

DEMONSTRATIVES AS SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE PERIPHERY IN VIETNAMESE

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Abstract: This paper analyzes Vietnamese demonstrative sentence-final particles (SFP) from the perspective of generative syntax. Such demonstratives as *đây*, *kia*, *này*, *kìa*, and *đấy* can be used at the end of a sentence to mark the psychological distance between the speaker and the proposition.

These SFPs can be divided into two groups: particles in Group I (namely *đây* and *kia*) are used to describe the relation between the speaker and the proposition while elements from Group II (i.e., *này*, *kìa*, and *đấy*) are employed to call for the addressee's attention or to persuade the addressee to believe in the propositional content. *đây này*, *kia kia*, and *kia đấy* are three cases of SFPs used in clusters.

From Generative Grammar and Cartography's perspective, the sentential periphery can be split into three functional projections. The lowest functional projection, namely AttP, encodes the speaker's commitment to the proposition, while attP encodes the addressee's propositional attitude. The highest layer DiscP represents the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. Particles from Group I are base-generated at the Head position of AttP, whereas Group II belongs to attP.

Keywords: demonstratives, sentence-final particles, cartography

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on five demonstratives appearing at the end of sentences in Vietnamese. Such demonstratives as *đây*, *này*, *kia*, *đấy*, and *kìa* can occur at the right periphery of the sentence to indicate the psychological distance between the speaker and the propositional content of the clause. Interestingly enough, the demonstrative particles often go in pairs, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (1) Việc này nguy hiểm **đây**.
job DEM.PROX dangerous DEM.PROX
'This job is dangerous, I think.'
- (2) Việc này nguy hiểm **đấy**.
job DEM.PROX dangerous DEM.DIS
'Believe me, this job is dangerous.'
- (3) Tôi đang ốm **đây** **này**.
1SG DUR sick DEM.PROX DEM.PROX
'Look, I am sick now.'

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- (4) Cô ấy học hai chuyên ngành **kia** **đấy**.
 3SG.FEM learn two major DEM.DIS DEM.DIST
 ‘Believe me, she takes a double degree.’

From the perspective of Generative Syntax and Cartography, the paper analyzes the phenomenon of SFP clusters in Vietnamese, inspired by the comprehensive analyses of SFPs in Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese conducted by Li (2006), Pan (2019), Lau (2019), and Tang (2020).

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the paper consists of the following parts: part 2 introduces empirical data in which demonstratives function as sentence-final particles (henceforth demonstrative particles), while part 3 summarizes main findings in previous studies on the syntax of the left periphery. In part 4, I propose an architecture of the

Vietnamese periphery based on the Universal Spine Hypothesis. The final part demonstrates how this architecture explains the phenomenon of the demonstrative particle clusters in Vietnamese.

2. Empirical Data

The primary function of demonstratives is to call for the addressee’s attention to the object that is near or far from the speaker. *đây* and *này* are used to talk about items that are close to the speaker, while *kia* and *đấy* are used to describe objects that are at a long distance¹. In (5) and (6), the canonical usages of demonstratives are presented.

- (5) Bức tranh **này** đẹp hơn bức tranh **kia**.
 CL picture DEM.PROX beautiful than CL picture DEM.DIST
 ‘This picture is more beautiful than that picture.’
- (6) **Đây** là rạp hát, còn **đấy** là thư viện.
 DEM.PROX is theater and DEM.DIST is Library
 ‘Here is the theater, and over there is the library.’

Demonstratives also appear at the end of sentences to indicate the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition or to attract the addressee’s attention to the propositional content, as demonstrated in section 1. This paper focuses mainly on five demonstratives, which are divided into two groups. The first group, including *đây* and *kia*, is used to describe the speaker’s relation to the proposition. On the other hand, *này*, *kìa*, and *đấy* are employed to seek for addressee’s attention or to persuade the

addressee to believe in the propositional content.

2.1. Group I: *đây* and *kia*

đây and *kia* mark the psychological “distance” between the speaker and the proposition. If the speaker participates in the event described in the clause, or if s/he is the person making the inference or judgment, the proposition is marked as PROXIMAL. If the clause is based on hearsay information or considered “extraordinary” to the speaker, then the proposition is marked as DISTAL. Bui (2014) pointed out that utterances marked with proximal *đây* are often related

¹ The fifth demonstrative particle *kìa* is analyzed as the weak form of the demonstrative *kia*. It differs syntactically and phonetically from *kia*. *kia* is marked with the mid-level tone, while *kìa* is a low-

falling tone. Moreover, *kìa* cannot be used as a metonym to refer to a distal object, but only as a sentence-final particle.

to the speaker's actions and plans. When the speaker is either the agent, the patient, the experiencer in the events mentioned, proximal *đây* must be used, and distal *kia* is infelicitous, as shown in example (7). *đây*

- (7) Tôi đang làm việc công ty giao **đây/*kia**.
 1SG DUR do things company assigned DEM.PROX /*DEM.DIST
 'I believe I'm doing things assigned by the company.'
- (8) Chờ một lát, anh ta sắp đến rồi **đây/*kia**.
 wait a moment 3SG.MAS soon arrive SFP.already DEM.PROX/* DEM.DIST
 'Wait a moment, I think he will arrive soon.'
- (9) Trời lại sắp mưa **đây/*kia**.
 sky again soon rain DEM.PROX/* DEM.DIST
 'I think it's going to rain again.'

On the other hand, in (10), the utterance expresses hearsay information. As the speaker neither directly participates in nor witnesses what is being said, only *kia*

- (10) Nghe đâu anh ta dạo này còn yêu một cô gái ngoại quốc **kia/*đây**.
 hearsay 3SG.MAS recently even love a girl foreign DEM.DIST/
 *DEM.PROX
 'I heard that he fell in love with a foreign girl recently.'
- (11) Anh ta còn biết lái máy bay **kia/*đây**.
 3SG.MAS even know drive airplane DEM.DIST /*DEM.PROX
 'He can also fly a plane (I think it's extraordinary).'

2.2. Group II: *này, kia, and đấy*

The second group of demonstratives mainly targets the addressee's epistemic state. *này* and *kìa* ask for the addressee's focus on the propositional content. Utterances using proximal demonstrative *này* are primarily the information about the speaker, or at least, what the speaker witnessed, as shown in (12). In (13), *kìa* is used at the end of an utterance about a shared topic between the two interlocutors;

can also be added to the end of the sentences in which the speaker makes a prediction, as in (8) and (9), signaling that the speaker has firm beliefs in the propositional content.

can be used in this case. Example (11) shows that the information marked by *kia* seems to be "extraordinary" from the speaker's perspective.

however, the addressee's attention is not entirely devoted to the event for some particular reasons, or s/he might be completely unaware of the information. Bui (2014) has pointed out that distal *đấy* is employed for personal events that the addressee is also aware of and can be used to ask for belief in the speaker's speculations or evaluations. As illustrated by the translation of (14), *đấy* functions like the pragmatic marker *believe me* in English.

- (12) Nhìn này, chồng tớ bảo tháng sau tặng vợ một chiếc ô tô **này**.
 look DEM.PROX husband 1SG say month next give wife a CL car DEM.PROX
 ‘Look, my husband said he would buy me a car next month.’
- (13) A: Chắc là cô ta lười học lắm nhỉ?
 Perhaps 3SG lazy study much SFP
 ‘She doesn’t seem to study much, right?’
 B: Cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **kìa**.
 3SG even learn two major DEM.DIST
 ‘You don’t know, she even takes a double degree.’
- (14) A: Chắc là bình thường anh ta chiều vợ lắm nhỉ?
 perhaps usually 3SG.MAS indulge wife much SFP
 ‘I guess he tends to humor his wife very much, right?’
 B: Tháng trước còn tặng vợ một chiếc ô tô mới toanh **đấy**.
 month before even give wife a CL car brand new DEM.DIST
 ‘Believe me, last month he even bought his wife a brand new car!’

2.3. *Heteroglossia Approach*

Of the particles above, *đây* (here) and *đấy* (there) are the two demonstratives that most often appear at the end of a declarative sentence. Nguyen (2020) has suggested that *đây* (here) can be used to mark an assertion based on present evidence that the speaker is experiencing at the utterance time, and *đấy* (there) is often employed in an assertion based on past evidence. My analysis differs from Nguyen (2020) in distinguishing *đây* from *đấy* based on whether or not the statement targets the addressee’s propositional attitude. When proximal *đây* occurs at the end of a declarative sentence, it often feels like the speaker is speaking his or her thoughts out loud. When using the distal *đấy*, there should be an addressee at the scene, and the speaker indicates that s/he is trying to persuade the addressee to accept his or her judgment. In (1) and (2) (repeated as (15) and (16)), the event under discussion has not happened yet, and the speaker can

only rely on past experience to form a judgment.

Nevertheless, not only the distal *đấy* but also the proximal *đây* can be used. My informants confirm that *đấy* is not exclusively employed in assertions based on past experience. Statements based on past experience seem to be more credible, but it is not necessarily the only way to convince the addressee. A justified assertion can be supported by reasonable inferences from current experience, as illustrated in example (17).

- (15) Việc này nguy **đây**.
 hiểm
 job DEM.PROX dangerous DEM.PROX
 ‘This job is dangerous, I think.’
- (16) Việc này nguy **đấy**.
 hiểm
 job DEM.PROX dangerous DEM.DIST
 ‘Believe me, this job is dangerous.’

- (17) Trông cấu kính thể kia, tôi đoán nó sắp gây chuyện **đấy**.
 look angry so 1SG guess 3SG soon cause trouble DEM.DIS
 ‘Looking at his angry face, believe me, I guess he will cause trouble soon.’

A natural question that arises here is in which kind of context one should employ demonstrative particles. Nguyen (2020) has pointed out that such SFPs signal different types of modal meanings in dialogues that involve a multitude of differing views. In other words, the appearance of demonstrative particles at the end of an utterance marks a shift from monoglossic to heteroglossic, showing signs of acknowledging alternative viewpoints. Based on the heteroglossia approach, particles from Group I can be labeled as DIALOGIC EXPANSION markers (White & Motoki, 2006). In (9), the proximal *đây* can be roughly translated by the pragmatic marker *I think*, indicating the proposition is only one of the possibilities. The distal *kia*, which often occurs with hearsay

information, as shown in (10), explicitly acknowledges the space for alternatives. Thus, *đây* can be classified into the ENTERTAIN type, whereas *kia* is an ATTRIBUTE one.

On the other hand, Group II particles can be analyzed as DIALOGIC CONTRACTION markers, with *kia* acts as DISCLAMATION, *đấy* functions as PROCLAMATION, and *này* can be used in both ways. The distal *kia* signal counter-expectation, as illustrated in (13). In both (14) and (16), the speaker uses *đấy*, emphatically asserting the proposition and feeling very strongly about what is being said. In (12), *này* calls for attention to a pronouncement; however, it is used to express counter-expectation as in the following example:

- (18) A: Minh đang trên đường đi rồi **đấy**.
 Minh DUR on way go SFP.already DEM.DIST
 ‘Minh is on his way.’
- B: Anh ta còn đang trên mạng **đây** **này**.
 3SG still DUR on internet DEM.PROX DEM.PROX
 ‘You don’t know, he’s still on the Internet (I witness that now).’

2.4. Co-Occurring Elements and Ordering Restrictions

It should be noted that demonstratives in Vietnamese can co-occur frequently. In the previous sections, I have illustrated that *đây* and *kia* often appear in Initiation Moves; whereas *này*, *kìa*, and *đấy* can be used individually in Reaction Moves. When a particle in Group I is employed in Reaction Moves, it often co-occurs with an element from Group II. In (19) and (20), the speaker does not agree with the addressee’s opinion and provides a fragment of counter-

expectation information. The proximal demonstrative pair *đây này* in (19) call for attention to the information which the speaker witnessed. The distal demonstrative cluster *kia kia* directs the addressee’s attention to the information which the speaker did not witness (i.e., hearsay information), however, as (20). The *kia đấy* cluster in (21) can be used to support the addressee’s previously mentioned opinions by adding extraordinary information that the s/he might not know. If the particles from Group II do not appear in the Reaction Moves, the sentences become infelicitous.

(19) A: Chắc là cô ta lười học lắm nhỉ?
Perhaps 3SG lazy study much SFP
'She doesn't seem to study much, huh?'

B: Cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **đây** #(này).
3SG even learn two major DEM.PROX DEM.PROX
'You don't know, I witness that she even takes a double degree.'

(20) A: Chắc là cô ta lười học lắm nhỉ?
Perhaps 3SG lazy study much SFP
'She doesn't seem to study much, huh?'

B: Nghe đâu cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **kia** #(kia).
Hearsay 3SG even learn two major DEM.DIST DEM.DIST
'You don't know, I heard that she even takes a double degree.'

(21) A: Chắc là cô ấy chăm học lắm nhỉ?
Perhaps 3SG study hard much SFP
'She must be studying very hard, huh?'

B: Cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **kia** #(đấy).
3SG even learn two major DEM.DIST DEM.DIST
'Believe me, she even takes a double degree (I think it's extraordinary).'

The rule of demonstrative particle clusters can be generalized as follows:

(22) Ordering restrictions of demonstrative particle clusters

i) Only a proximal demonstrative (namely *đây* or *này*) can be paired with a proximal one. Similarly, only a distal demonstrative (*kia*, *kìa*, and *đấy*) can co-occur with a distal demonstrative particle.

ii) When co-occurring, Group I's demonstratives, which mark the relation between the speaker and the propositional content, always appear before Group II elements.

There are three possible instances of co-occurring demonstratives: *đây này*, *kia kia*, and *kia đấy*. These clusters are usually found in Reaction Moves and are used after a related piece of information to support or disprove the addressee's opinion. To determine whether proximal or distal demonstratives should be used, one needs to consider the psychological distance between

the speaker and the proposition. The speaker assumes that the addressee has yet to pay full attention to the subject matter or does not know about it. Moreover, s/he hopes that the addressee will accept and believe in the propositional content.

3. The Syntax of Demonstrative Particles

Following Cheng (1991), many scholars have discussed SFPs from the perspective of Generative Grammar, Cartography, and Performative Projection. A summary of studies that strongly influenced this paper can be found in the following section.

3.1. The Syntactic Position of SFPs

In the spirit of generative grammar, the structure of a clause consists of 3 domains: the lowest level is the lexical layer (vP domain), including predicate and argument structure; the medial level is the inflectional layer (IP domain), indicating

syntax categories as Tense, Number, Person, Case, etc.; the highest level is the complementizer layer (CP domain), linking the clause to its dominating clause or the discourse domain:

(23) [CP... [IP... [_vP...]]]

SFPs tend to be analyzed as complementizers (cf. Lee, 1986; Cheng, 1991; among many others). It was proposed that in Mandarin Chinese, *ma* marks a sentence as a Yes/No question, while *ne* marks a Wh-Question, ignoring the fact that *ne* is optional in a Wh-Question, and an A-not-A question is more neutral compared with its counterpart ending with *ma*.

(24) Ni xiang he naicha **ma**?
2SG want drink milk tea MA
'Do you want to drink milk tea?'

(28) Lan đã đi Paris rồi **đây**.
Lan ANT go Paris SFP.already DEM.PROX
'Lan has already gone to Paris, I believe.'

(29) Lan đã đi thành phố nào rồi **đây**?
Lan ANT go city which SFP.already DEM.PROX
'Which city has Lan already gone to? I wonder.'

Finally, the most fundamental difference between canonical complementizers (e.g., *if*, *that*, and *for* in English) and SFPs is, complementizers can be found in embedded clauses, while SFPs generally appear in main clauses. Vietnamese has a diverse SFP system, and it also has complementizers, e.g., the non-interrogative marker *rằng* and the interrogative marker *liệu*. Complementizers in Vietnamese only appear at the beginning of the clause, while SFPs are used at the right sentential periphery. The postverbal adverbs *rồi* and *chưa* can be classified as "inner

(25) Ni xiang he shenme?
2SG want drink what
'What do you want to drink?'

(26) Ni xiang he shenme **(ne)**?
2SG want drink what NE
'What do you want to drink? (I wonder)'

(27) Ni **xiang bu xiang** he naicha?
2SG want not want drink milk tea
'Do you want to drink milk tea?'

It has been well acknowledged that there is no one-to-one correspondence between SFPs and clause types, so the status as clause-typing complementizers of SFPs is doubtful. In Vietnamese, for example, the demonstrative particle *đây* can occur in both declarative and interrogative sentences².

SFPs" (in the sense of Tang, 1998), by virtue of its embeddability inside a complement clause. In contrast, as exemplified in (31), demonstrative particles are "outer SFPs", which can only be interpreted in root contexts.

(30) a. He wonders [CP [COMP₊Q] if] she has already gone to Paris].

b. He knows [CP [COMP₋Q] that] she has already gone to Paris].

c. [CP [COMP₋FIN] For] her to go to Paris] is a dream.

² One thing to note here - in this paper, I only focus on demonstratives appearing at the end of declaratives, however the analysis can be extended to other sentence types. In interrogatives, demonstrative SFPs denote the speaker's

commitment to the issue denoted by the question; hence *đây* is glossed as "I believe" in declaratives, but it is rendered as "I wonder" in interrogatives.

(31)

- a. Minh biết [CP rằng Lan đã đi Paris **rồi**].
 Minh know COMP_[-Q] Lan ANT go Paris SFP.already
 ‘Minh knows that Lan has already gone to Paris.’
- b. Minh muốn biết [CP liệu Lan đã đi Paris **chưa**].
 Minh want know COMP_[+Q] Lan ANT go Paris SFP.yet
 ‘Minh wonders if Lan has gone to Paris yet.’
- c. Minh muốn biết [CP liệu Lan đã đi Paris **chưa**] **đây**.
 Minh want know COMP_[+Q] Lan ANT go Paris SFP.yet DEM.PROX
 ‘Minh wonders if Lan has gone to Paris yet, I believe.’
- d. Minh muốn biết [CP liệu Lan đã đi Paris chưa (***đây**)].
 Minh want know COMP_[+Q] Lan ANT go Paris yet DEM.PROX
 ‘Minh wonders if (***I wonder**) Lan has gone to Paris yet.’

The root phenomenon of outer SFPs is a strong evidence suggesting that they should be labeled differently from canonical complementizers. I follow the idea proposed by Tang (2010), in which outer SFPs are used to express Mood, Speech Act, or Discourse information. They are base-generated at the right periphery of the sentence, which are functional projections taking scope over the clause. Arguably, CP can be split into independent functional projections in the light of the cartography approach.

(32) The left periphery architecture in Italian language (Rizzi, 1997)

[ForceP [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP [IP...]]]]]]

Scholars have been adopting the cartography approach to study the periphery of the sentence in different languages (Cinque, 1999; Benincà, 2001; Badan, 2007; Cinque & Rizzi, 2008; among many others). Although being located at the end of the sentence, SFPs are often classified as a phenomenon that belongs to the left periphery. I simply accept the assumption that SFPs are head-final and their surface positions at the right sentential periphery can

3.2. Cartography and Split CP Hypothesis

Cartography is an approach in generative grammar in which languages are assumed to have a richly articulated structure of hierarchical projections with specific meanings. Rizzi (1997) introduced the Split CP hypothesis based on the research of elements appearing at the beginning of Italian sentences, which he terms as *the left periphery*. Rizzi pointed out that CP can be expanded with four functional projections, including Topic phrase (TopP), Focus Phrase (FocP), Force Phrase (ForceP) và Finite Phrase (FinP):

be derived straightforwardly, as suggested by, *inter alia*, Tang (2010), Paul (2014), Pan and Paul (2016), Tang (2020).

The phenomenon of SFP clusters in Chinese and Cantonese has attracted many scholars' attention. Based on the order of SFPs when they co-occur, people have generally agreed that SFPs are not base-generated at the same syntactic position. Considering the fact that all SFPs make some contribution to the interpretation of the

sentence, it is feasible to assume that the right periphery of Chinese sentences can be decomposed into several functional projections (cf. Li, 2006; Tang, 2010; Paul, 2014; Pan & Paul, 2016; Pan, 2019; Tang, 2020). As this paper’s primary focus is on Vietnamese demonstrative particles, I would not go into detail for all competing analyses in Chinese but try to arbitrate among them.

On the one hand, if an analysis is on the right track, it should be motivated theoretically rather than merely generalization from linguistic facts. On the other hand, the framework proposed should account for all SFP clusters or at least the most common ones.

Li (2006) has been the first proposal on the hierarchy of functional heads in CP domains, which can be schematized as follows:

(33) The left periphery architecture in Chinese (Li, 2006) (“>” means “syntactically higher than”)

DiscourseP	>	DegreeP	>	ForceP	>	EvaluativeP	>	MoodP	>	FinP
<i>a</i>		<i>ba, ma</i>		∅		<i>ne</i>		∅		∅

Following Rizzi (1997), in Li’s analysis, Finite is a null head that occupies the lowest level in the articulated structure of CP. She also suggested that the functional head Force in Rizzi (1997) should be split up into Force and Mood. The latter encodes clause-typing information, while the former represents illocutionary force. Both have no phonetical realization in Mandarin Chinese. However, the theoretical motivation for DegreeP, which is the locus of “degree markers”, seems fairly low. Any outer SFP can be argued to express high or low commitment to the propositional content, as

pointed out by Xu (2008). For example, the discourse marker *a* marks a strong commitment to the propositional content and calls for the addressee’s response.

Pan (2019) attempted to establish an architecture for different types of elements in the left periphery: topics and foci, different readings of wh-phrases, and SFPs. If we abstract away functional projections dedicated to topics, foci, and wh-phrases in his proposal, the CP domain in Mandarin Chinese can be decomposed into five functional projections.

(34) The sentential periphery architecture in Chinese (Pan, 2019)

$$[\text{AttitudeP}_2 \dots [\text{AttitudeP}_1 \dots [\text{iForceP} \dots [\text{OnlyP} \dots [\text{S.AsP} \dots [\text{TP} \dots]]]]]]]]$$

SFPs that are base-generated at the head position of iForceP and AttitudeP cannot be embedded, in contrast with SFPs in OnlyP and S.AsP. Pan (2019) has not pointed out any theoretical consideration for splitting AttitudeP into two phrases, which are assumed to host exclamative particles. In Pan’s system, the iForceP hosts interrogative and imperative markers. It follows that particles from iForceP should precede particles heading AttitudeP. From the theoretical point of view, there is no strong motivation for exclamative makers following imperative or interrogative

markers, as they select different sentence types. More importantly, not every particle heading iForceP can co-occur with particles that express the speaker’s attitude. Pan (2019) pointed out a cluster made up of *ba* and *a*, which is exemplified in (35).

(35) Zhe xie pingguo, nimen chi le **ba a!**
 This PL apple 2PL eat- BA A
 finish

These apples, please eat (them) A!

It should be noted that Li (2006) acknowledged that ‘*ba a*’ sounds unnatural to native speakers. It is possible to prolong

the vowel of *ba* to make the sentence more emphatic, but it seems to be an extra tone added to the final syllable of sentences (boundary tone) than the realization of the particle *a*. Another way to rescue a sentence like (35) is adding a pause after *ba* and pronouncing *a* with a high-level tone, rather than a neutral tone. In Mandarin Chinese, SFPs are pronounced with a neutral tone, which is a bit shorter than the other tones, and its pitch depends on the tone coming

before it. This fact suggests that in (35), *a* functions as an interjection but not a sentence-final particle. The incompatibility of *ba* and *a* suggests that the illocutionary force assignment might have something to do with the speaker's attitude, and they may compete for the same syntactic position.

In terms of Vietnamese SFPs, based on previous analyses of SFPs in Chinese, Le (2015) suggested the architecture of the periphery in Vietnamese as follows:

(36) The architecture of the periphery in Vietnamese (Le 2015)

[DiscP ... [Mood.InfoP ... [Mood.EvalP ... [DeikP2 ... [DeikP1 ... [ForceP...]]]]]]

Le (2015) proposed that demonstratives have deictic functions and can be base-generated in two functional projections, namely DeikP1 and DeikP2. These particles can be combined *freely*, with the largest possible combination made of two demonstratives. Above DeikP, there are other functional projections, which are termed as Mood.InfoP and Mood.EvalP, conveying the speaker's attitude towards the clause, marking the information as noteworthy, or soliciting agreement. The highest functional projection, which she termed as DiscP, contains sub-syllabic meaningful units of features, à la Sybesma and Li (2007). These features, e.g. [+nasal], [+glottal fricative], [+high register], and the politeness marker *a*, are assumed to establish the relationship between the speaker and addressee.

However, Le (2015) made a questionable assumption when analyzing the function of demonstrative particles. As previously discussed, demonstrative particles are employed to mark the distance between the speaker and the proposition or call for the addressee's attention to the propositional content. Demonstrative particles do not, unlike canonical demonstratives, possess deictic function concerning space and time. Hence, there is an overlap between her DeikPs and MoodPs.

Le (2015) also failed to provide robust evidence of two or three SFPs following a pair of demonstrative particles.

The analyses mentioned above share one idea: there are several functional projections above ForceP, and these FPs cannot appear in embedded clauses but only in root contexts. Scholars have different views on labeling these outer SFPs, and it is assumed that the functional projection encoding illocutionary force is lower than the Attitude head, which is not necessarily true based on the empirical data. To solve this problem, I believe that we should distinguish heads that encode clause-type information from the ones that modify illocutionary force, as Li (2006) suggested. Moreover, the speaker's attitude is a vague concept, which is more problematic when dealing with languages with a rich inventory of SFPs, e.g., Vietnamese or Cantonese. I take advantage of Beyssade and Marandin's (2006) work, in which they pointed out that utterances have two types of impact on the context: first, they convey a new commitment for the speaker; second, they call on the addressee to take up the utterance. In declarative sentences, the speaker is committed to the propositional content of the sentence. The speaker employs particular SFPs when s/he tries to ground what has

been said, making it part of the common ground, i.e., mutual knowledge, mutual beliefs, and mutual assumptions (Clark & Brennan, 1991).

In other words, I would like to differentiate the speaker's attitude concerning the content of the utterance from the speaker's attitude toward the addressee, which is termed as call-on-addressee, in the sense of Beyssade and Marandin (2006). This is not a new idea, and it has been applied to account for the syntax of SFPs in Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese (cf. Lam, 2014; Heim et al., 2016; Lau, 2019; Tang, 2020). Back to Vietnamese demonstrative

particles, it can be argued that they modify the speaker's and the addressee's commitment to the propositional content. Alongside grounding particles, there are other particles expressing call-on-addressee or showing attitude to the addressee. In (39), adding *hả* to the end of a declarative sentence 'Minh has already come home' turns it to an utterance that calls for a response from the addressee, and roughly corresponds with the combination of Canadian English confirmational particle *eh* and the rising intonation (cf. Wiltschko & Heim 2016). The politeness marker *ạ*, exemplified in (40), always appears at the rightmost position of the utterance.

(37) Minh về rồi đây.
Minh return SFP.already DEM.PROX
'Minh has already come home, I believe.'

(38) Minh về rồi đấy.
Minh return SFP.already DEM.DIST
'Minh has already come home, believe me.'

(39) Minh về rồi hả mẹ?
Minh return SFP.already SFP.CONF mother
'Mom, Minh has already come home, eh?'

(40) Minh về rồi mẹ ạ.
Minh return SFP.already mom SFP.HON
'Mom, Minh has already come home ạ.'

4. Universal Spine Hypothesis

4.1. Terminology

In short, demonstrative particles encode the interlocutors' commitment to the propositional content. Put differently, demonstrative particles' contribution to the discourse is to enhance the common ground, especially when the speaker's set of public beliefs is distinctive from the addressee's one. In order to facilitate the understanding of the role of demonstrative particles, the following section introduces related pragmatic concepts.

(41) **Common Ground** (Beyssade & Marandin, 2006)

Common Ground (CG) is a partially ordered set of propositions in which the latest element can be removed easily. If the addressee explicitly shows disagreement, the latest proposition will be removed from CG. Only propositions that both interlocutors accept (believe) can stay in CG. When one makes an assertion, s/he suggests adding a proposition *p* to CG.

(42) **Public belief** (Gunlogson, 2003)
Hypothetically, a conversation

happens between only two interlocutors: Speaker (S) and Addressee (A).

Proposition p is the public belief of S (PB.S), if and only if “S believes p” is the mutual belief of both S and A.

Proposition p is the public belief of A (PB.A), if and only if “A believes p” is the mutual belief of both S and A.

Therefore, CG can be viewed as the intersection of the public belief of both parties. The act of negotiating CG (the grounding process) takes place when PB.S differs from PB.A. The speaker disagrees with his/her interlocutor and provides previously unknown information. In other words, the speaker suggests adding the proposition p to PB.A; hence CG is updated properly.

(43) Speaker’s commitment

A declarative sentence manifests the speaker’s commitment to a proposition p. By uttering an assertion, the speaker suggests the addressee adding the proposition p to his/her own set of public belief PB.A to update CG.

From the perspective of Generative

Grammar, Wiltschko and Heim (2016) proposed the Universal Spine Hypothesis, which can be summarized as follows:

(44) Universal Spine Hypothesis (Wiltschko & Heim, 2016)

i) A proposition p is dominated by a speech act structure. The superstructure above p can be divided into two layers: the lower layer encodes the SPEAKER’S COMMITMENT (Grounding layer), while the higher layer encodes SPEAKER’S CALL ON ADDRESSEE (Responding layer).

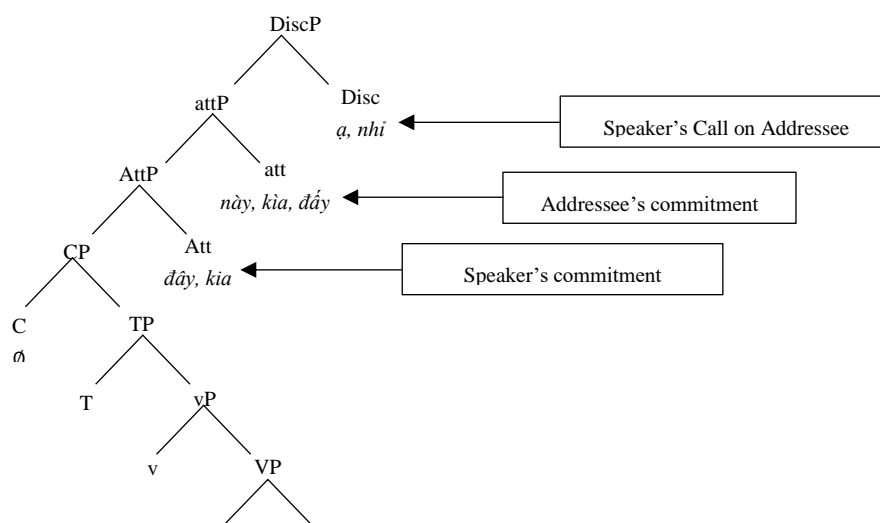
ii) Grounding layer encodes the attitude of the speaker’s propositional attitude and the addressee’s attitude towards the propositional content (e.g., belief in p, disbelief in p)

iii) Responding layer encodes the speaker’s call on the addressee (e.g., a call to a response, no call to responses, or a direction to interpret the concerning utterance as a response)

4.2. My Proposal

In this paper, I propose the architecture of the right periphery of Vietnamese sentences as follows:

(45) The architecture of the right periphery in Vietnamese



The periphery of Vietnamese sentences can be divided into “Discourse

projection” (DiscP) and “Attitude projection” (AttP). DiscP is the highest

layer, expressing the speaker's attitude towards the addressee (e.g., politeness, intimacy, or call for responses). AttP can be further split into two functional projections, namely AttP and attP. AttP encodes the speaker's propositional attitude, while attP manifests the addressee's one.

I propose that *đây* and *kia* have a syntactic position inside AttP by virtue of encoding *the speaker's propositional attitude*. attP is dedicated to hosting such particles as *này*, *kia*, and *đấy*, which essentially encoding *the speaker's belief towards the addressee's propositional attitude*.

Vietnamese is known for being a tonal language with a rich system of SFPs. In addition to demonstrative particles, there are other SFPs encoding politeness or solidarity (namely *ạ* and *nhì*), which are assumed to be base-generated at the highest functional projection, namely DiscP.

5. Matching Position and Interpretation

The co-occurrence of SFPs in Vietnamese has been studied by various scholars (Vo, 2012; Le, 2015; Tran, 2015). However, to the best of my knowledge, none has either generalized the rule of demonstrative particle pairs or explained why there is such a combination at the end of a declarative sentence. Based on (45), the phenomenon can be explained in a straightforward manner. Particles of Group I, namely *đây* and *kia*, are used to manifest the psychological distance between the speaker and the proposition, i.e., his/her propositional attitude; therefore, they are base-generated in AttP. The higher

functional projection, namely, attP, indicates that the speaker suggests the addressee adding the proposition *p* to his or her public belief PB.A. As can be seen from section 2.2, particles from Group II (i.e., *này*, *kia*, and *đấy*) are used to express the speaker's belief toward the addressee's propositional attitude; therefore, they are arguably base-generated inside attP. Those attP particles suggest the addition of *p* to PB.A, making *p* become a part of CG.

Despite having different interpretations, AttP and attP respectively manifest the speaker's and the addressee's attitude towards the same proposition; and they belong in the same layer because the speaker's point-of-view determines both. If the speaker labels the proposition as proximal, both AttP and attP's heads must be proximal demonstratives. Similarly, both must be distal demonstratives if the speaker labels otherwise. This also explains why demonstrative particles in Vietnamese can only be paired by proximal – proximal and vice versa.

Also, according to (45), AttP has a lower syntactic position than attP, which explains the order of appearance of demonstrative particles in Vietnamese: particles from Group I, those manifest the speaker's propositional attitude, must precede particles of Group II, which encode the addressee's attitude towards the proposition. (45) also predicts that honorific markers in Vietnamese should appear at the rightmost periphery of a sentence. The prediction is borne out, as shown in the following utterances:

- (46) A: Chắc là cô ta lười học lắm nhỉ?
 Perhaps 3SG lazy study much SFP
 'She doesn't seem to study much, huh?'

B: Cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **đây** **này** a.
 3SG even learn two major DEM.PROX DEM.PROX SFP.HON
 ‘You don’t know, I witness that she even takes a double degree a.’

(47) A: Chắc là cô ta lười học lắm nhỉ?
 Perhaps 3SG lazy study much SFP
 ‘She doesn’t seem to study much, huh?’

B: Nghe đâu cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **kia** **kia** a.
 Hearsay 3SG even learn two major DEM.DIST DEM.DIST SFP.HON
 ‘You don’t know, I heard that she even takes a double degree a.’

(48) A: Chắc là cô ấy chăm học lắm nhỉ?
 Perhaps 3SG study hard much SFP
 ‘She must be studying very hard, huh?’

B: Cô ấy còn học hai chuyên ngành **kia** **đấy** a.
 3SG even learn two major DEM.DIST DEM.DIST SFP.HON
 ‘Believe me, she even takes a double degree a.’

6. Conclusion

The paper discusses the usage of demonstrative particles in Vietnamese, a unique phenomenon that has received attention from many researchers but has yet to be explained satisfactorily. Based on studies analyzing the left periphery in the light of the cartography approach and inspired by analyses on SFPs’ syntactic positions in Chinese, this paper has provided a more thorough look into the architecture of the right periphery in Vietnamese sentences.

The paper’s working framework can be used to analyze SFPs in other languages, namely Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese, thus extending our knowledge in Universal Grammar.

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CHỈ ĐỊNH TỪ DỪNG CUỐI CÂU VÀ CẤU TRÚC RÌA CÂU TRONG TIẾNG VIỆT

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Tóm tắt: Bài viết này phân tích chỉ thị từ dừng ở cuối câu dưới góc độ ngữ pháp tạo sinh. Các chỉ định từ như *đây, kia, này, kia* và *đấy* có thể dùng cuối câu để đánh dấu khoảng cách tâm lý giữa người nói và mệnh đề trong câu. Các trợ từ này có thể chia thành 2 nhóm, nhóm I gồm *đây* và *kia* được dùng để miêu tả quan hệ giữa người nói và mệnh đề; nhóm II gồm *này, kia* và *đấy* có tác dụng kêu gọi sự chú ý của người nghe hoặc thuyết phục người nghe tiếp nhận nội dung mệnh đề. *đây này, kia kia* và *kia đấy* là ba cặp trợ từ chỉ thị thường gặp.

Từ góc độ ngữ pháp tạo sinh và đồ bản học, rìa phải câu có thể chia thành ba đoạn ngữ chức năng. Tầng thấp nhất AttP mã hóa cam kết của người nói đối với mệnh đề, còn attP mã hóa thái độ của người nghe đối với mệnh đề. Tầng cao nhất DiscP thể hiện thái độ của người nói đối với người nghe. Chỉ định từ nhóm I thuộc về AttP, nhóm II thuộc về attP.

Từ khóa: chỉ định từ, tiểu từ cuối câu, đồ bản học