

## Control in Vietnamese

Shin Fukuda  
University of California, San Diego

*Vietnamese (vie), Austro-Asiatic  
also known as Kinh, Gin, Jing, Ching, Viet, Annamese  
spoken in Vietnam (Asia)*

### 1 Grammar Profile

#### 1.1 Morpho-Syntax

##### 1.1.1 Head position

Vietnamese is generally considered as head-initial.

Vietnamese has SVO as its canonical word order.

- (1) Tân đã đánh nó  
Tân Perf hit him  
'Tân hit him.'
- (2) Minh nói rằng [Lan d· lái xe riêng của nó]  
Mihn say that [Lan Perf drive car own Poss Prn]  
'Minh said that Lan drove his own car.'

Except for some auxiliary/modal verb-like items, a verbal element cannot appear sentence-finally when there is a complement.

- (3) Minh không thể giúp Lan được  
Minh Neg ?? help Lan can  
'Minh cannot help Lan.'
- (4) \*Minh không thể Lan giúp  
Minh Neg ?? Lan help

The subject is obligatorily in the clause initial position, whether it is a matrix or embedded clause, as can be seen in (5) and (6) below. Some notable exceptions are the presentational construction with *có*, as in (7) and embedded unaccusative verbs, as in (8).

(5) a. \*(Đã) ngừng tai nạn xảy ra  
(Perf) stop accident happen

b. Tai nạn đã ngừng xảy ra  
accident Perf stop happen

‘Accidents stopped happening.’

(6) a. Tôi muốn [trời mưa]  
I want [sky rain]

b. \*Tôi muốn [mưa]  
I want [rain]  
‘I want it to rain.’

(7) Nếu có khói thì ắt hẳn phải có lửa  
if be smoke then surely must be fire  
‘If there is smoke, surely there must be fire.’

(8) Tân làm (té) tôi (té)  
Tân make fall I fall  
‘Tân made me fall’

Vietnamese has many preposition-like elements, such as *ở*, which always precede and never follow their complements.

(9) Chung nó mua thức ăn ở chợ  
They buy food at market  
‘They buy food at the market’

Relative clauses, adjectives, demonstratives follow nouns, while numerals and classifiers precede them (Nguyen 2004, Simpson 2004)

(10) Hai cuốn sách vàng [mà tôi mới mua] này  
Two CL book yellow [that I just buy] this  
Num CL **Nom** Adj RC Dem  
‘These two yellow books that I just bought.’

### 1.1.2 Morphological type

isolating

### 1.1.3 Case system

No overt (morphological) case marking.

### 1.1.4 Verbal Agreement

No subject or object agreement.

### 1.1.5 Transitivity Patterns

There doesn’t seem to be any morpheme that serves purely to alter transitivity. However, they are lexical verbs that serve to function like passive and causative in other languages.

The subject of two verbs, *bị* ‘suffer’ and *được* ‘get or be granted’ are interpreted as affected favorably or adversely by an embedded event, respectively, and the theme or patient argument of the embedded event is interpreted to share its referent with the matrix subject. Thus, these verbs realize ‘object to subject promotion’ effect typical of passive.

(11) Dững<sub>i</sub> bị Minh đánh ec<sub>i</sub>  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> suffer Minh hit ec<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘Dững was hit by Minh. (≈ Dững suffered Minh’s hitting him)’

(12) Minh<sub>i</sub> được Dững giúp ec<sub>i</sub>  
 Minh<sub>i</sub> get Dững help ec<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘Minh was helped by Dững. (≈ Minh was granted Dững’s helping him)’

*làm cho*, ‘make’, is used to express indirect causation, with the subject of the verb being the causer and the theme or patient argument of an embedded event being the causee. (Kwon 2004)

(13) Dững làm cho Minh học tiếng Anh  
 Dững make give Minh study lang. English  
 ‘Dững made Minh study English.’

Since *làm cho* is limited to *indirect causation*, (13) can only mean that something that Dững did influenced Minh and she voluntarily started studying English. In contrast, *ép buộc* ‘force’ is compatible with both *direct* and *indirect causation*. Thus, (14) below can be interpreted as Dững directly or indirectly caused Minh to study English.

(14) Dững ép buộc Minh học tiếng Anh  
 Dững force Minh study lang. English  
 ‘Dững forced Minh to study English.’

Many prepositions-like elements function as applicatives.

(15) Ông ấy bán sách cho tôi  
 Prn sell book to I  
 ‘He sold the book to me.’

(16) Ông ấy mua sách giùm tôi  
 Prn buy book for I  
 ‘He bought the book for me.’

I am not aware of any instance of anti-passive in Vietnamese.

### 1.1.6 Null Arguments

Subject can be null depending on discourse conditions. Generally, objects cannot be null, even with a clear discourse context.

(17) Sẽ đi.  
 Imp go  
 ‘I/he/she/it/they etc. will go’

(18) Dững che chở \*(nó)  
 Dững protect Prn  
 ‘Dững protected him/her.’

However, with the passive-like constructions with *bị* ‘suffer’ and *được* ‘get or be granted’, the objects are preferred to be null.

### 1.1.7 Non-Finite Categories

Due to its isolating morphology, the verb forms are invariable irrespective of finiteness or different functions that a given verb serves in non-finite environments.

## 1.2 Matrix Clause

### 1.2.1 Basic word order

SVO

### 1.2.2 Alternate word orders

*Topicalization* can alter the basic SVO word order. (20) shows that the topicalized element can be overtly realized as a pronoun in situ.

- (19) Thành phố này **thì** tôi không thích lắm  
 city this Top I Neg like very  
 ‘This city, I like very much.’
- (20) Thành phố này **thì** tôi không thích **nó** lắm  
 city this Top I Neg like Prn very  
 ‘This city, I like *it* very much.’

Incidentally, topicalization is also possible within a finite-like complement introduced with *rằng*.

- (21) Minh nói rằng [sách này **thì** cô ấy thích đọc]  
 Minh say that [book this Top she like read]  
 ‘Minh says that this book, she likes to read.’

In Vietnamese, there are a number of elements which appear to serve different functions in different syntactic environments, and *ai* is one of them. For instance, it can be a wh-phrase in a wh-question, an NPI when there is negation.

- (22) **Ai** biết cô ấy ở đâu  
**Ai** know Prn be where  
 ‘Who knows where she is?’
- (23) Tôi không biết ai trong gia đình này cả  
 I Neg know AI in family this ??  
 ‘I don’t know **anyone** in this family.’

When it is in subject position, *ai* is interpreted as universal quantifier together with *cũng* ‘also’.

- (24) **Ai** cũng quen cô ấy  
**Ai** also know Prn  
 ‘Everyone knows her/him.’

However, *ai* cannot be preceded by *cũng* (and maintain the universal reading). *Ai* has to be at the front to avoid being governed by *cũng* (Duffield 2004).

- (25) \*Cô ấy cũng quen **ai**  
 she also know ai  
 ‘She knows everyone.’
- (26) **Ai<sub>i</sub>** cô ấy cũng quen Δ<sub>i</sub>  
 Q<sub>i</sub> she also know ec<sub>i</sub>

This obligatory *ai* fronting may cross a clause boundary, as in (27). However, these two elements must maintain a local relation. Thus, *ai* fails to get licensed in (28), in which *cũng* is found in the embedded clause while *ai* is in the matrix.

- (27) **Ai<sub>i</sub>** Lan cũng nghĩ rằng [nó quen Δ<sub>i</sub>]  
 ai<sub>i</sub> Lan also think that [he know ec<sub>i</sub>]  
 ‘Lan thinks that he knows everyone.’
- (28) ??**Ai<sub>i</sub>** Lan nghĩ rằng [nó cũng quen Δ<sub>i</sub>]  
 ai<sub>i</sub> Lan think that [he also know ec<sub>i</sub>]

### 1.2.3 Ordering of nominal and pronominal arguments

The same.

### 1.3 Embedded Clause

#### 1.3.1 Basic word order

SVO (except for some unaccusative predicates under *làm* ‘make’. See 4.1).

#### 1.3.2 Verbal agreement

N/A

#### 1.3.3 Restrictions on tense, aspect, mood

Aspect/tense markers are generally optional, and often presence of a time adverbial suffices to establish the time of an event denoted.

Please describe any limitations on voice in the embedded clause.

Both of the two passive-like predicates, *bị* ‘suffer’ and *được* ‘get, gain, or be granted’ can be in an embedded clause.

#### 1.3.4 Possible morphological categories of the embedded clause

There is no verbal morphology.

#### 1.3.5 Non-control complements

Finite-like complements can optionally be introduced with items like *rằng* and *là*.

- (29) Dững nói *rằng/là* Minh đã trở về nhà  
 Dững say that Minh Perf return home  
 ‘Dững said that Minh had gone home.’

*cho* can also be found preceding a complement, with verbs like *làm* ‘make’, *thích* ‘like’, and *muốn* ‘want’. However, a complement introduced by *cho* is incompatible with an aspect marker, unlike ones that are introduced by *rằng* and *là*.

- (30) Dững làm *cho* Minh (\*đã) học tiếng Anh  
 Dững make Minh (Perf) study lang. English  
 ‘Dững made Minh to study English.’
- (31) Dững thích *cho* chúng nó (\*đã) đến  
 Dững like they (Perf) come  
 ‘Dững (would) like them to come.’
- (32) Dững muốn *cho* chúng nó (\*đã) đến  
 Dững want they (Perf) come  
 ‘Dững wants them to come.’

There appear to be different types of compound/complex verbs in Vietnamese. One common type is a combination of two predicates of similar meaning (‘Reinforcing compounds’ in Thompson 1965).

*cố* ‘try’

*cố gắng* ‘try’ + ‘strive’ = try hard

*đánh* ‘hit’

*đánh đập* ‘hit’ + ‘beat’ = beat

Some desiderative verbs, such as *muốn* ‘want’ and *thích* ‘like’, instantiate disjoint reference between an embedded subject and matrix arguments, which is the closest Vietnamese equivalent of ECM construction in other languages where case is visible. These verbs take a non-finite clausal complement, and the subjects of the clausal complements are not subject to selectional restrictions. The subject can be an inanimate object, as in (37), and it can also be non-referential, as in (38).

- (33) Dững muốn Lan (\*đã) đến  
 Dững want Lan (\*Perf) come  
 ‘Dững wants/wanted Lan to come.’
- (34) Dững muốn **hộp** **đó** đi San Diego  
 Dững want box that go San Diego  
 ‘Dững wants that box to go to San Diego.’

Some aspectual verbs, such as *ngừng* ‘stop’ and *tiếp tục* ‘continue’, as well as some modals, such as *phải* ‘must’, *cần* ‘need’, and *nên* ‘should’, allow a non-referential DPs to be their subject, suggesting that they are raising verbs.

- (35) Trời phải /cần /nên mưa  
 Sky must /need /should rain  
 ‘It must be raining/needs to rain/should rain.’
- (36) Trời tiếp tục /ngừng mưa  
 Sky continue/stop rain  
 ‘It continues/stops raining.’

The same group of verbs (aspectual verbs) appear to preserve the meaning of an idiomatic expression such as *kiến bò bụng* ‘be/get really hungry’ (which means literally ‘ants crawl in one’s stomach’).

- (37) Kiến bắt đầu/tiếp tục bò bụng  
 ant begin/continue crawl stomach  
 ‘I am beginning to get really hungry/I continued to be really hungry.’

## 2 Control Profile

### 2.1 forward subject control into a non-finite complement

#### 2.1.1 Example structure

- (38) Minh cố (gắng) giúp Dững.  
 Minh try (strive) help Dững  
 ‘Minh tries/tried to help Dững.’
- (39) Dững muốn học tiếng Anh  
 Dững want study lang. English  
 ‘Dững wants/wanted to study English.’
- (40) Dững thích học tiếng Anh  
 Dững like study lang. English  
 ‘Dững likes/liked to study English.’
- (41) Dững định học tiếng Anh  
 Dững intend study lang. English  
 ‘Dững intended to study English.’

#### 2.1.2 Predicates participating in the construction verb, implicative, *cố* ‘try’

verb, desiderative, *muốn*, ‘want’, *thích* ‘like, would like’, *quyết* ‘decide’, *định* ‘intend’

#### 2.1.3 Evidence in support bi-clausal structure

First of all, evidence suggests that complements of the verbs listed above are clearly different from the finite-like complement introduced by either *rằng* or *là*. A *rằng* complement can have an overt subject

and it allows topicalization within itself, as has already been seen (see 5.2. and 6.4). The complements of the presumed control verbs are not compatible with an overt subject or topicalization.

- (42) Dững muốn che chở nó  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> want protect Prn<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘Dững<sub>i</sub> wants to protect him<sub>j</sub>/her<sub>j</sub> /it<sub>j</sub>.’
- (43) \*Dững muốn ông ấy che chở nó  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> want he<sub>i</sub> protect Prn<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘Dững<sub>i</sub> wants he<sub>i</sub> protect him<sub>j</sub>/her<sub>k</sub>.’ (intended)
- (44) \*Dững<sub>i</sub> muốn Kim<sub>j</sub> thì (nói) che chở ec<sub>j</sub>  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> want Kim<sub>j</sub> Top (Prn<sub>i</sub>) protect ec<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘Dững<sub>i</sub> wants Kim, he protects.’ (intended)

Moreover, Negative Polarity Items such as *gì cả* and *tí nào* ‘at all’ must be licensed by negation within in a *rằng* complement, as in (49) and (50), while an NPI in a complement of the presumed control verbs can be licensed by negation in the matrix, as in (51).

- (45) Tôi nghĩ rằng [Minh không thích học tiếng Anh gì cả]  
 I think that [Minh Neg like study lang. English at all]  
 ‘I think Minh doesn’t like to study English at all.’
- (46) \*Tôi không nghĩ rằng [Minh thích học tiếng Anh gì cả]  
 I neg think that [Minh like study lang. English at all]  
 ‘I don’t think Minh likes to study English at all.’ (Intended)
- (47) Dững không cố (gắng) hút thuốc lá gì cả  
 Dững Neg try strive inhale cigarette at all  
 ‘Dững didn’t try to smoke cigarette at all.’

Although the evidence presented so far may be taken to suggest monoclausal status of the control sentences, a closer look at the distribution of negation and licensing of NPIs suggests that the presumed control sentences are biclausal.

First, negation can be found in a complement.

- (48) Dững cố (gắng) **không** hút thuốc lá  
 Dững try strive Neg inhale cigarette  
 ‘Dững tried not to smoke.’

Also, at least for some speakers, the presumed control complements under some of the presumed control verbs are compatible with the imperfective aspect marker.

- (49) Dững muốn sẽ học tiếng Anh  
 Dững want Imp study lang. English  
 ‘Dững wants/wanted to study English.’

There is also evidence that suggests the presumed control complements involve a structure that includes an embedded subject. The evidence is the distribution of a subject-oriented particle *tự*. A particle *tự* can be used as an emphatic/contrastive marker or part of reflexive together with a pronoun.

- (50) Dững **tự** che chở nó  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> Self protect Prn<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘Dững<sub>i</sub> protected him<sub>j</sub>/her<sub>j</sub> by himself.’
- (51) Dững **tự** nó che chở nó  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> Self Prn<sub>i</sub> protect Prn<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘Dững protected himself.’

In a simple sentence, *tự* can appear either before or after a subject. But it cannot follow or precede an internal argument, as in (57) and (58).

- (52) Tân<sub>i</sub>    **tự**      làm    đau    nó<sub>i/j</sub>  
 Tân    Self    make    sick    Prn  
 ‘Tân hurt himself.’ or ‘Tân hurt him/her.’
- (53) **Tự**    Tân    làm    đau    nó  
 Self    Tân    make    sick    Prn
- (54) \*Tân    làm    đau    **tự**    nó  
 Tân    make    sick    Self    Prn
- (55) \*Tân    làm    đau    nó    **tự**  
 Tân    make    sick    Prn    self

In the disjoint reference configuration, *tự* must appear before the entire complement.

- (56) Minh    muốn    **tự**      [Dũng (??**tự**) che chở nó]  
 Minh    want    Self    [Dũng (Self) protect          Prn].  
 ‘Minh<sub>i</sub> wants Dũng<sub>j</sub> himself<sub>j</sub> to protect him<sub>j/i/k</sub>.’

(57) suggests that *tự* is located above the level of a complete clause including a subject (i.e. *vP*), as in (58):

- (57) Minh    muốn    [**tự**    [<sub>vP</sub> Dũng che chở nó]]
- (58) Minh    want    [Self    [<sub>vP</sub> Dũng protect          Prn]]

However, *tự* must follow an aspectual marker and the negation when they are present, as in (59) and (60). This suggests that *tự* occupies the level that is lower than the levels where these functional elements appear.

- (59) Cửa đó            **đã**      tự      (\*đã)    đóng  
 Door that            Perf    Self    (\*Perf) close  
 ‘That door closed itself.’
- (60) Dũng    **không**    tự      (\*không)      đi bộ    được  
 Dũng    Neg    Self    (\*Neg)          walk    can  
 ‘Dũng can not walk by himself.’

Going back to the presumed control verbs, with these verbs, *tự* must appear following the matrix control verb<sup>1</sup>.

- (61) Minh    (\***tự**)    muốn    **tự**      che chở Dũng  
 Minh    (\*Self) want    Self    protect          Dũng  
 ‘Minh wants to protect Dũng himself.’

Recall that a control complement can have negation. As can be seen below, when *tự* and the negation co-occur in a presumed control complement, *tự* must follow the negation, as expected.

- (62) Dũng<sub>i</sub>    cố (gắng)            [**không** [<sub>XP</sub> *tự*                    [<sub>VP</sub> Δ<sub>i</sub>    hút    thuốc lá]]]  
 Dũng<sub>i</sub>    try strive[Neg                    [<sub>XP</sub> Self                    [<sub>VP</sub> Δ<sub>i</sub>    inhale    cigarette]]]

Given the foregoing analysis, the presence of *tự* after the matrix control verb suggests that the presumed control complement has a subject position, as in (63).

- (63) Minh<sub>i</sub>    muốn    **tự**      [<sub>VP</sub>    Δ<sub>i</sub>      che chở Dũng]  
 Minh<sub>i</sub>    want    self    [<sub>VP</sub>    Δ<sub>i</sub>      protect    Dũng]

Thus, the presumed control sentences appear to be biclausal.

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear why *tự* cannot appear preceding the matrix *want*.



#### 2.1.4 Selectional restrictions

Non-referential DPs cannot be subjects of the presumed control verbs.

- (64) Trời mưa  
 Sky rain  
 'It rains/rained.'
- (65) Trời tiếp tục mưa  
 Sky continue rain  
 'It continues/continued to rain.'
- (66) ??Trời muốn /có mưa  
 Sky want /try rain  
 'It wants/tries to rain.'

#### 2.1.5 Control type: obligatory

Local, c-commanding, no split antecedent is required.

- (67) Con của Dũng muốn đi Sài Gòn  
 Son poss Dũng want go Saigon  
 'Dũng<sub>i</sub>'s son<sub>j</sub> wants  $\Delta_{*i/j}$  to do to Saigon.'
- (68) Kim nói rằng Lan muốn có hội nghị  
 Kim say that Lan want have meeting  
 'Kim<sub>i</sub> said that Lan<sub>j</sub> want  $\Delta_{*i/j/*i+j}$  to have a meeting.'

### 2.2 forward object control into non-finite complement

#### 2.2.1 Example structure

- (69) Dũng ép buộc Minh học tiếng Anh  
 Dũng force Minh study lang. English  
 'Dũng forced Minh to study English.'
- (70) Dũng làm cho Minh học tiếng Anh  
 Dũng make Minh study lang. English  
 'Dũng (indirectly) made Minh study English.'
- (71) Dũng yêu cầu Minh không nói tiếng Việt  
 Dũng order Minh Neg speak lang. Vietnamese  
 'Dũng order Minh to not speak Vietnamese.'
- (72) Lan thuyết phục Minh đi UCSD.  
 Lan convince Minh go UCSD  
 'Lan convinced Minh to go to UCSD.'

#### 2.2.2 Predicates participating in the construction

verb, manipulative, *ép buộc* 'force', *làm cho* 'cause, make', *yêu cầu* 'require, order', *thuyết phục* 'convince'

#### 2.2.3 Evidence in support bi-clausal structure

With these verbs, two conflicting time adverbials can modify the matrix and embedded verb, suggesting that there are two independent events involved.

- (73) **Hôm qua** Dũng yêu cầu Minh **hôm nay** đi Sài Gòn  
 Yesterday Dũng order Minh today go Saigon  
 'Yesterday, Dũng order Minh to go to Saigon today.'

The distribution of *tự* that has been discussed earlier makes a prediction with respect to the position of objects in the proposed object control verbs. If these verbs are indeed object control verbs, the second DPs in the object control sentences are arguments of the matrix verbs, i.e. objects. If these are matrix objects, *tự* is predicted to never precede them, unlike the case of disjoint reference, in which the relevant DPs are embedded subjects (see 9.3.3.). The fact that *tự* may only follow the DP suggests that the DP belongs to the matrix:

- (74) Dững ép buộc (\*tự) Minh tự nói tiếng Việt  
 Dững force (\*Self) Minh Self speak lang. Vietnamese  
 ‘Dồng forced Minh herself to speak Vietnamese.’
- (75) Dững làm cho (\*tự) Minh tự nói tiếng Việt  
 Dững make (\*Self) Minh Self speak lang Vietnamese  
 ‘Dồng cause Minh herself to speak Vietnamese.’

#### 2.2.4 Selectional restrictions

Unlike the case with the disjoint reference verbs, the second DPs in the proposed object control verbs are subject to selectional restriction.

- (76) \*Dững ép buộc trời mưa  
 Dững force sky rain  
 ‘Dững forces it to rain.’
- (77) ??Dững làm cho trời mưa  
 Dững make sky rain  
 ‘Dững makes it to rain.’

For some speakers, non-referential DP is acceptable with *làm cho*, presumably because it denotes indirect causation. For instance, (79) is felicitous when someone is making fun of someone else when it rained after s/he has done something out of his/her character.

#### 2.2.5 Control type: obligatory

Split antecedent is impossible.

- (78) \*Dững ép buộc Minh giúp nhau  
 Dững force Minh help each\_other  
 ‘Dững<sub>i</sub> forced Minh<sub>j</sub> to help each other<sub>i+j</sub>’ (intended)
- (79) \*Dững làm cho Minh giúp nhau  
 Dững make Minh help each\_other  
 ‘Dững<sub>i</sub> make Minh<sub>j</sub> to help each other<sub>i+j</sub>’ (intended)

The antecedent must c-command the covert subject.

- (80) Dững<sub>i</sub> ép buộc con<sub>j</sub> của Minh<sub>k</sub> Δ<sub>\*i/j/\*k</sub> nói tiếng Việt  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> force son<sub>j</sub> Poss Minh<sub>k</sub> Δ<sub>\*i/J/\*K</sub> speak lang. Vietnamese  
 ‘Dồng forced Minh’s son to speak Vietnamese.’
- (81) Dững<sub>i</sub> làm cho con<sub>j</sub> của Minh<sub>k</sub> Δ<sub>\*i/j/\*k</sub> nói tiếng Việt  
 Dững<sub>i</sub> make son<sub>j</sub> Poss Minh<sub>k</sub> Δ<sub>\*i/j/\*k</sub> speak lang Vietnamese  
 ‘Dồng caused Minh’s son to speak Vietnamese.’

## References

- Duffield, N. 1998. 'Auxiliary placement and interpretation in Vietnamese.' *CLS* 34. 95-109.
- Duffield, N. 1999. "Final modals, adverbs, and anti-symmetry in Vietnamese," *Revue québécoise de linguistique* 27, 92-129.
- Duffield, N. 2004. "Aspect of Vietnamese clause structure: separating tense from assertion," ms. McGill University.
- Kwon, Nayoung. 2004. "A semantic and syntactic analysis of Vietnamese causatives," To appear in *The proceedings of Western Conference on Linguistics*, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- Nguyen, T. H. 2004. *The Structure of the Vietnamese Noun Phrase*, doctoral dissertation, Boston University.
- Simpson, A. 2005. "Classifiers and DP structure in Southern Asia," In G. Cinque and R. Kayne (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*. 806-838, Oxford: University of Oxford Press.
- Thompson, L. C. 1965. *A Vietnamese Grammar*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

## Native Speaker Informants:

Ms. Kim Chi Nguyen

Mr. Hung Nguyen

Mr. Thuan Tran

*Shin Fukuda*  
*Department of Linguistics*  
*University of California, San Diego*  
*9500 Gilman Drive #0108*  
*La Jolla, CA 92093-0108*  
*fukuda-ling.ucsd.edu*  
*http://ling.ucsd.edu/~fukuda*