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Vietnamese *đượ* in linguistic research A critical literature survey

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Abstract: This paper discusses the Vietnamese polyfunctional element *đượ*, which can be seen as belonging to a class of its own among the Vietnamese mood and modality markers. Of interest in this paper is the possibility that *đượ* represents one manifestation of a regional phenomenon, as similar elements can be seen in the surrounding Southeast Asian languages such as Lao, Zhuang, and Thai. This phenomenon, a type of split in modal functions from a typological perspective, has already been addressed in several studies. The focus lies on the interplay between sociocultural factors and linguistic functions and the broad array of meanings that *đượ* can convey. It is argued that the meaning of *đượ* can only be properly understood with sufficient cultural knowledge as shared by the language community. This means that the correct interpretation of *đượ* is always context-dependent – probably even more so than other polyfunctional elements. In linguistic research the analysis of typological data did not provide any new insights. Accordingly, this paper discusses the ongoing struggle in linguistic research to analyze multifunctional terms like *đượ*. This appraisal concludes that the multifunctional *đượ* will be a fruitful topic for future sociolinguistic investigations to determine whether including sociocultural data can help to understand this areal phenomenon.

Keywords: mood and modality, polyfunctionality, sociolinguistics.

1 Introduction, background, and aim of this paper

1.1 Introduction

The polyfunctional element *đượ* has already been the subject of several investigations (Duffield 2001; Enfield 2003; Simpson 1997, 1998; Sybesma 2008). The aim of this paper is not to question the existence of this marker or to discuss its status as a regional phenomenon. Instead, the focus lies on the semantic value that is made possible through the use of *đượ*

and on sociocultural factors such as the politeness and face-saving functions of *đurọc*, which have not yet received much focus (e.g., Chew 2005). Three facts that are relevant to this paper's purpose have been described many times (e.g., Chew 2005, Duffield 2001, Enfield 2003, Siebenhütter 2016a, Siebenhütter 2016b, Sybesma 2008) and can be taken as widely agreed upon:

- (1) There is a great number of polyfunctional elements in the languages of Africa and Asia with mainly isolating language structures.
- (2) The polyfunctionality of TAM-markers is an areal phenomenon.
- (3) The glossing of these polyfunctional elements is problematic.¹

It can be argued that context-dependent interpretations are generally quite important in Vietnamese, which means that language –in addition to delivering the obvious linguistic content – fulfills sociocultural needs such as politeness and face-saving functions. It would not be correct, however, to reduce its sociocultural functions to those of politeness only, and politeness always has to be seen in the context of the respective sociocultural framework.² It is therefore necessary to consider the respective situational context in which the background knowledge influences the speaker's choice to speak in a specific way.

¹ While some chose to gloss the polyfunctional elements with their functional meaning, e.g., as TAM-markers (Bisang 1991), others prefer to choose one lexical meaning with which to gloss consistently, e.g., GET, ACQ or CAN (Smith 2010, Sybesma 2008, Duffield 2001) or 'result.of.prior.event' in order to emphasize that the forms cannot be reduced to the functional level alone but rather always include a lexical level (e.g., Enfield 2003). A third method is choosing to gloss on a case-by-case basis as in Siebenhütter (2016a). In this paper *đurọc* is glossed according to its respective meaning insofar as this is possible.

² While it is often said that Vietnamese people are, like other Asians, polite, the impression they leave on foreigners can be quite different. Many foreigners have complained that Vietnamese people ask too many direct and overly private questions (see Chew 2005: 237, cf. Chew 2011). It would not be accurate, therefore, to compare the Vietnamese way of 'being polite' directly to, for example, the Japanese way. Rather, the substance of politeness is not homogenous throughout cultures (Mills & Kádár 2011, see also section 0 on politeness in Vietnamese).

The aim of this paper is threefold: (1) to give a brief overview of the phenomenon represented by the Vietnamese marker *được* (section 1), (2) to demonstrate the usage of *được* and offer some suggestions on how to handle the problem of glossing polyfunctional elements (section 2), and (3) to illustrate how sociolinguistic and ethnographic data may help to understand the phenomenon more fully.

1.2 The polyfunctional element *được* - A class of its own

A prominent feature of the isolating languages of Southeast Asia and Africa is polyfunctionality or transcategoriality (categorical change) (Do-Hurinville 2013, Robert 2003). Vietnamese has a number of such polyfunctional markers. One of them, the modal marker *được*, represents a phenomenon that can be described as modal-split (Duffield 1999: 124). This means that *được* can stand for different modal functions and can additionally assume temporal or aspectual functions. Moreover, *được* is frequently used with a lexical semantic meaning.

Example 1 illustrates three possible functions of *được* in the preverbal (1a), postverbal (1b) and sentence-final, right peripheral positions (1c).³

- (1) **Deontic**
- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>Ông</i> | <i>Quang</i> | <i>được</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>cái</i> | <i>nhà.</i> |
| | 2P.SG.M | Quang | DEO | buy | CLS | house |
- ‘Mr. Quang was allowed to buy a house.’ (Duffield 2001: 101)
- Accomplishment**
- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| b. | <i>Ông</i> | <i>Quang</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>được</i> | <i>cái</i> | <i>nhà.</i> |
| | 2P.SG.M | Quang | buy | ASP | CLS | house |
- ‘Mr. Quang (could buy) bought a house.’ (Emphasis on the completion.) (Duffield 2001: 101)
- Epistemic/Abilitive**
- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| c. | <i>Ông</i> | <i>Quang</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>cái</i> | <i>nhà</i> | <i>được.</i> |
| | 2P.SG.M | Quang | buy | CLS | house | ABI/EPIS |
- ‘Mr. Quang is able to buy a house/could probably buy a house.’ (Duffield 2001: 102)

The polyfunctional *được* (‘can’) allows for all interpretations of its English counterpart: *deontic*, *aspectual*, *abilitive* and *epistemic* (Duffield 2011: 6).

³ Duffield (2001: 101) glossed *được* in the original examples with CAN.

In a preverbal position, *đượ* marks a *deontic* modal meaning (example 1a). An immediate postverbal position refers to a mere aspectual, non-modal interpretation (example 1b). If *đượ* is located at the right periphery of the verbal phrase, it designates an *abilitive* or *epistemic* function (example 1c).

1.3 Polyfunctionality as an areal phenomenon

The polyfunctional *đượ* works analogously to the polyfunctional elements in Lao, Zhuang, Cantonese, Hmong, Khmer and Thai (Enfield 2003, 2006, Sybesma 2008, Bisang 2004): “[T]he acq-phenomenon is a truly areal phenomenon. The fact that there is one element which performs most if not all of these functions in virtually every individual language in the area, regardless of genetic affiliation and typological characteristics, is already fascinating in itself” (Sybesma 2008: 224). The aim of this paper is to analyze *đượ* and its socioculturally context-dependent (Chew 2005) meaning and gloss depending on the respective meaning. A glance at the literature may initially give the impression that there is disagreement about the function of the Vietnamese form *đượ*, as the glossings are as manifold as the explanatory approaches to the function of *đượ*. There is agreement, however, that most of the languages spoken in the area (geographically, the former Indochina and Southern China) contain linguistic elements that fulfill several functions and are therefore polyfunctional (Bisang 2004). Thus, the use of polyfunctional words is an areal feature. The form *đượ* and its equivalents are particularly striking in the languages of this area⁴ because, “besides functioning as a lexical verb meaning ‘acquire,’ for instance, it operates as a modal element meaning ‘can’...” (Sybesma 2008: 221-222). Sybesma (2008: 222) assumes that this polyfunctional element – which he glosses with ACQ – is a regional feature since it occurs in practically all of the languages of the Southeast Asian continent, which is particularly remarkable given that the languages belong to several different language families (cf. Enfield 2003).

⁴ Bisang (2004: 118) describes this phenomenon as “[t]he case of ‘come to have’ in mainland Southeast Asian languages.” Bisang (2004: 118) lists verbs with the semantics ‘come to have’ like Thai *dây*, Khmer *ba:n*, Hmong *tau* and *đượ* in Vietnamese as an example of the way in which grammaticalization works in the languages of East and Mainland Southeast Asia.

1.4 Mood and Modality in Vietnamese

According to Palmer (2001: 4) there are basically “two ways in which languages deal grammatically with an overall category of modality. These are to be distinguished in terms of (i) modal system and (ii) mood.” Both modal system and mood may occur within a single language (Palmer 2001: 4). According to Palmer (2001: 4), “Typically with mood, all or most clauses are either Realis or Irrealis: the system is basically (‘prototypically’) binary” (Palmer 2001: 4). “Within modal systems different kinds of modality are distinguished within a single system of commuting terms.” (Palmer 2001: 6). In Vietnamese, one can find “mood markers (*tiêu từ tình thái*) which fulfill ‘the role of traffic lights’” and which include two subclasses: ‘particles’ and interjections (Nguyễn 1997: 88). There is no modal differentiation directly on the verb as in English or German: “Vietnamese verbs lack the ‘modal’ distinctions which characterize verbs in many western languages.” (Thompson [1965] 1991: 220). Rather, modality is marked by the use of periphrastic elements as in examples 2a and 2b. In these examples “a specification is added to the semantic role of the P argument of the lexical verb by means of a control construction in which the subject *được* ‘get’ or *bị* ‘undergo’ controls the missing object of the lexical verb” (Creissels 2010: 31).

- (2) a. *Học sinh* *được* *thầy giáo* *khen.*
 pupil **get** teacher praise
 ‘The pupil was [positively affected by being] praised by the teacher.’
- b. *Học sinh* *bị* *thầy giáo* *đánh.*
 pupil **undergo** teacher beat
 ‘The pupil was [negatively affected by being] beaten by the teacher.’
 (Creissels 2010: 31)

1.5 Politeness in Vietnamese

As politeness is relevant to the analysis of *được*, at least a brief definition of it shall be given here. In this paper, politeness in Vietnamese is understood according to the definition given by Chew (2011), which draws upon the explanations by Hồ and Ngô (1931: 1, 7, 9). Chew (2011: 214) states that the Vietnamese term for ‘politeness’ (*lịch sự*) means ‘the experience (*lịch*) of behavior (*sự*)’ and defines it as follows: both words (*lịch* and *sự*)

are close in meaning to the word *sự đẹp đẽ* ('being fine and decent') thus being polite, *lễ phép*, means knowing how to behave and how to speak in order to express respect. To be polite, Chew further explains, one must master *lễ* ('principles of respect' or 'principles of social order'), *ngiht* ('rules'), *tiết* ('sequence'⁵) and *độ* ('adequacy'). Apart from these four very essential considerations, Chew claims, one must pay attention to four qualities regarding 'dressing' ('external forms'): *văn, chất, tình, tục* ('graceful mannerism/gracefulness/culture, simplicity/quality, affection and customs') (see Chew 2011: 214).

Two of these points are particularly relevant to the discussion in this paper: (1) politeness seems to be heterogeneous across cultures (Mills & Kádár 2011)⁶ and (2) in order to encode or decode politeness in language (or beyond) one must know the principles of social order that are expected in a specific speech community.

2 The usage of *đượ*

2.1 Semantic scope and sentence position of *đượ*

Đượ is multifunctional "in that it receives quite distinct interpretations as a function of its clausal distribution" (Duffield 1999: 100). Table 1⁷ lists the most important functions of *đượ*, showing the broad scope of possible meanings that *đượ* can take:

⁵ Probably *tiết* should be translated as 'virtue.'

⁶ Mills and Kádár (2011: 21) argue that "cultures are not homogenous and that within each culture there are different views on what constitutes polite and impolite behavior." It is therefore argued that "if we use models of politeness which ignore the heterogeneous nature of politeness and impoliteness, those generalizations about cultures will be of limited value" (Mills and Kádár 2011: 21).

⁷ Guo (1995: 227) presents a list similar to that in Table 1 with functional and semantic categories of the polyfunctional Mandarin Chinese *néng*, which is quite similar to Vietnamese *đượ* in its versatility.

	Meaning	Language example	Position, specifics
1.	acquire, get (verb)	<i>được sự ủng hộ của cả nước</i> 'enjoy support of the whole country'	lexical verb with the meaning 'acquire'
2.	<i>win</i> (verb)	<i>được số số</i> 'win in a lottery'	lexical verb with the meaning 'come to have'
3.	<i>very well!</i> <i>all right!, agreed!, okay</i>	<i>Thế này có được không? Được! Okay!</i> 'Is this all right? Okay!'	lexical verb with the meaning 'be okay'
4.	<i>succeed, manage</i> (aux.verb)	<i>Anh ấy làm được!</i> 'He can do it!'	aspectual form in postverbal position, marks achievement
5.	<i>-able, -ible</i> (aux.verb)	<i>ăn được; giặt được</i> 'eatable; washable'	postverbal modal with the meaning 'can, be able' functionally and semantically comparable with English <i>-able</i>
6.	indicates positive passivity	<i>được chọn; được khen</i> 'be selected; be praised'	preverbal, positive passive meaning, benefactive
7.	can	<i>nói được</i> 'can speak'	preverbal modal, mostly deontic meaning

Table 1: The semantic scope of *được* (Chew 2005: 234, Sybesma 2008: 223, translations elaborated and complemented by author).

The Vietnamese lexicon is sometimes (in the traditional Chinese perception) divided into “full words,” (i.e., content words) and “empty words” (i.e., function words) (Nguyễn 1997: 17). Nouns, classifiers, numerals, and verbs are considered content words, while adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions are considered function words (Nguyễn 1997: 36, 256). Even for individual words, however, different functions and different semantics can be triggered by respective position in a sentence. Vietnamese functional particles often have more than one possible meaning for a given position in a sentence and therefore take on different functions (Duffield 2011: 5). This results from the fact that grammatical relations in isolating languages are expressed to a great extent by word order (Comrie 1989).⁸ Like other

⁸ The dominant word order is SVO (Vũ 1983) and Vietnamese is a neutral system, which means that Agentive, Subjective and Objective are marked the same way

particles, *được* can stand in a preverbal, postverbal or right peripheral position (Siebenhütter 2016b). More rarely, *được* serves as a connection between the main verb and an adverb, or in a role similar to that of aspect when it occurs directly after the main verb in order to express conditions which have to exist before a situation can take place. Further, combining *được* and *mới* into *mới được* at the end of a sentence can have the meaning ‘necessarily’ (Vu 1983: 111).

The polyfunctionality and the semantic meanings that *được* can convey are illustrated in Figure 1. As shown in the examples given in the following section, the semantics of *được* frequently overlap.

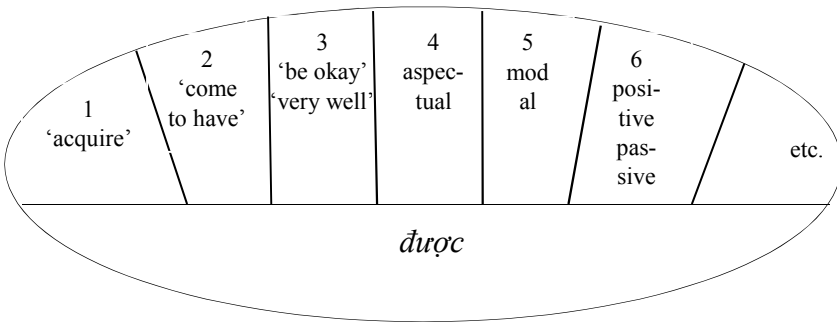


Figure 1: Functions and meanings of *được*

The element *được* appears in postverbal as well as preverbal positions (see Table 1) and can take on aspects of both nouns and verbs. The interpretation of its meaning in a particular sentence depends a great deal on the respective context and “cannot be divorced from social and cultural realities” (Chew 2005: 253).

(see Nichols 1992: 65). Vietnamese, which belongs to the Việt-Mường group, is a Mon-Khmer language within the Austro-Asiatic language family (Vũ 1983:12) with isolating structures (Graffi 2011: 27–28, Bossong 2001: 249–251) according to the linguistic typology of Humboldt and Schlegel. This means that individual lexemes do not change their shape and no grammatical relations are expressed by morphology, but rather only by means of word order and function words (Nguyễn 1997: 17). Further, Vietnamese is a tonal language with six tones, which means that changes in pitch result in changed semantics.

When *được* occurs in the preverbal position, it takes the function of a modal with deontic meaning. “It should be noted that when used deontically or as a passive auxiliary, *được* appears preverbally, as would otherwise be expected” (Duffield 1999: 101). Enfield (2003) denotes the function of *được* in the preverbal position as a “result of prior event” (s. Enfield 2003). If the element *được* follows the main verb, the intended interpretation of the modal is *atelic* (abilitive) or in some cases *epistemic* (Duffield 1999: 101). “In a number of areally-related South East Asian languages, a modal element corresponding to English *can* unexpectedly appears in postverbal position, usually clause-finally” (Duffield 1999: 120).

2.2 The benefactive or positive passive interpretation of *được*

Furthermore, *được* can stand in a postverbal position with resultative meaning⁹, expressing a positive result (benefactive) as in examples 3a and 7. These frequently-occurring *được*-constructions with benefactive semantics are described as positive passive and have sometimes “been treated as real passive” or as “instances of benefactive constructions with the verb *được*” (Smith 2010: 89-90). In contrast, *phải* describes a negative result (Bisang 1996: 565) as illustrated in example 3b.¹⁰ The *phải*-construction can be understood semantically, as can the *bị*-construction in example 2b.

- (3) a. *Tôi được tặng con mèo.*
 1P.SG BEN present CLS cat
 ‘I get a cat as a present.’
- b. *Tôi phải tặng con mèo.*
 1P.SG MAL present CLS cat
 ‘I must give the cat (but I don’t want to)’.

2.3 Lexical usage of *được* and its equivalents in Southeast Asia

Vietnamese auxiliary verbs are used to express modality, and *được* is an auxiliary that must occur together with a verb to express modality, unless it

⁹ Also in Chinese, Thai, Hmong and Khmer, resultative verbs appear after the main verb (Bisang 1996: 564).

¹⁰ Both examples are accepted by Vietnamese speakers from northern (Hanoi) and southern Vietnam (Hồ Chí Minh).

itself functions as a lexical verb (Chew 2005: 234). As a lexical verb, *đượ* means ‘come to have’¹¹: “ACQ displays a broad range of modal meanings, most of which are loosely translatable with English *can*” (Sybesma 2008: 231). In sum, the following possibilities can be distinguished as interpretations of preverbal *đượ*: (a) deontic modality, (b) aspect-like modal meaning and (c) benefactive-passive reading (Sybesma 2008: 231).

The meaning associated with each position is another similarity among the various polyfunctional elements in the languages of Southeast Asia: the ACQ-element stands as a modal element (‘can’) in the postverbal position, although in Vietnamese (and also in Lao and Cantonese) modal verbs typically stand before the main verb (Sybesma 2008: 224, cf. Nguyễn & Lulei 2001: 149): “What this implies is that the development of the ACQ in the individual languages seems to have gone against certain basic grammatical properties of these languages” (Sybesma 2008: 225).¹²

As already mentioned, verbs with the meaning ‘come to have’ are extremely widespread in the languages of East and Southeast Asia¹³ (Bisang 2008: 18). In Khmer, for instance, one finds *ba:n* ‘come to have.’ “Like most ‘come to have’-verbs in mainland Southeast Asia, Khmer *ba:n* occurs preverbally as well as postverbally/clause-finally”¹⁴ (Bisang 2008: 18).

¹¹ Sybesma (2008: 231) observes this also for Zhuang and Lao: “In this grammatical respect, Zhuang patterns with Lao and Vietnamese.” In Zhuang and Cantonese, “the use of the verb ACQ ‘come to have’” is “much more limited (and limited to similar environments), than in Lao and Vietnamese” (Sybesma 2008: 231).

¹² Sybesma (2008: 225) points out that the origin of the phenomenon is not fully understood. However, it seems to be indisputable that “the Tai are responsible for its spread all through Southeast Asia” (for further discussion see Enfield 2003).

¹³ Vietnamese, Zhuang, Cantonese and Lao each have a lexical verb with the meaning ‘acquire.’ Because this is ‘not-agentive’ and therefore not controlled by a subject, Enfield (2003) glosses the lexeme with ‘come to have’ (cf. Sybesma 2008: 229). According to the results of Sybesma (2008) and Enfield (2003), the Vietnamese *đượ* is best comparable to Lao *daj4* (for details see Sybesma 2008 and Enfield 2003): “The use of Lao *daj4* and Vietnamese *đượ* is broader than *ndaej* in Zhuang and *dak^l* in Cantonese. *Daj4* and *đượ* are not limited to a few collocations and can take objects denoting many different kinds of entities that one can ‘come to have’” (Sybesma 2008: 230).

¹⁴ “In Khmer, the verb *ba:n* ‘come to have’ can trigger the interpretations of ability and permission (..), of past tense (..) and of truth or factuality” (Bisang 2008: 20).

Lao *daj4* has another meaning, which Enfield (2003) translates as ‘knowledge that can be used’ (cf. Sybesma 2008: 231), as seen in example

- (4) *ton3-qêêng3* *daj4* *phaa2saa3* *viat5*
 body-self **know.and.have.ability.for** language Vietnam
 ‘Because I know, to speak Vietnamese ...’ (...how to speak Vietnamese.)
 (Enfield 2003: 91)

Enfield (2003) does not gloss with capitalization (e.g., “know.and.have.ability.for” in example 4) because he believes that the forms cannot be reduced to the functional level alone, but rather always include a lexical level (see also *đươc*, which Enfield glosses as ‘result.of.prior.event’). In addition, Lao *daj4* can be used as an intransitive verb with the meaning ‘to have success’ – in sporting contexts, it is also interpretable as ‘to win’. Both possible meanings are filled by Vietnamese *đươc* as well (Enfield 2003: 94–97, 178–182, cf. Sybesma 2008: 231).

2.4 Preverbal and postverbal aspectual and modal functions of *đươc*

Examples 6a and 6b illustrate the slight difference that using *đươc* can produce. While 6a delivers only the fact that the speaker works tomorrow, 6b, using *đươc*, emphasizes the possibility of working tomorrow, implying that the speaker has been trying to find work for a longer period. According to Enfield (2003: 300), example 6a encodes a simple fact; in example 6b, on the other hand, the implication is that the speaker generally has no work or was only on call, and only now, after a particular situation has come to pass, will he get the desired opportunity to work the next day (see Enfield 2003: 300 and Sybesma 2008: 232 for discussion). “[A]lthough a translation into English using ‘get to’ or ‘have a chance to’ comes closer to the meaning of the Vietnamese original (something can happen only as the result of an unspecified prior event), translating *đươc* using a deontic modal is not entirely unfeasible (and vice versa [...]) (see Enfield 2003 for discussion)” (Sybesma 2008: 232).

Enfield (2003: 300) glosses *đươc* here as ‘result of prior event’ while Sybesma (2008: 232) uses ACQ for the same example. While the glossing in this paper follows Sybesma, this does not mean that his glossing is more ‘true’ or ‘correct.’ Rather, the examples given in this paper shed light on the limitations of glossing. In order to fully understand and gloss the ex-

pression of such sentences, one must have information about the context. For this reason, it might be helpful to integrate detailed sociolinguistic data into the typological analysis. In order to identify motivations for specific language use, it is necessary to understand the “sociocultural” and “sociolinguistic context” (Schulze & Schulze 2016: 32pp.) (i.e., the sociocultural background of the speakers). Understanding the motivations underlying their sociolinguistic behavior aims at a more sociological understanding of language in terms of the linguistic practices of the respective speech community (see Schulze 2014, Schulze 2016, and Schulze & Schulze 2016).

In example 7, *được* is glossed as benefactive-passive, which Sybesma (2008: 232) glosses with ACQ again, while Nguyen (1997: 113) describes *được* in the original example as “+pleasant”-feature.

- (5) *Tôi được kiếm việc.*
 1P.SG **can** look.for work
 ‘I am/was allowed to search for work.’
 (Duffield 1999: 101, Sybesma 2008: 232)
- (6) a. *Ngày mai tôi sẽ làm việc.*
 tomorrow 1P.SG FUT do work
 ‘Tomorrow I will work.’
 (Enfield 2003: 300, Sybesma 2008: 232)
- b. *Ngày mai tôi sẽ được làm việc.*
 tomorrow 1P.SG FUT **ACQ** do work
 ‘Tomorrow I will (get) work.’
 (Enfield 2003: 300, Sybesma 2008: 232)
- (7) *Tám được Liên yêu.*
 Tám **BEN** Liên love
 ‘Tám was (had the pleasure of being) loved by Liên.’
 (Nguyen 1997: 113, Sybesma 2008: 232)

In example 5, *được* might be glossed with DEO (deontic modal) rather than ‘can’, as in examples 1a and 12b.

In contrast to Zhuang, Cantonese, and Lao, Vietnamese is the only language in which the polyfunctional element ACQ has the additional function of a *benefactive passive*-marker (Sybesma 2008: 235).

The form *được* is also used to link the verb to different preceding expressions and notions such as duration, manner and degree or extent

(Sybesma 2008: 236). This also applies to Lao, Zhuang, and Cantonese, whereby only in Zhuang can the “extent phrase” additionally be marked with ACQ (Sybesma 2008: 239). In this case as well, Vietnamese and Lao are quite similar: “like *daj4*, *được* can link the verb to expressions of duration and manner/degree” (Sybesma 2008: 238).

- (8) a. *Tôi ở Hà Nội được ba năm rồi.*
 1P.SG be.at Hanoi ACQ/t.comp¹⁵ three year PERF
 ‘I’ve been in Hanoi for three years already.’
 (Enfield 2003: 261, Sybesma 2008: 238)
- b. *Anh ấy chạy nhanh lắm.*
 2P.SG.M DEM run ACQ fast very
 ‘This man runs very fast.’ (Sybesma 2008: 238)

Sybesma (2008: 238) also mentions the flexibility of *được* as concerns its position in relation to the verb: “And, again like Lao *daj4*, Vietnamese *được* does not have to be adjacent to the verb; indeed, as Enfield observes, it can at times be modified by an aspectual-modal element, underscoring its independent nature.” In example 9, the position of *được* is postverbal as well, in combination with the perfective marker *đã*, and, according to Enfield (2003: 262), this statement, like examples 8a and 8b, expressed a (temporal) degree that is a fact:

- (9) *Tôi ở Hà Nội đã được ba năm (rồi).*
 1P.SG be.at Hanoi PERF ACQ/t.comp three year (PERF)
 ‘I’ve been in Hanoi for three years (already).’
 (Enfield 2003: 262, Sybesma 2008: 238)

Enfield (2003: 286) points out that, in Vietnamese as well as in Lao, the ACQ-form is not used to introduce *extent phrases*. Instead, the element *đến/nối* ‘until’ is used (Enfield 2003: 286, cf. Sybesma 2008: 238) as illustrated in example 10:

¹⁵ Enfield (2003) glosses examples (7) and (8) with “t.comp,” which means “temporal complement marker,” while Sybesma (2008) glosses both examples with ACQ.

- (10) *Anh* *áy* *làm* *tiếng* *động* ***đến-nổi*** *nhà* *bên*
 2P.SG.M DEM make sound loud **until** house direction
cạnh *không* *ngủ* ***được***.
 side NEG sleep MAL
 ‘He makes a big noise besides the house, so I cannot sleep.’
 (Enfield 2003: 286, Sybesma 2008: 238)

In example 9, Enfield (2003: 286) uses ‘can’ again to gloss *được*, while Sybesma (2008: 238) again glosses with ACQ. Instead of following either of these suggestions, it might also be appropriate to gloss with malefactive (MAL) or, as Enfield recommends in other places, ‘result of prior event’.¹⁶ In this case, *được* marks the result of a prior causation and labels the result as a negative one.

In the Sinitic languages, the ACQ-element must be directly adjacent to the verb, unlike in Lao and Vietnamese (Sybesma 2008: 239). Sybesma (2008: 241) explains that Vietnamese shows this kind of flexibility with regard to the placement of ACQ much more generally. The element *được* can be added to a transitive verb, “yielding an effect similar to the morpheme *-able* in English *doable*” (Sybesma 2008: 239). Native Vietnamese speakers, however, did not accept examples 11a and 11b, rating both as ungrammatical, so they are marked with an asterisk (*) here. Native Vietnamese speakers preferred 11c or 11e. These examples show a result of some prior event (cf. Enfield 2003) and are glossed here with RES and ACQ (11a and b). Sybesma (2008) glosses with “ACQ,” citing Duffield (1999), who glosses with “can,” “receive” and even “passive.” One might argue here that glossing is rather incidental and depends, for example, on the focus of a study and above all that basically glosses are only secondary and should be simply rough guidelines. However, this is not the point here. Rather, the deviating glosses and interpretations of one and the same sentences without considering the context like in examples (1) to (14), illustrate the importance of including the context in linguistic research when the goal is more than a “rough guideline”.

¹⁶ Enfield (2003: 286) explains that the same sentence would be ungrammatical if *được* were used in the position of *đến-nổi*.

- (11) a. * *Tôi kiếm việc được.*
 1P.SG look.for work ACQ¹⁷
 ‘I found work.’ (achievement)
 ‘I can look for work.’ (ability)
- b. * *Tôi việc kiếm được.*
 1P.SG work look.for ACQ
 ‘I can find work.’
 (Duffield 1999: 100, Sybesma 2008: 263)
- c. *Tôi kiếm được việc.*
 1P.SG look.for RES¹⁸ work
 ‘I found work.’ (achievement)
 ‘I can look for work.’ (ability)
 (Duffield 1999: 101, Sybesma 2008: 263)
- d. *Tôi được kiếm việc.*
 1P.SG RES look.for work
 ‘I am/was permitted to find work.’
- e. *Tôi đã kiếm được việc.*
 1P.SG PST look.for RES work
 ‘I found work’ (resultative, achievement)
 (Duffield 1999: 101)

In the modal function, the element *được* frequently occurs to the right of the main verb in a sentence-final position (e.g., in examples 11a and 11b): “This ‘final modal’ phenomenon is not exclusive to Vietnamese (...); in a number of other regionally and typologically related languages, elements corresponding to English *can* are also placed to the right of the main predicate complex” (Duffield 1999: 91). In the sentence-final position, *được* can take the function of the modal ‘can’ or the function of the main lexical predicate with the meaning ‘okay,’ or ‘to be possible’: this sometimes makes it difficult to differentiate the lexical verb form *được* from its epistemic usage as modal *được* (Sybesma 2008: 252). Example 11a is marked as ungrammatical in its present form, but if *rồi* (completion marker) were added after *được* (*tôi kiếm việc được rồi*), the sentence would be correct, as *được rồi* marks both perfect aspect and achievement.

¹⁷ In examples 11a and 11b, ACQ is used according to the original glossing of Sybesma (2008: 263).

¹⁸ Duffield (1999: 101) glossed examples 11c and 11d with CAN.

With the postverbal modal form *được*, a ‘to be able’ possibility is expressed. In Vietnamese, Zhuang, Cantonese, and Lao, one can place an ACQ-element in the postverbal position with a meaning that can be translated as ‘to be able’ (Sybesma 2008: 242). However, *được* seems to appear in a greater variety of different positions in the sentence than Lao *daj4* does (compare examples 12a-c and 4). Thus, Vietnamese *được* can also occur before the object, in which case it means ‘to be able.’ With Lao *daj4*, in contrast, this is not possible: “Whereas Lao *daj4* ‘can’ seems to have a preference for the phrase-final position, Vietnamese *được* ‘can’ may also appear before the object” (Sybesma 2008: 253). This shows that Vietnamese allows greater flexibility: ACQ cannot occur directly after the verb or in a position after the object (Sybesma 2008: 263). Moreover, its interpretation depends on its position (Duffield & Phan 2010):

- (12)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>Cô</i> | <i>ấy</i> | <i>kiếm</i> | <i>được</i> | <i>việc</i> | (Achievement) |
| | 2P.SG.F | DEM | seek | ASP | job | |
| | ‘She found work.’ | | | | | |
| | | | <i>được</i> | <i>kiếm</i> | <i>việc</i> | (Deontic modal) |
| b. | <i>Cô</i> | <i>ấy</i> | DEO | seek | job | |
| | 2P.SG.F | DEM | | | | |
| | ‘She is allowed to search for a job.’ | | | | | |
| | | | <i>kiếm</i> | <i>việc</i> | <i>được</i> | (Abilitive modal) |
| c. | <i>Cô</i> | <i>ấy</i> | seek | job | ABI | |
| | 2P.SG.F | DEM | | | | |
| | ‘She is able to search for a job.’ | | | | | |
- (Duffield 1999)

The form *được* also functions as an aspectual achievement-marker: “In Zhuang, Vietnamese, and Lao, but not in Cantonese, ACQ is used to indicate that the action denoted by the verb has been brought to a successful conclusion” (Sybesma 2008: 240). “What we have been calling an achievement marker, is more aptly called an ‘end point marker,’ at least for Lao (and Vietnamese)” (Sybesma 2008: 265).

The form *được* can also be used to express a duty: “In Vietnamese, [...] *được* ACQUIRE can be compatible with a ‘must’ interpretation” (Enfield 2003: 312) as illustrated with the following example:

- (13) *Tôi được làm.*
 1P.SG RSLT.PRR.EVNT¹⁹ do
 i. ‘I had to do it.’
 ii. ‘I got to do it.’
 (Enfield 2003: 312)

If *được* occurs in a preverbal position and is accompanied by a negation, it automatically has an idiomatic prohibitive function (prohibitive) that is often used in formal contexts such as written rules. “This seems to be a semantic hardening of the ‘must’ interpretation, specifically under condition of negation” (Enfield 2003: 312). Some native speakers, however, have mentioned that, in example 13, *được* does NOT mean ‘must’; rather, it should be translated as ‘I got the chance to work.’ Comparably, the Mandarin Chinese modal *néng* (‘can’) can express prohibition with a focus on the object (Guo 1995: 227).

In addition, permission (to do something) can be expressed with *được* (Nguyễn & Lulei 2001: 149).

Despite the similarities among the Southeast Asian languages Lao, Vietnamese, Cantonese, and Zhuang, differences exist as well:

Firstly, in Cantonese and Zhuang ACQ is obligatory adjacent to the verb and never follows the object, which is not the case in Lao and *Vietnamese*. Secondly, in Cantonese and Zhuang we never find ACQ in atelic contexts, whereas their counterpart in the other two languages is not restricted in that way. As a result, in Cantonese and Zhuang, post-verbal modal ACQ only has a potential interpretation, while this is not true for Lao and Vietnamese. (Sybesma 2008: 257)

2.5 Negation with *được*

In line with this paper’s focus, it is helpful to consider the interaction between the polyfunctional element *được* and accompanying negation, as in the following examples (14a-c) taken from Sybesma (2008: 253). Here, it should be noted that *được* is glossed with “can” instead of the standard ACQ, as in all of Sybesma’s examples.

¹⁹ Enfield glosses with “rslt.prr.evnt”, “result of prior event”.

- (14) a. *Tôi nói tiếng Lào được.*
 1P.SG speak language Lao **can**
 ‘I can speak Lao.’
- b. *Tôi không nói tiếng Lào được.*
 1P.SG NEG speak language Lao **can**
 ‘I cannot speak Lao.’
- c. *Tôi nói tiếng Lào không được.*
 1P.SG speak language Lao **not can**
 ‘It is possible that I can’t speak Lao.’
 (Sybesma 2008: 252)

14c should not be translated as ‘I cannot speak Lao’, as Sybesma did in the original source of this example.²⁰ In 14c, *được* is ambiguous and can be understood as either (i) ‘I can’t speak Lao’ or (ii) ‘My Lao is unacceptable/not good.’ Stress can clarify the meaning of an ambiguous sentence; in this example, if the stress is on *không được*, interpretation (ii) is conveyed. Native speakers rated 14b and 14c as similar in meaning, though 14b seems to be somewhat more natural than 14c. But neither 14b nor 14c sounds as natural as: *Tôi không nói được tiếng Lào.*

Enfield (2003: 213) describes a similar reaction from native speakers whom he asked to define similar sentences. His conclusion from these experiments was that “the range of background contextual explanations for impossibility (...) [can] demonstrate the broad applicability of the simple meaning ‘can’ (open to permission, ability, and possibility interpretation).” Enfield (2003: 213) points out that there is a pragmatic effect and that

Speakers’ first response to examples like [13b-c] is to insist on a semantic distinction, but when given the relevant range of examples, they allow all background contextual explanations to apply in both cases. Neither is less semantically general than the other. The main thing is that these two formations are distinct in form—they ‘sound different.’ (Enfield 2003: 213)

²⁰ The sentence is translated in relation to Sybesma’s (2008: 253) example: *Tôi có thể đi không được.*: ‘It is possible that I can’t go’ and NOT: ‘I cannot go’ and Enfield’s (2003: 213) *Tôi đi không được* and *Tôi không đi được* both sentences mean ‘I can’t go’ with the difference that the first implies that the speaker is physically unable to go due to circumstances such as being ill or having no transportation, whereas the second implies that the speaker is constrained by intangible circumstances such as being too busy or having a prior engagement (see Enfield 2003: 213 for discussion).

Considering these observations, and the fact that it is not common practice for speakers to constantly compare nuances of word order, even in a language like Vietnamese where word order plays a crucial role, it might be possible to get more acceptance from native speakers for example 14c if one were to explain the context and the social situation in which the utterance was made. This sentence might in fact be spoken in the context of a discussion on the topic of language acquisition, specific methods, and teachers, and whether it is possible for a particular student to learn to speak Lao given that student's lifestyle and circumstances (such as family responsibilities, physical health, work, and sleep behaviors and so on) when these circumstances are known by other individuals involved in the discussion. As long as we are only provided with single sentences out of context, however, we can only guess at the background knowledge which might make a sentence sound more natural.

The important point here is that Enfield (2003: 212-213) glosses similar examples consistently with 'can,' whereas in the original examples Sybesma (2008: 252) uses ACQ for all three sentences. Here Enfield's practice is followed in 14a-c with an emphasis on the lexical verbal meaning 'can' and the abovementioned possible interpretations (compare also Table 1). Thus, the problem of glossing, and especially the difficulty of finding the 'best or only correct' way of glossing, becomes clear. Of course, glossing is intended to help the reader grasp the point of the sentence and come close to its initial meaning in the original language. When we attempt to understand the connection between sociocultural and linguistic knowledge and sociolinguistic behavior, however, the TAM-marker is not sufficient to cover the fine-grained nuances of the little word *được*, which itself is only one of many other multifunctional elements in Vietnamese.

3 Speaking reduced in Vietnamese - A sociolinguistic view on *được*

As the examples given in this paper demonstrate, analyzing the semantics and syntactic features of individual sentences does not provide any new insights relevant to describing the semantic scope of *được*. Considering the social component of language, however, can add useful information when analyzing polyfunctional elements like *được*:

To satisfy the communicative needs and reduce the user's effort, languages must contain polyfunctional and transcategorial words. Polyfunctionality and transcategoriality, which are means to optimize linguistic systems, enable a smaller number of forms to express a greater number of functions. (Do-Hurinville 2013: 101)

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Chew (2005: 229, 252p.) describes *được* as a cautious “conflict-avoidance and face-saver” element, as the ambiguity of *được* allows the speaker to make an utterance less direct and leaves space for interpretation, as illustrated in examples 15 and 16. In example 15, during a negotiation between a female Singaporean customer (C1) and a male Vietnamese supplier (S2), S2 asked whether he could stay in C1's home if he were to visit Singapore in the future. It becomes clear during the dialogue that C1 is afraid to confront S2 with the fact that she cannot guarantee this. To avoid answering directly with “no” or “I am not quite sure,” she uses *được* to say something like, “I heard your question” and “I respect you,” without guaranteeing an invitation to her home.

- (15) S2: *Anh sang Sing có cho anh ở nhà Linh không?*
 S2: When I go to Singapore, will you let me stay at your home?
- C1: *Có, có (nodding her head). Được ạ.*
 C1: Yes, yes (nodding her head). **Alright.**
 (Extract taken from Chew 2005: 245–246)

In example 16, Chew (2005: 243) provides an excerpt of a dialogue between a Vietnamese supplier (S4) and a Singaporean customer (C1).

- (16) S4: *Em làm được cho chị...Chị cứ đến đây vào Ngày thứ sáu.*
 S4: I **can do** it for you...You just come here on Friday.
- C1: *Thật không?*
 C1: Is it true?
- S4: *Chị cứ đến đây!*
 S4: You just come here!
 (Extract taken from Chew 2005: 243)

Based on S4's statements, C1 was certain that the sample would be ready by Friday. Therefore, C1 waited until Friday and came only to discover that nothing had been done (Chew 2005: 243). Because S4 used *được* instead of *chắc chắn* (certainly), the last sentence can be correctly interpreted as "You just come and see what I can do for you!" as Chew (2005: 244) explains.

It can be assumed that linguistic cognition is not possible without social interaction (Schulze 2009: 18, Schulze 2014: 47, Schulze & Schulze 2016: 32pp.). Considering examples 15 and 16, we can see that communication generally proceeds more smoothly and with less misunderstanding when the participants have been socialized in the same sociocultural background. They provide an example for the connection of social interaction and language. A Vietnamese speaker who has grown up in a Vietnamese sociocultural environment can be expected to know all the nuances that are possible to express with *được*.

There may even be relationships between certain cultural features and linguistic forms. If language is assumed to be a network type of cognition that is intensified by learning (Schulze 2009: 18), then a very significant difference is made by the cultural surroundings in which a child grows up and by the behavior – including linguistic behavior – that it learns. This means that sociocultural background plays a crucial role. It is significant that, in the linguistic area of Southeast Asia, where it is socioculturally very important to 'save face,' the languages have an unusually large number of linguistic structures that facilitate and support this behavior (Siebenhütter 2016a). In this context, Schulze (2012) mentions Bourdieu's concept of *Habitus*, which can be applied to group-specific behavior patterns since these patterns reflect the socially determined role expectations and the "Habitus" is ultimately nothing other than the active implementation of this social expectation in concrete action (see Schulze & Schulze 2016: 32–33). As Schulze (2012) argues, this also applies to language, which is linked to social expectations. In order to deliver concepts and notions successfully, language, too, must be used according to society and class-specific demands (Schulze 2012). One example of this is the practice among Vietnamese speakers of what we call here *nói giảm*, which can be translated as 'speaking reduced,' meaning that the speaker says only as much as is needed for the listener to imagine what is meant (Siebenhütter 2016a). Indeed, nothing is expressed so clearly that the utterance would

leave no room for the listener's own imagination. A high level of ambiguity is thus tolerated in communication (Chew 2005: 237). This serves the dual purpose of courtesy and compliance with unwritten social rules such as 'saving face' (see above) and is often understood as a form of politeness, as illustrated in the following example (17). Chew (2005: 247) describes a discourse situation:

First, a Vietnamese supplier (S1) accepted a considerable first order from a Singaporean customer (C1). Later, C1 introduced a Thai customer who placed a small order with S1. S1 agreed to complete the order within two months, using repetitive *đurọc*-responses to communicate this, but did not deliver. (Chew 2005: 247)

With this example Chew (2005: 247) demonstrates how some "politeness routines" are expressed not only through verbal communication but also through "paralinguistic phenomena," and that in Vietnamese culture it is important to express commitment linguistically especially if commitment is expected or desired by the other party. Example 17 illustrates how *đurọc* might function as polite and indirect rejection. It is obvious that S1 in example 17 does not want to hurt the customer's feelings or put him/her into an embarrassing situation. Thus, the Vietnamese supplier formulates his statements carefully and remains vague rather than speaking directly. Yet whether this somewhat "indirect" speech behavior as practiced by native Vietnamese speakers is really motivated only by the desire to be polite should be re-examined through context-based sociolinguistic research in future investigations. Chew (2005: 237) mentions that foreigners often perceive Vietnamese conversational behavior as not conforming to their own (the foreigners') definitions of politeness. Questions like "Are you married?," "Do you have children?," and "How many children do you have?" have a place in ordinary Vietnamese conversation but are not perceived as polite by persons of different cultural backgrounds, even by those from evidentially differentiated politeness cultures such as that of Japan (see Chew 2005: 237). Such questions are perceived as impolite even for people from a German sociolinguistic background, though it is widely acknowledged that German communication practices are quite direct.

Among other principles, language is based on (the acquisition of) knowledge structures, which are related to linguistic practices, rooted in individuals, and can be described as "habitus-controlled behavioral pat-

terns (linguistic practices)” (Schulze & Schulze 2016). This kind of group-specific knowledge is handed down from one generation to the next and includes knowledge that is not only biologically determined but also culturally specific (Schulze 2014: 43). The possibility of delivering meanings through repetitive *đươc*-responses whose real conveyed interpretation remains hidden to outsiders without this culturally specific background is illustrated in examples 15-17 as well as others described in detail in Chew (2005: 247).

Given that every individual is embedded in a social system (Schulze 2012), we can conclude that *đươc* and other Vietnamese polyfunctional elements somehow reflect speakers’ sociocultural backgrounds or serve as, as Guo (1995: 227) puts it, categories of social significance. Even if explicitness, which is a measure of how difficult it is to misinterpret speech, varies from language to language, it is clear that it is important to consider the whole context and not to analyze single sentences, as day-to-day conversations do not work that way. Though context is certainly relevant in any language, and ambiguity in communication is generally well tolerated (Chew 2005), from a European point of view the Vietnamese language can be seen as a language with comparatively high vagueness, especially when it comes to spoken language. Vietnamese culture is described as a “high-context culture” in which “information about procedure is not overtly communicated” (Chew 2005, Hall 1976). Written Vietnamese also reflects this tendency. This can be explained to a high degree through social and cultural factors (among others). It should be kept in mind, however, that speakers generally build up their conversation on a contextual basis as illustrated both above and in additional excerpts recorded in business contexts by Chew (2005). Therefore, it is not appropriate to attempt to interpret an expression in isolation when comparing single-sentence examples. Chew’s (2005) method, an analysis of conversation in context, is much more promising. Along with other isolating languages, Vietnamese could perhaps be seen as economical, and the specific sociocultural behavior that it enables cannot be reduced to the widely known face-saving and politeness functions.

To sum up, in order to fully grasp the broad semantic value of *đươc* and to interpret possible instances of encoded politeness within the range of possible meanings encoded in language (i.e., the semantic space of *đươc*), the following factors must be considered: (1) we must identify the princi-

ples of social order and the norms that are expected in a specific context within the language community under consideration (see Hô & Ngô 1931), (2) we must recall that Vietnamese culture is generally characterized by courtesy (Chew 2005, 2011) but that politeness is not homogeneously expressed in different cultures (Mills & Kádár 2011), and (3) each sentence must be considered in its context according to the method of Chew (2005) rather than as a single sentence.

4 Conclusion

It has been shown that, in Vietnamese, the modal system is much more distinct than the mood system. Even if the two categories are not always clearly separable, there are more forms that can be assigned to the modal system. This indicates that a different approach to the polyfunctional systems is needed. From a regional point of view, great similarity can be asserted between the polyfunctional Vietnamese element *được* and its equivalent elements in other Southeast Asian Mainland languages.

It can also be shown that the sentence position of the TAM marker plays an important role in Vietnamese. In Vietnamese, tense and aspect markers can almost always be found in the preverbal position, while modal markers can also take a postverbal position or occur at different positions in the periphery. Even if Vietnamese TAM markers are generally polyfunctional, modal forms are not used temporally, and rarely with an aspectual function. As a result, Vietnamese modal markers can be distinguished clearly from tense and aspect markers.

It was shown in this appraisal that changing the clausal position of *được* can affect both its semantic and its functional characteristics. The element *được* can also be used with full semantic meaning as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘be okay’. Modal forms are usually preverbal and/or in the left-hand periphery, while tense forms are generally found in the preverbal position and aspect-forms predominantly in the postverbal position in Vietnamese. The polyfunctional element *được* illustrates this fact extensively. If *được* occurs in a postverbal position, it has an aspectual meaning, whereas in a preverbal position it describes modality.

Whether *được* itself conveys more sociocultural functions (i.e., politeness or face-saving) than other elements cannot be determined by analyzing isolated examples. However, it seems that sociocultural knowledge,

which can be transported along with the language that is used, plays a much more important role than previously thought. This paper's aim was to emphasize and illustrate the benefits of and the need for including sociolinguistic and ethnographical data into typological research. The limitations of glossing and understanding are demonstrated in several examples here, emphasizing again that including sociolinguistic data should be a standard procedure, not merely relegated to studies dealing with sociolinguistic topics. Especially for languages with an isolating language structure and a culture that is highly characterized by courtesy like Vietnamese, the whole discourse, including the situation in which an utterance is made and its pragmatic functions, needs to be considered. Much more work should be done along the lines of the work reported by Chew (2005). It seems that there is less ambiguity in the expressions of languages without verbal inflection. Yet elaborated systems, such as the knowledge that a speaker²¹ has about grammatical roles that can be filled by a linguistic element, are of great importance for the correct interpretation of an utterance.

If, as argued in this paper, the knowledge of the principles of social order, including knowledge about norms and expectations, that is held by participants in a conversation is an indispensable precondition for understanding the semantic scope of *đurọc*, a bridge between semantic approaches and sociolinguistic approaches can be drawn. The broad semantic value of *đurọc* and the omnipresence of the broad range of possibilities for interpretation that *đurọc* offers can only be fully captured against the background of the culture-specific understanding of Vietnamese politeness behavior. For these reasons, a sociolinguistic approach that considers this can contribute to the discussion on polyfunctional elements like *đurọc*.

²¹ To fulfil its extensive functions, language needs to enable the speaker as well as the speech community to access a broad amount of knowledge that is not only linguistic knowledge but also culture-specific (see Schulze 2014: 78).

5 Abbreviations

ABI	Abilitive	M	Masculine
ACQ	Acquire	MAL	Malefactive
ASP	Aspect	NEC	Necessive
BEN	Benefactive	NEG	Negative
CLS	Classifier	P	Person
DEO	Deontic	PST	Past
DEM	Demonstrative	PERF	Perfective
EPIS	Epistemic	RES	Resultative
F	Female	SG	Singular
FUT	Future		

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