ buttocks his also smoke</p> <p>‘Thus, his buttocks were also burnt.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
19	<p><i>Ông ta tưởng vợ-mình đã làm chuyện đó...</i></p> <p>3.SG think wife-self PERF do thing DEM</p> <p>‘He thought his wife did that (thus he tossed water onto his wife).’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Thì ra tay chân của bà kia đến đòi-nợ cho chủ.</i></p> <p>CONJ hand foot POSS woman DEM come ask-for-paying for boss</p> <p>‘It turned out that the employee of that woman (the woman who talked with his wife on the phone) came to ask for pay for their boss.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Khi ông ta quay ra, bà vợ đã hất toàn-bộ thức-ăn mà</i></p> <p>when 3.SG turn out CL wife PERF throw all food REL</p> <p><i>ông đã nấu vào lưng của ông ấy.</i></p> <p>he PERF cook PRE back POSS him</p> <p>‘When he turned back, his wife threw all the food that he cooked into his back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
20	<p><i>Người chồng thức dậy và thấy người vợ của mình còn ngủ</i></p> <p>CL husband wake up and see CL wife POSS self still sleep</p> <p><i>nhưng đứa con thì đã thức dậy.</i></p> <p>CONJ CL son COP PERF wake up</p> <p>‘The husband woke up. He saw his wife still asleep but their son had already woken up.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p><i>Lúc này, người chồng ... nhanh chóng tạt vào mặt người vợ của mình</i> time this CL husband quickly toss into face CL wife POSS self <i>làm người vợ giật mình tỉnh dậy ngay-lập-tức.</i> make CL wife startle wake up immediately ‘At this time, the husband (opened his eyes immediately and sat up to take a cup of water to pour to a full glass of water and) tossed (the water) into his wife’s face. That made the wife startle and wake up immediately.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Người chồng bị trượt-chân và té bởi món đồ-chơi của đứa con.</i> CL husband PASS slip and fall by CL toy POSS CL son ‘The husband was made to slip and fall down by the toy car of his son.’</p>	+CL			-def		-rel		-ani
21	<p><i>Cậu con-traì tinh-nghịch của họ đã thức-dậy.</i> CL son naughty POSS 3.PL PERF wake up ‘Their naughty son already woke up.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Cậu bé đã ném một ly nước vào cha-mình, làm ông bị ướt.</i> CL boy PERF throw one CL water PRE father-self make him PASS wet ‘The son threw a glass of water on his father, that made him wet.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Người vợ đã dùng xô nước đứa con vừa mang đến, đổ hết lên người chồng mình.</i> CL wife PERF use CL water CL child just bring here pour RES PRE body husband self ‘The wife used the bucket of water which was brought in by her son to pour all of it onto her husband’s body.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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<p><i>Người vợ bắt đầu cuộc trò chuyện “tương-như bất-tận” của mình qua điện-thoại</i> CL wife start CL conversation “seemingly endless” POSS self PRE telephone <i>với mẹ của cô.</i> PRE mother POSS 3.SG ‘The wife started her “endless conversation” with her mother.’</p>	+CL	-CL	+def +def		+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
<p><i>Lời của người mẹ làm cô vợ cảm-thấy chí lí.</i> words POSS CL mother make CL wife feel right ‘She felt that her mother’s words (what her mother said) were all right.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
<p><i>Cô hào hứng tiếp tục cuộc trò chuyện với mẹ mình.</i> 3.SG excited continue CL conversation PRE mother self ‘She was so excited. Thus, she kept on the conversation with her mother.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Thế là, anh bắt đầu làm bữa-sáng, vừa chăm cậu con-traí tinh-ngịch của mình.</i> CONJ 3.SG begin make breakfast and take-care CL son naughty POSS self ‘Then he started making breakfast and taking care of his naughty son.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Ngay lúc đó, đối-tác kinh-doanh của người chồng đến ...</i> right time that partner business POSS CL husband come ‘At that time, his business partner came. (He pressed the honk in front of the house.)’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Đoạn, đối-tác của anh chui đầu qua cửa-sổ, la-to: “Anh biết mấy giờ rồi không?”</i></p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<p>CONJ partner POSS 3.SG poke head through window shout 2.SG know what time Qmarker</p> <p>‘Then, the partner of the husband poked his head through the window and shouted: “Do you know what time it is now?”’</p>							
	<p><i>Cô vợ không-những không ăn mà-còn ném cả vào người chồng mình,</i></p> <p>CL wife not-only NEG eat but-also throw all PRE body husband self</p> <p><i>khi anh ấy đang chuẩn-bị đi làm.</i></p> <p>when 3.SG PROG prepare go work</p> <p>‘The wife not only did not want to eat, but also threw all of it onto the husband’s body, when he was going to go to work.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
22	<p><i>Ông bố ... lấy cốc nước khác hất vào vợ mình.</i></p> <p>CL father take CL water another toss PRE wife self</p> <p>‘The father ... took another glass of water and tossed into his wife.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani
	<p><i>Bà vợ cũng bật dậy, tìm cốc nước khác hất chồng mình.</i></p> <p>CL wife also get up look-for CL water another toss husband self</p> <p>‘The wife also got up. She looked for another glass of water and tossed into her husband.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani
	<p><i>Bà vợ chợt có điện thoại, có lẽ là của mẹ bà ta.</i></p> <p>CL wife suddenly have telephone perhaps COP POSS mother her</p> <p>‘(Two of them argued with each other very loudly), the wife suddenly had a telephone call, maybe a phone call from her mother.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani
	<p><i>Vừa lúc đó, đối tác của ông-ấy đến, có lẽ họ có hẹn làm-ăn.</i></p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani

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	<p>just time that partner POSS him come maybe 3.PL have appointment business</p> <p>‘Just at that time, his partner came. Maybe they had a business appointment.’</p>							
	<p>Ông vội vã kéo vòi-nước để xả vào cái mông đang</p> <p>3.SG quickly pull water-tap to dispense PRE CL buttocks PROG</p> <p>bốc-khói ngùn-ngụt của mình trong tiếng-cười ngạc nhiên và</p> <p>fuming stronglyly POSS self PRE laugh surprise and</p> <p>thích thú của cậu con-trai đang ngồi ở-cạnh-bên.</p> <p>exciting POSS CL son PROG sit beside</p> <p>‘He pulled the water tap quickly so that the water can dispense onto his buttocks, which were fuming seriously. He did that with the surprising and exciting laugh of his son who was sitting beside him.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		-ani
	<p>Bà vợ ... đã ném cả một tô thức-ăn đầy vào lưng chồng mình.</p> <p>CL wife PERF throw whole one CL food full PRE back husband self</p> <p>‘The wife (was extremely angry; thus, she) threw a bowlful of food into her husband’s back (when he got out of the door).’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
23	<p>Cậu bé đã lấy một ly nước đổ lên người ông bố và bước ra-khỏi phòng.</p> <p>CL boy PERF take one CL water pour on body CL father and step out-of room</p> <p>‘The son took a glass of water and poured it into his father’s body. Then he went out of the room.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	<p>Người chồng ... dẫm lên chiếc xe-đò-chơi của đứa con-trai.</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani

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	CL husband step on CL toy-car POSS CL son 'The husband (fell down on the floor because he) stepped on the toy car of his son.'							
	<i>Người vợ cầm xô nước mà đứa con trai vừa mang ra và đổ lên</i> CL wife take CL water REL CL son just bring out and pour PRE người của người chồng. body POSS CL husband. 'His wife took the bucket of water that her son had just brought in to pour on her husband's body.'	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	<i>Người mẹ dặn con gái của mình không được mềm-yếu ...</i> CL mother tell daughter POSS self NEG allow soften and weak 'The mother told her daughter not to be soft and weak (otherwise, her husband would bully her).'		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani
	<i>Người vợ ném tô thức-ăn cô đang cầm trên tay mà</i> CL wife throw CL food she PROG handle PRE hand REL người chồng đã yêu cầu cô ta ăn vào lưng của anh chồng. CL husband PERF require her eat into back POSS CL husband 'The wife threw the bowl of food that the husband asked her to eat on her hand into the husband's back.'		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
24	<i>Người phụ nữ ... cầm xô nước tạt thẳng vào mặt người đàn ông.</i>		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani

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	CL woman take CL water throw directly PRE face CL man 'The woman took the bucket of water and tossed it directly into the man's face.'							
	<i>Người đàn ông tiến về-phía hộc-tủ lấy cái-gì-đó bỏ vào túi áo</i> CL man go toward drawer take something put PRE pocket <i>chĩa thẳng vào mặt người phụ nữ như ép để ăn.</i> point directly PRE face CL woman like force to eat 'The man went toward the drawer to take something and put it into his pocket. Then, he pointed directly to his wife, as if he wanted to force her to eat (what he cooked).'		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
	<i>Người phụ nữ cầm tô đồ-ăn ném từ phía-sau dính vào lưng người này.</i> CL woman take CL food throw from backside stick on back person DEM '(The man inside followed [his friend] went out. Then,) The woman took the bowl of food and threw from his backside into his back.'		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
25	<i>Đứa con-trai nhỏ của họ nghịch-ngợm dùng nước</i> CL son small POSS 3.PL naughty use water <i>hắt vào người ông bố làm ông-ta thức giấc.</i> tossed at CL CL father make 3.SG wake up. 'Their small son tossed the water naughtily onto his father to wake him up.'	+CL	-CL	+def (2x)		+rel (2x)		+ani -ani
	<i>Ông ta bực tức tưởng là vợ-mình làm nên ông hắt</i>		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani

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<p>3.SG angry think COP wife-self make therefore 3.SG toss <i>nước vào người vợ mình để trả-đũa.</i> water PRE body wife self to retaliate. ‘He was angry because he thought his wife did it. Thus, he tossed the water back on his wife’s body to retaliate against her.’</p>								
<p><i>Đối tác làm ăn của ông ta chạy xe đến ...</i> partner business POSS 3.SG drive car come ‘His business partner came with a car (and pressed the horn to urge him).’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Người chồng chạy ra cửa nói bạn ông ra đợi mình ...</i> CL husband run out door tell friend 3.SG go-out wait self ‘The husband ran out to the door and asked his friend to wait for him. Then, he returned to the kitchen.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Ông ta đau-đón vặn vòi nước ra xịt vào mông mình.</i> 3.SG painful twist tap water RES spray PRE buttocks self ‘He turned the water tap on painfully, then sprayed the water onto his buttocks.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
<p><i>Lúc đó, người bạn của ông ta ló đầu qua cửa-sổ nhà-bếp hối thúc ông ta.</i> that time CL friend POSS 3.SG poke head PRE window kitchen urge 3.SG ‘At that time, his friend poked his head through the window of the kitchen to urge him.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Cùng lúc đó, người bạn của ông ta lại mở cửa phòng-ngủ.</i> same time that CL friend POSS 3.SG came open door bedroom. ‘At the same time, his friend came and opened the bedroom’s door.’</p>	+CL	-CL	+def +def			-rel -rel	+ani	-ani
<p><i>Người vợ cầm cả tô thức-ăn ném vào lưng người chồng.</i></p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani

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	<p>CL wife hold all CL food throw PRE back CL husband</p> <p><i>cùng-với một nụ cười rất hả hê thỏa thích.</i></p> <p>PRE one CL smile very gloating delighted.</p> <p>‘The wife took a whole bowl of food and threw it into her husband’s back with a gloating and delighted smile.’</p>							
26	<p><i>Cậu bé ném cái ly nước trên tủ-đầu-giường vào</i></p> <p>CL boy throw cái CL water PRE night-table PRE</p> <p><i>mặt người cha đang ngủ say-ke .</i></p> <p>face CL father PROG sleep well</p> <p>‘The son threw the glass of water on the bed headset toward the face of his father who was sleeping very well.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông cha giật-mình-thức-dậy tưởng là người vợ của mình</i></p> <p>CL father startle think COP CL wife POSS self</p> <p><i>giả ngủ và chọc phá mình.</i></p> <p>pretend sleep and harry self</p> <p>‘The father startled and thought that was his wife harrying him and she just pretended to be sleeping.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Người cha ... đạp phải chiếc xe-đồ-chơi của con mình mà té.</i></p> <p>CL father step RES CL toy-car POSS son self CONJ fall</p> <p>‘The father (was concentrated on tossing water. Suddenly, he) stepped on the toy car of his son and fell down.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	<p><i>Bà vợ liền lấy cái xô mà cậu con trai của mình đem vô</i></p> <p>CL wife immediately take CL bucket REL CL son POSS self bring PRE</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani

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<p><i>xối hết lên người ông chồng.</i> pour RES PRE body CL husband 'The wife took immediately the bucket (of water) that the son brought in and tossed all the water on her husband's body.'</p>								
<p><i>Bà vợ... gọi điện cho mẹ mình để xin tư vấn.</i> CL wife call telephone for mother self to ask-for consult 'The wife called her mother in order to ask for her consultation.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Mẹ của bà vợ khuyên nên tiếp tục trả đũa như vậy để ông chồng khỏi bắt nạt nữa.</i> mother POSS CL wife advise should continue retaliate like that so-that CL husband NEG bully anymore 'The mother of the wife advised (her daughter) to keep on retaliating against her husband, so that her husband would not bully her anymore.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
<p><i>Bà vợ liền quát cái điện thoại vô bụng chồng mình và chửi</i> CL wife immediately whip CL phone PRE belly husband self and scold 'The wife just hit into her husband's stomach with the telephone headset, then, she scolded him.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
<p><i>Chịu không nổi, ông chồng liền bẻ ngược vòi-nước và cho nó xịt ngược-lên trời và đưa mông của mình vào để chữa cháy.</i> stand NEG RES CL husband at once wind up water-tap and let 3.SG spray backward-up sky and put buttocks POSS self RES to extinguish fire 'Having got burnt, the husband could not stand anymore. He immediately turned the water tap, faced it up to the sky in order to let the water irrigate his buttocks to extinguish the fire.'</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
<p><i>Cộng sự của ông chồng thò đầu vào cửa sổ nhà bếp hỏi.</i> colleague POSS CL husband poke head PRE window kitchen urge</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	

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	‘He ... sat on the pan which was burning. That made his buttocks get burnt.’							
	<i>Đúng lúc này, túi-áo ông bị rách và lộ-ra đồ chi-là</i> right time this pocket 3.SG PASS tear and turn-out that just <i>một cái tẩu-thuốc.</i> one CL smoking-pipe ‘Right at this time, his pocket was broken. It turned out that it was just a smoking-pipe.’		-CL	+def			-rel	-ani
	<i>Ông chồng ... vừa đến cửa thì bà vợ ném tô súp vào lưng ông.</i> CL husband just arrive door CONJ CL wife throw CL soup PRE back 3.SG ‘The husband ... just went to the door, his wife threw the bowl of soup into his back.’		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
28	<i>Ông ta đổ một-ly-nước đầy và hất vào mặt bà ta.</i> 3.SG pour one-CL-water full and toss PRE face 3.SG ‘He poured a glassful of water and tossed it into her face.’		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
	<i>Ông chồng vô tình đạp phải món đồ-chơi của đứa con.</i> CL husband accidentally step RES CL toy POSS CL son ‘The husband accidentally stepped on a toy of his son (and slipped down on the floor).’	+CL		+def			-rel	-ani
	<i>Người vợ đối-kháng-lại và nói ông ta chỉ biết bắt nạt vợ-mình.</i> CL wife resist and tell 3.SG only know bully wife-self. ‘The wife resisted him by telling him that he always bullied his wife.’		-CL	+def		+rel		-ani
	<i>Ông ta chỉ cần căn-chỉnh làm-sao cho cái mông</i> 3.SG just need adjust how let CL buttocks <i>đính lửa của mình vừa đúng tầm nước bắn.</i>	+CL		+def		+rel		-ani

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	stick fire POSS self just right scope water shoot 'He just needed to adjust his buttocks to let the water drop on his burning buttocks.'								
	<i>Ngày lúc ấy, người-bạn-kinh doanh của ông ta vô tình nhìn-thấy</i> at time that CL-friend-business POSS 3.SG accidentally see. 'Right at that time, his business partner accidentally saw that scene (that he adjusted his buttocks to fit the water flow).'	+CL		+def			-rel	+ani	
29	<i>Người vợ liền lấy ngay xô nước dưới chân trút thẳng vào đầu chồng mình.</i> CL wife immediately take immediately CL water PRE foot pour straight PRE head husband self 'The wife seized the bucket of water near his foot immediately and poured it on her husband's head.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Ông gọi người vợ của mình, người vợ tay vẫn-còn cầm ống nghe</i> 3.SG call CL wife POSS self CL wife hand still hold handset <i>đáp-lại chồng mình.</i> response husband self 'He called his wife. The wife with the handset in her hand responded to her husband.'	+CL	-CL	+def (2x)		+rel (2x)		+ani (2x)	
	<i>Người vợ ...tổng thẳng chiếc ống nghe vào bụng của chồng mình.</i> CL wife hit directly CL handset PRE stomach POSS husband self. 'The wife ... hit her husband's stomach directly with the handset.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Trong lúc đó, bạn đồng nghiệp của ông lái xe đến...</i> PREP time that. colleague of him drive car come 'At that time, his colleague came with a car.'		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	

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	<p><i>Ông đi ra mở cửa và nói với bạn mình đợi một lát.</i> 3.SG go out open door and tell PRE friend self wait one moment ‘He went out to open the door and told his friend to wait for him a moment (because he was making breakfast).’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Nước từ vòi chảy ra với đường-cong như cầu vồng và ông vội đưa mông mình vào dập lửa.</i> and 3.SG quickly give buttocks self RES extinguish fire ‘The water from the water tap went out like a rainbow. Then, he quickly let his buttocks under the water to let the water extinguish the fire.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Từ cửa sổ nhà bếp, bạn-đồng-nghiệp của ông với đầu vào hỏi.</i> from window kitchen colleague POSS 3.SG stretch head in ask ‘His colleague poked his head through the kitchen window and asked, ...’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
	<p><i>Ông bước-vào phòng-ngủ khoe chiến tích với vợ mình...</i> 3.SG enter sleeping-room show-off success PRE wife self ‘He came into the bedroom to show off (his) success to his wife.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
	<p><i>Người chồng ... uy hiếp vợ mình phải ăn cho-bằng-được.</i> CL husband threaten wife self must eat RES ‘The husband (immediately took the smoking pipe and put into his pocket to pretend a knife to) threaten his wife to eat it up.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	
30	<p><i>Chả có ai ngoài ông chồng của mình.</i> NEG have who except CL husband POS self ‘There was nobody except her husband.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		+ani	

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<p><i>Bà vợ liền lấy xô nước tạt thẳng lên người ông chồng.</i></p> <p>CL wife immediately take CL water toss directly PRE body CL husband</p> <p>‘The wife immediately took the bucket of water and tossed directly on her husband’s body.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
<p><i>Khi tiếp-chuyện với sếp mình xong thì anh chồng quay lại khu-vực nhà-bếp.</i></p> <p>when talk with boss-self finish CONJ CL husband turn back area kitchen</p> <p>‘After finishing talking with his boss, the husband turned back to the kitchen.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Sếp ông chồng từ cửa sổ nhà bếp chui-vô kêu đi làm gấp.</i></p> <p>boss CL husband from window kitchen come-RES ask go work urgent</p> <p>‘(At the time when he extinguished the fire,) his boss poked in from the kitchen window to urge him to go to work.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
<p><i>Ông chồng ... lấy tẩu-thuốc giấu trong túi-áo vest của mình, giả-làm cây súng đe dọa bà vợ phải ăn ngay đồ-ăn của mình.</i></p> <p>CL husband take smoking-pipe hide PRE pocket vest POSS self pretend CL gun threaten CL wife must eat right-away food POSS self .</p> <p>‘The husband (immediately went to the closet to) take a smoking pipe and hide it in his vest’s pocket, pretending it was a gun to threaten his wife to eat his food (the food that he cooked).’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
<p><i>Bị rủi thay, do sơ suất túi-áo bị rách, lòi-ra tẩu-thuốc của mình.</i></p> <p>PASS unlucky because careless pocket PASS tear turn-out smoking-pipe POSS self</p> <p>‘Unluckily, because of his carelessness, his pocket was torn. It turned out his smoking pipe.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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	<p>Cô vợ đợi khi ông chồng ra tới cửa liền ném đồ-ăn vào lưng ông chồng.</p> <p>CL wife wait when CL husband out to door just throw food PRE back CL husband</p> <p>‘(She) waited till the husband went to the door, the wife immediately threw the food into her husband’s back.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
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Appendix 18. Examples of possessives in 30 oral texts.

Text	Possessive	[± CL]		[± def]		[± relational /unique]		[± animate]	
		+CL	-CL	+def	-def	+rel	-rel	+ani	-ani
1	<i>bạn của nó</i> friend POSS him 'his friend'		-CL	+def			-rel	+ani	
2	<i>giỏ lê của anh nông dân này</i> CL pear POSS CL famer DEM 'this farmer's basket of pear(s)'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	No example from Informant 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9								
10	<i>Ông đang leo lên cây bằng chiếc thang thường-ngày của ông ta.</i> 3.SG PROG climb up tree by CL ladder daily POSS 3.SG 'He was climbing up the tree by his daily used ladder.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<i>thấy cái nón của cậu ta rớt</i> see CL hat POSS 3.SG drop 'seeing his hat dropping down'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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11	<p>đặt lên phía-trước <i>chiếc xe-đạp của mình</i> put PRE front-of CL bike POSS self ‘put on the front part of his bicycle’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông nhìn ba đứa bé-trai này như-thể họ đã ăn cắp</i> 3.SG look three CL boy DEM as-if 3.PL PERF steal <i>cần xé lê của ông.</i> CL pear POSS 3.SG ‘He looked at these three boys as if they had stolen his basket of pears.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
12	<p><i>Cậu bé đó liền xách một giỏ trái cây và bỏ lên xe mình để chạy đi.</i> CL boy DEM just carry one CL fruit and put PRE bike self to ride away ‘The boy immediately carried a basket of fruit, put it on his bicycle and rode away.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cậu ấy bị vấp cục đá và té làm ngã đổ giỏ trái-cây của mình.</i> 3.SG PASS trip CL stone and fall make fall down CL fruit POSS self ‘He tripped on a stone and fell down. His basket of fruit also fell.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
13	<p><i>Cậu bé xe-đạp đi đường cậu bé xe-đạp, ...</i> CL boy bike go road CL boy bike ‘The bike boy went his road, ...’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
14	<p><i>Có một cậu bé chạy một chiếc xe-đạp đến ngay dưới cái chân cái cây đó.</i> exist one CL boy ride one CL bicycle come right under CL leg CL tree DEM ‘There was a boy who riding a bicycle and came exactly to the stump of that tree.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel		-ani	

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	No example from Informant 15, 16, 17, 18								
19	<p><i>Có một người đàn-ông dắt con dê đi ngang qua chỗ của ông.</i> exist one CL man lead CL goat go pass PRE place POSS 3.SG ‘There was a man who was leading a goat passing through his place.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Rồi nó quyết-định là nó lấy một cái sọt rất là đầy lê nó bỏ lên xe đạp của nó chở đi.</i> CONJ 3.SG decide COMP 3.SG take one CL basket very COP full pear 3.SG put PRE bike POSS him carry away ‘Then, he decided to take a basket full of pears and put it on his bicycle. Then he carried it away.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Cái nón của cái thằng nhóc, nó dính vào,</i> CL hat POSS cái CL CL 3.SG stick RES <i>nó xước qua đầu của con nhỏ con gái đó.</i> 3.SG slide overhead POSS CL little CL girl DEM ‘The hat of the boy, it stuck into, it slid over the head of the girl.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Ông leo xuống rồi cái ông mới thắc mắc là cái sọt lê của ông biến mất.</i> 3.SG climb down then PART 3.SG just wonder COP cái CL pear POSS 3.SG disappear ‘He climbed down the tree. Then, he wondered that his basket of pears had disappeared.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Nó sờ sờ cái chân nó.</i> 3.SG touch touch CL leg 3.SG ‘He touched his leg several times.’</p>	+CL		+def		+rel			-ani

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20	<p><i>Ba thằng bé vừa-ăn cái lê vừa-đi ngang qua mặt ông.</i> three CL boy eating CL pear going pass PRE face 3.SG ‘Those three boys were eating, going to pass by him (his face).’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
21	<p><i>Nhưng mà chiếc xe-đạp của nó thì không-có giỏ.</i> CONJ CL bike POSS 3.SG COP NEG-have basket ‘But his bicycle did not have a basket in front.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Xe của nó vấp phải một hòn đá rất to nằm ở giữa đường.</i> bike POSS 3.SG trip PASS one CL stone very big lie at middle road ‘His bicycle tripped on a very big stone in the middle of the road.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Chúng nó nhặt được cái a cái a cái nón-rộng-vành của thằng bé đi xe đạp á đánh rơi.</i> 3.PL pick RES CL PART CL PART CL hat- wide-brimmed POSS CL boy ride bike PART make drop ‘They found the, the, the wide-brimmed hat the boy who was riding (a) bike lost.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ông nhìn vào tay của bọn trẻ này.</i> 3.SG look PRE hand POSS CL child DEM ‘He looked at these children’s hands.’</p>		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<p><i>Khi mà đi ngang qua chỗ của người nông dân hái lê thì chú bé dừng lại.</i> when go pass by place POSS CL farmer pluck pear TOP CL boy stop RES ‘When passing by the place of the farmer who was plucking pears, the boy stopped.’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani

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<p>22</p>	<p><i>Cậu bé thấy người đàn-ông không chú ý đến giỏ lê của mình.</i> CL boy see CL man NEG notice PRE CL pear POSS self ‘The boy saw that the man did not notice his basket of pears.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
<p>23</p>	<p><i>Cậu bé này đang lén bung rổ trái-cây của ông-ta đi.</i> CL boy DEM PROG stealthy carry CL fruit POSS 3.SG away ‘The boy was carrying his (the farmer’s) basket of fruit away stealthily.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>Cô bé mới a giật cái nón của cậu bé rớt.</i> CL girl just PART snatch CL hat POSS CL boy drop ‘The girl just, just snatched the boy’s hat and made it drop down.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>Ba cậu bé kia lại lượm được cái nón của cậu bé chạy xe-đạp bị ngã khi-nãy.</i> three CL boy DEM EMPH pick RES CL hat POSS CL boy ride bicycle PASS fall last-moment ‘Those three boys picked up the hat of the boy who was riding a bike and falling down earlier.’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>đi ngang qua cái cây a của người đàn ông đang hái trái-cây</i> go pass PRE CL tree PART POSS CL man PROG pluck fruit ‘walked by the tree of the man who was plucking fruits’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>
	<p><i>chiếc xe-đạp của cậu bé ngã xuống</i> CL bike POSS CL boy fall down ‘the bicycle of the boy fell down’</p>	<p>+CL</p>		<p>+def</p>			<p>-rel</p>		<p>-ani</p>

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24	<p><i>Bạn nhỏ này mới nhặt chiếc mũ trên đường...</i> friend little DEM just pick CL hat PRE road 'this little friend picked up the hat on road, ...'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
25	<p><i>Bé gái chạy nhanh quá, thế-là cái nón của bé trai nó bị rớt.</i> CL girl ride fast very CONJ CL hat POSS CL boy 3.SG PASS drop 'The girl rode so fast that the boy's hat, it dropped down.'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Ba bạn này thấy cái nón của bạn nam này mới huýt-sáo kêu bạn này lại</i> <i>three</i> CL DEM see CL hat POSS CL male DEM just whistle call CL DEM back 'These three boys saw the hat of this boy, they whistled to call him (this boy) back.'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
26	<p><i>hái bỏ vào cái túi, túi-áo giống như áo-tạp-dề của mình</i> pluck put PRE CL bag pocket like as apron POSS self 'plucked and put into the bag, the pocket of the so-called apron in our country'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Nó đã xuyết hốt cái đồng trái-cây của ông đi rồi.</i> 3.SG PERF almost eat cái CL fruit POSS him away already 'It (the goat) almost ate up his basket of fruits.'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>Con dê nó không làm gì đồng trái-cây của ông nên-là ông cũng cho qua.</i> CL goat it NEG do what CL fruit POSS him CONJ 3.SG also let go 'The goat, it did not eat his basket of fruits. Thus, he let it go.'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<p><i>làm đổ cái rổ trái-cây của mình</i> fall cái CL fruit POSS self 'made his basket of fruits fall down'</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani

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26	<i>đúng ngay chỗ cái gốc cây đó</i> right at place CL stump DEM 'right at the place of that stump'		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani
27	<i>gặp được cái nón của cậu bé đánh-roi trên đường lúc té lúc nãy</i> see RES CL hat POSS CL boy drop on road when fall time past 'saw the boy's hat which he dropped on the road when he fell down earlier.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<i>Nó giống-như-là cái trái ổi của mình vậy đó.</i> 3.SG like-as cái CL guava POSS self like DEM 'It (the fruit) looked like the guava of our country.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
28	<i>Ông đeo, ông cột trên cổ của ông á!</i> 3.SG wear 3.SG tie PRE neck POSS him SFP 'He wore, he tied (the scarf) on his neck.'		-CL	+def		+rel			-ani
	<i>Cái mũ của thằng này rớt xuống đất.</i> CL hat POSS CL DEM drop down ground 'The hat of this boy dropped down on the ground.'	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani
	<i>xuất-hiện một người đàn ông và hai thằng bé giống-như-là con của cái người đàn ông này vậy, tới giúp nó.</i> appear one CL man and two CL boy like-as son POSS cái CL man DEM SFP come help 3.SG 'There were a man and two boys. These two boys were like sons of this man. They came to help him (the protagonist – the boy).'		-CL	+def		+rel		+ani	

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	<p><i>tiếp-tục đi về hướng của người đàn-ông đang hái cóc</i> continue go PRE direction POSS CL man PROG pluck ambarella ‘continued going toward the direction of the man who was plucking the ambarella’</p>		-CL	+def			-rel		-ani	
	<p><i>Ông hái đầy cái túi của ông- cái túi tạp dề của ông</i> 3.SG pluck full CL bag POSS 3.SG – CL pocket apron POSS 3.SG ‘He plucked full his bag, full his apron’s pocket.’</p>	+CL (2x)		+def (2x)			-rel (2x)		-ani (2x)	
29	<p><i>Gió thổi bay mất cái nón của nó.</i> wind flow fly RES CL hat POSS him ‘The wind made the boy’s hat fly away.’</p>	+CL		+def			-rel		-ani	
	No example from Informant 30									

Appendix 19. Token frequency of nouns occurring with/without classifiers in subject and object positions in 30 written texts.

Informant	Subject								Object							
	[+definite]				[-definite]				[+definite]				[-definite]			
	+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL		+CL		-CL	
	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani
1	47	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	11	19	6	42	0	4	0	11
2	30	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	8	3	4	42	1	6	0	14
3	22	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	5	7	18	0	0	0	11
4	23	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	8	12	1	30	0	0	0	15
5	29	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	7	2	25	1	2	0	13
6	22	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	40	0	6	0	12
7	35	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	5	6	3	50	0	6	0	13
8	68	2	0	5	0	0	0	3	3	29	12	95	0	3	0	25
9	22	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	12	3	2	26	0	1	0	6
10	21	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	11	18	0	1	0	6
11	37	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	5	3	28	0	6	0	7
12	22	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	12	7	3	33	0	3	0	13
13	36	2	0	3	0	0	0	1	5	4	7	27	0	2	0	10
14	70	0	0	5	4	2	0	3	1	15	3	60	0	6	0	24
15	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6	8	5	40	0	4	0	15
16	52	2	1	4	4	0	0	2	10	14	12	61	0	2	0	24
17	21	2	1	5	3	0	0	2	4	6	7	31	0	3	0	8
18	10	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	3	25	0	1	0	5
19	16	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	23	0	0	0	6
20	34	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	8	1	2	17	1	2	0	6
21	23	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	21	0	1	0	7
22	17	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	19	0	3	0	6

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23	41	0	0	5	2	0	0	1	11	16	5	50	0	3	0	16
24	44	3	0	10	2	0	0	0	5	17	0	63	0	6	0	21
25	12	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	4	0	22	0	2	0	12
26	46	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	7	16	1	20	0	4	0	16
27	39	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	10	13	3	43	0	1	0	19
28	26	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	9	11	3	35	0	2	0	7
29	38	3	0	8	0	1	0	1	5	20	2	51	0	8	0	9
30	26	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	3	2	37	0	6	0	8
	978	34	8	78	19	9	1	31	176	256	114	1092	3	94	0	365

Appendix 20. Token frequency of nouns occurring with/without classifiers in subject and object positions in 30 oral texts.

Informant	Subject								Object							
	[+definite]				[-definite]				[+definite]				[-definite]			
	+ CL		-CL		+ CL		-CL		+ CL		-CL		+ CL		-CL	
	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani	+ani	-ani
1	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	12	0	1	0	1
2	17	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	9	8	0	15	0	1	0	1
3	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	0	6	0	2	0	2
4	7	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	17	0	8	0	4	0	2
5	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	14	0	2	0	3	0	0
6	21	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	18	0	37	0	0	0	5
7	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	7	0	4	0	1
8	14	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	9	0	1	0	1
9	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	11	0	3	0	1
10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	6	0	1
11	16	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	5	1	12	0	2	0	1
12	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	6	0	6	0	2	0	1
13	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	18	0	23	0	1	0	2
14	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	10	0	2	0	1
15	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	9	0	2	0	4
16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4	0	6	0	6	0	2
17	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	9	0	0	0	2
18	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	5	0	3	0	0	0	1
19	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	11	0	0	0	0
20	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	9	0	13	0	3	0	2
21	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	6	0	8	0	2	0	0
22	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	1	0	2	0	1

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23	10	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	15	0	0	0	2
24	20	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	14	0	10	0	2	0	4
25	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	5	0	2	0	1
26	13	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	20	0	19	0	3	0	2
27	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	5	0	2	0	2
28	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	17	0	18	0	5	0	0
29	17	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	11	0	0	0	1
30	11	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	8	0	11	0	1	0	2
	262	55	0	12	0	2	1	0	133	230	4	324	0	62	0	46

Appendix 21. Examples of indefinite demonstratives

(1) *Chuyện Khôi Hài* (The funny stories) written by Trương Vĩnh Ký, published in Sai Gon - 1882

1. *Thầy Rờ*

Có thằng cha kia tính hay mê sắc.

exist CL guy DEM character always love (beautiful) girl

‘There was a certain guy who always loves beautiful girl.’

2. *Chữ thiên trời đầu*

Lão kia hay chữ mà cà-xóc thấy con kia đề đạm nhúm nha

CL DEM good word but insolent see CL DEM attractive

có duyên có sắc thì hát chọc.

have friendly have beautiful CONJ sing tease

‘There was a certain guy, who literates but insolent. (When he) saw a certain girl who attractive, friendly and beautiful, (he) sang to tease (her).’

3. *Anh Kì-cào*

Nhà kia có hai anh em đều đi tu cả hai.

Family DEM exist two brothers both convent/monk both

‘A certain family has two brothers, both of them were monks.’

(2) *Chuyện Đời Xưa* (The old stories) written by Trương Vĩnh Ký, published in Paris – Ernest Leroux - 1888

4. *Thầy dạy ăn trộm, thủ học trò*

Có ông thầy kia làm thầy dạy phép đi ăn trộm.

exist CL teacher DEM do teacher teach way go steal

‘There was a teacher who taught people to become thieves.’

CHUYỆN KHÔI-HÀI



DDPK: <http://gilbert.tv.free.fr/ddpk>

CHUYỆN ĐỜI XƯA



Appendix 22. An example of a written text.

1. *Chiếc đồng hồ báo thức reo lên báo hiệu đã tám giờ sáng.*

CL clock alarm ring up signal ASP 8eight o'clock morning

'An alarm clock rang to signal that it was already eight o'clock in the morning.'

2. *Người đàn ông mở mắt liếc nhìn sang vợ mình.*

CL man open eye glance toward wife-self

'A man opened his eye and glanced at his wife.'

3. *Khi thấy vợ mình vẫn đang ngủ, ông ấy liền nhắm mắt lại ngủ tiếp.*

When see wife-self still ASP sleep he at-once close eye-RES sleep continue

'(When) seeing his wife was still sleeping, he closed his eye immediately and continued sleeping.'

4. *Đứa con đã thức dậy và đến bên giường của cha nó.*

CL child ASP get up and come beside bed of father-self

'The son had already woken up, he came by his father's bed.'

5. *Đứa bé đổ nước lên người cha để gọi người cha dậy,*

CL child pour water on CL father in-order-to call CL father wake-up

người đàn ông tỉnh dậy và tưởng là do vợ anh ta làm.

CL man get up and think because wife-self do

'The boy poured water on his father in order to wake him up, the man (the father) got up and thought that was his wife had done this.'

6. *Người đàn ông rót nước vô ly và tạt sang chỗ người vợ*

CL man pour water into glass and toast toward place CL wife

đang nằm ngủ rồi nhắm mắt lại giả vờ đang ngủ.

PROG lie sleep then close eye-RES pretend PROG sleep.

'The man poured water into a glass and toasted it toward the place where the wife was lying and sleeping, then he closed his eye and pretended as if he was sleeping.'

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7. Vợ anh ta giật mình tỉnh dậy và lại đổ nước ra ly tạt sang chỗ chồng.

wife-his startled wake-up and again pour water out glass toast toward place husband

‘His wife startled and woke up. She also poured water into the glass and toasted toward her husband.’

8. Thế là hai vợ chồng đều thức dậy và tạt nước vào nhau.

so COP two wife husband both get-up and toast water into each-other

‘The result was the couple both woke up and toasted the water into each other.’

9. Trong lúc đó, đứa con cầm dù và một thùng nước mở cửa bước vào.

at-that-time CL son take umbrella and one CL water open door step in

‘At that time, the son opened the door, stepped in with an umbrella and a tank of water (in his hand = to take).’

10. Nó đặt thùng nước giữa hai người rồi lại đi ra.

he (the son) put CL water between two people then again go out

‘He put the tank of water between two of them, then went out again.’

11. Hai người vẫn tạt nước vào nhau và người đàn ông

two person still toast water into each other and CL man

vấp phải đồ chơi trên sàn nhà té ngã ngửa.

encounter toy on floor fall up-side-down

‘Two people still toasted the water toward each other and the man fell down on the floor because he tripped over a toy.’

12. Người vợ liền lấy thùng nước tạt hết vào người anh ta.

CL wife immediately take CL water toast all into body-his

‘The wife immediately took the tank of water and threw them all to him.’

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13. *Người đàn ông vô cùng tức giận và hai người lại cãi nhau.*

CL man extremely angry and two people again quarrel each other.

‘The man was so angry, (thus,) two of them quarrelled again’

14. *Chuông điện thoại reo và người vợ bắt máy.*

bell telephone ring and CL wife catch machine

‘The telephone (‘s bell) rang and the wife caught the phone.’

15. *Người vợ nói chuyện điện thoại, trong khi đó người chồng đi vào nhà tắm.*

CL wife talk telephone meanwhile CL husband enter bathroom

‘The wife was speaking on the phone, meanwhile, the husband went to bathroom.’

16. *Trước khi vào, người đàn ông còn chọc tức vợ và đóng sầm cánh cửa*

before enter CL man still provoke wife and slamm CL door

khiến người vợ giật mình.

cause CL wife startle

‘Before entering (the bathroom), the man still provoked his wife and slammed the door. That caused the wife startled.’

17. *Người đàn ông mở nước nóng chuẩn bị tắm, trong lúc đó người vợ*

CL man open water hot prepare shower at that time CL wife

vẫn đang nói chuyện điện thoại với mẹ cô ấy.

still PROG speak telephone with her mother

‘The man turned on hot water prepared to take a shower, meanwhile, the wife still kept on talking on the telephone with her mother.’

18. *Người đàn ông đang tắm thì ngoài cửa có một chú bé đưa báo*

CL man PROG shower CONJ outdoor have one CL kid give newspaper

và một anh chàng đưa sữa đến bấm chuông.

and one CL man give milk come press bell

‘When the man was taking shower, outside the door, there were a newspaper-kid and a milk-man came, pressed the bell.’

19. *Chuông cửa reo liên hồi.*

bell door ring repeatedly

‘The doorbell rang repeatedly.’

20. *Người đàn ông đang ngâm trong bồn phải nhồm dậy gọi cô vợ nhưng*

CL man PROG dip in tub must spring up call CL wife but

vợ anh ta vẫn đang bận nói chuyện điện thoại nên không chịu ra mở cửa.

wife his still PROG busy talking telephone thus NEG want out open door

‘Lying in the bathtub, the man had to spring up in order to call his wife, but his wife was so busy with talking on the telephone that she did not want to go out to open the door.’

21. *Chuông cửa vẫn reo liên tục.*

bell door still ring repeatedly

‘The doorbell kept on ringing repeatedly.’

22. *Người đàn ông đành lau qua mặt mũi và khoác tạm áo choàng đi ra.*

CL man has to wipe quickly face nose and wear temporary coat go out

‘The man had to wipe his face quickly. He dressed a coat temporary and went out.’

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23. *Trước cửa, chú bé phát báo và người đàn ông đưa sữa*

in-front-of the door CL boy-deliver-newspaper and CL man-deliver-milk

vẫn đang đập cửa liên tục thì người đàn ông đi ra.

still PROG knock door continuously CONJ CL man walk out.

‘In front of the door, the newspaper-boy and the milkman was still knocking the door continuously, the man was coming out.’

24. *Hai người liền túm lấy người đàn ông và yêu cầu anh ta trả tiền báo và sữa.*

two person at.once grab CL man and ask him pay money newspaper and milk.

‘Two of them grabbed the man immediately. They asked him to pay for the newspaper and the milk.’

25. *Người đàn ông đành hứa hẹn rằng ngày mai vợ anh ta sẽ trả tiền*

CL man must promise that tomorrow his wife FUT pay money

rồi vội vàng trở vào trong nhà.

then quickly back into house.

‘The man had to promise that tomorrow his wife would pay for them, then he went back into the house quickly.’

26. *Anh ta bước vào nhà thì lại bị đứa con chơi chiếc xe*

he walk in house CONJ PASS CL son play CL car

đẩy trúng vào chân khiến anh ta ngã ngửa vào chiếc xe.

push RES in leg cause him fall back into CL car.

‘He entered the house and was hit by the car, which his son was playing and throwing it into his leg. That made him felt down on the car.’

27. *Người đàn ông rất tức giận, trong khi đó thì đứa bé lại bật cười thích thú.*

CL man very angry meanwhile TOP CL boy EMPH laugh excited

‘The man was furious, while the boy laughed excitedly.’

28. *Thấy vợ mình vẫn đang mãi nói chuyện điện thoại, người đàn ông lấy cái kéo*

see wife-self still PROG busy talk telephone CL man take CL scissors

cắt phăng sợi-dây-điện thoại khiến người vợ không nói chuyện được nữa.

cut off CL telephone-wire cause CL wife NEG talk-RES anymore

‘Seeing his wife was still busy with talking on the phone, the man took a scissors to cut off the telephone wire. That caused her could not speaking on telephone anymore.(/he wanted to stop her from talking through the phone.)’

29. *Anh ta cười khoái trá thì bị vợ cầm chiếc tai nghe đập ngay vào bụng.*

he chuckled CONJ PASS wife take CL handset strike right into belly

‘(When) chuckling, he was stroke in the belly with the handset by his wife.’

30. *Hai vợ chồng lại tranh cãi với nhau và đứa trẻ lại*

two wife-husband again quarrel with each other and CL child again

cười khoái trá khi nhìn thấy cha mẹ cãi nhau ồm tỏi.

chuckle when see father mother quarrel loudly

‘The couple quarrelled with each other again and the son was chuckling (again) when seeing his parents quarrel with each other loudly.’

31. *Người đàn ông trách vợ sao không chuẩn bị bữa ăn sáng.*

CL man blame wife why NEG prepare CL breakfast.

‘The man blamed his wife that why (she) did not prepare for the breakfast.’

32. *Vợ anh ta liền gợi ý anh ấy thử làm một bữa ăn sáng cho vợ*

wife-his immediately suggest he try do one CL breakfast for wife

một lần thử xem.

one time try see.

‘His wife immediately suggested him to try to make a breakfast for her once (to see if he could do it.’

33. *Người đàn ông trả lời là anh ta sẽ làm và chắc chắn sẽ làm được.*

CL man reply COMP he FUT do and certainly FUT do-RES

‘The man replied that he would do and surely that he could do it.’

34. *Anh ta liền cầm lấy quần áo và bế đưa con đi sang nhà bếp.*

he immediately take clothes and bring CL son go toward kitchen

‘At once, he took his clothes and brought the son went to the kitchen.’

35. *Người đàn ông đặt đứa bé lên bệ-rửa-chén và chuẩn bị thực hiện bữa sáng,*

CL man put CL boy on kitchen-base and prepare make breakfast

trong khi đó thì vợ anh ta lại nằm lên giường và lấy bánh ra ăn.

meanwhile TOP wife-his EMPH lie on bed and take cake out eat

‘The man put his son on the kitchen base and started preparing breakfast, meanwhile, his wife was lying on the bed and took the cookies to eat.’

36. *Đứa bé thì vẽ lên tường, trong khi người đàn ông lu bu làm bếp.*

CL kid TOP draw on wall while CL man busy do kitchen

‘As for the son, he was drawing on the wall, while the man (his father) was busy with cooking.’

37. *Người đàn ông loay hoay nào cắt, nào chặt hết ổ bánh mì này đến ổ bánh mì khác*

CL man squirm any cut any chop from bread to bread

để cho vào lò nướng mà vẫn không cắt được một miếng bánh nào vừa vặn.

in order to put into toaster EMPH still NEG cut-RES one CL bread any fit

‘The man squirmed with cutting and chopping the breads. He cut from this loaf of bread to another loaf of bread in order to put it into the toaster. But he could not cut any piece of bread that could fit (in the toaster).’

38. *Trong khi đó, vợ anh ta nằm trên giường vẫn ăn hết thức ăn này đến thức ăn khác.*

meanwhile wife-his lie on bed still eat up food this to food another

‘Meanwhile, his wife was lying in bed and eating up this food to another food (eating up all the food).’

39. *Quá bực tức vì không cắt được bánh mì, người đàn ông cho cả
too angry because NEG cut-RES bread CL man put whole
lò-nướng-bánh-nhỏ vào lò nướng lớn và bật lửa.
toaster into oven and turn fire*

‘Too angry with himself because he could not cut the bread, the man put the whole toaster into the oven and turned the fire on.’

40. *Lúc đó, một người bạn của anh ta bấm còi xe ở bên ngoài.
at that time one CL friend of him press horn outside.*

‘At that time, a friend of him pressed the horn outside.’

41. *Người đàn ông vội đi ra thì lại vấp phải đồ trên sàn
CL man quickly go out CONJ EMPH trip thing on floor
ngã nhào xuống đất.
fall upside down ground*

‘(When) the man went out quickly, he just tripped on something on the floor and fell up side down on the ground.’

42. *Anh ta đứng dậy và tiếp tục ra mở cửa.
he stand up and continue go out open door*

‘He stood up and kept on going out to open the door.’

43. *Nhìn thấy bạn mình, người đàn ông kêu bạn chờ một chút vì
see friend-self CL man ask friend wait a while because
anh ấy còn đang nấu đồ ăn sáng.
he still PROG cook breakfast.*

‘Seeing his friend (was coming), the man asked his friend to wait for a while. Because he had been making the breakfast.’

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44. Trong bếp, lò nướng, chảo thức ăn đang cháy phùng phùng, người đàn ông
in kitchen oven pan food PROG burn strongly CL man
chạy vào hốt hoảng, luống cuống làm rơi thức ăn nóng trên chảo xuống chân
run in panic feverishly cause drop food hot on pan down leg
rồi lại ngã oạch vào cái chảo đang cháy.
then fall strongly into CL pan PROG fire

‘In the kitchen, the oven and the food in the pan were burnt strongly. The man ran in so panic and feverishly that the burning food on the pan dropped on his leg. And then, (he) fell down strongly on the burning pan.’

45. Bị nóng mông, anh ta mở vòi nước xịt mát cho cái mông thì lúc đó
PASS hot ass he turn on water tap spray cool for CL buttock CONJ that-time
bạn anh ta chồm từ ngoài cửa sổ vào hối anh ta nhanh lên kẻo trễ giờ.
his friend lean from outside window in urge him hurry up or late

‘His ass was burnt, he turned on the water tap and sprayed (the water to his ass) to cool it down. At that time, his friend leaned into the window (from outside) to urge him hurry up or he would be late.’

46. Người đàn ông lấy hộp thức ăn sẵn ra và tìm cách để mở chúng.
CL man take CL food available out and find way to open them

‘The man took [the] can of food out and tried (to find the way) to open them’

47. Anh ta lấy dao đâm vào hộp thì bị thức ăn văng lên mặt.
he take knife stab in can CONJ PASS food splash on face

‘(When) he took a knife and stabbed in the can, he was splashed on face by the food (/the food splashed on his face).’

48. Thế là anh ta lấy con dao lớn để chặt hộp thức ăn làm đôi.
therefore he use CL big-knife to chop CL food make two

‘Therefore he used a big knife to chop the can of food into two halves.’

49. Cuối cùng anh ta cùng ăn mặc chỉnh tề, bày được thức ăn đóng hộp

finally he EMPH dress well put-RES can-food

ra tô, đĩa và bày ra mâm để đem sang cho vợ.

into bowl dish and display out tray to bring to for wife

‘Finally, he could dressed well, put the can food out into the bowl, the dish and displayed them on a tray. He brought them to his wife.’

50. Hi hứng bê mâm thức ăn vào phòng thì người đàn ông thấy cô vợ

gleefully bring CL(tray) food into room CONJ CL man see CL wife

đang nôn thốc nôn tháo.

PROG vomit strongly

‘(When the man) brought the tray of food into (his wife’s) room gleefully, he (the man) saw his wife was vomiting strongly.’

51. Người đàn ông tức giận đặt mâm thức ăn lên giường và bắt cô vợ phải ăn hết.

CL man angry put CL food on bed and force CL wife must eat up

‘The man put the tray of food on the bed angrily and forced the wife to eat them up.’

52. Cô vợ xua tay từ chối vì không ăn nổi nữa.

CL wife refuse with hand because NEG eat-RES anymore

‘The wife refused (by pushing the tray out of her) because she could not eat (them) anymore.’

53. Người đàn ông tức giận lục trong hộc tủ lấy ra một vật nhét

CL man angry search in drawer pull out one thing stuff

vào túi và giả vờ đó là súng để uy hiếp cô vợ phải ăn hết thức ăn.

in pocket and pretend that COP gun to threaten CL wife must eat all food.

‘The man was angry. He searched inside a drawer, took out one thing and put into his pocket and pretended that it was a gun in order to threaten his wife to finish the food (eat them up).’

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54. *Cô vợ có từ chối cũng không được đành cầm tô thức ăn lên định ăn*

CL wife EMPH refuse also NEG RES must take CL food up intend eat

thì phát hiện thì ra trong túi anh ta giấu chỉ là một ống tẩu hút thuốc.

CONJ discover turn-out in pocket he hide just one CL smoking pipe

‘The wife did refuse but did not succeeded. Thus, she had to take up the bowl food, intend to eat them. Then, she found out that the thing hidden in her husband’s pocket turned out was just a smoking pipe.’

55. *Vừa lúc đó, người bạn mở cửa gọi người đàn ông đi.*

just that time CL friend open door call CL man go

‘Just right at that time, his friend opened the door and called him to go.’

56. *Người đàn ông vừa mới đứng lên và đi về phía cửa thì*

CL man just stand up and walk toward door CONJ

bị người vợ ném tô thức ăn trúng ngay vào lưng.

PASS CL wife throw CL food hit right into back

‘(When) the man has just stood up and walked toward the door, he was thrown the bowl of food to his back by his wife (/the wife threw the bowl of food to his back).’

Appendix 23. An example of an oral text.

1. *A, hiện tại thì em xem một bộ phim mà ở đây gần như*

PART currently TOP I watch one CL film REL here seem

nhân vật chính là một người-làm-vườn.

character main COP one CL gardener.

‘Well, now I am watching a film whose the main character here seem to be a gardener.’

2. *Và hình như là ông ấy đang hái một quả, theo em thấy là quả lê.*

and seem COP he PROG pluck one fruit for me see COP CL pear

‘And it seemed that he was plucking a fruit, for me I think it was a pear.’

3. *Ở đây... a... đang mùa thu hoạch, cho nên đây hái được rất là nhiều*

here PART PROG season harvest therefore here pluck can very COP many

và hiện tại là đã được hai giỏ và hai giỏ rất là đầy.

and current COP PAST BENeficiary two CL and two CL very COP full

‘Here ... uhm... (it) was the harvest season, therefore, here (people) could pluck many (fruits) ... and now was (already had) two baskets ... and two (of these) baskets were very full.’

4. *Tức là muốn hái lê thì à người làm vườn này cần phải*

mean COP want pluck pear TOP PART CL gardener DEM need to

bắt một cái thang rất cao để leo lên ở trên ngọn cây hái bỏ vào

bridge one CL ladder very high to climb up on top tree pluck put into

cái túi, túi áo (nhấn mạnh áo) giống như áo tạp dề của mình.

CL pocket pocket shirt (pressing shirt) look like shirt apron of self

‘That means (if the gardener) wanted to pluck the pears ... uhm ... this gardener had to lean a very high ladder (against the tree) so that (he could) climb up the top of the tree to pluck (fruits) to put into a pocket ... a shirt (emphasised ‘shirt’) pocket ... (which) looked like (the so-called) apron (shirt).’

Appendices

5. Rồi sau đó lại leo xuống lấy từng trái bỏ vào trong cái giỏ
CONJ after that again climb down take each fruit put into inside CL basket
lớn như cái cần xé vậy rồi lại leo lên.
big like CL basket (southern dialect) PART CONJ again climb up

‘And then, after that, (he) climbed down to put each pear into a basket ... just like a ‘cần xé’ - a big bamboo basket at all... and then (he) climbed up (the tree) again.’

6. Thì công việc cứ lặp-đi-lặp-lại như vậy và người-làm-vườn này rất
CONJ work just repeat and repeat like this and CL gardener DEM very
là gọi là rất là trân trọng cái thành quả của mình.
COP call COP very COP respect CL result of self

‘Well, (his) work was just repeated (and repeated) in that way ... and ... this gardener was very ... the so-called very ... very ... cosseted his results (pears) very much.’

7. A, ông ta chăm, giống như là kiểm tra kỹ lại hết từng quả
PART he look.after like COP examine carefully again all each fruit
mình hái được, lau sạch nó các thứ rồi mới bỏ vào giỏ
self pluck RES clean RES it everything CONJ just put into basket
rồi mới tiếp tục trở lên cây.
then just continue (=do again) back up tree.

‘Well, he looked after (the pear)... just like ... checked each of all pears which was plucked by him carefully, cleaned them well and so on ... then just put them into the baskets ... and then just climbed up the tree again.’

8. *Thì sau khi mà hái xong một lần đi xuống thì ông lại tiếp tục*

TOP after PART pluck RES once come down CONJ he EMPH continue

leo lên ... thì lúc đó có một người ... một người-chăn-dê dắt

climb up TOP that time exist one person one shepherd lead

một con dê đi ngang qua

one CL goat go pass by

‘Well, after finishing the first round (of climbing up and down to pluck pears), he did climbed up the tree again ... Well, at that time, there was a person ... a goat shepherd ... (he) led a goat and passed by.’

9. *À, dê thì rất thích ăn trái cây, nó đã xuyết hết cái đồng trái cây của ông*

PART goat TOP very like eat fruit it PAST nearly eat CL heap fruit of him

đi rồi ... nhưng mà lúc đó thì người chăn dê đã kịp kéo con dê đi.

away already but that time TOP CL shepherd PAST in time pull CL goat go

‘Uhm, this goat was ... liked eating fruits very much. It ate nearly all a heap of fruits in the farmer’s basket. But at that time, the shepherd pulled the goat go (away from the basket of pears) in time.’

10. *Và à, người làm vườn ở đây thì từ trên cây nhìn xuống đã*

and PART CL gardener here TOP from on tree look down PAST

thấy được ... và à ... trong cái ánh mắt của ông thì thấy được có

see RES and PAST in CL looking of him TOP see-RES have

một sự không hài lòng, khá là tức giận.

one N-marker dissatisfaction rather COP angry.

‘And ... ah... the gardener here ... uhm... looked down from the tree ... and ah ... in his eyes ... well, (we could) find out an dissatisfaction ... (it) was rather annoy.’

11. *Nhưng mà rất là may là con dê nó không làm gì đồng trái cây của ông*
 however very COP lucky COP CL goat it NEG do what CL fruit of him
nên là ông cũng cho qua và tiếp tục công việc.
 therefore he also forgive and continue work.

‘However, it was lucky that this goat ... it did nothing with his fruits. Therefore, he did not care (about it) and continued his work.’

12. *Sau khi người chăn dê đi qua thì một lát sau lại có một cậu bé*
 after CL goatherd go pass CONJ a moment later EMPH exist one CL boy
đi xe đạp cũng đến đúng ngay chỗ cái gốc cây đó và nhìn thấy
 ride bike also come right exactly place CL bottom tree DEM and find
hai cái giỏ trái cây đầy của ông thì à cậu bé mới dừng lại.
 two CL fruit basket full of him TOP PART CL boy just stop RES

‘After the goatherd left, a moment later, there did come a boy with his bike. He came right exactky to the (place of the farmer’s) tree. And (he) saw his two full baskets of fruits, and then ... ah ... the boy just stopped (there).’

13. *Lúc đầu định lấy một vài quả ăn-choi-cho-vui rồi sau đó tự nhiên*
 beginning intend take one few fruit eat-for-fun CONJ after that naturally
lại thấy là người làm vườn này quá tập trung và hình như là
 EMPH see COP CL gardener DEM too concentrate and seem COMP
không có chú ý gì ở dưới mặt đất nữa.
 NEG pay attention any under CL ground any more

‘At the beginning, (he) intended to take just few (fruits) to eat for fun. And later, (he) suddenly saw that the gardener was so concentrated on his work that (and it seemed that) he did not notice anything (happened) under the tree.’

14. Cho nên cuối cùng cậu bé mới quyết định là mang nguyên một cái giỏ
 therefore finally CL boy just decide COM bring whole one CL basket
 trái cây đầy đi ... mà bác làm vườn ở trên cây thì vẫn không biết.
 fruit full away... CONJ CL gardener on tree TOP still NEG know

‘Therefore, the boy just decided to bring the whole basket with full of fruit (go away with him)... and as for the gardener, (he) still did not know about that.’

15. Tức là cậu bé ở đây chỉ khoảng mười-mấy-tuổi thôi và a chiếc xe đạp
 mean COP CL boy here just around teenage only and PART CL bike
 thì rất là cao và người thì mà chở cái giỏ trái cây đó về
 TOP very COP high and body TOP REL carry CL basket fruit DEM home
 thì rất là khó khăn còn để phía trước, rồi leo lên xe, rất là
 TOP very COP difficult EMPH put in front CON get up bike very COP
 nhẹ nề và không thể nào mà ngồi lên yên-xe mà đạp được.
 heavily and impossible to sit on bike-saddle to ride RES

‘That means that the boy here was just only a teenager ... and ah ... his bike, (it) was too high (for him) ... and the person who carried this basket of fruit home, it was really difficult (for him to carry) ... even (when he put the basket of fruit) in front (of the bike) ... then he got up the bike,... very heavily ... and (it was) impossible to get on the saddle to ride (it home).’

16. Nên cứ phải giống như kiểu mình hay đạp là
 therefore always must like as style self often ride COP
 chống-chân rồi trườn tới trườn tới.
 hold-foot-up (on the ground) then move body forward move body forward

‘Therefore, (he) just had to (do) ... with the way that we often (do) when riding bike ... (it) was that we lean the bike against our body (leg)... and then... tried to move (the bike) forward.’

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17. Rồi à cậu cứ vậy đi, đi mà cái xe thì cứ lắc lư,
then PART he just like that go go CONJ CL bike TOP always shake
lắc lư, không biết là sẽ đổ lúc nào trên cái con đường mà đầy đá sỏi.
shake NEG know COM FUT fall any time on CAI CL road REL full gravel

‘Then... ah ... he just move and move like that (in that way) ... but the bike ... (it) just always shook and shook ... (we) did not know (when it) would be fall down on the road with full of the gravel.’

18. Rồi à, đột nhiên thì có một... a... cậu gặp một cô bé chình
then PART suddenly TOP exist one PART he see one CL girl around
chạc tuổi với mình đi hướng ngược lại thì phản xạ tự nhiên là vừa mới...
same age with self go direction opposite CONJ reaction natural COP just
khi chạy xướt qua thì cậu bé đã ngoái đầu lại để nhìn cô bé đó.
when ride pass CONJ CL boy PAST turn head back to look CL girl DEM.

‘Then ... uhm ... suddenly, there was one ... ah... he see a girl (who was at) the same age with him. (She) came from the opposite side. Well, as natural reaction (would that) be ... when she was riding pass by, he turned around to look at that girl.’

19. Rồi thế là chiếc xe đâm vào một tảng đá bự ở trên
then result COP CL bike hit into a CL stone big on
dọc đường và đổ cái rổ trái cây của mình.
along road and fall CL CL fruit of self

‘Then, the result was ... the bike hit into a big stone on ... along the road... and (it made) his basket of fruits dropped down (on the road).’

Appendices

20. *À, rồi à, mọi thứ lăn long lóc trên mặt đất và bản thân*

PART then PART everything roll and roll on CL ground and self

chân cậu bé cũng bị thương nặng.

leg CL boy also PASS hurt heavily

‘Well... then ... well ... everything rolled everywhere on the ground ... and (the boy) himself was also got hurt heavily in his leg.’

21. *A, thế là ở gần đó cũng có một nhóm ba bạn trẻ khác cũng*

PART therefore nearby also have one group three young friend other also

đang chơi với nhau thì thấy cậu bé bị như vậy... à nên

PROG play together CONJ see CL boy PASS like that PART thus

đã chạy tới giúp đỡ, đỡ cậu bé dậy, đỡ chiếc xe lên và

PAST run come help lift CL boy up lift CL bike up and

nhặt trái cây lại vào trong cái a cái giỏ.

pick fruit up into CL PART CL basket.

‘Uhm... next was ... nearby ... there was a group of three other boys ... (who were) playing together ... well ... (they) saw the boy suffered like that ... well ... thus, (they) came to help (the boy), (helped) the boy to stand up, lifted the bike up... and pick the fruits up to put them back to the ... uhm ... the basket.’

22. *Rồi sau đó cũng dọn đường cho cậu bé đi. Tức là dẹp hết*

then after that also clear way for CL boy walk mean COP clear up

những hòn đá lớn mà cản đường có thể gây nguy hiểm.

PLU CL stone big REL trammel perhaps cause danger

‘The, after that, (they) cleared the way for him (to) walk. That means, (they) cleared all the big stones which were trammelling the road (and which) could cause danger.’

23. *Thì cậu bé rất là à vui, cảm ơn rồi xong rồi cậu bé*
 CONJ CL boy very COP PART happy thank CONJ finish CONJ CL boy
cũng vô tư dắt đi, lần này thì không thể nào dắt xe trườn trườn
 also freely lead away this time TOP impossible lead bike crawl crawl
đi được nữa, chỉ có thể dắt nó thôi.
 go RES anymore just can lead it only

‘Uhm ... the boy was ... ah... very happy. (He) thanked (them) ... and then ... then the boy left with the bike and the basket of fruits freely (without any obstacles). This time, (he) could not leaned the bike against him and moved slowly (like before) anymore. (He) just could lead it (with him).’

24. *Thì cậu bé đi được một đoạn không có xa thì ba, ba người bạn này*
 TOP CL boy go RES one distance NEG far CONJ three three CL friend DEM
mới phát hiện ra là à còn một cái nón nữa lúc này cậu
 just find out RES COP PART remain one CL hat more previously he
bị té làm rơi lại, cho nên đây đã nhặt lại và mang đến
 PASS fall cause drop down therefore here PAST pick back and bring to
trả lại giùm cho cậu bé đó.
 return for CL boy DEM

‘Well, the boy walked for a while... not so far ... well ...these three boys just found out that ...uhm ... there was still a hat ... (which) the boy dropped it down when he had been falling down. Therefore, now (they) picked (it) up and (brought it to) returned the boy.’

Appendices

25. *Và cậu đã trả ơn ba bạn này bằng cách là tặng cho mỗi bạn*

and he PAST thank three CL DEM by way COP present to each CL

một trái lê mà mình vừa mới trộm được.

one CL pear REL self just steal RES

‘And the boy thanked these three boy by (the way of) giving each of them one pear that he has just stole from the gardener.’

26. *Rồi à ... ba cậu bé chào tạm biệt rồi mọi người, ba cậu bé cũng đi,*

CONJ PART three CL boy say goodbye CONJ everyone three CL boy also go

có thể là đi về nhà của mình.

maybe COP go back home of self

‘And then ... ah... these three boys said goodbye to him... and then...everybody ... (these) three boys also went away... maybe (they) went back their home’

27. *Và lúc mà đi về thì đã lại đi ngang qua chỗ mà*

and time REL go back CONJ PAST again go pass by place REL

cây lê của người làm vườn.

CL pear of CL gardener

‘And at the time when (they) went home, again (they) passed by the (place of the) pear tree where the gardener (was plucking pears).’

28. *Thì à trước lúc đó thì người làm vườn đã kịp*

TOP PART before that time CONJ CL gardener PAST in time

trèo xuống rồi để bỏ những trái lê mà mình hái được

climb down CONJ put put PLU CL pear REL self pluck REL

rồi mới phát hiện là ‘ủa... sao ta mất hết một giỏ rồi?!’

CONJ find out COMP PART why I lose RES one CL SFP

‘Then ... Ah ... Before that time ... the gardener had already descended ... then (he) put ... put the pears that he had plucked (into the basket). Then, (he) found out that ‘What? Why one basket of pears was disappeared? (/Why did I lose one basket of pears?)’

29. *Ông ấy đang ngạc nhiên theo kiểu rất là tức giận thì tự nhiên có*

he PROG surprise as the way very COP angry CONJ suddenly have

ba cậu bé cầm những trái lê mình vừa mất công trồng như vậy

three CL boy hold PLU CL pear self just spend effort plant like that

đi ngang qua , vừa đi vừa ăn ngon lành.

go pass by walking eating deliciously

‘He was very surprised ... just as ... very angry... suddenly there were three boys ... (they) was holding the pears ... (the pears) that he spent his effort to plant (them growing) like that..., (they) passed by (him), walking, eating (the pears) deliciously.

30. *Thì lúc đó trong mắt ông hiện ra là ngạc nhiên, nghi vấn và có*

CONJ that time in eyes his appear COP surprise wonder and have

một-cái-gì-đó rất là tức giận nữa.

something very COP angry also

‘Well, at that time, what appeared in his eyes was surprising, wondering and there was also something very angry.’

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31. Rồi, ở đây đặt ra câu hỏi là không biết ba cậu bé này sẽ như thế nào

CONJ here arise question COP NEG know three CL boy DEM FUT how

đây và cái thằng mà ăn trộm lê của người làm vườn (cười) sẽ như thế nào.

SFP and CAI CL REL steal pear of CL gardener (smile) FUT how

‘And then, here arises a question that (we) don’t know what would happen to these three boys and what would happen to the boy who stole the pears of the gardener?’

32. Đó là kết thúc bộ phim.

that COP end CL film.

‘That was the ending of the film.’

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Erklärungen gemäß § 6 der Promotionsordnung

Hiermit erkläre ich, *Kim Ngoc Quang* (Matr.-Nr.: 2706484), dass ich im Fach *Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft/ Linguistic Typology* keine Prüfung an einer Universität oder einer gleichgestellten Hochschule in Deutschland endgültig nicht bestanden habe und mich nicht an einer Universität oder an einer gleichgestellten Hochschule in Deutschland in einem Prüfungsverfahren befinde.

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Datum: 25.03.2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, cursive letters that appear to be 'KNG' followed by a long horizontal stroke.

Kim Ngoc Quang

