VIETNAMESE TERMS OF ADDRESS:

PRAGMATIC CONNOTATIONS, TRANSLATION AND

ESL/EFL PEDAGOGY

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** (PhD) at the
University of New England

March 2017

Linguistics Discipline
School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences
AUSTRALIA

Acknowledgements

The completion and submission of this thesis came at a time when we had just said Goodbye to our twenty-year-old feline friend, Willyum. These acknowledgements are, therefore, a grateful recall of fond memories. I have to, first of all, admit that my PhD work has been the most enjoyable part of my academic career, apart from teaching. I owe my sincere gratitude to the following people who have been with me throughout my PhD research journey.

My foremost and biggest words are to my family: my Dad, Mr Tôn Thất Huyến and my only sister, Ms Tôn Nữ Thiên Ngãi. Without their tremendous love and support, I could have never even started my PhD study. To my daughter, Nguyễn Tường Anh, who has always been the motivation of my life, for her understanding that I had to be away at a time when she needed me most. And to my paternal family, especially my uncle, Mr Tôn Thất Dziên, for his continuing assistance and encouragement.

My greatest academic support was, of course, from my Principal supervisor, Associate Professor Finex Ndhlovu, and my co-supervisor, Associate Professor Elizabeth Ellis, without whom my thesis would have never taken the shape it has. I actually learned a lot from them, a multi-talented scholar – Liz, and a knowledgeable and most devoted academic I have ever known – Finex. It was such a special honour for me to have the opportunity to work with them, and share my professional passion as well as my personal-life stories.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to the anonymous reviewers, who provided generous and substantial comments on the draft versions of my papers. Their inputs into my journal articles helped me refine some of my ideas that culminated in this body of work.

Among those who passed on the fundamental knowledge of the English language and helped me develop a passion for linguistics are my former teachers from the universities of Dalat (Vietnam) and Queensland (Australia), to whom I never show enough gratitude. My appreciation also goes to my friends and colleagues, and students from the Faculty of Foreign Languages, Dalat University, and the librarians from the university. The beautiful campus of Dalat University is where I spent over 15 years of my academic life, and was where I conducted my fieldwork for the PhD study.

Abstract

There are several previous studies on Vietnamese terms of address and reference. Included among them are several Vietnamese grammar books. However, most such studies consist of a collage of the various forms of address in this language, including their denotative meanings and general usage (Cooke, 1968; Thompson, 1987; Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1997). Others discuss the pragmatic aspects of the usage of particular terms of address, for example, the social meanings of personal pronouns (Nguyễn Phú Phong, 2002; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003), and kinship terms (Spencer, 1945; Benedict, 1947; Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975; Luong, 1984; Lê Biên, 1999; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2014). Also, there are studies that illustrate the complexity of the usages of these terms to convey politeness and appraisal (Vũ Mai Yên Trần, 2011; Phuc Thien Le, 2013; Ngo & Unsworth, 2011). However, apart from those denotative and social meanings that Vietnamese terms of address convey, it is also their affective meanings, or the emotional messages transferred through switches of these terms during conversations that constitute the complexity and also the unpredictability in Vietnamese address practice.

This thesis builds on and extends this previous body of literature by providing empirical evidence through systematic data collection and analysis, including conversation analysis of telenovelas, content analysis of movie subtitles, EFL students' translation tasks, and professional translation works. With a special focus on switches of address terms during speech events among Vietnamese speakers, this study examines the situation-regulated affective meanings of Vietnamese terms of address, which are not their intrinsic property. It argues that it is important to study how these terms are employed in different contexts for different purposes, especially for the purpose of expressing one's emotions. Multiple sources of data were used. These include a total of 147 episodes of television series, equal to approximately 110 hours, of two Vietnamese telenovelas; a review of 5 professional translation works (English to Vietnamese and Vietnamese to English); 49 translation papers performed by third-year students who majored in English (Translation and Interpretation) from the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the University of Dalat (Vietnam); a questionnaire for teachers of translation and interpretation courses that sought to better understand EFL students' translation outcomes; and face-to-face interviews with two professional translators (one in Sydney and another in Hanoi).

The major findings of the study indicate that interactants' choices of address terms demonstrate their different states of attitude or emotion, which strengthens the argument that Vietnamese address terms have affective meanings, most of which are not an innate property, but can be revealed and interpreted in combination with other address terms and the situational context. The research results confirm and illustrate the general view among scholars that unlike those of many other languages, Vietnamese address terms pose major translational challenges particularly as a consequence of such factors as the relationships between the interlocutors, their relative age, and social, cultural, and emotional status.

Overall, the originality and significance of this thesis lie in its innovative interdisciplinary approach that combines three branches of applied linguistics, namely pragmatics, translation studies and EFL teaching. These sub-fields of applied linguistics are usually studied in isolation of each other, thus overlooking the insights to be gained from a more integrated approach where the three are treated as complementary. The thesis innovatively uses insights from these three areas of research to contribute new empirical and theoretical ideas on how terms of address implicate emotions of speakers. The study draws on Vietnamese terms of address to illustrate the particular point about linkages between linguistic usages and the expression of emotions, and also the difficulties in solving the gaps or discrepancies between Vietnamese and a language such as English during the translation process.

Certification

I certify the substance of this thesis, titled **Vietnamese Terms of Address: Pragmatic Connotations and Translation**, is my own work has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currerntly being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I also certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.

Signature

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CHAPTER 1

General introduction

1.0   Introduction and background

As a developing country, Vietnam has been striving to integrate into the world's development pathways by opening doors for transnational trade, political and cultural exchanges, and educational opportunities. The ensuing increased contact among people from diverse cultural, linguistic and social backgrounds has given rise to the need for greater cross-cultural understanding. This thesis examines some of the communication and translation challenges prompted by these developments. It specifically focuses on the Vietnamese system of address as the entry point. As Joseph (1989) remarks, ―Address usage…is the one that most directly encodes interpersonal attitudes among interlocutors. Hence it [address usage] is highly charged emotionally and politically, and it has, on this account, been more subject than most aspects of language to cultural valuation" (Footnote 3, p. 856). In addition to their denotation, address terms such as personal pronouns and kinship terms convey social as well as cultural meanings that include power, solidarity (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Brown & Ford, 1964; Hymes, 1964; Trudgill, 1995; Goddard, 2005; Wardhaugh, [1992] 2006), confidence and respect (Moles, 1974), and politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Zhang, 2002; Afful, 2006).

This thesis was initially motivated by my personal observations in ordinary everyday-life communication in which Vietnamese is my mother tongue and English is a second language. I observed that speakers of the Vietnamese language have access to a much greater variety of address terms than do speakers of English and most other European languages, and that the way Vietnamese people address each other at different times encodes different kinds of relationships, and additionally, emotions. For example, the usual terms used between husband and wife are *anh-em* ‗elder brother'-‗younger sibling'.[1] However, if, for some reason, they become angry with each other, and their conversations turn into quarrels, they may seek to switch to different terms to address themselves and to address each other in

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[1] The hyphen (-) is used here and similarly elsewhere to connect reciprocal pairs of terms of address, as opposed to a slash (∕), which denotes a substitute.

order to better express their feelings and emotions. Therefore, in this thesis, I posit that terms of address in Vietnamese can convey affective meanings apart from social meanings such as intimacy and politeness. My argument is that emotion is not an intrinsic property of Vietnamese address terms. Rather, it is the specific use of these terms by specific people at certain times in specific contexts, which then ascribe affective meanings to these terms. An example is given by Nguyễn Đình Hòa (1957). After his beloved mother's death, he replaced the term *tôi* _I'me', which is used to mark relative distance, by the kinship term *con* _child' when talking to his father, since the usage of the latter term implies ―a great degree of love and attachment between members of a family" (p. 142). This idea is supported by Ho-Dac Tuc (2003), who claimed that ―with regard to the use of the complex Vietnamese system of person reference, the switch … from one particular Vietnamese address term to another, is inextricably bound to the relations among the participants in the conversation" (p. 124).

My personal observation of everyday conversations among Vietnamese speakers indicates that individual choice of address terms varies from one person to another. This is related to their family and social/regional background, social status, age, gender, and their emotional state at the time of the speech event. I observed that the way my former husband and I used to address each other changed when we experienced different kinds of emotions. During our marriage, my former husband (a government office worker) and I (a university teacher) had disagreements, which turned into quarrels afterwards. My former husband, who was hot-tempered, as agreed by all family members, would often raise his voice after one or two utterances, and then suddenly change the terms of address, using the formal first-person pronoun *tôi* to address himself and the formal second-person term *cô*[2] for me. I was shocked at first: these formal personal pronouns are supposed to be used among people meeting each other for the first time, or among people in a distant relationship, as the pronouns reveal a lack of intimacy between the interlocutors. I soon realised that it was one of my former husband's habits because whenever he got angry with me, he changed his way of addressing me. On my part, I would switch to a zero form of address when I was in a negative state of emotion to mark the relative distance rather than switching to a formal one.

I later noticed that this pattern of using particular types of address terms when expressing specific types of emotions was not unique to myself and my former husband. Rather, it

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[2] It is difficult to give an English gloss to the term *cô* discussed here, because, with its connotation, it can be understood as _lady', _Miss/Mrs' in their pronominal usage, or just simply a formal second-person pronoun. This point will be discussed in further detail throughout the thesis.

turned out to be a common phenomenon within Vietnamese society more broadly. As far as I have observed, the expression of emotions via switches of address terms varies from person to person, depending on, for example, their gender, age, and social class. My former husband, who is an educated person with an intellectual job, was more likely to choose the formal personal pronouns *tôi-cô* ‗I/me'-‗you lady' to replace the more intimate *anh-em* ‗older brother'-‗younger sibling'. In the case of less-educated, or rural people, more informal pronouns such as *mày- tao* (colloquial ‗you-I/me') are more likely to be used.

The premise of this thesis is that it is important to study how these address terms are employed in different contexts for different purposes, especially for the purpose of expressing one's emotions. With a special focus on the switches of address terms during the speech event among Vietnamese speakers, this study examines the emotional messages conveyed through specific uses of address terms by the speaker. From a pragmatic point of view, the study attempts to identify and explain the situation-regulated affective meanings of Vietnamese address terms, which are not considered as their intrinsic property.

This study was also inspired by my professional observations and experience as a teacher of translation studies in Vietnam where English is taught and learned as a foreign language (EFL). I learned from the students' translation tasks that they are either not fully aware or simply ignorant of the variety of Vietnamese terms of address and, therefore, fail to use them appropriately. In fact, Vietnamese grammar is taught in all national primary schools in different subjects as a starting point of linguistic and literature acquisition. However, the focus is primarily on structural and functional grammars, with little coverage of pragmatic aspects of the language. This may be one of the reasons why many students fail to choose the correct or appropriate terms to use in their translation tasks. A third source of inspiration is from my personal observations based on my reading hobby, on which I have spent a reasonably good portion of my salary. It is quite frustrating to discover a well-written work of literature translated into Vietnamese in such a way that a Vietnamese reader finds it hard to accept, which happens more often than not. In regards to terms of address, for example, it is easy to pick out among translation works those which contain errors such as unnatural or inappropriate use of the term.

Because terms of address in a language represent an important part of the culture of the speech community, competence in cultural differences is vital to language learners. The Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages of the United States' Modern Language Association

(MLA) emphasised in its report in 2007 that the goal of language study at university level should be defined as "translingual and transcultural competence" (p. 3). The report states:

> The idea of translingual and transcultural competence places value on the multilingual ability to operate between languages…In the course of acquiring functional language abilities, students are taught critical language awareness, interpretation and translation, historical consciousness, social sensibility, and aesthetic perception. (MLA, 2007, pp. 3–4)

Previous studies in sociolinguistics and pragmatics suggest that cultural competence should be taught alongside linguistic competence, both of which play vital roles in the teaching and training of language users, language teachers, and translators (Kiraly, 2000; Beeby, 2004; Mackenzie, 2004). As Bernardini (2004a) argues, in order for translation students to be successful in their future profession, they should have the opportunity to go "through a period of at least two or three years devoted to thought-stimulating, awareness-raising, autonomising activities, during which they have familiarised themselves with the various skills involved in translating, revising, researching, *etc*. and acquired a broad understanding of culture" (p. 27).

In regards to professional translation works, the data that has been collected for this study indicates that there exist challenges in the choice of terms of address and reference in translation works by professional translators, not only from Vietnamese into English, but also vice versa. One might argue that all Vietnamese speakers know how to use address terms properly as soon as they master their mother tongue, and it is not necessary to pose such a question as whether or not they are aware of the variety of these terms in the language. Indeed, the fact is that proper use of these terms of address is not the outcome of language mastery alone. Rather, cultural and social understandings contribute to this as well.

The complex and unpredictable nature of the Vietnamese system of address, as discussed above, is widely acknowledged in the literature. Most of the previous studies on this topic, including several Vietnamese grammar reference books, consist of a collage of the various forms of address in this language, including the denotative meanings and general usage of these forms (Cooke, 1968; Thompson, 1987; Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1997). Others discuss the pragmatic aspect of the usage of particular forms of address, for example, the social meanings of personal pronouns (Nguyễn Phú Phong, 2002; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003), and kinship terms (Spencer, 1945; Benedict, 1947; Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975; Luong, 1984; Lê

Biên, 1999; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2014). Also, there are studies that illustrate the complexity of address terms in Vietnamese by discussing how they convey politeness and appraisal (Vu Mai Yen Tran, 2010; Phuc Thien Le, 2013; Ngo & Unsworth, 2011). However, apart from those denotative and social meanings that Vietnamese address terms convey, it is also their affective meanings, or in other words, the emotional messages transferred through the switches of these terms during conversations that constitute the complexity and also the unpredictability of Vietnamese address terms. This area of study on address systems in general, and the Vietnamese address terms specifically, has received very little attention so far.

This thesis builds on and extends this body of literature by providing empirical evidence through systematic data collection and analysis, including content analysis of telenovelas, movie subtitles, EFL students' translation tasks, and professional translation works to prove this particular point about the complexity and unpredictability of the Vietnamese terms of address. The thesis argues that the pragmatics of expressing different types of emotions and the domain of translation present ideal contexts in which this complexity and unpredictability is well illustrated. In order to do so, the thesis documents and analyses empirical evidence using two main methodologies, namely, conversation analysis and content analysis, dealing with (a) switches of address terms to express different types of emotions, and (b) challenges associated with translating address terms from Vietnamese into English and vice versa in EFL classroom contexts and by professional translators. The overall intention is to demonstrate the extent to which the desire to express different types of emotions and the process of translating address terms make Vietnamese a unique language with extravagant forms of address and reference.

1.1 Research questions

The questions that this research aims to address are:

(1) What are the pragmatic connotations conveyed by Vietnamese address terms?

(2) In regards to their semantic denotations and pragmatic connotations, how are address terms used in works of literature and in translation practices between Vietnamese and English?

(3) What new theoretical and empirical insights can the study contribute to the understanding of the complicated nature of Vietnamese address terms and related challenges in translation?

(4)   What insights from the study are relevant to English learning and teaching in EFL contexts?

The major conceptual approaches in investigating the emotional messages conveyed through switches of address terms include pragmatics, the study of language in use, and also linguistic ethnography, which is the study of language use in natural contexts. The key issues addressed relate to *terms of address and reference*, *pragmatics*, *linguistic ethnography*, *markedness*, *conversation* and *content analysis*, and *translation*. These issues are examined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

1.2   Significance, contributions and innovations of the study

This is an innovative interdisciplinary study that combines three branches of Applied Linguistics, namely pragmatics, translation studies and EFL teaching. These sub-fields of Applied Linguistics are usually studied in isolation, thus overlooking the insights to be gained from a more integrated approach where the three are treated as complementary. The thesis uses insights from these three areas of research to contribute new empirical and theoretical ideas on how terms of address implicate emotions of speakers. The study draws on Vietnamese address terms to illustrate the particular point about linkages between linguistic usage and the expression of emotions, and also the difficulties in solving the gaps or discrepancies between languages–more specifically–between Vietnamese and English, during the translation process.

This study is significant in the following ways:

As a linguistic study, the research makes some theoretical and empirical contributions to our knowledge of the Vietnamese address system and the broad field of pragmatics. Theoretically, the study contributes to knowledge on the Vietnamese address system in relation to intimacy and distance rather than just collating the various forms and various uses of address terms. By examining the address system based on this kind of relation, the study suggests that several address terms have been incorrectly named and treated. For example, some terms are interpreted as kinship terms just because they have the same written and pronunciation forms as kinship terms while their contextual meanings have little or even nothing to do with kinship relationships.

The thesis also contributes theoretical insights to the field of pragmatics. As mentioned in Section 1.0, there has been significant attention paid to research on the use of address terms to express politeness, power, intimacy, and formality. However, not much interest has been devoted to how these terms are used to express different types of emotions. In other words, although there has been some interest in the Vietnamese address system, including various studies on personal pronouns and kinship terms, there still exists a gap in pragmatic knowledge of the affective meanings of these terms when used in specific contexts. The thesis posits that the theoretical value that it brings is in line with what Luong (1990) aptly described as:

> A full explanation…as well as comprehensive analysis of the meanings of lexical forms in the Vietnamese pronominal system [that] requires a close attention to the pragmatic basis for the differentiation of Vietnamese personal pronouns and common nouns, i.e., to their pragmatic relations to the usage contexts. (p. 125)

In terms of methodological innovation, the study hopes to expand the current trend in ethnopragmatic research that is based on ethnographic methodology. Although ethnographic methodology has been widely applied in linguistic studies, and more specifically, in studies of speech use (Seidel, 1985; Moerman, 1996), there remains uncultivated land to be explored: the use of the reference system as a vital tool for conveying social and affective meanings.

In addition to theoretical and methodological contributions, the study will provide empirical data on spoken conversations that show how Vietnamese speakers employ address terms to communicate their emotions. It is important for us to know more about how people of different genders and ages make different choices in the use of these terms. Such a focus aligns with cultural anthropologist Ward Goodenough (1964)'s point about how ―the things people say and do, their social arrangements and events, are products or by-products of their culture as they apply it to the task of perceiving and dealing with their circumstances.‖ (p. 36). Thus, in order to understand people‘s language behaviours, it is vital to start with their culture.

In Vietnamese society, men are considered to belong to the stronger sex, and hence are expected to be the backbones of their families. There is an idiom that says the husband is like the pillar of a house. It is believed that this point of view can explain why the husband addresses himself and is addressed as *anh* ‗elder brother‘ while the wife is addressed as *em* ‗younger sibling‘ regardless of whether he is literally older than his wife or not. This fact is illustrated by another saying, *Thương thay số phận đàn bà; hơn bao nhiêu tuổi cũng là đàn*

em! ‗It is such a pity: women are always called ‗younger sibling' no matter how much older they are than men!' Thus, most Vietnamese couples when they have made up their mind to tie the knot should be ready to follow this unwritten rule. However, as the Vietnamese language is complicated in regard to terms of address and reference, many Vietnamese speakers, more often than not, find it very hard to follow this unwritten rule of address. This is because there are often changes in the process of addressing between the two people involved, from the time they get to know each other, to when they start dating, to their wedding day and afterwards. Furthermore, as human beings, the people involved will experience different kinds of emotions during their life. Again, the address terms will be used in a variety of ways to facilitate the expression of constantly evolving and changing emotions. As it is argued in Chapter 3 and in later chapters, affective meanings are not an intrinsic property of Vietnamese address terms. Rather, it is the interlocutors' intention to express their emotions at the moment of the speech event which then ascribes affective meanings to these terms.

From the perspective of a translation teacher in an EFL context, this study is of crucial importance for the following reasons:

Firstly, Vietnamese address terms and their problematic nature as discussed above are an obvious challenge in translation practice. Even for professional translators, the work of transferring a source text from another language into Vietnamese requires a full understanding of the specific contexts and their related factors, such as the participants, their relationship, and their emotion at the time the context is set. Therefore, this project attempts to understand the extent to which EFL students notice the different uses of address terms in their given translation practice task and whether these terms are challenging to them or not.

Secondly, the demand for good translators raises the question of how they are to be recruited and trained. In Vietnam, unfortunately, there are no institutions that officially train professional translators. In order to meet this demand, schools of foreign languages or faculties of languages such as the one where I work offer translation courses, in addition to other language-related ones, to English majors who wish to become translators. Therefore, it is EFL teachers who play the key role in training EFL students to become potential translators in order to meet the social demand. More than anyone else, EFL teachers need to make their students aware of the differences between the two languages, and help them find proper ways of expressing the translation in the target language.

Thirdly, the curriculum and courses designed for potential translators do not seem to offer sufficient time for practice and training. Thus, one can hardly be expected to become a translator him/herself in the short term. Rather, apart from adequate time and proper training at university, one should make a personal effort and investment to acquire substantial cultural knowledge as well as to learn from professional translators' work in order to become more mature in one's profession. This is one of the messages that this research aims to pass through to curriculum designers in the education of translators.

From the perspective of a researcher of translation studies, the project hopes to contribute new insights on effective translation of address terms in order to ensure a quality translation which can successfully transfer the linguistic as well as meta-linguistic messages of the source language text into the target language. In regard to Vietnamese terms of address, good translators need to be fully aware of the affective meanings of these terms, which are completely context-bound, so that they can employ them properly to express the emotions of the people invoved in the conversation as intended by the author (Đỗ Hữu Châu, 1993; Nguyễn Văn Chiến, 1993). In Nida's (1964) words, ―[t]he meaning of any linguistic item must be considered in terms of the situations in which it may occur" (p. 97). It is important for translators to take Nida's caution seriously in order to avoid being led into what is often called cultural losses in translation.

By collecting and analysing material from translation works of EFL students and professional translators, the thesis puts together relevant empirical information to support the argument that there exists a great need to understand appropriate uses of Vietnamese terms of address in translation practices. These need to be treated in accordance with the cultural and pragmatic knowledge of the languages involved.

1.3 Explaining key concepts and terminology, and notes on the examples and references

Many of the concepts and terminology employed in this thesis are adopted from Braun's (1988) address theory and her definitions of related linguistic notions. However, according to the particular focus on the usage of Vietnamese terms of address, some of the definitions can be different. For instance, Braun (1988) defines *forms of address* as ―words and phrases used for addressing", which ―concentrate on three word classes: (1) pronoun, (2) verb, (3) noun, supplemented by words which are syntactically dependent on them" (p. 7). On the other hand, Vietnamese forms of address include no verbs and very few pronouns while

other lexical items such as kinship terms, proper names and personal titles take their place. Also, there exists a terminological problem in the way *pronouns* are defined. A conventional definition of ‚pronoun' by grammarians is that they are ―words used as substitutes for nouns", which include personal pronouns such as *I*, *you*, and *he* (Macquarie Encyclopedic Dictionary, 2011). The term ―pronoun" in Vietnamese is *đại từ*, which is defined as ―*là từ dùng để xưng hô, để trỏ vào các sự vật, sự việc hay để thay thế danh từ, động từ, tính từ …*" ‚words that are used in address and reference, to refer to people and things, or to substitute nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.' (*A Guide to Vietnamese Language Grade 5*, 2016, p. 152). Also, following this definition of pronouns, there are divisions of pronouns such as pronouns of address, including terms of address and reference, and others such as spatial pronouns and temporal pronouns. This definition of *pronoun*, or *đại từ* in Vietnamese, renders the classifications of terms of address in Vietnamese. This point will be discussed further in Section 3.2.2 of Chapter 3. In this thesis, I will refer to all the forms of address and reference in Vietnamese as *address terms* or *terms of address*, and where it necessitates a distinction among grammatical concepts, the term *pronouns of address* is used to differentiate them from, for example, kinship terms and proper names.

The phrase *address system* is used by linguists and anthropologists to refer to ―the totality of available forms and their interrelations in one language" (Braun, 1988, p. 12). This phrase is used in the thesis with similar meaning, although there are controversies related to the question of whether or not there is such a system in the Vietnamese language. Scholars of address studies also distinguish *terms of address* and *terms of reference* depending on the person for whom they are used, the first (addressor), second (addressee) or third person (referent) (Luong, 1990). In this thesis, *terms of address* (or *address terms*) include all and any lexical item that is used to address and refer to people involved in a communication event. *Addressor* is the first person (the speaker), *addressee* is the second person, and *referent* is the third person.

It is also necessary to distinguish the term *referent*, which is a noun, from the *referent address term*, in which ‚referent' is an adjective and which marks the difference in its usage compared with an *anaphor*, a pronoun used to replace a previously-mentioned noun. For example, in the English sentence, ―Peter proposed to Mary and she accepted," both ―Peter" and ―Mary" are referent address terms, while ―she" is an anaphor, and ―Mary" is the *antecedent* of ―she". These clarifications are necessary because, unlike proper names in English, which are mainly used as either antecedents (third persons) or in vocative case (second person, for example, ―Mary" in ―Has Peter proposed yet, Mary?"), a proper name in

Vietnamese can be used as a self-address term (first person), in vocative case (second person), and a referent address term (third person). In addition, such address terms as kinship terms in Vietnamese can be used as both antecedents and anaphors, as illustrated in Example (1.1) below.

(1.1)   *Mẹ₁ ơi, ông₂ hỏi mẹ₃ có đón ông₄ không.*[3]
     Mom (VOC-part.), grand-dad ask mom pick up grand-dad Q[4]
    ‗Mom, grand-dad asked if you will pick him up.'

In the above example, *mẹ₁* and *mẹ₃* are in vocative case and in addressing a second-person, respectively, and *ông₂* and *ông₄* are used as an antecedent and an anaphor.

Other common terminology include *kinship terms*, which are ‒terms for blood relations and for affines" (Braun, 1988, p. 9). In addition, there are *regional variations*, the different forms of address used by people from different regions which share similar literal meanings. For example, the southern variation *má* and its more widely-used counterpart *mẹ* both mean ‗mother'.

In regard to the extracted examples, which include several terms of address and reference with specific usage, I will provide a brief explanation of the term's usage according to the conversational context. It will be unnecessary for non-Vietnamese speakers to follow a literal translation of every word in the example. There will be just a broad translation with an explanation because the focus of the examples is on the usage of address terms in specific contexts. Common abbreviations in the examples include 1PSN (first person = addressor), 2PSN (second person = addressee), 3PSN (third person = referent), and PRO (pronoun). For instance, where examples differentiate the choices of terms by one speaker in different contexts, they will be presented as follows.

Example

(x.x)   a.   *Chị¹ nói em² nghe nè.*
       [¹=1PSN; ²=2PSN (kinship terms)]
    b.   *Tôi¹ nói cho cô² biết.*
       [¹=1PSN; ²=2PSN (‗distant' PROs)]

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[3] Unless stated otherwise, all Vietnamese examples are from my personal observation, and their translations into English are mine. Although never having been trained to be a professional translator, I believe that my translations are reliable due to my 15 years teaching English, approximately 9 years teaching Translation courses, and more than 4 years living in an English-speaking country.
[4] VOC-part.: vocative particle; Q: question word. The terms of addressed being discussed are presented in bold form.

c. ***Tao¹** nói cho **mày²** biết.*
    [*¹*=1PSN; *²*=2PSN (‗abrupt' PROs)]
    ‗Let **me** tell/warn **you**.'

Other explanations for specific examples will be provided in footnotes.

In regard to the references of Vietnamese authors used in the thesis, I either refer to them the way they refer to themselves, if applicable, or I will leave their full name both in cited and bibliographic references. The reason for this choice is that Vietnamese people use their first names in communication practices rather than their surname, no matter whether it is a formal or informal situation. In addition, the full names will sound more formal (than first name only) and make it easier to access the author's work(s). This also explains the inconsistent appearance of the Vietnamese authors in the reference list.

1.4   Vietnamese address terms

Like many other Asian countries such as China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan, which are influenced by Confucian philosophy, Vietnam has a hierarchical social structure (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel, & Roy, 2013). The Confucian-based social hierarchy governs many interpersonal and organisational activities including the way people address and behave towards one another.

As a means of cultural and social communication, Vietnamese terms of address reveal relations between people that are well-defined according to seniority, social status, and kin-relation. From the perspective of discursive practices, Luong (1987) finds that the Vietnamese system of address consists of three grammatical subclasses, namely, personal pronouns, common nouns (including kinship and titles), and proper nouns. Unlike other languages that may include verbs as forms of address, for example, the Finnish verb *menet* with second-person inflectional suffix *-t* (Braun, 1988), Vietnamese address terms generally take the form of pronouns and nouns, with an overwhelming use of nouns and proper names.

Linguistic influences on address terms in the Vietnamese language can be examined in terms of two important historical periods that include the long-time Chinese domination in Vietnam (111 BC–938 AD), and the French invasion (1858–1930). Additions of borrowed terms to the Vietnamese lexicon in general and to the stock of personal pronouns are evident: *ngộ* ‗I, me', *nị* ‗you', *khị* ‗he/him', *tỷ* ‗sister', *huynh/đệ* ‗brother' from Chinese, and *moa/mỏa* ‗I, me', *toa* ‗you', and *luy* ‗him/her' from French. During the French invasion, the

French language was officially taught in public schools in Vietnam, and many Vietnamese intellectuals were sent to these schools. The early part of the twentieth century saw *quốc ngữ*, referring to the Romanised alphabet, being developed and popularised (Jamieson, 1993). Chinese loan words, like many Sino-Vietnamese terms (*Hán Việt*), have been replaced by ―original" Vietnamese terms, which are believed to be a prerequisite to progress. However, these loans of address terms can still be found alongside their Vietnamese counterparts, for example, in Vietnamese translations of Chinese literature works.

From a semantic perspective, terms of address in Vietnamese have more evident social meanings compared to most European languages. For instance, English speakers have access to only a few terms to refer to one's mother or father, for example, *mother/father* and *Mommy/Mummy* and *Daddy* (or *Mum/Dad* in short). On the contrary, there are dozens of terms referring to a Vietnamese speaker's mother or father that can be heard throughout the long-and-narrow country. Specific uses of these terms can reveal one's regional origin, and even one's family background, because, just like other lexical items, people from different places have access to different terms. For example, apart from the most common parental terms *cha* and *mẹ*, there are other terms such as *u* or *bầm* used by northern people to address their mother, *mạ* by central people, and *má* by southern people. The male counterparts are *bố*, *ba*, and *tía*, respectively (Cooke, 1968; Luong, 1990; Đỗ Hữu Châu, 2005). Although I personally disagree with Luong (1990) about his scale of formality in regard to the usage of the different Vietnamese terms for *father* and *mother* (p. 72), it is helpful to use Nguyễn Đình-Hòa's example to illustrate the semantic usage of these terms. In Nguyễn Đình-Hòa's case, he switched from the first-person pronoun tôi to the kinship term con to address himself when speaking with his father after his mother died. More discussion of social meanings will be presented in Section 2.3, which examines grammatical markedness in Vietnamese address terms.

From an ethnographic perspective, use of address terms can reflect people's cultural tradition and belief. One explanation for the use of *cậu/mợ* ‗unde/aunt'a few decades ago by people from northern Vietnam to address their parents is that parents could protect their children from evil by pretending that they are not their own children. Therefore, children were taught to refer to their own parents as *cậu* and *mợ* and vice versa, the parents also used the same terms to address themselves. These uses, however, are not popular nowadays, probably, because people are more educated and less superstitious, so they are aware that this belief does not make much sense at all.

Despite the disappearance of some address terms, the modern Vietnamese language witnesses the addition of foreign terms, especially from English, which is the most widely-used international language in the world. For example, English personal pronouns can be found in everyday text messages, hand-written note exchanges among young people in casual situations, and particularly, among overseas Vietnamese people. This phenomenon can be considered as an example of language contact in immigrant contexts. Below is an example adapted from Clyne (2003):

(1.2) ***You*** *always bận à.* ***Me*** *nói em H take* ***me*** *then.*
      You always busy PRT. **Me** ask younger-sibling H take me then.
      ‗You're always busy. I'll ask H to take me then.' (p. 218)

It is not the aim of this study to repeat what has been discussed in other studies of address terms. Rather, the goal is to examine Vietnamese address terms from a pragmatic perspective in regard to emotional expression by theming it into two major usages, namely to express distance, and to express intimacy in relationships. A detailed discussion of these is given in Chapter 3.

1.5 Translation education and the translation profession in Vietnam

In Vietnam, English is taught and learned as a foreign language, despite the fact that many learners end up using and speaking English as a second language. For instance, many graduates work for multinational companies where English is the language of the workplace, and many other people happen to get married to an English-speaking person. This is becoming a common phenomenon in a country that has opened its doors to international trade and business, and other relations. In addition, in the process of global integration, there has been an increasing demand for professional translators and interpreters, who facilitate the transfer of economic and political policies, and social and cultural treasures. Nevertheless, it is argued that little attention has been paid to the role of translation education in Vietnam, as revealed in the general curriculum and translation courses offered in academic institutions throughout the country. An online article reports a seminar organised on 10 August 2012 by the Board of Literature Translation, which is a member of the Vietnam Writers Association, where one of the discussions was that there are schools of foreign languages from north to south, but none of them are designed to train professional translators and interpreters (VNT, 2012).

In regard to the translation profession, although there is no official number of professional translators in Vietnam and how they are qualified and accredited, many are considered to be

professional translators based on their translation works and publications thanks to their language ability and their own experience over their working life. This explains why recently the media has discussed translational errors in translated works and, more seriously, one of those has even been removed from the shelves: namely the Vietnamese translation of *La Carte et le Territoire* [The Map and the Territory] (Michel Houellebecq, 2010) ‚*Bản Đồ và Vùng Đất*' by Cao Việt Dũng (2012). Less severe but also strongly criticised are the translation works with serious errors in translation, for instance, the Vietnamese translations of the *Da Vinci Code* (Dan Brown, 2003) ‚*Mật Mã Da Vinci*' (Đỗ Thu Hà, 2005), *The Things They Carried* (Tim O'Brien, 1990) ‚*Những Thứ Họ Mang*' (Trần Tiễn Cao Đăng, 2011), and *Les Particules Elementaires* [The Elementary Particle] (Michel Houellebecq, 1998) ‚*Hạt Cơ Bản*' (Cao Việt Dũng, 2006), just to name a few. These translated works have received great interest and several critical comments, which, in brief, pointed out the translator's mistakes related to deficiencies in linguistic as well as cultural knowledge. Some of these comments can be found on online newspapers and literary forums, for examples, Hiếu Thảo (2005), Lê Minh (2012), and vietnambreakingnews (2013).

The major causes of the poor quality of translation works in Vietnam, as discussed on popular online newspapers, are related to the shortage of properly trained translators and editors despite readers' demand for access to foreign literature. According to an online article (Ngọc Nhiên & Thái Dũng, 2008) posted on 10 July 2008 there does exist a so-called Board of Literature Translation, which is a member of the Vietnam Writers' Association. However, a Google-search between 2015 and 2016 did not lead to any homepages of either the Board or the Association.

It is argued in this thesis that terms of address in Vietnamese are among translational challenges due to their complexity and unpredictability. For this reason, it is necessary to stress pragmatic properties of these terms in translation training. Hopefully, when particular attention is paid, translation students may be more conscious and able to avoid mistakes relating to wrong or inappropriate use of these terms.

There is hope that the situation of translation training and education will improve in the future, since concern for the quality of translation works is increasing.

1.6 Scope and structure of thesis

1.6.1 Scope of study

This research investigates the employment of address terms during a speech event to convey the user's different emotional states, including positive states (happiness and pleasure) and negative states (anger, insult, and threat), and their different attitudes towards the other interlocutor(s) such as respect or derogation.

Major sources of data are the following: 147 episodes of two (2) Vietnamese television series, transcribed into 283 full utterances; two (2) English-Vietnamese and two (2) Vietnamese-English translation works by professional translators; one (1) English subtitle of a Vietnamese movie; 25 Vietnamese-English translation papers and 24 English-Vietnamese translation papers performed by EFL students, involving with 736 terms of address. Supporting data resources include questionnaires completed by six (6) EFL teachers of translation and interviews with professional translators.

1.6.2 Structure of thesis

The thesis is composed of seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the thesis and covers the motivation for studying Vietnamese address terms from a pragmatic perspective. In addition to a brief overview of translation teaching and learning in Vietnam, Chapter 1 also discusses the three major contributions of the project to the understanding of the address system in Vietnamese and the challenges related to terms of address in translation practice.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review on previous studies on address terms in chronological order. It demonstrates the semantic complexity as well as pragmatic connotations found relevant to the examination of terms of address in the Vietnamese language. The chapter also reviews studies on approaches to translation of address terms across languages.

In Chapter 3, the thesis extends the examination of the Vietnamese address system from a pragmatic perspective, starting by identifying some special pragmatic features of Vietnamese address terms, then dividing them into groups with discussions based on their connotations. The chapter also presents strategies employed in communication practice by Vietnamese people through their choices of address terms.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology and procedures employed in collecting data on switches of address terms to express emotions among Vietnamese speakers, and how address terms

are treated in translation between Vietnamese and English. This chapter also discusses the conceptual framework that scaffolds the whole study, underpinned by theories of ethnopragmatics, conversation analysis and content analysis as the major methodologies.

Working with data collected from some of the most popular drama series on Vietnamese television, Chapter 5 focuses on analysing the emotional messages conveyed through the switches of terms of address, supported by other verbal forms of language use such as swear words, intonation, and the communication context.

Chapter 6 presents results of the qualitative analysis of the translation of address terms, divided into two major sections: translation works by professional translators and EFL students' translation papers. The analysis focuses on strategies that are used by translators to handle the lack of equivalents between the two languages associated with cultural and linguistic features, as well as the limitations.

The final and concluding chapter summarises the entire research project, its contributions as well as the existing gaps that have been filled by the thesis. This concluding chapter takes us back to the ideas posited in Chapter 1 about its originality, significance and contributions to the existing body of knowledge in the disciplines of applied linguistics, pragmatics, and translation studies in EFL-classroom contexts.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the relevant body of literature, which is organised into the following thematic areas: a chronological review of studies on address systems across languages; literature on semantics with specific focus on denotation, connotation and pragmatics; literature on address terms and expression of emotions; studies on the translation of address terms; and literature on translator training and teaching translation in EFL-classroom contexts.

2.1 Studies on address systems across languages: A chronological review

It is generally believed that the first step to be taken into account in every communication event is the establishment of the social relationships between the communicators, because ―[o]nce someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context and you are not free just to say what you please…so that the situational and linguistic categories would not be unmanageable" (Firth, 1964, p. 66). Different people and communities use different strategies to achieve this, and address systems are a vital tool used in every communication event. According to Leech (1999), terms of address are an important factor to understand verbal behaviour and they are closely connected to the sociolinguistic literature as they feature interpersonal and transcultural ramifications in human relationships. Similarly, other scholars consider the study of address terms a fruitful field for sociolinguistics because they show how interpersonal relationships can be socially and strategically constructed (Fitch, 1991; Morford, 1997).

Although some of the most-cited studies on address terms are those by Brown and Gilman, (1960), Brown and Ford (1964), and Brown and Levinson (1978), these were not the pioneering studies on the topic of address systems. Long before the work of these scholars, as early as the eighteenth century, Gedike (1794) had already started discussing the usage of personal pronouns *du* and *Sie* in German in his work, *Über du und Sie in der deutschen Sprache.* Then a century later Chatelain's (1880) study on the plural pronoun in Latin appeared. Noticeably, however, there seems to be a huge time gap between these early studies and the next generations, because very little was documented in literature until the

twentieth century, when personal address forms became a fruitful field of research. The early years of the twentieth century saw the contribution of several scholars who mainly focused on different usages of personal pronouns among European languages. For example, Johnston (1904) discussed the use of *ella*, *lei*, and *la* as polite forms of address in Italian; Kennedy (1915 and 1916) worked on forms of address in English Literature of the thirteenth century and early Middle English. Stidston (1917) examined the use of *ye* in the function of *thou* in fourteenth-century England.

Research literature on address forms in the decades from the 1920s to the late 1940s was based on studies that focused on a much wider variety of languages. Fay (1920) was among the first scholars to study in detail the French pronouns *tu* and *vous* when they were employed in Molière's plays. Another early study on Italian personal pronouns was conducted by Grand (1930), who discussed the use of the Italian pronouns *tu*, *voi* and *lei*. Other studies were varied ranging from German (Ehrismann, 1901–1904; Silverberg, 1940), Annamese (former name of Vietnamese) (Spencer, 1945; Benedict, 1947; Emeneau, 1951), Mazateco (Cowan, 1947), and Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1948).

Nevertheless, when compared to the later decades, it is noticeable that studies on address forms have gained more interest since the mid-1950s. The literature reviewed in this section is divided into three subcategories following the dominant themes of research into pragmatics starting from the 1950s–1970s, through the 1980s–1990s and from the 2000s to the present. I classify the literature of address research into three generations of scholars reflecting these historical periods.

2.1.1   1950s–1970s

The generation of literature consists of early sociolinguistic studies that investigated the use of address terms by focusing on familial settings and social relationships. Among the early studies of interest are the following: Schneider and Homans' (1955) discussion of kinship terminology and the American kinship system, Chao's (1956) work on the vocative and designative use of Chinese address forms. Lounsbury's offered a great contribution to the knowledge of kinship terminologies in different languages, including usage of the Pawnee kinship (1956), analysis of the Trobiand kinship categories (1965), and the Cro- and Omaha-type kinship terminologies (1969), Searle's (1958) study on proper names, and Martin's (1964) discussion of speech levels and social structure in Japan and Korea.

Roger Brown and his colleagues, Gilman and Ford are the pioneering sociolinguists who had strong interests in the investigation of address forms. They focused on the use of address pronouns and distinctions between T/V (Latin *tu/vos* or French *tu/vous*), nominal address forms and the pronouns of power and solidarity. In one of their earliest studies on the theory of address, Gilman and Brown (1958) explored the pronouns of address and their differentiation in European languages in which they argued that there were two different dimensions of pronominal usage since the rise in the use of the plural address. The ―vertical status dimension" suggested that plural/polite pronoun (V) was used to refer to superiors and the singular/familiar pronoun (T) was used to refer to inferiors. Meanwhile, the ―horizontal status dimension" suggested that the plural/polite pronoun (V) was used among strangers of equal status, and the singular/familiar (T) was to be used among people of equal status and those with intimate relationships. These two fundamental dimensions were employed in the analyses of histories of pronouns of address in French, English, German, and Italian. Brown and Gilman (1960) later pointed out the lack of pronominal differentiation in English, even though there did exist nominal differentiation in the language. Similarly, in discussing ―hypersentences", Sadock (1969) claimed that it was the status relationship between the speaker and the hearer that determined the use of a second-person pronoun rather than the interlocutor's status itself. This is because the social relationship existing between the interlocutors will define a context–distant or intimate–in which either T or V is appropriate.

In their later paper, also starting with pronominal differentiation, but Brown and Gilman (1960, pp. 253–276) discussed further the ―semantic evolution" of the pronouns of address, semantic differences among the pronouns of French, German and Italian, and argued that there is ―a connection between social structure, group ideology, and the semantics of the pronoun". In the early years of research in this area it was believed that it was the ―power semantic" that governed European T/V usage, which mean that superiors were addressed with V and inferiors, T. Also, reciprocal V was used among upper-class speakers while reciprocal T was used among lower-class speakers. However, the ―power semantic" was later said to be dominated by ―solidarity semantic", which is a re-evaluation of social features resulting in a mutual T being used in intimate relationships and V otherwise (Brown & Gilman, 1960, p 257). Significantly, Brown and Gilman's studies on address behaviour among French, German and Italian communities revealed that switches of address forms to T happened when the speaker wished to express anger or intimacy; and likewise, changes to V when they wish to express respect or distance. It is, therefore, important to

note that the expression of emotion via the various uses of forms of address was revealed in early studies, but limited to the T/V forms which exist in these languages. The issue of expression of emotion will be investigated and extended to other connotative uses of different terms of address in Vietnamese, most of which do not have a clear-cut level of formality/intimacy as an intrinsict property like the T/V forms.

Brown and Ford's (1964) examination of nominal address in American English is also among the earliest studies on intimacy and distance, in which a significant contrast in the use of first name (FN) and titles + last name (TLN) as forms of address was revealed. It is suggested from their study that FN is used reciprocally, while TLN is used only among people who are not acquaintances. Also, intimacy and distance are the two important factors that determine the choice of form of address. Therefore, Brown and Ford claimed that as acquaintances grow more informal, the forms of address tend to switch towards intimacy, for instance, from Mrs. Brown to Jenny. Other studies that share this point of view and illustrate how closeness, sincerity and informality is conveyed via the choice of a second-person pronoun include those by Gottfried (1970), Almasov (1974), and Vargas (1974), who worked on American varieties of Spanish.

Other important studies during the 1960s illustrate how address forms reflect social relationships across different languages. Conant (1961), for example, examined kin systems of reference and address in Jarawa, Beidelman (1963) considered terms of address used in modern society as clues to social relationships, Foster (1964) showed how social distance is conveyed among Spanish-speaking villagers in Mexico, Otterbein (1964) examined the usage of in-law terminology on Andros Island, and Friedrich (1966a and 1966b) studied Russian pronominal usage. Some other languages that also received interest during this decade include Yao (Mbaga & Whiteley, 1961), Yiddish (Slobin, 1963), Icelandic (Jones, 1965), Thai (Thompson, 1987), Burmese (Thompson, 1987), Vietnamese (Thompson, 1987; Cooke, 1968), Canadian French (Lambert, 1967), Indonesian (Wittermans, 1967), Bengal (Das, 1968), and Hindi (Jain, 1969).

Studies dealing with forms of address have often referred to Ervin-Tripp (1972) in their bibliography. Although her research is not among the earliest studies of address forms, Ervin-Tripp's major influence on research in this field lies in her method of diagramming a selection of forms of address, in which she used a computer flow chart to illustrate the effects of determining factors on the choice among the variants.

Among the earliest studies on kinship terms are Tyler (1966), D'Andrade (1970), Bloch (1971), Blom and Gumperz (1972), and Casson (1975). Tyler (1966) adapted a standard device of formal analysis of kinship terminology, which has been called *componential analysis* from then on. Later, in his study on the use of kinship terminology in Koya, a language spoken by residents of villages along the banks of the Godavari River in India, Tyler argued that it is necessary to extend formal rules to contextual factors in the analysis of kinship terminology. From another perspective, Casson (1975, p. 229) followed an approach that aims to specify ―the meaning communicated in the situated interpersonal use of kinship terms‖ in his study of the social meaning in kinship term usage in a Turkish village. It is emphasised that, once again, the ―interactive‖ meaning conveyed by the use of a kinship term is determined by the social relationship between the people involved in a speech event. Also discussing the different meanings of kinship terms, Bloch (1971) investigated moral and tactical meanings of kinship terms in Malagasy. Other studies of kinship terms include Shanmugam (1972) on the Tamil language, Buu (1972) on Vietnamese and Naden (1976) on kinship terms in the Ghanaian culture.

Apart from kinship terms, scholars during the period between the late 1960s and 1970s were also concerned about various aspects of address forms, such as different terms used in different social settings, grammatical and semantic issues related to personal pronouns, and social etiquette and politeness. With regard to the relation between language use and social settings, McIntire (1972) and Baron (1978) were interested in academic settings, whereas Slobin, Miller and Porter (1968) were concerned about the terms used in business, while Jonz (1975) studied terms that are used in the U.S. Marine Corporation. There was also growing interest in the use of address terms according to regional difference, for example, northern vs southern and rural vs urban, which was shared among studies by Vatuk (1969) on a language spoken in North India, Filbeck (1973) on Thai, and Kess & Juričić (1978) on the Slovene language. Gender and sexism were also areas of concern during this period, particularly in studies by Hook (1974), Kramer (1975), Ullrich (1975), Fiske (1978), and McConnell-Genet (1978). Other major issues of interest related to personal names (Goodenough, 1965; Adler, 1978), social etiquette and politeness (Ullrich, 1975; Takao, 1976; Brown & Levinson, 1978), and respect (Casson & Özertuğ, 1976; Hill & Hill, 1978).

To wrap up this section, the period between the 1950s and 1970s is important in the literature on address studies because it not only strengthens the foundation of but also expands studies of address systems. Various aspects of address practice were explored, such

as the sociolinguistic features of address terms including power, solidarity, intimacy and distance, and kinship terms.

The next section discusses research literature on address systems during the period from the 1980s to the 1990s.

2.1.2   1980s–1990s

The next few years (the generation from the 1980s to the 1990s) witnessed the development of research on the shared relationship of solidarity or differences in power relationships reflected in reciprocal or non-reciprocal use of the T/V pronouns and politeness, the political function of address terms, and the parameters of dominance and social distance. Although there were controversies in terminological usage, for example, between the terms *power* and *solidarity*, or between *distance* and *intimacy*, and *politeness/impoliteness*, this generation of studies set a strong foundation for our current and evolving knowledge of address systems.

Early in the 1980s, Hudson's (1980) interest in the connection between forms of address and cultural patterns such as social values, beliefs and customs appeared. Sharing Hudson's interest was Mehrotra (1981), in his discussion of the non-kin forms of address in Hindi in relation to sociocultural setting dyads. Mehrotra noted that address terms embody a crucial stage in face-to-face interaction and represent a special aspect of relational language. He also suggested that address terms not only serve as a bridge between individuals but also a kind of ―emotional capita‖. Mehrotra further asserted that the differential usage of address terms had been institutionalised as a means of defining and affirming both the identity and status of the speaker and the addressee.

A major interest shared among studies in this particular phase was with regard to respect and power, intimacy and solidarity alongside other social meanings of address terms. The earliest studies devoted to this interest include Chatelain (1880), who discussed the use of the plural pronoun form in Latin to express respect, Sohn (1981), who focused on power and solidarity in Korean, Emihovich (1981), who examined intimacy in Bengali terms of address, and Ostör (1982), who offered a wide range of aspects of meanings expressed in Hungarian pronouns and terms of address, such as, formality/informality, intimacy and city/country term distinctions.

Among the most-cited and most influential studies focusing on the social usage of address terms, particularly, politeness, solidarity and distance, are Brown and Levinson (1987),

Koshal (1987), Braun (1988), Watts (1989), Fasold (1990), and Wardhaugh ([1992] 2006). Paying great attention to linguistic politeness, Braun (1988) remarked:

> As to the ambiguity of the term politeness, the question arises of how the ambiguity can be solved. … Moreover, polite forms frequently express distance in addition to status, which is not readily associated with the term. (p. 63)

She continued:

> Imperfect knowledge of polite behavior moreover favors prejudices and confirms certain people's convictions that Americans, Germans, Turks, or any other group are coarse, or uneducated, have no respect, and do not know how to behave. Even the opposite prejudice is easily evoked. (p. 63)

Kinship terms continued to gain interest during this phase of research. Weller (1981, p. 16) pointed out that traditional studies of these terms were commonly treated as ―purely referential categories‖. Based on his analysis of Chinese kinship terms, he argued that these terms have both pragmatic and referential meanings. Similarly, Luong (1984, p. 291) analysed the meanings of Vietnamese kinship terms on the basis of rules that govern their ―referential and non-referential uses‖ and noted, ―the full meanings of kinship terms can only be decoded on the basis of the varied and functionally diverse relations between the linguistic forms and other entities in the native universe.‖ In the same vein, Duranti (1984b) explored the social meaning of subject pronouns in Italian, and several years later, Cook (1996) contributed his understanding on situational meanings in the use of the honorific form and non-honorific form of address in Japanese.

The same 1980s and 1990s also witnessed an increasing interest in different aspects of address forms in various languages. For example, in their discussion of uses of personal pronouns in French and English, in particular with the use of *you*, *we* and *I* for impersonal use, Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) argued that person shifts are semantically and pragmatically natural. Koul (1995) studied Kashmiri language and pointed out that terms of address are determined by such factors as social structure, cultural norms and geographical setting, and that the selection of modes of address is influenced by different historical and social factors as well. This view was shared by Hwang (1991) who stressed the relation between language and social belief. Similarly, on the grounds of the Hallidayan framework of pronouns, Bala (1995) argued that the frequent use of pronouns in conversation by Punjabi speakers is not only important grammatically, but deeply correlated with the socio-

psychological behaviour of users. This behaviour is reflected in those pronouns, which are characterised by different shades of meaning, pertaining to appropriate contexts and role relationships. From another angle, in his discussion of proper names, Allerton (1996, p. 632) took into consideration the relationship among the speaker-addressee-referent in the use of proper names, and asserted that ―choosing a mode of reference involves adopting a standpoint relative to other persons, particularly the addressee", and that ―choosing a proper name…can amount to explicit marking of allegiance to a local socio-geographical group, while choosing a simple definite noun phrase can amount to implicit marking of such allegiance". Also with a special focus on sociolinguistic aspects, Mashiri (1999) discussed the type of names that can be used among the Shona speech communities of Zimbabwe, the contexts in which they are applied, their meanings and the circumstances of their creation. On his part, Dickey (1997) studied the similarities and differences between German, English, and Vietnamese languages, and the way in which referential and vocative usages are related.

It would be remiss not to mention the special interest that was shared among grammarians and linguists who studied address forms of languages from syntactic, morphological and phonological perspectives, for example, the phenomenon of the so-called Pro-drop, or zero anaphora. This linguistic phenomenon was to gain even more attention in the next phase of research literature on address systems and, therefore, will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.3 More recent studies: the 2000s up to the present time

The turn of the millennium saw the emergence of more studies on sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches in relation to different forms of address. In a study of Chinese English, Zhang (2002) stresses the importance of address term studies and asserts that terms of address are an important means to convey cultural messages, especially with regard to the status and social relationships of the interlocutors. Working on other languages but sharing the same view are Nguyen, T.B.T (2002) on Vietnamese; Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby and Warren (2003) on Western European languages; Manjulakshi (2004) on Indian Kannada; Afful (2006) on Gana; Rendle-Short (2009) on Australian English; and more recently, Esmae'li (2011) on Iranian; Manns (2012) on Indonesian; Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2014) on Vietnamese; Ndhlovu (2014) on Zimbabwean Ndebele; Bashir (2015) on Darfur Nubian; Kovács and Tánczos (2015) on Hungarian; and Lappalainen (2015) on Finnish, among others.

Wardhaugh (2006) also noted that people's choices of terms are governed by social factors, such as, the context of communication, social status, gender, age, family relationships,

occupational hierarchy, transactional status (for example, a doctor-patient or priest-penitent relationship), race and the degree of intimacy. An example of this is speakers of Persian in Iran, who can opt for personal names, general and occupation titles, kinship-related terms, religious-oriented expressions, honorifics, terms of intimacy among other forms of address when they decide not to choose an address term (Aliakbari & Toni, 2008). The researchers concluded that Persian address terms are ―gender sensitive, relatively formal and culturally, socially and politically loaded" (p. 11). Also, participants in Stivers, Enfield and Levinson's (2007) studies ―show a concern not only with correctly identifying people and with providing information relevant to their recipient but with navigating the relationships between themselves, their addressee(s) and the referent(s)," and therefore, they suggested that ―[p]erson reference is one among many domains in language and interaction where we see the inextricable integration of informational and affiliational concerns" (p. 19). Ndhlovu (2014, p. 177) stresses, ―appropriate behaviour is socially indexed in the interactional parties' choices of personal pronominal address forms."

Continuing and extending the study of address terms as a means of conveying social values such as solidarity and politeness, sociolinguists of this phase have made great contributions. Wardhaugh (2006, pp. 260–283) devoted one chapter in his book, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, to the discussion of solidarity and politeness. His work was based mainly on the former studies of T/V usage in European languages such as those by Brown andGilman (1960), Friedrich (1972), Bates and Benigni (1975), and Lambert and Tucker (1976). He also draws on studies in non-European languages such as Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1948), Vietnamese (Luong, 1990), Chinese (Scotton & Wanjin, 1983; Fang & Heng 1983; and Ju, 1991), Javanese (Geertz, 1960), and Japanese (Martin, 1964; Matsumoto, 1989; Ide, 1989). In discussing the link between linguistic behaviour and politic behaviour, Watts (2003) established new theories of politeness and politeness strategies, and developed what he named the ―unmarked" zone of politic behaviour. Focusing on the use of terms of address such as T (title) and TLN (title + last name) to express formality in the case of speakers of Swiss German, Watts raised a question of politeness implication in the British culture with similar usage of T and TLN. Also from an angle of politic behaviour, Ndhlovu (2014) examines personal pronouns in Ndebele, a language spoken in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces of Zimbabwe. Ndhlovu argued that personal pronouns *lina* 'you' (plural) and *wena* ‗you' (singular), when used as address terms, can lead to an ―uneasy and often unpredictable situation" (p. 176), because, beside age variation and gender variation,

there is a lack of clarity in terms of certain social factors such as, role-relationships, level of intimacy and degree of formality.

Other recent studies with a focus on expressing politeness, intimacy, power and solidarity through address usage include those by Keshavarz (2001), Woolard (2003), Stewart (2001 and 2003), Nevala (2003), Ostermann (2003), Benjamin and Afful (2006), Salifu (2010), Vu Mai Yen Tran (2010), Sidnell and Shohet (2013), Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin and Prieto (2015), Chejnová (2015), Hampel (2015) and Yokotani (2015a, 2015b).

Taking a cross-linguistic perspective, Stivers, Enfield, and Levinson (2007) examined personal reference systems in different languages and cultures, as they are reflected in everyday language use. The scholars argued that there is a close connection between individuation and reference, and further noted that ―Communication also presupposes speakers and addressees in potentially different knowledge states…, and with different relations to the referent, and thus introduce triangulation between speaker, addressee and referent" (p. 3). This view was shared by the authors of a comparative study of Chinese and American address terms conducted by Hao, Zhang and Zhu (2008). They suggested that the application of address terms is governed by social norms and cultural rules. Address terms are considered to be very important because they reflect the user's attitude, and also the interpretation of the relationship between the people involved in communication. Based on their analysis of the data, the researchers concluded that ―inappropriate choice of address terms hinders effective communication between the speaker and the addressee" (p. 52). Other cross-linguistic studies that focus on the relation between language use and social beliefs include those conducted by Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2014), Farese (2015), Norrby, Wide, Nilsson, and Lindström (2015), and Nevala (2015).

In today's high-technology environment, it is expected that research would pay more interest to the pragmatic aspects of language (including address forms) used in media, such as emails and Facebook. Among researchers who have devoted their study to this field are: Bednjanec (2015) and Kretzenbacher and Schüpbach (2015) working on the address practices among participants of Internet forums; Economidou-Kogetsidis (2015) focusing on the teaching of politeness in email messages to EFL/ESL students; Fremer (2015) studying the Swedish ‗du-reform' in advertising films; Krishnan and Eisenstein (2015) working on signed social networks; Hampel (2015) and Theodoropoulou (2015) paying attention to (im)politeness on Facebook; Winkler (2015) discussing communicative strategies employed in radio-interviews; and Zago (2015) studying the pragmatics of vocatives in film dialogues.

Several other studies have been devoted to address usage in particular occupational contexts, for example, academic (Burt, 2015; Formentelli & Hajek, 2015; Henricson, Wide, Nilsson, Nelson, Norrby, & Lindström, 2015; Kretzenbacher, Clyne, Hajek, Norrby, & Warren, 2015; and Placencia, Rodríguez, & Palma-Fahey, 2015), and medical (Norrby, Wide, Lindström, & Nilsson, 2015). Other researchers put their focus on how address uses are different in relation to gender (Birounrah & Fahim, 2015, working on Tehran Persian, and Franceschini & Loregian-Penkal, 2015, on Brazilian), marital status (Ajlouni & Abulhaija, 2015), in-law relationship (Suomela-Härmä, 2015), and spousal relationship (Yokotani, 2015b).

It can be concluded from the studies reviewed in this section that the study of systems of address has gained increasing interest over the last century. The understanding of address systems helps to build bridges connecting different cultures and facilitate communication among people of different ethnicities. However, the increase in interest in address systems may also suggest that scholars have rarely been content with their own or others' findings, because forms of address across languages are complex.

This thesis, therefore, joins the ongoing debate on address systems in order to ascertain the linkages between switches in forms of address and the expression of emotions. The angle taken by this thesis (by focusing on pragmatic connotations) promises to contribute a new perspective to research on systems of address in Vietnamese with significant impact on our understanding of similar issues in other cultures, languages and societies around the world. Nevertheless, as the pragmatic connotations of terms of address in Vietnamese are highly situationally dependent, address practice among Vietnamese speakers does not easily fit in any general abstract framework. It, therefore, should be examined on its own terms.

In the words of Braun (1988):

> The factors governing address behavior are so varied, and, partly, so culture-specific that it is hard to fit them into a general theoretical frame. Not all of them can easily be traced back to the more abstract notions of superiority/inferiority, distance/intimacy, formality/informality, etc. (p. 66)

The next sections will review studies that discuss the complexity of Vietnamese terms of address on the grounds of their semantic properties and pragmatic connotations.

2.2 The semantic complexity and pragmatic connotations of address terms

This section will approach the complicated nature of the semantic meanings of Vietnamese terms of address by discussing their literal meanings, referential meanings and social meanings.

2.2.1 The literal meanings and referential meanings of address terms

Lexical items, whether they are used as forms of address or have other roles, have a literal, or referential meaning. As Braun (1988) posits, ―[t]hey have lexical meanings, and when used for addressing people, these forms can be said to mean one thing or another, according to their lexicon definition‖ (p. 253). Among address terms, it is easier to identify, for instance, nominal forms such as common nouns, titles and terms of endearment, although some of them ―may sound odd when taken literally‖ (p. 254). In examining personal pronouns of address, Braun also suggests that their literal meaning is sometimes unlikely to be identifiable. Some pronouns of address, for example, English *he*, *she*, and *they* can be analysed into semantic features, such as ‗singular/plural‘, ‗male/female‘; whereas, a pronoun such as *you* does not include those features. Another example demonstrating this ambiguity is the Finnish term *mummo*, which means either ‗one‘s grandmother‘ or simply ‗an old woman‘ (Katara, 1980, cited in Braun, 1988). In Vietnamese, the personal pronoun *tôi* is comparable with the Portuguese pronoun *você* when traced back to their origin and evolution (for discussion of the Portuguese term *você*, please see Thomé-Williams, 2004). The Vietnamese pronoun *tôi* used to be a part of the expressions *bầy tôi,* or *bề tôi*, whose literal meaning was ‗servant‘, and was used as a self-referential term towards a king. The expressions were later clipped into *tôi*, however, its original meaning was reformed and widely used as a pronoun of address, with two semantic features: first-person, and singular (Phan Khôi, 1930, cited in Marr 1981; Luong, 1990; Jamieson, 1993). The use of this term, together with other terms of address, will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

In addition to a very limited set of personal pronouns, Vietnamese speakers have access to a great number of different terms for addressing each other as well themselves. The most commonly used are kinship terms, which play a major role in daily usage as terms of address and reference regardless of whether the interlocutors involved in a conversation are related to each other or not. Kinship terms in Vietnamese do not merely illustrate the kin relationships between the addressors and addressees, they also demonstrate other semantic features such as bifurcation (paternal or maternal), affinity (consanguineal or affinal) and

gender (Schusky, 1965). Table 2.1 below comprises some of the most common kinship terms in Vietnamese and illustrates the various semantic properties of each of them.

Table 2.1 Inherent semantic properties in some Vietnamese kinship terms

Kinship terms	Gender		Bifurcation		Affinity	
	M	F	Pat.	Mat.	Con.	Aff.
1. *ông* ‗grandfather‘	+	–	+	–	+	–
2. *bà* ‗grandmother‘	–	+	–	+	+	–
3. *cha* ‗father‘	+	–	+	–	+	–
4. *mẹ* ‗mother‘	–	+	–	+	+	–
5. *chú* ‗paternal junior uncle‘	+	–	+	–	+	–
6. *cậu* ‗maternal uncle‘	+	–	–	+	+	–
7. *dượng* ‗maternal aunt‘s husband‘	+	–	–	+	–	+
8. *dì* ‗maternal aunt‘	–	+	–	+	+	–
9. *cô* ‗paternal aunt‘	–	+	+	–	+	–
10. *thím* ‗paternal uncle‘s wife‘	–	+	+	–	–	+
11. *mợ* ‗maternal uncle‘s wife‘	–	+	–	+	–	+

Notes: M = male; F = female; Pat. = paternal; Mat. = maternal; Con. = consanguineal; Aff. = affinal;
+/– = presence/absence of the semantic feature

As can be seen from Table 2.1, some Vietnamese kinship terms, when strictly used among family members, are heavily marked. Apart from gender, bifurcation and affinity, some other kinship terms are also marked according to familial hierarchy. For example, apart from the first two terms, *ông* and *bà*, which mark a gap of two generations from the ego, all the others mark only one generation gap. In addition, there are also regional differences in the uses of some of these terms. For instance, the term *bác* is not included in Table 2.1 because of its regional variations. This term means ‗paternal uncle‘ when used by speakers from the central and southern regions, and is marked as ‗+older‘ or ‗+higher hierarchical position‘ in contrast to *chú* (5), also ‗paternal uncle‘ but ‗+ younger‘ or ‗+lower hierarchical position‘. On the contrary, among northern speakers, the term *bác* is not distinctive in terms of bifurcation, familial hierarchy and gender. This term can, therefore, refer to an older or younger brother or sister of either one‘s father or mother.[5]

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[5] Overall, the whole discussion of Vietnamese address terms in this thesis is based on a ‗standard‘ variety, including the most-frequently used and widely accepted terms by people from differerent regions. A detailed discussion of regionalisms is presented in Section 3.2.6.

Some kinship terms are only different from other terms by one feature, such as *cậu* (6) ‚maternal uncle' and *dì* (8) ‚maternal aunt', which are only different in terms of gender. Also, it is noticeable that the Vietnamese language has more kinship terms that denote affinal relationships than the English language does. For example, in order to describe a person who is related to someone by marriage, English speakers either use the compound adjectives ‒in-law" or noun phrases in possessive case such as ‒my aunt's husband" or even more complicated, ‒my father's younger brother's wife". Thanks to the various kinship terms as being discussed, Vietnamese speakers can address these two people specifically as *dượng* (7) and *thím* (10), respectively. Also, while the English vocabulary stock has two terms for ‚brother' and ‚sister', to be followed by the adjectives ‚younger' or ‚older' to mark seniority, the Vietnamese language has three: *anh* ‚older brother', *chị* ‚older sister', and *em* ‚younger sibling', the last one having no gender distinction. It is also noticeable that these three terms can be used in both consanguineal and affinal relationships and also in extended usage applied to non-kinship relationships, and that is the reason they are not included in Table 2.1.

Besides kinship terms, another example of the literal meaning of address terms in Vietnamese is the usage of titles. In Vietnamese culture, it is not uncommon to address other people by their professional titles, which are not used exclusively in professional places. For example, the most appropriate term to address a medical doctor is *bác sĩ* ‚doctor', and this title can be repeated as frequently as it is required in a conversation, because it does not only function as a title, but also as an antecedent pronoun, and an anaphor. Let us examine the example below, where D is the doctor and P is the patient.

(2.1) D: *Cháu nghĩ chú nên qua khám bệnh viện Phạm Ngọc Thạch.*   L1
       ‚I think you should go to Phạm Ngọc Thạch hospital.'
       P: *Tôi bị lao hả **bác sĩ**?*   L3
       ‚Am I infected by TB, ***doctor***?'
       D: *Cháu cũng hy vọng là lao. Nhưng....*   L5
       ‚I hope it is TB, but…'
       P: ***Bác sĩ** cứ nói đại đi. Tôi ở quê lên khám bệnh cực lắm.*   L7
       ‚**Doctor** go ahead! I live in the countryside, and getting here is very difficult.'
       D: *Cháu nghĩ đây là khối u. Nhưng chú biết đó, có u lành u ác.*   L10
       ‚I think you may have a tumour. And as you know, there are non-malignant
       and malignant tumours.'
       P: *Ý **bác sĩ** là ung thư phổi hả?*[6]   L13
       ‚Do **you** ‚**doctor**' mean lung cancer?'

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[6] Source: http://vietnamnet.vn/vn/doi-song/157450/doan-hoi-thoai-dang-suy-ngam-giua-bac-si-benh-nhan.html

In the above extract from a doctor-patient conversation, the title *bác sĩ* ‚doctor' appeared in every utterance by the patient: in L3 it was used in vocative case, and in L7 and L13, as a subject pronoun.

During the French domination and the post-colonial period (1858–1945) in Vietnam, there were pervasive uses of titles identifying one's occupation, social position or educational achievement. It should be noted, first of all, that during those periods of time, only boys had the opportunity to go to school, and later, to hold certain social positions. Girls and women were supposed to stay in and look after the household. In some popular novels featuring Vietnamese society during these periods of time, we find people who were addressed as ‚Mr. Senior Clerk', ‚Mr. Deputy Customs Officer', or ‚High School Graduate Tân' (in *Dum Luck*, 1938), and their wives were also addressed accordingly. This secondary usage of these titles to address one's wife may suggest the social meanings of these terms, which will be discussed in the next section.

In addition to the literal meanings that are quite easily identifiable, (for example, in Vietnamese kinship terms and titles as already demonstrated), address terms also have referential meanings. However, unlike English, which has only one personal pronoun, ‚you', that can be used as a second-person pronoun, almost all Vietnamese address terms can be used as first-person and second-person pronouns, except for very few absolute personal pronouns, a detailed presentation of which will come in Section 3.2.2.1. Overall, it is rather difficult to define the real referential meaning of one term of address unless it is placed in a specific context, as illustrated in Luong's (1990, p. 11) example:

(2.2)   ***Mẹ*** *đã mua cho **bố** cái mũ hôm qua rồi.*
         Mother PAST buy for father CLASSIFIER hat day past already.
         ‚Mother already bought the hat for father yesterday.'

The bolded terms, ***mẹ*** and ***bố***, meaning ‚mother' and ‚father' respectively can be interpreted as first, second, or even third person, depending on who was speaking to whom and about whom. Luong suggests seven different interpretations, which define ―seven (7) combinations of speech participant roles which the referents of *mẹ* and *bố* could play" (p. 11).

Apart from their literal and referential meanings, terms of address in Vietnamese also convey social meanings, which are related to one's relative age, ethnic origin, and other social relationships. In his discussion of *reference* from a pragmatic perspective, Carlson (2004, p. 94) states:

It is often observed that an utterance in context conveys information about a variety of matters that are characteristics of the act itself, and not part of literally what is said. Such things as distance from the listener, gender, emotional state, regional or foreign accents, etc. are a part of this conversation …

In the same vein, in studying Lao practices of person reference, Enfield (2007) suggests, ―it is not possible in any context to refer to persons without encoding, implying, or otherwise making available a stance towards social relationships that applies generally in the culture. Indeed, this is just what perpetuates their status as culturally generalized" (p. 119).

These social meanings of terms of address are now discussed in greater detail.

2.2.2 Social meanings of address terms

The connection between a language, its culture and society has been of great interest as early as the work of Boas (1942), Sapir (1957) and Firth (1964). In his study, Firth emphasised that ―most of the give-and-take of conversation in our everyday life is stereotyped and very narrowly conditioned by our particular type of culture" (Firth, 1964, p. 69). Echoing the same view, but narrowing it down to person reference, Brown (2007) remarks: ―referring to persons, unlike referring to inanitmate objects and animals, is a socially delicate operation, since persons are circumscribed by social identities, hierarchical status, and taboos in ways that are highly variable across cultures" (p. 173). Also, as Daher (1984) puts it: ―terms of address are the best example of the interaction between language and society, and the more we understand them, the more we understand language" (p. 144). The widely used Australian term *mate* is an example of social meaning of address terms. Although this term is also used among speakers from other English-speaking countries, it is considered to be the most typical Australian term as noted by a number of writers on Australian English (Ward, 1966; Turner, 1972; Wierzbicka, 1997; Rendle-Short, 2007, 2009). Another example of social meanings is the Vietnamese equivalents of the English term ‗mother'. There are at least five different terms for ‗mother' that can be heard among Vietnamese speakers from different parts of the country. For instance, the common address term for ‗mother' among northern people is *mợ*, among central people is *mạ*, and among southern people is *má*. In some rural areas in the North of the country, *đẻ* and *u* are two other terms for ‗mother'. It should be clarified here that these are all different terms that may be more or less popular in one certain regional area, or in other words, they are regional variations rather than different allophones of the same terms. This argument is confirmed by

the fact that the terms come in different entries in The Vietnamese Dictionary (2006) with additional notes stating that they are regional variations.

A semantic question related to the literal meaning and social meaning of an address term is whether there is a relationship between the two types of meanings. According to Braun (1988, pp. 259–260), ‖there is some correlation between the lexical and the social aspect". This type of correlation is illustrated by the Mr/Mrs variants in different European languages: English *Mr/Mrs*, German *Herr/Frau*, Spanish *señor/señora*, and French *monsieur/madame.* These variants of titles were originally used to convey a literal meaning of ‗highness' and a social meaning of ‗superiority'. However, with time their usage was continuously extended until finally there was no clear connection between the lexical origin and social meaning. The titles nowadays are used commonly as ‖neutral terms suitable for any grown-up person not closely acquainted" (p. 260). A similar usage of the Vietnamese terms *ông* and *bà*, which literally mean ‗old man' and ‗old woman' respectively, is when they are used as personal titles. This particular usage of these two terms, among other usages, has prompted controversy among scholars of Vietnamese language in regard to the way the terms should be labelled. As illustrated in many grammar books, they are incorrectly labelled as ‗kinship terms'. In Section 3.2.1, and later again, in Section 5.3.2, I argue that *ông* and *bà*, when used as personal titles, or as pronouns of address with the meanings just mentioned above, are homonyms of the kinship terms, which mean ‗grandfather' and ‗grandmother' respectively.

The social meanings conveyed through terms of address can be extended to situational or context-based meanings when their literal meanings function as ‖indicators" of social meaning. As Braun (1988) observes: ‖[m]ostly people start to use certain words for certain dyads or situations of address, because these forms suit the respective context. And what makes them suitable is their lexical meaning" (p. 265). For instance, as already mentioned in Section 2.2.1, the wife of a person who held a social position in old Vietnamese societies was addressed and referred to according to her husband's position. In this case, the title itself does not exactly identify the wife's occupation or position. Similar examples include the terms used to address teachers in modern society: *thầy* ‗male teacher' and *cô* ‗female teacher'. These two terms are not restricted to the context where they are used to refer to teachers only. Rather, a female teacher's husband is also addressed by her students as *thầy*, and vice versa, a male teacher's wife is addressed as *cô* by his own students even though their spouse is not literally a teacher by profession.

These examples of occupational titles feature significant situational meanings entailed in the terms of address in Vietnamese, and wrap up the discussion of semantic meanings of address terms. The following section will examine pragmatic connotations of terms of address.

2.2.3 Pragmatic connotations of address terms

Connotative meanings are defined as ―shifting and idiosyncratic associations which a word may have for some speakers but not for others (as opposed to the shared meaning of a word)" (Goddard, 2011, p. 27). In discussing pragmatic connotations, attention is paid, firstly, to the inherent property of positiveness/negativeness of several address terms; and secondly, the context-based features of the terms used to express the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the addressee and/or referent via the choice or switch of terms of address.

2.2.3.1 Positiveness and negativeness as inherent properties of terms of address

There are a number of address terms in Vietnamese that include an innate feature of either a positive or negative attitude. For example, to refer to a lady as *nàng* is the choice of a positive attitude, while *ả* and *mụ* clearly express a negative attitude towards the referent. Similarly, *hắn, gã* and *y* are negative terms for a male referent (Cooke, 1968; Nguyễn Kim Thản, 1997; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003). All these terms are, however, mostly found in written form rather than in spoken form, for example, in literature, or in non-fiction writings such as a newspaper. The following extract is from an online article, which tells the story of a Vietnamese woman smothered to death by her Singaporean boyfriend. The article ends as follows:

(2.3)   *Trong phiên tòa hôm 14-3 vừa qua, Lim đã nhận tội giết người cũng như sử dụng ma túy đá. Y nhận bản án 9 năm rưỡi tù giam, trong đó 4,5 năm về tội giết người và 4 năm vì sử dụng ma túy.*[7]
   ‗Lim pleaded guilty on 14 March to a charge of murder as well as a charge of consuming methamphetamine, commonly known as Ice. **He** was given 8-and-a-half-year jail, in which 4 and a half years is for the murder and 4 years for the drug charge.'

When compared to some Asian languages such as Korean, Japanese and Chinese, it is interesting to observe that there are relatively fewer terms used for women that are considered as derogative because these terms are associated with professions in the sex trade. For example, the Korean term *akassi*, which primarily means ‗a woman before marriage', is not popular in everyday use to refer to young women ―because it has come to have strong sexual connotations, including the meaning of ‗women in the sex trade'" (Kim, 2009, p. 155). A

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[7] Source: http://giaoducthoidai.vn/thoi-su/bi-kich-cua-co-gai-viet-bi-ban-trai-singapore-doc-ac-sat-hai-noi-dat-khach-1721289-l.html, retrieved on June 22, 2016

Chinese term, which is similarly employed, is *xiǎo jiě*, which literally means ‗waitresses'. However, what makes these terms different from the Vietnamese terms *ả* and *mụ* is the fact that the Korean and Chinese terms, at certain stages in the history of the countries, were used as polite forms to address young women before they became derogatory terms. As Kim explains, ‖T]he most crucial motivation for the sexualization of the terms *akassi* and *xiǎo jiě* may be that a considerable number of *akassi* and *xiǎo jiě* (i.e., young women) are indeed working in sex-related professions in Korea and China" (p. 159). This is not the case with regard to the negative meanings conveyed in the Vietnamese terms as discussed above.

2.2.3.2 The use of terms of address to express attitudes and emotions

As early as Brown and Gilman‗s (1960) generation of research literature, personal pronouns, especially their temporary switches, were proved to be helpful in expressing emotions. In Jucker and Taavitsainen‗s (2002, p. 15) words:

> In Early Modern English, speakers could switch from *thou* to *you* or from *you* to *thou* to express their emotions. Such emotive shifts were particularly common in plays at points of high dramatic tension.

Unfortunately, as the pronoun *thou* has now become archaic, English speakers do not have the opportunity to express their states of emotion by using personal pronouns.

Compared to English speakers, those who speak Russian are luckier, in that there is one term of endearment in the language, *rodnoj* (literally ‗native'), which is peculiar thanks to ‖its special emotional coloring" (Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001, p. 320). The address term variant *rodnaja* was commented on by the hero of Ju Malecky:

> Rodn‗en‗kaja. Closer than of the same [Russian] tribe, belonging to a very peculiar kin of my own rather than to a masculine or feminine or neutral gender, she is the only one of just-my-own kind. (Cited in Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001, p. 320)

Apart from very few terms that have the pragmatic property of negativeness or positiveness, other terms of address in Vietnamese do not have this intrinsic property. Rather, the pragmatic connotations are conveyed by switches of terms or by an intentionally-chosen term in a specific context. In their discussion of the person reference system and the appraisal system, Ngo and Unsworth (2011, p. 186) state that ‖t]he attitude of the addresser embedded in the choice of person reference is an indicator of how the speaker evaluates the

hearer or the referent, whether is it positive or negative and in which aspects the evaluation is implied (affect or judgement)".

Let us compare the following utterances:

(2.4)   a.   Please welcome Dr. *Thomas Howland!*
        b.   *Tom*, I'm not following?
        c.   *Tommy* darling. Good to see you.

The three utterances show the same addressee, who is referred to using different terms, which reveal different levels of intimacy: none in (a), low or medium level in (b), and high level in (c). The same speaker when addressing or referring to the same person may opt for different terms depending on the communicative context they are involved in. The three different terms as illustrated above feature relatively different levels of intimacy between the addresser and referent (a) and the addressee (b) and (c).

In the same vein, Wierzbicka (1992) reveals how the Dutch singular pronoun *jij* is pragmatically-marked by the use of *jij* 'you' to express politeness instead of *u* in certain contexts.

In the case of Vietnamese terms of address, the pragmatic connotations may include respect, power, intimacy and others. As generally agreed among researchers of Vietnamese, there are very few personal pronouns in the language, and none of them are found to be absolutely neutral in terms of attitudinal judgement (Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975; Luong, 1990; Lê Biên, 1999; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003; among others). Thus, when the interlocutors in a conversation address themselves and other people by using these personal pronouns, outsiders can interpret their relationship as intimate rather than distant. Otherwise, these terms denote an attempt to violate the solidarity in their relationship. These addressor-addressee pronouns are conventionally paired (in this respective order), for instance, *tao-mày* (either male or female); *tớ-cậu/ấy* (either male or female); *tui-ông* (male)*/bà* (female). However, these personal pronouns can also be paired with other terms of address according to the speakers' willingness or creativity, and also due to regional differences.

In discussing titles, it is generally agreed that most of the time, when a title is used in combination with a proper name, for instance, *Dr. Howard*, or *Mrs. Morton*, it marks certain distance and/or respect posited by the addressor. In Vietnamese culture, as mentioned earlier

in Section 2.2.1, title or kinship term plus first name is a common combination in address practice. Age difference and the relationship between the interlocutors is the decisive factor for the proper choice of title or kinship term to be used. For example, I will be addressed as *chị Thoại* _older sister + name' by someone younger than me, as *dì Thoại* _maternal aunt + name' by my niece/nephew, as *cô Thoại*, which can mean either _paternal aunt + name' or _female teacher + name', and similar. Yet, in social relationships, because I am not old enough to be addressed or referred to as *bà* _old woman/grandmother', it could suggest either an intimate relationship or a negative attitude towards me if I were addressed or referred to with that term. For example, my close friends or even my colleagues can address me as *bà Thoại* in our casual conversations (but not at our academic meetings). But if my students referred to me as *bà Thoại* (instead of *cô Thoại*), it would suggest that I am somewhat not respected. Similar interpretations apply to the title *ông* _old man/grandfather' for male addressee and referent. Moreover, if either of the two terms is used to self-address when the addressor is younger than or of similar age as the other interlocutor, it suggests disrespect and arrogance (Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1957, pp. 130–131; Cooke, 1968, pp. 128–130, Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003, p. 313; Ngo & Unsworth, 2011, p. 175).

Besides the use of particular terms of address for the purpose of expressing attitude and emotion, my personal observations also suggest that switches of terms of address can make the expression of attitude and emotions even more visible. The switches of terms can be very effective in the case of Vietnamese due to the fact that most terms of address in the language are semantically or/and pragmatically marked. Shifts of address terms can be found in daily conversations among Vietnamese speakers, which are mainly determined by the users when consideration of various factors is made–about their relationships to each other, age difference, social status or kinship, and, maybe, their feelings about each other. The example given by Nguyễn Đình-Hòa (1957) of his change of address term for his father after his mother's death, as mentioned in the Introduction section of Chapter 1 and Cao Xuân Hạo's discussions (2003, p. 318) illustrate this point. Furthermore, in Vietnamese, various types of affection can also be expressed through switches of address terms during a speech event. For instance, by switching from casual terms that are generally used in intimate relationships to more formal terms, the user can express his/her distance or negative emotional state towards the addressee without literally stating it. The following excerpt from a well-known Vietnamese novel, *Nửa Chừng Xuân* (Khái Hưng, 1934), illustrates the switches of address terms by a mother (BA) to her son (LC) when she finds

out later in their conversation that her son is in a romantic relationship of which she does not approve.

In the excerpt in Example (2.5), the writer decided to let the mother switch from one term to another in order to describe the different levels of anger towards her son: the intimate kinship-term *con[1]* and *con[2]* were replaced by the abrupt pronoun *mày[3]* and *mày[4]*, and then the distant *cậu[5]*. All these terms practically mean ‚you' in English.

(2.5) AN: *Chuyện gì thế con[1]?*
             [[1] = 2PSN ‚child']
       LC: *Bẩm mẹ, mẹ có tha tội thì con mới dám thưa.*
       AN: *Con[2] cứ nói.*
             [[1] = 2PSN ‚child']
       LC: *Bẩm mẹ, người ấy đã là vợ con.*
       AN: *Vợ mày[3]! Ai hỏi nó cho mày[4]?*
             [[3,4] = (abrupt) 2PSN PRO]
       LC: *Con hỏi lấy.*
       AN: *Vậy tôi không bằng lòng thì cậu[5] cứ lấy, có phải không?*
             [[5] = (distant) 2PSN PRO]
       AN: ‚What's the matter, my child?'
       LC: ‚Mother, you'll have to forgive me in advance, or I won't dare speak of it to you.'
       AN: ‚Go on, tell me.'
       LC: ‚Mother! She's my wife.'
       AN: ‚Your wife! And who asked her to be your wife?'
       LC: ‚Mother, ma'am, I tried to ask your permission, but you wouldn't agree.'
       AN: ‚Oh, you know I didn't agree so you just went ahead and did it anyway, is that right?' (Translation by Jamieson, 1993, p. 121)

Similarly, Kantorovich (1966) gave an interesting example of ―momentary shifts at times of personal crises" (cited in Ervin-Tripp, 1972, p. 236) of the address terms by a Russian speaker:

I say ―ty" to my subordinates, but I certainly don't do this in order to belittle them. I know that they'll answer me with ―vy", but this isn't grovelling – it's a mark of respect…Somebody I call ―ty" is somehow closer to me than someone I have to call ―vy"… If I get mad at one of my workers, and he needs a bawling out, I frequently switch to ―vy"… (Kantorovich, 1966, cited in Ervin-Tripp, 1972, pp. 236–237)

The two examples above suggest that by choosing a specific term to refer to a person, one can show his/her feelings and attitude towards the addressee/referent as well as to the subject matter, and that term switching is popular in languages other than Vietnamese. What

makes it unique in Vietnamese address practice lies in three important facts: (1), switches are not limited to the T/V forms only; (2), whether the term conveys a negative or a positive connotation is dependent on the context; and (3), the terms used can greatly vary according to the specific relationship between the interlocutors and their personal address habit. To be more specific, in the Vietnamese example, the term *cậu*[5], when used among friends, expresses intimacy. However, when it was used to replace the kinship term *con*[1] and *con*[2] by the angry mother, it was marked with a notion of distance. This is a common phenomenon in communication among Vietnamese speakers, and is the major argument of this thesis, which will be examined further and demonstrated with data analysis in subsequent chapters.

2.3 Translation of address terms across languages and translator training in Vietnam

2.3.1 Translation of address terms

An important area in address research that is not very much touched on in the literature is translation. The dearth of address research literature with a focus on translation should not be construed as signalling that the translation aspect is less important than other areas that have been widely explored. Each language has its own system of address terms, ranging from a rather simple one like English with no linguistic marks on age or solidarity, to very complicated ones like those of some Southeast Asian languages. Putting aside the other semantic and pragmatic meanings related to the situation and other social factors that affect the use of address terms, their literal meanings can pose challenges when compared across languages. For example, there is a significant difference in the literal meanings of English and Korean second-person pronouns. While the semantic features of Korean second-person pronouns include ‗age' and ‗intimacy/politeness', there is no such distinction in the English *you*. In Vietnamese, kinship terms only are much more complicated compared to English and other European languages in terms of their semantic markings, such as bifurcation and affinity. This may lead, consequently, to difficulties when this distinction (and similar distinctions in other languages) has to be expressed in English.

In addition, as terms of address are culturally-bound lexical units, their translatability becomes extremely challenging because there exists a huge gap in equivalency in translation. Also, equivalence is a relative concept itself. In the words of House (2006, p. 344):

> Equivalence is a relative concept in several respects; it is determined by the
> socio-historical conditions in which the translation act is embedded, and by the

range of often irreconcilable linguistic and contextual factors at play, among them
at least the following: source and target languages with their specific structural
constraints; the extra-linguistic world and the way this world is perceived by the
two language communities; the linguistic conventions of the translator and of
the target language and culture; structural, connotative and aesthetic features of
the original; the translator's comprehension and interpretation of the original
and her creativity; the translator's explicit and/or implicit theory of translation;
translation traditions in the target culture; interpretation of the original by its
author; audience design as well as generic norms, and possibly many more.

Therefore, understanding the denotative and connotative meanings in both languages involved in the translation is essential. This is especially true of linguistic elements that consist of various culturally-specific connotations such as address terms, because, as Larson (1984, p. 131) remarks, some lexical items in the source language (SL) with neutral connotations may have strong overtones in the target language (TL) when translated literally. On the other hand, the same word may have a positive connotation in one circumstance and a negative one in another circumstance. In discussing pragmatic equivalence in translation practice, with a focus on address terms, Baker (2011) says: ―As long as the translator is aware that the norms of the target language will not necessarily match those of the source language, an appropriate adjustment in the target text should solve the problem and avoid conveying unintended implicatures." (p. 254)

In regard to cultural understandings, Newmark (2001, p. 44) considers one of the five major purposes of translation as being ―to explain and mediate between cultures on the basis of a common humanity, respecting their strengths, implicitly exposing their weaknesses." Therefore, it can be concluded that along with translation in general, the translation of address terms helps in conveying cultural messages across different languages.

As pronominal expressions are only a part of the address system, it is believed that the translation of address terms in general should not be seen as a simple exercise, particularly when the practice of translation involves languages that have a great variety of address terms such as Vietnamese.

Important studies that are devoted to the translation of address terms include those by Ngo (2006), Yang (2010), Konthong (2012), Lotfollahi and Dabbaghi (2012) and Amany, Davoudi, and Jaghi (2014). In her study on translation into English of four Vietnamese

stories and two novel chapters, Ngo (2006) points out two major approaches that were employed in these translations, namely, source-language oriented and target-language oriented. The former approach focuses on the linguistic and cultural values of the original text and tries to preserve them as much as possible in the target language (TL). The latter approach, on the other hand, aims to transfer the linguistic and cultural values into the TL version so as to enable readers of the target language to find the text more accessible. However, it is the perspective from which the matter is approached that is of significance, because, as Ngo (2006) also highlights, if the target-language translation approach is extensively adhered to, it may result in ―substantial loss of the socio-cultural meanings and pragmatic implications of the richly nuanced Vietnamese terms of address and reference" (Ngo, 2006, no page number provided). Personally, I believe that Ngo's study is a welcome attempt to approach the field of translation of address terms, particularly from a language with a more complex address system such as Vietnamese into a language with a simpler system like English. Ngo's study, however, is limited to the translation of Vietnamese address terms into English only, and not the other way round. Further research on translation from another language into Vietnamese is necessary to learn how translators make the variety of address terms in the language more applicable. This thesis is one such attempt.

Based on a comparison between Chinese and English, from a cultural perspective, Yang (2010) discusses the two major differences in the reference systems between the two languages. These are difference in kinship terms and difference in social terms of address. She suggests four translation methods according to different situations: literal translation, translating flexibly, specification or generalisation, and domestication and alienation. For Yang, the first method is ideal for translating titles, the second for translating kinship terms, the third method is helpful in the use of ―vague address terms" (p. 741) in the source text, and the last method is especially effective in cases involving honorific terms of address and modest address terms.

Similar to Yang's methods of domestication and alienation, in her contrastive study on the translation of address terms from Thai into English, Konthong (2012) utilises *foreignization* and *domestication* (as propounded by Venuti, 1998) as major approaches to translation, with the focus on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In Thai, address term usage is classified into nine types of relationships between speakers and addressees, which are categorised into three major groups, namely, non-reciprocal, reciprocal and neutral (Kalaya Tingsabadh, MR & Amara Prasithrathsint, 1986, cited in Konthong, 2012). Konthong's study is a qualitative analysis of address term translation with great attention

paid to the specific relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The author argues that foreignization is advantageous in the translation of address terms because it helps ―disseminate the Thai addressing tradition to English-speaking readers‖ while domestication is more helpful in that the readers ―enjoy the [translation] work in a more seamless way‖ (Kongthong, 2012, p. 24).

Lotfollahi and Dabbaghi (2012, pp. 329) suggest that translators ―should avoid a literal translation and pay more attention to cultural elements involved in the target language‖ if they wish to express the particular relationship existing between the interlocutors. They do this by examining the translation strategies and procedures used in translations of three short stories *The Rocking Horse Winner* by D. H. Lawrence, *A Rose for Emily* by W. Faulkner, and *A Little Cloud* by J. Joyce into Persian.

With special emphasis on address terms, Amany, Davoudi, and Jaghi (2014) conducted a corpus-based study on the translation of politeness strategies in English and Persian. Based on Brown and Levinson‘s (1987) framework of politeness, and the translation procedures developed by Vinay and Darbelnet ([1958] 1989) and Newmark (1988), the authors examined politeness strategies employed in the translation of Charles Dicken‘s novel *Oliver Twist*. They argue that ―[t]he translation of different categories of address terms with different positive and negative politeness strategies …indicated that literal translation and deletion were the two translation procedures which were used mostly…‖ (Amany *et al.*, 2014, p. 502).

Other studies on address terms across languages include Methven (2006), who studied the difficulties in translating kinship address terms and honorific pronouns in Chinese and English. Due to large lexical gaps between Chinese and English in family terms of address and honorifics, using simple deictic equivalents is likely to be the best way, according to the author. Shehab (2005) investigated problems that exist in the translation of terms of address between Arabic and English. The researcher argues that relational terms of address are more difficult to translate than absolute ones.

The field of address research is still yet to be exhaustively explored with regard to translation in order to help in bridging gaps across different cultures and languages.

2.3.2   A review of translation teaching and translator training

Among the several studies of translation teaching and learning in a university context, Malmkjær (2010, pp. 185–186) offers one of the most complete descriptions:

In many university language programmes, translation also forms a part; translation into the language being learnt is used to test the learners' productive ability in the language being learnt, while translation out of the language being learnt is used to test their comprehension of the language being learnt, but it is rare that either bears any resemblance to what goes on in translation classrooms, where people practice and study translation as a skill in its own right, to be used in conveying meaning to people unable to derive this from a text in its original language.

It is clear from this that translation can be used as a pedagogical tool in language learning and teaching, but that it also exists as an independent profession, for which practitioners must be effectively and rigorously educated.

Another methodology for translation teaching and learning in a foreign-language learning context is the use of subtitling, as suggested by McLoughlin and Lertola (2014). Audiovisual material has been used for many years and proven to be beneficial in language learning. McLoughlin and Lertola provide a theoretical background for the use of subtitling and introduce a methodological framework to be used in the foreign-language curriculum in third-level undergraduate courses. What makes subtitling different from and more advantageous than the translation of written texts is that the student translator has access to a polysemiotic source text comprised of four semiotic components: non-verbal visual, non-verbal audio, verbal visual and verbal audio. The authors argue: ―Subtitling can offer a stimulating addition to more traditional monosemiotic translation tasks, while at the same time facilitating mnemonic retention, helping to raise awareness of cultural and intercultural issues and pragmatic aspects of communication, increasing motivation and enhancing the overall learning experience" (McLoughlin & Lertola, 2014, p. 70).

In objecting to the view that translation may hinder language teaching and learning, Zhang and Pang (2014, p. 52) argue, on the basis of theoretical and empirical research, that ―translation plays a natural and indispensable role in language use as well as in foreign-language learning, and should, therefore, be fully exploited in language pedagogy." The authors illustrate their argument by proposing a tripartite translation model including L1 mirroring, L1 reformulation and functional translation back into the L2 (L1 is one's first language, or mother tongue, and L2 is the second language). According to the authors, this model is intended to enhance communicative English language teaching methodologies for advanced learners.

Basing her analysis on the popularity of language corpora as an effective tool for language learning, Bernardini (2004b) considers the role of corpora in ‒language pedagogy for translator education" (p. 97) to be ‒not only as translating aids, but also as sources of discovery learning activities" (p. 108). She believes that corpora can help students to enhance linguistic, sociocultural and discursive awareness, to improve communicative skills, and to know how to learn more effectively and independently so that they will become flexible translators in the future.

In the scope of this thesis, the use of translation as a tool in the process of language learning is not the major focus. Rather, the attention is paid to the practice of translation in language classroom contexts as a part of professional translator training.

In her discussion of translation theory, Bernardini (2004a, p. 19) suggests a fundamental distinction between translator education and translator training: the former requires more time and effort, and those who are being educated will be able to learn for themselves what they have not been taught, while the latter is ‒relatively easy and fast, but hardly a generative process". This suggestion is shared by Widdowson (1984), who considers learning through training as a cumulative process which is suitable for teaching language for specific purposes, for example, language for air traffic control purposes. On the other hand, in an educational context, learners have the opportunity to develop their own cognitive capacities and individuality that will help them solve new problems, and gain new knowledge.

The discussion of the training and education of translators in this thesis uses the term *training* as a general term for both approaches, with no distinction, because the purpose of the thesis is to describe and discuss the context in which translators are trained in Vietnamese undergraduate programmes with the major focus on the insufficiency of translation theory and practice. Despite such a distinction being made, in general, Bernardini (2004a, pp. 20–21) argues that there are three vital skills involved in translation that a potential translator needs to develop: *awareness*, *reflectiveness* and *resourcefulness*. A translator must, first of all, be aware not only of the linguistic but also non-linguistic features that a message consists of. This awareness will enable him/her ‒not simply to look through language to the content of the message, but rather to see through language to the ways in which messages are mediated and shaped" (Carter, 1993, p. 142). Reflectiveness is important for a translator learner – it is the ability to bring linguistic strategies and procedures that he/she has acquired into translation practice. Resourcefulness is required as the potential translator must be able to successfully access available resources to cope with

challenges in translation practice. Bernardini (2004a) concludes the requirements for undergraduate translation course:

> Undergraduate courses should focus decidedly on education, adopting curricula and methodologies which take into account the specific professional requirements of language mediators and cater for these by providing learners with the awareness, resourcefulness and reflectiveness that they will certainly require, no matter what their specific professional niche will be. (p. 27)

In discussing the competencies required for the translator's role as a professional and how to develop these competencies, Mackenzie (2004, pp. 36–37) proposes a translation methodology that follows the co-operative model, which involves real projects with role-playing and team work. The advantages, according to the author, include students' dealing with real-life situations and various text types ranging from easy, familiar to more complex ones. Moreover, the students are also better motivated in real projects. The competencies intended to be developed include linguistic-cultural skills, interpersonal skills and IT skills that assist the translation process.

2.4   Summary and conclusion

This chapter has addressed research literature related to major issues that structure the thesis. It has provided a chronological review of literature on address studies categorised into three important phases of scholar generations: the 1950s–1970s, 1980s–1990s, and 2000s up to the present. By doing this, the chapter demonstrates the gap in literature which explorations in the thesis can fill, such as the switches to other terms of address rather than T/V to express different attitudes and states of emotions. The chapter also addressed the semantics and pragmatics of address forms, with discussions on different types of meanings conveyed via the uses of address terms such as literal, social, and affective meanings, and address behaviour. Another important point discussed in the chapter is that on translation of address terms across languages and the training of translators. This discussion was significant because it illustrated the need for a better understanding of the necessary awareness of discrepancies between languages in regard to address terms in the important role of translation training. This is one of the main areas in which this thesis contributes to the previous body of literature. The next chapter will be devoted to a more detailed discussion of the Vietnamese address system from a pragmatic perspective.

CHAPTER 3

Vietnamese terms of address: A pragmatic perspective

3.0 Introduction

The system of personal reference, as defined in Braun (1988), one of the most-cited books, ―comprises the totality of available forms and their interrelations in one language. Languages as well as varieties of languages differ in their repertory of address and in the number of variants‖ (p. 12). As already indicated in Chapter 1, and generally believed within both the academic and the wider community in Vietnam, the Vietnamese language has a complicated system of personal reference. The question of whether there really exists a so-called system remains open to debate. There is no consensus even among Vietnamese grammarians, on the way that personal reference terms should be defined and systematised. The controversy of whether or not there is a system of personal reference can hardly have a clear-cut resolution because each grammarian has his/her own approach to the issue. In Luong's (1990) words: ―Whether personal pronouns, common nouns, and proper nouns can be considered to constitute *integral parts of a single system* has long remained a source of controversy with major theoretical implications in the literature on language‖ (p. 9). It should be clarified here that the point of debate among these scholars centres on the classification of Vietnamese terms of address rather than their existence, and that these scholars are approaching this issue from a grammatical perspective, as opposed to the pragmatic view proposed in this thesis.

Rather than attempting to systematise all the terms of personal address and reference in Vietnamese, in this chapter, I will discuss these terms in regard to their pragmatic features. Accordingly, the chapter will first examine some particular features of Vietnamese address terms, namely, familial hierarchy, the concept of *lễ* ―appropriate politeness‘, and address strategies. The chapter will then classify Vietnamese address terms along with discussion of their pragmatic usages in regard to intimacy/closeness, and distance. Finally, the chapter will turn to a point of concern related to appropriate uses of address terms in social relationships, particularly in public places.

3.1 Major characteristics of Vietnamese address terms

As earlier mentioned, many interpersonal and organisational activities among Vietnamese people including the way they address and behave towards one another are governed by the Confucian-based social hierarchy. As a means of cultural and social communication, Vietnamese terms of address reveal relations between people that are well-defined according to seniority, social status, and kin-relation.

In addition, when studying a language and its lexical stock, it is important to acknowledge the various dialects the language has. There are three major dialects of Vietnamese, namely, the northern, central, and southern ones, each having variations of terms of address. For example, apart from the most common parental terms *cha* and *mẹ*, there are other terms such as *u* or *bầm* in the northern dialect that refer to one's mother, *mạ* in the central dialect, and *má* in the southern dialect. The male counterparts are *bố, ba*, and *ba/tía*, respectively (Cooke, 1968; Luong, 1990; Đỗ Hữu Châu, 2005)

Language contacts are also an important factor that contributes to the number of address terms that avail Vietnamese speakers. The long-time Chinese domination in Vietnam (111 BC–938 AD) added to the stock of personal pronouns *ngộ* ‗I, me', *nị* ‗you', *khị* ‗he/him', *tỷ* ‗sister', *huynh/đệ* ‗brother', and the French invasion (1858–1930) popularised *moa/mỏa* ‗I, me', *toa* ‗you', and *luy* ‗him/her'. More recently, the biggest-ever contacts with English-speaking countries together with generations of Vietnamese immigrants in those countries have witnessed the frequent switches of personal pronouns into the English ones, which are simpler in terms of gender and age distinctions. Such an utterance as ―**You** *always bận à. Me nói em H take* **me** *then.*" (**You** are always busy. **I**'ll tell H to take **me** then.) can be heard in today's conversations more often than not.

All of these linguistic background and social landscape, and their influence on use of Vietnamese address terms will be discussed thoroughly in the following section.

3.1.1 Familial hierarchy

As already indicated in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.2), Vietnamese people's culture and their behaviour, including language behaviour, are largely shaped by Confucian hierarchy. Many of the address terms in Vietnamese, especially those related to kin relationships, reflect familial hierarchy. When used within the family context, kinship terms clearly define how the people are related to one another, linearly and hierarchically. Therefore, in order for family members to properly address themselves and address/refer to others, kin

relationships need to be defined clearly. Accordingly, if one addresses oneself, or is addressed as *anh* ‗elder brother', that person must be (+) ‗male', and either older than the other interlocutor, or of higher hierarchical position in the family tree, for example, being the son of an *elder* sister or brother. This type of familial hierarchy is illustrated in Figure 3.1.
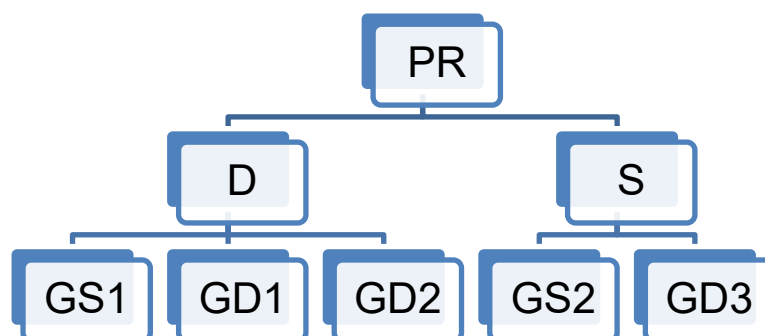
Figure 3.1 Familial hierarchy and kin relationships

(NOTES: PR = parents; D = daughter; S = son; GD = granddaughter; GS = grandson)

The point that should be made clear here is that if S is older than D, then GS2 is addressed and referred to as *anh* ‗elder brother', GD3 is addressed and referred to as *chị* ‗elder sister' by GS1, GD1 and GD2, who address themselves as *em* ‗younger sibling', regardless of whether GS2 and GD3 are literally older than them. The way these cousins address one another is reversed if D is older than S.

The following extract from a letter by a 39-year-old foreigner who has a Vietnamese wife sent to *The Guardian*, cited in Hoa Trần (August 7, 2014) is a practical illustration of the hierarchy in Vietnamese kin relationships.

(3.1)   *Khi cả nhà sum họp trong bữa cơm thân mật, có một người đàn ông 35 tuổi bước vào và đó là cháu trai tôi. Đứa con gái 10 tuổi gọi tôi là ông và gọi đứa con trai 4 tuổi của tôi là chú. Vợ tôi là con cả trong gia đình, con trai của em gái cô ấy cũng phải gọi con trai tôi là anh mặc dù nó lớn tuổi hơn rất nhiều.*
        ‗When the whole family gathered for the reunion meal, a 35-year-old man entered the room and he was my nephew. His 10-year-old daughter addressed me as grand-uncle, and addressed my 4-year-old son as uncle. My wife is the eldest child; therefore, her sister's son has to address my son as *anh* ‗elder brother' although he is much older than my son.'

In studying this type of familial hierarchy as expressed through the use of terms of address, it is interesting to observe that this pattern of practice is also comparable with other cultures, from as close as Chinese (Chao, 1956), to as distant as in Shona of Zimbabwe. In Chinese

culture, for example, when it comes to superiority, age becomes a secondary factor in the choice of appropriate address terms. Similarly, in discussing pronouns of address and reciprocity in Shona, Mashiri (1999) points out: ‖I]n Shona, age is a very important variable. But there are many instances where it is cancelled by role relationships" (p. 107). For instance, an older man can address a younger interlocutor using a formal form of address, and recieves either a formal or informal form of address from the younger interlocutor, ‖probably because the old man's mother or wife is of the young man's clan or family" (p. 107).

The influence of hierarchy on people's address behaviour sometimes leads to situations in which the people involved find it very difficult, and even awkward, to follow these non-written rules of address. For example, a widowed father may later decide to get re-married to his daughter's girlfriend. The relationship between the two girlfriends now becomes step-mother and step-daughter, which then invokes necessary changes in the way they address and refer to each other to ensure that they are not violating the hierarchical rules but still remaining intimate.

Familial hierarchy, as already pointed out above, is a cultural property in Vietnamese society, which, on the one hand, features the people's attempt to preserve a significant tradition of respectfulness and protect familal disciplines in hierarchical order. On the other hand, this may unnecessarily complicate address practice among family members, especially those in affinal relationships. Despite the very complicated nature of their forms of address, Vietnamese people would prefer to accept and practise this rather than be considered as impolite. Nevertheless, the notions of politeness and impoliteness are not as simple as their literal meanings suggest. The next section will discuss the concept of politeness in Vietnamese culture.

3.1.2 The concept of *lễ* 'appropriate politeness' in Vietnamese culture

The acknowledgement of familial relationships is necessary in order that the people involved make proper choices of the terms they use to address themselves as well as others. Within the family setting, improper use of terms of address can be judged as *vô lễ* ‖disrespectful'. Beyond the family setting, it is judged as impolite. An argument can be posited here as to how people are considered to be *impolite* while still remaining *respectful*, and vice versa, how people can be *polite* but are still considered as *disrespectful.*

The Macquarie Encyclopedic Dictionary (2011) defines *polite* as ‖showing good manners towards others, as in behaviour, speech, etc., and *respect* as ‖the condition of being

esteemed or honoured'. The following example (adapted in Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003) will illustrate the relativity of these concepts.

A Vietnamese TV broadcaster manager had an interview with internationally well-known pianist Đặng Thái Sơn. Despite the manager's initial use of the kinship terms *chú-cháu* ‗unde-nephew' according to his close relationship to the pianist's family, Đặng Thái Sơn refused to use kinship terms during the conversation. Instead, he kept addressing himself by using the personal pronoun *tôi* and addressed the interviewer manager as *ông,* both being respectful terms to be used in distant relationships. As Cao Xuân Hạo (2003) later commented, the way the interviewer used kinship terms during the interview can be seen as improper in that the interviewer represented the TV broadcaster and was holding the role of a mere medium between the interviewee and the audience, and whatever relationship he had with the pianist's family was not to be counted (2003, footnote p. 319). This example illustrates how address practice can be judged as polite, yet disrespectful. The notions of politeness and respectfulness in regard to address-term usage should not, therefore, be considered as an inclusive entailment, and should always be treated alongside with propriety. The discussion of *lễ* in this thesis, from now onwards, will be consistently defined as ‗appropriate politeness'. The following section will further discuss the two notions of *politeness* and *appropriateness* and why they should be discussed simultaneously in the consideration of *lễ* in Vietnamese address practice.

Politeness theory of personal reference was pioneered by Brown and Levinson (1978), Kopytko (1993), Nevalainen (1994), and Walker (2000, cited in Nevala, 2003). There are debates around discussions of the concepts, for example, social variables, and positive or negative politeness, and methodologies. However, in regard to politeness in forms of address, Braun (1988, p. 49) offers a significant definition in which politeness is conceived, as ‒a form of address which is appropriate to the relationship of speaker and addressee, and which is in accord with the rules of the community, or at least those of the dyad, will always be regarded as adequately polite".

Similarly, based on the acceptance of communication rules, Fraser and Nolen (1981) developed the notion of ‒conversational contract" that regulates rights and obligations in the framework of the conversation between the interlocutors. They define politeness as follows:

> In general, speakers operate within the terms of the conversational contract and,
> in doing so, act in a way which we call polite. To be polite is to abide by the

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rules of the relationship. A speaker becomes impolite just in cases when he violates one or more of the contractual terms. (p. 96)

As part of Vietnamese culture, a non-written rule of address etiquette in social communication contact that is believed and strictly practised by many Vietnamese people is *xưng khiêm-hô tôn* _address oneself with modesty; address others with respect' (Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975, p. 148; Hoàng Anh Thi, 1999, p. 52; Lê Biên, 1999, p. 129; Mai Thị Kiều Phượng, 2004, p. 22). In this regard, it is considered polite for an addresser to use the terms that humble him-/herself and those that magnify others. For example, an employer addressing a younger employee as *anh/chị* _elder brother/sister', or an older patient addressing a younger doctor with his/her professional title.

Example (3.2) gives an illustration of this address etiquette. The example is the greeting part of one of the conversations on an online literature forum, between Hoàng Đại Dương (DD) and Trần Văn Tích (VT) (Hoàng Ngọc-Tuấn, 2010).

(3.2)   DD: ***Bác** Tích lại đi hàng hai, **tôi** thấy khó chịu thật, vì **tôi** không biết **bác** nói về họ Ngô hay họ Nguyễn.*
        VT: *Thưa **anh** Hoàng Đại Dương,*
              ***Anh** gọi tôi là bác nên tôi đoán anh nhỏ tuổi hơn tôi, vì thế xin dùng chữ "anh" cho dễ nói chuyện. Nếu anh suýt soát tuổi tôi–tôi sinh năm 1932–thì xin cho phép tôi nhận ngay lỗi thất lễ.*
        DD: **'Senior uncle'** Tich made **me** very confused, because **I** was not quite sure who **you** were talking about.
        VT: Dear *anh* (= title) Hoang Dai Duong,
              Because *anh* (= you _older brother') addressed me as *bác* (= you _uncle'), I guess that you are younger than me. Therefore, I will be addressing you as *anh*. But if we are of similar age–I was born in 1932, please forgive me for my lack of *lễ*.

In this conversation, the first addresor addressed the interlocutor as *bác* (to be explained below). In his response, the second person begins with a clarification of his choice of address terms by mentioning their age difference, including his year of birth.

Literally, *anh* means _older brother' and *bác* means _uncle' (please refer back to Table 2.1, and the follow-up discussion). VT, although assuming that he was older than DD, still addressed his interlocutor as *anh* to magnify him, but confirmed that if his assumption was wrong, then he considered himself as not polite enough. More discussion of different usages of the term *anh* in different contexts will be presented in the coming sections that discuss personal titles (3.2.1), personal pronouns (3.2.2), kinship terms (3.2.3), and homonyms (3.2.7).

This unwritten rule of address, however, has disadvantages in practice, because sometimes it makes the addressee feel uncomfortable. For instance, it is a tradition that school students address themselves as *con* ‗child' when talking to their teachers. This tradition may have come from the fact that during feudalism only men went to school and they started schooling very late. Therefore, teachers in Vietnamese feudal society were generally middle-aged or elderly men. In modern society, however, there are teachers who start their careers at a rather early age, around their early twenties. These people often find it uncomfortable or even awkward when their secondary or high-school students, who are only a few years younger, address themselves as *con*. This also occurs in contexts of higher levels of education, such as at universities and colleges. As a university teacher when I was 22 years old, I experienced similar discomfort. Full-time students normally addressed themselves as *con*, and part-time (or in-service) students, many of whom were as old as my uncles and aunts, kept addressing themselves as *em* ‗younger sibling' when talking to me. Rather, it would be more appropriate for them, as mature people, to address themselves using the personal pronoun *tôi* ‗I/me' in conversing with lecturers because it reflects a certain distance in their relationship. Nevertheless, many people exploit this address practice as a way to flatter others in order to achieve their communication goal. This is similar to how Sell (1991, p. 211) defines politeness as ‗a velvet glove within which to hide one or another kind of iron fist". This point will be further discussed in Section 3.3, which examines address strategies.

The definition of politeness, in English therefore, does not seem to be adequate to describe politeness in Vietnamese, especially in the context of the complex Vietnamese way of addressing. This is because, what the definition lacks is propriety, or appropriateness. *The Macquarie Encyclopedic Dictionary* (2011) defines *propriety* as ‗conformity to established standards of behaviour or manners.' Accordingly, for *politeness* to be judged as meeting the Vietnamese ‗standards' of behaviour, the notion should include *propriety* in its definition.

Many researchers of Vietnamese address study agree that appropriateness is one important element in the practice of personal address and reference (Nguyễn Kim Thản, 1997; Hữu Đạt, 2000; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003; among others). For example, Đỗ Hữu Châu (2005, p. 354) suggests that besides its primary function of identifying the person, address practice also has to satisfy appropriateness in the specific communication situation. Nguyễn Kim Thản (1997, p. 278) offers an important remark, which states that there should be an equality in appropriateness between self-address and addressing others: a formal/casual self-

address term to be paired with a formal/casual counterpart when addressing others, respectively, and vice versa. Otherwise, it is the situational markers that determine how people use address terms, for instance, in jokes or sarcasm. Similarly, Nguyễn Văn Thành (2003) expresses his high appreciation of the tradition of hierarchical address practice among kin-related people, and the different attitudinal features included in personal pronouns. The point is, in his words: ―these terms of address must be used in an appropriate way according to the situation" (p. 325).

Echoing the above sentiments, with special interest in the address forms that are normally used in addressing Arab married and unmarried women in the workplace, Ajlouni and Abulhaija (2015, p. 419) investigate the factors that affect the choice of appropriate forms of address such as age, the interlocutors' roles and hierarchical status, and the interlocutors' emotional state. The researchers conclude:

> …in an Arab workplace, subordinates should avoid using first names and the positive politeness/address forms when addressing women who have higher ranks than the speakers, especially when she is older. It is essential for people in the same workplace to use the appropriate and acceptable address forms in accordance with the Jordanian Arab culture and social expectations. Using no form of address at all, or inappropriate address term, might be considered by the addressee as rude and a sign of showing disrespect.

In general, Watts (2005) remarks that, ―. participants in verbal interaction must decide how they wish to treat their own and their addressee's social person in order to judge the appropriateness of the explicit verbal display" (p. 61). In the case of Vietnamese, age difference, familial and social relationships, social status, and the situation itself are among factors that need to be taken into account when people make their choice of address terms.

3.1.3 Intimacy vs. distance

As already discussed in Chapter 2, there is controversy regarding the lexical items that share some semantic features such as intimacy and solidarity, power and distance. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, the discussion of address terms in this thesis employs the notions of *intimacy* to refer to the relative closeness in relationships among the interlocutors, and *distance* to refer to a lack of this closeness. In this regard, a clear distinction is posited between the notion of intimacy/distance and the communication context or situation, because, as Firth (1957, p. 182) suggests, ―context of situation' is best used as a suitable

schematic construct to apply to language events". Thus, an appropriate use of address terms in a specific communication context is defined by the context itself, and not the literal meaning of the terms. The discussion on uses of address terms in the context of intimate and distant relationships will be extended to fit the levels of formality of the communication situation.

3.2   Vietnamese terms of address

3.2.1   Titles and their pronominal usage

Although there is no detailed research evidence from previous studies, anecdotal evidence suggests that Vietnamese people are in favour of all types of titles. People use titles to show respect to the addressee, or, in many cases, to express their own pride. Titles can be found in most forms of communication, both in oral and orthographic forms. With the exception of personal titles such as those equivalent to the English Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms, which have no reference to one's education background or social position, there are several other titles that are often overused in everyday communication. Nguyễn Đình-Hòa (1957, p. 62) remarks: ―in this status-minded Vietnamese society, the position-official or social-of each individual is clearly defined, not so much in terms of rights and obligations (as in a Western bureaucracy for instance), but mainly in terms of interpersonal behaviour". In modern Vietnamese society, there has been criticism of some people who are fond of titles such that their name tags and business card are full of titles, which may confuse and even sicken the receiver. These people will do anything so to earn and show their title that asserts their position in society, which leads to a phenomenon that is briefly defined as *háo danh* ‗obsessed with titles'.

Before the discussion of common titles that are used in everyday life among Vietnamese people, it is necessary to mention the linguistic phenomenon of homonymy among Vietnamese terms of address. For example, there are at least four variants of *bà* and *ông* in Vietnamese language: (i) kinship terms meaning ‗grandmother'/‗grandfather', (ii) non-kinship terms meaning ‗an elderly woman/man', (iii) personal titles, referring to a woman/man with whom one has social distance and (iv), second-person pronouns of address used among friends. Section 3.2.7 of this chapter will be devoted to a further discussion of homonymous address forms in Vietnamese. In the meantime, the terms *ông* and *bà* as discussed below are case (iii).

Titles that are commonly used by Vietnamese speakers can be summarised as follows:

(1)   Personal titles: *ông* ‚Mr', *bà* ‚Miss/Mrs/Ms'(for middle-aged or elderly addressee/ referee); *anh* ‚Mr', *chị* ‚Miss/Mrs/Ms' (for younger addressee/referee)

(2)   Titles of professions: *bác sĩ* ‚doctor', *kỹ sư* ‚engineer', *nhạc sĩ* ‚composer', *thầy* ‚male teacher', *cô* ‚female teacher'

(3)   Titles of social position: *thủ trưởng/sếp* ‚boss', *hiệu trưởng* ‚headmaster/rector', *giám đốc* ‚director/manager', *bộ trưởng* ‚minister'

(4)   Titles of army ranks: *thiếu tướng* ‚major general', *trung tá* ‚lieutenant'

(5)   Academic titles: *tiến sĩ* ‚doctor', *giáo sư* ‚professor', *nhà giáo ưu tú* ‚honourable teacher'

(6)   Religious titles: *đại đức* ‚Venerable', *sư/thầy* ‚Master'/‚Monk', *sơ* ‚Sister', *Cha* ‚Father/Priest'

The uses of these titles also vary, for example, they can be used by themselves, or in combination with a name, or even with another title. But in general, they are used to index a certain distance between the addressor and the addressee/referee, and/or in formal communication contexts, except for their unusual combination to express a negative attitude towards the referent as indicated in Section 2.2.3.1.

The simplified list above merely includes some of the most common titles used in Vietnamese everyday communication. The following points should be taken into account in the discussion of Vietnamese titles. First, the major difference between Vietnamese and some Western languages such as English is that almost all of the above titles can be used in place of personal pronouns, and even as endophoras (illustrated earlier in Example 2.1), except for the title + full name combination. In comparison with another Asian language such as Chinese, it is interesting to observe that the way Chinese titles are used is similar to English ones in that they are more likely to be used in vocative noun phrases rather than as referential ones as is the case in Vietnamese (Chao, 1956, p. 223). Second, it is different in the way Vietnamese speakers combine a title with a proper name to Western-language speakers do: Vietnamese speakers use their first name while speakers of Western languages such as English, French, Spanish, and others would either use title-plus-surname, or first name only. Also, a title-plus-name combination in Vietnamese address practices is not necessarily a marking of formality or distance as in Western cultures. Third, when compared with Vietnamese title usage, occupational titles are not used so often in English daily conversations. However, it is interesting to find out how common they are in written form, for example, ‒truckie Brendan Farrell" (*The Australian*, 28 March 2016), ‒Senator

Leyonhjelm", ‖Detective Sergeant Aaron Phillips", ‖judge Geoffrey Bellew" (*The Australian*, 30 March 2016) and ‖musician Attila Sautov" (*Armidale Express*,[8] 30 March 2016). If one is to argue that these titles are only used once in an article to initially address these people's occupation, and personal pronouns will be used afterwards, there is evidence that shows it is not always true. A short report in the *Armidale Express* (30 March 2016), which is composed of only 133 words including the title, mentions ‖Inspector Chris McKinnon" (full name) once, then Inspector McKinnon 3 times, and no personal pronouns are used to refer to that person throughout the report. It is, therefore, argued that apart from personal titles, occupational titles are also commonly used in English written form as reference terms at least in newspapers. Fourth, reciprocity is another point of interest. In general, Vietnamese titles, although very popular in address practice, are rarely used as self-address terms. Exceptions are the professional title *thầy* ‗male teacher'and *cô* ‗female teacher', and some religious titles such as *Cha* ‗priest/father', *xơ* ‗Sister', and *thầy* ‗monk/master'. These terms can be used reciprocally by the interlocutors, in the situation where the one who is not entitled as such is in an apparently lower position, in terms of social status and/or age, than the entitled interlocutor. A practical story involving myself is narrated here to illustrate the point. Around eight years ago, I was sent to teach in another city in the neighbouring province of Đồng Nai. In the class that I taught there was a Buddhist nun who was just about 2 or 3 years younger than me. Naturally, the nun addressed me as *cô* and addressed herself as *em* ‗younger sibling' like other students. In order to show my respect, I addressed her as *sư cô*, literally meaning ‗Buddhist nun' and addressed myself using the distant personal pronoun *tôi*. I was later invited to visit the temple where she was staying with the Master, who was nearly 80 years old then. As I was introduced to the Master by the nun, the Master started to address me as *cô Thoại* and address herself *thầy* ‗Buddhist Master'. I also addressed her as *thầy*, but using the term *con* ‗sibling' to address myself, considering the Master's religious status and also generation gap between us. In this case, the term *thầy* is used reciprocally, but not the *cô* ‗female teacher', or the *sư cô* ‗Buddhist nun'. However, the latter becomes reciprocal in address practice between that same nun and those who are younger and in a lower social/religious status than hers. Even more complicated, when the Master one day came to visit my grandmother, who was over 90 years old, the term *thầy* was once again used reciprocally, being paired with the self-address *con* ‗child' by my grandmother to show her respect to the Master, and with *bà*

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[8] *Armidale Express* is a local newspaper of the New England region in NSW, Australia

ngoại ‗grandmother' by the Master herself, considering that my grandmother is older. A general conclusion is, these titles are reciprocal when they are held by someone who is older than the other interlocutor, and/or of a higher status in terms of social or religious position. Reciprocity as discussed here might, but does not always complicate the usages of Vietnamese address terms, which are already complicated themselves.

To sum up, Vietnamese titles, as discussed in this section, are generally used in formal situations like most English titles. However, because each type of title is attached to a different lexical item such as full name, or first name to express different levels of formality, careful choice should be made in order not to violate appropriateness and politeness in address practice.

3.2.2 Personal pronouns

First of all, it is necessary to clarify how the grammatical term ‗personal pronouns" is used in this thesis, because this is a very controversial grammatical term due to its various definitions by Western scholars as well as Vietnamese scholars studying the Vietnamese language. From the perspective of Vietnamese scholars, the debate lies, first of all, on whether or not there is a word class in Vietnamese that groups what are called *đại từ nhân xưng* (literal English translation, ‗pronouns of address and reference'). Some Vietnamese scholars generalise all the lexical items used in address and reference as *đại từ nhân xưng* (Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003) while others divide them into sub-classes including one that is named *đại từ nhân xưng chính danh* ‗proper personal pronouns' (Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003; Nguyễn Thị Ly Kha, 1998), or *đại từ xưng hô gốc/đích thực* ‗original/true personal pronouns' (Lê Biên, 1999; Pham, 2011). No explanation about how these terms are defined as such is provided, so it is inferred that the classification aims to distinguish these terms from other forms of address that are derived from common nouns, for example, kinship terms, personal and professional titles, which are also referred to as *đại từ xưng hô lâm thời* ‗temporal personal pronouns' (Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975; Lê Biên, 1999). On the grounds of shifter function (Peirce, 1932; Russell, 1940; Benveniste, 1956; Jakobson, 1971; and others), Luong (1987) concludes:

> [w]hat distinguishes personal pronouns from nouns is not that only personal pronouns can be used for addressor or addressee reference. The formal basis for the distinction lies in the shifter function of personal pronouns – the constant shift of referents in pronominal usages – and its lack thereof in the case of nouns. (p. 50)

Although it is very difficult to judge which definition or classification reflects the case of Vietnamese more precisely, what is evident is that there is still vagueness in the definition of "personal pronouns" and also in the listing of these lexical items. For instance, the first-person term *tôi* 'I/me' (and its regional variation *tui*) are included in most scholars' subclassifications of "personal pronouns" but excluded in others. It is probably with an attempt to avoid using these confusing classification that Nguyễn Đình-Hòa (1997, p. 124) used "personal substitutes" for what others define as "personal pronouns", and "status substitutes" for the remaining address terms including kinship terms and titles.

From a Western perspective, there are at least two scholars who agreed on the classification of these Vietnamese terms. For example, both Thompson (1987, p. 251) and Cooke (1968, p. 113) grouped all pronominal forms that cannot be combined with a collective numerator as "absolute (personal) pronouns" and those that can are grouped as "(proper) personal pronouns". On the other hand, an earlier study on Vietnamese grammar (Cadière, 1958) made a relatively simpler classification. He listed around a dozen first-, second-, and third-person pronominal forms as "les pronoms personnels" 'personal pronouns' and pronominal usages of nominal forms such as kinship terms as "les substantifs pronominaux" 'pronominal substantives' (Cadière, 1958, pp. 47–48).

With a focus on the pragmatic usage of these address terms, as opposed to their grammatical properties, the lexical items examined in this section are all defined as personal pronouns, since they function as pronouns that "indicate grammatical person" (*The Macquarie Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 2011, p. 934). Also, this section includes only those personal pronouns of interest, which means, those which are pragmatically interpreted with certain markers of intimacy or distance. Throughout the remaining parts of the thesis, all terms discussed in this section will be, accordingly referred to as such.

3.2.2.1 First- and second-person pronouns

Tôi is one of the most commonly-used personal pronouns that denotes distance among interactants. As discussed earlier in Section 2.2.1, the term is a derived form of the common nouns *bầy tôi*, or *bề tôi*, literally meaning 'servant', which used to be self-referential phrases referring to a subject of a king or a ruler in the past. *Tôi* is now used as a common first-person singular form of address. Despite the varying definitions and interpretations, generally, the term is considered to be "respectful" (Thompson, 1987, p. 248), "somewhat distantly or formally" (Cooke, 1968, p. 113), and mostly used in formal situations rather than for intimacy. In light of this, the term *tôi* is usually paired with polite forms of address such as titles

(Section 3.2.1). In addition, because of the various context-based connotations it may include, the term *tôi* can be paired with other terms, especially those derived from kinship terms when used beyond kinship relationships. These include *ông, bà chú, cô, bác, cụ, anh, chị, em* and *cháu* (Figure 3.2).

ông/bà (similar age, mostly among seniors)

cụ (elderly)　　　　　　　　　　　　**bác** (older)

tôi　　　　　　　　**chú, cô** (younger)

chị, anh (similar age)　　　　　　　**em** (younger)

cháu (younger generation)
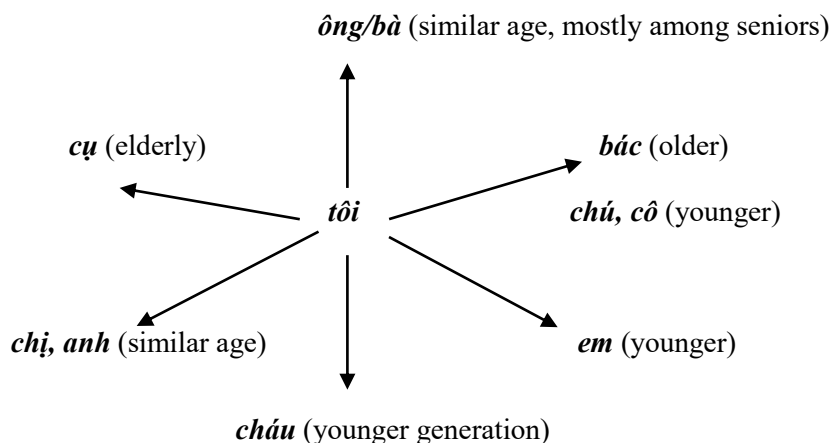
Figure 3.2 Personal pronoun *tôi* paired with kinship-term derived forms
(Adapted from Lê Biên, 1999, p. 132)

However, as Figure 3.2 demonstrates a northern person's point of view, it may be different from that of those from the other parts of the country. For instance, Lê Biên does not mention the relative age difference of the interlocutors, and particularly, the addressor. Because, according to my personal observation as well as my experience of a Vietnamese speaker who lives in the central south, this personal pronoun is generally used by mature, educated people rather than by teenagers and younger people, and in formal contexts only. Otherwise, the personal pronoun *tôi* is usually replaced by other kinship-term derived forms, according to the age/generation difference between the interlocutors. Moreover, in the central south and southern parts of the country, people often address themselves using the first-person pronouns *tui* or *tao* when speaking to people of similar age or younger and also, other kinship-term derived forms. In contrast to *tôi,* these two first-person pronouns are considered to be casual, intimate, and in certain circumstances, impolite, abrupt or derogatory (Thompson, 1987; Cooke, 1968; Nguyễn Kim Thản, 1997; Lê Biên, 1999; Đỗ Hữu Châu, 2005). Accordingly, the pronoun *tui* is often paired with kinship-term derived forms, and *tao* is usually paired with *mày* (singular) or *bay* (singular or plural) to form intimate, or sometimes, abrupt ‗you' pronouns.

It is noticeable that the use of the terms *tao-mày* varies from intimacy to abruptness or derogation, depending on the speech circumstance. For example, if they are used in long-term relationships, they are considered as showing intimacy, but a switch from other terms to *tao-*

mày is more likely to show certain emotional change, particularly into a negative state. A variant of the pair *tao-mày* used by the people in central Vietnam is the *tao/tau-mi*, which are also casual address terms, considered by Vietnamese scholars as a regional dialect (to be discussed further in Section 3.2.6.). Like *tao-mày,* this pair is used as address reciprocals among people of similar age. If there is a certain age gap between the interactants, these pairs can only be used by the older interlocutor. Kinship terms or kinship-term derived forms are to be used by the younger interlocutor in accordance with the age/generation gap and relationship between them. Among the members in my former husband's family, *tao-mày* is used by the older addressors and kinship-terms are used by the younger ones. Sharing a similar usage is their variations *tao/tau- mi* in the central dialect.

Although it has a similar original meaning to *tôi*, the personal pronoun *tớ*, derived from the common noun *đầy tớ*, also meaning ‗slave‘, denotes intimacy in its modern usage rather than formality as *tôi* does. This first-person pronoun is used only in casual communicative events, and between people of similar age in close relationships (Nguyễn Kim Thản, 1997; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003). The most common combination is *tớ-cậu*, usually found among people from the north of Vietnam. A real-life example is a Vietnamese family I know who live in Armidale, Australia. I was surprised at first when hearing the mother and daughter use the reciprocal *tớ-cậu* when conversing with each other. To my surprise, the mother explained, ―Because we consider each other as friends‖ and added, ―Her dad didn't approve though, saying that it doesn't sound appropriate, but we are used to it.‖

It is also noticeable that compared with the first-person pronouns *tao/tau*, *tớ* can be combined with more second-person address terms, for example, *(đằng) ấy, cậu* or first names, usually found among school-mates. One explanation is that *tớ* is derived from a common noun, while *tao/tau* are ―original‖ pronouns, which are restrictive in terms of their combination with other address forms. Table 3.1 summarises these common intimate/casual first-person pronouns of address and their second-person counterparts. However, the combinations of casual pronouns of address and their counterparts as discussed in Table 3.1 should be considered as flexible rather than fixed. For example, the most common first-person singular counterpart of *đằng ấy* is *tớ* (3), but a substitution of *tôi* can also be used as the first-person pronoun.

Table 3.1 Casual first- and second-person pronouns of address

1PSN Singular	1PSN Plural	2PSN Singular	2PSN Plural
1. *tao*	*tụi tao; bọn tao*	*mày*	*tụi mày; (lũ) chúng mày*
		bay; con*	*(bọn) bay; (tụi) bay; (chúng) bay*
2. *tau/ tao*	*bọn tau/ tao*	*mi*	*tụi mi*
3. *tớ*	*bọn tớ*	*(đằng) ấy*	*các ấy*
		cậu	*các cậu*
4. *tui*	*tụi tui*	Various	Various
5. *(tôi)*	*(bọn tôi)*		*các người; mấy người*
6. *đây*	*tụi này; bọn này*		

* Literally meaning ‚child'. For special usage of this term as a 2PSN pronoun, please see discussion below.

Apart from the common casual first- and second-person pronouns listed in Table 3.1, there are a few other first-person address terms used as personal pronouns, which, in certain contexts, particularly denote hostility or derogation. These include *ông* (literally meaning ‚old man' or ‚grandfather') (Example 3.3), its female-referring counterpart *bà* (literally ‚old woman' or ‚grandmother') (Example 3.4), and the kinship term-derived forms of *anh* ‚older brother' (Example 3.5), and *chị* ‚older sister' (Example 3.6). All these four terms and their context usages will be discussed in greater detail and illustrated with data samples in Chapter 5.

(3.3) This utterance was spoken by a male speaker in his 30s, talking to his male acquaintances also in their 30s. Extract from transcripts of telenovela *Tóc Rối*.

*Sẽ có ngày tụi mày biết tay **ông**.*
FUT one day PL (abrupt) know hand **grandpa**
‚**I**'ll open your eyes one day.'

(3.4) This utterance was spoken by a female speaker, talking to a male interactant who was of a higher social position. Extract from the novel *Tắt Đèn* by Ngô Tất Tố, 1939.

*Mày trói ngay chồng **bà** đi, **bà** cho mày xem!*
(abrupt) you tie up immediately husband **grandma** (ending), **grandma** give (abrupt) you see
‚Tie up **my** husband, and **I** will kill you!'

(3.5) This utterance was spoken by a female speaker in her 60s talking to a male interactant in his 30s. Extract from transcripts of telenovela *Tóc Rối*.

*Tại sao **anh** lúc nào cũng bênh con bé đó?*
Why **older brother** always favour GEN CL girl DET Q
‚Why are **you** always on her side?'

(3.6) This utterance was spoken by a female speaker in her early 20s, talking to a male interactant, also in his early 20s. Extract from transcripts of telenovela *Bỗng Dưng Muốn Khóc*.

*Bán sách lề đường mà bày đặt chảnh với **chị** hả!*
Sell books pavement but EM up-yourself with **older sister** EXC
‚Look at yourself, a street book-seller and you are up yourself to **me**!'

(Note on abbreviations: FUT = future; PL = plural; GEN CL = gender classifier; DET = determiner; Q = question word; EM = emphatic word; EXC = exclamation word)

It can be noticed that in (3.3), (3.4) and (3.6), the first-person address terms are considered abrupt, or derogative, because they are used by people who are of similar age or even younger than the addressees. In the case of (3.5), the addressor denotes distance when addressing someone a generation younger than herself by using the term *anh*, literally meaning ‚older brother'.

Especially remarkable is the term ***con**** (literally meaning ‚child') because it can be used as a second-person pronoun by someone of similar age. In this case, it denotes clear derogation identified according to the context. In Example (3.7) below, a male speaker in his 20s talks to another male interactant, also in his 20s, using this second-person pronoun to abase his interlocutor.

(3.7) *Ra đi **con**!*
Out go **child**
‚Come out here, coward!'
(Extract from transcripts of telenovela *Bỗng dưng muốn khóc*.)

Another noun-derived first person address term is *mình*, literally meaning ‚body' or ‚self', which can be used as either singular or plural, addressee-inclusive or exclusive, as illustrated in Example (3.8) below. Although some scholars do not agree that *mình* is a personal pronoun (Luong, 1990), others do, and consider it an intimate term of address, which was commonly used in the olden days between spouses, and nowadays used in close relationships, and especially as a self-address term in diaries (Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1957; Cooke, 1968; Đỗ Hữu Châu, 2005).

(3.8) a. *Hắn đập **mình** thì răng?*
‚What if he beats **me**?'

b. *Tôi tưởng **mình** phải đi.*
‚I thought **we**'d have to go.'

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c. *Mình đừng có sợ.*
  _(**You**) don't be afraid.'

(Adapted from Cadière, 1958, pp. 52–53. My emphasis.)

Example (3.8a) can be interpreted as addressee-inclusive or addressee-exclusive, depending on the context. If it is the latter case, it is normally the kind of thinking in the addressor's mind rather than the addressor talking to someone else.

In addition to their common usage, it should also be noted that because none of the Vietnamese personal pronouns is considered to be neutral in meaning, a proper plural marker needs to be chosen to match the pragmatic meaning of each singular counterpart (Cooke, 1968; Luong, 1987; Nguyễn Phú Phong, 1996; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003).

3.2.2.2 Third-person pronouns

Besides the first-, and second-person pronouns discussed above, there are third-person anaphoric pronouns, most of which are considered to have certain pragmatic implication rather than being merely neutral. In addition, when used in plural forms, the pragmatic features may change as well, as illustrated in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Third-person pronouns, their possible plural forms and usages (Adapted from Cooke, 1968; Luong, 1987; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003)

Gender	Singular pronoun	Plural form	Attitude	Usage
Male	1. *hắn(*); y; gã*	*bọn chúng*	derogatory	written form
	2. *anh/anh ấy*	*các anh*	neutral/respectful	same generation; written form
	3. *anh ta*	*bọn họ*	dislike	
	4. *ảnh(*)*	*mấy ảnh*	intimate	a few years older; spoken form
	5. *ông/ông ấy*	*họ*	neutral/respectful	one or more generations older; written form
	6. *ông ta*	*bọn họ*	dislike	
	7. *ổng (*)*	*mấy ổng*	intimate	similar age or older; spoken form
Female	8. *thị/mụ*	*bọn họ*	derogatory	written form
	9. *chị/chị ấy*	*các chị*	neutral/respectful	same generation; written form
	10. *chị ta*	*bọn họ*	dislike	
	11. *chỉ(*)*	*mấy chỉ*	intimate	a few years older; spoken form
	12. *cổ(*)*	*mấy cổ*	intimate	one generation older; spoken form
	13. *cô ấy*	*các cô ấy*	neutral/respectful	younger or similar age; spoken form (esp. in Northern dialect)

	14. *cô ta*	*bọn họ*[9]	dislike	younger or similar age; spoken or written form
	15. *bà/bà ấy*	*họ*	neutral	one or more generations older; written form
	16. *bà ta*	*họ*	dislike	
	17. *bả(*)*	*mấy bả*	intimate	similar age or older; spoken form
Non-gender distinctive	18. *nó*	*tụi nó* *bọn nó*	casual disrespect	younger; similar age; spoken form
	19. —	*(bọn) chúng*	derogatory	plural; derogatory; written form
	20. *mình*	*mình*	neutral	singular or plural anaphor

Among the listed third-person anaphoric pronouns, those with asterisks are used widely with the semantic and pragmatic features as suggested. Otherwise, when they are used among groups of people from different regional areas, they may be considered neutral. For example, the term *hắn* (1), in written form generally implies a negative attitude, but as a central regionalism, it is simply a casual anaphoric pronoun that can refer to either gender.

The term *nó* (15) is also a peculiar one in that it is used widely as a very casual or intimate anaphoric singular pronoun to refer to someone younger or of similar age to the addressor. Otherwise, it does imply a lack of respect, or derogation. Its plural forms, *tụi nó*, and *bọn nó*, respectively, follow a similar pattern. Because of its popularity, the term *nó* is discussed under different sections in the thesis, illustrated by relevant empirical data.

Also, it can be noted that the anaphoric pronouns such as *ông ấy/ta*; *bà ấy/ta*; *chị ấy/ta* and *anh/ta* are not used to substitute kinship terms of seniority (Đỗ Quang Vinh, 1994) because they denote distance.

Finally, the term *mình* in addition to its uses as intimate first-person and second-person pronouns as discussed and illustrated in Example (3.8), it can also be used as an anophoric third-person pronoun, with either singular or plural referential meanings. See Example (3.9) below.

(3.9) a. *Cậu Điểm sợ e **mình** cũng không khỏi.*
    ‗Uncle Điểm was afraid that **he** wouldn‗t overcome it.‗
    (Adapted from Cadière, 1958, pp. 52–53. My emphasis.)

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[9] The plural form *bọn họ* is considered as less respectful than *họ* (5), (15), (16), and is, therefore, used restrictedly

b. *Mấy cái đứa nhà giàu đó, toàn là một lũ ăn bám mà cứ tưởng **mình** tài lắm*!
'Those spoilt rats, they are living on their parents' wealth and think **they**'re doing better than others!'
(Extract from transcripts of telenovela *Bỗng dưng muốn khóc*. My emphasis.)

To sum up this discussion on Vietnamese personal pronouns that are used to denote closeness/intimacy, and distance, the context itself plays a crucial role in helping define their semantic as well as pragmatic features. Therefore, usages of these personal pronouns are not limited to a lexical level only, but extended and fully exploited by interactants in accordance with certain strategies that best serve their goal in the speech event. The next section will present the use of kinship terms and their derived forms in non-kinship relationships.

3.2.3   Kinship terms and non-kinship usages

As pointed out in the previous section, almost none of the personal pronouns in Vietnamese are neutral in meaning. Therefore, in daily communication, Vietnamese speakers use other terms of address for addressing and referring to people. This section presents the numerous and widely-used kinship terms in address practice among family members, and their extended usage in social relationships. It also examines pragmatic features of Vietnamese kinship terms by caterorising them into the following subsections: kinship terms in combination with proper names to denote intimacy, teknonymy and its extended usage, and address forms derived from kinship terms.

It is widely agreed among researchers of the Vietnamese language that kinship terms are the most popular forms of address, and that they are popularly used not only among people in blood relationships but also in non-kinship relationships (Buu, 1972; Cooke, 1968; Luong, 1990; Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1997; Haines, 2006). In Nguyễn Tài Cẩn's words:

> Almost all Vietnamese kinship terms are practically used as pronouns for the addressors, addressees and referents. These usages actually surpass those of personal pronouns. This is the reason why many grammarians list kinship terms among pronouns of address. (1975, p. 146; my translation)

Studies on Vietnamese kinship terms approach the matter from different perspectives. From a pragmatic perspective, Luong (1990, p. 39) states: "[t]he analysis of Vietnamese kin term meanings cannot be separated from the pragmatic presuppositions and implications constitutive of the definitions of kinship roles". He argues that these presuppositions and implications have to be based not only on the referential meanings of kinship terms, but also

on other socioculturally defined entities such as one's social status and seniority. From a semantic perspective, and with specific focus on the first- and second-person terms in Vietnamese, Haines (2006) claims that Vietnamese kinship terms are highly marked in terms of seniority, in relation to generation and gender. Most terms have seniority marking inherent in their literal meaning, such as the terms *chị* 'elder sister' and *em* 'younger sibling'. Additional information on generation marking can be found in other terms, particularly when they are reciprocally paired with another term. For example, the term *con* 'child' marks a two-generation gap when paired with *ông* 'grandfather', but only one-generation gap when paired with *chú* 'uncle' or *cô* 'aunt'. In like fashion, Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2014) remarks:

> Vietnamese has no direct equivalents of such terms as 'I', 'you' or 'we', which can be described as relatively semantically unmarked in many languages, including English. Instead, it always uses semantically marked terms. (p. 96)

From a sociological perspective, Cao Xuân Hạo (2003, p. 320) points out the advantage as well as disadvantage of the (ab)use of kinship terms in social interactions: on the one hand, the wide use of kinship terms helps bridge the distance among people who have no kinship relationships; and on the other hand, it harms social equality at public-service places and also facilitates nepotism.

It should be noted from the outset that all kinship terms in Vietnamese are often combined with a proper name, for instance, someone's first name, domestic name or name according to birth order. An interesting phenomenon, particularly in the southern region, is that when someone becomes a family member by law, his or her name will be replaced by his/her spouse's birth-order name by the other family members. For example, a fourth-child lady is referred to as *Tư* (literal meaning 'four') by older family members, *chị Tư* 'elder sister Tư' by her younger siblings, and *dì Tư* 'aunt Tư' by her nieces and nephews. When she gets married, her husband will be called *Tư, anh Tư* 'elder brother Tư', *dượng/cậu Tư* 'uncle Tư' or the like, according to his new relationships with the other family members. The use of this intimate kinship-term-plus-name combination will be further discussed in Section 3.2.4.

It is also common, especially in rural areas, for parents to be "re-named" after their children, normally the eldest one, for example, 'father-of-X' or 'mother-of-X'. This phenomenon is called teknonymy, or paedonymy. These terms originated from the Greek words τέκνον 'child' and ὄνομα 'name', and were coined by anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor in

1889. However, I have observed and come to the conclusion that the terms do not cover all the cases of Vietnamese address practice, because the phenomenon is not only applied to parents but is extended to other people in kinship and non-kinship relationships. For example, I started to address and refer to my parents as ‚granddad' and ‚grandma', my sister as ‚auntie' and my male cousins as ‚uncles' from the day I gave birth to my daughter, according to the specific role in the kin-relationship that each of them has with my daughter. I also observe that the term of reference (used for the third person) is chosen to suit the younger interlocutor's role in his/her relationship with the referent. To be more specific, in Example (3.10), two cousins of mine ask me about my mother, the first cousin (C1) is older than me, and the second cousin (C2) is younger than me. Their utterances, though literally meaning the same in English, are performed differently as shown in Example (3.10).

(3.10) C1: *Mẹ khỏe không em?*
              ‚**Mother** well Q ‚younger sibling'?'
        C2: *Dì khỏe không chị?*
              ‚**Aunt** well Q ‚older sister'?'

Both utterances in (3.10) mean ―How is your mother?" The difference between the two is that C1 uses the term ‚mother' to refer to my mother according to my role, the younger interlocutor, in the relationship between myself and my mother; whereas, C2 uses the term ‚aunt' according to her role, in her relationship with my mother. This choice of terms is, of course, not obligatory, and there is no written rule that addresses it. Yet, anecdotal evidence abounds in daily address practice.

Finally, as widely agreed among scholars of the Vietnamese address terms, Vietnamese kinship terms and their derived forms are commonly used outside familial contexts. In Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, I argued that the term *ông,* when used as a title or a personal pronoun to refer to an elderly man is derived from the kinship term meaning ‚grandfather'. Some other kinship terms in Vietnamese also have similar derived forms, with those refering to consanguineal relationships more popular than affinal ones, and their meaning in usage have something in common with the literal meanings of the kinship terms themselves such as gender and age difference. Accordingly, these address forms, which are derived from kinship terms as shown in Table 3.3, are used among social interactants. These derived forms of kinship terms can be used solely, or in combination with one's first name, or, especially in the south-west of Vietnam, one's name of birth-order in the family.

Table 3.3 Kinship-term derived forms of address

Address form	Gender		Generation gap			Derived from kinship term
	M	F	Same	One gap	One plus gap	
1. *ông*	+	–	–	–	+	'grandfather'
2. *bà*	–	+	–	–	+	'grandmother'
3. *chú*	+	-	–	+	–	'uncle'
4. *bác*	+	+	–	+	–	'uncle'/'aunt'
5. *cô*	–	+	–	+	–	'aunt'
6. *anh*	+	-	+	-	–	'elder brother'
7. *chị*	–	+	+	-	–	'elder sister'
8. *em*	+	+	+	-	–	'younger sibling'
9. *con*	–	–	–	+	+	'child'
10. *cháu*	–	–	–	+	+	'niece'/'nephew'/'grandchild'

Apart from the terms derived from kinship terms and sharing some semantic features with their original forms, there are a few terms which have exactly the same spelling as well as pronunciation as kinship terms, but have totally different meanings. For example, the terms with the same form as *ông nội* 'paternal grandfather', *bà nội* 'paternal grandmother' or *bố/cha* 'father' denote arrogance or give a humorous sense when they are used to refer to someone who is not at all in such a kin-relation: ―*Thôi đi ông nội/cha!"* ('Stop it, *mate*!'). The meanings of these terms are highly contextually-governed, and therefore, are restricted in use.

To wrap up this section, I will use data collected from a study by Trần Thanh Vân (2013) on greeting exchanges between sellers and buyers in Đồng Tháp market in the south-western part of Vietnam to illustrate the widespread use of kinship terms in daily communication practice. According to the study results, 72.64% of male sellers and 67.41% of female sellers use kinship terms and their derived forms in greeting exchanges as compared to only 1.49% and 2.53% who use personal pronouns, respectively. Another significant 85% of male customers and up to 84.62% of female customers employ kinship terms and their derived forms; whereas, personal pronouns are used by 15% of male customers and 15.38% by female customers. The data clearly suggests that kinship terms are extraordinarily common beyond family contexts.

In the sections that follow, I will discuss other forms of address terms in Vietnamese, which, though not as widely-used as kinship terms, also play an important role in address practice among Vietnamese speakers and enrich the forms of address in the language.

3.2.4 Proper names and terms of endearment

It is important to point out that it is a person's first name which is officially used in every occasion of communication in Vietnam, even when combined with a formal title, and full names are used in formal speech events, but not just surnames.

Generally, when first names are used by themselves, they refer to younger or people of similar age only. Otherwise, they are found in such combinations as those listed below.

(1)   Kinship term: *chú Bảo* (paternal inferior uncle) *Bảo*'

(2)   (Kinship term and) Birth order: *anh Ba Hưng* (brother) + birth order (2nd child) *Hưng*'

(3)   Gender classifier: *thằng Hoàng* (male-classifier) *Hoàng*', *con Cúc* '(female-classifier) *Cúc*'

(4)   Age classifier: *cụ Nhâm* (old) *Nhâm*', *lão Hạc* (old) *Hạc*'

(5)   Adjectives of endearment: *bé Hoa* (little) *Hoa*', *nhỏ Trân* (little) *Trân*'

(6)   Adjectives of physical or personal character (following the name): *Hùng béo Hùng* (fat)', *Hòa hói Hòa* (bold)'

Among the above combinations, (3), (5), and (6) can only be used in casual situations and intimate relationships. They are considered to be derogatory terms used elsewhere. In general, the common anaphoric pronoun that is used to substitute these combinations is *nó*, earlier shown as usage (18) in Table 3.2.

In the light of the previous discussion, I would like to suggest a scale of formality in Figure 3.3 where the above usages of Vietnamese names fit in.

It is the use of proper names that makes the forms of address in Vietnamese even richer, andthere are no rules for using them. Rather, it is totally a personal choice. However, presuppositions also have a decisive role in the speaker's choice, including age difference, social relation, and even the addressee's personal features. In Luong's (1990) words:

> In general, the choice among the different categories of proper nouns, as well as
> between these linguistic forms and other elements in the Vietnamese system of

person reference, inextricably relates to its situational context. Given the native conception of the vital role of language in the reproduction of socio-political order, the meanings and use of Vietnamese proper nouns cannot be separated from the pragmatic presuppositions and implications of these linguistic forms. (p. 110)

Academic title + full name	Extremely formal
Occupational title + full name	
Occupational + first name	Very formal
Personal title + first name	
First name	Informal
Kinship term + first name/domestic name	Intimate
Domestic name	
Gender classifier + name	
Name + ‗adjective‘	Intimate/derogatory
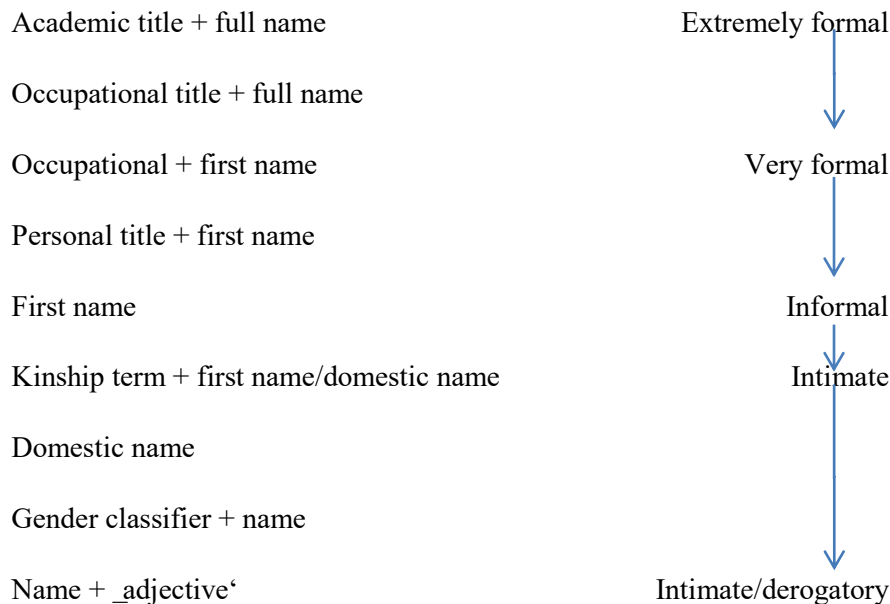
Figure 3.3 Usage of Vietnamese names: scale of formality

To some extent, the usage of proper names has its own advantage: it enables users to ―interact as peers rather than in the hierarchical relationship that use of appropriate kinship terms might have entailed" (Sidnell & Shohet, 2013, p. 627). This is the case particularly when the people involved in the interaction are in doubt of, or aim to disregard such factors as age and formality. On the other hand, it can be noted that in formal situations, one‗s name must be used in combination with a proper title for the sake of appropriate politeness.

Apart from first names, which can be widely used in domestic as well as social contexts, there are subcategories of proper nouns in the system of person reference in Vietnamese: domestic names, which are used among family members and may be extended to intimate relationships; nicknames, which are commonly related to one‗s personal characteristics; pennames; and religious names similar to those in European languages.

Most Vietnamese people are given a domestic name at birth to be used among family members. This domestic name can also be used by non-family members who have a close kin-like relationship, or who have been accepted into the bosom of the family, for example,

spouses and intimate friends. In this sense, it can be posited that Vietnamese domestic names are relatively comparable to the short forms of first names in English-speaking societies, but not as equally popular in social contacts. For example, the short forms of Liz for Elizabeth, Tom for Thomas, and Jen or Jenny for Jennifer are appropriate among family members, friends, and long-term acquaintances. These English shortened forms; however, have their extended use in more formal relationships such as lecturer/supervisor-student, employer-employee, and colleagues, which is not applicable to Vietnamese domestic names.

Nicknames have an even more restricted use than domestic names – they are only employed among members of certain groups of people, and are inappropriate in public. Such nicknames as *thằng kều* ‗(male classifier) tall', *tiến sĩ gây mê* ‗doctor of anaesthesia' (referring to a very boring teacher), *Thoại ròm* ‗skinny Thoại' can be heard among schoolmates or university mates. These nicknames, very often, have something to say about one's physical or personal characteristics, and therefore; are usually associated with a humorous or derogatory sense. Thus, their anaphors are the casual or informal terms such as *ổng, bả, nó* and the like (usages (7), (17) and (18) in Table 3.2.)

Terms of endearment in English such as ‗love', ‗darling', ‗baby' and ‗sweetheart' seem to be of greater variety and in more popular use among Western people as compared to those in the Vietnamese language. Most terms of endearment in Vietnamese are derived from adjectives, such as *bé* and *nhỏ* ‗little' to be used in address and in reference for girls not older than teenagers, and their male counterpart *cu* ‗little boy' referring to little boys. The term *cưng* ‗darling' is generally employed by older people to address younger people of the same generation, or one generation younger, and is found more in the southern region of Vietnam.

3.2.5 Zero form of address, or ellipsis

In addition to personal pronouns, kinship terms, titles, and proper names, speakers of Vietnamese also opt for a zero-form of address, which will be defined as ellipsis in this thesis. This is to facilitate discussion of forms of address in situations where important factors that help determine the choice of address terms are vague, for instance, age difference. *The Macquarie Encyclopedic Dictionary* (2011) defines ―ellipsis" in grammar as ―the omission from a sentence a word or words which would complete or clarify the construction" (p. 398). In Vietnamese, the linear order of the grammatical elements in a sentence plays a major role in defining their grammatical function. It is, therefore, necessary to examine an ellipted element from different angles so as to be able to determine the implicit choice.

Studies of Vietnamese language from pragmatic perspectives (Phạm Văn Tình, 1999, 2001, 2005) suggest that it is vital that the interlocutors share mutual knowledge of:

- the relationship between the people involved, for example, who is talking to whom;
- the topic of the communicative event, such as about someone they both know;
- the setting of the communicative event, as in a family or social context.

These types of knowledge all help the conversation occur smoothly when an address term is ellipted. As Phạm Văn Tình (2005) points out: ―Người nói và người nghe có thể có những tri thức nền giống nhau khi bắt đầu cuộc giao tiếp...Phép liên tưởng được coi là thao tác cần thiết để khôi phục các phát ngôn tỉnh lược." (p. 481) ‗The speaker and the hearer may have similar knowledge background when they start the conversation…Presuppositions are vital to recover the elliptical utterances.‗ He also agrees with Halliday and Hasan (1985) that it is the presuppositions that help create the coherence where ellipsis is in evidence. In Tomioka‗s (1998) words: ―null arguments must be contextually linked to linguistic or non-linguistic entities so that their interpretation is properly recovered" (p. 515).

Cao Xuân Hạo approaches the phenomenon of ellipsis in Vietnamese by examining it as a thematic structure that exists in a theme-rheme language such as Vietnamese.[10] The theme of a sentence is covert and becomes a ―zero thematic syntagm", in Cao Xuân Hạo‗s (1992) words: ―when what is spoken about is the speaker, the addresses, 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" statement‗‗" (Cao Xuân Hạo, 1992, p. 144).

Paying special interest in represented talk and thought (RT) in Vietnamese narratives, especially in multiparty family conversations, Nguyen H. t. (2015) suggests that ―[i]n Vietnamese, it is not obligatory that the subject or object position be filled grammatically" (p. 733), and therefore, ―whether the source of a given RT is marked explicitly or omitted, it cannot be determined by some exogenous grammatical rule but would depend on what is treated as relevant to the talk at hand" (p. 755).

Though relatively popular in address practice, ellipsis of address terms is only accepted in casual conversations, and between interlocutors in close relationships. Otherwise, it is

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[10] Cao Xuân Hạo briefly explains that in theme-rheme languages, ―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)" (1992, p. 144). Other authors call them *topic-prominent languages* (Li & Thompson, 1976, 1981).

considered to be impolite, or can be interpreted as the speaker's negative or disrespectful attitude towards the person being addressed or referred to. This practice is widely acknowledged in the literature (for example, Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1957; Thompson, 1987; Cooke, 1968; Buu, 1972; Luong, 1990) and in anecdotal evidence.

It should be noted, firstly, that ellipsis of personal reference in Vietnamese imperative sentences does not occur with high frequency, in comparison with other types of sentences, and in contrast to English. Like English and many other languages, Vietnamese imperatives are used to refer to the second person only. However, unlike in English, an imperative with an overt subject (not in the form of a question, or a request/command pattern) in Vietnamese would sound more polite, and more preferable when addressing someone older, in more formal situations, or to express affection. In this sense, Examples (3.12b) and (3.12c) below are more polite (and more emotional) than (3.12a) even among same-aged people, and (3.12a) is more often used in casual speech situations. The important point here is that imperatives with overt subjects are a particular feature that differentiates them from those of other languages such as English.

(3.12) a. *Ø Uống   đi.*
            Ø drink END

        b. ***Anh***   *uống   đi.*
            brother drink   END

        c. ***Lan***   *uống   đi.*
            Lan (proper noun) drink   END

        (Note: END = ending word in imperatives.)

Secondly, it is important to notice that it can be relatively confusing when an utterance sounds like an imperative when it is in fact a declarative, as illustrated in Example (3.13) from the telenovela *Bỗng dưng muốn khóc*.

(3.13) a. *Ø Đi   nha.*
            go   END
            ‗Off (**you**) go!'

        b. *Ø Đi   nha.*
            go   END
            ‗(**I**)'m off now.'

The English translations show that only (3.13a) is an imperative, while (3.13b) is actually a declarative with an ellipted subject.

Thirdly, it should also be noted that ellipsis of address terms in Vietnamese is applicable to the addressor, addressee or referent, and not only used as deictic pronouns but also as anaphors as demonstrated in Example (3.14) from the telenovela *Bỗng dưng muốn khóc*.

(3.14) a. *Ø¹ Biết   rồi!*
            know already
            _(**I**) know.'

   b. *Ø² Không khều còn Ø³ nói nữa!*
            no   wipe but   say (emphatic)
            _Why don't (**you**) wipe it for me instead of (**you**) complaining?'

   c. *Tối hôm qua Ø⁴ nhậu xỉn, Ø⁵ say quắc cần câu rồi, bây giờ Ø⁶ còn ngủ.*
            evening yesterday drink very drunk   already now still sleep
            _(**He**) got very drunk last night and (**he**) is still in bed now.'

   (Note: ¹ =1PSN; ²,³ =2PSN; ⁴,⁵,⁶ = 3PSN.)

Fourthly, the phenomenon of ellipsis of Vietnamese address terms as examined in this section is more relevant in casual conversations, because the zero form of address is highly suggestive of a lack of formality and/or solidarity in the discourse setting (Phạm Văn Tình, 2003; Nguyễn Thị Ly Kha, 1998). The important factors that should be taken into account include differences in age, social position and the relationship between the people involved in the conversations, and even more importantly, the attitude of the speaker towards the person addressed or referred to.

Nguyễn Minh Thuyết's (1988) remark on ellipses of address terms in Vietnamese nicely wraps up this section. He points out that practically a zero form of address terms between husband and wife can refer to an unhappy state, and when used by a government officer talking to members of the public, it may denote power, which is bureaucracy. What this shows is that ellipsis of address terms has several meanings, one of them being pragmatic connotations such as a lack of respect or affection.

3.2.6 Regionalisms

It would be remiss of me to examine address terms without discussing their regional derivations, which can be found in the subclasses of personal pronouns and kinship terms. Studies on Vietnamese address forms such as those by Nguyễn Đình-Hòa (1957), Cardière (1958), and later (Cooke, 1968; Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975; Luong, 1984, 1990; among others) acknowledge regional varieties as a part of Vietnamese address forms; although there are

disagreements on how each scholar defines these varieties, which will be further discussed below.

As discussed in Section 3.2.2, although there are differences in the ways different scholars classify the first- and second-person address terms such as *tôi/tui/tau/tớ-mày/mi* ‗I/me-you' respectively, they all agree on the existence of regional markers in some of these terms. Table 3.4 below is compiled from studies by Cooke (1968, p. 114), Nguyễn Đình-Hòa (1957, p. 142), Luong (1990, p. 139), and others.

Table 3.4 Regional varieties of personal pronouns and possible pairings

Addressor	Addressee	Regional marking
tôi	Various	None
tao	*mày*	
tớ	*cậu/(đằng) ấy*	Northern
tau	*mi*	Central
tui	Various	Central/Southern

It is noticeable that with the exception of the term *tôi*, which is considered to be the only pronoun that is relatively neutral in its referential meaning and which does not have any regional markings, all the other terms in Table 3.4 are normally used in casual communication events only, particularly the northern and central varieties. Also, since *tôi* and *tui* can be paired with various other terms of address, their usage is broader in regard to age and generation difference. On the other hand, the other terms are restricted to either same-aged interactants or senior addressor vs. inferior addressee.

In the case of kinship terms, regional varieties have been widely recognised as constituting a significant proportion of Vietnamese address terms (Nguyễn Văn Chiến, 1993; Đỗ Quang Vinh, 1994; Nguyễn Thị Ly Kha, 1998; Phạm Văn Hảo, 1998; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003). For example, Luong (1990, p. 72) provides a relatively complete list of the terms to be used as equivalents of English ‗father' and ‗mother', including *cha, thầy, bố, tía* ‗father'and *me, đẻ, u, má* ‗mother'. Nevertheless, I strongly disagree with Luong‗s discussion of the ―contextual differentiation‖ in terms of level of formality. Because regionalism and formality belong to different scales, which may denote totally different semantic and pragmatic meanings, it is arguable that they should be compared and contrasted. Additionally, although Luong‗s list includes the most common terms for ‗father' and ‗mother', some terms are missing. For example, these are some terms used in the northern region, *cậu* ‗father' and *mạ/mợ* ‗mother', which he did not mention until later in the last note (p. 196), and *bu, bầm*

‗mother.' The levels of frequency and also formality of these terms may vary in everyday address practice, and need further research for precise levels of frequency. However, they can be all traced and found in use in Vietnamese popular literature works. Below is a proposed alternative list of the variations of terms equivalent to the English ‗father' and ‗mother'.

Table 3.5. Regional markings of the varieties of *cha-mẹ* ‗father-mother' (Adapted mainly from Cadìere, 1958; Cooke, 1968; Luong, 1990)

Regional marking	**'Father'**	**'Mother'**
Northern	*thầy, bố, cậu*	*đẻ, u, bu, bầm, mợ*
Central	*ba*	*mạ, me*
Southern	*ba*	*má*
South-western	*tía*	*má*
Central/ southern	*cha*	*mẹ*

In addition to the variations in address forms for ‗father' and ‗mother', there are also a number of other kinship-term derived forms, which constitute a widely-used class of third-person anaphoric pronouns in the southern dialect, particularly in daily speech. Examples include *ổng, ảnh* (male), and *bả, chỉ, cổ* (female), pluralised by *mấy*. (See also Table 3.2 and the follow-up discussion). However, unlike what is suggested in Table 3.2, people from the south-western part of Vietnam use these regional varieties to express friendliness or intimacy rather than derogation or disrespect. In like fashion, a very interesting discussion of these regionalisms by Đỗ Quang Vinh (1994, p.51) offers a better understanding of the practical usages of these terms (Example 3.15).

(3.15) *Một số người bình dân miền Nam nói rằng:*
　　*"Tôi mua cái này cho má tôi, **bả** thích lắm"*
　　Thế nhưng thay "bả" bằng "bà ấy" theo cách nói sau đây:
　　*"Tôi mua cái này cho má tôi, **bà ấy** thích lắm"*
　　Thì người miền Bắc thấy chói tai vì cho là kém thân thương và thiếu lễ độ. (p. 51)
　　‗Some non-intellectual people from the South (of Vietnam) would say:
　　─I bought this for my mother, and **bả** (casual ‗she') liked it."
　　However, when the *bả* is replaced by the *bà ấy* as below:
　　─I bought this for my mother, and **bà ấy** (formal ‗she') liked it."
　　This would be considered as a lack of affection and respect by Northen people.'

It is probably because of the different perceptions in terms of affection and, more importantly, respectfulness, that these regional forms are not used in formal social contexts such as in the media. Instead, a non-regional form will make the anaphors more formal, for

example, *ông ấy* and *anh ấy* ‗he, him', *bà ấy, chị ấy*, and *cô ấy* ‗she, her' as singular forms and *họ* ‗they/them' as the plural form (Table 3.2) to be used in formal contexts.

In conclusion, Section 3.2.6 has covered the most common types of address forms in Vietnamese and pragmatic connotations of the feature either solidarity/intimacy or distance. As indicated, there are a few usages of kinship terms that differentiate them from what are wrongly classified as kinship terms. It is suggested that these terms should be treated as mere homonyms on account of their lack of semantic connections with the others. The next section will be devoted to this argument.

3.2.7 Homonyms among Vietnamese address terms

There are reasons to believe that some of the address terms in Vietnamese are homonyms. A *homonym* is defined in *The Macquarie Enclyclopedic Dictionary* (2011, p. 595) as ‗‗a word that is identical with another in pronunciation and spelling, but different in meaning". The terms to be discussed here are not polysemous words either, considering their referential meanings in specific contexts. Acknowledging these homonymous terms is important not only in the classifications of the terms, but also in translation practice. This section will discuss the most significant homonyms among address terms in Vietnamese by showing how their referential meanings are so different from their literal meanings.

3.2.7.1 The non-kinship terms '*ông*' and '*bà*'

In many previous studies, the variations of *ông* and *bà* are all simply interpreted as referring to either the kinship terms ‗grandfather' and ‗grandmother', or ‗‗respectful reference or address of older or middle-aged men/women" (Spencer, 1945, pp. 288–289; Cooke, 1968, pp. 128–130). Personally, I find that there is the possibility that these interpretations are ambiguous to non-Vietnamese speakers. Two examples reproduced from Luong (1990, p. 13) and Sidnell and Shohet (2013, p. 621) illustrate this point. In Example (3.16), Hàm (H) and Dân (D) are colleagues, H is nine years older than D and is D's supervisor. In (3.17), Việt (V) is 10 years old talking to Na (N), his aunt, who is five years younger than himself. Emphases and translations are retained as in the originals.

(3.16) H: *Ông Dân ơi, ông ngồi xuống đây tôi nhờ ông cái này.*
          ‗‗Grandfather" Dân hey, ‗‗grandfather" sit down here subject-of-the-King ask-to-help ‗‗grandfather" CLASSIFIER this.
          ‗‗Hey Mr. Dân, Mister will sit down here (so that) subject [i.e., the speaker] can ask for Mister's help with this matter"
      H: *Bữa đó anh kêu bệnh, em phải làm thay anh cả buổi sáng đó anh nhớ không?*

Day that elder-brother claim sick, younger-sibling have-to work as-a-substitute-for elder-brother all half-day-unit morning that elder-brother remember no?

"That day, elder brother [i.e., the addressee] claimed illness; younger sibling [i.e., the speaker] had to work in elder brother's place for the whole morning, does elder brother remember?"

(3.17) V: **Bà**   *uống hết trơn   phải không?*
Grandmother drink clean out   Q
Grandma [you] downed all of it right?'

I disagree with both the literal translations and their English equivalents because both examples here clearly illustrate relationships that neither demonstrate grandfather/grandma-grandson, nor a formal relationship. In fact, in (3.16) it is a supervisor-staff member relationship, and the purpose of the utterance is explained by Luong (1990) as to "distance himself from his staff member" because of his superior status and his older age. However, he later explains the switch from these *ông-tôi* terms to *anh-em* as a presupposition of "his inferior status vis-a-vis his staff member", in which, H addressed himself as *em* 'younger sibling' when in fact he is 9 years older than D. These explanations contradict each other. In fact, if H is older than D, but addresses himself as if he were younger, it should be understood that he was abasing himself, and therefore, indicating a further distance than his former use of address terms. Otherwise, if it is the speaker's aim to distance himeself from his younger staff member, the self-address pronoun should be the formal *tôi* to be paired with *anh* 'elder brother' rather than the inferior kinship term *em* 'younger sibling'.

The situation in (3.17) where *bà* is used is a little more complicated: N (the addressee) is V's (the addressor) aunt in their familial hierarchy although she is 5 years younger. Sidnell and Shohet (2013, p. 622) explain the use of *bà* 'grandmother' by V as an illustration of "status asymmetry, or hierarchy", which is not correct. The term should, in fact, be considered as an arrogant or ironic pronoun of address, because N is neither V's grandmother nor old enough to be addressed with the term for an elderly woman. In this regard, I agree with most of what Cooke (1968, p. 135) lists and discusses as "displaced meanings" of kin terms. According to Cooke, displaced meanings of kinship terms occur in situations where there is an implication of "exaggeration of the addressee's relative status" (1968, p. 136).

I argue that the various usages of terms of this kind should be treated as the different variants, or homonyms of the kinship counterparts. For instance, there are at least eight different usages of the term *ông* in Vietnamese address practice, and a similar number of usages can be applied to its female counterpart *bà*. Table 3.6 will demonstrate other possible

usages of the term *ông* apart from its usage as a kinship term, literally meaning ‚grandfather'. The following examples illustrate the permutations.

Table 3.6 Grammatical functions and pragmatic usages of the term *ông*

(3.18)	**Meaning/situation**	**Grammatical function**	**Pragmatic usage**
(a)	Kinship or non-kinship; similar generation	2PSN pronoun	Intimacy
(b)	Non-kinship, meaning ‚elderly man'	Title (normally used with first name); 1PSN or 2PSN pronoun	Politeness
(c)	Non-kinship; age gap not of importance	Title (normally used with full name and/or with other titles); 3PSN anaphor	Respect and/or distance
(d)	Non-kinship; similar generation	Title (with first name) Title (with other titles)	Intimacy Disrespect/casualness
(e)	kinship or non-kinship; age gap varies	1PSN pronoun	Arrogance
(f)	Non-kinship; middle-aged to elderly addressee	2PSN pronoun of address	Distance/arrogance
(g)	kinship or non-kinship	3PSN pronoun	Neutral attitude/respect

(3.18) a. ***Ông*** *ơi, nghỉ tay ăn cơm!*
   (Elderly wife talking to elderly husband)
   ‚Stop working, **darling**. Dinner is ready.'

b.&g. *Hôm nay con gặp **ông** Bảy ở nhà sách. Thấy **ông** không được khỏe.*
   (Son talking to mother)
   ‚I came across **(old)** Bảy in the bookstore today. **He** didn't look very well.'

c. *Xin giới thiệu **ông** Phan Văn X [...]*
   (Introduction of a speaker)
   ‚May I introduce **Mr**. Phan Văn X [...]'

d. *Chiều nay **ông** Toàn đem cuốn vở Hóa cho tui mượn nghe.*
   (Between school-mates)
   ‚Could **you** lend me your Chemistry notebook this afternoon, Toàn?'

e. ***Ông*** *sẽ cho chúng mày biết tay.*
   (Man in his thirties talking to similar-aged addressees)
   ‚**I**'ll open your eyes one day.'

f. *Tôi cứ vào, **ông** làm gì được tôi chớ?*
   (Lady in her twenties talking to man in his fifties)
   ‚What if I keep going? What can **you** do?'

(All of the above examples are extracted from either my casual observations during my field trips or from the transcripts of the telenovelas.)

It should be noted that usages (c) and (g) are common in both written and spoken forms as a formal anaphoric pronoun. In this regard, the term can actually replace those used with an indication of respect or distance.

The female counterpart of *ông* is *bà*, which has very similar usages in similar contexts: as a formal title, an intimate personal pronoun, abrupt personal pronoun, and a formal third-person endophora. More examples of this term will be provided in the discussion of the pronoun *tôi* in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.2).

3.2.7.2 The non-kinship terms '*anh*' and '*chị*'

Similar to the kinship terms *ông* and *bà*, the kinship terms **anh** ‚elder brother' and **chị** 'elder sister' also have several variations of usage in different situations. However, the boundary between kinship usage and non-kinship usage is not transparent in the case of *anh* and *chị*, due to the small age gap in their literal meaning. Beyond their use in kinship relationships such as those between siblings and cousins, these terms are widely used in social relationships among long-term acquaintances or strangers of similar age. However, it has to be noted that in intimate relationships, these two terms have very close meanings to their literal meaning as kinship terms. Otherwise, they can be used as (a) formal titles referring to young people; (b) distant second-person pronouns used by an older addressor, as illustrated below. These xamples are from anecdotal observation (3.20a) and from the data set (3.20b).

(3.20) a. ***Anh Hưng*** *có ý kiến gì không?*
            (Dean of a faculty asking a younger colleague at a meeting)
            ‚Do **you** have any questions, **Hưng**?'

        b. ***Anh*** *đừng hòng mà qua mắt được tôi!*
            (Angry mother-in-law talking to son-in-law)
            ‚Do **you** think I'm blind?'

In addition to the usages discussed above, data from the transcripts of the two telenovelas also reveal some differences in the pragmatic connotations of these terms in regard to emotion. These connotations have to be interpreteted in context, particularly when they are paired with different counterparts. For example, when the terms *anh/chị* are paired with the kinship-term derived *em* ‚younger sibling' they are considered to be relatively intimate. However, when they are paired with the first-person pronoun *tôi,* there is an indication of distance or arrogance. This point will be discussed further and illustrated with relevant research data in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.2).

3.2.7.3 The non-kinship term '*cô*'

First of all, it is interesting to observe that the female term of address *cô* has more variants than any of its male counterparts, or, some of the variants of it do not have a male counterpart. As indicated in Footnote 2 (p. 2), it is rather difficult to provide an English translation for the literal or referential meaning of this term because its variety and transparency totally depends on the context where it is used. For example, this one term can have various equivalents in English for the words meaning ‗paternal aunt‘, ‗Miss/Mrs.‘, ‗lady‘, ‗female teacher‘, or, in many cases just as simple as a formal second-person pronoun for a female addressee. Table 3.7 below summarises possible usages of the second-person address term *cô* apart from its usage as a kinship term and a professional title meaning ‗female teacher‘. These two usages do not vary according to the age and attitude of the interactants involved. In addition, when used as a kinship term or a professional term, *cô* can function as first-, second-, or third personal pronouns, while the other usages are more common as a second-person term.

Table 3.7 Non-kinship usages of the second-person address term *cô*

	Age			Relationship		Attitude
	Younger	**Similar**	**One-gen. older**	**Distance**	**Intimate**	
1.	+	+	−	+	−	Respect
2.	+	+	−	+	+	Distant/abrupt
3.	−	−	+	+	+	Polite

It can be observed from Table 3.7 that the different uses of the second-person address term *cô* and its pragmatic connotations rely on two important factors: age gap and relationship between the addressor and addressee. These variations of *cô* can have the grammatical functions of a formal title similar to the English titles Miss/Mrs when combined with one‘s name, or as a personal pronoun when used alone. In an intimate relationship, a switch from a kinship term such as *chị* ‗older sister‘ or *em* ‗younger sibling‘ to *cô* can indicate a change of emotion in the direction of distance. For example, some scholars of Vietnamese culture and Vietnamese address practice point out that in spousal and romantic relationships, when the male partner addresses his female counterpart as *cô*, it means that their relationship is failing (Lê Biên, 1999, p. 137; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003, p. 318). In this sense, *cô* is very close to the English noun ‗lady‘ in vocative usage although it is used as a second-person pronoun in Vietnamese.

Because of the variations of terms and their different connotations, it is not easy to interpret the real pragmatic message conveyed in their use. Therefore, it is suggested that the

situational context of the speech event must be taken into account, including the term that is used to pair with them. This point will be further discussed and illustrated with data samples in Section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5.

Besides those terms that have been examined in Sections 3.2.7.1, 3.2.7.2 and 3.2.7.3, there are other terms that also have variants, but not as many and not in popular use as the ones already discussed. These terms include the term *bác*, generally used by people from the north of Vietnam, to informally address a male interactant who is a few years older than the addressor, and the term *chú* in similar use to address a younger male interactant. There is no evidence of the use of these two terms in the data analysis, including the two telenovelas as well as the movies that were the source of data presented and analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. Therefore, no further discussion is devoted to these terms.

The discussion above has drawn our attention to some terms that are often generalised and mislabelled as kinship terms while their reference is not directly related to kin relationships. Because of the apparent differences in their literal meanings as well as their pragmatic connotations, I have argued that some variations of the terms *ông, bà, anh, chị, cô* and *chú* should be considered as mere homonyms of their kinship-term counterparts, and should not be labelled as kinship-term derived forms of address. This section is also important because the phenomenon of homonymy will be revisited several times in the thesis due to the popular uses of these terms and their variants found along the line in data analysis.

To summarise, Section 3.2 has discussed major characteristics of Vietnamese address terms and their most common usages on the grounds of pragmatic meanings, mainly focusing on intimacy and distance. Section 3.3 will extend the discussion on these pragmatic features by exploring address strategies employed by Vietnamese speakers in order to succeed in gaining the specific communicative goals set in their mind, for instance, to establish intimacy or distance towards the addressee.

3.3   Address strategies

In his discussion of how to master the Vietnamese language, Đinh Trọng Lạc (1997, pp. 7–8) suggests three factors that are decisive in linguistic choices in communication practice: the persons and their relationship, the formality of the context, and the practical goal of the communication event. In order to achieve the goal, the people involved in a communication event need certain strategies, and the employment of address terms is among these

strategies, as suggested by Đỗ Hữu Châu (2005), who points out that addressing is the first strategy among communicative strategies that one interlocutor employs in a conversation. More often than not, this kind of strategy, as will be illustrated by a number of examples that follow, should be considered as a temporary strategy, as it reflects the interlocutor's choice in a specific situation for his or her own purpose of communication (Nguyễn Phú Phong, 2002; Đỗ Hữu Châu, 2005). Address strategies in this section are divided into two subtypes, according to two different directions: towards solidarity (or familiarity)/intimacy, and towards power/distance.

3.3.1 Address strategies towards intimacy

From the perspective of lexical linguistics, the frequent use of kinship terms for personal address and reference beyond family ties can be traced to the limited number of personal pronouns in the Vietnamese language. From a sociolinguistic perspective, however, this (over)use of kinship terms in social relationships suggests traditional thinking shaped in a hierarchical society, in which seniority and hierarchy are matters to be always taken into account. For example, Luong (1990, p. 134) remarks: "the widespread use of kinship terms for address among non-kin…foregrounds the age-based roles of the referents in their own kinship units".

An example of address strategy is the use of address terms in the practice of selling and buying, particularly at markets. The goal in this kind of communication is clear: for the seller to have more customers; for the buyers to be offered a good bargain (or at least they believe so). A survey of 2,000 conversations between sellers and buyers conducted by Trần Thanh Vân (2003) around the market of Đồng Tháp, a southern city in the Mekong delta in Vietnam, reveals that sellers employ a greater variety of address terms than buyers do. Also, it is interesting to find out that in conversations in such contexts, it is the "addressing" part that counts, not the "self-addressing", especially on the part of the seller, because,

> For sellers, one of the trading strategies is to establish a close relationship with buyers, and addressing is essential, because it denotes a buyer-centred attitude. An utterance without a self-address term is fine, but not without an addressing term. (p. 65, my translation)

The researcher concludes that greetings are an important part of the whole selling/buying practice. The people involved in this kind of practice always link their language use to their

particular communicative goal. Therefore, a proper choice of address term in greetings will help ease the selling/buying practice.

Another study examining 500 recorded conversations at markets in four cities around the country, including Hà Nội in the north, Huế and Nha Trang in the centre, and Hồ Chí Minh City in the south reveals a similar result: 80 percent of the questions posed by sellers and buyers revealed the widespread use of kinship-term derived forms (Mai Thị Kiều Phượng, 2004). The researcher (p. 24) explains this by suggesting three major reasons: (1) the traditional culture that emphasises the relationships between people in the community, particularly, hierarchical relationships, (2) the tradition of *xưng khiêm-hô tôn* _address oneself with modesty; address others with respect' (as discussed in Section 3.2.2), and (3), the specific strategy that establishes familiarity and friendliness in communication between sellers and buyers. Mai Thị Kiều Phượng also suggests that by opting for kinship-term derived forms in their greeting exchanges, sellers want to sound —close" in order to attract more customers, and, vice versa, the buyers seek a family-like relationship for (hopefully) getting good bargains (my translation).

Address strategies are, however, not unique in Vietnamese address practice. Rather, they are comparable across cultures. Strategies employed by speakers to express friendliness are expressively applicable in a society such as Australia, where —informality" is considered as its near-universal characteristic (Wierzbicka, 1991). Below is an excerpt from the greeting part of a letter, the sender of which is a member of Australian Parliament, and the receiver, an Australian citizen (Example 3.21).

(3.21)

> 9 May 2016
>
> Ms Ann Morton
> 186 Dangar Street
> ARMIDALE NSW 2350
>
> Via e-mail: annmorton186@gmail.com
>
> Dear Ms Morton *Ann*

In Example (3.21), the address strategy employed by the sender of the letter is visible, and can be easily interpreted as the sender's indication of friendliness and closeness to his/her addressee by crossing over the surname (probably typed by his secretary) and replacing it with a hand-written first name of the reciever. It is necessary to explain that this is not the only correction found in letters sent by this same member of Parliament, because one might argue that the correction was made only in that particular situation and targetting that particular receiver. In fact, more evidence that features similar corrections in the letters from

this sender abound. It can, therefore, be briefly concluded that address strategies are employed by speakers across languages.

Apart from strategic employment of address terms in situations such as the selling-buying contexts as previously discussed, Vietnamese speakers can also make a change of their intitial choice if that strategic change necessitates a situation in which the speaker attempts to establish a long-term relationship. For example, Nguyễn Đình-Hòa (1997, p. 130) suggests:

> A man eager to pay court to a young woman would begin by calling *cô* ‚aunt‛
> when they first met, and later change to *chị* ‚elder sister‛ as they get to know
> each other better; when he finally calls her *em* ‚younger sister‛, this is the signal
> that they have become sweethearts.

However, I do not agree with the way Nguyễn Đình-Hòa interpreted the term *cô* ‚aunt‛ in the above quote because of the non-kin relationship between the interlocutors. I would suggest ‚Miss‛ or ‚lady‛ as they are terms that denote distance and respect for a female stranger. Nevertheless, the address strategy employed by the change of address terms is evident.

In contrast to the strategy towards intimacy, the other way round is also worth studying, which is address strategy towards distance, as discussed below.

3.3.2 Address strategies towards distance

On examining the terms of address used by Vietnamese husbands and wives in different contexts, Mai Xuân Huy (1996) suggests different emotional states in their relationship: (1) intimately close; (2) neutral; (3) incompatible; (4) distant; and (5) controversy - each state modified by the use of certain address terms. The author found that husbands and wives tend to switch from the intimate pair *anh-em* ‚elder brother- younger sibling‛ when they are having a healthy relationship to the parental terms when they have a child (which may vary depending on their family background), then opting to switch between *anh/em* and the first-person pronoun *tôi* when conflicts occur, then an ellipsis of an address term to express distance and maybe derogation (found more among husbands than wives), and finally, a more consistent use of personal pronouns *tôi, tao* ‚I/me‛ and *mày* ‚you‛ - together with other insulting words (1996, pp. 43–46).

In the same vein, after studying the similarities in cultural features between Japanese and Vietnamese on the grounds of their address system, Hoàng Anh Thi (1995) says: ‚the first-

person pronoun of address *tôi* in Vietnamese is a neutral one, which expresses no emotion when used in social contexts" (p. 59), and adds:

> This same pronoun when used in domestic contexts, for instance, between husband and wife or between children and parents, grandchildren and grandparents, it means that there is certain damage in the relationship, and that the addressor is angry and at that moment shows no love and respect to the other interactant. (pp. 59-60; my translation).

However, empirical evidence from the data collected in this study (see Section 5.3.2) reveals that *tôi* denotes arrogance in several situations in which it is used by a younger addressor to address an addressee who is one or maybe two generations older than himself or herself. In fact, I devote the whole Section 5.3.2 to the discussion of this term and how it affects interpretations of the connotations of the terms paired with it.

On the other hand, in other communicative events, the interactants may decide their strategy from the beginning. In one example to be examined here, the addressor in the conversation effectively employs kinship terms as a communication strategy to clarify the situation as she wishes. I reproduce a true story that was narrated by a poet, retold and emphasised by Đỗ Hữu Châu (2005, p. 377) to illustrate this point. The poet once gave a young lady a lift on his bicycle for a distance of over 30 kilometres. Although exhausted by cycling and also being afraid of getting caught by his wife, the poet himself felt happy when the young lady kept addressing him using the intimate address terms of *anh-em*. To his disappointment, as they approached the destination, the young lady hopped off the bicycle, and thanked the poet, saying ―*Cháu cảm ơn chú đã cho đi nhờ!*" (Thanks for giving me a lift.), using the pair *cháu-chú* ‚niece-uncle'. The strategy that is employed by the young lady in this example can be explained as follows: at the beginning, for the sake of her request for a lift, she sought closeness and, therefore, used the intimate terms to address herself and the addressee; but after she achieved the goal, she would emphasise seniority by using the one-generation-gap pair of terms in order to establish the distance between her and the lift-giver.

Another example, one that can be considered the opposite to the correction performed by the member of Parliament as previously mentioned is one in which a former daughter-in-law corrects her former mother-in-law's term of addressing her. Without the situational context, the following utterance spoken by the daughter-in-law extracted from a conversation between the two is sufficient to demonstrate her indication of distance between them (Example 3.22, from

novel _Nửa Chừng Xuân'_ by Khái Hưng, 1934). The example will also wrap up the discussion of address strategies towards intimacy and distance employed by Vietnamese speakers.

(3.22) _Tôi xin cụ đừng gọi tôi là mợ. Tôi không phải, tôi không còn là con dâu cụ, mà cũng không bao giờ cụ thèm nhận tôi là con dâu cụ, cụ nhớ điều ấy cho. Vậy cụ cứ dùng chữ cô cũng đủ lắm rồi._

Please do not address me as **mợ** _daughter-in-law'_, because I am not, I am no longer your daughter-in-law. In fact, I have to remind you that you have never accepted me as your daughter-in-law. So, just call me **cô** _lady'_. (My emphasis)

By way of summary, although address strategy is a personal choice according to one's communication goal, it should take into account those factors such as the social hierarchy and communication contexts. Overuse of either strategy – towards intimacy or distance – affects not only the user but also social order to some extent. For example, there are criticisms of the uses of casual terms such as _sếp_ boss'and _lính_ inferior soldier', abrupt pronouns _mày-tao,_ and other parental kinship terms by some people who are in superior positions. This clearly violates the necessary formality and democracy at workplaces.

Appropriate use of address terms, therefore, is essential, particularly in social contexts, because it helps maintain the social harmony among people with no kinship relationships, and at the same time, ensures democracy and equality.

3.4   Summary and conclusion

Chapter three has discussed significant points that cannot be ignored when studying the terms of address in the Vietnamese language. The chapter employed the notions of familial hierarchy, appropriate politeness, and intimacy vs. distance as the starting point to demonstrate address practice among Vietnamese speakers. Unlike previous studies, which usually provided a collage of address terms, the chapter proceeded with the classification of Vietnamese address terms based on their pragmatic usages: titles, personal pronouns, kinship terms, proper names, elliptical terms of address and regionalism. Also, by pointing out the differences in non-kinship usages of some terms such as _ông/bà, anh/chị_ and _cô_ in situations governed by negative states of emotion, the chapter argued that these terms should be treated as mere homonyms of their kinship counterparts. The final part of the chapter explored address strategies towards intimacy versus distance and concluded that overuse of either strategy can lead to consequences rather than advantages. This chapter is important in that it establishes the knowledge background on which the analysis and discussion of data in chapters 5 and 6 will be based.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology and procedures

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework around which the study is built, and provides a contextual overview and details of data collection methods and procedures adopted for the research. The framework is built around theories of ethnography of speaking and ethnopragmatics that help in answering the main research questions for the study.

4.1 Conceptual framework and methodology

4.1.1 Ethnography of speaking and ethnopragmatics

Ethnography of speaking is a concept that was introduced by Hymes (1964) to refer to the study of the rules of speaking within particular settings and linguistic activities performed by speakers of a language. The study of ethnography of speaking seeks to explain the speakers' use of language to achieve self-identification and to conduct their activities. Building on this foundation, Saville-Troike (2003) put more flesh onto the approach and expanded it with the term ―ethnography of communication‖. Saville-Troike argued that ethnography of communication is significant to different fields of study, especially to sociolinguistics since it has potential contributions to ―knowledge about social norms governing linguistic choice‖ (Gumperz, 1970, cited in Saville-Troike, 2003, p.7); to applied linguistics, thanks to its ‗identification of what a second language learner must know in order to communicate appropriately in various contexts in that language‖; and to theoretical linguistics, with its ―contribution to the study of universals in language form and use‖ (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 6–7). Diversity of speech has been singled out as the hallmark of sociolinguistics, which can be traced from various perspectives: the switches between distinct languages, between varieties of a single language, or between pronouns within a single variety (Hymes, 1972).

The term ―ethnopragmatics‖ was coined by Duranti in the late 1900s (Duranti, 1984a, 1984b, 1993), which is a blending of ethnography and pragmatics. While ethnography attempts to understand ―local communicative practices and speakers' attitudes toward the meaning and impact of those practices,‖ pragmatics focuses on the ―contextual life of

language" (Duranti, 2011, p. 151). The term was later expanded as an approach to the study of language, interaction, and culture (Duranti, 1994, 2001, 2007, 2009). Although there does not seem to be an explicit connection between Duranti's and Goddard's (2002, 2004 & 2006) interests, they both use the term "ethnopragmatics" to deal with questions of communication within and across cultures. Goddard employs the term "ethnopragmatics" with a focus on what makes sense to the people involved: their beliefs, attitudes, emotions and social categories. In contrast to "cultural-blind" linguistic pragmatics (Goddard, 2006, p. 2), ethnopragmatics emphasises "culturally anchored explanations" (Goddard, 2006, p. 19). In general, it is agreed by Goddard (2002) and Wierzbicka (2003) that ethnopragmatics helps "designate the study of culture-specific norms, rules, and models of usage" (Goddard, 2002, p. 53).

With a special focus on the pragmatic significance revealed in the various uses of address terms by speakers of the Vietnamese language in natural communicative contexts, this study will employ the theory of ethnopragmatics to help explain different uses of different address terms to convey different kinds of emotions during speech events.

4.1.2 Content analysis and conversation analysis

The specific purpose of the study focuses on the particular ways of self-addressing and addressing/referring to other people among Vietnamese speakers, and also the translations of address terms between Vietnamese and English. Although the major analytical frame-work for this thesis is built around the ethnopragmatics and ethnography of communication, the insights of conversation and content analyses are used in some instances where relevant. Particularly, as the focus of this project is on understanding discourse, in addressing how different kinds of emotions are conceptualised, content analysis and conversation analysis are believed to be the most appropriate approaches. As Krippendorff (2013) puts it, "[r]ecognizing meanings is the reason that researchers engage in content analysis rather than in some other kind of investigative method" (pp. 27).

One of the broadest definitions of content analysis is by Holsti (1968), who puts it in his own words as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and *objectively* identifying special characteristics of messages" (p. 608). According to this definition, and from this perspective, various types of materials, including videotapes, voice recordings and artefacts, as long as they can be transferred into text, are susceptible to content analysis. One of the advantages of content analysis, as suggested by Abrahamson (1983, p. 286), is that it "can be fruitfully employed to examine virtually any type of communication."

Mayring (2000) illustrates how content analysis helps in integrating data in specific contexts. As a technique, content analysis is –an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2005, p. 5). Furthermore, as Krippendorff (1989) remarks, –content analysis allows researchers to establish their own context for inquiry, thus opening the door to a rich repertoire of social-scientific constructs by which texts may become meaningful in ways that a culture may not be aware of" (p. 404). Some well-known examples of content analysis applied in communication research include a study of the presidential campaign advertisements broadcast in Columbus, Ohio in 1996, conducted by Prior (2001), and a study of the coverage of chronic diseases in Canadian aboriginal newspapers published between 1996 and 2000, conducted by Hoffman-Goetz, Shannon & Clarke (2003). In discussing content analysis, an interesting comparison was offered by Krippendorff (2004), in which he compares the work of a content analyst with that of Sherlock Holmes. The similarity is that both of them attempt, from their factual observations, to construct logical links between physical and non-physical evidence, for example, the representations of language. Krippendorff argues that content analysis is an appropriate methodology for analysing attributions that are not explicitly expressed by language, such as attitudes and emotions, and social relationships, because content analyses pay attention to how language is used, –relying on social grammars of recorded speech or written communication of which speakers or writers may not be fully aware" (2004, p. 76). He concludes: –content analyses are most likely to succeed when analysts address linguistically- constituted social realities that are rooted in the kinds of conversations that produced the texts being analyzed" (p. 77).

Considered to be one approach to the study of talk in natural settings, conversation analysis has developed since the mid-twentieth century, and has been employed by many researchers, related to various aspects of social studies, ranging from helpline calls (Sacks, 1992) to interactions in courts of law (Atkinson & Drew, 1979), in clinical settings (Maynard, 2003), in classrooms (Mehan, 1979; Lerner, 1995), at public speeches (Atkinson, 1984), broadcast news interviews (Clayman & Heritage, 2002), calls to the emergency services (Zimmerman, 1992), and interactions in medical practice (Stivers & Heritage, 2001).

Explaining why conversation analysis is a popular technique in this field, Krippendorff (2004) remarks:

…inasmuch as conversations involve several participants whose utterances are made in response to previous utterances and in anticipation of future responses (thus the process is directed from within a conversation), researchers have the opportunity to understand conversations as cooperatively emerging structures that are, at each point in the process, responsive to past interactions and anticipatory of moves to come. (p. 68)

Also for better understanding of social interactions and the people involved, Heath (1984) suggests that conversation analysis helps explore the relationship between the interlocutors and the speech event as well as the ‒nature of sustaining involvement in social interaction" (p. 247). Moreover, as Josephson and Josephson (1994) observe, the understanding of speech is complemented by knowledge about the speakers, about the world, and of the language being used.

More recently, Nguyen H. t. (2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2016) pays her special interest in employing conversation analysis to examine the interactional practices of sequential organisation. Nguyen H. t. studies patient consultations performed by novice pharmacists and patients in pharmacies to understand the component actions and their ordering in speech exchange in this particular setting (Nguyen H. t., 2012b, 2013). Also on the ground of sequential organisation practices, Nguyen H. t. (2016) offers further insight into the strengths and limitations of classroom role-plays and their employment in an authentic workplace setting – in this case, clerkship consulations. By extending the inquiry in conversation analysis into a new direction, the author suggests that conversation analysis ‒in general is occupied with explicating structures of interaction rather than tracking individuals' movement within these structures" (2016, p. 19). The contribution of her studies to conversation analysis is profound. In one of her studies, Nguyen H. t. points out:

Among the things we can gain in such an inquiry is an understanding about how an individual's ‗staffing' of a previous structure may inform her ‗staffing' of a next related structure, and how the interrelatedness and distinctiveness between structures of interaction may be brought about by not only contextual forces but also the selective continuity and adjustment of the participant's interactional practices. (2016, p. 20)

To sum up, this is a qualitative study that is built around the framework of ethnopragmatics and ethnography of communication. Content analysis and conversation analysis are helpful approaches to be employed where relevant.

4.2 Methods and procedures

One of the very first decisions that a researcher has to make is the selection of data sets. Goetz and Hansen (1974) suggest that ethnography and its counterpart in other study fields were developed to investigate small, homogeneous groups of people whose natural sociocultural contacts were limited to face-to-face interaction. In a broader sense, in their discussion of units of selection, LeCompte and Preissle (1993) choose to use the term *population*, which is defined as ‒potential human respondents or participants in a study, but nonhuman phenomena and inanimate objects also are potential populations" (p. 60). The selection of participants, therefore, involves defining the kind and number of people and objects to be studied, and the circumstances under which they are to be studied. In this project, the major focuses are on the emotional messages conveyed through the uses and switches of address terms during conversations, and the translation of address terms in English and Vietnamese translation works. Accordingly, the study includes populations of both human (characters in the telenovelas) and nonhuman kinds (texts including movie subtitles, translated novels, and EFL students' translation tasks). The human population involved in the study can be considered as *artificially bounded* rather than *naturally bounded* (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 62–63), which means that they were arranged to be together and acting under relative control of, for example, the directors and producers, rather than everyday conversations without any external control. Nevertheless, they are the best target population available that serves the purpose of the project because they somewhat reflect natural conversations which involve different states of emotion. The nonhuman populations, as previously mentioned, include texts in conversational contexts, which are interpreted through summative content analysis. This approach ‒starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). Moreover, a summative approach to content analysis focuses on unveiling implicit meanings of the words or the content (Babbie, 1992; and Catanzaro, 1988), and therefore, it was the most appropriate for the project. Below are specific methods and procedures applied to each type of population.

4.2.1 Telenovelas

It is important to provide a definition of *telenovelas* as it is a term that is not familiar to everybody. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary online, the term has a Spanish origin, which is a combination of *tele* ‗tɪleʻ + *novella* ‗nɒvɪʻ, meaning serial drama. On trying to distinguish telenovelas from soap operas, McAnany and La Pastina (1994) suggest: ‗Telenovelas, unlike American soap operas, do have an ending, usually after about 150 hour-long episodes. They are shown during prime-time hours…and they generally appeal to large general audiences instead of women exclusively'' (p. 831). Although the term is mostly used to refer to a genre that is widely popular in Latin American countries, it is used in this thesis because one of the two series chosen to be studied was adapted from a popular Latin American telenovela, as discussed in the coming paragraphs.

A total number of 147 episodes of television series of two Vietnamese telenovelas were examined and transcribed into 283 utterances. The reasons for the particular choice of these two telenovelas are explained below.

Bỗng Dưng Muốn Khóc (‗Suddenly I Wanna Cry'), coded in this study and will be referred to hereafter as BDMK, is a 37-episode telenovela directed by one of the most popular and young directors, Vũ Ngọc Đãng, broadcast in 2008 on one of the most-viewed national television channels in Vietnam, and ranking the best-received telenovela in 2008 – voted by 43.39% out of 10,989 voters (Tiêu Linh, December 31, 2009). The series narrates the life stories of some young people in their early twenties. The majority of characters in this telenovela are young people coming from the south of Vietnam, and the setting is one of Vietnam‘s biggest cities, Ho Chi Minh City, located in southern Vietnam. Therefore, it can be inferred that the language used and language behaviour of the people in the series may represent the way southern people, particularly young people, use the language. The telenovela features the stories of two young people in their early adulthood, including a girl named T and a boy named N. T lost her parents when she was four and never found them again. So she lives all by herself in an abandoned house and earns her living by selling second-hand books in parks. N is the only child of a wealthy family, who is so spoilt that all he does is entertain himself using his parents‘ money. He has failed the entrance exams to university three times, and hangs around day and night with other young people like himself while lying to his parents about tutoring classes. Different incidents happen in the two people‘s lives that see them hating each other at the beginning then falling for each other in the end.

The second telenovela, *Tóc Rối* ‗The girl with entangled hair‗, coded here and will be referred to throughout the thesis as TR, is a much longer telenovela, which consists of 110 episodes. This telenovela is, in fact, the Vietnamese version adapted from a Latino telenovela written by the famous script writer Delia Fiallo. Its original version was titled *A Girl Called Milagros*, released in 1974 in Venezuela, and then reproduced 10 years later under the title of *My Beloved Beatriz*, also in Venezuela. In 2008, the scripts were purchased by Mexico, and its Spanish version, entitled *Cuidado Con el Angel* tripled the number of viewers of Televisa. In the U.S., it was rated as the best telenovela just after a few months of being broadcast, even though it was in Spanish, and Spanish-speaking people only make up 16 percent of the population. This telenovela, after reproduction in Vietnam, was among the latest and also the most popular series broadcast on the National Television channels in Vietnam around 2010–2011. It was, therefore, chosen for this study because of its wide popularity, the range of generations, and the different social and family backgrounds of the characters, which provide a variety of language uses. The Vietnamese version *Tóc Rối* (Nguyễn Minh Chung, 2010) retells the life story of a girl called Bông Sen (literally meaning ‗lotus‗), who was abandoned by her own mother and then grew up in different places, starting in a Buddhist temple, and eventually in a little house owned by a kind elderly lady before being found by her parents after nearly 20 years. As she became mature, she confronted many complications with different kinds of people of different social classes. All kinds of emotions were revealed, varying from positive feelings, such as those found in happy romances and family reunions, to negative ones, for example, in revenge. This telenovela is, therefore, a good resource for data that suits the purpose of the project, which aims to discover emotional messages conveyed by people‗s uses or switches of address terms.

Because the aim of the study was to look into the language used, with particular focus on address terms that convey different types of emotions, data analysis concentrated on this specific usage of address terms. The procedures were as follows.

Both the telenovelas were manually transcribed, with special focus on: (1), how the people involved in a conversation use or switch address terms according to their emotion in the on-going contexts; and (2), what other verbal and non-verbal expressions, and contextual messages help to confirm the type of emotion being observed. After transcribing, the next step of data processing was to use descriptive notes and a log of contents to examine the transcriptions according to the relationships between the interlocutors, based on hierarchy and seniority, in order to understand the tendency of the choice/switches of terms of address

in context. The episodes, example utterances, names of the characters were themed and coded, the address terms were extracted, and all switches or changes of terms available were tracked alongside. In general, the telenovelas and their features are illustrated in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Generalised features in Vietnamese telenovelas

Telenovela	Interactants	Age gap	Relationship & situations
Bỗng Dưng Muốn Khóc (BDMK)	N-T	Similar age	(1) Strangers: annoying (2) Acquaintances: annoying (3) Friends: friendly (4) In love
	N-D	Similar age	(1) Boyfriend-girlfriend (2) Hating ex'es
	N-parent	One generation	Relationship change: disappointed and angry
	N-friends	Similar age	(1) Appearing friendly (2) Reality: derogatory
	N-Ng	Similar age	(1) Early relationship: friendly (2) Changing (family) roles: angry
	H-T	Similar age	(1) Customer-seller: friendly (2) Being fooled: angry
	N-TX	Few years gap	(1) Customer-service provider: neutral (2) Payment failure: angry
Tóc Rối (TR)	NK-DY	Similar age	(1) Husband-wife: neutral (2) Husband-wife: in conflict
	GM-NH	Two generations	(1) Grandma-grandchild: neutral (2) Grandma-grandchild: angry
	BS-CD	Few years gap	(1) Friends: neutral (2) Being harassed: angry
	BS-KN	Few years gap	(1) Strangers; (2) Friends; (3) Sweet-hearts; (4) Painful truth revealed
	GM-KN	One generation	(1) mother- & son-in-law: neutral (2) mother- & son-in-law: in conflict
	GM-TH	One generation	(1) Affinal relatives: neutral (2) Affinal relatives: angry
	KN-KQ	Few years gap	(1) Acquaintances: neutral (2) Closer relationship: friendly (3) Closer relationship: in conflict
	CD-TT	Few years gap	(1) Husband- wife: happy (2) Husband- wife: in conflict
	TL-CD	Few years gap	(1) In romance: neutral (2) In conflict: angry

Note: The numbers in brackets represent the situations with an emotional state involved

The characters and relationships listed in Table 4.1 above, of course, are not all that the two telenovelas can offer. However, they represent the majority of similar relationships and interactants that demonstrate the kind of address behaviour that is the focus of the study. There is a slight difference in the age feature between the two telenovelas: in BDMK, those of similar age are in their early twenties while in TR, they are in their late twenties. A comparison of the differences in terms of age-gaps that demonstrate changes of address forms between the two telenovelas is presented in Figure 4.1 below.
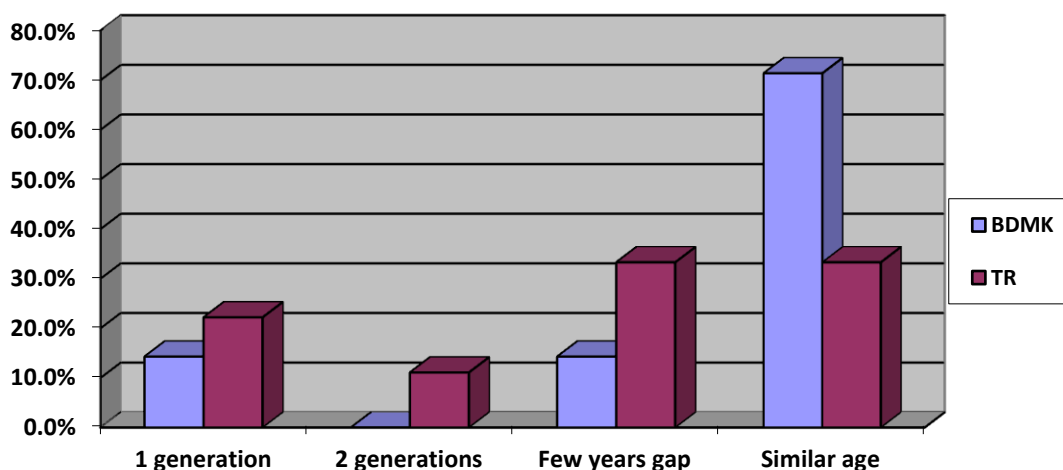
Figure 4.1 Comparison of changes of address forms in terms of age gaps

Detailed analysis and discussions of the changes of address forms in these two telenovelas will be presented in Chapter 5.

4.2.2 Translated novels and movie subtitles in English

4.2.2.1 Translated novels

The two Vietnamese translation works employed for data analysis include *Người Thầy* (Lê Chu Cầu 2008), translated from the English original *Teacher Man – A Memoir* written by Pulitzer Prize-winner Frank McCourt (2005), and *Harry Potter và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy* (Lý Lan, 2009), translated from the world-bestseller children's novel *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* written by British author J. K. Rowling (1999). These two translated works were chosen because both are, firstly, written by well-known writers; secondly, translated by well-recognised translators; and thirdly, are mainly structured with conversations, which offer an abundant resource of address terms for the purpose of this thesis. The two novels are different in that the former is a memoir, with a lot of monologues, while most of the story in the latter is in the form of dialogues.

The major focus in the analysis process of the Vietnamese translation works is, (1), on the differences in the uses of Vietnamese address terms in regard to persons, which means the addressor, addressee and referent; (2), how effective the uses of these terms are to help readers understand the relationships between the people involved and, where available, the attitudes or emotions such as (un)friendliness and intimacy; and (3), any strategies that are applied in the translation if the uses of terms are not effective enough.

With similar aims in mind, the English translation works chosen to be analysed are *Paradise of the Blind*, translated by Phan Huy Đường and Nina McPherson (2002) from the original, *Những Thiên Đường Mù* by Vietnamese writer Dương Thu Hương (1988), and *Dumb Luck* (2010) translated from the original *Số Đỏ*, written back in 1936 by the late Vũ Trọng Phụng (1912–1939). This latter novel was at first banned in Vietnam just after its publication as a book in 1938, but was later approved and officially published in 1986 by 20 different publishers.[11] The original novel has been included in the national curriculum as a part of the Vietnamese Literature courses for high school students since then, and its English translation in 2003 was named among the year's best books by the Los Angeles Times. Both novels are chosen firstly because of their richness and variety in address term uses; secondly, because they were translated into English by bilingual speakers, who speak English and Vietnamese as either a first or a second language; and thirdly, both translation works are recognised as valuable literary works.

Each of the translation works was, first of all, skimmed through in comparison with its original version. The uses of address forms were noted with comments on the appropriateness /inappropriateness of the forms in specific contexts according to the referential meanings of the terms, and any applicable strategies used by the translators, for example, the assistance of other grammatical elements such as verbs and adverbs. The aim was consistent throughout the procedure, which was to understand how the semantic and pragmatic features of address terms in the originals are conveyed by the terms in the target language.

4.2.2.2 English-subtitled movies

In order to enrich the data which illustrates how Vietnamese address terms are rendered in English, the English subtitle of a popular Vietnamese movie was examined. *Cánh Đồng Bất Tận* _the endless field' (English title, *The Floating Lives*) directed by Nguyễn Phan Quang Bình (2010) earned its popularity and had the opportunity to be released overseas when it

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[11] Information from the translators (http://www.berkeley.edu/news/berkeleyan/2004/02/04_dumbl.shtml)

was screened throughout North America in late 2010, and later screened at the United Nations (UN) Office at Geneva as part of the ASEAN Film Festival. It is, therefore, supposed that language use in the English subtitles is appropriate for the purpose of the research.

The movie subtitles were firstly transcribed with major attention paid to the situations that were appropriate to the aim of the research, which are the dialogues between the characters. The transcripts were then manually coded in terms of: (1), the translation of the address terms; (2), other grammatical supportive elements, such as verbs, adjectives and adverbs; and (3), any non-verbal markings that helped to understand the situations being studied, for example, facial expression or body movement.

4.2.2.3   EFL students' translation works

The participants for translation works were EFL students who majored in English from the Faculty of Foreign Languages, Dalat University, Vietnam. This is the university where I hold a permanent position as an English lecturer, and thus, it was easier to seek permission to recruit participants as well as to use the facilities needed for the purpose of the study. All participants were third-year students who chose ―Translation and Interpretation" as their major in the English degree. The translation tasks given to the students were designed with equal degrees of linguistic complexity and thematic involvement. However, in order to elicit natural behaviour from the participants, they were not told in advance that the focus of the translation was terms of address. The translation tasks were provided to the students in one of their class sections by their own teacher. The study setting was, therefore, exactly the same as what would happen in an EFL classroom context. The outcomes were expected to reflect what was close to reality. All steps of the recruitment and translation procedure were described in detail in the ethics application, and approval was sought from the University of New England (see Information Sheet for participants in Appendix A).

Twenty-four paper works of translation from English into Vietnamese of an extract from the novel *Anne of Green Gables*, written by Lucy M. Montgomery (1908), and 25 Vietnamese-English translation paper works of an excerpt from the Vietnamese novel *Đi Qua Hoa Cúc* ―Passing by the Daisies' by Nguyễn Nhật Ánh (2010) were collected. Although both extracts are nearly of an A4-page long, for the purpose of adequate contextual information, the students were asked to translate roughly only 180 words from English into Vietnamese, and 90 words from Vietnamese into English. The difference in the numbers of words is due to the general assumption that translation from Vietnamese into English is more difficult, and students are not happy to take part in a voluntary translation task if it is too long. Also,

the two extracts are believed to be long enough because the focus is specially on transferring of address terms between the two languages and other linguistic matters are beyond the research purpose. Apart from the natural language used in the two works, which are both my favourites, there are no other particular reasons for the choice of these extracts.

All the translation works were manually transcribed, and the transcripts were then interpreted according to the appropriateness/inappropriateness of the use/translation of address terms in their translation that were based on relationships between the interlocutors, their age difference, and other contextual markings.

4.2.2.4 EFL teachers' questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed in order to understand what translation teachers think about the challenges (if any) that EFL students may confront when practising translation, particularly in transferring address terms from Vietnamese into English and vice versa. The questionnaire (see Appendix B) was structured with seven questions related to the teacher's general academic background and experience, three questions with detailed options related to translation classroom activities, and seven questions specifically concerning the translation of address terms from the teacher's point of view.

The questionnaire was delivered and completed by six translation teachers from the Faculty of Foreign Languages, Dalat University, Vietnam. A similar reason for the recruitment of the teacher participants–they were my colleagues who worked in the same faculty. In addition, their answers to the questions in the questionnaire were believed to be the best way to explain the outcomes of the students' translation tasks. After the questionnaire was collected, it was manually transcribed and analysed according to the questions. The questions related to classroom activities were illustrated with a column chart, which helped demonstrate the similarity/contrast in the ways different teachers conducted activities in their translation class. Personal comments on how students cope with this type of translation practice helped in explaining the outcome of their translation works.

4.2.2.5 Interviews with professional translators

Apart from working directly on translation works, I also managed to conduct two face-to-face interviews with two professional Vietnamese translators. The reason why I only had two interviews is due to my failure to contact any more. As mentioned in Chapter one, section 1.3, translators (and interpreters) are not an accredited profession in Vietnam yet, and translated works are considered as a source of leisure rather than linguistic and cultural

products. These led to my failure to contact translators, who are known only by their translation works, and are probably not interested in discussing linguistic matters. My first attempt was to contact three Vietnamese best-sellers, who had some of their works translated into English, with a hope to be connected with the translators. I never received a reply from them.

During interviews, the translators' views on contemporary translation works were sought, especially those translated into Vietnamese by Vietnamese translators, and also some strategies related to address terms that they employ in their translation jobs were discussed. Another interview in the form of email exchange with one translator of the novel I use as a major resource of data (*Paradise of the Blind*), Phan Huy Đường, also provided valuable remarks on translation practice (see Appendix C for sample questions and answers). The interviews were manually transcribed and later used to support the analysis of data from the translation works.

Chapter 6 will present in detail how data from those translation works is analysed to illustrate specific uses of address terms in the translation context.

4.3   Summary and conclusion

To sum up, this chapter covers the theoretical framework that scaffolds the study, and the methodology that governs data collection and analysis. For the purpose of interpreting and discussing choices or switches of terms of address according to specific communication contexts, the study employs content analysis and conversation analysis as helpful approaches on the grounds of ethnopragmatics. Multiple sources of data were used. These include 147 episodes of two Vietnamese telenovelas with transcription of 283 utterances; one movie subtitled in English; a review of five professional translation works (English into Vietnamese and Vietnamese into English); 49 translation papers performed by third-year students who majored in English (Translation and Interpretation) from the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the University of Dalat (Vietnam); a questionnaire for teachers of translation and interpretation courses that sought to better understand EFL students' translation outcomes; and interviews with two professional translators. The following chapters will discuss in detail findings from the data analysis. More specifically, Chapter 5 will be devoted to the discussion of data from the telenovelas, and Chapter 6, data from translation works by professional translators and by EFL students.

CHAPTER 5

Data from telenovelas

5.0 Introduction

The major focus of this thesis is on people's different states of emotion, which are expressed through the interactants' choices or switches of address forms during the speech event. This chapter presents and analyses data from telenovelas. The first and foremost reason for choosing telenovelas for data collection in the project is that they are easier to access than real-life observation. Although it would be ideal to observe switches of address forms in real life, this was not going to be possible for the following reasons: (1) it would be difficult to recruit participants in their households because Vietnamese people are not used to being observed by outsiders, even if only in the presence of a camera; (2) it would take an enormous amount of time for sufficient data to be collected because of the focus of the study–the people being observed might or might not undergo any changes in emotional states during the observation time; and (3), the data may not be reliable because the participants might choose to hide themselves away from the camera when they actually undergo certain emotional changes. Even though one might argue that telenovelas do not provide authentic data as in real-life conversations, they are relatively close to reality because they reflect somewhat natural-life contexts that involve people of different social classes in everyday interactions. In Berger's (2000) words:

> In a sense,…when we do research on dialogue in a film or other mass-media texts, we are dealing with a writer's perception of the world, but because writers create texts for large number of people, who presumably share their perceptions, we can assume that analysing dialogue in mediated texts is not that different from analysing dialogue in everyday situations. (p. 151)

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, which is to understand how people express their different states of emotions through the uses or switches of address terms, telenovelas are the most efficient and accessible source of data.

This chapter constitutes analyses of two Vietnamese telenovelas. The analysis of the first one is based on the chronological changes of the relationships among the interactants as they are structured in the telenovela. The analysis of the second one pays more attention to the differences in uses of address forms in accordance with differences in age and generation, regional and personal features because they are more applicable in this telenovela than in the other. When analysed together, data from the two telenovelas offer a panorama of social life due to the fact that the majority of the interactants in the first one are single, younger people, while those in the second one are married and, most of them, older. All and only conversations with specific uses or switches of address terms to express specific state/change of emotion of the interlocutors involved were selected for transcription and analysis, from which many extracts are used in this chapter to illustrate relevant linguistic aspects of the analysis.

5.1   Findings from *Bỗng Dưng Muốn Khóc* (BDMK) and discussion

5.1.1   Major interactants and their stories

There are two main characters in *Bỗng Dưng Muốn Khóc* (BDMK). The first is Trúc (T), who lost her parents in an incident in the bustling city of Ho Chi Minh when she was 4 years old. She eventually found herself living in an abandoned house, earning a living by selling second-hand books. Sometime along the way she met another lost boy who became a special friend in her lonely life, sharing a period of time with her in that same house before the little boy was luckily found and taken away from her by his parents, leaving her all alone again. T never gave up hoping that her parents and the special friend would find her, and that was the reason she continued to live in that abandoned house year after year until it was demolished one day. Not having the opportunity to go to school, T was illiterate, and always wished she was among the schoolgirls on the way to and from school. Her daily outfit was a set of white *áo dài*, a traditional costume of Vietnamese women, worn as secondary- and high-school female uniforms when tailored with plain white fabric. Both her illiteracy and her outfit were significant to some extent in the later part of her life story. In contrast to T's story, Nam (N), the second character, was born the only son in a wealthy family. He was completely spoilt by his parents' love and extraordinary financial provision, until one day when his parents discover all the shocking cheating which was being performed by their son. Disappointments as well as suspicions were aroused, and they finally decided to confront their son with the fact that he was not their real son. N was torn between his previous wealthy lifestyle and the current truth that he had no place to live, no

money, no family, and no friends. He ended up asking for help from T, the girl he detested because she knew all of his troubles and had informed his parents of them. T declined N's request at first, but later she accepted it, partially because of the contract she signed with N's parents for a large sum of money, and mainly because she wanted to help him realise the value of labour, money and family. She taught N to earn his own living from pennies, to encounter failure, and in general, to be a good person. N started to fall romantically in love with T. Unfortunately, when the abandoned house in which they were living was demolished, N found the contract between his parents and T among the damage. He thought that T only helped him because of the money she would be paid, and not because she was in love with him. The two young people experienced different sorts of emotions, varying from hatred, sympathy, love, anger, to understanding and relief. A variety of address terms were used by these two people as well as the other people involved in their story to help convey their different attitudes and emotional states towards each other.

5.1.2 Choice of address terms between two main characters

As briefly mentioned in the preceding section, the relationship between the two main characters, T and N, brings to the fore all kinds of emotional experiences from the beginning and develops over time to become a romantic one in the end. The choices of address terms made by these two main characters vividly modify certain feelings towards each other at certain points in time, and their attempts to change the relationship between them, for instance, from a distant to a more intimate one.

As earlier explained, the situations reveal changes in the two peoples' attitude and affection towards each other, linguistically supported by the changes of terms of address. We will first observe how N opted for different address terms in his conversations with T when he underwent changes in his affection towards her, and then look at how the other interactants with N and T chose or switched to certain terms of address to express their different emotions. Example (5.1a–e) illustrate the situations in which the particular terms were used or changed.

(5.1) a. N: *Sao cô¹ lại tát tôi²?*
             [¹ =2PSN & ² =1PSN (distant PROs)]
             ‗Why did you slap me?

       b. N: *Trúc³ đừng có báo cho ba mẹ tôi⁴ biết là tôi⁵ nằm viện nhe.*
             [³ =2PSN (proper name); ⁴,⁵ =1PSN PRO]
             ‗Please don't tell my parents that I'm in hospital.'

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c   N: *Nếu **Trúc**[6] không yêu **tôi**[7], **tôi**[8] sẽ đau khổ lắm.*
[[6]=2PSN (proper name); [7, 8]=1PSN PRO]
_If you don't love me, I'll be miserable.

d.   N: *Tại sao **cô**[1] lại lừa dối **tôi**[2] như vậy?*
[[1]=2PSN & [2]=1PSN (distant PROs)]
_Why did you lie to me?'

e.   N: *Vì **anh**[9] yêu **em**[10].*
[[9]=1PSN & [10]=2PSN (kinship terms)]
'Because I love you.'

Table 5.1 below summarises the choices of address terms made by the two main characters in BDMK alongside the changes of attitudes and emotional states they experience, and the development of their relationship.

Table 5.1 Choices of address forms between T (F18) and N (M22)

(5.1)	Episode	Situation	Attitude/emotional state	Address terms used T = addressor	N = addressor
(a)	1	First impression between T and N	Angry	*tui-anh*	*tôi-cô*
(b)	15	N is in hospital; T has no choice but to take care of him	T provides N with accommodation and paying job Kind/generous	*tui-anh*	*tôi*-proper name
(c)	26	N shares house with T and helps with the book-selling	Friendly	*tui-anh* Ø-*anh*	*tôi*- proper name
(d)	35	N finds out about the contract between his parents and T	N very disappointed and angry		*tôi-cô*
(e)	36	Truth revealed; confession of affection	Understanding and happy	*em-anh*	Switch from *tôi*-proper name to *anh-em*

The switches in address terms in the above examples are transparent, with a straightforward strategy employed by the addressor, N, which is to narrow the distance between himself and T (5.1b) and later, to confirm his affection for her (5.1c), or in Cao Xuân Hạo's (2003) words: ―an attempt to change a relationship towards intimacy" (p. 318, my translation). The changes in N's attitude and affection towards T are demonstrated by his attempt to step-by-step bridge the gap in their relationship with specific employment of the address forms: switching from the distant *cô* _Miss/lady' to proper name, and finally the intimate kinship

term *em* ‗younger sibling'. Firstly, the use of *cô* to address T in N's case should be considered to be a mere homonym of the kinship term meaning ‗paternal aunt', and it is closer in its denotative meaning to the title ‗Miss' on account of its semantic feature of formality. However, its grammatical function is just as simple as the English second-person pronoun ‗you' with a gender marker of ―female‖ and a pragmatic marker of ―distance‖. This argument about the pragmatic marker of *cô* is strengthened by the observation of this same term used by N addressing his former girlfriend, Diệp (D) (Example 5.2a), and by T's customer, Hiền (H1), addressing T (Example 5.2b) to express their anger.

(5.2)   a.   N: ***Cô*** *dám nói với tui vậy hả?*
                 ‗How dare **you** say that to me?'

        b.   H1: *Bộ **cô** tưởng tui vô duyên vậy hả?*
                 ‗Do **you** think I am that silly?'

The second-person term *cô* in (5.2a) is believed to denote distance because it was not normally used by N to address his girlfriend when they were in a good relationship. To be more specific, like other couples, the terms used between them were always the intimate kinship terms *anh-em* as suggested by their literal meaning ‗elder brother-younger sibling'. N switched from *em* to *cô* only when conflicts arose between them. In the situation when (5.2a) occurred, N's girlfriend, D and other friends came to damage T's books because T had ―interfered in others' business‖ in D's words. Although N disliked T at the beginning because she had told his parents about his drunkness and insults to her, he disagreed with his girlfriend's plan to hurt T. N tried to stop his friends' violence towards T, and, therefore, annoyed his girlfriend, who was trying to ―give T a lesson‖. The situation led N to switch from the intimate *em* to the distance *cô* when he addressed his girlfriend as in (5.2a). In the case of H1 (5.2b), she also made a similar switch from the friendly *em* when she addressed T the day before, to the distance *cô*, the following day to express her anger. The term *cô* as discussed here clearly demonstrates an attempt to establish distance by the addressor towards the addressee. This pragmatic feature of the term, unfortunately, has not received adequate attention in the literature. More often than not, it is generalised as a kinship term, one of whose meanings is ‗paternal aunt'. A full list of pragmatic usages of this term was provided in Table 3.7, Section 3.2.7.3.

The second main character of BDMK, the second-hand book seller, T, also performed similar switches in address terms when she found herself undergoing changes in her affection towards N. However, it is noted that T employed more ellipses (zero forms) of

self-address terms as a medium between the distant pronoun *tui* (5.3a) and the intimate kinship term *em* (5.3c), possibly in order to avoid being considered ‒inferior", suggested as a semantic feature of the term *em* ‗inferior sibling' (Cadière, 1958; Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, 1975; Lê Biên, 1999). Thus, utterances without a self-address term are observed more frequently than those with a self-address term when spoken by T. Even when N wanted her confirmation of her affection for him, all that he received was her nods. The intimate term *em* was delayed until the last scene of the telenovela (5.3c).

(5.3)   a.   T: ***Anh** đừng có giả điên! Anh biết **tui** là ai mà.*
              ‗Don't you be pretending. You know who **I** am.'

        b.   T: ***Ø** Mệt quá hà. **Ø** Đi tắm đây.*
              ‗(**I**)'m tired. (**I**)'m going to have a shower.'

        c.   T: *Cảm ơn **anh** đã quay lại với **em**.*
              ‗Thank you for coming back for **me**.'

There is a significant difference in address term changes between N and T: while N changed the terms of addressing T (second person), what was changed by T is her self-address term (first person). In this regard, different pragmatic features of the second-person pronoun *anh* are revealed. Because T did not employ any other second-person pronouns, it is argued that when the second-person term *anh* is paired with different counterparts, it seems to express different pragmatic meanings. For instance, by comparing (5.3a) and (5.3c), a Vietnamese speaker can tell that *anh* in (5.3a) is more distant when it is paired with *tui* (casual first-person pronoun), and is more intimate when paired with the kinship term *em* ‗inferior sibling' as in (5.3c). It is suggested that the term *anh* in (5.3a) is comparable with those usages illustrated by Examples in (3.20), which denote distance.

The discussion has, thus far, focused on an overall performance of changes of address terms between the two main characters in the 36-episode telenovela of BDMK, generally to bridge the distance in their relationship. The next section examines changes of address terms performed by the other characters in the telenovela with different aims, for example, to distance themselves from the addressee, or to express their anger.

5.1.3 Switches of address terms performed by other characters

The data reveals that other interactants in the telenovela also make changes in address terms, most of which are to express negative emotions, such as anger and annoyance. Table 5.2 summarises address terms used in pairs for self-addressing and addressing the second

person N. These terms vary according to the conversational situations as illustrated in the examples that follow.

Table 5.2 Address terms in pairs used by interactants conversing with N (2PSN) (M22) and their different emotional states in Examples (5.4)–(5.8)

Ex. no.	Addressor	Self-address term	Address term for N	Emotional state
5.4 (a)	Diệp (D)	*em*	*anh/honey*	Positive
(b)	(F20s)	*tui*	*anh*	Negative
(c)		*chị / em*	*cưng*	Extremely negative
5.5 (a)	Hiền (H1)	*em*	*anh*	Positive
(b)	(F20s)	*tôi*	*anh*	Negative
(c)		*chị*	N/A	Extremely negative
5.6 (a)	Khánh (K)	N/A	*sếp* _boss'	Neutral
(b)	(M20s)	*tao*	*mày*	Extremely negative
5.7 (a)	Nghĩa (Ng)	**Ng** (first name)	**N** (first name)	Neutral
(b)	(M20s)	*tao*	*mày*	Negative
5.8 (a)	Taxi driver	*tui*	*anh*	Neutral
(b)	(TX) (M30s)	*tao*	*mày*	Extremely negative

(Note on abbreviations: F = female; M = male; 20s = early twenties; 30s = early thirties N/A: no address term was used)

Being N's girlfriend, D addressed him nicely because of all the expensive presents and entertainment he lavished on her, so she would call him using the kinship term *anh* _superior brother', or sometimes the English endearment term *honey* (a tendency among Vietnamese young, modern people) and address herself as *em* _inferior sibling' (5.4a). However, after N slapped her on her face because he failed to stop her from hurting T, she became angry and opted for the self-address pronoun *tui* (5.4b), and even the superior *chị* _superior sister' paired with *cưng* _honey/darling/baby' (5.4c) to denigrate N. Their conversations occur as follows.

(5.4) a. ***Anh[1]* yêu! Tụi *em[2]* đang trên đường tới nhà *anh[3]* nè.**
   [*[1,3]*=2PSN _superior brother'; *[2]*=1PSN _inferior sibling']
   _Hi honey. We're on the way.'

   b. *Sao anh dám đánh **tui[4]** hả?*
   [*[4]* = (casual) 1PSN PRO]
   _How dare you hit me?'

   c. *Hết tiền rồi, đi kiếm con nào ngu mà yêu. **Chị[5]** hết yêu **cưng[6]** rồi.*
   [*[5]*=1PSN _superior sister'; *[6]*=2PSN _baby']
   _Penniless yourself now, find someone stupid to love. I'm done with you.'

Similar changes of address terms were made by H1, a young girl who stopped by T's selling-area in the park, and started a friendly conversation with T and N because she thought he

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was handsome and wanted to invite him out for a drink. Their first conversation (5.5a) is a nice illustration of how age difference plays the role of an initial step towards address strategies among Vietnamese speakers.

(5.5) a. H1: *Ủa, mà chị tên gì? Nhiêu tuổi?*
‗By the way, what's **'superior sister'**'s name? How old?'

T: *Trúc, 18 tuổi.*
‗Trúc, 18.'

H1: *À, vậy chị Trúc nhỏ hơn em 3 tuổi. Em 21 tuổi. Ủa mà nhỏ hơn 3 tuổi, vậy chị Trúc làm em đi nha.*
‗Well, so **superior sister'** Trúc is 3 years younger than **inferior sister'**. But, 3 years younger than **Ø**, so **superior sister'** Trúc is ‗inferior sibling'.

H1 (towards N): *Còn anh? Anh nhiêu tuổi?*
'And **'superior brother'**? How old?'

N: *Anh tên Nam, 22 tuổi.*
‗superior brother' is Nam, 22.'

H1: *A, anh lớn hơn em 1 tuổi, vậy dễ kêu bằng anh. May quá, mấy đứa bằng tuổi em, em kêu mày tao không hà.*
‗Yeah, **superior brother'** is 1 year older than me, so it's easy to call you ‗superior brother'. It's fortunate, because **inferior sibling'** always call those who are of my age *mày tao*.' (my emphasis)

In the English translation above, the literal meanings of the address terms used are put in quotation marks so that it is easier to understand how the interactants in an intial conversation negotiate and seek appropriate terms of addressing each other according to their age gap. In this case, H1 started a ‖conversational contract‖ (Fraser & Nolen, 1981, p. 96) with both her addressees alongside with the Vietnamese non-written rule of *xưng khiêm-hô tôn* ‗address oneself with modesty; address others with respect' (discussed earlier in Section 3.2.2). To be specific, H1 addressed herself as *em* ‗inferior sibling', and called T *chị* ‗superior sister', even when she learned that T was practically 3 years younger than her. Before the ‖contract‖ was ‖signed‖, H1 chose to omit her self-address term so that she did not have to jump from the inferior term *em* to the superior term *chị*. She then finally decided that as T was 3 years younger, she would be addressed as *em* ‗inferior sibling' from then onwards (L7). As for N's part, it is not a hard decision because he was in fact one year older than H1. But as she commented, it was her habit to *mày tao* ‗casually tutoyer' to her same-age friends (L15). Therefore, the reason she calls N *anh* ‗superior brother' is to express her politeness. Unfortunately, N was not interested in H1, so he did not turn up at the appointment proposed by H1. The next day, the two book-sellers found her coming back with her anger expressed through evident changes of address terms, first using the distant

first-person pronoun *tôi* to address herself, and the distant *cô* ‗Miss/lady‘ to address T, before finally switching to the self-address *chị* 'superior sister‘ to make herself superior (Examples 5.5b and 5.5c). It should be noted here that although the English words ‗inferior‘ and ‗superior‘ are similar to ‗younger‘ and ‗older‘, respectively, I have decided to use the former adjectives in order to emphasise the pragmatic notion of superiority as conveyed in the usage of the self-address term *chị* by the addressor, which is in contrast to seniority.

(5.5) b. *Tại sao anh hẹn **tôi** mà anh không tới?*
            'Why didn‘t you turn up yesterday?‘

       c. ***Cô** với lại anh **cô**...Bán sách lề đường mà bày đặt chảnh với **chị** hả?*
            ‗You and your brother...Street book-sellers who are up yourselves to me!‘

This girl‘s use of *chị* ‗superior sister‘ is similar to that used by N‘s girlfriend when she was angry with him as illustrated in Example (5.4c) above, both of which denote the speaker‘s arrogance.

Address terms employed by male addressors that are different from those employed by female addressors can be observed in BDMK. Specifically, all young male interactants opted for the abrupt *mày-tao* when they experienced strong negative emotion towards the addressee. The usages of this pair of pronouns have been illustrated in Table 3.1, and discussed in detail in Section 3.2.2.1.

Similar to N‘s girlfriend D, Khánh (K) also addressed N nicely, calling him *sếp* ‗boss‘, just because N had a lot of money. The strategy, therefore, became redundant and inapplicable when N became penniless and homeless. The terms of address as used by K in accordance with N‘s financial situations are demonstrated in the following examples, with K‘s address strategy to flatter N by calling him ‗boss‘ in (5.6a), and his denigrating attitude towards penniless N strengthened by the abrupt pronouns *mày-tao* in (5.6b).

(5.6) a. K: *Lên xe lẹ đi **sếp**!*
                ‗Hurry up, boss!‘

       b. K: ***Mày** nghe rõ rồi đó, Ngọc Diệp bây giờ là bồ **tao**.*
                ‗**YOU** hear that, bastard? Ngọc Diệp is now **MY** girlfriend.‘[12]

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[12] From now on, English translations of the abrupt pronouns **tao** (1PSN) and **mày** (2PSN) will be in upper case and bold form to emphasise their abrupt and/ or arrogant connotation, which does not have an exact equivalent in English.

Another person who made a similar change of address terms when his emotional state became negative is Nghĩa (Ng), a student actor playing one of his biggest roles in life, acting as N's parents' real son. At first, he tried to be friendly with N, being aware of the fact that he was replacing N's position of a beloved only child. Because they were of similar age, both interactants used their first name as their choice of self-address and addressing terms when conversing with each other (5.7a). Later, when conflicts arose, both of them reciprocally opted for the abrupt pair of *mày-tao* during the later part of the conversation (5.7b).

(5.7)   a.   Ng: *Nghĩa muốn nói chuyện với N trước khi N về Saigon. Sắp tới N định làm gì để sống?*
         <u>N</u>g (1PSN) wanna talk to **N** (2PSN) before **N** (2PSN) go back to Saigon. What **N** (2PSN) plan to do for a living?

         N: *Nam chưa biết. Nam đâu biết phải làm gì.*
         N (1PSN) don't know yet. **N** (1PSN) don't know what to do.

     b.   N: *Tao thất bại thì kệ tao. Mày là cái thá gì mà dám lên mặt dạy đời tao hả?*
         I am a failure – that's **MY** own business. Who the hell are **YOU** to lecture **ME**?

In (5.7), the bolded terms in the English translations correspond to the Vietnamese terms, which clearly demonstrate that the interactants' switches from proper names to abrupt pronouns *mày-tao* reflect their change in attitudes towards each other as discussed above.

The examples presented in this section illustrate how people switch terms of address in order to express changes in emotional state. However, those changes of emotional state occur over a long period of time alongside with other life incidents, and among well-acquainted interactants. The following situation demonstrates a more immediate switch of terms between strangers when one of them experiences a sudden change, for example, from a neutral to a negative emotional state. N was so drunk one night that he temporarily forgot about his homelessness. He caught a taxi and asked the driver to take him to the place he used to call home, but as soon as they approached the house, N remembered and thus became desperate when he realised that it was no longer his home, and even worse, he had no money to pay the taxi driver. The taxi driver (TX), who tried to be nice to his customer at first, then got very angry when he learned that N was penniless. He immediately switched the terms of address, from the friendly *anh-tui* to the abrupt *tao-mày*, as illustrated in Example (5.8) below.

(5.8)   a.   TX: *Thì anh kêu tui chở tới 18 Mỹ Hưng.*
         <u>B</u>ut **you** told **me** to take you to 18 Mỹ Hưng.'

b. TX: *Bây giờ **tao** hỏi **mày** lần cuối. **Mày** có trả tiền cho **tao** không?*
      ‗Now **I** am asking **YOU** the last time. Are **YOU** going to pay **ME**?"

All examples from (5.1) to (5.8) illustrate changes of address terms among young people in their early twenties to thirties. Another remarkable change of address terms performed by a young person when addressing people of an older generation is also observed in N's conversation with his parents. It should be recalled that the common terms used between a child and his/her parents are the kinship terms *con* ‗child'-*ba/mẹ* ‗father/mother'. This is also how N and his parents addressed each other when they were together. However, after having been convinced that he was not the real son of the people who used to be his parents, and after becoming homeless, N felt desperate, hateful and self-pitiful. This is why he opted for a switch to *mấy người* ‗you people' in addressing the couple, while addressing himself with the formal first-person pronoun *tôi* (Example 5.9).

(5.9)   N: *Kệ **tôi**[1]. **Tôi**[2] không cần **mấy người**[3] trả tiền giùm. **Mấy người**[4] đừng tỏ ra thương hại **tôi**[5].*
         ‗Leave **me** alone. **I** don't want help from **you people**. Do not pity **me**.'

This plural second-person pronoun, *mấy người* ([3] and [4]), when used by N to pair with his self-address term *tôi* ([1,2] and [5]) in this situation clearly established a vast distance between him and the couple whom he used to call parents. This plural pronoun is also employed in another situation by T, one of the two main characters, to address D and her friends when they were about to damage her books (Example 5.10a). Therefore, it can be argued that this pronoun has a pragmatic marker of ‗distance" or ‗arrogance", which is supported by the conversational context. On the other hand, because T and D (and her friends) are of the same age, there is another plural second-person form that can be used to express equality between the addressor and addressees. In the following situation, T switched from the distant *mấy người* to the derogatory *tụi bây* (usage (1) Table 3.1) to address these young trouble-makers, and from the distant first-person pronoun *tôi* to the abrupt *tao* (Example 5.10b).

(5.10)   a.   T: ***Mấy người** có ngon thì quậy đi, **tui** la lên bây giờ.*
            ‗Do as **you people** please. **I**'ll cry for help.'

      b.   T: ***Tụi bây** mà không đi, **tao** đập nát xe **tụi bây**!'*
            ‗**You all** get out of my way now, or **I**'ll turn **your** motorbikes into rubbish.'

To sum up, although only lasting approximately 26 hours, the 36 episodes of BDMK offer a good resource of evidence with 76 transcribed utterances that feature switches of address

terms in conversations for the purpose of conveying different emotional messages. The limitations of the telenovela, though, is the variation in the age of the characters, the majority of whom are young people in their early twenties, and their regional backround, as all interactants in the telenovela are southern people with the setting being Ho Chi Minh City. The next section, which examines the telenovela titled *Tóc Rối* (TR) ‗The girl with entangled hair‘, provides further evidence of address changes among people from a wider range of social classes, and their complicated relationships.

5.2 Findings from *Tóc Rối* (TR), and discussion

5.2.1 About *Tóc Rối*

As already indicated in Section 4.2.1, it is expected that a greater variety of uses of address terms coupled with different address strategies are abundant in TR on account of the wider range of characters with different age/generation gaps, personalities, and family and social backgrounds. The telenovela narrates the life story of a girl named Bông Sen ‗Lotus‘ (BS), who was found by a man living in a Buddhist temple as a newborn baby wrapped in a towel and abandoned in front of a nearby house. The man recognised a birthmark on one of her feet and kept it in his mind. For the first years, the girl lived in an orphanage. As she grew older she decided to leave the orphanage to find her own family, and that is why she spent her teenage years sleeping in the street, or under bridges until one night she was raped by a drunk. She was eventually offered to live with an old lady called Old Hai, who loved her as if she were her relative. BS started a new chapter of her life when she got to know Kỳ Nam (KN), a successful surgeon. Never forgiving an awful mistake he had committed before he got married, KN wanted to change his career and became a psychological consultant who devoted his time to helping teenagers with misdemeanours. BS and KN fell in love after KN‘s wife went missing. The two young people would ideally have been the happiest couple in the world had they not one day discovered the fatal coincidence related to their own life secrets: BS was the sexual assault victim of KN‘s drunkenness. Not wanting to accept the truth, BS, with KN‘s baby growing inside her, decided to get away from KN by leaving the city for a small town. However, they were not left in peace. Although BS did not know about her real origin, other people did. They chased after BS and her baby in an effort to get rid of them. Mishaps of all kinds happened in her life and finally she was found again by her parents, and KN, who eventually received BS‘s forgiveness. A summary of the addressors and addressees, their age, gender, regional background, and emotional state is presented in Table 5.3 below.

In the table, the interactants are listed in alphabetical order. All the names of the interactants are coded according to their roles in the telenovela, their age identified in brackets, and their gender abbreviated as F for female and M for male. There are two distinctive regional accents identified by the main characters, southern (Sthn) and northern (Nthn). The section that denotes emotional state is subdivided into two columns, with those under column (–) referring to a negative emotional state, which may be changing from a neutral or positive one, and those under column (+) referring to the opposite. The cases marked as (++) do not refer to a change of emotional state like the others. Rather, they are actually understood as merely a strategy employed by the addressors to achieve their specific goal via address usage. The interpretation of address strategies employed by these interactants will be presented with emphasis.

Table 5.3 Main interactants and changes of terms of address in first- and second-persons in TR

| 1st person | Regional accent | | 2nd person | Emotional state | |
	Sthn	Nthn		(–)	(+)
1. Bông Sen (BS) (F18)	√		KN (M30s)	√	√
			CD (M30s)	√	
			KQ (F20s)	√	
			TL (F20s)	√	
			GM (F60s)	√	√
			MrM (M60s)	√	
2. Cao Đỉnh (CD) (M30s)		√	TQ (F20s)	√	
			TL (F20s)	√	
			Nắng (N) (M20s)	√	
			KN & Huỳnh Đàn (HĐ)	√	
3. Dạ Yến (DY) (F30s)		√	KN (M30s)	√	√
			GM (F60s)	√	
			Trầm Hương (TH) (F20s)	√	
			Giglo (G) (M30s)	√	(++)
4. Dạ Yến's mother (GM) (F60s)		√	KN (M30s)	√	√
			TH (F20s)	√	
			Nhím (NH) (F5)	√	
			BS (F18)	√	(++); √
5. Kỳ Nam (KN) (M 30s)		√	DY (F30s,)	√	
			KQ (F18)	√	
			TL (F20s)	√	
6. Kim Quân (KQ) (F18)	√		BS (F18)	√	
			Tiến (T) (M30)	√	√
			Hiền (H) (F40s)	√	
7. Mr Gia Minh (MrM) (M60s)	√		BS (F18)	√	
			TL (F20s)	√	

8. Mrs Gia Minh (MrsM) (F50s)	√	KQ (F20s)	√	
		TL (F20s)	√	
		H (F40s)	√	
9. Thảo Ly (TL) (F20s)	√	BS (F18)	√	(++)
		CD (M30s)	√	
		GM (F60s)	√	
		MrM (M60s)	√	
10. Thục Quỳ (TQ) (F20s)	√	CD (M30s)	√	

The analysis of this telenovela is based on observations focusing on ten main characters in their conversations with other interactants (Table 5.3), whose ages vary from as young as six to as old as 60s, with very different social statuses. Attention is paid to the situations when address terms are changed, and specific address strategies are applied by the interactants to express a negative state of emotion from a positive or neutral one, and vice versa.

5.2.2 Interpretation of interactions presented in Table 5.3

5.2.2.1 Interactions between BS and her counterparts

The 18-year-old BS, the main female character in TR, is one of the two interactants to perform the most switches of address terms as she undergoes certain changes in her emotional state. This conclusion is not based on the number of people that she interacted with, but on the frequency of the switches she made. The interactants involved in her conversations included young people such as KQ and TL (both female, in their 20s), KN and CD (both male, in their 30s), and senior people such as GM (female, in her 60s), and MrM (male, in his 60s). BS's high frequency of switches of address terms can be explained by the fact that she spent her childhood in an orphanage, then most of her teenage years being homeless, and only received little education by a middle-aged man living in the Buddhist temple in the neighborhood. She was, therefore, considered by other people as uneducated and not well-behaved. Her reaction to other people's attitudes towards her was more of an instinct than a fine-tuned behaviour due to the unfortunate beginning of her life.

First, BS's relationship with KN, a medical doctor in his early 30s, is rather complicated, which results in her treating him as a stranger when the distant first-person pronoun *tui* _I/me' was used, then as a sweetheart with the use of the intimate kinship term *em* _younger sibling'. When she later discovered the truth about the coincidence of their circumstances, feeling desperate and hateful, she switched back to *tui*; and finally, back to the intimate *em* when she fell in love with him again. In this sense, it can be concluded that the first-person

pronoun *tui* used by BS has a situational and/or emotional marking of either ‚distance' or ‚unhappiness'.

On observing conversations between BS and the other interaction counterparts, it is noted that BS generally switched from intimate address terms to distant ones when she was insulted, or denigrated. The first example is when she was sexually harrassed by a male acquaintance, CD, who is about ten years older than her (Example 5.11).

(5.11) a. CD: *Em uống gì, để anh lấy?*
            ‚Can I get you something to drink?'
        BS: *Thôi khỏi đi, để **em**¹ tự nhiên được rồi.*
            [¹= 1PSN ‚younger sibling']
            ‚Let **me** help myself. Don't worry.'

      b. BS: *Á, buông **tui**² ra. Anh bị điên hả?*
            [²= (abrupt) 1PSN PRO]
            ‚Take your hands off **me**. Are you insane?'

It is observed that in their social relationship, because BS is approximately 10 years younger than CĐ, she normally uses the kinship pair *anh* ‚older brother'-*em* ‚younger sibling' when talking with him (5.11a). Her immediate switch to the abrupt first-person pronoun *tui* (5.11b) clearly denotes her negative attitude to CD at the moment of speaking.

With the two female counterparts, there is a slight difference in the way BS changed the terms of address when conversing with them, probably due to the age difference. Both KQ, who is also 18 years old like BS, and TL, who is a few years older, are BS's love rivals. Not only that, KQ tried to kill BS because she wanted to supersede BS and her position of being the only daughter of a wealthy family. It was the most disastrous part in BS's life when she was living under the same roof with KQ and suffered from all the evil fraudulence that KQ accused her of. Different terms of address are employed by the two young girls that clearly demonstrate their changes in attitudes towards each other. Their address terms vary as in the tabular illustration below (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Terms of address used by BS (F18) and KQ (F18)

	1PSN = BS	1PSN = KQ	State of emotion
1.	*chị-em*	*chị-em*	Neutral
2.	*chị-tui*	*mày-tao*	Negative (distant)
3.	*cô-Ø*	*cô-tôi*	Negative (distant)
4.	*mày-tao*	*mày-tao*	Strongly negative (arrogant)

(Note: *chị* ‚elder sister'; *em* ‚younger sibling'; *tui/tôi* distant first-person pronouns; *mày -tao* arrogant pronouns ‚I-you'; *cô* formal second-person pronoun)

By contrasting the starting point of address changes (2), it can be suggested that KQ has a more arrogant personality than BS, because the pair *mày-tao* suggest arrogance (if not intimacy, which is not the case because the two girls disliked each other). The conversations between them demonstrates how KQ started with the arrogant pair of terms *mày-tao* while BS employed the distant *chị-tui* as in Example (5.12a). However, when serious conflict arose, and BS was accused of stealing, which she had not, she opted for various terms of address within one conversation in order to express her anger and despair (Example 5.12b). As for KQ, in the presence of the senior hosts, she pretended to be a well-behaved, innocent girl, and that is why she chose to employ the formal pair of terms *tôi-cô* instead of the arrogant *mày-tao* as in the previous example.

(5.12) a. KQ: *Trời ơi, sao **mày** cắt hình anh Nam ra rồi? Đưa lại đây cho **tao**.*
Hey! Why did **YOU** cut (Kỳ) Nam's photo out of the paper? Give it to **ME**!'

BS: *Không. **Chị** định làm gì **tui**?*
I won't. What will **you** do to **me**?'

KQ: ***Mày** đừng có ăn nói với **tao** kiểu đó nghe chưa!*
How dare **YOU** say so to **ME**?'

b. KQ: ***Cô** thấy ba **tôi** chuẩn bị báo công an nên cô sợ?*
You are scared because you know **my** dad is going to talk to the police.

BS: ***Cô** im đi chưa?*
Have **you** said enough?

KQ: *Vô phòng người khác tự tiện như vậy là rõ rồi!*
It's so obvious when we found you here in my room.

BS: *Rõ ràng **mày** giấu cái vòng ở đây rồi vu cho **tao** ăn cắp mà!*
It's **YOU** who hid the lace in here and accused **ME** of stealing it.

The relationship between the two girls beomes only worse and worse, which is evident in their consistent use of distant address terms until the end of the story.

TL (female, 20s), as briefly mentioned above, was another jeopardy to BS, who was even more dangerous than KQ because she was such a perfect pretender that BS always trusted her and considered TL as her best friend. Despite what TL did to hurt her, BS still believed that TL was not an ill-willed person. In the conversations between the two of them in different situations under different emotional states, it is observed that both switched from the intimate *chị* _older sister'-*em* _younger sibling' (5.13a) when they were in positive state to distant terms (5.13b) when in negative state of emotion. Their switches of terms are also in accordance with the age gap between them. Example 5.13 shows the contrasting uses of address terms by the two young ladies.

(5.13) a. BS: *Chị làm vậy là đúng rồi. Em cần phải biết sự thật.*
‗**elder sister**' (2PSN) did it right. ‗**younger sibling**' (1PSN) need to know the truth.'

...

TL: *Chị đang ngồi kế bên em nè.*
‗**elder sister**' (1PSN) sitting next to ‗**younger sibling**' (2PSN)'

b. BS: *Chị còn muốn làm gì tui nữa đây?*
‗What else do ‗**elder sister**' (2PSN) want from (casual) **me**?'

TL: *Cô đã làm cho KN bỏ rơi đứa con trong bụng tôi.*
‗(distant) **You** are the reason why KN neglects (distant) **my** baby.'

As can be seen from the two examples above, although both addressors sought to switch from the intimate terms to distant ones, BS switched to the first-person pronoun *tui,* but still addressed TL as *chị* ‗elder sister' to be polite. TL, on the other hand, changed both the first-person and second-person address terms into the formal terms *tôi - cô*. Similar choices of the formal terms to mark distance was made by TL in Example (5.13b) and KQ in Example (5.12b), which suggests that these two addressors aim to distance the relationship between themselves and BS.

Apart from those switches of address terms used to address people of similar age or a few years older than herself, there is evidence that supports the fact that BS opted for various address terms when conversing with senior people in order to express the different states of emotion that she was undergoing. For example, in conversing with GM, a senior lady in her late 60s with a relatively hostile personality, who scared almost everybody around her, BS addressed herself as *con* ‗child' in the beginning, to be polite. After getting into unreasonable trouble with GM, she switched to the first-person pronoun *tui,* the one that she also used to address herself in conversing with the other interactants when conflicts arose, as illustrated in Examples (5.11b), (5.12a), and (5.13b). To address GM, when she was experiencing neutral or positive emotional states, BS would employ the kinship-derived term *bác,* which is used to refer to someone older than one's parents. When insulted, she would opt for a zero form of address, probably in order to avoid another switch of address term. However, when she was undergoing an extremely negative emotional state, BS would address GM as *bà* ‗old woman.' The term *bà*, as its literal meaning denotes, refers to an old woman who is of similar age to one's grandmother. However, in this situation, GM is not old enough for BS to refer to her as grandmother. Therefore, the use of *bà* in this instance suggested ‖distance", especially when it was paired with the first-person pronoun *tui/tôi*. This usage of *bà* is similar to that of its male counterpart, *ông,* as illustrated in usage (f),

Table 3.6 in Section 3.2.7.1. It is also interesting to observe a switch back to the kinship-derived pair *bác-con* used by both interactants when they are honestly willing to show their understanding and affection towards each other. Example (5.14a) below illustrates the first encounter between BS and GM. BS was scolded by GM as she delivered green tea leaves using the main door while she was supposed to enter by the back door; and obviously, an orphan like BS did not know such etiquette. Being questioned rudely, BS switched from the polite kinship-derived *con* ‗child' into the distant pronoun *tui* ‗I/me' to address herself, and none of the address terms were used to address GM, even once. Because a literal translation may sound too clumsy, an idiomatic translation will be provided. The symbol Ø represents the omitted address terms in the originals and the implied English pronouns are left in brackets.

(5.14) a. GM: *Cô làm gì ở đây đấy?*
                ‗What are you doing here?'
          BS: *Thì **con** giao trà.*
                ‗**I**'m delivering tea leaves, ma'am.'
          GM: *Bây giờ cô đi ra ngoài rồi vô cổng sau.*
                ‗Now, listen. You get out of here, and come back through the back door.'
          BS: *Nè. Ø Làm gì mà ghê dợ? Lần này Ø lỡ rồi, lần sau rồi Ø đi cổng sau.*
                *Vậy Ø trả tiền Ø đây luôn đi, rồi mai mốt **tui** khỏi qua nữa.*
                ‗Hey. **(You)** are too difficult. **(I)** made a mistake this time. Next time **(I)** will come through the back door.
                Why don't **(you)** pay **(me)** now, and **I** will never come back.'

The negative impression in the first encounter with GM did not cause BS to be impolite, although she was also considered by GM as a homeless, uneducated girl. Her second encounter with GM still featured her addressing GM politely using the kinship-derived terms *bác* ‗senior aunt'-*con* ‗child', ***Bác** làm gì mà nhìn **con** như xác chết sống lại vậy?* (‗Why are you looking at me as if I were a ghost?'). On the contrary, GM always kept in mind a strong negative attitude towards BS, which she did not hesitate to expose. She found all kinds of excuses to hurt BS, even in front of her 5-year-old grandaughter, NH, for instance, *Bà không muốn con nói chuyện với con người xấu xa này* (‗I don't want you to speak with this terrible person'). Feeling insulted by such an assertion, BS reacted by employing the distant pair *bà* ‗old woman'-*tui* (casual) ‗I/me', *Sao tự nhiên **bà** lăng mạ **tui**?* (‗Why are you insulting me like this?'). BS would consistently use this pair of terms from that moment until GM apologised to her for what she had done, and their relationship really improved. The happy ending of the relationship between BS and KN is reflected by the nice conversation between BS and GM as in Example (5.14b) below.

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(5.14) b. GM: *BS, con¹ sao vậy? Mắt con vẫn chưa phục hồi à?*
　　　　　　[¹= 2PSN ͟child']
　　　　　　ͅBS, what's wrong with **you**? Your eyesight is not recovered, is it?'
　　　BS: *Sao? Ai nói với bác² vậy? Mắt con³ bình thường mà.*
　　　　　　[²= 2PSN ͟senior aunt'; ³= 1PSN ͟child']
　　　　　　ͅWhy? Who told **you** so? **My** eyes are just fine.'
　　　GM: *Con⁴ đừng lừa bác⁵.*
　　　　　　[⁴= 2PSN ͟child'; ⁵= 1PSN ͟senior aunt']
　　　　　　ͅDon't **you** try to fool **me**, sweetheart.'

In the above conversation, both interactants employed the kinship-derived terms *con* ͟child'
and *bác* ͟senior aunt' to show their affection towards each other.

Another middle-aged interactant is MrM, a successful lawyer who was leading a very
wealthy life. Like GM, MrM looked down on BS at the beginning. To make it worse, KQ's
fraudulence and her mischievous tricks aimed at BS led to MrM's persistent belief that BS
was not to be trusted. However, as a person in a debt of gratitude to MrM and his wife, BS
tried to be polite to him. In her conversations with MrM, despite his use of the distant
pronouns *tôi-cô*, BS was consistent with the kinship-derived terms *bác* ͟senior uncle'-*con*
͟child', even when being accused of lying. At KQ's last attempt to kick BS out of home by
hiding her precious lace on the back of a picture frame then accusing BS of stealing it, MrM
lost control and slapped BS on her face. It was only then that BS opted for a switch of
address terms, calling MrM *ông* ͟old man', a second-person term with a pragmatic feature
of ‒distance", similar to its female counterpart *bà*, that was discussed in the previous
paragraph. To pair with it, she used the formal first-person pronoun *tôi* to address herself,
Tới khi ông thấy rõ bộ mặt thật của nó rồi ông có tát nó như tát tôi không? (ͅWill you also
give her a slap as you did to me today when you find out her real self?'). This is the only
instance when BS addressed herself and MrM this way throughout the story.

It can, therefore, be concluded that by choosing different terms of address in differerent
interactional situations, BS was successful in expressing her own feeling and emotion
towards the people she interacted with. Her various switches of address terms during the
conversations clearly demonstrate the affective meanings of Vietnamese address terms,
which, I argue, should be considered as one of the essential properties of these terms.
Discussions on other characters and their interactants will provide further evidence.

5.2.2.2 Interactions between CD and his counterparts

Among the male characters in the telenovela, CD was the one who employed the greatest variety of address terms when speaking with other people. This seemed to match his complicated personality. CD was a director of theatrical plays, which offered him opportunities to be related to and have a certain level of power over actors and actresses. Using his power and his own manly attractiveness, he got two girls pregnant but refused to take any responsibilities. To TQ, his long-time girlfriend, not only did he ignore her desperate feelings, his selfishness would not allow her to find the chance of happiness with another man.

CD's relationship with another girl called TL was somewhat mutually beneficial. TL wanted better roles in CD's plays, so she agreed to have a physical relationship with him. However, it was the medical doctor, KN, who is the father of BS's son that TL loved. What CD and TL shared in common was that they both wanted to separate BS and KN forever because TL desperately wanted KN for herself, and CD wanted BS. All this complication put the two evil people into different kinds of conflict as well as temporary cooperation in pursuing their own purposes.

To both ladies, CD would use the intimate kinship-derived terms *anh* ‗elder brother'-*em* ‗younger sibling' when he was in a good mood, then switched to the distant pair *tôi-cô* when he got angry. However, in his relationship with the second lady, CD knew that between them was strategic cooperation rather than affection. Therefore, it was observed that CD switched his address terms very often, even in one conversation, for different purposes such as negotiating, annoying and threatening (Examples 5.15a-c).

(5.15) a.   CD: *Chẳng lẽ **cô**^{1} không chúc mừng **tôi**^{2} một câu khi thấy tôi bình phục sao?*
               [^{1}= 2PSN ‗lady'; ^{2}= (distant) 1PSN PRO]
               ‗Can't **you** say something nice to **me** on my recovery?'

        b.   CD: ***Anh**^{3} đang có một kế hoạch rất hay, mà **em**^{4} phải giúp **anh**^{5}.*
               [$^{3,\,5}$= 1PSN ‗older brother'; ^{4}= 2PSN ‗younger sibling']
               ‗I have a very good plan, and **you** have to help **me**.'

        c.   CD: *Nói gì thì nói, **cô**^{6} phải giúp **tôi**^{7} **cô**^{8} hiểu không?*
               [$^{6,\,8}$= 2PSN ‗lady'; ^{7}= (distant) 1PSN PRO]
               ‗In short, **you** have to help **me**. Do **you** understand?'

In interacting with male counterparts when he got angry, CD would opt for more abrupt terms, the arrogant first- and second-person pronouns *tao-mày,* for example, when talking to KN (5.16a), or to KN and his friend (5.16b), who are of similar age to him.

(5.16) a. CD: *Khôn hồn thì **mày** hãy cút đi, không thì ngày mai **mày** sẽ lãnh hậu quả đấy!*
‚If **YOU** are wise enough, get out of here or **YOU** will regret it.‘

   b. CD: ***Chúng mày** cứ đợi đấy mà xem!*
‚All of **YOU**, just wait and see!‘

The two examples above illustrate how CD used the arrogant terms *mày* (singular ‚you‘)
and *chúng mày* (plural ‚you‘) to show his anger when he was under threat. The plural form
chúng mày (listed in Table 3.1 and discussed in Section 3.2.2.1) is found to be used only
once throughout the telenovela.

5.2.2.3 Interactions between DY and her counterparts

DY, in her early 30s, was KN‘s wife. DY was a demanding and hostile type of woman. She
did not go to work, and always critised her husband‘s passion for work. Her hostility is
rather visible in her changes of address terms in interacting with other people, particularly
with her family members. Even with her mother, when she was not pleased or her own
benefit was harmed, she did not hesitate to switch from the kinship terms *mẹ* ‚mother‘-*con*
‚sibling‘ to the distant, non-kin terms *bà* ‚old woman‘-*tôi* (distant 1PSN pronoun). It is,
therefore, not unexpected to observe DY‘s frequent switches of terms when conversing with
her husband and her sister-in-law when she was undergoing different emotional states. The
following examples show when DY was conversing with her husband KN (5.17), with her
sister-in-law TH (5.18) and with her mother GM (5.19), which demonstrate the high
frequency in her switches of address terms.

(5.17) DY: ***Em[1]** không tin là **anh[2]** bận tới mức **anh[3]** không thể đi cùng **em[4]** được, trừ
khi anh có người đàn bà khác.*
[[1, 4] = 1PSN ‚younger sibling‘; [2, 3] = 2PSN ‚older brother‘]
‚**I** don‘t believe **you** are so busy that **you** can‘t accompany **me** to the party. Are
you having an affair?‘

   KN: *Em hãy thôi cái trò ghen tuông vớ vẩn đấy đi.*
‚Stop your silly jealousy.‘

   DY: ***Tôi[5]** nói cho **anh[6]** biết. Anh sẽ phải chịu hoàn toàn trách nhiệm về những việc
anh làm.*
[[5] = (distant) 1PSN PRO; [6] = 2PSN ‚older brother‘]
‚Let **me** tell **you** this. You will have to be responsible for what you‘re doing.‘

(5.18) a. TrH: *Chị đi du lịch về nhớ có quà cho bé Nhím đấy nhé.*
‚Remember to bring home something for little Nhím from your holiday.‘

   DY: *Tất nhiên rồi. **Chị[1]** sẽ có cả quà cho cả **em[2]** nữa chứ.*
[[1] = 1PSN ‚older sister‘; [2] = 2PSN ‚younger sibling‘]
‚Of course. **I** will have something for **you** as well.‘

      b.   TrH: *Anh chị thôi cãi nhau có được không?*
                  _Can you two stop fighting?'
            DY: *Anh **cô**[1] mới là người gây chuyện trước. Anh cô đòi ly hôn với **tôi**[2].*
                  [[1] = 2PSN _lady'; [2] = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
                  _It's **your** brother! He wants to get divorced from **me**.'

(5.19) TrH: ***Bà**[1] bỏ **tôi**[2] ra. **Bà**[3] đã hại **tôi**[4], **bà**[5] biết không?*
            [[1, 3, 5] = 2PSN _old woman'; [2, 4] = 1PSN PRO]
       _**(you)** move off **me**! **You** put **me** into trouble, don't **you** know that?'

For a child to address his/her parent using distant pronouns of address as DY did is considered to be disapproving and it can hurt the parent greatly. Also, it is more understandable if it is the parent who does something awful that leads to a shock to the child. In the case of DY, it was only herself to blame. Getting bored with her lazy life at home, DY planned to go away, then came back with a (pretending) temporary memory loss after she had spent all the money and sold all the jewelery she had with her. It is interesting to observe DY's hostility when she was spending time with another man, her gigolo, and how she employed different address strategies for different communication purposes. The man with whom she had fun (G), who is of similar age to her, had been in and out of prison a number of times. Their carefree, relaxing days did not last very long because they only lived on DY's money. One day she noticed that some of her jewelery had gone missing. She became suspicious and managed to catch the man searching her purse. To express her anger, DY opted for the distant first-person pronoun *tôi* to address herself while the man was trying to be consistent with the intimate sibling-derived terms *anh-em* to distract her from suspecting him (Example 5.20a). However, when DY switched to the abrupt pronouns *mày-tao* and threatened to call the police, he also started using the same abrupt pronouns to confront her (Example 5.20b). It was not the end of their story yet. Because of G's criminal history, he did not want to lose such a source of provision like DY. He threatened to kill her if she reported him to the police, and forced her to continue to provide him with her money. DY was scared under his control, and made a plan to kill him. Before poisoning him, DY fooled him by trying to be nice. A strategy was developed with DY's employment of the intimate sibling-derived terms *anh-em*, which had been used when they were first together. And DY was successful both in her address strategy and in killing G. Example (5.20c), in contrast to (5.20b), demonstrates DY's different address strategies.

(5.20) a.   DY: *Thế anh lục bóp của **tôi**[1] làm gì?*
                 [[1] =(distant) 1PSN pronoun]
                 _Why are you searching **my** purse?'

> G: *Thì **anh²** coi trong bóp **em³** có đủ tiền không mà.*
> [²=1PSN ‗older brother'; ³ = ‗younger sibling']
> ‗Just to see if you're still having enough money.'

    b. DY: *Đồ ăn cắp! **Mày⁴** có tin là **tao⁵** kêu công an còng đầu **mày⁶** lại không?*
> ‗Bastard! Don't **YOU** believe that **I**'ll report **YOU** to the police?'

> G: ***Tao⁷** thách **mày⁸** báo công an đó.*
> ‗**I** dare **YOU**!'
> [⁴ʼ ⁶ʼ ⁸=2PSN & ⁵ʼ ⁷=1PSN (abrupt PROs)]

    c. DY: *Dậy! **Em⁹** nói nghe nè. **Em¹⁰** rút được tiền rồi.*
> [⁹ʼ ¹⁰=1PSN ‗younger sibling']
> ‗Sweetheart, get up! **I** have news. I've got the money.'

> G: ***Cưng¹¹** có chắc không đó?*
> [¹¹=2PSN ‗baby']
> ‗Are you serious, **baby**?'

> DY: *Chắc mà. Mình ra biển chơi đi **anh¹²**.*
> [¹²=2PSN ‗older brother']
> ‗Of course I am. Would **you** like to go to the beach?'

> G: ***Cưng¹³** thiệt là dễ thương!*
> [¹³=2PSN ‗baby']
> ‗You are so lovely, **baby**.'

Obviously, the English translation does not adequately reveal the serious conflicts between the two interactants and the address strategies employed by them as shown in their use and change of address terms in the two examples above. It is, therefore, suggested that other linguistic means can be used to bring the translation closer to the original in terms of its pragmatic features. For instance, an offensive noun phrase such as ‗bastard', and endearment terms such as ―sweetheart" and ―baby" needed to be much closer to their meanings in the source language. This point and other suggestions in translation will be further discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that observations of conversations between DY and her interactant counterparts clearly feature different address strategies that were employed in different situations in order to express different emotional states as well as for the interantants' specific communication purposes. Similar strategies were employed by other interactants in the telenovela, which are discussed in the next sections.

5.2.2.4 Interactions between GM and her counterparts

It is just a coincidence that the discussion of GM, who is DY's mother, follows that of DY. However, it is a significant coincidence because the two interactants have a lot in common: their unpleasantness and hostility in personality, and their strategic address behaviour.

GM (female, 60s) lived together with her daughter DY, DY's husband KN, their little daughter, and KN's younger sister, TrH. For an unpleasant person like GM, it is not unexpected to observe changes in the way she addressed people, even her little grandaughter, who was only five years old. Being convinced by DY that KN cared more about his patients than herself, GM did not like her son-in-law. Her dislike towards him became hatred when KN came back home from a holiday with his wife in a coastal city and announced that DY had gone missing. Their conversation began with GM addressing KN using the distant pronouns *anh-tôi*[13] and then the abrupt pair *mày-tao* (Example 5.21a and 5.21b). When her daughter finally returned, and especially after she discovered the whole cheating story that her daughter had made up, GM tried to be nice to her son-in-law, addressing him *con* ‗child' (Exampe 5.21c). Yet, when KN opposed her suggestion of taking DY home on account of her temporary memory loss, GM lost her temper and immediately switched back to the distant terms in her next utterance (Example 5.21c).

(5.21) a.   GM: *Đồ giết người. Anh¹ còn dám nói chuyện với tôi² nữa hả?*
             [¹= 2PSN & ²= 1PSN (distant) PROs]
             ‗Killer! How dare **you** talk to **me**?'

        b.   GM: *Rồi mày³ sẽ phải trả giá cho cái chết của con gái tao⁴.*
             [³= 2PSN & ⁴= 1PSN (abrupt) PROs]
             ‗**YOU** will pay for the death of **MY** daughter.'

        c.   GM: *Hay là mình đưa DY về nhà được không con⁵?*
             [⁵= 2PSN ‗child']
             ‗How about taking her home, **love**?'
             KN: *Bây giờ thì chưa được mẹ ạ.*
             ‗It's not time yet, mum.'
             GM: *Có phải anh⁶ sợ nó ngăn cản anh⁷ không?*
             [⁶,⁷= (distant)2PSN PRO]
             ‗Is it because **you** are afraid that she will interfere with **your** affair?'

GM would later switch back to the kinship terms *mẹ* ‗mother'-*con* ‗child' when all the tragedies were over, and she found her affection towards KN.

Example (5.21) reveals different situations in which GM successfully employed various terms of address to express her different emotional states and communication strategies when conversing with KN, her son-in-law.

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[13] The term *anh* discussed here is another problematic one in translation. Like its female counterpart *cô*, *anh* is a second-person term for a male addressee with a situational connotation of ‗distance' rather than its kin-term denotation meaning ‗older brother'

Similar switches were observed in conversations between GM and KN's sister TH, and BS, who were both young ladies in their early adulthood. Depending on her emotional state at the moment of speaking, her terms of address varied from the kinship-derived forms *con* ‗child' –*bác* ‗senior aunt' to the distant pronouns *tôi-cô*. As discussed earlier in Section 3.2.7.3, the non-kinship term *cô* can be used to denote distance or arrogance when addressing a female person of the same or younger age. The term *cô* used by GM to address the two young ladies precisely illustrates this usage of the term. When the distant terms were not strong enough to express her annoyance or anger, GM even opted for the abrupt pronouns *mày-tao* as she did when talking to her son-in-law (Example 5.21b). In Example (5.22) below, various terms of address were used by GM in the same conversation with BS in accordance with her emotional states or address strategies for different communication goals.

(5.22) GM: *Chào con[1]!*
       [*[1]* =2PSN ‗child']
       ‗Hello **sweetheart**.'

    BS: *Bộ bà ám tôi chưa đủ sao còn tới đây tìm tôi?*
       ‗Why are you here? Didn't you give me enough trouble?'

    GM: ***Bác[2]*** *có chuyện muốn nói với **con[3]** đấy.*
       [*[2]* =1PSN ‗senior aunt'; *[3]* =2PSN ‗child']
       ‗**I** have something important to tell **you**.'
       …

    GM: ***Cô[4]*** *cứ nghĩ kỹ lại đi. **Cô[5]** không làm theo lời **tôi[6]** nói thì **cô[7]** đúng là đồ điên.*
       [*[4, 5, 7]* = 2PSN ‗lady'; *[6]* = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
       ‗**You** have to think about it. If **you** won't listen to **me**, **you** are just mad.'

    GM: ***Bác[8]*** *làm như vậy cũng là vì **con[9]** thôi.*
       [*[8]* =2PSN ‗senior aunt'; *[9]* =2PSN ‗child']
       ‗**I** am doing this for **you**, darling.'
       …

    GM: ***Tao[10]*** *nói những lời tử tế mà không chịu nghe. Đồ tai trâu!*
       [*[10]* = (abrupt) 1PSN PRO]
       ‗**I** am trying to be kind, but you are just a pig-headed!'

The conversation started with GM's intimate kinship-term derived form to address BS. However, BS was not convinced by GM's reason for visiting her and refused her suggestion of sueing KN for his previous mistake. GM later performed different instances of term switches, from the distant ones to put the pressure on BS, then back to the intimate ones to mislead her, and finally to the abrupt ones when she absolutely failed to persuade BS.

The abrupt second-person pronoun *mày* was also used when GM got angry with her 5-year-old grand-daughter (Example 5.23).

(5.23) GM: *Riết rồi **mày** cũng giống bố **mày***!
　　　　　_**YOU** are taking after **YOUR** father exactly!'

Another observation of GM's switches of address terms is in her conversations with TL (female, 30s). In their first encounter, GM thought TL was a nice young lady, and she responded to TL's greeting by addressing her as *cháu* _niece' (Example 5.24a). Later, GM discovered that TL was trying to beguile KN and separate him from BS. In her warning to TL, GM used the distant address terms *cô-tôi* (Example 5.24b), followed by abrupt pronouns *mày-tao* (Example 5.24c), and finally, switched to the ironic second-person address term *con* _child' (Example 5.24d).

(5.24) a.　GM: *Chào **cháu**[1]*.
　　　　　　　[*[1]* = 2PSN _niece']
　　　　　　　_Hello, **darling**.'

　　　b.　GM: ***Cô**[2] đừng có hòng tới đây phá hạnh phúc của họ. **Tôi**[3] sẽ không để cho **cô**[4] yên đâu.*
　　　　　　　[*[2, 4]* = 2PSN _lady'; *[3]* = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
　　　　　　　_There's no way **you** can separate them. **I** won't let **you** do it.'

　　　c.　GM: ***Tao**[5] đã nói với **mày**[6] bao nhiêu lần rồi? Đừng có động đến nhà **tao**[7]!*
　　　　　　　[*[5,7]* = 2PSN & *[6]* = 1PSN (abrupt PROs)]
　　　　　　　_Have **I** warned **YOU** before? Stay away from **MY** family!

　　　d.　GM: ***Con**[8] ơi! **Con**[9] diễn dở quá đó **con**[10] ạ!*
　　　　　　　[*[8, 9, 10]* = 2PSN (ironic) _child']
　　　　　　　_Little rat! Your acting skill is no damn good!'

One may argue here that the second-person address term *con* in (5.24d) is the same as that in (5.21c) and the early part of (5.22) above, and ask therefore, how we can define one as intimate and the other as ironic. In this case, there are a few supporting elements that help in the identification of the ironic term. First, the insulting exclamation that followed the utterance of (5.24d), which is *Đồ chết tiệt!* idiomatically meaning _Dead rat!' Second, it is the tense context itself that suggests strong conflicts in the conversation, which is against intimacy. And last, but not least, it is the body language that strengthens the conclusion. At the end of the conversation, just before utterence (5.24d), GM was so angry she lost her self-control, so she pushed TL heavily, which saw the young woman fall on the floor. The specific usage of this term, *con* was previously demonstrated as (*) in Table 3.1 and illustrated by Example (3.8) in Section 3.2.2.1 as an abrupt second-person term.

At this stage, after examining the examples above, it is suggested that someone's address behaviour might have a strong link to their family background and their own personality. GM and DY were mother and daughter, and they shared a certain level of arrogance in their personalities, which may help explain why they perform the most switches of terms of address in their address practice compared to all other interactants in the telenovela.

5.2.2.5 Interactions between KN and his counterparts

KN (male, 30s) was a kind-hearted person. He was a successful surgeon but decided to start another direction in his career, a psychological consultant. His decision came from the regret he had been holding after a terrible mistake when he was younger: he sexually violated a young lady one night when he was drunk. KN was married to DY but he was never happy because of his regret, and also because she was not an understanding wife. He chose to become a psychological consultant with a willingness to help people with psychological problems, particularly young people. Apart from BS, KN had relatively intimate relationships with three other ladies: DY, KQ, and TL. As for BS, he truly loved her before and after the coincidence of his sexual violence and her rape attack was discovered. Thus with BS, KN performed only one change of address terms, from the distant ones *tôi-cô* to the intimate sibling terms *anh-em,* which remained consistent despite all the ups and downs in their own lives as well as in their romantic relationship. With the other three ladies, KN's switches of address terms were in an opposite direction when his attitude towards them changed from positive/neutral to negative. More specifically, KN opted for the distant terms to address himself and his wife when he was irritated by her, with her initiating distant address forms, as shown in the following example.

(5.25) KN: ***Em¹*** *hãy nhìn thẳng vào vấn đề đi.* ***Anh²*** *chỉ vì bé Nhím mà cố gắng.*
         [¹ = 2PSN _younger sibling'; ² = 1PSN _older brother']
         _To be frank with you, **I** am only trying to be good for Nhím.'
   DY: ***Anh³*** *đừng lôi con cái ra mà nói những lời đạo đức với* ***tôi.⁴***
         [³ = 2PSN _older brother'; ⁴ = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
         _Don't **you** use our daughter to lecture **me**.'
   KN: *Này,* ***cô⁵*** *nghĩ là* ***tôi⁶*** *đang lợi dụng con đấy hả?*
         [⁵ = 2PSN _lady'; ⁶ = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
         _What are **you** suggesting? Am **I** using our daughter?'

A similar switch, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was observed in conversations between KN and the other two ladies, KQ and TL. Both of them were young, pretty ladies, and both of them were trying to attract him. However, it was BS that KN was in love with. Therefore, he went through frustrating circumstances involving the two ladies, when he

varied his use of terms of address to express the distance in their relationship. These switches are similar to those that he performed in conversing with his wife when their relationship failed.

Again, from observations of KN's address behaviour and his personality, the argument of the connection between the two is strengthened by the fact that KN had a relatively simple personality, which seems to match his infrequent switches of address terms in comparison to the other interactants.

5.2.2.6 Interactions between KQ and her counterparts

In contrast to the innocent, modest BS, KQ (female, 18), also an orphan, is a confident trickster. Together with her aunt, they concocted a plan for her to start a new leaf of her life in a wealthy family, who eventually turned out to be BS's biological parents. KQ hated BS and tried to get rid of her so that the big fraud conducted by her aunt and her would be concealed forever. Moreover, KQ also fell for KN even though she was aware that KN was in love with BS. Therefore, it was only during their first days living together by accident that KQ addressed BS with the kinship terms *chị-em*, in the presence of their host and hostess (Example 5.26a). Otherwise, KQ would use the arrogant pronouns *mày-tao* or the ironic *cô* ‗lady' to address BS, who is of a similar age to her (Examples 5.26b and 5.26c).

(5.26) a. KQ: ***Em¹*** *có nghĩ là anh Kỳ Nam cũng khen **chị²** đẹp không?*
          [*¹* = 2PSN ‗inferior sibling'; *²* = 1PSN ‗superior sister']
          ‗Do **you** think Nam will give **me** a compliment?'

     b. KQ: *Trời ơi, sao **mày³** cắt hình anh Nam ra rồi? Đưa lại đây.*
          [*³* = (abrupt) 2PSN]
          ‗Hey. Why did **YOU** cut Nam's photo from the magazine? Give it to me.'
        BS: *Không. Chị định làm gì tui?*
          ‗No way. What are you going to do?'
        KQ: ***Mày⁴*** *đừng có ăn nói với **tao⁵** kiểu đó nghe chưa!*
          [*⁴* = 2PSN; *⁵* = 1PSN (abrupt) PROs]
          ‗How dare **YOU** speak to **ME** like that?'

     c. KQ: *Số **cô⁶** đúng chỉ làm người ở thôi!*
          [*⁶* = 2PSN ‗lady']
          ‗It's so true. **You** only deserve to be a maid.'

As explained before, KQ's hatred towards BS is straightforward and understandable. The way she addressed other people, specifically in the case of the medical assistant, T, definitely depends on the strategy she would employ to achieve her communication goal. T is a good-looking, but penniless man. KQ liked him from their first encounter, but she

repressed her feelings, because she planned to win KN's heart. It is interesting to observe how she promptly switched from the distant first-person pronoun *tôi* to the intimate kinship-derived form *em* to flirt with T, and later performed a reverse when she denied her feelings for him. Example (5.27) below illustrates KQ's switches of the first-person terms of address.

(5.27) a.　T:　　*Cô nghĩ là bác sĩ KN sẽ cưới cô sao?*
　　　　　　　‚Do you think doctor KN will marry you?'

　　　　KQ:　*Tất nhiên. Vì **tôi**¹ có đủ điều kiện để thực hiện điều đó mà.*
　　　　　　　[¹ = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
　　　　　　　‚Of course he will. **I** have everything that he wants.'

　　　　T:　　*Tôi không quan tâm. Tôi phải về đây.*
　　　　　　　‚Well, I don't care. I have to go now.'

　　　　KQ:　*Bộ anh không muốn nói chuyện với **em**² hả?*
　　　　　　　[² = 1PSN (kinship term)]
　　　　　　　‚Don't you want to speak with **me**, darling?'

　　　b.　KQ:　*Tại sao anh dám đi nói với anh N là **tôi**³ yêu anh hả? **Tôi**⁴ sẽ phủ nhận hết. **Tôi**⁵ cần một người chồng triệu phú.*
　　　　　　　[³, ⁴, ⁵ = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
　　　　　　　‚Why did you tell N that **I** love you? **I** will deny it all. All **I** want is a millionnaire husband.'

‚A lie runs until it is overtaken by the truth", as a Cuban proverb reads, or a Vietnamese proverb which means ‚If you play with knives, you'll get yourself cut one day". The truth was revealed and both KQ and her aunt were arrested after their several attempts to kill BS and her little son. At the police station, the two of them denied their own part and blamed the other for the whole plan and actions. The kinship terms *dì* ‚auntie'-*cháu* ‚niece' were then replaced by the distant pronouns *tui* ‚I/me' *bà* ‚old woman' as used by KQ (Example 5.28), which also alienated the two relatives.

(5.28)　KQ:　***Tui*¹** *phải kéo **bà**² vào để **bà**³ chết chung với **tui**⁴ chứ!*
　　　　　　　[¹, ⁴ = (casual) 1PSN PRO; ²,³ = ‚old woman' (= 2PSN)]
　　　　　　　‚**I** accused **you** so if **I** have to die **you** will surely do, too.'

Apart from the kinship relationship between her and her aunt, KQ's other relationships in which her address behaviour was observed are relatively similar to those that TL (9) was involved in, as will be discussed in the next section.

5.2.2.7　**Interactions between TL and her counterparts**

Similar to KQ, TL, a pretty lady in her late 20s, also wanted to win KN's heart. She started her plan by pretending to be a good friend to BS and providing BS with false information

about KN with the ultimate aim of separating them from each other. Observations of TL's uses of address terms reveal that she changed from the intimate sibling terms *chị-em* to the distant pronouns *tôi-cô*, similar to those that KQ used to address BS (Example 5.26c). TL did not employ the arrogant terms of *mày-tao* like KQ (Example 5.26b) probably because: (1), she is approximately 10 years older than BS while BS and KQ are of a similar age; and (2), the relationship between her and BS was a love-rival competition rather than a life survival.

In her relationship with CD (9b), a director of theatrical plays to whom she was an assistant, TL also employed strategic address performances to achieve her goals. TL did not want to be a director's assistant all her life. Rather, her ambition was to become famous as an actress with important roles, and CD was the one who could help her while KN was the man of her dreams. The relationship between TL and CD; therefore, was one based on mutual benefits. CD slept with TL, gave her some roles in his plays, and used her to take revenge on BS, whom he wished to have in his life but failed. On her part, TL took advantage of having a baby with CD to mislead KN, even though she was not successful. In her conversations with CD, it can be observed that most of the time, her choices of address terms were governed by her strategic plan rather than her real emotion. To be specific, she was upfront with CD by using the distant first-person pronoun *tôi* ‗I/me' because she was aware that they were both using each other; however, when the situation necessitated negotiation, she opted for the intimate sibling term *em*. A comparison of her self-address terms used in different conversations is helpful in understanding this lady's address strategies (Example 5.29).

(5.29) a. TL: *Nếu anh nói thật, thì tin tưởng vào tài thuyết phục của **em**[1] đi.*
                  [[1] = ‗inferior sibling']
                  ‗If you're serious, so you can trust **my** persuasiveness.'

        b. TL: *Anh nghe cho rõ đây, **tôi**[2] và anh không có quan hệ gì hết. **Tôi**[3] đã chọn KN.*
                  [[2, 3] = (distant) 1PSN PRO]
                  ‗Listen. There is no relationship between you and **me**. **I**'ve chosen KN.'

        c. TL: ***Em**[4] mà có hẹn ai, **em**[5] gọi anh tới đây làm gì?*
                  [[4, 5] = ‗inferior sibling']
                  ‗**I** wouldn't have you here if **I** was to see someone else.'

It is noteworthy that TL not only changed her use of address terms when conversing with young people, but also to address senior people, such as GM (female, 60s), and MrM (male, 60s) when conflicts arose. Specifically, the common terms of address employed by TL when

addresssing MrM are the neutral kinship-derived forms *chú* ‚paternal uncle'-*con* ‚child' (Example 5.30a), and to GM, *bác* ‚senior aunt'-*con* ‚child' (5.30b), which were switched to the distant address pronouns of *ông/bà* ‚old man/woman'-*tôi* ‚I/me' as in Example (5.30). The special usage of the terms *ông/bà* paired with *tôi* was discussed as usage (e) in Table 3.6 (Section 3.2.7.1). These terms denote arrogance and impoliteness when used by an addressor who is of a younger generation to address someone of an older generation, especially when they are not old enough to be addressed with a term used for one's grandfather/ grandmother.

(5.30) a.   TL talking to MrM:

        ***Chú**^{1} tới đây làm gì? **Con**^{2} và bà Hai lo cho Bông Sen được rồi.*

        [^{1} = ‚paternal uncle'; ^{2} = ‚child']

        ‚Why are **you** here? Hai and **I** can take care of BS.'

        TL talking to GM:

        *Dạ. **Bác**^{3} cho **con**^{4} hỏi có Kỳ Nam ở nhà không?*

        [^{3} = ‚senior aunt'; ^{4} = ‚child']

        ‚Excuse me. Can **I** ask **Ø** if KN is home?'

    b.   TL talking to MrM:

        ***Ông**^{5} quên là **tôi**^{6} có chìa khóa sao?*

        [^{5} = ‚old man; ^{4} = (distant) 1PSN PRO]

        ‚Old man! **You** forget that **I** still have the keys?'

        TL talking to GM:

        ***Bà**^{7} làm gì được **tôi**^{8}? **Tôi**^{9} đâu có ngu!*

        [^{7} = ‚old woman; $^{8, 9}$ = (distant) 1PSN PRO]

        ‚What are **you** going to do to **me**, Ma'am? **I** am not stupid!'

5.2.2.8   MrM and MrsM and their counterparts

It should be explained that the reasons for the last two interactants, MrM (male, 60s) and MrsM (female, 50s) to be put together in one section are: (1) they were husband and wife, so they normally shared several conversations; and (2) neither of them perform many switches of address terms during conversations with other people. However, their interactions are still examined because of the significant changes in their uses of adddress forms to express their emotional states, expecially strongly negative ones. What is common between the two interactants is that both of them only sought to change from intimate kinship-derived forms into distant pronouns of address for younger interactants, but not the abrupt forms, when the situations necessitated a change to express their anger.

As for MrM, it is observed that he generally used kinship-derived forms to address young people of similar age to his daughter. He addressed both BS (female, 18 years old) and TL (female, late 20s) as *cháu* ‗niece' when they first met. Because BS was about ten years younger than TL, the self-address term that MrM used was *bác* ‗senior uncle' when he conversed with BS, but *chú* ‗inferior uncle' when he conversed with TL. However, when he was experiencing extreme anger, he switched to the distant second-person pronoun *cô* ‗lady' to address them, paired with the distant first-person pronoun *tôi*. MrM's use of address terms in his interactions with BS and TL is briefly summarised in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5 Address terms used by MrM (M60s) in interactions with BS (F18) and TL (F20s)

	1PSN address term	2PSN address term	State of emotion
2PSN = BS	*bác* ‗senior uncle'	*cháu* ‗niece'	Neutral
2PSN = TL	*chú* ‗inferior uncle'	*cháu* ‗niece'	Neutral
2PSN= BS/TL	*tôi* ‗me'	*cô* ‗lady'	Negative

Similar first- and second-person terms were used by MrM's wife, MrsM's significant change was observed in her conversation with KQ after she discovered that she and her husband had been misled by KQ and her aunt, who was successful at first in fooling MrM and MrsM that KQ was their missing daughter. After the truth was revealed, the kinship terms *mẹ* ‗mother'-*con* ‗child' was substituted with the distant terms *tôi* (1PSN PRO)-*cô* ‗lady' by MrsM in her painful and ironic intonation, *Nè, cô diễn giỏi quá ha! Con **tôi** không có mặt ở đây.* (‗You are such a talented actress yourself! My daughter is not here.').

An immediate switch from intimate kinship-derived forms to distant pronouns of address was also observed in MrsM's conversation with TL (female, late 20s), when she was suspicious that TL was planning to do something awful to BS. Their conversation goes as follows:

(5.31) MrsM: ***Cô¹*** *nói chuyện với con gái **cô²** rồi. Gia đình **cô³** không cần **con⁴** nữa.*
  [*¹, ², ³* =1PSN ‗aunt'; *⁴* = 2PSN ‗child']
  ‗**I** have talked to **my** daughter. **My** family do not need **your** help any more.'
  …
  MrsM: ***Tôi⁵*** *cảnh báo cho **cô⁶** biết, **cô⁷** không được làm điều gì tổn thương BS nghe chưa!*
  [*⁵* = (distant) 1PSN PRO; *⁶, ⁷* = 2PSN ‗lady']
  ‗**I** warn **you**. Don't **you** dare hurt BS in any way at all.'

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There is no doubt that it is difficult for a non-Vietnamese speaker at the first glance at Example (5.31) to distinguish the first-person term *cô*[1,2,3] from the second-person term *cô*[6,7] because they both look exactly the same. The underlying difference between the two is that the first one is the kinship-derived form, literally meaning ‗paternal aunt', which can be used as the first- or second-person address pronoun, while the second one is only used as a second-person pronoun, meaning ‗lady', which denotes formality or distance. As I have argued before in Section 3.2.7.3, the latter *cô* here should be considered as merely a homonym of the kinship term *cô*, because its pragmatic usage is not at all related to kin relationship.

Apart from switches of terms for self-address and addressing the second person to express different emotional states as discussed in Section 5.2.2, there is also evidence of similar pragmatic features conveyed in third-person address terms and anaphors, which will be discussed in Section 5.3, and also in the conclusion of Section 5.4.

5.3   Further discussion and conclusions based on the two telenovelas

This section synthesises some important points from the preceding discussion in addition to the discussions of first-and second person forms of address and the affective meanings conveyed in their use in specific contexts. The section first examines how third-person address forms are used with pragmatic connotations similar to their first- and second-person counterparts, then proceeds to look at some homonyms of kinship terms that are popular in the two telenovelas.

5.3.1   Third-person reference terms and endophoras

The analysis of switches of address terms has so far been devoted to first and second persons, in singular and plural forms. It would be remiss not to pay attention to the affective meanings of third-person references in conversations among the interactants in the two telenovelas, BDMK and TR. These terms of reference, including their ‖phoric tendencies", which mean whether they are endophoric (with textual presuppositions) or exophoric (with situational presuppositions) (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 33) will be examined.

5.3.1.1   Affective meanings of third-person reference terms in BDMK

Starting with the first telenovela, BDMK, and their main characters, T (female, 18 years old) and N (male, 22 years old), it should be recalled that while T is among the hard-working and good-willing people, N and his friends are the opposite. It is, therefore, not

surprising that T was always referred to by most people, including senior people, with respectful terms such as *cô gái bán sách* ‚the girl who sells books' or her first Ne, and anaphors including respectful *cô ấy*, more intimate term *cổ* (both meaning ‚she/her') and endearment terms *con bé, con nhỏ* ‚that little girl'. We will examine the similar way N's parents talked to each other or to N about T (Examples 5.32 and 5.33) and the way Hiếu (H2, male, 20s) talked to N about T (Example 5.34).

(5.32) N's father: *Thằng N để xe ở nhà **cô gái bán sách**.*
            ‚N left his bike at the place where **the girl who sells books** lives.'
      N's mother: *Ra viện, vợ chồng mình tới cảm ơn **cô ấy**.*
            ‚When I'm discharged, we'll go to thank **her** (respectful)'.

(5.33) N's mother: ***T** là cô gái tốt. Đừng để mất **T**!*
            ‚**T** is a good girl. You can't lose **T** (anaphoric 3PSN).'

(5.34) H2: ***T** đâu? Mà sao mày lại mặc đồ của **T**? Mày đã làm gì **T**?*
         ‚Where's **T**? And why are you wearing **T's** (possessive 3PSN) clothes? What did you do to **T** (anaphoric 3PSN)?'

In contrast with the way N's parents and T's friend referred to her are the referent terms used by N's friends. After being told about their son's idleness and lies to them, N's parents decided to tighten his pocket money and control his going-out schedule. This is why N and his friends considered T as a foe. Following is an utterance by N's ex-girlfriend, talking about T after they had split up due to his penniless (Example 5.35).

(5.35) D: *Em đâu có dễ dàng bỏ qua cho **con nhỏ bán sách** được. Bây giờ tạm thời bỏ **con nhỏ bán sách** qua một bên, để hỏi tội thằng Nam về chuyện dám cho **nó** địa chỉ của tụi mình.*
         ‚I'm not going to let go on **that book seller** so easily. I will just put aside **that book seller** to punish the stupid N for letting **her** (disrespectful) know where we live.'

D's negative attitude to T is evident in the way she repeatedly referred to T as *con nhỏ bán sách*, and substituted the phrase with the (disrespectful) endophor *nó*. The repetition of the referent demonstrates not only D's derogation towards T but also towards her job. Moreover, as D is of similar age to T, the fact that she referred to T as *con nhỏ* (female classifier + ‚little") denotes that she was belittling T by using the phrase. In contrast, in Example 5.32 and 5.33, N's parents referred to T as *cô gái bán sách*, literally translated into English ‚the girl/lady who sells books'. The phrase was substituted with *cô ấy*, a respectful endophoric pronoun for a younger female referent.

Another example of the affective/attitudinal meanings conveyed by the third-person referent terms is the one observed from conversations between N and his friends. The following conversation occurred between K and Duy (D1), both being N's same-aged friends.

(5.36) K: *Ủa, **thằng** N và Ngọc Diệp sao lâu tới quá vậy?*
  'Why are **thằng** N' and Ngọc Diệp so late?'

D1: *Ấy! Mày kêu **sếp** N bằng thằng không sợ **sếp** nghe **sếp** giận à?*
  'Hey! You're referring to 'boss N' as **thằng**' (male CL). '**Boss**' will get upset.'

K: *Nó đứng ra chi tiền nên tao kêu **nó** bằng sếp, chứ **nó** muốn tao kêu **nó** bằng bố tao cũng kêu nữa.*
  Just because **nó** (abasing 'he') always pays for us so I address **nó** (disrespectful 'him') as 'boss'. Even if **nó** (disrespectful 'he') would like me to address **nó** (disrespectful 'him') as 'father', I will.

It is my intention to maintain the bolded Vietnamese terms in the English translation for the purpose of emphasis. In this example, *thằng*, which is a (male) gender classifier, has a semantic marking of 'informality' or 'derogation' (previously discussed as usage (3) in Section 3.2.4. The endophoric term *nó* grammatically functions in the same way as the English second-person endophors 'he/him', but is only used by an older or same-aged speaker, denoting either casualness or derogation.

Further discussion on third-person reference terms with supporting evidence from the second telenovela TR will be presented in the following section.

5.3.1.2   Affective meanings of third-person reference terms in TR

The first important point in discussing third-person reference terms in TR is that, although there are several negative connotations that are observed in the uses of third-person terms in the telenovela, the contexts of their usages need to be taken into account in order to distinguish them from their neutral denotations. Most of these terms are listed and compared to the terms used in neutral/positive attitudinal or emotional state in Table 5.6. It is not necessary to provide a translation of the terms, because they are all literally equivalent to the English third-person pronouns 'he/him' and 'she/her' depending on the gender of the referent.

It would be superfluous to give examples of all the terms listed in Table 5.6 because their usages are somewhat similar, apart from gender distinction. However, in order to prove the negative connotations of these terms in contrast to their neutral/positive denotations, some significant extracts from the telenovela transcipts will be presented and interpreted.

Table 5.6 Third-person reference terms in TR

1PSN	3PSN		Reference term	Gender
		Negative	**Neutral/positive**	
BS (F18)	CĐ (M30s)	*hắn*	*ảnh*	Male
	KN (M30s)	*anh ta*	*ảnh*	Male
	KQ (F18)	*cô ta/ nó*		Female
	GM (F60s)	*bả*	*bác ấy*	Female
CĐ (M30s)	BS (F18)	*cô ta*	*cô ấy*	Female
GM (F60s)	BS (F18)	*cô ta/ nó*	**BS** (name)	Female
	KQ (F18)	*cô ta*	*cô ấy*	Female
	TL (F30s)	*cô ta*		Female
KQ (F18)	BS (F18)	*nó*	**em Sen** (‗inferior sibling'+name)	Female

The most frequent third-person reference term with strong evidence of a negative attitude, **hắn** ‗he/him' was used to refer to CĐ, the director of theatrical plays, who was also a lady-hunter. He attracted, but was also hated by the young ladies who were his unfortunate targets or victims. This term, previously indicated as (1) in Table 3.2 and discussed in Section 3.2.2.2, does not need to be compared and contrasted with other terms because it includes an innate negative meaning. The term was used by at least four addressors when referring to CĐ, namely, BS (F, 18), TQ (F, 20s), TT (F, 20s), and TT's mother (F, 50s).

Another instance of a negative attitude towards other people shown in the choice of address terms is observed in utterances from GM (F, 60s). At the beggining, and up to Episode 80 of the telenovela, GM's explicit dislike towards BS (F, 18) is identified in the way she addresses BS with either distant or abrupt terms. When referring to BS, GM opted for third-person unfavourable terms such as *cô ta* and *nó* (Example 5.37) in comparison to the more favourable term, *cô ấy*, when she referred to KQ, who was also similar age to BS but temporarily believed to be the daughter of a wealthy family (Example 5.38a). However, when the truth was unveiled later, and KQ turned out to be no more than an intriguer, a change in GM's attitude to her would lead to a change of address terms (Example 5.38b).

(5.37) GM: *Anh lúc nào cũng bênh vực **nó**. Thế **cô ta** cũng gặp rắc rối về tâm lý chăng?*
‗Why are you always on **her** (disrespectful) side? Or is **she** (hating) also having psychological trouble?'

(5.38) a. GM: *Này, cô Quân bảo anh điện thoại cho **cô ấy** đấy.*
‗By the way. Quân told you to ring **her** (respectful).'

b. GM: *Mẹ nghĩ là **cô ta** chỉ giả vờ thôi.*
‗I think **she** (hating) is just pretending.'

GM's explicitly expressed attitude can be seen as annoying, and maybe hurtful to the addressee and referent, but not as dangerous as what KQ did to BS, which was not straightforward. As we know from the story, BS and KQ had a real-life conflict. While BS was an innocent and simple person, KQ was the opposite. On the one hand, she tried to extricate BS from her own home with her mischief, but on the other hand, she behaved as if she was in favour of BS so as to mislead MrM. Actually, this should be considered as KQ's address strategy in order to achieve a specific purpose. Let us compare how she referred to BS differently when she spoke with MrM (Example 5.39a) and when she spoke with her aunt (Example 5.39b).

(5.39) a. KQ: *Chắc tại **em Sen** không được học hành tới nơi tới chốn nên mới làm ba buồn lòng.*
    ‗Don't be too upset, Dad. **'Inferior sibling' Sen** was not educated well enough to know how to behave.'

b. KQ: *Anh N lúc nào cũng lo lắng cho **con quỷ đó**. Từ đó tới giờ **nó** là cái gai trong mắt con.*
    ‗N only cares about **that demon**! **She** (disrespectful) is really a pain to me.'

As shown in Example (5.39a), KQ used the combination of *em* ‗inferior sibling' and first Ne to refer to BS to sound as if she had empathy for BS's unfortunate life circumstances, while in fact she hated BS and considered BS as her enemy, using the noun phrase *con quỷ đó* ‗that demon' and the endophor (disrespectful) *nó* to refer to BS in Example 5.39b.

Attention should also be paid to the use of the anaphor *nó*, because it occurs with high frequency in both telenovelas. Listed as usage (18) in Table 3.2 and discussed in Section 3.2.2.2, this term has two different usages: (1), as a casual term to refer to someone younger or of similar age to the speaker in close relationships, and (2), as a disrespectful term when referring to someone not in favour. The different pragmatic reference, therefore, can only be identified in accordance with the type of relationship and age gap between the addressor and the referent. For example, in BDMK, N's parents referred to him as *nó*, which can be interpreted as usage (1) above, similar to the way GM (F, 60s) in TR referred to DY, her daughter. However, for N's girlfriend, who is younger than him, and normally addressed herself as *em* ‗inferior sibling' when speaking with him, referring to him as (abasing) *nó* can be understood as a lack of respect.

The above two sections have been devoted to the discussion of how different states of attitude and emotion are expressed through the the addressor's use of referent terms as observed in the two Vietnamese telenovelas. The discussion provides a better understanding

of the affective meanings of the third-person terms apart from terms of address that are used to self-address and address the second person in interactions. Observations of the two telenovelas also reveal various terms of address which have the same pronunciation forms but constitute different references in different communication contexts, for example, the term *bà* when used by a granddaughter to address her grandmother, and when used by a young lady to address that same senior woman. I also observe that it is not only the context that decides the interpretations of the pragmatic meanings of these forms. Rather, the term that is chosen to pair with them serves as a medium to these interpretations. The next section will present pragmatic usages of some homonymous address terms based on this argument.

5.3.2 The term *tôi* as a medium of pragmatic usages of other terms

In this section, I will argue that the first-person pronoun *tôi* can be treated as a medium for possible interpretations of different pragmatic usages of the terms paired with it, such as the homonymous forms of kinship terms *ông*, *bà*, *anh* and *chị*. As kinship terms, they mean ‗grandfather', ‗grandmother', ‗older brother' and ‗older sister', respectively.

The terms *ông* and *bà,* literally meaning ‗old man' and ‗old woman', and their variations have some common pragmatic usages as summarised here. As kinship terms, they are used by and to address one's grandfather or grandmother, respectively. In non-kinship relationships, they can be used as self-address and address terms by and for senior people, normally of a similar age to one's grandparents. Between close friends of similar age, they denote intimacy. Otherwise, their use is an implication of disrespect.

This section focuses on non-kinship usages of these terms in different contexts in the telenovelas, which are significant to the understanding of the specific choice of these terms in practice. Table 5.7 demonstrates the contexts in which these terms are used in combination with their counterpart *tôi*, in accordance with the relationship and generation gap between the addressor and the addressee, and their attitude or emotion towards each other.

Table 5.7 Non-kinship usages of the terms *ông* and *bà* and related emotional states

Ex.	Relationship/age gap	*'ông'*	*'bà'*	Emotional state
(5.40)	KN (M, 30s) – HĐ (M, 30s): Best friends	*tôi– ông*	—	Neutral
(5.41)	TL (F, 20s) – MrM (M, 50s): Acquaintances	*tôi– ông*	—	Strongly negative
(5.42)	TL (F, 20s) – GM (F, 60s): Acquaintances	—	*tôi– bà*	Strongly negative

Table 5.7 shows the difference in usages of the terms *ông* and *bà* in regards to the relationship and generation gap between the addressor and addressee. In (5.40) it is the address habit between two best friends of similar age. The pair of address terms *tôi-ông* in this relationship is comparable with the casual pair *tao-mày* used among young lady friends, including TT (F, 20s) and TQ (F, 20s).

On the other hand, the two terms *ông* and *bà* when paired with the self-address term *tôi*, especially used by an addressor who is one generation younger than the addressee, denote a transparent emotional distance and strong negative feeling from the perspective of the addressor, as illustrated by Examples (5.41) and (5.42). In these examples, the addressor is TL, in her late twenties, and the addressees are MrM, in his late 50s, and GM, in her mid-60s, respectively.

(5.40) KN: *HĐ này, hôm nay **tôi** có việc cần nhờ **ông** đấy.*
_Hi mate, **I** need **your** help sometime today.'

(5.41) TL: ***Tôi** không điên, **ông** mới là người điên.*
_**I** am not crazy, Sir, but **you** are.'

(5.42) TL: ***Bà** đánh **tôi** đi, **tôi** sẽ đi tố cáo **bà.***
_Go ahead, Ma'am! **You** hit **me**. **I** will report **you** to the police.'

It can be seen from the above examples that it is the term *tôi* that helps distinguish the pragmatic usages of the terms *ông* and *bà* from their kinship-term usages, which should be considered as mere homonymous forms of the kinship terms meaning _grandfather' and _grandmother' respectively. This conclusion is well in line with Nguyễn Phú Phong's (1996) remark:

> On the semantic level, because of its meaning _servant', *tôi* denotes social status
> with regard to the addressee – in return has its semantics modified so as to
> express social status with respect to *tôi*. This explains why in the pair *tôi – bà*,
> *bà* is no longer _grandmother' but only _madam'. (p. 9)

Apart from the terms *ông* and *bà*, which are, in many cases, often confused with kinship terms, there are some other terms that may cause similar confusion, such as the kinship-derived forms *anh* _older brother' and *chị* _older sister'.

It should be recalled again that the term *tôi* is generally considered to be ─respectful" (Thompson, 1987, p. 248), ─somewhat distantly or formally [sic]" (Cooke, 1968, p. 113),

and mostly used in formal situations rather than intimacy. Of course, an exception is found, for intance, in intimate friendships such as that between KN and HĐ (Example (5.40)). This generalisation of the term *tôi,* therefore, leads to the fact that it may affect the interpretation of the usage of the term paired with it. For example, between spouses and romantic partners, the most common pair of address terms are *anh-em* ‗senior brother'-‗inferior sibling', which are believed to show not only affection between the two, but also solidarity.[14] Yet, as it is observed, and also found in studies on the Vietnamese language that, when the first-person address term is switched to *tôi,* the switch denotes distance between them and, even more serious, a failing relationship (Mai Xuân Huy, 1996, pp. 43–46; Cao Xuân Hạo, 2003, p. 318; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003, p. 310). An example is in a short story written by a popular Vietnamese writer, titled ‗*Vĩnh biệt Phây-búc!'* [‗Goodbye, Facebook!'] (Nguyễn Đông Thức, January 30, 2014). The narrator, who is a husband, states that ―*Khi vợ xưng 'tôi' là biết có chuyện rồi"* (‗When my wife switches to *tôi* to address herself, I know I am in trouble.') after his wife objects to his spending too much time on Facebook. Examples of similar switches discussed previously also support this argument, which is that the use of *tôi* attributes certain distance in the meaning to the term paired with it. Thus, when *anh* ‗senior brother' and *chị* ‗senior sister' is paired with *em* ‗inferior sibling', any one of these three terms includes affection in its pragmatic connotation. On the contrary, when the self-address term is switched to *tôi,* the affection and/or solidarity is violated. It is concluded that the first-person pronoun *tôi* constitutes a change in the pragmatic connotation of the second-person term paired with it.

Similar to *tôi,* its regional variation *tui* also denotes the emotional distance between the addressor and addressee. While the second-person address term remains unchanged, its connotational meaning has changed. In the following example, BS (F, 18) opted for the self-address term *tui* to express her emotional distance towards TL (F, late 20s) when conflict arose (Example 5.43b), in contrast to her self-address term *em* ‗inferior sibling' when their relationship was good (Example 5.43a).

(5.43) a. ***Chị*** *đọc thư cho **em** nghe đi!*
‗Could **you** read the letter for **me**, please?'

b. ***Chị*** *còn muốn làm gì **tui** nữa đây?*
‗What else do **you** want from **me**?'

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[14] I am using the word ‗senior' and ‗inferior' here instead of ‗older' and ‗younger' because the address terms *anh-em* are applied even when the male partner is not literally older than his female partner.

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The foregoing discussion has so far shown that the terms *tôi/tui*, when paired with *ông*, *bà*, *anh* or *chị*, serves as a medium to help interpret the affective meaning of the term that is paired with it. The mutual influence is demonstrated in Figure 5.1.
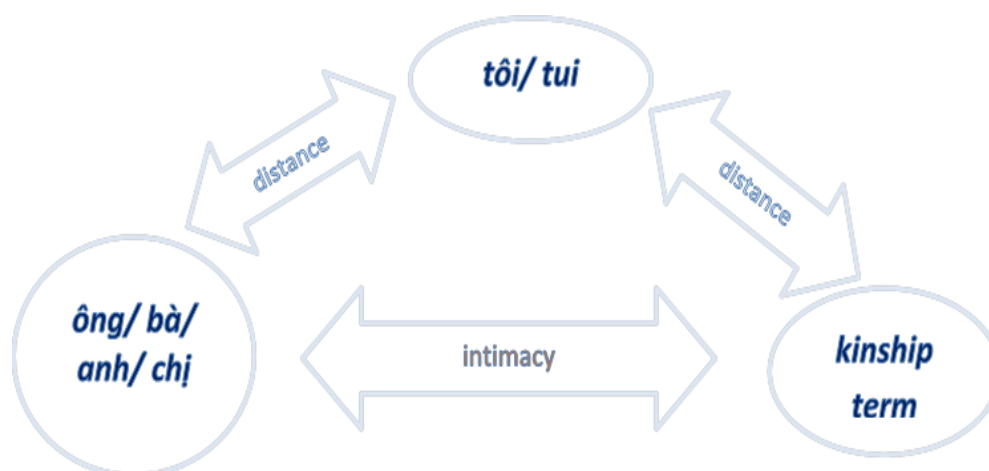
Figure 5.1 Effect of first-person address term *tôi/tui* on other terms

5.4   Summary and conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to the analysis of uses of address terms in different kinds of relationships and different communication contexts, from which pragmatic usage of these terms has been carefully examined and thoroughly discussed. The two telenovelas provide a great resource for observation of choices and switches of address terms employed by interactants to express their different states of emotion. The data analysis and findings confirm the following arguments:

(1)   Vietnamese speakers have access to a great variety of address terms, from which they can make their own choice that best suits their relationships as well as their communication strategies.

(2)   The interactants' choices of address terms demonstrate their different states of attitude or emotion, which strengthens the argument that Vietnamese address terms have affective meanings, most of which are not an innate property, but can be revealed and interpreted in combination with other address terms and the situational context.

(3)   Certain first-person address terms, such as *tôi* and its regional variation *tui*, serve as a medium to pragmatic interpretations of the second-person address terms paired with them.

(4) According to their grammatical functions and meanings, some Vietnamese address terms should be considered as homonyms, or different variations of address terms rather than kinship terms, which will be helpful in finding the equivalent forms of address in translation.

Chapter 6 will focus on how address terms are translated between Vietnamese and English, with data collected from professional translation works, movie subtitles, EFL-students' translation papers, and interviews with professional translators. The overall goal of Chapter 6 is to establish and illustrate the connection between the pragmatic references of address terms and address practice.

CHAPTER 6

Translation works between Vietnamese and English

6.0   Introduction

Chapter 6 presents and analyses data from translation works between Vietnamese and English performed by professional translators on the one hand, and EFL students on the other. The data will unveil the translator's employment of terms of address in translation from various angles, for example, from the perspective of the narrator, or from that of the characters. From the outcomes, the chapter seeks to answer questions related to challenges encountered by translators in their use of address terms, particularly when the translation job is between one highly-contextual language like Vietnamese and one with simpler linguistic characteristics in regard to terms of address and reference such as English.

Studying translation between languages of different levels of complexity has its own merit. Because this thesis does not only study the practice of translation from English into Vietnamese, but also from Vietnamese into English, its contribution to the body of literature on translation practice is profound. As Rabassa (2002) remarks:

> It is precisely by attempting to put something into another tongue that we see the important differences between the two and often in this way gain a touch of insight into how the people who think that way think. Otherwise we will go about prating like parrots in a kind of Pavlovian infancy and although our pronunciation is divine, we have little sense of what we are really saying. (p. 89)

The chapter is divided into two major sections: Section 6.1 examines translation works by professional translators and discusses the outcomes. Section 6.2 examines and discusses translation papers by EFL students from the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Dalat University in Vietnam. Each of the two sections has separate parts for discussion of translation from English into Vietnamese and Vietnamese into English. Of extra value is the inclusion of EFL teachers' questionnaire, which reveals the practice of translation teaching

and learning in EFL-classroom contexts. The concluding section summarises the outcomes of the data analyses and also provides valuable remarks by scholars of translation studies, scholars of Vietnamese language and professional translators.

6.1 Data from professional translation works

There were seven translation works sampled. The data presented in this section is from four of these, two English works translated from Vietnamese and two from Vietnamese into English. The major criteria for the choice of these professional translation works include: (1) the richness of dialogues in which address terms can be extracted in great number and variety; (2) the professionalism of the translator in regard to their knowledge of both the English and Vietnamese languages as well as their familiarity with Vietnamese literature works; and (3) the popularity of the works in terms of the number of original copies sold domestically as well as the acknowledgement of the translated version. Accordingly, the two Vietnamese novels chosen for data analysis include *Số Đỏ* (English title *Dumb Luck*), written by the late Vũ Trọng Phụng in the 1930s, and *Những Thiên Đường Mù* (English title *Paradise of the Blind*) written by a female writer Dương Thu Hương in the 1980s. To some extent, these two Vietnamese novels share a common unfortunate fate: both of them were banned some time from domestic publication for political reasons. However, it should be noted here that it is the quality of the translation works themselves that determined my choice, not their authors' political point of view or the like. The translators of *Số Đỏ _Dumb Luck*', Nguyễn Nguyệt Cầm and Peter Zinoman, are both lecturers at the University of California in Berkeley, and apart from this co-work, they have translated separately and with other translators a number of Vietnamese literature works, for example, *Reflections of the Spring* (Nguyễn Nguyệt Cầm, with Linh Dinh, 1996), and *Nine Down Makes Ten* (Peter Zinoman, 1996). Similarly, the two translators of *Những Thiên Đường Mù _Paradise of the Blind*', Phan Huy Đường and Nina McPherson, who live in France, also translated several works from Vietnamese, including *Sleeping on Earth*, *The Way Station*, and *Gunboat on the Yangtze* (all in 1996). Both novels analysed in this project were published in the United States, and have acquired credit from nominated commentators such as the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times*. The translation of *Số Đỏ _Dumb Luck*' was also named by the *Los Angeles Times* as one of the best books of 2003.

For similar reasons, the two English-Vietnamese translated works chosen are *Teacher Man – A Memoir,* written by the Pulitzer Prize-winner Frank McCourt in 2005, and *Harry Potter*

and the Philosopher's Stone, written by the British best-seller writer J. K. Rowling in 1999. There is no need to comment on the two authors of the original works, because of their reputation. The translator of the former work, Lê Chu Cầu, has translated several world-famous works from German and English into Vietnamese, including *The Alchemist* (Paulo Coelho), *The Name of the Rose* (Umberto Eco), *Lord of the Flies* (William Golding), *Perfume* (Patrick Süskind), and *Siddhartha* (Hermann Hesse). He is among the few translators who are well-recognised because of their knowledge and carefulness in their translation works. The translator of the latter, Lý Lan, is also well-known as a female writer. She is the sole official translator of all the Harry Potter series, the translated versions of which are a good contribution to the translation area in Vietnamese literature. Besides the Harry Potter series, Lý Lan has also translated works by William Butler Yeats and Gary Snyder.

In addition to these novels, the English subtitle of one Vietnamese movie has been chosen to support the evidence of how address terms are translated from Vietnamese into English because it contains rich spoken texts. The reason for an analysis of a subtitle is the fact that, like literature works, productions of mass media in general, and ―the Seventh Art‖ specifically, are also considered to be a resource of cultural understandings (Gerbner, 1977 & 1989; Morgan, 1990; among others).

6.1.1 Translation from Vietnamese into English

6.1.1.1 The novel *Số Đỏ* 'Dumb Luck'

As briefly mentioned before, the Vietnamese novel titled *Số Đỏ* was translated into English by two lecturers from the Berkeley-based University of California, one of whom speaks Vietnamese as her mother tongue. Before the official translation of the novel starts, 30 pages of the book (out of 189) are devoted to an introduction by the translators to the historical features related to the novel as well as the social context in which it was produced. The Introduction section also summarises the importance of the novel and its author's great contribution to the body of Vietnamese literature works. Among its contributions, the novel is considered as a significant voice among Vietnamese modern literature on its early days in regards to the use of *quốc ngữ* (Vietnamese modern written language with the romanised script) as well as the country's colonial modernisation era during the late period of French domination (1930s–1950s). As remarked by Zinoman, editor and one of the two translators of *Dumb Luck*, the novel ―reveals an array of quasi-universal sensations– an urban sensibility, a cosmopolitan orientation, a growing skepticism about the transparency and reliability of

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language, and heightened feelings of irony and impotence – connected to the rapid, unexpected changes that characterize the modern age more generally" (Zinoman, 2010, p. 3).

Understanding the social setting of the novel is an important step before the analysis of the translated text because it helps in understanding the language context. In their "Note on Translation", the translators emphasise their determination in leaving the "representations of direct speech in which the French language is rendered" (p. 32) unchanged because it is the Vietnamese author's device to capture the cultural pretensions of a class of Vietnamese urban francophone people. An example is the use of the casual first- and second-person pronouns *moa* 'I/me' and *toi* 'you' which represent the pronunciations of the French pronouns *moi* and *toi*, respectively. The use of these loan pronouns, however, are not a real challenge, because of their commonly-understood usage to express casualness. What is found more challenging in terms of the use of address terms is related to people's relationships in a hierarchical society such as Vietnamese. Accordingly, people who possess (or share) a certain social position would love to be referred to with that position. A good example is Mrs. Deputy Customs Officer (hereafter referred to as Mrs DCO), a widower in her mid-forties. Mrs DCO's first husband was a Western soldier, who later rose to the post of deputy customs officer. He died ten years after they got married. Soon after his death, Mrs DCO got re-married to a Vietnamese senior clerk, who also died a few years later. As previously discussed, women in former Vietnamese societies were usually addressed according to their husband's occupation because most women during those periods of time did not go out to work. In the case of Mrs DCO, this is how she was named by the Vietnamese author of *Số Đỏ*. However, the author also noted, she would prefer to be addressed and referred to as Madame Senior Clerk, probably because this is a higher position than a deputy customs officer. In her niece's words when she corrected Xuân, "Quiet! You must refer to her as Madame Senior Clerk; otherwise, she'll be annoyed" (p. 60).[15] Mrs DCO's insistence on being addressed and referred to that way on the one hand makes her respectable, but on the other hand, leads to certain inconvenience in regards to the choices of self-address terms performed by the people involved. An example is Xuân, a twenty-five-year-old man, with whom she wanted a secret intimate relationship. Red-Haired Xuân (RHX), as he was called, lost his parents when he was small, earning his own living by "old-fashioned professions such as peanut vending, fruit picking, fishing, or running errands for actors" (p. 38). He later became a broadcaster of commercials for venereal

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[15] Unless stated otherwise, all quotes with page numbers in Section 6.1.1.1 are from *Dumb Luck*.

disease treatment, and his latest job was a ball boy at the tennis courts. Obviously, coming from a lower social class, Xuân was expected to address himself in a modest way and address people from a higher social class such as Mrs DCO with respect. It was, however, so fortunate that Xuân was given an opportunity in which he met a particular challenge by employing the skills and experience that he acquired during his previous careers, which eventually led to him associating among the most popular people in the Civilisation movement. He became hated by those who had known him well, and on the contrary, respected and/or scared of by others. The significant changes in his social class evidently led to changes in the way he addressed people and was addressed by other people. In his relationship with Mrs DCO, it is observed that different terms of address were employed, from those that marked social distance in the first place moving on to those that gradually bridged the social as well as age gap between the two of them.

Challenges are found in the translated version of the novel, although not indicated by the translators, due to such changes of address terms. Specifically, among the 38 instances in which terms of address were used with certain pragmatic connotations such as casualness and (a lack of) respect, seven were successfully transferred into English using titles, two using an additional verb, one using an additional adjective, one using a kinship term and 13 using an additional noun phrase (Figure 6.1). The remaining 14 (36.84%) failed to find equivalence in the English translation, and therefore, were either left out or just simply rendered into the non-affectionate terms ‗you' and ‗I/me.'
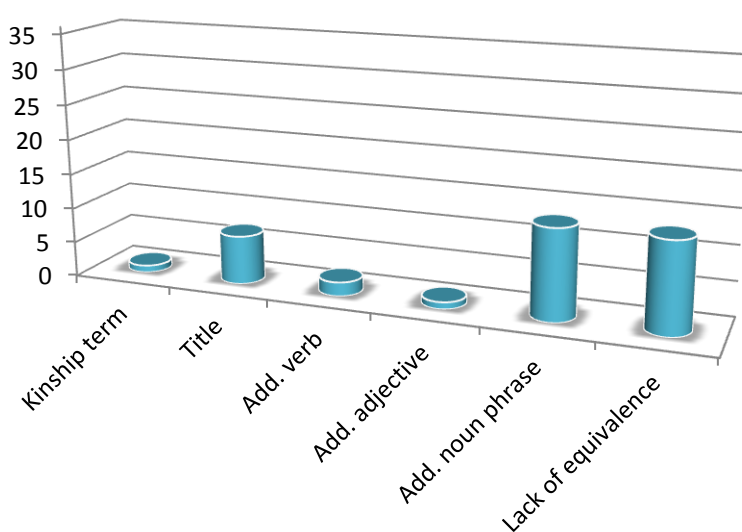

Figure 6.1 Vietnamese address terms transferred into English

Both successful use of address terms and their failure in the translation will be discussed in the following section.

The most significant changes of terms of address in *Dumb Luck* are observed in conversations between Mrs DCO and RHX. Their relationship began when RHX was a ball-boy at the tennis court where Mrs DCO went to play. Their first conversation occurred with RHX addressing Mrs DCO as *cụ lớn* ‗elderly superior', and calling himself *cháu* ‗grandchild' to show his respect, although she was only in her mid-forties. Mrs DCO, obviously, did not approve of his choice of address terms because she did not want to be considered ‗elderly‖, particularly by a young man. In the translation, kinship terms and titles were employed as in Example (6.1).

(6.1)   RHX: Good afternoon, **Grandmother.**
        Mrs. DCO: You stupid ass! Who are you calling Grandmother? I'm no older than your mother. Do I look old enough to have delivered your mother? Why, I bet your mother…‖
        RHX: Yes, yes, **Madame**. I was mistaken. Please forgive me.

The switch of reference terms from the kinship ‗grandmother' to the title ‗Madame' as suggested in the translation is found to be efficient on account of the fact that it helped to reduce the 20-year age gap between Mrs DCO and RHX. However, in regards to RHX's self-address terms, which was *cháu* ‗grandchild' at this moment, and switched to *con* ‗child' just a few hours later, and finally *tôi* (formal first-person pronoun) to narrow the distance from then onwards, there is no difference in the translation of these first-person terms of address. The pairs of address terms used by RHX in his conversations with Mrs DCO throughout the novel and their translations are summarised in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Address terms used by RHX in Vietnamese and in translation

Pragmatic connotation	**Vietnamese**	**English**
Great distance	*Cụ lớn-cháu*	**Grandmother-I/me**
Distance	*bà lớn-con*	**Great Madame-me**
Neutral	*bà-tôi*	*you-Ø*
Intimacy	*mợ-Ø*	*you-Ø*
Lack of solidarity	*bà-tôi*	**Madame-I/me**

On examining the translation of address terms used by Mrs DCO in conversing with RHX, similar failure in finding equivalent lexical items to translate the first-person terms is observed. To be specific, Mrs DCO performed a strategic switch from referring to herself

using the distant first-person pronoun *tôi* to the intimate *em* ‗inferior sibling' to show her affection for RHX even though she was almost twenty years older than him. The English translation fails to reflect this strategic switch as well as the connotation of the first-person address term.

On the part of the second-person address terms used by Mrs DCO, it is observed that in most cases, an additional noun phrase (underlined, my emphasis) was employed as either a vocative (6.2a), or a post-modifier to the personal pronoun (6.2b). Otherwise, the switches or ellipses of second-person address terms in Vietnamese were just left out (6.2c). Clearly, this failure to find equivalence in English is due to the limited number of English personal pronouns and their lack of pragmatic markers.

(6.2) a. *<u>Anh</u>[1] ơi, anh[2] có biết là anh[3] đã làm hại cả một đời danh tiết của em[4] đó không?*
           [[1, 2, 3] = 2PSN ‗superior brother'; [4] = 1PSN ‗inferior sibling']
           ―<u>My darling</u>, do **you** know what **you** have done to **my** honor?" (p. 175)

      b. *<u>Đồ khốn nạn</u>! <u>Đồ Sở khanh</u>! Đồ bạc tình lang! Làm hại cả một đời người rồi thì bây giờ giở mặt phỏng?*
           ―**You** <u>no-good bastard</u>! **You** <u>unfaithful wretch</u>! **You** have ruined my life, and now **you** want to get rid of me!" (p. 176)

      c. *Cậu[5] nói chí lý lắm! Cậu[6] ngoan lắm!*
           [[5, 6] = 2PSN ‗spousal male']
           ―**Of** course, **you** are right! **You** are too good to me!" (p.175)

Actually, it is noted that in the Vietnamese original utterance (6.2b), no personal pronoun was used, either first-person or second-person. The elided personal pronouns occur as below.

> *Ø* no-good bastard! *Ø* unfaithful wretch! *Ø* have ruined *Ø* life, and now *Ø* want to get rid of *Ø*!

Although there is not much evident support and discussion in the literature of particular usage of ellipsis of address terms, such an example as above strongly suggests that a strategic avoidance of address terms is applied by the addressor to address her highly negative emotion and attitude towards the addressee. The translation in this case, with a repetition of the second personal pronoun ‗you' (four times) may be considered as the translators' attempt to render the weight of the original's negative message. However, from another angle, it could be suggested that without the additional noun phrase in (6.2a) and the post-modifying noun phrases in (6.2b), which exist in the original also as vocative subject-less noun phrases, no attitudinal or emotional differences can be detected among the three

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utterances. Furthermore, the particular intimate term *cậu* for a male addressee in (6.2c) as it was used by Mrs DCO to address RHX to express intimacy was neglected in the translation. The usage of this term is noted by Cooke (1968) as in ―female to male intimate, wife to husband" (p. 128). In this instance, the translator should have, at least, added an intimate noun phrase such as ‗my darling' or ‗my love' in order to better express the addressor's emotional tone in her utterance.

Another lack of equivalence leading to a complete failure in rendering switches of address terms is evident in the following extract (Example 6.3). In this example, Miss Snow (Miss SN), an eighteen-year-old girl instantly switched from the distant pair *ông-tôi* to the intimate pair *anh- em* within one utterance in her first conversation with RHX. In another situation, she opted for the spousal second-person term *mình* to address him (Cooke, 1968, p. 122). These switches were not demonstrated in the English translation in any way, which could be considered a pragmatic loss in the translation. A literal translation with English approximate equivalents of address terms are provided between the Vietnamese original and the English version in the examples below to illustrate this argument.

(6.3)   a.   ***Ông[1]...anh[2], tôi[3]** muốn **anh[4]** giúp **tôi[5]** một việc, **em[6]** rất cảm tạ.*
Monsieur[1]...Brother[2], 1PSN PRO[3] want **brother[4]** help 1PSN PRO[5] something, 1PSN ‗**inferior sibling**'[6] very grateful
―I wonder if you might help me with something," she said softly. ―I'd be ever so grateful" (pp. 94–95).

b.   *Thế muốn làm hại một đời người con gái tử tế đứng đắn thì mất mấy ngày? Hở **mình**?*
Q want destroy life person girl well-behaved (connecting word) take how many days? Q ‗**spouse**'?
―How many days will **you** need to dishonor a respectable and well-behaved girl like myself?" (p. 95)

In fact, the pause (...) in the original utterance of (6.3a) should be understood as an indication of a strategic attempt to switch from one term of address to another, just as the first question mark before the official use of the spousal term in (6.3b) is. It is, therefore, argued that such address strategies should not have been left out. In instances such as Example (6.3), a translation gloss as added before the English-translated version in (6.3a) could have probably been useful to convey the address strategy/-ies employed by the addressor. I would suggest that (6.3a) and (6.3b) be translated as (6.3a₁) and (6.3b₁) below.

(6.3)   a₁.   ‚Sir…Brother…Will you do your little sister a favour? She would be much grateful.'

        b₁.   ‚How many days will you need to dishonour a respectable and well-behaved girl like myself, darling?'

In contrast to such a pragmatic loss that has been discussed, the same spousal term *mình* in the following examples received more attention, although the conversational contexts already feature intimacy in the relationship between the interlocutors.

(6.4)   Mrs. Sunset's   ***Mình ạ, tôi không muốn tình thế này cứ kéo dài ra mãi, nguy***
        lover   ***hiểm lắm.***
                         ‚―Oh, **my love**," cooed Mrs. Sunset's lover, ―we can't go on like this forever. It's too dangerous."' (p. 101)

(6.5)   Miss Snow: *Những bốn người, **mình** ạ!...*
                         ‚―There are now at least four people, **my dear**,..."' (p. 104)

In situations where the interlocutors were experiencing certain negative states of emotion such as anger and/or insult, more applicable strategies in translation are observed. For example, both the medical ―experts" in the following situation (Example 6.6) lacked medical knowledge and conscience. However, because both of them wanted the chance to deal with the case of a wealthy old man, in front of his family members, they took turns in exposing each other's mistakes and ridiculing each other. In the translation, different linguistic devices were used to show the interlocutors' anger, which was demonstrated in the Vietnamese original as pragmatic strategies employed by switches of address terms. Example (6.6) will be presented in tabular form to ease the discussion of terms of address used and other linguistic devices that helped in the English translation. In this example, as pointed out in the last column, some linguistic devices were used in the English translation to express the arrogance in the way the two interlocutors denigrated each other. Such expressions as ―How dare you?" and ―damn arrogant", as well as an extra adjective (―ridiculous") and adverb (―clearly") were added to feature the tense nature of the conversation. Also, the verb ―pout" was used in place of the original verb meaning ―arose from his chair" in the Vietnamese text, which helped describe better the addressor's aggressive attitude towards the addressee. These linguistic devices are particularly helpful when similar switches of address terms are not available in English, as in the last underlined sentence in the first column, which was left out with no translation.

(6.6)

Vietnamese original	English translation	Linguistic device
Cụ		
Cụ lang Phế cự lại: *- **Cụ** vặc ra với ai thế? **Cụ** giật lấy để làm gì thế? Đơn tôi kê đấy à?*	―Are you talking to me?" protested Dr. Lung. ―**How dare you**? It wasn't I who made that **ridiculous** prescription!"	Additional expression Additional adjective
Nhưng cụ lang Tỳ đã không chịu nhận lỗi lại còn phát bản:	But Dr. Spleen ignored his mistake.	
- Phải! Không là đơn của cụ nhưng mà nó là nước ở ruộng chứ không phải là nước ao! Làm thuốc thì phải biết phân biệt nước ao, nước ruộng.	―So what if it's not your prescription? You identified it as pond water when it is **clearly** field water. Any true herbalist should be able to tell the difference."	Additional adverb
ông		
Cụ Phế đứng phắt dậy: *- Thôi, chịu **ông** rồi! Cả nước này chỉ có ông là biết nghề thuốc!*	―Fine, I give up!" Dr. Lung **pouted**. ―I guess that makes you the only qualified herbalist in the country!"	Descriptive verb
- Biết hay không mặc xác tôi!	―My qualification is none of your business!"	
anh		
- Này đừng khoe mẽ! Đám ma cụ Tuần Vi mới ngày hôm kia chứ đâu! <u>*Anh muốn đổ cho tôi phỏng?*</u>	―I don't see why you are so **damn arrogant**! The funeral of Provincial Governor Vi was only two days ago!" (p. 85)	Negative adjective

A suggestion for the underlined utterance in the first column is, ―Are you trying to blame your filthy mistake on me?"

Another conversation, in which a mother showed her anger to her mature son, also suggests that the transferance of this emotional state into English is more challenging than in Vietnamese, thanks to the variety of terms of address in the latter language. In the Vietnamese source text, the mother started the conversation addressing her son with a respectful term ***anh***[1] (a formal second-person pronoun used for young men), then switching to the intimate term ***con***[2] ―child', and finally to the abrupt term ***mày***[3–7] when she blamed her son for an inconvenient situation related to his younger sister (Example 6.7). The English translation fails to demonstrate these switches of terms. In fact, the mother's anger only becomes apparent before her last switch, with the use of some action verbs, which were in the Vietnamese original also. In the rest of the conversation, while the mother was repeating

the abrupt pair of address *mày-tao*, these terms are simply retained as non-emotional pronoun ‚you' in the translation. Consequently, readers of the English version might not perceive the full intensity in the Vietnamese original.

(6.7)   *Nghe đâu anh¹ cũng sắp cho con Tuyết học đánh quần thì phải?*
[¹ = (formal) 2PSN PRO]
―I hear that **you** are going to allow Snow to take tennis lesson, is that true?"
…
Nhưng con² thử xem ông Xuân có thực đứng đắn tử tế hay không?
[² = 2PSN ‚child']
―But do **you** really think that RHX is proper and well- behaved?"
…
Mày³ nuôi ong tay áo, mày⁴ vẽ ra lắm trò, mày⁵ làm hại một đời em mày⁶, mày⁷ bôi gio trát trấu vào cái thanh danh nhà tao⁸!
[³⁻⁷ = (abrupt) 2PSN PRO; ⁸ = (abrupt) 2PSN PRO]
―It's all **YOUR** fault!" she moaned. ―**YOU** let the bee live up your sleeve! Now everything is so complicated. **YOU**'ve ruined **YOUR** little sister's life. **YOU**'ve sullied the family's honor." (p. 121; my emphasis)

Actually, a closer look at Example (6.7) would strengthen the argument that the English translation is far from equivalent to the Vietnamese version. The last two words in her utterance, *nhà tao*, literally mean ‚my family', which denotes not only arrogance but also distance. By using this noun phrase, the mother excluded the son from the family, rather than including him as a member as suggested in the translation, ―the family's honor". It is suggested here that when the mother switched to the abrupt pronouns, these pronouns should be fully capitalised in the translation to emphasise her anger. In addition, as suggested in the last two words of the conversation, *nhà tao*, which mean ‚my family', an additional utterance such as ‚You broke my heart' might have strengthen the mother's expression of her disappointment.

Apart from common switches of terms to express strongly negative or positive emotional states such as anger and insult, or affection, which are demonstrated as address strategies towards either distance or intimacy, respectively, a particular change of self-address terms to belittle oneself is also observed in *Dumb Luck*. The situation occurred after RHX was believed to have slept with Miss Snow. Her brother approached RHX one day to discuss a solution which would be very agreeable to RHX. However, RHX did not know about the brother's plan and feared that he was put in great trouble by Miss Snow's brother. Therefore, although he was only about ten years younger than Miss Snow's brother, he belittled himself by using the first-person kinship term *con* ‚child' in their conversation.

Only after the plan had been explained, feeling relieved and more confident, did he switch back to the first-person pronoun *tôi*. The translation, however, fails to demonstrate how RHX's confidence varies according to his different uses of self-address terms (Example 6.8).

(6.8)   *Thưa ông, **tôi**[1] có lỗi lắm, **tôi**[2] xin lỗi ông.*
        [[1, 2] = (formal) 1PSN PRO]
        ―I have made a horrible mistake, Monsieur."
        …
        *Thưa ông, ông có lòng với **con**[3] như thế thật tử tế quá…**Con**[4] nghĩ **con**[5] không xứng đáng chút nào cả.*
        [[3, 4, 5] = 1PSN _child']
        ―You are too kind, Monsieur…**I** do not deserve her."
        …
        *Vâng, thì ông định đoạt cho **tôi**[6] thế nào **tôi**[7] cũng xin vui lòng.*
        [[6, 7] = (formal) 1PSN PRO]
        ―Yes, yes," he replied meekly, ―I will do whatever you think is best." (p. 151; my emphasis)

If not considering the Vietnamese original, one might conclude from the English translation that RHX 's least confidence was shown in either his first utterance, when he proposed the apology, or in his last utterance, when he was threatened. The switches of first-person address terms in Vietnamese, on the other hand, suggest the reverse. RHX was the least confident in his second utterance because he was fully aware of his family and career backgrounds, which contrasted Miss Snow's. In this case, at least removal of the title _Monsieur' in the translation of the first utterance might be helpful because the emphasis would be on the second utterance. In addition, because in the second utterance, RHX switched into *con* _child' to address himself when his interlocutor was only of similar age to his own brother, the translation would have a stronger tone with an additional sentence such as _I feel so humbled by your generous proposion.'

A few last comments on the particular use of address terms in the translation of *Dumb Luck* include the forms derived from spatial adverbs such as *đây* _here' and *đấy* _there'. When used as first-person and second-person terms of address, respectively, these forms suggest the addressor's arrogance, or casualness (Lê Biên, 1999, p. 133; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003, p. 4314). In *Dumb Luck*, these forms are used by RHX when he was flirting with the sugarcane lady (Example 6.9a), and talking to the old fortune-teller when they were both in jail (Example 6.9b). The translation gloss of the former is provided to illustrate the use of these forms as personal pronouns.

(6.9) a. *Nói đùa đấy, chứ **đây**¹ mà lại chả cần **đấy**² thì **đấy**³ cần đếch gì **đây**⁴?*
Talk joke (ending particle). (connecting word) ***here*¹** (emphasis) (negative) need ***there*²** (connecting word) ***there*³** need (negative) ***here*⁴**
―I'm kidding. I'm kidding. Of course I need you! We need each other!" (p. 34)

   b. ***Đây*¹** *không cần! Không phải nói phét, chứ từ thuở trời đất sinh ra làm người, **đây**² bị bắt về bóp ít ra cũng đã là bận thứ mười lăm.*
***Here*¹** no need! No lying, but since (I was) born, ***here*²** have been arrested at least 15 times.
―I don't give a damn, you old coot! Not to brag, but I've been arrested at least fifteen times already." (p. 45)

The repetition of the whole sentence ―I'm kidding" and the two exclamation marks in (6.9a) can be considered as an attempt to render the flirting tone in RHX's utterances by using those particular forms of address. The translation in (6.9b), on the other hand, employs an additional vocative noun phrase ―you old coot" to illustrate RHX's arrogance. Because he is at least one generation younger than the fortune-teller, his self-address term *đây* is considered as either abrupt or very casual.

Last, but not least, an interesting use of address terms in their opposite literal meanings is observed in the Vietnamese version of the novel. In one utterance performed by RHX, the self-address form literally means ‗other people' and the second-person one means ‗self' (Example 6.10). These address forms also denote casualness (Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003, p. 314). The former term was translated into English with the use of the indefinite pronoun ‗no one', which can be seen as rather sufficient on account of the humorous sense included in the original version. A translation gloss is provided between the Vietnamese and the English versions below.

(6.10) *Rõ thối chửa! **Người ta** bảo **mình** đâu nào!*
Clearly disgusting (EXC) ***Other people*** say about ***self*** no (EXC)
―No one's speaking to you, old man!" (p. 42)

To sum up the discussion of the translation from Vietnamese into English of the novel *Số Đỏ* ‗*Dumb Luck*', it will be helpful to draw some statistics from the data. Analysis of the translation reveals that in order to render the pragmatic meanings of the terms of address used in the Vietnamese original text, various linguistic devices are employed in the English translation. These include the use of titles (18.9%), kinship term (2.7%), additional verbs (5.4%), additional adjectives (2.7%), and additional noun phrases (35.1%). Moreover, it is also observed that in general, negative states of emotion are easier to express in the English translation than positive ones, probably because lexical elements with negative notions, such

as noun phrases and adverbial phrases are more accessible and in greater number than positive ones. However, still over one-third of the entire employment of Vietnamese address terms with pragmatic features, unfortunately, do not find their voice in the English translation.

More evidence of similar lack of equivalence between Vietnamese and English terms of address is observed in the translation of *Những Thiên Đường Mù* ‗*Paradise of the Blind*‘, which will be presented in the next section.

6.1.1.2 The novel *Những Thiên Đường Mù* '*Paradise of the Blind*'

Putting aside comments on the content and literature values of *Paradise of the Blind*, one critical acclaim for the novel by Harvard-University lecturer Hue-Tam Ho Tai is: ‗The translation is first-rate". The translators of the novel, Phan Huy Đường and Nina McPherson, were very careful and thoughtful when they devoted a relatively good part in their Translator's Note section to the notice of Vietnamese terms of address and their translation. In their words, ‗Terms of address can be particularly confusing if translated literally, since the Vietnamese traditionally address everyone as if they were family members, often respectfully calling complete strangers ‗Elder Sister," ‗Auntie", or ‗Grandmother." For the sake of clarity, we have limited this form of usage to refer to actual relatives" (p. 9).[16] This is a sensible decision by the translators regarding the fact that kinship terms were not used only in family contexts. Nonetheless, in certain cases, these terms were overused. This argument, together with other interpretations of how terms of address are employed in the Vietnamese original as well as in the English translation will be presented in this section.

My first impression of the use of kinship terms in the English translation of the novel is that it exaggerates kinship relationships among the characters, while it does not really reflect the way Vietnamese people address each other. As has been argued before, Vietnamese people use kinship terms and their derived forms in address practice most of the time, probably because of the fact that there are too few personal pronouns in the lexicon of the Vietnamese language with neutral referential meanings. Therefore, whatever terms that are used to cover the lack of ‗proper" pronouns such as this are pronominals. The extended use of kinship terms and their derived forms in non-kinship relationships play the grammatical role of pronouns of address. Thus, it is argued that except for situations where kinship relationships or intimacy are emphasised, it would be efficient to treat kinship terms in the Vietnamese

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[16] Unless stated otherwise, all quotes with page numbers in Section 6.1.1.2 are from *Paradise of the Blind*.

origin as mere personal pronouns when transferred into English to make them sound natural from the target readers' view.

It is observed that in the English translation of the novel, the main character, Hằng, always addressed her aunt using either one of the two noun phrases ―my aunt‖ or ―dearest aunt‖. The first one was sometimes repeated up to four times in one conversation. Since these are noun phrases, and the noun ‗aunt‘ was used as a common noun rather than a kinship address term, a repetition such as this might mislead the English-version readers to a judgement that the niece was attempting to distance herself from her aunt. One of their translated conversations reads as follows in Example (6.11).

(6.11) When she was out of the earshot, Aunt Tam whispered, ―You‘re the last drop of blood in my family. The house, the altar to the ancestors, the rice paddies, the garden, I‘m keeping them for you, do you understand?‖

―Yes, **my aunt**.‖

―A long time ago, your grandfather was a schoolteacher in this village. Everyone knew and admired him. Your father was a decent, gifted man. By the age of twelve, he read French fluently. You must study conscientiously so you will never dishonour their memory. Do you hear me?‖

―Yes, **my aunt**.‖

―Write me every month to tell me how you‘re doing, your studies and your health. I can provide for all your needs: food, clothing, medication. You will have everything you want to succeed. These days, lots of women are successful. Did you know that?‖

―Yes, **my aunt**.‖

―Madame But‘s daughter, from the Duong village, she got her diploma in Poland. And you too, you‘re going to have to travel all that way to the university. I‘ll buy you a French Peugeot bicycle. If you succeed in going abroad to study, I‘ll buy you a house in Hanoi. Do you hear me?

―Yes, **my aunt**‖ (p. 87; my emphases)

One might argue that it is the translators‘ aim to emphasise the aunt‘s power over her niece rather than their blood relationship by repeating the noun phrase over and over again. If it is so, it seems to conflict with the following instance, in which, Hằng‘s maternal uncle‘s wife addressed her and her mother with kinship terms in an attempt to express closeness rather than the reverse. The story is narrated that Hằng‘s mother earned her living as a street vendor, while her younger brother, Chính, and his wife Thành, worked for the government and were proud of their role as the voice of the communist party. It is noted that the 1940s–

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1980s period witnessed Vietnamese practising Marxism and Leninism (Jamieson, 1993). Therefore, those people like this couple, ―teachers of ―ideology‖ practiced a noble profession, far superior to all others‖ (*Paradise of the Blind*, p. 48). Hằng‘s mother‘s business, although being very humble on account of its investment and profit, is strongly disapproved of by her own brother, because, he claims,

> In our society, there are only two respectable types of people: the proletariat – the avant-garde of our society, the beacon of the revolution – and the peasantry, faithful ally of the proletariat in its struggle for the construction of socialism. The rest is nothing. The merchants, the petty tradespeople, they‘re only exploiters. You cannot remain with these parasites. (p. 50)

When Hằng‘s mother insisted that she could not give up her business because she had to feed her daughter, and she would not take his advice of finding a job as a factory worker, he concluded, ―I am a cadre responsible for educating the masses. I cannot have a lousy street vendor for a sister‖ (p. 51). It can be understood why there is a social gap as well as an emotional gap between the two siblings. Nevertheless, as the proverb says, ―Blood is thicker than water‖. Having heard that her brother was sick, Hằng‘s mother rushed to pay him a visit at his place for the very first time, where she was coldly received. Hằng narrates the greetings as below.

(6.12) Uncle Chinh rose from the table and turned stiffly toward the woman with the pockmarked face.

―Thành, this is my sister, Que.‖

Then he introduced her. ―My wife. She‘s a cadre in the school for the Communist Youth League.‖

My aunt acknowledged my mother with a grunt. My mother hadn‘t even had time to greet her when the woman rapped one of the boys on the head with her chopstick.

―Eat. I forbid you to speak at meals‖ (pp. 106–107)

Despite her brother‘s unreceptiveness, Hằng‘s mother would come back to see her brother and his family again many times with provisions of good food, as soon as she had realised her nephews were underfed due to their parents‘ humble salary. She even tried to get dressed the same way as her sister-in-law, just to narrow the distance. She eventually received their hospitality in return, which was shown in the change of the way they addressed her and Hằng, as illustrated in the extract below.

(6.13) Smiling, the woman with the pockmarked face moved forward with her platter of eggplant. ―Sister *Que*, please share our meal." Then, remembering my presence, she added, ―And you too, **my niece**." (p. 119; my emphases)

The same kinship terms are repeated in their later conversations, clearly demonstrating the sister-in-law's attempt to express closeness towards Hằng and her mother. As my preceding argument indicates, I am questioning the translational strategies in the use of kinship terms in the two Examples (6.11) and (6.13) because there is no consistency in their pragmatic connotations. I would, in fact, go as far as challenging whether there are such connotations at all from the translators' point of view.

Furthermore, there is one example of a total lack of pragmatic equivalence found between the Vietnamese origin and the English version. A situation happened in which Hằng (abbreviated as HG in the following examples) was sexually harassed by her friend's uncle (FU) when she was in Moscow. Hằng's anger was demonstrated by her switch from the kinship terms *chú* ―uncle'-*cháu* ―niece' to the distant terms *ông* ―old man'- *tôi* (distant) first-person pronoun. This use of the second-person address term *ông* paired with *tôi* has been previously discussed in detail in Chapter 3, and again in Section 5.3.2. The translation *Paradise of the Blind*, however, limits itself to the common use of ―you' and ―I' with no pragmatic connotations acknowledged (Example 6.14).

(6.14) FU: *Uống đi, nào uống cho ấm.*
               ―Drink up, it'll warm you up."
        HG: *Cảm ơn **chú**¹, nhưng **cháu²** không uống được rượu nặng.*
               [¹=2PSN ―uncle'; ²=1PSN ―niece']
               ―Thanks. But **I** can't drink alcohol."
               …
        HG: ***Ông³** bỏ **tôi⁴** ra. **Tôi⁵** sẽ hét lên đấy!*
               [³=2PSN ―old man'/―Sir'; ⁴,⁵= (distant) 1PSN PRO]
               ―Move off **me**. I'm going to scream" (p. 37; my emphases)

Despite the failure in this instance of transferring the character's anger by switching the address terms, the translation is successful in demonstrating distance and irony by using titles. One conversation between the two sisters-in-law occurs as shown in Example (6.15). In the conversation, one of the interlocutors is Hằng's mother and the other one is Hằng's paternal aunt, who was then together with other peasants, during the Land Reform campaign (1953–1956), brutally rebelled just because they happened to be ―landowners". The conversation shows a situation in which Hằng's father, who was a schoolteacher, decided to leave the village because he could not bear the way peasants, including his family, were

degraded and their own properties were taken away according to the campaign. The English translation reads as follows.

(6.15) HG's mother: Sister Tam, where is my husband?
        HG's aunt: ***Madame the Peasant***, I don't know.
        HG's mother: I beg you. I have nothing to do with this.
        HG's aunt: ***Madame***, you are the sister of Chinh, the section chief. He is the law here. We are nothing.
        HG's mother: I beg you a hundred times, a thousand times. Please, don't torture me. Where is my husband?
        HG's aunt: You have a brother. You don't need a husband anymore. My brother had to leave. He would never have survived this humiliation… (p. 30; my emphasis)

As Hằng's father died after that, Hằng became the last and only relative of Aunt Tâm's, her father's older sister, and she played the role of a tie between these two women, who were the most and equally important people in her life. The few times in the whole story when the two women shared mutual respect and affection towards each other, we find Aunt Tâm addressing her sister-in-law with a kinship term like in this utterance, ―Sister Que, bring that thermos" (p. 75). Unfortunately, life was very hard for Hằng's mother when she was so obsessed with her brother's family. After Aunt Tâm discovered that Hằng was underfed because of her mother's self-sacrifice for her younger brother, who was a lifetime enemy of Aunt Tâm's family, all her affection for Hằng's mother was gone. A significant change in the way she addressed her sister-in-law, demonstrated with a replacement of the title *Madame* for the kinship term *sister* illustrates her loss of affection, ―Madame Que, I have always liked you.…" (p. 185). Again, the naturalness in the use of titles and kinship terms as expressed in the English translation is questionable. Yet, in regard to the emotional messages that are transferred from the Vietnamese origin into the English translation, uses of such terms of address seem to fulfil their purpose.

Before wrapping up the discussion of the translation of this novel, I would like to share some remarks from its translator's point of view. In explaining why there are hardly any equivalents of terms of address, especially kinship terms, in western languages in regard to their Vietnamese counterparts, Phan Huy Đường, one of the two translators of the novel, suggests that it is related to cultural difference. He says that Vietnamese culture is ancient and features relatively small and non-nomadic communities of people. The relationships among the people of these kinds of communities are, therefore, tight and elaborate, which are demonstrated by the complicated system of address terms. In contrast, a western culture represents relationships among peoples coming from different tribes who were relatively

mobile. Thus, the system of address terms in a language (such as French, in his own comparison) is much simpler compared to that in Vietnamese. I am not convinced by Phan Huy Đường's view that the complexity of Vietnamese address forms is a result of non-nomadisim. Rather, it would appear that it is Confucianism that influenced social as well as household structures in Vietnam, which, accordingly, governed the way people addressed each other, among other cultural behaviours. In one of the earliest studies of Vietnamese language, Spencer (1945) points out that the ―kinship system‖ in Vietnamese is apparently ―a product of the fusion of [the] generally prevalent in Farther India with elements of nomenclature of Chinese origin‖ (p. 285).

Also according to Phan Huy Đường, finding terms that are equivalent to Vietnamese address terms is impossible. He says, there is no way to ―translate‖ culture-shaped terms of address in Vietnamese into a western language (his emphasis). He also adds, most terms of address, no matter in what language, are non-emotional themselves. Therefore, in order to interpret these terms correctly, it is important that such factors as the interlocutors, their relationships, and the contexts be taken into account. In addition, in regard to translation, Phan Huy Đường suggests that the translator needs to consider the voice of the narrator, whether it is one of the author‗s, the character(s)‗s, or a third person‗s, so as to understand the connotative meanings, if there are any, in the use of these terms of address.[17] Again, this point of view seems to be rather simplistic. First, it is evident from data and analyses of the two telenovelas as well as from the other translation work that not all but several address terms in Vietnamese do have pragmatic connotations as their property. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that ―most terms of address are non-emotional‖. Moreover, equivalence is not the only thing that matters in translation. It is undeniable that equivalents between languages, especially those with great dissimilarities, are too ambitious, because, as Bassnett (2002) puts it:

> Translation involves far more than replacement of lexical and grammatical items
> between languages… Once the translator moves away from close linguistic
> equivalence, the problems of determining the exact nature of the level of
> equivalence aimed for begin to emerge. (p. 34)

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[17] The above discussion and remarks by Phan Huy Đường are reproduced from an email-interview (email received on 14July, 2016 – Appendix C). The email exchanges are in Vietnamese. All English translation is mine.

However, Venuti (1998) argues that translation ―can never simply be communication between equals because it is fundamentally ethnocentric‖ (p. 11). In the same vein, Bassnett (2005) suggests:

> The translator today is increasingly represented as negotiator, as inter-cultural mediator, as interpreter. The role of the translator is so much more than the word ‗translator‘ used to imply, with its traditional associations of linguistic fidelity and fealty to the powerful original. Translation involves taking responsibility, the translator is the person through whom a text passes on its journey from one context to another. (p. 87)

These remarks about translation and the role of translators are a fitting wrap-up of the analysis of the two professional translation works of *Dumb Luck* and *Paradise of the Blind*. The following section will present a different pattern of translation–the translation of speech in movie subtitles–which is yet to be officially recognised as a job and a properly valued profession in Vietnam.

6.1.1.3 Movie subtitle: *Cánh Đồng Bất Tận 'The Floating Lives'*

The English subtitle to be examined in this section is the subtitle in the Vietnamese movie *Cánh Đồng Bất Tận ‗The Floating Lives‘*, directed by Nguyễn Phan Quang Bình, which has won domestic and foreign titles. It was shown at the UN Office at Geneva as part of the ASEAN Film Festival from 1–11 September 2010, and was later chosen by the US Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences to participate in the *New Voice from Vietnam* program at the University of California in Los Angles (UCLA) Film & Television Archive‘s Billy Wilder Theatre from 5–14 November 2010. These details have been mentioned here to emphasise that the movie‘s subtitle in English should be considered an important part of the movie itself since it helps the viewers understand the verbal language used in the movie.

Cánh Đồng Bất Tận ‗The Floating Lives‘ portrays the unsettled lives of a family including a father, and his teenage son and daughter. The family started their floating lives down along the Mekong River in south-western Vietnamese after the mother left home for good. It was the father‘s aim to avoid being close to gossiping people who would continuously ask about his wife, to whom he had devoted all his love and his life. The setting of the movie is, therefore, along the southern part of the Mekong River where everybody treats one another as family members. The language used among these people is regionally typical, particularly the terms of address they use in their everyday conversations. The common

terms of address used in this part of the country include first names or names related to one's birth order, preceded by a kinship term. The most popular self-address term is the casual first-person pronoun *tui*, a regional variation of the formal pronoun *tôi*, regardless of the age difference and the relationship between the interlocutors. However, again, there are a few terms that have exactly the same form as kinship terms while their practical usage is completely different. For example, the second-person term *cô* has two different usages in the movie:

(1) To address a female person who is of the same generation but younger than the addressor's parents. In this case, the term can be considered as a derivation of the kinship term meaning ‗aunt'.

(2) To address a female person who is in her twenties to forties by male speakers of similar age or older. In this case, the term functions as a female classifier or a title, which denotes friendliness and respect.

It is noted that *cô* is generally used in combination with the addressee's name, and is substituted with its anaphor *cổ* when referring to a third person.

In the movie, *cô* is used as usage (1) above by Út Võ's teenage daughter, Nương (N) speaking to Sương (S), referring to Chín, a lady in her forties (her name means ‗ninth', standing for her birth order in the family); and as usage (2), by the male wage-earners (WE) who are of similar age to her. Their conversations occur as below.

(6.16) a. S: *Hôm nay ba cưng có về ăn cơm không?*
              ‗Will your dad be back for dinner?'
           N: *Chắc là ăn ở ngoài **cô Chín** rồi đó.*
              ‗He might have eaten at **Ms Chin**'s.'

       b. WE: ***Cô Chín** lo cho thằng chả vậy làm tụi này ghen lắm à nhe.*
              ‗**Ms Chin**, you take care so much about that guy, you make us feel jealous.'

There are a few points to be discussed here. First, the translation of ‗Ms Chin' in both of the conversations does not distinguish the different usages of *cô Chín* as earlier mentioned. Second, if it really is the case that a personal title such as Mr and Mrs, and the like, are used in English to denote formality, it is not applicable in these two conversations. Both of these conversations feature intimacy and casualness, which is supported by the use of other address terms, including the second-person endearment term *cưng* ‗darling' in (6.16a), the derogatory joking third-person anaphor *thằng chả* (which is composed of the male-gender classifier and a regional derivation of the kinship term ‗father'), and the casual plural form

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of self-address *tụi này* (Example 6.16b). The use of the title ―Ms‖ in these cases may mislead the audience of the movie to a false assumption that those interlocutors treat each other in a distant, formal manner, which is actually the reverse of the true situation.

Similar use of the male counterpart of *cô* is employed in the subtitle of the movie by Chín (CH) (female, 40s) to address Út Võ (male, 40s) (6.17a) and to refer to him (6.17b). The name of this man is composed of two parts: *Út* meaning ‗the youngest child in the family‘, and *Võ*, his first name. In the movie, as is similar in daily life, he is commonly addressed/referred to as *anh Út* ‗brother Út‘, *chú Út* ‗uncle Út‘ or the like to show friendliness and respect, depending on the age difference between him and the speaker. However, when the utterance is transferred into English, the character is addressed and referred to as ‗Mr Võ‘, which sounds much more formal and distant.

(6.17) a. CH: ***Anh Út****, sao anh nói là chỉ có hai đứa nhỏ thôi mà?*
                   ‗**Mr Vo**, you said you only had 2 children?‘

        b. CH: *Mai mốt mấy anh về với vợ, còn **anh Út** tui mồ côi thì sao?*
                   ‗Tomorrow, you‘ll be home with your wife, but **Mr Vo’s** so lonely!‘

Moreover, in Example (6.17b), CH not only referred to Út Võ as *anh Út*, but followed by *tui* ‗I/me/my/mine‘. Her reference to Út Võ, literally meaning ‗my brother Út‘, therefore, conveys affection and intimacy, which is lost in the English translation.

A final example of the use of formal titles to replace kinship terms in the subtitle of the movie is one used by a female teenager to a middle-aged man. In this utterance, the girl (G) calls the middle-aged addressor, a fabric trader (FT), *chú Thầu* ‗uncle Thau‘ and addresses herself as *con* ‗child‘ to show intimacy. In response, the fabric trader refers to Út Võ‘s wife as *cô Ba* (*cô* + the lady‘s birth-order name). The subtitle, however, tranfers both of these informal terms into formal ones. Even worse, the formal title ―Ms‖ combined with the lady‘s husband‘s name instead of her own name makes the referent term more formal and distant. Again, the pragmatic implications are not accessible to the non- ietnamese audience. The subtitle reads as below:

(6.18) a. G: ***Chú Thầu*** *cứ ghé bến hoài, làm vựa lúa nhà **con** hết trơn.*
                   ‗Mr Thau, if you keep stopping, you‘ll empty our paddy reserves.‘

        b. FT: *Ngó **cô Ba** tui không ghé sao đành.*
                   ‗Looking at **Ms Vo**‘s smile, I can‘t keep myself from stopping by.‘

These examples clearly demonstrate the fact that the high degree of friendliness and intimacy that exists in the relationships among the people living along the southern part of

the Mekong River, expressed through their use of kinship terms and birth-order names was not taken into account in the translated subtitle. This results in a great loss of cultural as well as linguistic features.

To wrap up the analysis of the professional translation works from Vietnamese into English, I quote Singh's remark about the translation of terms and concepts (1995, p. 89). This remark, although posed a long time ago, still partially features the difficulties in the translation job in this regard:

> There is no doubt that the term planner plans his terms or creates them with certain definite aims, and with certain types of users in mind. However, unlike the native speaker's unconscious knowledge of his or her language, the most important thing about a term planner's activity is that the creator is fully conscious here. The translator has no other option than to depend on his own knowledge and intuition here. At the same time, he cannot hide himself behind the curtain of secrecy about the _mystery' of how one makes use of such intuitions. In fact, he has to be ready to explain (or even defend) his choices and decisions.

In the following section, similar analysis of professional translation works will be presented, but from English into Vietnamese. It is generally believed that translation into one's mother tongue is easier or more effective than vice versa based on the fact that one is more familiar with his/her first language and his/her own culture than with the target language and its culture, and therefore, ―higher quality is achieved in that direction than in translating into a foreign language" (Dickins, Hervey & Higgins, 2002, p. 2)

In regards to address terms in Vietnamese when the language is the target language, let us find out if this assumption is true.

6.1.2   Translation from English into Vietnamese

This section will examine two translated literary works: _Người Thầy' by Lê Chu Cầu (2008) from the English work *Teacher Man – A Memoir* written by an American Pulitzer Prize-winner Frank McCourt (2005), and _Harry Potter và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy' translated by Lý Lan (2009) from the world-bestseller children's novel *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* written by British author J.K. Rowling (1999).

In contrast to the presupposition about translation into one's mother tongue as having been mentioned before, in regard to terms of address, I believe that it is rather difficult for the

translator to make a (set of) correct term(s) of address if (s)he does not spend enough time to familiarise himself/herself with the characters, and the factors related to the choice such as their relative age, and relationships. The choice is particularly difficult because, as we have seen, terms of address in Vietnamese are semantically marked with specific features including gender, age, and consanguineal relationship rather than just generalised personal pronouns as in Western languages such as English. In addition to these semantic features, Vietnamese address terms may also denote pragmatic implications, which complicate the matter further, and lay more pressure on the translator, since readers of the Vietnamese translation might be affected, or even worse, misled by the translator's positive or negative attitude towards the characters in the work via his/her uses of terms of address, which may or may not at all be included in the original work.

Let us take a close look at the translation works chosen to be analysed in this study one after the other to see how the translators employ terms of address in their works.

6.1.2.1 *Teacher Man – A Memoir 'Người Thầy'* **translated by Lê Chu Cầu (2008)**

As previously mentioned, Lê Chu Cầu is a well-recognised translator in Vietnam, who has translated several works of world literature masterpieces into Vietnamese, particularly from German and English. These include *De Tweeling* _The Twins' by Tessa de Loo (1993, Von-der-Gablentz and Publieksprijs prizes), *Lord of the Flies* by Nobel Prize-winning William Golding (1954), *Momo* by Michael Ende (1973, German Literary Award for Books for Young People and European Literary Award for Books for Young People, honorary list, both in 1974), *The Alchemyst* by much-read author Michael Scott (2007), which was nominated for eight awards, and the most recent, *De Process* _The Trial' and *Das Schloss* _The Castle', both by Franz Kafka (1924 and 1925, respectively), among others. Although specialising in natural sciences, Lê Chu Cầu is a respectable translator due to his vast knowledge of international literature, and his carefulness in the translation job. In one of his talks organised by Nhã Nam Publisher on April 10, 2016 in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam (Kafka, audio file – private access April 10, 2016), the translator shared his point of view in the translation job. He said, one of the missions of the translator is to provide readers of the translated work with knowledge of alien cultures. This is definitely true. In regards to the variety and wide uses of culture-bound terms of address in Vietnamese, the translation of these terms opens another door to the understanding of culture of the people who speak the language.

A careful examination of the translation of *Teacher Man – A Memoir* _Người Thầy' will unveil how the translator takes advantage of the variety of terms of address in Vietnamese to

show the personality of the narrator as well as his characters. Because this is a memoir, the narrator is also the main character of the whole novel. Examples extracted from the translated novel are quoted with page numbers that follow.

It is, first of all, interesting to see how Lê Chu Cầu transferred the second-person pronoun ‗you' into the first-person forms in Vietnamese in various contexts. Example (6.19) presented in tabular form below illustrates this remark.

(6.19)	**English original text**	**Vietnamese translation**
(a) ‗you' = the narrator in his imagination	**You**'ll be nominated for awards… **You**'ll be invited to Washington. …**You**'ll be on television.	*Ta sẽ được đề nghị khen thưởng …**Ta** sẽ được mời tới Washington. **Ta** sẽ xuất hiện trên truyền hình* (p. 15).
(b) ‗you' = the narrator saying to himself	It's a mistake to arrive early, gives **you** too much time to think of what **you**'re facing.	*Đến lớp sớm thế này là sai lầm, vì ta có quá nhiều thì giờ để ngẫm nghĩ về những chuyện sẽ phải đối mặt* (p. 23).
(c) students talking to each other	**You** could copy a page of the Bible and they'd write at the top, ‒Very nice."	***Mình** có cóp cả trang Kinh thánh cũng vẫn được họ phê "Giỏi"* (p. 23).
(d) ‗you' = readers	**You** were a child. **You** went to school till **you³** were fourteen.	***Ta** là trẻ con. **Ta** đi học tới năm (Ø³) mười bốn tuổi* (p. 26).
	After a while they stop picking on **you** and the word goes around that **you** know how to take your lumps.	*Sau một thời gian họ không phá **ta** nữa, họ kháo nhau rằng **ta** biết chịu đựng* (p. 84).
(e) a student talking to a professor	My father is a high school teacher, professor, and he says **you¹** know nothing about high school teaching till **you²**'ve done it.	*Thưa thầy, cha em là một giáo viên trung học, cha em bảo nếu **chính mình¹** chưa từng dạy học thì **mình²** chẳng biết thế nào là dạy ở trường trung học* (p. 62).

It should be noted that the bolded terms in the Vietnamese translations, although in different forms, all mean ‗self'. In the examples above, the narrator seems to always include himself in conversing with the readers of his work or include the speaker with the hearer(s) in the stories, and this is probably the reason the translator chose different first-person terms to transfer the second-person pronoun ‗you'. Particularly, in Examples (a) and (b), even though the author used ‗you' all the time, it is evident that he was talking about himself (b), or figuring himself as a teacher, which he was (a) and telling a typical life story including his (d). Similarly, in (c), the student who was talking gave an example that could happen to any one of them, including himself. Example (e) is a little different, and it seems to be somewhat related to cultural difference. In this case, the student was retelling what her father said to

her, so the second-person pronoun ‚you' here can refer to anybody, and not exclusively to the professor. However, according to Vietnamese culture, it would sound impolite, especially when talking to one's teacher, to put him-/herself in an example such as this one. In conclusion, the translator's transfer from the second-person to the first-person forms of address in these examples makes the flow of the reading smooth and natural, and effectively integrates the readers into the story being told.

Second, let us examine how the narrator addresses himself and the second persons (addressees) in conversing with them in different contexts in the translated version. Again, the translator's choices of first- and second-person address terms are further evidence of his carefulness in his translation work. One of the examples shows the different terms he employed for Frank McCourt, the teacher (FM), in addressing himself and addressing his students who are in different ages. To be more specific, when conversing with the students from the vocational high school, who are teenagers, most of the time the terms are *thầy* ‚teacher'-*(các) em* ‚younger sibling(s)', and switching to *tôi* (formal first-person pronoun)-*(các) em* ‚younger sibling(s)' when he was annoyed (Examples 6.20a and 6.20b). In conversations with college students, whose ages vary from 18 to 62, the first-person term chosen is *tôi*, to be paired with more respectful second-person term *(các) anh chị* ‚older brother(s) and sister(s)' or the friendlier term *(các) bạn* ‚friend(s)' (Example 6.21a and 6.21b). The teacher's use of address terms are illustrated below.

(6.20) FM talking to high-school students:

a. Tell her it was the most delicious sandwich I ever had in my life, Petey.
―*Petey, em¹ hãy thưa với mẹ rằng thầy² chưa từng được ăn ổ bánh mì nào ngon đến thế*" (p. 31).
[¹ = 2PSN ‚younger sibling'; ² = 1PSN ‚teacher']

b. Joey, I told you my name is Mr McCourt, Mr McCourt, Mr McCourt.
―*Joey, tôi³ đã nói tên tôi⁴ là McCourt, McCourt, McCourt*" (p. 35)
[³, ⁴ =1PSN PRO]

(6.21) FM talking to college students:

a. Some of you come from Haiti or Cuba. You could write about voodoo or the Bay of Pigs.
―*Một số anh chị⁵ gốc Haiti hay Cuba. Anh chị⁶ có thể viết về thuật phù thủy hay sự kiện Vịnh Con Heo*" (p. 159)
[⁵, ⁶ = 2PSN ‚older brothers and sisters']

b. …you don't have to swallow everything I tell you.
―*Các bạn⁷ không bắt buộc phải nuốt lấy mọi điều tôi⁸ nói*" (p. 161) [⁷ = 2PSN ‚friends'; ⁸ = 1PSN PRO]

When the teacher was very angry, it is observed that the translator chose another pair of address terms to effectively denote the teacher's anger, which might or might not have been explicitly expressed, as illustrated in Example 6.22 below. In this case, the first-person term is *ông* 'old man' and the second-person term is the abrupt pronoun *mày*. The non-kin use of *ông* as a first-person pronoun such as this highly denotes arrogance, especially when paired with *mày*, as formerly discussed in Section 3.2.7.1.

(6.22) I wanted to drop the reasonable-teacher mask and say what was on my mind, Look, you little twerp, put the chair down or I'll throw you out the damn window so you'll be the meat for pigeons.
—*Tôi chỉ muốn vứt bỏ chiếc mặt nạ của một ông thầy chín chắn, nói toạc điều mình nghĩ: Này, thằng nhóc bần tiện, đặt ghế xuống cho ngay ngắn kẻo **ông**[1] quăng **mày**[2] ra khỏi cửa sổ (**Ø**[3]) thành thịt băm cho lũ bồ câu ngay đấy.* (p. 200)
[[1]= 1PSN 'old man'; [2]= (abrupt) 2PSN PRO; [3]= (omitted) 2PSN PRO]

In another situation, as an exam-taker, FM addressed the examiner with the formal vocative form Sir. In the translation, a change of both self-address and second-person terms are performed in order to express the speaker's politeness. In the Vietnamese translation, the speaker addresses himself as *em* 'younger sibling' and addresses the examiner *thầy* 'teacher' (Example 6.23).

(6.23)   I don't know, Sir.
—*Thưa, **em**[1] không hiểu ý **thầy**[2]"* (p. 73)
[[1] = 1PSN '**younger sibling**'; [2] = 2PSN 'teacher']

A closer look at the two Examples (6.20) and (6.23) confirms how terms of address in Vietnamese clearly show the role of the speaker in regard to his/her relationship with the other interlocutor: in (6.20) FM is the teacher, so he addresses himself as *thầy* 'teacher' and addresses his student as *em* 'younger sibling', whereas the reverse is the case in (6.23), in which he is a student himself.

These examples strongly suggest that the translator exploits the variety of terms of address in Vietnamese to the greatest extent, which reflects the practical usage of these terms, in this case, in educational contexts.

In the conversations between FM and other people, other terms of address are also used in a very natural way. For example, the affectionate pair *anh* 'older brother-em 'younger sibling' are employed when he talks to his girlfriend (Example 6.24a), and later switched to the distant self-address term *tôi* to match his disappointment and anger (6.24b).

(6.24) a. **You**… **you** invited **me**.
—**Em**… **em** rủ **anh** tới mà" (p. 65).

   b. **I** don't care.
—**Tôi** cóc cần" (p. 71)

Similarly, in conversations with his co-worker when he was —a dockside labourer" (p. 43), different pairs of address terms were used to illustrate the change in the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. Example (6.25a) includes the abrupt pronouns *tao-mày* when the two of them were violently fighting, while Example (6.25b) illustrates a switch back to the casual pair *tớ-cậu* to demonstrate friendliness.

(6.25) a. I swung my hook and caught him in the back of the leg and pulled it till he yelled, You little shit. I see blood on my leg you're dead.
—**Tôi** vung móc trúng bắp chân hắn, kéo cho đến lúc hắn gào lên: Đồ nhóc tì khốn nạn. **Tao** mà chảy máu chân là **mày** chết" (p. 87).

   b. We loaded pallets with the cases and he told me in a normal way his first wife was Irish but she died of TB.
Can **you** imagine that? Don't gim**me** the look. Now **I**'m married to an Italian.
—**Trong** lúc chúng tôi bốc dỡ những thùng Whisky hắn kể lể bằng giọng bình thường rằng vợ hắn là người Ireland, đã chết vì bệnh lao.
Cậu hình dung nổi không? Đừng nhìn **tớ** như thế. Hiện nay **tớ** có một cô vợ Ý." (p. 89)

Again, Examples (6.24) and (6.25) above have strengthened the argument that switches of terms of address in Vietnamese can imply certain changes in the attitude or emotion of the term-user, the addressor. In translation, therefore, if attention is paid to this pragmatic feature, the translator's employment of address terms will help the reader understand the attitude of the author of the source text, and also make the translation a better one. This is because, like other idiomatic expressions, address terms in Vietnamese are highly culture-bound. In this respect, Reiss (2000) says:

> The audience factor is apparent in the common idiomatic expressions…of the source language. The translator should make it possible for the reader in the target language to see and understand the text in the terms of his own cultural context. (p. 79)

In another example, FM retells a story in the way that his mother told a neighbour. The translational challenge in this case is the different roles of the characters in the story: the author's mother is both a narrator and a character in her own story. The special focus in the translation here is on the self-address terms (Example 6.26).

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(6.26) **I**[1] was pushing the pram with Malachy in it and him a little fella barely two. Frank was walking along beside me. Outside Todd's store on O'Connell Street a long black motorcar pulled up to the pavement and out got this rich woman all dressed up in furs and jewelry. Well, didn't she look into the pram and didn't she offer to buy Malachy on the spot. **You**[2] can imagine what a shock that was to **me**[3] .... So **I**[4] told the woman (Ø[5]) no ....
—***Em***[1] *đang đẩy chiếc xe con chở thằng cháu Malachy, lúc ấy con nhỏ xíu, chưa đầy hai tuổi. Cu Frank chạy lót tót cạnh em. Trước cửa hiệu Todd trên đường O'Connell, một chiếc xe màu đen dài ngoằng dừng trên vỉa hè, rồi một bà sang trọng mặc áo lông, đeo đầy nữ trang bước xuống. Chẳng phải bà ta nhìn vào chiếc xe trẻ con, lại còn hỏi mua cháu Malachy liền tại chỗ đấy thôi. **Chị**[2] có thể hình dung rằng **em**[3] hoảng vía đến thế nào … Thành ra **em**[4] đáp: **Tôi**[5] không bán!*" (p. 45; my emphasis).

In the Vietnamese translation of the above passage, the translator consistently uses kinship terms for the speaker ([1, 3] and [4]) and the hearer ([2]), which are *em* _younger sibling' and *chị* _older sister', respectively, to indicate intimacy. However, when his mother (the narrator in this story) addresses herself (Ø[5]) in her response to the stranger, the first-person pronoun *tôi* is used to denote distance. The distinction in the employment of two different terms clearly defines the different relationships between the narrator, the hearer, and the referent, although there is not such a distinction in the English original text. It is also noted that the short indirect statement —no" in the English text was translated into Vietnamese as a whole sentence, meaning _I won't sell!' in order for the first-person address term to be used. The translation reads as follows.

In addition to the kinship terms used for the speaker and the hearer in Example (6.26), another kinship term, *cháu*, literally meaning _nephew' was used before the name of Malachy, also to denote intimacy. The translator's employment of kinship terms in this example can be explained by a well-known proverb in Vietnam, which says *Bán anh em xa, mua láng giềng gần*, meaning _Next-door neighbours are closer than remote siblings.' A translation such as the one in Example (6.26) can be said to successfully demonstrate linguistic as well as cultural features.

Finally, the use of third-person terms in the translation are also remarkable and deserve an intense discussion. The third-person terms mentioned here include not only those referred to by the author in the role of a narrator, but also by the people involved in the stories he narrates. The latter case requires more attention and integration of the translator in order to choose a proper term for each specific referent.

It is necessary to repeat a point formerly discussed in Section 3.2.3 (Example (3.12)), which is, I believe, unique in Vietnamese address practice. In a conversation, if a referent is to be mentioned, the referent term to be used by both the addressor and addressee is based on the relationship between the referent and the younger interlocutor as illustrated in Example (3.12). In the translated work *Người Thầy*, this is rather transparent and consistent. One of the outstanding examples is Example (6.27), in which a high-school student told FM, the teacher about her classmate, who was regarded as head of the class.

(6.27)   With Serena gone, the class changed, a body without a head.
Mr. McCourt, I got a letter from Serena, Maria raised her hand. **She**[1] said this the first letter of **her**[2] life and **she**[3] wouldn't'ta wrote it but **her**[4] grandma told **her**[5]. … **She**[6] say **she**[7] sorry about things **she**[8] did in this class…
―*Serena đi rồi thì lớp này đổi khác hẳn, chỉ còn là một cơ thể không đầu.*
Rồi Maria giơ tay. Thưa thầy McCourt, em nhận được thư của Serena. Chị
ấy[1] *bảo đây là bức thư đầu tiên chị*[2] *viết trong đời, lẽ ra chị*[3] *không viết đâu*
nhưng bà nội (Ø[4]) *bắt* (Ø[5]) *viết…Chị* [6] *bảo chị*[7] *rất tiếc về những chuyện*
(Ø[8]) *đã làm trong lớp…*" (p. 193; my emphasis).

It is notable that in the Vietnamese translation in this example, the first noun phrase *chị ấy*[1] only differs from the others in that it has the demonstrative adjective *ấy* meaning ―that'. In all the others, *chị,* literally meaning ―older sister', is used on its own. In this case, the student refers to her classmate, Serena, according to their relationship, and not the relationship between the person being referred to and the addressee, who is the teacher. There is no utterance performed by the teacher after that. But if there were any, the referent terms used by the teacher to refer to Serena would be the same term, *chị (ấy)* in the Vietnamese translation because, again, it would be based on the relationship between the two students.

Also in regard to the third-person terms, it is notable that when referring to someone in a kinship relationship, the kinship terms are used in place of personal pronouns, and are repeated several times during the conversation. The reason for these repetitions are, first, there are very few anaphoric pronouns in Vietnamese to be used; and second, these anaphoric forms are either very formal or casual. An example is the use of the English pronouns ―she/her' to substitute the noun phrase ―my mother'. If it is to be translated as *bà ấy*, it sounds formal and distant while the alternative form *bả* is too casual. In Vietnamese address practice, the kinship term *mẹ* ―mother' is used and repeated as many times as it is necessary to. In the translation from English into Vietnamese, this practice should also be taken into account. In *Người Thầy*, there are some examples that illustrate this point very well. The examples below include two conversations, one between the teacher and his

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student (6.28a), and the other one between students (6.28b). Both conversations refer to the student speaker's parent(s). Repetitions of the noun phrases meaning ‗my mother' and ‗my father' are found in both examples to replace the English endophoric pronouns ‗he', ‗him', ‗she' and ‗her', which exactly reflect Vietnamese address practice.

(6.28) a. Next day Andrew lingered after class.
Mr. McCourt, you went to NYU, right?
I did.
Well, **my mother**[1] said she knew you.
Really? I'm happy to know that someone remembered me.
I mean **she**[2] knew you outside of class.
Again, Really?
She[3] died last year. **She**[4] had cancer. **Her**[5] name was June.
‒Hôm sau Andrew nấn ná lại sau giờ học. Thầy McCourt, thầy từng học ở Đại học New York, phải không ạ?
Phải.
Dạ, **mẹ em**[1] bảo có biết thầy.
Thật à? Thầy rất vui được biết có ai đấy còn nhớ đến mình.
Ý em là **mẹ em**[2] biết thầy nhưng không phải ở đại học.
Thế nữa sao?
Mẹ em[3] mất năm ngoái. **Mẹ em**[4] bị ung thư. **Mẹ em**[5] tên là June."
(p. 201)

In this example, the noun phrase *mẹ em* is composed of two words, *mẹ* ‗mother' and *em* ‗younger sibling', with an omission of the possessive word. Thus, the phrase is a short form of *mẹ của em* ‗mother of younger sibling', meaning ‗the addressor's mother'. It is noted that the second word in the phrase is also the first-person term used by the speaker. Accordingly, the same English phrase ‗my mother' can have several equivalents in Vietnamese, depending on the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. They can be *mẹ anh* ‗mother of older brother' (the speaker is male, in the same generation but older than the hearer), *mẹ cháu* ‗mother of niece/nephew/grandchild' (the speaker is one or more than one generation younger than the hearer, *mẹ tớ* ‗mother of me' (between close friends), and the like. The conversation below occurs in this same fashion. Similar to Example (6.28a), the noun phrase *bố tớ* consists of the kinship term *bố* ‗father' and the first-person pronoun *tớ*, and *bố mẹ tớ* ‗father-mother-plus- *tớ*'. In full form, they should be *bố của tớ* ‗father of me', and *bố và mẹ của tớ* ‗father and mother of me', but shortened as such in spoken language. In this case, the student addressor was talking to his classmates, which explains his use of the casual personal pronoun *tớ* in the combination.

(6.28)   b.   Bob looked gloomy for a moment. It's **my dad**[1], he said. I told **him**[2] I'll be married and have kids and they'll like the little piglets. **He**[3] nearly went crazy and my mom had to go lie down. Maybe I shouldn't have told **them**[4] but **they**[5] taught me to tell the truth.

—*Bob trông rầu rĩ mất một lúc. Tại **bố tớ**[1] đấy, nó nói. Tớ bảo **bố tớ**[2] rằng mai sau tớ sẽ lấy vợ, có con và chúng sẽ thích những con heo sữa. **Bố tớ**[3] giận điên lên và mẹ tớ đành chịu thua. Có lẽ tớ không nên nói với **bố mẹ tớ**[4] về chuyện ấy, nhưng **bố mẹ tớ**[5] đã dạy tớ phải nói thật.*" (p. 308)

In both Examples (6.28a) and (6.28b), if the parental nouns phrases, with the kinship term included, were to be replaced by anaphoric pronouns such as *bà (ấy)* ‗she/her', *ông (ấy)* ‗he/him', and *họ* ‗they/them' as some translators normally do when they transfer these English personal pronouns into Vietnamese, the sense of intimacy and affection would be absolutely lost.

Other uses of address terms in the translation thuat denote pragmatic connotations including different third-person antecedents and their anaphors are summarised in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2 Third-person antecedents and their anaphoras in the Vietnamese translation

3PSN & description	Antecedent	Anaphora	Pragmatic connotation
1. Nosey Parker, pawnshop owner	*lão Tọc Mạch*	*lão*	Dislike
2. Feathery Burke, suitcase seller	*Feathery*	*hắn*	Dislike
3a. The professor of education at NYC	*ông giáo sư*	*ông*	Respect
3b. The professor of education at NYC	*Norm*	*lão*	Dislike/disrespect
4. Eddy Lynch, the platform boss	*Eddie*	*ông*	Respect
5. Fat Dominic, the driver	*Dominic (béo)*	*hắn*	Dislike
6. God	*Chúa Trời*	*Ngài*	Respect
7. Hitler	*Hitler*	*y*	Disrespect
8. Edward Dahlberg, the writer	*Dahlberg*	*hắn*	Dislike

In fact, the difference between *lão* (1) and (3b), *hắn* (2), (5), (8), and *y* (7) is not transparent. *The Dictionary of Vietnamese* (2006) composed by Vietnam's Institute of Linguistics defines *lão* as follows (English translation is mine):

1. Old people (seventy or above): used as an address term to express intimacy
2. (used before a personal noun): a middle-aged or old man (expressing disrespect)

The latter two terms *hắn* and *y* are discussed in some studies of Vietnamese terms of address as third-person pronouns, and are considered as terms speaking of persons to whom ‑no respect is intended" (Cooke, 1968, p. 114; also in Luong, 1990; Lê Biên, 1999; Nguyễn Văn Thành, 2003). Apart from those terms that are consistently used from the beginning to the

end, attention should be paid to the cases of (3a) and (3b), with a switch of terms from *ông* to *lão* to demonstrate a change of attitude, from respect to disrespect. It is, therefore, concluded that the three terms *hắn*, *lão* and *y* denote a certain degree of dislike or (and) disrespect.

In contrast to the several terms that are employed for the adult male referents in the translation, there are only two terms for the adult female characters. To refer to those who had an intimate relationship with the narrator, the affectionate female term *nàng* is used; otherwise, the distant term *cô* is used, for example, to his wife's friend R'lene Dadlberg.

To wrap up the analysis of *Người Thầy*, it is noted that the translator's carefulness is shown in his use of address terms in Vietnamese to express the narrator's attitude towards other people. Because this is a memoir, the narrator is also the author himself. Lê Chu Cầu chose to employ terms of address that are friendly, humorous and sometimes bitter in most of the monologues and conversations in the work. These terms of address perfectly match the author's personality, who ―remained to the end a genial, humorous, ironical, sceptical Irishman; witty, wry, charming and helpful to others, especially the young" as remarked by *The Guardian*'s commentator Gébler (July 20, 2009). Lê Chu Cầu's choice of terms of address is in line with what he knows about the author himself, because he believes that understanding the author of the work is important as it helps the translator to produce a better translation work. Most of his uses of address terms in the translation result in smooth and natural conversations as if they occurred among Vietnamese speakers rather than between an Irish teacher and his young American students, or other interlocutors.

6.1.2.2 *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone 'Harry Potter và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy'* translated by Lý Lan (2009)

Lý Lan is the sole translator of the whole series of Harry Potter. The Vietnamese versions of the series are published by one of the most reputable publishers in Vietnam, Trẻ Publisher. It can be assumed from these two facts that the translator and the translated versions in Vietnamese satisfy Vietnamese readers. However, due to the time pressure in order for the publication of the translated versions to keep up with the launch of the originals, the translation works could not avoid errors, which have also been pointed out by Vietnamese fans of Harry Potter. This section examines the translation of the first episode, ‗*Harry Potter và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy*' with a focus on the uses of terms of address.

First, it is noted that the translator's deliberate use of some terms of address, particularly the third-person ones, might have led Vietnamese readers to an incorrect perception of some

characters in the story. A good example is the character named Hagrid, who was referred to in the Vietnamese translation as an antecedent *lão Hagrid* or an anaphoric *lão*. The third-person term of address *lão*, as mentioned in the previous section, denotes disrespect and/or dislike besides its literal meaning of ‗elderly‘ when referring to old people. This character in the original is someone who deserves utmost trust, as confirmed by professor Dumbledore, Headmaster of the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry, ‖I would trust Hagrid with my life" (*Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, 1999, p. 16). The only explanation for the use of this term in the Vietnamese translation is, probably, his appearance, which was not his own fault. The character was described as follows:

> He was almost twice as tall as a normal man and at least five times as wide. He looked simply too big to be allowed, and so *wild*–long tangles of bushy black hair and beard hid most of his face…(p.16)

However, in the rest of the first episode as well as the others in the series, he is portrayed as a kind-hearted man, who obviously does not deserve to be referred to with such a negative referring term. The translator‘s choice in this example may give a false impression to the Vietnamese readers, particularly younger ones, of this character, which is unfair not only to the character himself but also to the readers, who do not have the opportunity to judge the character according to their own perception.

Second, the translator‘s inconsistency in the use of terms of address is noticeable. The first example is the translation of the title-plus-Harry‘s name on the envelopes of the letters sent to him from the school. All the four envelopes read ‖Mr H. Potter". Yet, the first three were translated as *Ông Harry Potter* (with title *ông*); whereas, the last one was translated as *Gởi Harry Potter* (literally meaning ‗To Harry Potter‘, without a title). Moreover, inconsistency is found in the translation of the envelope and the letter itself, as in the following extract, which is the letter enclosed in the fourth envelope.

(6.29) Dear Mr Potter,
We are pleased to inform that you have a place…
‖*Kính gởi **cậu** Harry Potter,*
*Chúng tôi rất lấy làm hân hạnh thông báo cho **cậu** biết rằng **cậu** đã trúng tuyển…*"
(p. 57).[18]

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[18] Quoted extracts with page numbers are from *Harry Potter và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy*. All emphases are mine.

In fact, the title ‗Mr‛ in English is a formal title which can be used for different ages. On the other hand, *ông* when used as a title in Vietnamese, is only used for adults (see Section 3.2.1). In Harry‗s case, who is only a ten-year-old boy, this title is absolutely inappropriate. It would be more appropriate to translate the title as *cậu*, or even no title is needed in this case. Yet, whether a title is to be used or not, consistency is of crucial importance as generally agreed among scholars of translation studies, from as old as Nida and Taber (1969) to as modern as Huang (2015) and Kerremans (2016).

The second example of the translator‗s inconsistency in the use of terms of address is that of terms used between Harry‗s cousin, Dudley and his parents. The example reads as follows.

(6.30)

‗Darling, you haven‗t counted Auntie Marge‗s present, see, it‗s here under this big one from Mummy and Daddy.‖ ‗So I‗ll have thirty…‖ ‗Thirty-nine, sweetgums.‖ ‗Little tyke wants his money‗s worth, just like his father. ‗Atta boy, Dudley!‖

*"Cưng ơi, con đếm sót quà của cô Marge rồi, kìa, nó nằm dưới gói quà to của **ba**[1] **mẹ**[2] đó." "Vậy là con sẽ có ba mươi…" "Ba mươi chín, cục cưng của **má**[3] à." "Còn nhỏ mà biết tính kỹ hén. Thiệt xứng là con của **cha**[4], cậu Dursley ạ."[19]* (p.26)

In Example (6.30), the term for ‗mother‛ was switched from the nationally popular term *mẹ*[2] to the southern term *má*[3], the term ‗father‛ from *ba*[1] to *cha*[4] for no reason. These different terms are just regional variations, and they do not denote a pragmatic connotation of any kind. Therefore, they should be considered as an innocent oversight, rather than the translator‗s intended translation strategy.

The third example of inconsistency is the translation of the self-address terms used for Harry. In most of his conversations with Hagrid, the school‗s gamekeeper, the self-address term was *con* ‗child‛, which is more popular among people living in the central and southern parts of Vietnam. In some other instances, the self-address term was *cháu* ‗nephew‛ (p. 88, and p. 149), which is used more often by people from the north of the country. Similarly, the term that Hagrid addressed Harry was switched between *con* and *cháu* for no apparent linguistic reason.

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[13] Emphases are mine

The last example of this kind of inconsistency is that of the address terms used by Harry and his friends. When there is no change in the states of emotion, it is supposed that such terms of address be consistent throughout the translation work. However, consistency does not seem to be taken into serious account. In conversations between Harry and his best friend Ron, for example, there are at least three self-address terms for Harry and two for Ron, and the second-person terms were limited to two. This type of inconsistency sometimes occurs within one conversation, which becomes very transparent and annoying to the reader of the translation work, as illustrated in Example (6.31).

(6.31)　　　‗Are all your family wizards?‘ asked Harry, who found Ron just as interesting as Ron found him.
　　　　　　‗Er – yes, I think so,‘ said Ron.
　　　　　　‗…wish I‘d had three wizard brothers.‘
　　　HP:　*Cả nhà **bồ** đều là phù thủy hả?*
　　　R:　*Ơ... Phải. Mình nghĩ vậy. …*
　　　HP:　*Ước gì tôi cũng có ba người anh phù thủy giống **bạn*** (p. 110–111).

The two bolded terms of address in the translated version were both used to address R. The problem of inconsistency as being discussed here may result from the translator‘s attempt to attribute different terms to different characters according to, in some cases, their personalities, or merely to her own perceptions of them. Unfortunately, the variety of address terms in this regard is not appreciated because it does not contribute to the enjoyment of the story reading, but makes the translated version unnecessarily complicated, and, even worse, inconsistent and annoying.

However, such inconsistency is not unavoidable. Careful notes can be effective in such situations. According to one of the most notable translators, Nguyễn Hiến Lê (2001), among the challenges related to translation of Western literature works into Vietnamese is address terms, including the naturalness and consistency in their usage. In an early discussion of translation, he shares his experience in translation practice:

> *Dịch tiểu thuyết phương Tây chúng ta còn gặp một rắc rối nữa là cho các nhân vật xưng hô với nhau ra sao…Phải lựa chọn sao cho hợp người, hợp cảnh và một khi đã cho một nhân vật này, xưng hô với một nhân vật khác ra sao thì tôi cũng phải ghi lại liền để sau này dừng lại cho nhất trí.*
> *Chẳng hạn tôi ghi,*
> *"Mẹ Boris gọi Pierre là anh, cha Pierre là cậu, ba tiểu thư là chị, tự xưng là tôi." (pp. 87-88)*

Another challenge in the translation of Western novels is the address terms used for the characters…These terms have to be chosen on account of the personality of the character as well as the situational context. In addition, I always took notes of the address terms I chose for each character in conversing with the others for the sake of consistency.

For example, I would write down something like this,

‒Boris's mother addresses Pierre as *anh,* Pierre's father as *cậu,* the three girls as *chị,* and herself, *tôi.*"

Carefulness such as this is necessary and vital in every translation work so as to guarantee avoidance of mistakes, at least in regard to the consistency of terms of address.

Finally, similar to the translation of *Người Thầy*, in this translated work, *Harry Potter và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy*, switches of address terms to demonstrate changes in the speaker's emotional states or communicative strategies are also observed, although they are not as frequent. The case in this translation is of Harry's aunt's husband. The story says that Harry is the only son of a prominent wizard couple, both of whom were killed when Harry was less than one year old. Harry's aunt is his only relative. However, she never liked her sister and her brother-in-law just because they were wizards. Harry's aunt and her family, therefore, are not at all interested in having any contact and relation to her sister's family. The fact that Harry was brought to their home after his parents' deaths was the most unexpected and horrible event that ever happens to the Dursleys. As a consequence, their unfair treatment of Harry is understandable. In the Vietnamese translation, the address terms used by Harry's aunt and uncle when talking to him are the aggressive pair *tao-mày*. However, after the letters from the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry arrived, the uncle was scared, and tried to sound nice to Harry. The address terms in the translation were switched to *dượng* ‗unde' - *con* ‗child', as illustrated in the following examples.

(6.32) a. ‗Comb your hair!' he barked, by way of a morning greeting.
       ‒*Dượng nạt nó một câu coi như lời chào buổi sáng:*
       "*Chải tóc, **mày**[1]!*'"" (p. 25)
       [[1] (abrupt) 2PSN PRO]

      b. He took a few deep breaths and then forced his face into a smile, which looked quite painful.
         ‗Er – yes, Harry – about this cupboard. Your aunt and I have been thinking …you're really getting a bit big for it…'
         Ông hít vài hơi thở sâu rồi ép mình nhe răng ra cười, một nụ cười hết sức đau khổ.

*"Ờ, phải rồi Harry à, cái phòng xép dưới gầm cầu thang này ấy mà. Dì **con**[2] và **dượng**[3] đã suy nghĩ rồi…**con**[4] bây giờ đã hơi lớn so với nó…"* (p. 42)
[[2,4]_child'; [3]_uncle']

Example (6.32) once again strengthens the major argument of the whole study, which is that the affective meanings of terms of address in the Vietnamese language can be conveyed in communication practice, particularly via their switches. This connotation is not only observable in daily conversations among Vietnamese speakers, but also in translation works.

To conclude the analysis of _*Harry Potter Và Hòn Đá Phù Thủy*', it is necessary to sum up the apparent challenges in translation from another language into Vietnamese as seen in this translation work: the subjective affection of the translator expressed through her choice of certain address terms, and the inconsistency in the uses of address terms for the same characters in the translation work.

Section 6.2.3 will address findings from the analysis of professional translation works. It also seeks explanation for those challenges in translation as mentioned above, together with other difficulties related to the translation of terms of address from the point of view of scholars of the Vietnamese language and translation studies. The analysis leads to the general conclusions of how address terms can challenge even professional translators.

6.1.3 Conclusion of professional translation works

The analysis of the professional translation works reveals important outcomes as follows:

- In most of the translation works from English into Vietnamese, terms of address, especially those related to kinship relationships, are carefully chosen. For example, appropriate kinship terms are used in both Vietnamese translation works analysed in this chapter.

- On the other hand, because the use of kinship terms in place of personal pronouns (especially vocative and anaphoric pronouns), is not a feature of English, the use of these terms is sometimes too pushy and pervasive in the English translation. For example, this is apparent in the use of the kinship term _aunt' and its combination ‒my aunt" in *Paradise of the Blind*.

- Due to a lack of understanding of the differences in linguistic and cultural customs related to the use of address terms between the two languages, some translators seek to use a formal title in the English translation in conversational situations where intimacy

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is involved. One example is the English subtitle in the Vietnamese movie *The Floating Lives*. Consequently, the style of the original work does not remain the same.

- Inconsistency is one of the challenges, especially in Vietnamese versions. This can be attributed to (1) the great variety of Vietnamese address terms, and (2), the fact that the uses of these terms depend on specific factors such as the relative age difference and familial/social relationships between the interlocutors, and their social status.

- Vietnamese terms of address are of great help in illustrating different attitudes or emotional states. For example, in the Vietnamese translation of *Người Thầy*, the translator succeeds in expressing the negative attitude of the narrator towards his colleague working on the pier (Fat Dominic), the university professor (Norm), or the anger of a father of one of his teenage students (Augie's father). With regards to translation into English, this kind of pragmatic connotation is mainly conveyed through the use of certain emotional verbs, or an addition of a noun phrase, for example, in the English version of *Dumb Luck*, such phrases as ‑my love" and ‑my dear" for positive emotion, and ‑you old coot", ‑you no-good bastard" and ‑you unfaithful wretch" for the reverse were employed. This approach is also shared by others. Otherwise, a loss of connotative meanings is unavoidable in other cases, for example, intimacy as expressed through the use of kinship terms in non-kin relationships (in *Cánh Đồng Bất Tận ‑The Floating Lives*'), or the change from a positive to a negative attitude and vice versa as denoted by switches of address terms (in *Paradise of the Blind* and *Dumb Luck*).

The above outcomes from the analysis of professional translation works confirm and illustrate the general agreement among scholars of Vietnamese studies, which is that address terms are one of the greatest challenges in translation from and into Vietnamese (Phan Khôi, 1955 (cited in Hoàng Trọng Phiến, 1997); Nguyễn Đình-Hòa, 1957; Đỗ Hữu Châu, 1993; Nguyễn Văn Chiến, 1993; Trần Thị Kim Tuyến, 2012; among others). Specifically, in an early study of the Vietnamese language, Phan Khôi suggested that the lack of a proper address system, particularly personal pronouns which are neutral in affective meanings, is one of the major causes of vagueness in translation. He added that most of the lexical items used in address practice among Vietnamese people are closely related to kinship and familial hierarchy (cited in Hoàng Trọng Phiến, 1997, p. 66). In addition, as remarked by Nguyễn Thị Kim Tuyến (2012), when compared with Vietnamese, there are fewer English nouns used as terms of address, which are, furthermore, mainly used as second- and third-person pronouns only. The lack of equivalence is, therefore, expected. Even more complicated,

in translation into Vietnamese, the uses of these terms have to be in accordance with such factors as the relationships between the interlocutors, their relative age, and social, cultural, and emotional status. In Wardhaugh's (2006, p. 271) words: ―Bare English translation of terms into English words…always seems deficient to Vietnamese… the English equivalents fall far short of Vietnamese understanding of social relationships.‖ Unfortunately, because this is virtually true, a loss of pragmatic connotations in translation between Vietnamese and another language is inevitable.

This section has so far addressed challenges faced by professional translators in transferring address terms from English into Vietnamese and vice versa. The next section will examine data from EFL students' translation papers. At this level, when translators are students, the translation works assigned only contain terms of address with their semantic features such as relative age difference and the (non-)kin relationship between the interlocutors. No pragmatic connotations are included to make the assignment easier for the students, and therefore, more accessible according to the purpose of the project.

6.2 Data from EFL students' translation practice and EFL teachers' questionnaire

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, it is hypothesised that terms of address have not received adequate attention in translation studies and translation practice among EFL teachers and students. This is despite the fact that they are known to have potential to cause considerable challenges in translation from and into Vietnamese. This section examines how EFL students of Translation Studies use address terms in their translation practice, the challenges they encounter, and what translation teachers say about this matter.

6.2.1 English–Vietnamese translation

The passage chosen to challenge EFL students of Dalat University's Faculty of Foreign Languages is an extract from the well-known series written by Lucy M. Montgomery in 1908, *Anne of Green Gables*. The chosen extract was based on the following criteria:

(1) It is a conversational passage of roughly half a page in length;
(2) the interlocutors are of different ages/generations, which are mentioned at the beginning of the translation task;
(3) the English vocabulary is simple; and
(4) various terms of address are included, involving first-, second-, and third-persons.

The focus of this task is on the use of different Vietnamese address terms related to the age difference and the relationships between the interlocutors.

Overall, only 4 among the 24 papers included no mistakes in the use of terms of address, accounting for 16.67%. The remaining 84.33% erred in either the use of address terms from the perspective of the (narrator) translator or of the characters. For example, if it is supposed that the student translators are in their early twenties, and the two lady characters in the extract are middle-aged, appropriate terms to refer to the two ladies should be included with a specifier indicating gender and seniority, for example, *bà,* rather than their first namee only. On the other hand, from the perspective of the characters, the two ladies, who are in the same generation, should address each other using the kinship terms *chị-em* ‚older sister'- ‚younger sibling' as normally found in daily conversations. Unfortunately, most students failed to employ appropriate terms of address in this regard.

In relation to address terms used for the characters, the results were as indicated in Figure 6.2 below.

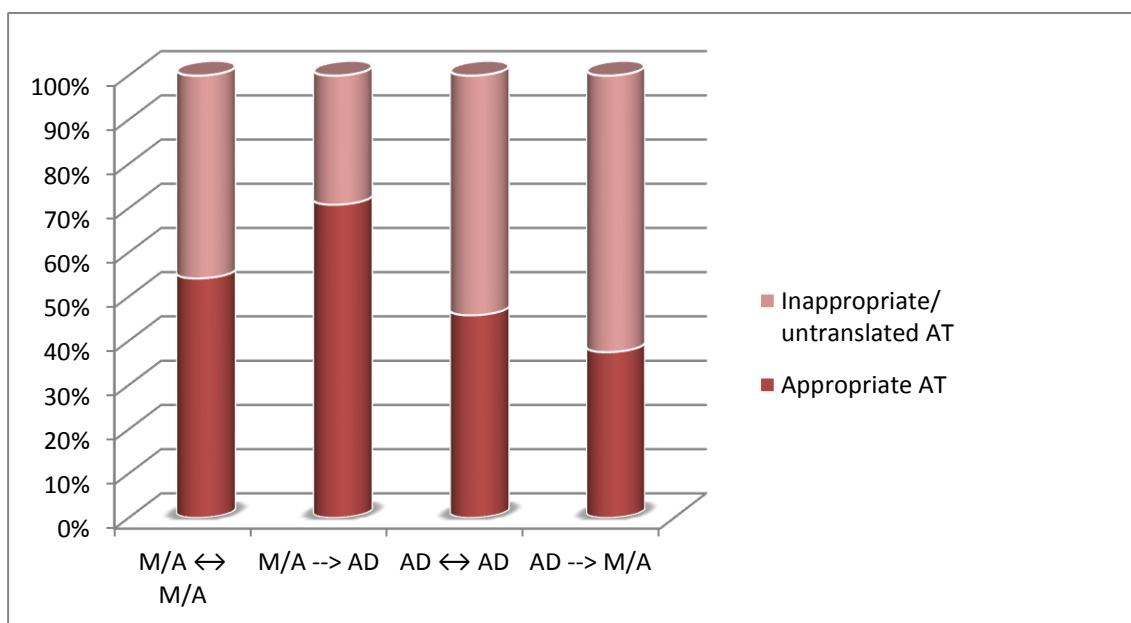*Figure 6.2* Appropriateness of address terms used for the characters in *Anne of Green Gables*

Abbreviations in the Figure:
  o AT: address terms
  o M/A ↔ M/A: middle-aged people addressing each other
  o M/A → AD: a middle-aged person addressing/referring to an adolescent
  o AD ↔ AD: adolescents addressing each other
  o AD → M/A: an adolescent addressing/referring to a middle-aged person

Figure 6.2 illustrates the appropriateness in the use of address terms for the characters in the English extract of *Anne of Green Gables*. First of all, it is the notion of "appropriateness" rather than "correctness" that is used in the discussion of translation from English into Vietnamese because of the variety of Vietnamese address terms available and acceptable in those particular conversational situations. The notion of appropriateness is based on the evident age difference or similarity, as indicated at the beginning of the translation work (see Appendix D) comparable to the observation of telenovelas as well as daily address practices. For example, the English first-person pronoun 'I' is generally translated into Vietnamese as *tôi*. However, this generalised translation is only accepted in the case where no indication of age difference is available.

Otherwise, as discussed in the previous chapters, this first-person pronoun in Vietnamese denotes either a formal conversational situation, or some intensity in the relationship between the interlocutors, especially a negative emotional state of the speaker. Consideration of the relationship and age difference between the interlocutors is, therefore, of crucial importance for appropriate choices of address terms in Vietnamese.

In the students' translation papers, most of the inappropriate uses of address terms are related to a lack of this consideration. To be specific, appropriate terms of address were used in only half (54.17%) of the papers for middle-aged ladies addressing each other, 70.83% for middle-aged ladies addressing or referring to a teenager, 45.83% for adolescents addressing each other, and 60.42% for an adolescent addressing her middle-aged adopted mother. The remaining percentages were either contextually inappropriate or not translated at all. Explanations for this distribution could be that the student translators did not consider the age factor as one starting point for their choice of address terms, or that they did not understand the English extract, regarding the sections that were not translated. Specifically, among the 24 papers, nine left one or more paragraphs unstranslated, accounting for 37.5%, with the number of untranslated terms of address being 28.57%.

A more detailed analysis of the translation of address terms into Vietnamese resulted in the following outcomes. First, between the two middle-aged ladies, who are long-time neighbours, appropriate terms should be those derived from kinship-terms such as the pair *chị- em* 'elder sister'- 'younger sibling', which can be either used alone or combined with the first name. Such pairs as *tôi- bạn* 'friend' and *tôi- cô* 'lady' as used by 29.17% for Mrs. Barry, the younger one between the two, to address Marilla, the older one, do not seem to reflect a natural and popular way of addressing in daily conversations considering the

relationship and age difference between the two ladies. Similarly, for a middle-aged lady (Mrs Barry) to address herself as *tôi* (as discussed in the previous paragraph) when talking to an eleven-year-old girl (Anne) is not common in everyday address practices, but accounts for exactly 25% of the translation papers.

Second, to my surprise, over half of the translation papers (54.17%) either failed to use appropriate address terms for the two adolescent girls to address each other, or did not translate the address terms at all. What is striking here is the presupposition that these students, most of whom were in their late teen years or early twenties, should have been able to deploy their own life experience and personal observation of address practices in their translation task since they only passed their adolescence not long before. In addition, address terms to be used among school friends and college friends are very similar. Therefore, as previously mentioned, it could be that they did not understand that particular part of the English extract. The most serious mistakes include those terms that are not relevant to the age group, or in other words, those used by people in different generations. Specifically, the terms *con* ‗child' and *cháu* ‗niece', paired with *ta* ‗self' or *cô* ‗aunt' were used by 10.42% for the adolescent characters to address themselves and each other. The terms that were left untranslated account for 18.75% of the translation papers.

Finally, between an eleven-year-old girl and her adopted mother, there are quite a few pairs of address terms that can be considered as appropriate use, including from as close as *mẹ-con* ‗mother'-‗sibling', to *bác-cháu/con* ‗aunt'-‗niece'/‗child'. It should also be noted that calling a person of an older generation by using their name only is not acceptable in Vietnamese culture, nor for a person of a younger generation to address her-/himself as *tôi* in such an intimate relationship. Among all students' translation papers, unfortunately, 12.5% made this type of mistake. Only 37.5% used appropriate terms, and exactly 50% was left untranslated in this particular case.

The above statistics lead to the conclusion that mistakes in the uses of Vietnamese terms of address in translation when Vietnamese is the target language are evident, which confirms the research hypothesis that terms of address are a challenge to translator students. The next section will look at EFL students' translation practice from Vietnamese into English.

6.2.2 Vietnamese to English translation

A general belief among students who major in Translation is that translation from Vietnamese into English is much more difficult than vice versa due to their lack of English

vocabulary and grammar, and cultural knowledge. In regard to terms of address, as there are not many options in the English vocabulary stock, should there be similar challenges to those in the translation from English into Vietnamese? Let us examine the outcomes from the data analysis of 25 EFL students' papers, translating an extract from a novel for teenagers written by the well-known Vietnamese writer Nguyễn Nhật Ánh, *Đi Qua Hoa Cúc* ‗Passing by the Daisies'. The criteria for the choice of this extract are similar to those for the choice of the English extract for the English to Vietnamese translation task.

In contrast to the various address terms in Vietnamese that can be used in the same situation, English terms of address are quite limited. The assessment of the translation of these terms in English is, therefore, either yes or no. For example, a nephew will not address his aunt as Mrs X in a casual conversational situation. And thus, it is not the case of appropriateness as discussed before in Section 6.2.1. Rather, it is correctness.

Although there is very limited evidence to conclude that the translation of address terms from Vietnamese into English is simpler on account of the limited number of terms of address in English, it can be argued that all the distributions for the correct uses of address terms in this translation task are noticeably higher than the other translation task. For example, there is a significant percentage of the correct uses of address terms in general, making up exactly 40% of the overall translation papers, as compared to only 16.67% of the translation papers from English into Vietnamese. Also, the address terms that were left out without being translated constitute only 3.25% against 28.57% in the previous task. A detailed analysis of the translation of the Vietnamese extract into English follows. In the following discussion, the students' translation papers are coded anonymously as ST-plus-number, their translated words are in double quotes, and emphases (if any) are all mine.

First, when the students were translating from the angle of the narrator, 68.75% of them made the correct choices of terms to address himself and to refer to the other characters. The most common mistakes include: (1), the use of the formal personal titles ‗Mrs'/‗Miss'/‗Ms' for the two female characters, both of whom are in a close relationship with the narrator (10.66%); and (2), the use of the common noun ‗aunt' instead of the kinship term (to be combined with a possessive adjective or proper name) for the narrator's own aunt (3.12%) as in, ―One day, the aunt asked" (ST5). Otherwise, to refer to the narrator's aunt, 40 percent of the students chose to simply use the third-person anaphoric pronoun ‗she' where it should have been an antecedent. This use of the third-person pronoun also ignores the kinship relationship between the two. A better phrase, ―my aunt", was used by 36%, and ―aunt

Mien" was used by 8 percent. Another mistake is for the narrator to address himself as ―he‖ instead of ―I‖, which, fortunately, only accounts for 0.4%.

Second, in examining the terms of address used for the interlocutors in the sampled conversations, the most serious and also most frequent mistake was the use of a proper name in the Vietnamese original. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, proper names are among the most widely-used terms of address in Vietnamese communication practices, not only as a referent term (referring to the third person) as in most Western cultures, but also as first- and second-person address terms. In the Vietnamese extract, both the female speakers addressed the male interlocutor with his first name in place of a second-person pronoun. Exactly 15% of the papers retained the proper name when translated, not realising that the function of the name was altered, becoming a referent in English rather than a second-person address term as it should have been. Below are some examples from ST10 and ST2 to illustrate this point.

(6.33) a. *Dạo này Trường thay đổi quá vậy?*
recently Truong (2PSN) change a lot Q
ST 10: ―Why did **Truong** change these days?‖ (Student translation)

b. *Mấy hôm nay Trường làm sao vậy?*
these days Truong (2PSN) matter Q
ST 2: ―What's the matter with **Truong**?‖ (Student translation)

In fact, if the proper name was used as a vocative word in a sentence structure such as ―What's wrong, Truong?‖ (ST 10), it can still be understood as the addressee. However, in the English translations in Examples (6.33a) and (6.33b), the proper name structurally functions as a referent term. Apart from the retention of the proper name used as a second-person pronoun, 3% was not translated. The remaining percentages either treated the proper name as a vocative term, as indicated earlier, or transferred it into the second personal pronoun ‗you'.

Other mistakes may have arisen from a total lack of understanding of how the two languages should work, in regard to the use of address terms only. This is rather disappointing, because, first of all, the students who participated in the translation tasks all majored in English and the Translation courses were their own choice; and secondly, apart from the sections that were assigned to be translated, the students were provided with a larger portion of extract, which aimed to help them to understand the contexts and the characters better. Below are the suggested translations of the two conversations extracted from the tasks, and some students' translation versions.

Suggested translations (1):

> My aunt approached me the other day, saying, ―You've been so different, Truong!”
>
> ―In what way?” I replied.
>
> ―I notice that you are not as happy as before.”
>
> ―I bit my lips, ―I'm a grown-up.”

ST 17: ―One day, she asked,

- Why has *Truong* changed too much recently?
- Nothing.
- *She* realised that *Truong* didn't smile…
- Because I have grown up.”

Suggested translations (2):

> Nga smiled at me, ―What's wrong with you, Truong? You have behaved differently!”
>
> ―What do you mean?” I stayed indifferent.
>
> Nga blinked her eyes, ―You didn't talk to me at all. Why?”
>
> I looked down, ―I've been out a lot these days.”

ST 7: ―Nga just smiled, ―Why is *Truong* always sad?”

> ―No problem!” *he* was frigid.
>
> ―Why did *he* not say with *her*?”
>
> *Truong* looked down.
>
> ―*He* likes to go out. *He* doesn't stay at home.”””

The two translation samples above were fine-tuned in terms of grammatical errors, for example, verb conjugations. The focus is, of course, the use of terms of address when translating the conversations into English, which reveal the student translator's confusion of all the grammatical persons. If the case is a lack of understanding of the Vietnamese original texts, it is, unfortunately, inexplicable.

With questions of curiosity in mind, I conducted a questionnaire survey among the translation teachers to seek possible explanations to the challenges that the students faced when practising translation. Section 6.2.3 presents the points of view of translation teachers at Dalat University's Faculty of Foreign Languages in regard to the use and translation of address terms from Vietnamese into English and vice versa.

6.2.3 Outcomes from translation teachers' questionnaire

The six teachers who participated in the study were all experienced university teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). At the time the survey was conducted, all of them had taught English for six years and over. Two of them had Master's degrees in Applied

Linguistics, two in TESOL, one in Education and one had just finished her doctoral study in Education. Regarding experience in teaching Translation courses, 15 years was the longest, and six months was the shortest. Sharing their preferences, half of the teachers stated that they preferred teaching Translation courses rather than other courses, and also half (not necessarily the same individuals) considered themselves as specialists in translation teaching, and/or a professional translator, either by their experience in teaching Translation courses (66.67%) or by education (16.67%). Despite their 10-year experience teaching Translation courses, one of the teachers (16.67%) denied their expertise in translation, they were neither as a specialist in translation teaching, nor a professional translator. In analysising their responses referred to the teachers as T1–T6.

To the questions about translation teaching in general, one teacher (16.67%) did not provide answers, which might have been a technical error, considering the fact that they did attempt to answer the questions in all the other parts of the questionnaire. The other five teachers (83.33%) confirmed that translation practice was important and it was assigned as homework after every class, the completion of which was checked by 80% of the teachers in every class. Twenty percent of the teachers provided individual correction in every class, while 40% did so a few times in every semester, and another 40% did once or twice per month (equivalent to approximately eight classes). These distributions of individual homework correction are reasonable due to the EFL class sizes, which normally include over 30 students. In such circumstances, class discussion and correction of homework involving the whole class turn out to be more time-efficient, and was applied by 100% and 60% of the participant teachers, respectively. Eighty percent of the teachers provided feedback to their students' translation homework, either in class or via email. Translation practice assigned as homework also accounted for 30% of the total final scores, which were marked in every class by 60% of the teachers, once or twice a month by 20%, and a few times in every semester by the remaining 20%.

The discussion of the questionnaire results in this section aims to provide an overview of what normally happens in an EFL translation classroom, which might help in answering questions related to the quality of the translation papers of EFL students. It can be concluded that, although the translation teachers are not experts, or do not consider themselves experts in translation studies as well as translation practice, their great effort in the teaching job is not deniable on account of the time they spent correcting students' homework and providing their feedback.

Finally, and also the most important, are questions that focus on the use of address terms in translation practices in general and among EFL students from the viewpoint of translation teachers. It is interesting to note that 100% of the participant teachers were aware of the difference in variety of terms of address between Vietnamese and English, and they take this into account when teaching translation classes. Five out of six teachers (83.33%) believed that Vietnamese EFL students do not know how to use terms of address in translation without them being explicitly taught. To do this, 50% of the teachers would mention the difference between the two languages both separately in teaching translation theory and inclusively in translation practice, while the other 50% would only mention it inclusively. Half of the participant teachers agreed that the uses of Vietnamese address terms in translation when Vietnamese is the target language are influenced by different factors including cultural knowledge, linguistic knowledge, and personal or family background. On the other hand, 16.7% of the participants exclude cultural knowledge, 33.3% exclude linguistic knowledge and another 33.3% exclude personal or family background as the factors that influence one's choices of address terms used in translation.

To the final question, which asked the teachers what they think, based on their own teaching experience, about EFL students' ability to use appropriate terms of address in translation, there were opposite answers. Only one teacher (16.67%) believed that students could use these terms without them being taught explicitly because ―they have little hands-on experience" (T2). This answer provided no other explanation. The teacher probably meant that it is the student's experience in language learning and in their own communication practices that help them choose appropriate address terms in translation. Three out of six teachers (50%) particularly concurred with the fact that students have the habit of translating every ‗I' into *tôi* (formal first-person pronoun) and every ‗you' into *bạn* ‗friend'. This was said to be especially true when they do not know or do not take into account the age difference and relationships of the subjects of the translation (T4, T5 and T6). Another teacher stated clearly that ―[e]xcept for those naturally gifted, most students can hardly use the most appropriate terms of address due to their incomplete comprehension of the text and its nuances" (T1). One teacher mentioned the difference between younger learners and middle-aged learners, remarking that younger learners can adapt more easily when they learn a foreign language, and therefore, can use the language more effectively. Thus, it is important that the uses of terms of address in translation be explicitly explained in classes involving older learners to help them use these terms appropriately.

To conclude this section, I will quote one of the teachers' comments on EFL students' uses of terms of address in their practice of translation: ―When students do not know characters and their relationships in a story or a story excerpt, for example, it will be very challenging for students as one English pronoun can have dozens of Vietnamese addresses/addressing equivalents (sic)" (T4). Helping them to be fully aware of and well-prepared for these challenges are, therefore, of crucial importance.

6.3   Summary and conclusion

This chapter examined the translations and uses of terms of address in translation practices from Vietnamese into English and vice versa. The analysis was devoted to not only professional translation works but also translation papers performed by EFL students at the University of Dalat in Vietnam. The results offer significant understanding of the challenges that translators encounter in the translations of address terms, particularly when there are so many differences in terms of linguistic and cultural habits in communication practices.

In seeking professional opinions on the above-mentioned challenges in translation, I managed to have a face-to-face interview with translator Hoàng Ngọc-Tuấn, an email-interview with translator Phan Huy Đường, and had access to translator Lê Chu Cầu's talk.[20] From the perspective of professional translators, a thorough understanding of the characters and communication contexts of the original work is vital, as it helps the translator to decide on (an) appropriate (set of) terms of address to be used in the target text. For example, according to Hoàng Ngọc-Tuấn, in certain instances when there is a conflict or an intense emotional state, the translator needs to understand not only the communication contexts but also the character's personality in order to make a good choice of the terms of address to be used. Moreover, Lê Chu Cầu notes that understanding the author of the original work and his/her writing style can result in a better translation of his/her work. This is also true in regard to the use of terms of address, because, for instance, a wider range of address terms can be used for the characters composed by a writer who has a good sense of humour than those composed by a simple-minded writer. An evident example is the translated version of ‗Teacher Man – A Memoir' (Frank McCourt, 2005). This work is actually a memoir, and therefore, reflects on the writer's own life. The way he described himself and the other

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[20] Hoàng Ngọc Tuấn is the translator of *In-Between 1.5 Generation* (Translating and editing with Carmel Killin and Dunja Katalinic. Sydney: Casula Powerhouse Arts Centre, 2000.) and other translation works.
Phan Huy Đường is one of the two translators of the novel examined, *Paradise of the Blind*.
Kafka (April 12, 2016; audio file - private access)

characters in his work was from the perspective of an American-Irish man with "the hangdog look" (p. 25), originating from his "miserable childhood from Ireland" (p. 1), about which he wrote:

> That miserable childhood deprived me of self-esteem, triggered spasms of self pity, paralyzed my emotions, made me cranky, envious and disrespectful of authority, retarded my development, crippled my doing with the opposite sex, kept me from rising in the world and made me unfit, almost, for human society. (p. 1)

With this in mind, the translator, Lê Chu Cầu remarked about McCourt's writing style, which is, in his words (my translation), "straightforward, lively, humorous, and sometimes, disrespectful". The author's character and his writing style were successfully featured in Lê Chu Cầu's translation, particularly on account of the various Vietnamese terms of address the translator used to describe McCourt himself as well as the other characters in the translation work, as discussed in greater detail in Section 6.1.2.1.

From the perspective of scholars of Vietnamese studies, there are also note-worthy remarks of the use of terms of address in translation practices. For example, Nguyễn Hưng Quốc (2012), in discussing Vietnamese culture as a high-context one, mentions the two major characteristics of the communication language of this kind of culture, which are situational and relational. Therefore, when compared with a Western language such as French or English, in which there are fixed pronouns according to the grammatical persons, the use of terms of address in Vietnamese are dependent on the relationship between the interlocutors, which may also change according to their emotional or attitudinal state. For example, in his words:

> *Ngay với những chữ đơn giản nhất trong tiếng Việt như "tôi", "chúng tôi" … cũng khó tìm ra chữ tiếng Anh tương ứng hoàn toàn. "Tôi" là "I", ngôi thứ nhất số ít, đã đành. Nhưng chữ "tôi" trong tiếng Việt còn bao hàm một ý nghĩa mà chữ "I" trong tiếng Anh không có: cảm giác ngang hàng hoặc xa cách (nếu không, người Việt sẽ dùng các từ khác để xưng hô cho ngôi thứ nhất: anh/em/con/cháu…).* (p. 175)
> Even the simplest words in Vietnamese such as "tôi" and "chúng tôi" can hardly find perfect English equivalents. "Tôi" means "I", the first person. That is correct, but not complete. The word "tôi" in Vietnamese conveys another meaning that the English "I" does not, which is the notion of equality in relationship, or

distance. Otherwise, Vietnamese speakers will use other terms for the first person: *anh* ‚older brother'/em ‚younger sibling'/*con* ‚child'/*cháu* ‚grandchild'.

In similar fashion, Ngo (2006, p. 144) remarks, ‒a]ll the sociolinguistic factors and pragmatic implicatures associated with the use of Vietnamese address and reference terms are scarcely relevant in the use of English personal pronouns." Goddard (2005, p. 19) agrees in his discussion of pronouns in East and Southeast Asian languages: ‒From the perspective of speakers of these languages, the pronouns of modern-day English are particularly insensitive to social distinctions".

This point of view was also shared by Nguyễn Phú Phong (2002). In discussing the difficulties of using Vietnamese address terms in translation and interpretation, he provided an example of the French singular second-person pronoun ‚tu', which was rendered as three different terms in Vietnamese. The communication situation was one in which an elderly patriot, Phan Bội Châu, was in court where the judge was a Frenchman. The same question ‒Comment t'appelles-**tu**?" (‚What's your name?') was interpreted with the second-person pronoun being transferred as (1) *mày* (casual second-person pronoun), (2) *ông* (‚man', formal second-person pronoun, one generation older than the speaker), and (3) *cụ* (‚elderly man', two generations older than the speaker). These variations of second-person pronouns were attributed to the social hierarchy in the Vietnamese society (Nguyễn Phú Phong, 2002, p. 178).

To conclude this chapter, it is important to repeat Nida's (1964, p. 90) words: ‒l]anguages are basically a part of culture, and words cannot be understood correctly apart from the local cultural phenomena for which they are symbols". Therefore, ‒t]he person who is engaged in translating from one language into another ought to be constantly aware of the contrast in the entire range of culture represented by the two languages" so as to minimise cultural loss in translation.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This study sought to better understand the pragmatic connotations of Vietnamese address terms and potential challenges in translation between Vietnamese and English. The analysis of various types of data generated significant outcomes, which contribute a great deal to the general knowledge of address practice as well as specific connotations of address terms in everyday communication contexts.

The previous chapters have added to achievements in studies of address systems by closing existing gaps in the knowledge of Vietnamese address terms. Important arguments on major characteristics of Vietnamese address terms were presented from a pragmatic perspective in Chapter 3, which formed the basis for data analysis and interpretation of findings. Chapter 4 was devoted to the conceptual framework and methodology, which were employed in data analysis to support arguments advanced in interpretation of the findings in telenovelas (Chapter 5) and in translation works and translation assignments (Chapter 6).

This concluding chapter takes us back to the arguments raised about the major pragmatic features of Vietnamese address terms and the foundational questions that are at the heart of the thesis. It reiterates how the research questions that were posed at the beginning (Chapter 1) were addressed in the entire study. By doing this, the significance and contributions of the study will be brought to light. Recommendations and suggestions will be integrated into the answers to the research questions where relevant.

7.1 Major pragmatic features of Vietnamese address terms

7.1.1 *True* and temporal personal pronouns

The arguments around which personal pronouns are considered ‗true‘ were presented in detail in Chapter 3. It has been demonstrated that, in general, it is agreed that there are very few ‗true‘ personal pronouns in Vietnamese, and that these pronouns are not used as commonly as other forms of address such as kinship terms and proper names. The reason is that these pronouns have innate connotations which only suit specific communication contexts. For example, the first personal pronoun *tôi* is considered as quite formal, and therefore, used

in social contexts other than among family members, while the pair of address terms *tao-mày* (first- and second-person pronouns, respectively) convey either casualness or arrogance. Previous studies suggest that in Vietnamese, there are no true personal pronouns that are neutral in their connotations. For this reason, other forms of address are used instead. Thus, all forms that have pronominal usages and are used to address and refer to people in place of personal pronouns are called temporal personal pronouns. These include kinship terms, proper names such as first names, domestic (or home names), and names that represent one's birth order in the family, and titles. The choice of these terms largely depends on the specific relationship between the interlocutors and other related factors such as their age difference, the communication context, and, more often than not, their affection or attitude towards each other.

From a grammatical perspective, Vietnamese address terms differ from those of other languages because they are repeated as often as necessary, whereas personal pronouns and anaphoric pronouns are used in other languages. For instance, in a situation where I might speak to my sister, this is what could be heard.

(7.1)   *"**Mẹ** nói **mẹ** mệt, **mẹ** không muốn ăn. Thôi, để **mẹ** nghỉ."*
        Mother say **mother** tired, **mother** no want eat. Then let **mother** rest.
        Mum says **she** is tired. **She** doesn't want to eat. Let **her** rest then.

Some might argue here that there are also anaphoric pronouns in Vietnamese, such as *anh ấy, ảnh* 'he/him' and *chị ấy, chỉ* 'she/her'. However, these are, again, temporal anaphoric pronouns only. The female anaphors mentioned here cannot replace the term 'mother' in Example (7.1) above because they are restricted to their literal meaning, which is 'that (older) sister'. Let us compare the following utterances (my made-up examples).

(7.2)   a.   *Anh Hai bận. **Ảnh** không tới.* 'Brother Hai is busy. **He** isn't coming.'

        b.   *Chú bận. **Chú** không tới.* 'Uncle is busy. **He** isn't coming.'

        c.   *Giám đốc bận. **Giám đốc** không tới.* 'Our manager is busy. **He** isn't coming.'

Examples (7.2a–c) illustrate the fact that the anaphoric pronouns used in those Vietnamese utterances literally originate from their antecedents, which are either kinship terms (7.2a and 7.2b) or professional status terms (7.2c). They are, therefore, used as temporal anaphors in these specific contexts to refer to these specific persons only, which is in contrast to the context-independent English anaphor 'he'.

The examples in (6.7) remind us of the arguments made in Chapters 1 and 3 about the complex nature of Vietnamese address terms that eschew any easy generalisation.

From a pragmatic perspective, anaphoric personal pronouns in Vietnamese are highly situational and, sometimes, emotional/attitudinal. An example is the way students refer to their teachers. Referring to a female teacher as *cô* or *cổ* ‚that (female) teacher' is considered neutral or positive affection, but when *bả* is used then there is an implication of disrespect. A similar attitude can be interpreted from the way students refer to a male teacher. An English utterance meaning ‒Mr. X has just sent another assignment for next week's discussion" can have two different versions in Vietnamese as shown in Example (7.3) below.

(7.3)   ‒Mr. X has just sent another assignment for next week's discussion."
         *Thầy X mới gởi thêm bài. **Thầy** nói tuần sau thảo luận.* (Positive/neutral attitude)
         *(Ông) thầy X mới gởi thêm bài. **Ổng** nói tuần sau thảo luận.* (Negative attitude)

The second Vietnamese version in Example (7.3) above, especially with the additional gender classifier *ông* before the title *thầy* ‚male teacher' and its derived anaphor *ổng*, strongly suggests a negative attitude from the addressor towards the referent.

Examples (7.1)–(7.3) reiterate the argument made in Chapter 3 that besides true personal pronouns, other forms of address in Vietnamese are highly temporal and situation-dependent.

7.1.2   Kin terms and non-kin terms

Kinship terms are important in everyday address practice in the Vietnamese language. This study has shown that, in addition to those that are used to illustrate kin relationships between interlocutors, there are also extended uses of these terms when the derived forms share the literal meaning of the original forms to some extent. For example, the terms *ông* ‚grandfather' and *bà* ‚grandmother' are used to address and refer to an old man or old woman who are of similar age to one's grandparents. Such an utterance as in Example (7.4) may be very confusing to non-Vietnamese speakers in that the kinship terms can be understood as the first-, second-, or third-person pronouns, depending on who is speaking to whom or about whom.

(7.4)   ‒Cháu chở ông về nhé?"
        Grandchild drive grandfather home Q?

  Situational interpretations:

        a.   A younger person talking to an elderly man:
             Can **I** give **you** a lift home?

        b.   An elderly man talking to a younger person:
             Could **you** give **me** a lift home?

c. Someone talking to a person that is one or more generation younger:
Could **you** give **him** a lift home?

d. Someone talking to a person that is one or more generation older:
Shall **I** give **him** a lift home?

The four situations demonstrate different usages of the two terms *cháu* and *ông* whereas their literal meanings remain the same:

- In (a) ***cháu*** is the addressor (1PSN) and ***ông***, the addressee (2PSN)
- In (b) ***cháu*** is the addressee (2PSN) and ***ông***, the addressor (1PSN)
- In (c) ***cháu*** is the addressee (2PSN), and ***ông***, the referent (3PSN)
- In (d) ***cháu*** is the addressor (1PSN), and ***ông***, the referent (3PSN)

What has come out of the preceding chapters of this thesis is that such usage of kinship terms is a common feature in Vietnamese address practice. Example (7.4) above supports the view that Vietnamese kinship terms are widely used in the context of their extended usages in non-kinship relationships while still retaining their literal meanings.

A similar example is provided by Luong (1987, p. 51) with the use of the kinship terms *bố* ‗father' and *mẹ* ‗mother.' Luong suggests there are seven different combinations of speech participant roles that the referents of the two terms could play. The reason for so many interpretations is that these two terms can be used in their literal meaning, not only between parents and children, but also between husband and wife, and between siblings. Again, *bố* ‗father' and *mẹ* ‗mother' can be used as first-, second-, or third-person pronouns. Also, when these terms are used in address between husband and wife, the usage can be regarded as having been extended from the kinship terms with their literal meaning attached to parenthood.

Besides their extended usage to refer to elderly men/women in non-kin relationships, and their metaphorical usage as formal titles, the two terms *ông* and *bà* when used as second-person address terms (regardless of seniority), may convey an inference of disrespect, or anger particularly when they are paired with the first-person pronoun *tôi* instead of a kinship term. In addition, when these two terms are used as self-address terms not as either kinship terms or in their extended usage, they are considered as ‖arrogant and very disrespectful and as such [are] used chiefly in quarrelling" (Cooke, 1968, p. 126). In this regard, they are definitely not kinship terms and should be treated as mere homophones of kinship terms.

This distinction, which featured prominently in the data from telenovelas (see Chapter 5), is important. First, it confirms once again that Vietnamese terms of address are used in a

variety of ways to facilitate the speaker's expression of constantly evolving and changing emotions. Second, it raises a necessary awareness in translation practice about the different usages of kinship terms, their derived forms and their homophones. These terms, like most other kinship terms discussed in this thesis, are often overgeneralised as kinship terms, regardless of their non-kin usages.

7.1.3 Correctness and appropriateness

The data presented and analysed in this thesis prompted the need to mark a distinction between *correctness* and *appropriateness* in Vietnamese address practice. This is also important in the translation of address terms. Nevertheless, it is also noted that both these notions are relatively flexible because the use of address terms is not necessarily conventional and, therefore, the relativity in their usage depends on factors such as the addressor's social and family backgrounds and personal habits.

When we take appropriateness into account, it means we are going beyond traditional grammatical perspectives; it means we are approaching the subject matter from a more practical perspective: pragmatics. Throughout the thesis, this approach facilitated identification of emotional/attitudinal messages during conversations. For instance, it came to light that it would be correct for a lady in her twenties to use the kinship-derived terms ‗uncle' and ‗niece' to address herself and a man in his forties in a normal communication situation. However, the pattern of address practice between the two changed when the man was trying to sexually harass her. The lady switched to the distant pairs of terms *ông-tôi*. If the terms of addresses had remained the same as before the harassment, it would have still been correct although not appropriate because it did not match the lady's emotional state.

In translation practice, especially the translation of address terms, *appropriateness* is considered as a higher order level when compared to *correctness*. Therefore, appropriateness also marks the level of professionalism. To be acceptable, a translated piece of work has to be correct. But a lot more is required beyond correctness to make it a good work. This is particularly true when the target language has more complicated linguistic properties such as terms of address in Vietnamese.

On the other hand, as indicated by one of the EFL teacher participants discussed in Chapter 6, students have a tendency to oversimplify uses of terms of address. For example, they would use the first-person pronoun *tôi* for all first persons, paired with *bạn* ‗friend' for second persons in their translation without considering important factors such as the relative

age gap and relationship between the interlocutors. Moreover, the frequent use of kinship terms and proper names constituted another challenge in translation. In English, most of the time, (first) names are used to refer to the third party only; for instance, ―Pete lent his book to Mike." In this utterance, both ‗Pete' and ‗Mike' are third persons, and neither of them are the addressor nor addressee. If a proper name is used to address the second person, it is normally in vocative form, such as in ―Pete, could you lend your book to Mike?" In a similar communicative situation in Vietnamese, proper names would be used as both terms of address and reference. In EFL students' papers translated from Vietnamese into English (see Chapter 6), 24% of participants retained the use of names as second persons in their English translation. This mistake cannot be blamed on a lack of knowledge about Vietnamese, but rather on the students' unfamiliarity with English name usage in address practice. In other words, this is about differences between the two languages.

7.2 Revisiting Research Questions

A revisit of the research questions that were posed at the beginning of the thesis is fitting as it will shed light on major arguments and cross-cutting themes of the thesis.

7.2.1 Research Question 1

What are the pragmatic connotations conveyed by Vietnamese address terms?

This question was addressed through analysis of 147 episodes and 283 full utterances from two telenovelas (excluding short questions and answers with no address terms used). The data revealed that a number of Vietnamese address terms have pragmatic connotations. These include context-bound affective meanings that were particularly transparent when the terms were switched from one to another. The notion of pragmatic markedness was also found to be helpful in explaining these affective meanings of Vietnamese address terms. For instance, the use of kinship terms *anh-em* ‗older brother'-‗younger sibling' between husbands and wives is considered as unmarked in a healthy relationship, the pair *tôi* ‗1PSN PRO'-*cô* ‗lady' used by the husband is considered as pragmatically marked because it includes an emotional marker of ‗distance' or ‗anger'. This is a new perspective in studying address terms, since most studies of markedness and address terms approach them as two separate fields, with major discussions relying heavily on functional grammar.

7.2.2   Research Question 2

How are address terms used in works of literature translated between Vietnamese and English?

In regard to the question related to translation, there are no straightforward answers, even after the interviews with translators Phan Huy Đường (see Section 6.1.1.2) and Hoàng Ngọc-Tuấn (Section 6.3). A general conclusion is that the complicated nature of Vietnamese address terms is not always a challenge in translation, but it can be an advantage. On the one hand, various uses of address terms in Vietnamese originals may challenge the translator's attempt to find equivalents or even just near-equivalents in English, a language with a much smaller stock of address terms available to be used. These challenges are illustrated by the pervasive use of the kinship term ‚aunt' or ‚my aunt' in *Paradise of the Blind*, and the incorrect use of formal titles in the English subtitle in the Vietnamese movie *Cánh Đồng Bất Tận ‚The Floating Lives*' in conversational situations where intimacy is involved (see Chapter 6). One of the most common strategies employed by translators to overcome the difficulties emanating from this is to use an emotional verb, or an additional noun phrase to retain the pragmatic connotations of Vietnamese address terms. Some examples are such phrases as ‒my love" and ‒my dear" for positive emotion, and ‒you old coot", ‒you no-good bastard" and ‒you unfaithful wretch" for the opposite in the English version of *Dumb Luck* (Chapter 6).

On the other hand, however, the abundance of varied Vietnamese address terms enables translators to better demonstrate relationships among characters in a work to be translated into Vietnamese. It also facilitates the transmission of different states of emotions intended by the original author when English is the source language, especially in conversation-based works. A good example is the translated version of *Teacher Man – A Memoir ‘Người Thầy’* discussed in Chapter 6. Because this is a memoir, the narrator is also the author himself. Lê Chu Cầu chose to employ terms of address that are friendly, humorous and sometimes unpleasant in most of the monologues and conversations in the work. These terms of address perfectly match the personality of the author who ‒remained to the end a genial, humorous, ironical, sceptical Irishman; witty, wry, charming and helpful to others, especially the young" as remarked by Gébler (July 20, 2009).

There may have been stronger arguments and more profound outcomes if there was more time to further examine other matters related to address terms in translation, such as

regionalisms and scale of formality. These could be potential topics for future studies in translation practice.

7.2.3 Research Question 3

What theoretical and empirical insights can the study contribute to the understanding of the complicated nature of Vietnamese address system and related challenges in translation?

It is generally believed that cross-cultural translation is both complicated and important because translators play the role of mediators of two or more cultures. As Brisset (2010) remarks:

> Alongside the role of translation in the creation and renewal of a literature, culture or national identity, many sociological studies reveal that the status of translators and translation varies from one cultural space or historical moment to the next. They highlight both the agonic conditions structuring cultural fields or affecting societies and the complexity of the networks underlying the production of translations and their distribution on a national or international scale. (p. 74)

The results of the analysis of the translated novels also strongly suggest that in order to be successful in their role as translator and mediator between two (or more) cultural groups, translators should take into account more than just linguistic matters. As Limon (2010, p. 29) posits, ―translators are increasingly portrayed as cultural mediators who possess a high degree of intercultural competence, as well as relevant subject-area expertise and other non-linguistic skills.‖ Sharing the same view, Kelly (2005) lists intercultural competence as the second most essential among competences required by translators.

The major concerns in professionally translated works as discussed in Chapter 6 include inconsistency in use of Vietnamese address terms when Vietnamese is the target language, and overuse of kinship terms in nominal and vocative forms when English is the target language. Between the two, inconsistency is less serious because it does not affect understanding or accuracy. On the other hand, overuse or misuse of address terms, for example, kinship terms and status titles, can lead readers to a misperception of the character(s‘) or the author‘s intention due to pragmatic connotations of the terms used in the translated work.

Findings from the analysis of EFL students‘ translation tasks (see Chapter 6) revealed: (1) incorrect use of proper names when translating from Vietnamese into English; and (2),

incorrect or inappropriate use of kinship terms, and first- and second-person pronouns when translating from English into Vietnamese.

These concerns have led to suggestions presented below.

❖ It is suggested that translators open their mind to: (1) always learning new things about their own as well as the foreign culture; (2) improving their language competencies; (3) continuously developing their translation skills; and (4) learning from their own mistakes. A careful translation is always valued by readers, because it demonstrates the translator's hard work. One of the renowned translators and scholars in Vietnam, who translated several masterpieces such as *War and Peace* (by Leo Tolstoy), *Of Human Bondage* (by Somerset Maugham), and *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (by Dale Carnegie), Nguyễn Hiến Lê (1912–1984) shares his experience of translation when he was working on *War and Peace* as follows:

> *Có khi dịch được nửa bộ rồi mới thấy nên dịch lại một tiếng, và chỉ thay đổi cách dịch một tiếng đó thôi, tôi phải lật lại cả ngàn trang, sửa mấy trăm chỗ. Chẳng hạn mới đầu tôi cho cô Marie gọi cha, lão bá tước Bolkonski là ba, sau nghĩ lại, gia đình đó sống theo nếp cổ, gia phong rất nghiêm, đổi tiếng ba ra tiếng cha thì hơn. Chỉ là một tiểu tiết, có thể nói là tản mạn nữa, mà tôi đã phải mất đến trọn một ngày. Nhưng chính nhờ những tiểu tiết đó mà mỗi bản dịch có một vẻ, một giọng riêng và có thể nói dịch cũng là có công sáng tác một phần nhỏ.* (Nguyễn Hiến Lê, 2001, p. 87)
>
> Sometimes I took a look back after finishing half the work just to find that I needed to correct one word. For a change of that one word, I had to return to thousands of pages and make a few hundreds of changes. For instance, I first let Marie address Bolkonski as *ba* (kinship term meaning father' in Vietnamese southern dialect), but then I reconsidered their family background, which was very traditional, so I decided to change it to *cha* (kinship term meaning father' in Vietnamese central dialect, considered as more formal than ba). It was only a minor change, maybe an unnecessary detail, but took me a whole day. However, it is those details that make one's translation work different from others'. And, if I may add, translation is also creation.)[21]

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[21] Translation and explanations in brackets are mine.

❖ To deal with lexical items that convey pragmatic connotations such as terms of address in Vietnamese, a pragmatic approach might be helpful, because, as this thesis argues, appropriateness is a pragmatically higher order level compared to correctness. Sharing a similar point of view, Heller (2011, p. 16) says: ―The pragmatist [sic] notion of translation […] builds on the delineated principles of target-oriented models, yet takes them a step further." Such a sense of carefulness as in Nguyễn Hiến Lê‗s example should be considered as a requirement. This is especially so when the translator wants to produce a translation work that meets the target readers‗ expectations. Heller further suggests:

> …disappointing translation can fulfil an heuristic function in cross-cultural interrelation as it brings the communication partners in the position to experience different conditions for interaction and to possibly reconsider their ready-hand schemes for interpreting the situation, as well as the appropriate expectations and ideas of right or wrong behaviour. (p. 18)

To conclude, it should be noted that a translation work should aim to be faithful to the original while, at the same time being acceptable in the foreign context of the target language culture.

7.2.4   Research Question 4

What insights from the study are relevant to English learning and teaching in EFL contexts?

The results of the analysis of EFL students‗ translation tasks (see Chapter 6) indicated that failure to use correct and/or appropriate terms of address was a major issue. This kind of failure is mainly due to: (1) the student‗s limited understanding of the source-language text (they translated incorrectly or left some parts in the assignments untranslated); (2) the student‗s lack of awareness of the dissimilarities between the two languages involved (they oversimplified the use of terms in their translation); and (3) their lack of cultural knowledge and experience, especially in the foreign language. This conclusion is drawn from the analysis of 736 terms of address from 49 translation papers by EFL students from Dalat University‗s Faculty of Foreign Languages. Content analysis was used as the theoretical framework for reading the underlying meaning of the data. However, the findings only represent the relative reliability of these specific translation papers performed in the specific time-frame of the fieldwork. In this regard, Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2007) state: ―Content analysis analyses only what is present rather than what is missing or unsaid" (p.

481). A better understanding of the matter could have been achieved with a bigger sample size fulfilling more translation tasks with a much wider range of uses of address terms. Moreover, because the number of participants who left some parts untranslated in the study is rather considerable (24.5%), it somewhat affected the interpretation of the translation outcomes in general. The generalisability of the research findings from EFL students' translation tasks might be better understood by taking a look at the context of translation learning and teaching in the setting where the fieldwork was conducted, and discussing how the situation could have been improved.

❖ **The learners**

In their third year, English majors from the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Dalat University (Vietnam) can choose to major either in Translation and Interpretation or Business English. As a matter of fact, these students have different English backgrounds: those from urban areas generally have nine years of learning English at school-level, and those from remote areas have only three years of English background. The consequence is that the students' performance in English varies. This is especially obvious in assignments that require a higher level of language understanding and language use such as in literary-related and translation ones. A class with mixed ESL background students is generally considered a challenge to both teachers and students, because all students are given the same task, and in a class of over 30 students, the teacher does not have time to correct every student's work (evidence from teachers' questionnaire and sample answers, Appendix B) It is, therefore, recommended that a set of criteria be created and applied for those who would like to choose to major in Translation and Interpretation, including minimum requirements, for example, in their Reading and Writing performances in the first two years studying general English and language learning.

❖ **The course and text books**

The core course for students who major in Translation and Interpretation consists of 6 units in Translation (Vietnamese-English Translation 1, 2, 3 and English-Vietnamese Translation 1, 2, 3) and 4 units in Interpretation (Vietnamese-English Interpretation 1, 2 and English-Vietnamese Interpretation 1, 2). All are preceded by the unit *Theory of Translation* taught in the second semester of second year. Each unit of Translation and Interpretation is designed to cover 30 x 45-minute long periods. The translation textbooks are compiled by teachers who teach these units, with the focus being on major writing genres: (1) description, (2) narration, and (3) discussion. Textbooks for Interpretation units focus more on the

discussion genre, and teachers normally use up-to-date newspapers or magazines for students to practise interpreting. In general, there are major concerns about these textbooks, which are presented below.

- The textbooks were not written by native speakers. There might, therefore, be questions related to the reliability and practicality of those textbooks.

- The textbooks are never assessed or surveyed by any parties involved, for example, the learners themselves, or potential recruiters. Again, the question of practicality may be raised here.

- The textbooks pay too much attention to linguistic aspects of the language being used, and very little cultural information is included, which is an obvious omission in terms of helping students to achieve not only intracultural and intercultural knowledge but also a comparative awareness of differences between languages. As Limon (2010) suggests:

> …if translation is viewed as a special kind of writing, then the relevant writing skills need to be acquired, whether they are going to be employed interculturally or intraculturally. Translator education should provide the kind of intercultural awareness that makes it easier for translators to view the two cultures between which they are mediating as both _insiders‘ and _outsiders‘, making it more likely that they will be able to pursue a more interventionist translation strategy when this is required. (p. 38)

To conclude this section, it is suggested that textbooks designed for English majors should be written by experts and assessed by educational authorities that comply with recommendations of an English language institute. These textbooks should aim to develop necessary skills and competencies for translators such as the ability to compare and contrast nuances and discrepancies in different languages, and cross-cultural awareness. This is important not only in translation-training contexts but in any foreign-language learning contexts, as stressed by Pütz (2006, p. 1143), who says ―cross-linguistic contrasts between conceptualizations‖ are important. The textbook should be designed in a way that provides different activities on what is involved rather than just translation practice itself, and offers teachers and students opportunities to discuss linguistic and cultural elements, then to find out (an) appropriate strategy(-ies) or approach(es) to be employed in each task. Also, a longer training period should be considered to provide translation students enough time to acquire necessary skills and competencies. As Bernardini (2004a) argues, in order for translation students to be successful in their future profession, they should have the

opportunity to go ~~through~~ a period of at least two or three years devoted to thought-stimulating, awareness-raising, autonomising activities, during which they have familiarised themselves with the various skills involved in translating, revising, researching, *etc.* and acquired a broad understanding of culture" (p. 27).

7.3 Significance of the study

This thesis presents an innovative interdisciplinary study that combined three branches of Applied Linguistics, namely pragmatics, translation studies and EFL teaching. These sub-fields of Applied Linguistics are usually studied in isolation, thus overlooking the insights to be gained from a more integrated approach where the three are treated as complementary. The study used insights from these three areas of research to contribute new empirical and theoretical ideas on how terms of address implicate the emotions of speakers. The study drew on Vietnamese address terms to illustrate the particular point about linkages between linguistic usage and the expression of emotion, and also the difficulties in solving the gaps or differences between languages–more specifically–between Vietnamese and English, during the translation process.

From a linguistic perspective, the study has contributed new insights on the pragmatic connotations of Vietnamese address terms and how their affective meanings are conveyed in address practice. In terms of methodological innovation, the study has expanded the emerging and quite contemporary scholarly tradition of ethnopragmatic research by exploring the use of terms of address as a vital tool for conveying social and affective meanings. The study demonstrated that the common switches or ellipses of address terms in conversational contexts are central to expressing different attitudinal or emotional states of the speaker. These were found to be ubiquitous in Vietnamese language as opposed to the simple T/V distinction typical in most Western languages.

From the perspective of translation studies and translation teaching, the study contributed new insights on effective translations of address terms in order to ensure quality translations that can successfully transfer the linguistic as well as meta-linguistic messages of the source language text into the target language. In regard to Vietnamese terms of address, good translators need to be fully aware of the affective meanings of these terms, which are completely context-bound, so that they can employ them properly to express the emotions of the people involved in the conversation as intended by the author. By collecting, documenting and analysing materials from translation works of EFL students and

professional translators, the study put together relevant empirical information to support the argument about the need to understand appropriate uses of Vietnamese terms of address in translation practice. The study also emphasises the importance of explicit training on the translation of address terms into English and the use of address terms in translation into Vietnamese. These should be treated in accordance with the cultural and pragmatic knowledge about the languages involved.

In conclusion, this study built on, and extended into new and original directions, the body of literature on address terms by providing empirical evidence through systematic data collection and analysis. Content analysis was conducted on telenovelas, movie subtitles, EFL students' translation tasks, and professional translation works. The findings advance an important point about the complexity and unpredictability of Vietnamese terms of address. By drawing on multiple sources of data and the analysis thereof, the study sought to support the main argument that the pragmatics of expressing different types of emotion and the domain of translation present ideal contexts in which the complexity and unpredictability of address terms in Vietnamese is well illustrated.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Participant Information Sheet

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une
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INFORMATION SHEET
for
PARTICIPANTS

I wish to invite you to participate in my research project, described below.

My name is **Ton Nu Linh Thoai** and I am conducting this research as part of my PhD in the School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences at the University of New England. My supervisors are Dr. Finex Ndhlovu and Dr. Elizabeth Ellis.

Research Project	*The Affective Meanings of Vietnamese Address Terms: Their Translational Challenges*
Aim of the research	The research aims to collect information about the uses of address terms in translation practices among students of English as a foreign language (EFL) in Vietnam. The study hopes to ascertain whether, in addition to proficiency in English, the students are aware of the variety of Vietnamese address terms and how to employ them effectively in translation, as well as the differences between Vietnamese and English in terms of the emotional messages associated with switches in use of these address terms.
Task	The participants will sit for two (02) paper-based translation tasks with a time period of 30 minutes allotted to each task. The tasks include 02 dialogues, one to be translated from Vietnamese into English and the other is to be translated from English into Vietnamese. Dictionaries are permitted, but no access to the internet by any means. Together with additional 15 minutes for students to sign the Consent Form, the total amount of time required to complete the tasks is one hour and fifteen minutes.
Confidentiality	Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain confidential. No individual will be identified by name in any publication of the results. All names will be replaced by pseudonyms; this will ensure that you are not identifiable.
Participation is Voluntary	Please understand that your involvement in this study is voluntary and I respect your right to withdraw from the study at any time. You may discontinue the translation tasks at any time and you do not need to provide any explanation if you decide

	not to participate or withdraw at any time.
Use of information	I will use information from the translation tasks as part of my doctoral thesis, which I expect to complete in February 2017. Information from the task may also be used in journal articles and conference presentations before and after this date. At all times, I will safeguard your identity by presenting the information in a way that will not allow you to be identified.
Upsetting issues	It is unlikely that this research will raise any personal or upsetting issues but if it does you may wish to contact your local Community Health Centre (063 3821369).
Storage of information	I will keep hardcopy papers of the translation tasks in a locked cabinet at the researcher's office at the University of New England's School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences. Any electronic data will be kept on a password protected computer in the same School. Only the research team will have access to the data.
Disposal of information	All the data collected in this research will be kept for a minimum of five years after successful submission of my thesis, after which it will be disposed of by deleting relevant computer files, and destroying or shredding hardcopy materials.
Contact details	Feel free to contact me with any questions about this research by email at ttonnuli@une.edu.au or by phone on + 61 2 6773 3381, or my local contact on 0944 408 144 .
	You may also contact my supervisors. My Principal supervisor's name is Dr. Finex Ndhlovu and he can be contacted at fndhlovu@une.edu.au or +61 2 6773 2133 and my Co-supervisor's name is Dr. Elizabeth Ellis and she can be at liz.ellis@une.edu.au or +61 2 6773 3639.
	Local contact Dr. Nguyen Tat Thang thangnt@dlu.edu.vn Phone: 0913 818 418

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INFORMATION SHEET

for

PARTICIPANTS

Approval

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No HE14-307, Valid to 15/01/2016).

Complaints

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the Research Ethics Officer at:
Research Services
University of New England
Armidale, NSW 2351
Tel: +61 2 6773 3449 Fax: +61 2 6773 3543
Email: ethics@une.edu.au

Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to further contact with you.

Regards,
Ton Nu Linh Thoai

Appendix B.

TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a research project that aims to understand the practices of translation teaching in an EFL context with focus paid on the use of terms of address and reference in the translation between Vietnamese and English. The term 'translation' used in the questions refers to both *translation* and *interpretation*. Please feel free to add further comments, either in the lined blanks on the questionnaire or contact me at ttonnuli@myune.edu.au.

PART A – BACKGROUND INFORMATION

QUESTION	ANSWER
1. Are you male or female?	Male ☐ Female ☒
2. What MA degree do you hold?	M.Ed.
3. How long have you been teaching translation courses?	About 10 years
4. What courses do you teach?	V-E translation ☐ E-V translation ☐ Both ☒
5. Do you like teaching translation courses more than other courses?	Yes ☐ No ☒
6. Would you consider yourself a specialist in the teaching of translation, either by … Would you consider yourself a professional translator, either by…	Education ☐ Experience ☒ No, not at all. ☐ Education ☐ Experience ☒ No, not at all. ☐
7. Approximately what percentage of your total teaching assignment is in Translation (and translation-related courses) for this academic year?	Less than 20% ☐ 20% - less than 40% ☐ 40% - less than 70% ☒ 70% or more ☐

PART B - TRANSLATION TEACHING

	Under 30	Over 30
8. What is the AVERAGE number of students in your class?	☐	☒

	Yes	No
9. Do you assign homework to your students?	☒	☐

10. How much homework is assigned per week?

200-to-300-word task ☒

300-to-500-word task ☐

over-500-word task ☐

Otherwise, please specify.

……………………………………………………

11. If you assign homework, how often do you do the following?

	Rarely or never	A few times during the semester	Once or twice a month	Every or almost every class
(a) Monitor whether or not the homework has been completed	☐	☐	☐	☒
(b) Collect and correct homework individually	☐	☐	☐	☒
(c) Have a class discussion	☐	☐	☐	☒
(d) Have students correct homework in class	☐	☐	☐	☒
(e) Provide feedback on homework in class	☐	☐	☐	☒
(f) Use homework to contribute so students' marks or grades	☐	☐	☐	☒
(g) Compare students' translation works among one another	☐	☐	☐	☒
(h) Compare students' translation works with professional works if available	☐	☒	☐	☐
(i) Other activities (please specify)	…………………………………………………… …………………………………………………… ……………………………………………………			

PART C – TRANSLATION OF TERMS OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE

	Very much	Not much	Not at all
12. Do you notice the difference in variety of terms of address and reference between Vietnamese and English?	☒	☐	☐

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13. Do you find the difference a challenge when you do translation practice?

Great challenge	Some challenge	Little or no challenge
☒	☐	☐

14. According to your reading experience, do you think the difference may be a challenge to professional translators?

Great challenge	Some challenge	Little or no challenge
☐	☒	☐

15. Do you take into account this type of difference when you teach translation classes?

Yes ☒   No ☐

16. How do you mention the difference?

Separately, in theory	Inclusively, in practice
☐	☒
Both ways	**Never mention**
☐	☐

Others (please specify)

....
....
....

17. Do you think the uses of these terms in translation, esp. from English into Vietnamese, are influenced by …

Cultural knowledge	Linguistic knowledge	Personal/ family habit
☒	☐	☒

Others (please specify)

....
....
....

18. Based on your everyday teaching experience, do you think Vietnamese EFL students know how to use terms of address in translation without being explicitly taught? Please explain your answer in a few words

Yes	No
☐	☒

Vietnamese EFL students generally and my students particularly have the habit of translating "I" – "Tôi" and "You" – "Bạn" originating from the grammar-translation theory of language teaching. When students do not know characters and their relationships in a story or excerpt of a story, for example, it

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will be very challenging for students as one
English pronoun can have dozens of
Vietnamese addresses/addressing equivalents.
Wrong addressing terms may somehow affect
the meaning of the translated text, specifically
emotional meaning.

Thank you for taking the time and effort to complete this questionnaire.

Appendix C.

Q &A samples from Email interview with translator Phan Huy Đường

Chào chị Tôn Nữ Linh Thoại,

Trước hết, tôi xin lỗi đã trả lời chậm. Tôi đi xa về, chỉ ở nhà vài ngày lại đi xa. Khi đi như vậy, tôi không thích vướng, chỉ đem theo một iPad thôi. Viết thư tiếng Việt với nó rất bực vì không có thói quen. Quan trọng hơn, trong tay không có tài liệu, dữ liệu (data) gì hết, không thể viết càn được. Hôm qua, tôi lại về nhà, xử lý mở meo. Bây giờ, tôi trả lời chị, với khả năng giới hạn của tôi.

Chuyện dịch văn, tôi đã bỏ hơn 10 năm rồi. Tôi tìm trong ổ sách ở nhà tôi, không tìm ra bản tiếng Việt của tiểu thuyết này. Vậy, tôi không thể bàn cụ thể được, chỉ nói vài ý chung chung thôi. Đành vậy.

0. Về văn bản tiếng Anh, tôi không có thẩm quyền : tác giả chính, như tôi đã nói rõ trong Hợp Lưu, là Nina McPherson, tôi chỉ phụ giúp về mặt ngữ nghĩa khi bà ấy cần. Vì tình bạn, đồng ký tên. Thế thôi.

> 1.   Thưa bác, theo kinh nghiệm của bác, thì việc chuyển ngữ các từ xưng- hô giữa 2 ngôn ngữ, trong đó tiếng Việt là 1 trong 2, nhìn chung có phức tạp lắm không? Và bác có thường phải đắn đo trước khi chọn từ xưng- hô thích hợp trước/ trong khi dịch không?

** Không phức tạp, nhưng là một câu hỏi đáng kể của văn học. Và nhiều khi không có giải đáp có giá trị cho mọi người.

a/ **không thể *dịch* được**. Những từ dùng để xưng hô thể hiện quan hệ giữa người với người trong một nền văn hoá. Những nền văn hoá rất khác nhau, chênh lệch với nhau ở nhiều mặt, hiếm khi có từ tương đương trong từ điển. Thí dụ. Văn hoá VN rất xa xưa, chịu ảnh hưởng Trung Quốc. Văn hoá Pháp tương đối mới : văn bản đầu tiên có ngôn từ Pháp (cổ) được ghi chép ở thế kỷ thứ 7 trong lời thề giữa hai người con của Hoàng Đế Charlemagne trước mặt ba quân. Văn bản ấy, cơ bản là tiếng LaTinh. Vì điều kiện lịch sử, ở VN, quan hệ gia đình, bộ tộc, bộ lạc, làng mạc... thể hiện qua cách xưng hô, rất chi ly. Ngôn ngữ ấy chỉ có thể hình thành trong những cộng đồng người tương đối nhỏ và ổn định trong nhiều nghìn năm. Người Pháp xuất thân từ những bộ lạc ít nhiều du mục, sống bên kia bờ sông Rhin và sông Danube đối diện với Đế Quốc La Mã, không có chữ viết, không thể phát minh ra một hệ xưng hô chi li như người Việt. Trong lĩnh vực này, tiếng Pháp không có từ tương xứng. *Anh hay em rai của bố hay mẹ = oncle. Nội hay ngoại, cũng thế thôi, không phân biệt. Chị hay em gái của bố hay của mẹ cũng vậy : tante.*

b/ vậy, tưởng tượng có thể tìm cách *dịch* những ngôn từ thể hiện những quan hệ gia đình hay xã hội trong kích thước đặc thù Vn bằng ngôn từ Pháp là chuyện hão. *Chú bác, cô cậu, thím... chỉ có từ oncle và tante thôi.*

Hơn thế những từ đó, trong tiếng Pháp cũng như trong tiếng Việt, thực tế, đều vô cảm (ngoài trí tưởng tượng của ta).

Chính vì thế, mà có cách nói bình dân thể hiện tình cảm của người nói. Vấn đề là ai nói ? Nhân vật, nhà văn, dịch giả, độc giả, lý thuyết gia văn học nghệ thuật ? Sẽ bàn sau.

c/ trong văn chương

Hoặc ta dịch văn thành văn chia sẻ với tha nhân điều gì đó nhân bản trong nhân giới, hoặc ta làm máy dịch chia sẻ kiến thức, phải lựa chọn.

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EFL Students' English –Vietnamese translation samples.

"Oh, Diana," said Anne at last, clasping her hands and speaking almost in a whisper. "Oh, do you think you can like me a little- enough to be my bosom friend?"

"Why, I guess so," she said frankly. "I'm awfully glad you've come to live in this village. It will be jolly to have somebody to play with. I have no sisters big enough."

Anne và Diana đan tay nhau và nói thì thầm... "bạn có nghĩ rằng bạn sẽ thích tôi không... một người bạn tri kỷ của tôi?"

chỉ đủ để tôi thành

"Tại sao vậy" "Tôi cũng nghĩ vậy, tôi thật sự rất vui khi bạn có thể đến sống ở đây. Nơi đây sẽ rất thú vị vì sẽ có nhiều người chơi cùng bạn. Và tôi cũng không có một người chị nào cả.

"Well, did you find Diana a kindred spirit?" Marrila asked as they went up through the garden.

"Oh yes," sighed Anne, "Oh Marrila, I'm the happiest girl this very moment."

"Cậu có nhìn thấy ở Diana một sự đồng cảm không?" Marrila hỏi khi họ đang đi dạo xung quanh khu vườn

Vâng," anna thở dài "Marrila, tôi là một người hạnh phúc nhất!" ở thời điểm này.

"This is my little girl Diana." said Mrs. Barry to Anne. "Diana, you might take Anne out into the garden and show her your flowers. It will be better for you than straining your eyes over that book. She reads entirely too much –" this to Marrila as the little girls went out- "and I can't prevent her. I'm glad she has the prospect of a playmate – perhaps it will take her more out-of-doors."

Đây là con gái tôi Diana. Bà Barry nói với Anne "Diana Bà nên dẫn Anne ra vườn và chỉ cô cho vườn hoa của Bà Diana đó sẽ tốt hơn cho bà hơn là chăm chăm vào cuốn sách Bà đọc quá nhiều – Diana đó bà Marrila khi một cô bé khi ra ngoài và tôi không thể ngăn chặn bà ta Tôi vui vì bà đó hòa thuận với đồng đó.. có lẽ điều đó mang lại cho bà một đám nhìn ngói

"Oh, Diana," said Anne at last, clasping her hands and speaking almost in a whisper. "Oh, do you think you can like me a little- enough to be my bosom friend?"

"Why, I guess so," she said frankly. "I'm awfully glad you've come to live in this village. It will be jolly to have somebody to play with. I have no sisters big enough."

"Oh Dana em đó nói với Anne chơi và tay and nó giọng huýt sáo

"oh, chẳng có nghĩ là chẳng có chút gì đó giọng.. – đi đó chờ chờ cho bạn. Tại sao không. Ồ đoạn thế Vì nó 1 sách

thong thản Tô vui khi chẳng đó sống ở đây Điều đó sẽ rất vui khi có người chơi cùng.