Some Preliminaries to the Syntactic Analysis of the Vietnamese Sentence

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In this paper I try to sketch some of my claims concerning a problem in the domain of syntax: how to represent the basic syntactic structure of the sentence and how this is related to its content plane.

1. Types of Syntactic Structures

1.1 In many languages the grammatical subject of the verb is distinct from the logical subject of the sentence, and the syntactic structure of the sentence does not correspond to its logical structure. This distinction has been a priori considered as universal.

If, however, we agree with Sapir's (1921) definition of the sentence as the linguistic expression of a proposition, i.e. a statement as an act of thought (Reichenbach 1966), the unnaturalness of a syntactic structure that does not correspond to the logical structure of the sentence will be so flagrant that one comes to suspect that a language with a syntax like that probably was not such at the very beginning of its history.

And indeed, data from Hittite and Vedic Sanskrit, as analysed by such authors as Lehmann (1976), Justus (1976), and Givón (1976), suggest that some three or more millennia ago Indo-European languages were theme-rheme languages before they became the subject–predicate languages we know nowadays. In their history they have gone through a stage when there occurred a splitting of the theme (the logical subject) into two distinct items, resulting in the appearance of a purely grammatical element afterwards called "subject" (although it has but little to do with a subject as one might understand this term in its basic meaning). The strangeness of this element of the expression plane consists in the fact that it has no definite *counterpart in the content plane, be it on the level of representation (the role of its referent in the state of affairs referred to) or on the level of its reorganisation into a statement* (cf. Daneš 1964 for the queerness of the grammatical subject).

1.2 The appearance of a grammatical subject was due to the morphologization of the features which formerly characterized the logical subject and gradually attached themselves to the argument which most frequently expresses it. This process does not take place in languages without such morphologization, e.g. Chinese or Vietnamese. In these languages, the syntactic *structure of the sentence expresses*

univocally its logical structure, and there is nothing in them that might be called a grammatical subject.* What is commonly called "subject" in these languages is rather the prime actant of the predicate nucleus—an element of the semantic level, not of the syntactic level. The first immediate syntactic member of the sentence always represents the logical subject (the Theme), while the second one always represents the logical predicate (the Rheme), so that these languages may be called theme-rheme languages.[1]

In the history of Indo-European languages, the splitting of the Theme subsequently led to the following alternatives:

1) The Theme of the sentence, when it does not at the same time represent the Subject of the verb, is positioned outside the nuclear syntactic structure of the sentence, as in French:
(1) Ce livre, je l'ai lu
Such languages may be called subject-predicate languages with an outer or non-integrated Theme.

2) The grammatical structure of the sentence is expressed by morphological means, while the logical structure is by other means, say, by word order, as in Russian:
(2) Etu knigu ja čital
Such languages may be called Subject-Predicate languages with inner or integrated Themes.[2] The integration of the Theme in the nuclear syntactic structure of the sentence brings them somewhat nearer to theme-rheme languages, where the Theme is an organic part of it.

What has been said above results in the following typology of syntactic structures:

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* Laurence C. Thompson is the first scholar to have pointed out this important fact in his Vietnamese Grammar (1965), where the term "subject" does not even figure in the Index. He is also the first to have pointed out the importance of the particle *thì*.

[1] Some authors call them topic-prominent languages (Li & Thompson 1976), as they still recognize the presence of a Subject in the sentences. But the subject is defined by these authors as "a NP which has a doing or being relationship with the verb," which makes it obvious that the reference is to a semantic element, not a grammatical one (Li & Thompson 1981). As for such languages as Japanese or Korean, characterized by the same authors as both topic- and subject-prominent, the situation is approximatively the same: what they call Subject in these languages is again a semantic element. Here the distinction in the marking of syntagms (by using different particles) corresponds to a distinction between the logical and the representational levels of the content plane, not to a distinction between the Theme and the Subject.

[2] In languages of both types, besides constructions with an inner (integrated) Theme, those with an outer Theme are always possible.

LANGUAGES	INTEGRATION	
	of the theme	of the subject
French	−	+
Russian	+	⤳ +
Vietnamese	+	−

2. The Syntactic Structure of the Vietnamese Sentence

In Cao (1991) I start the analysis by using the particle *thì* as a test word (cf. Thompson 1965). Another particle, *là*, which often replaces *thì* or occurs in combination with it, is also used as a secondary test word. Let us first see what can be followed by *thì* and what can be preceded by it.

When the sentence is not used to convey global information (e.g. to answer such questions as "What's the matter?" or "What happened?"), it contains or can contain a particle *thì* , and only one,[3] at a determined place, which can be stated as follows:

2.1 *Thì* follows or can follow (i.e. one can insert it without making the sentence ungrammatical or altering its representational meaning) the following syntagms or constructions, when they are placed at (or near) the sentence initial position:

a. a definite NP referring to
  i. any of the actants of the predicate nucleus
  ii. an entity related in some way to one of these actants
  iii. an entity related in some way to that in ii
  iv. an entity related in some way to that in iii
  v. an entity related in some way to the state of affairs expressed by the whole predication
  vi. an entity qualified by or equated with the entity referred to by the sentence final NP, which is often introduced by *là*
  vii. an entity the dimensions, or the number of parts, etc., of which are specified by the sentence final numerative construction

The reference of the definite NP followed by *thì* represents the entity which is spoken about in what follows, the entity to which is applicable what is said in the following part of the sentence (frequently in contrast with other entities).

b. a definite NP the head of which is a name of time or place, a VP, a PP or AP with a definite NP, which indicates *the condition, the time or the location of what is said in the following part of the sentence.*

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[3] The only exception is represented by sentences with contrasting subthemes (see Sec.5) where *thì* can follow each of the latter.

    c. a backgrounded or degraded[4] predicative construction (a "clause"), the backgrounding of which is often marked by

      i. particles such as *mà*

      ii. modal verbs used in interrogative sentences, such as *cò*

      iii. relators (subordinating conjunctions) representing a state of affairs as a conditional frame for the state of affairs stated in and by the sentence such as *nếu* 'if', *dù* 'even if'. . .

The referent of the syntagms mentioned in b. and c. above constitutes a conditional, temporal, or locational framework within which what is said in the second part of the sentence holds.

Remarks:

1) An initial NP, or a NP in an initial PP which is not specified as to definiteness is always interpreted as definite if it is or can be followed by *thì.*

2) An indefinite NP, or a PP with such a NP, cannot be followed by *thì*, except when it participates in a comparative construction with *như* 'as' (e.g. *một người như anh* 'such a person as you').

The obvious reason underlying remarks 1) and 2) above is that an indefinite NP cannot restrict the domain of applicability of the predicate so as to give a truth value to the statement. A predication with an indefinite NP is not even a proper statement, for a statement states something about something the existence of which is presupposed (Reichenbach 1966), while such sentence as "A tall man entered the room" states both the existence of such a man and what he did (=There was/came a tall man who entered the room). These are, strictly speaking, existential sentences combined with a statement. Such sentences as 'a box is empty' or 'boxes are empty' are at least unnatural (cf. Chafe 1970). In Vietnamese, sentences with an indefinite NP as 'subject' are observed only in modern written texts, and even there very rarely. The spoken equivalents of such sentences are always overtly existential sentences beginning with *có* 'there is/are'.

2.2 *Thì* precedes or can precede

    a. a predicative (a verb or an adjective)

    b. a numeral construction indicating number, dimensions, number of parts, etc., of the entity followed by *thì*

    c. a locative construction

    d. a NP or a VP referring to something stated as having an attributive or equational relationship with the referent of the preceding NP

    e. a predicative construction, simple or complex (see Sec. 5) referring to a state of affairs applicable to or relevant within the domain of what precedes.

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[4] These terms are used respectively by U. Weinreich (1966) and H. Paul (1880) for predicative constructions that do not express the statement made by uttering the sentence, but a statement which is presupposed when the sentence is uttered.

Remark: The necessity of using *thì* as a marker of the boundary of the two parts of the sentence varies with types of sentences. It is obligatory or nearly so in sentences composed of two predicative constructions following each other. It is rare with noun-verb or noun-adjective sentences ("typical predications"). Between those extremes there is a whole gamut of different grades. The more *thì* is unnecessary, the more it marks the preceding part as contrastive.

2.3   From what is said above, it is evident that what follows *thì* expresses something which fits the classical definition of the logical predicate (Categoreme, or Comment, or Rheme) of the sentence, and what precedes it expresses something which fits the definitions given by Chafe (1976) or McCawley (1972) for what they call the Topic of the sentence. I will call it the Theme of the sentence, following an older tradition (Amman 1928, Karcevski 1937, Mathesius 1939). The function of *thì* is then that of a Theme-Marker [TM].

The Theme is the domain of applicability of the Rheme, it may represent an entity, a space, a time, or a condition[5] frame within which it makes sense to say what follows.

The role of the Theme is to restrict the limits of relevancy of the statement (the Rheme), to give it a framework without which the sentence could not have a truth value, and hence, a communicative efficiency.

One can distinguish the Entity Theme, which refers to what is spoken about (Daneš 1967, Halliday 1967, Sgall 1974, etc.), the object of thought (Panfilov 1968, Travniček 1962), the center of attention of the speaker (Paul 1880, Kuroda 1972), from the Range Theme, which gives a frame to the statement. This may however be considered a minor distinction. The function is basically one and the same.

This suggests that in classical logic and linguistics the concept of logical subject (onoma, thema, subjectum) is defined too narrowly, so that only what we call the Entity Theme is accounted for. Several logicians and linguists have pointed out the influence of Aristotle's mother tongue on his system of logic. Classical Greek, just as modern Indo-European languages, gives the Entity Theme a grammatical treatment completely different from that given to the Range Theme. One is naturally led to suppose that the logical subject would have been defined in thoroughly different terms had Aristotle been a native speaker not of Classical Greek but of Chinese or, especially, Vietnamese, where the linguistic expression of the proposition makes almost no distinction between the Entity and the Range Themes, which are marked one and the same way (cf. Thompson 1965).

3.   The Place of the Thematic Structure in Sentence Analysis

The identification of the Theme as given information and of the Rheme as new information is as old as the use of these terms in modern linguistics, first systematized by the Prague School in the thirties.

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[5] For conditional clauses as Themes, see Haiman 1978.

Later, with the popularity of three-level schemas originating from Morris (1938) and Daneš (1964), it results finally in the placing of the Thematic Structure in the third, pragmatic, level of the functional analysis of the utterance (Dik 1978, Givón 1979, Dooley 1982, etc).

In Vietnamese the syntactic structure of the sentence, which reflects directly its thematic structure, grammaticalized by means of the particles *thì* and *làm*, gives a counterexample both to the identification with given information and to its being placed in the pragmatic level. Unless my analysis, based on the rules pertaining to the use of these particles, gives in fact something other than the thematic structure of the sentence (which is most improbable), one can make the following remarks:

The structuring into Theme and Rheme presents the sentence as the expression of a propositional act, not presenting the utterance as a communication act between concrete speakers and hearers in a concrete situation. The thematic structuring, marked by *thì* and *là,* remains the same in any possible context. In case of global information, although *thì* cannot be used (this is the sole evidence of some influence of the information aspect on the use of *thì*), the structuring remains obvious thanks to the actual place of the particle, which is generally fixed by the syntagmatic composition of the sentence.

While the theme-rheme structure of the sentence is context-independent, fixed, and strictly dichotomous, its division into given and new information is variable, depending entirely on the context, and is not necessarily dichotomous. In such a sentence as

(3)	*Bức*	*này*	*(thì)*	*tôi*	*vẽ*	*đã*	*lâu*
	picture	this	(TM)	I	draw	already	long

'This picture I drew long ago.'

the Theme is in any context *bức này,* the Rheme is always *tôi vẽ đã lâu.* But new information can be conveyed by any syntagm of the sentence (including the Theme); it can even be conveyed by two separate syntagms, all depending on the linguistic and/or situational context (this may be checked by the question test commonly used to single out new information or "the comment"). The informational loading of the different parts of the utterance can thus be situated on the pragmatic level in sentence analysis, while the thematic structure cannot, being context independent.

On what level, then, does thematic structure have its place?

One cannot, of course, place it on the syntactic level, which is purely formal. The syntactic level, with its phonological and morphological components and techniques, belongs to the expression plane, while the thematic structure is a part of what it expresses, however univocal may be the correspondence between the two. It can then only be placed on the semantic level.

The semantic level, however, is often identified unilaterally with the referential level, i.e. is viewed as representing the objective state of affairs described by the sentence.

First it must be said that a sentence does not refer to a concrete state of affairs. It represents a highly schematized state of affairs with no referents at all. But even

this does not exhaust the meaning of the sentence, this is only its representational aspect (K. Bühler's [1934] Darstellungsfunction).

A sentence expresses a statement made about how the speaker perceives a state of affairs, and his perception may be stated more than one way, depending on how it is reorganized in his thought. Compare:
(4)   a. The table is under the lamp.
      b. The lamp is above the table.
The two sentences may represent the same state of affairs, but they are not synonymous. They are distinct on the semantic level, and hence on the pragmatic level as well; they cannot be used in the same context.

The organization of the state of affairs as it is perceived by the speaker into a statement having a definite starting point and a definite direction may be viewed as representing a distinct aspect of semantics, the logical or logico-discursive level, as the direction of the movement of thought finds a natural vehicle in the linearity of discourse units.[6] The logico-discursive meaning of the sentence is actualized in its thematic structure, which in such languages as Chinese and Vietnamese, is directly conveyed by the syntactic structure itself.[7]

4.   Some Properties of the Theme in Vietnamese

4.1 *Semantic relationships with the Rheme.* In contradistinction to the Subject in Indo-European languages, which represents chiefly the prime actant of the verb and hence is closely bound to it by rigid semantic rules of selection, the Theme of the Vietnamese sentence may have extremely different semantic relationships with its Theme (see 2.1. and 2.2.), which go far beyond the actants of the predicate nucleus and are almost unpredictable.

(5)   a. *Quả   này   (thì)   ăn   rất   ngon*
         fruit   this   (TM)   eat   very   tasty
         'This fruit (is) very good to eat.'

      b. *Ông   Ba   (thì)   tôi   không   biết   nhà*
         Mr.   Ba   (TM)   I   not   know   house
         'Mr. Ba I don't know (his) address.'

      c. *Việc   này   (thì)   phải   ba   trăm   ngàn*
         affair   this   (TM)   must   three hundred thousand
         'For this affair (one) must have 300,000.'

      d. *Tôi   thì   thế   nào   cũng   được*
         I   TM   way   any   also   all right
         '(For) me, it is all the same'

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[6] The choice of the direction of thought may be determined by the speaker's "point of view" or his "empathy" (Kuno 1976), by the informational loading of the discourse (the tendency to start with given information), etc. But once chosen, the direction of the statement, reflected in word order, constitutes a fact which must be stated in itself.

[7] My use of the terms Theme and Rheme for the syntactic components of the Vietnamese sentence is dictated by terminological economy. It might be more comprehensive to use respectively Thematic Syntagm and Rhematic Syntagm instead, and reserve Theme and Rheme for their respective referents.

e. *Vàng   (thì)   gió;   đỏ   (thì)   mưa*
   yellow   (TM)   wind;   red   (TM)   rain
   '(A) yellow (sky announces) wind;
   (a) red (sky announces) rain'

f. *Chó   (thì)   treo;   mèo   (thì)   dậy*
   dog   (TM)   hang;   cat   (TM)   cover
   'With dogs around, one must hang the food, with cats one must cover it.

The freedom of semantic relation in Themé-Rheme combination seems to reach its utmost in such popular sayings as 5e. and 5f. Native speakers, with their knowledge of the logical relationships between Themes and Rhemes, can easily interpret the semantic relationship between them and thus understand the sense of these sentences.

4.2 *Covert Themes (or zero thematic syntagms)*. In contradistinction to the Subject in Indo-European languages, which is often obligatory, the Theme of the sentence (as well as the prime actant of the predicate nucleus). is often covert, i.e. not expressed on the formal, syntactic level. It is covert when what is spoken about is the speaker, the addressee, both of them, or people in general, or when the domain of applicability of the Rheme is the ambience at the moment of the communication (here and now) for "impersonal" statements.

(6) a. *Đau   quá!*
       hurt   too   'It hurts (me) very badly!'

    b. *Đau   lắm   à?*
       hurt   very   Interrog.   'It hurts (you) badly?'

    c. *Nóng   nhỉ?*
       hot   tag Interrog.   'It is hot, isn't it?'

    d. *Bụi   quá!*
       dust   too   'It is very dusty (here/now)!'

A covert Theme may also be something given by the preceding context, or something within the field of vision of the speaker and the hearer, or something the speaker knows to be present in the hearer's mind.

    e. *Đẹp   nhỉ?*
       beautiful   tag Int   'It is beautiful, isn't it.'

    f. *Thì   đi!*
       TM   go   'Then let (us) go!'

In the last sentence, beginning with the TM *thì,* the speaker takes what has been said by his interlocutor (e.g. Đi! 'Let us go!') as the Theme of his discourse.

In some cases, however, a sentence referring to an "impersonal" state of affairs cannot be grammatical without an overt Range Theme. This is the case in existential sentences with a verb of action used impersonally instead of an existential verb.

(7) a. *Trên   tường treo   hai   bức   tranh*
       on   wall   hang   two   CL   picture
       'On the wall are hung two pictures.'

    b. *Hôm   qua   đã   khai mạc   một hội chợ lớn*
       day   past   Perf open   a fair big
       'Yesterday a great fair opened.'

c. *Từ phía đông thổi về một ngọn gió lạnh và ấm*
    from side east blow back a CL wind cold and wet
    'From the east came a cold wet wind.'

In sentences 7a and 7b the Range Theme can be replaced by an appropriate Entity Theme, but then they would be no more existential sentences, but sentences denoting actions, with an actor as a Theme which would be no less obligatory than the original Range Theme. In sentence 7c, where the prime actant of "blow" (the "Force" according to Dik 1978) is treated as a complement (an "object") of the verb, such a replacement is of course impossible.

4.3 Syntactic privileges of the Theme. In current linguistic literature on Vietnamese syntax, the Theme of the sentence, when it is not interpretable as the "Subject" (when it does not assume the role of the doer of the action or the bearer of a quality etc.) is generally treated as a complement (object, attribute, recipient, beneficiary, etc.) which has been "thematized" by left-dislocation (cf. most recently Phan Thiều 1988). Thus, such sentences as

(8) a. *Xã bên ruộng tốt*
         village side rice-field good
         'The neighbouring village has fertile ricefields.'

     b. *Người này tôi quen*
         man this I know
         'This man I know.'

are considered as the respective synonymous transforms of

     a' *Ruộng (của) xã bên tốt*
         rice-fields of village side good
         'The rice fields of the neighbouring village are fertile'

     b' *Tôi quen người này*
         I know man this
         'I know this man'

But it suffices to extend those sentences by adding to them a coordinated predicate (Theme) to see the difference.

(9) a. *Xã bên ruộng tốt nên rất giàu*
         village side rice-field good and/thereby very rich
         'The neighbouring village has fertile rice-fields and thereby is very rich.'

     a' **Ruộng (của) xã bên tốt nên rất giàu*
         rice-field (of) village side good and/thereby very rich
         *The rice field of the neighbouring village are fertile and thereby are very rich.

     b. *Ông này tôi quen nhưng không phải là bạn tôi*
         gentleman this I know but not true be friend my
         'This gentleman I know but (he) is not my friend.'

     b' **Tôi quen ông này nhưng không phải*
         I know gentleman this but not true
         *I know this gentleman but am not my friend.

         là bạn tôi
         be friend my

Sentences 9a' and 9b' are ungrammatical and hardly intelligible, unless one gives a Theme to the second predicate.

(10) a. *Ruộng   (của)   xã   bên   tốt,   nên   xã*
        rice-field (of)   village side   good,   and thereby village
        này   rất   giàu
        this   very   rich

     b. *Tôi   quen   ông   này,   nhưng   ông   ta   không*
        I   know   gentleman this,   but   he   not   be
        phải   là   bạn   tôi
        true   friend   my

This shows that 8a and 8b are not synonymous to 8a' and 8b' respectively. They do refer to the same state of affairs, but their meanings are different on the logico-discursive level: each of them is a statement about a different Theme.

On the syntactic level, the examples in (9) and (10) make it evident that the Theme of the sentence, whatever may be the semantic role of its denotatum in the state of affairs referred to, has the control of zero anaphora ("deletion under coreference")—a privilege which belongs generally to the subject in Indo-European languages (see Keenan 1976)—not to the prime actant of the predicate nucleus (what is commonly called "Subject" in literature on Vietnamese syntax).

This syntactic privilege derives from the psychological prominence of the Theme as the "object of thought" or the "center of attention;" it is present as such in the mind of the speaker throughout the time the sentence is uttered and even in a larger discourse unit. Unless a new Theme is introduced, the hearer continues to interpret all the Rhemes which follow as said about (or within the domain of) the same Theme.

As the most grammatically privileged NP (Kozinskij 1983) in the sentence (in I-E languages this is generally the Subject) the Theme of the sentence in Vietnamese, having the control of zero anaphora, also has control of pronominal-ization, of reflexivization (11 a, b) and of using the modal verb *đều* "in the totality" (11 e, d). The prime actant has none of the above functions except when it is a Subtheme (see Sec. 5) and is referential, in which case it enjoys the same privileges as a Theme but only within the limits of its own subthematic construction, not within those of the whole sentence or of larger discourse units.

(11) a. *Nam   (thì)   ai cũng   mến 0_i nhưng 0_i vẫn*
        Nam,   (TM)   everyone   love   (him)   but   (he)   always
        thấy   mình   cô độc
        see   himself lonely
        'Nam, everyone loves him, but he always thinks he is alone.'

     b. *Sơn$_i$ (thì) tay 0_i bị gãy   mà 0_i vẫn   không*
        Son (TM)   arm   (his)   broken   but   (he)   still   not
        cho   bạn 0_i thay mình$_i$
        let   friend (his)   replace him[self]
        'Sơn has a broken arm, but he still won't let his friend take his place.'

     c. *Đồ   mới$_j$ hay đồ   cũ$_j$ lão$_i$ cũng   đều   mua 0_j*
        thing new   thing   old   he   also   total buy   (them)
        'New or old, he buys them all.'

d. *Bài   này   (thì)   khǎp nơi   đều   khen   hay*
   piece this   (TM)   everywhere total praise good
   'This piece is praised everywhere.'

5. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are those in which the Theme, or the Rheme, or both, or parts of them, or parts of some part of them, are backgrounded thematic constructions (also referred to as "subthematic" constructions or "subordinate clauses"). The complexity of such sentences can be measured in terms of levels of subthematic constructions, the number of which may reach six.

Complex sentences can be represented conventionally as the result of a process of consecutive syntactic extending, where a simple or relatively simple sentence is at each time degraded into a syntagm or "subordinate clause." In other terms, a thematic contruction is at each time reduced to a subthematic construction, so that its Theme and its Rheme become a Subtheme (ST) and a Subrheme (SR) respectively.

The process may be realized by adding to a thematic construction 1) a new Theme (leftward extending), in which case the former sentence constitutes the Rheme of a new sentence, or 2) a new Rheme (rightward extending), in which case the former sentence constitutes the Theme of a new sentence.

Examples of Leftward Extendedness
(12) a. *Giá   (là)   nǎm   ngàn*
        price (TM)   five   thousand
        'The price is five thousand.'

   b. *Một cái   (thì)   giá   (là)   nǎm   ngàn*
      one item   (TM)   price (StM) five   thousand
      'They are five thousand each.'

   c. *Máy   này   (thì)   mỗi   cái   giá   (là)   nǎm   ngàn*
      machine this   (TM)   each   item   price (StM) five   thousand
      'These machines are five thousand each.'

   d. *Nǎm   ngoái   (thì)   máy   này   mỗi   cái*
      year   past   (TM)   machine this   each   item
      giá   là   nǎm   ngàn[8]
      price (Stm) five   thousand
      'Last year these machines were five thousand each.'

   e. *Ở   Tokyo   (thì)   nǎm   ngoái   máy   này   mỗi*
      in   Tokyo   (TM)   year   past   machine this   each
      cái giá   là   nǎm.   ngàn
      item price (StM) five   thousand
      'In Tokyo last year these machines were five thousand each.'

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[8] When an Ential Theme and several Range Themes are used in series, their order is free (in the sense that any order of Themes gives a grammatical sentence) but the choice of the first (leftmost) Theme is not arbitrary, as only this one is the Theme of the whole sentence and can be marked by *thì* (compare examples 12d and *e* with *f*).

f. *Máy này (thì) năm ngoái ở Tokyo mỗi*
   machine this (TM) year past in Tokyo each
   cái giá năm ngàn là cùng
   item price five' thousand (StM) at most
   'These machines last year in Tokyo were at the most five thousand each.'

Tree diagrams for sentences 12b, c and f:

b.

c.

f.
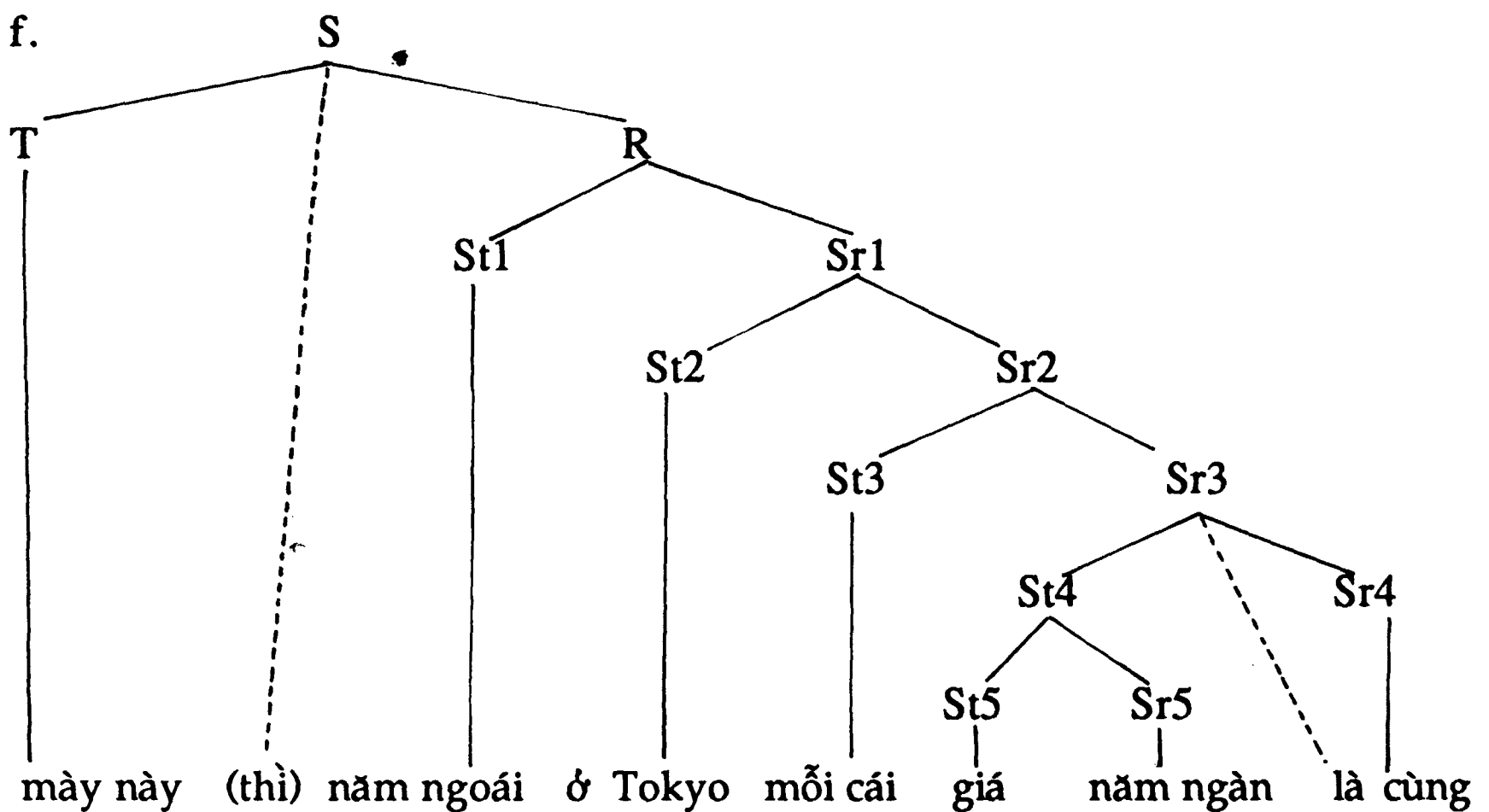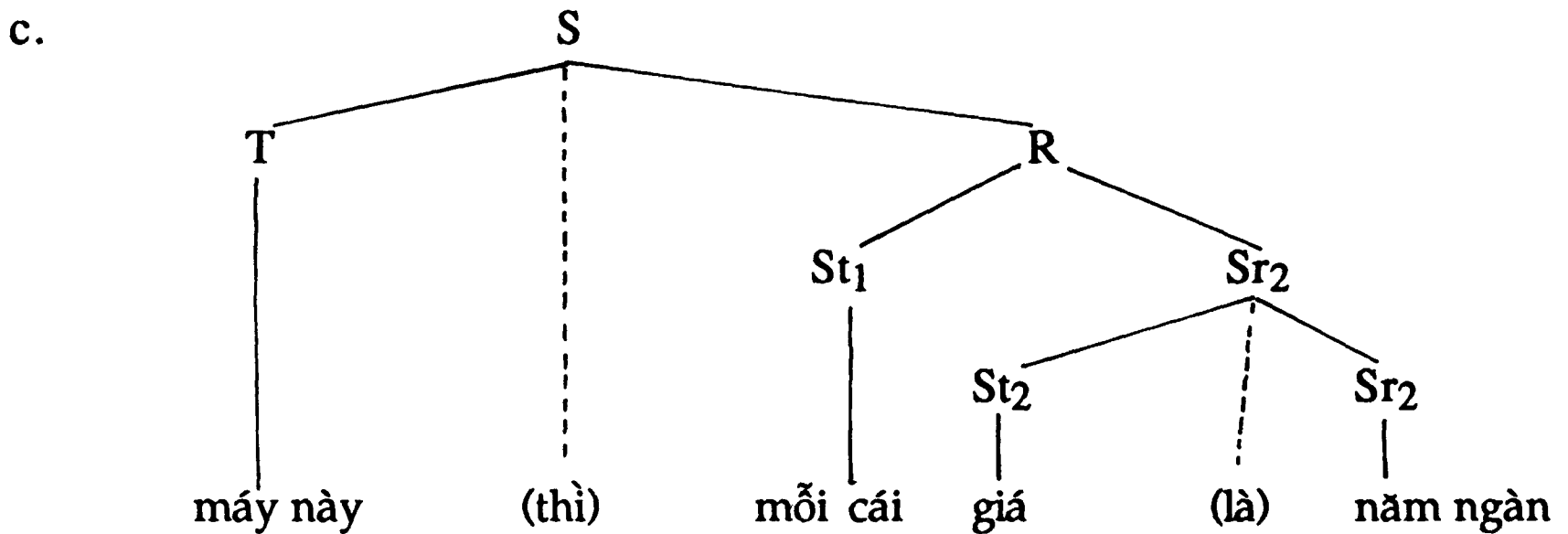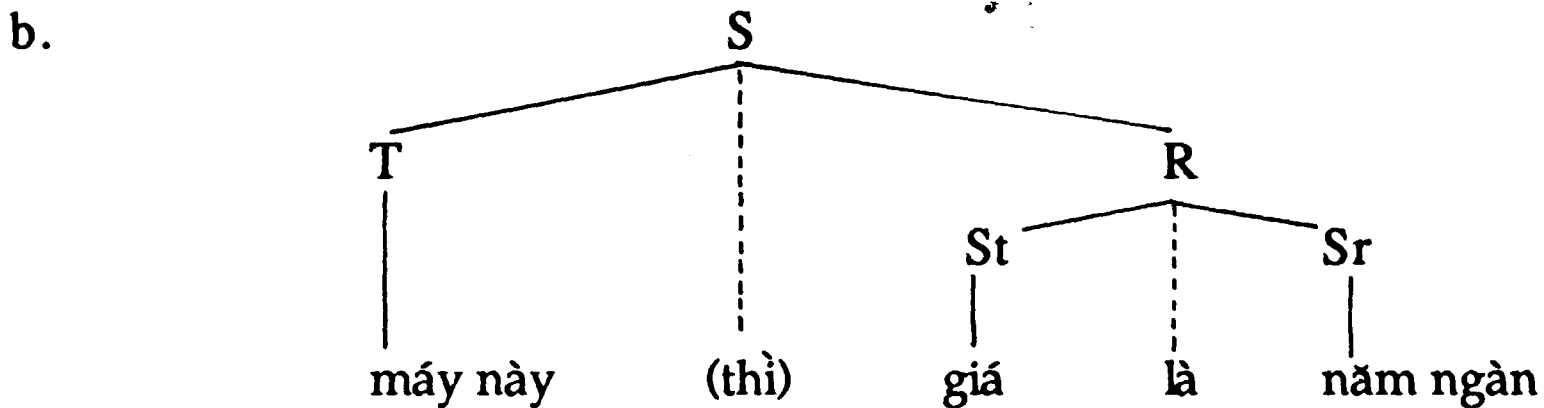
      Sentences of the 12b type are often called sentences with a "double subject" by many students of Chinese syntax (cf. Chao 1968). In this spirit one would call sentences of the 12e and 12f types sentences with a quadruple and a quintuple subject, respectively. The terminology is hardly comprehensive.

Examples of Rightward Extendedness:

(13) a. Nó   (thì)   ở   đây
        he   (TM)   dwell   here
        'He lives here.'

     b. Nó   (mà)   ở   đây   (thì)   rất   phiền
        he   (Part)   dwell   here   (TM)   very   inconvenient
        'It is very inconvenient for him to live here.'

     c. Nó   ở   đây   mà   có   gì   phiền   thì
        he   dwell   here   Part   have   anything   inconvenient   TM
        anh   cứ   bảo
        you   Md.   tell
        'If there is any inconvenience about his living here, please tell him.'

     d. Nó   ở   đây   có   gì   phiền
        he   dwell   here   have   anything   inconvenient
        mà   anh   bảo   cho   nó   biết   thì
        Part   you   tell   let   him   know   TM
        nó   sẽ   đi   chỗ   khác
        he   will   go   place   other
        'If there is any inconvenience about his living here and you tell him, he
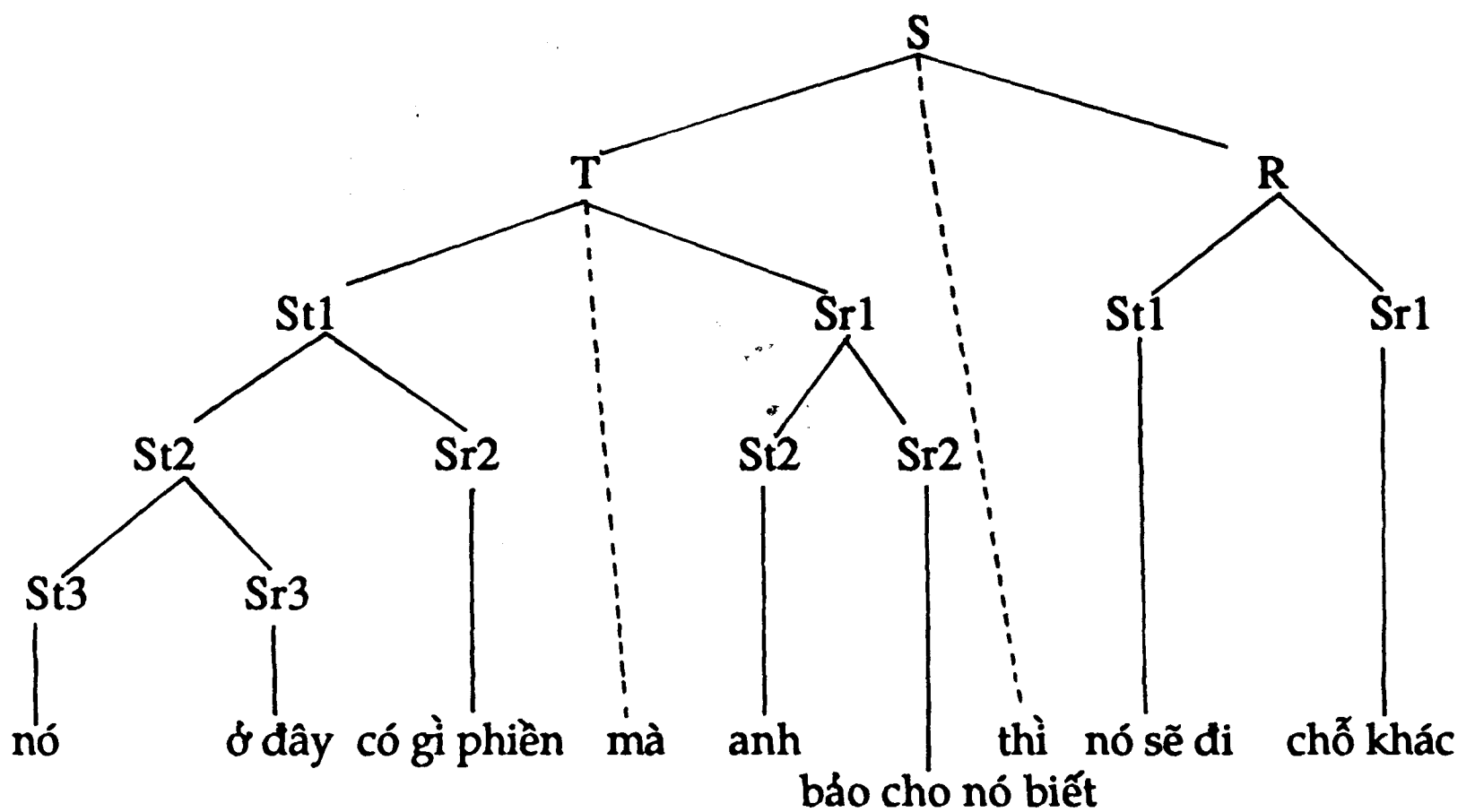   will go to another place.'

Tree diagrams for sentences 13b, c, d:

b.

c.

d.

St3: nó
Sr3: ở đây có gì phiền mà anh
St2 (bảo cho nó biết)
thì nó sẽ đi chỗ khác
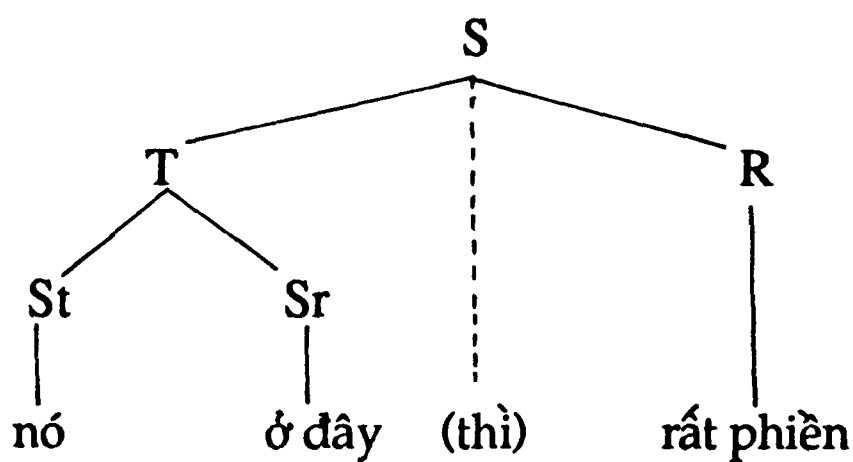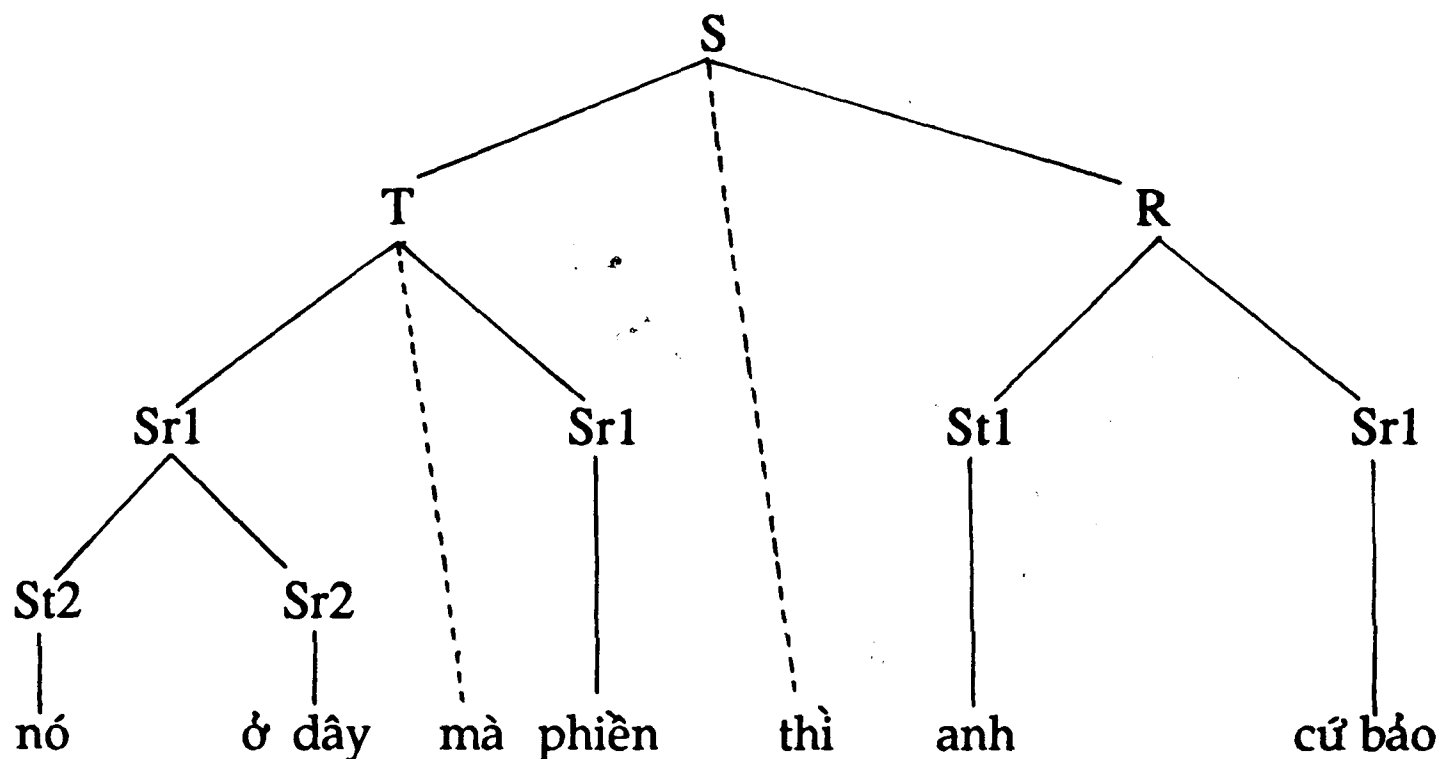
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