

Translation of Temporal and Aspectual Information in Literary Texts between Vietnamese and English

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Statement of originality

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and the material in this thesis has not been submitted for any degree at this or another institution. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person without due reference being made in the text.

Thanh Thi Tuyet Ngo

Abstract

This study investigated the translation of temporal and aspectual information between Vietnamese, a language that does not have tense and only marks aspect lexically and optionally, and English, a richly tensed language with a rich aspect system. In Vietnamese, temporal location of a situation is mostly elicited from the context, or is optionally indicated by a temporal adverbial (TA). Similarly, aspectual information of a situation is primarily dependent on the context and situation type, though it can be explicitly expressed by certain aspectual markers. In English, by contrast, tense is compulsory in every finite sentence and explicitly conveys the temporal location of a situation. Likewise, aspectual meaning of a situation is made available through grammatical aspect and lexical aspect (situation type).

The main aims of the study were to find out how English tenses/aspects were chosen to explicitly express the original temporal and aspectual information, which was mostly implicit in the Vietnamese source texts (ST), and to find out if and how Vietnamese aspectuo-temporal devices were utilized to convey the temporal and aspectual information, which was explicitly expressed by tenses and aspects in the English STs. The study also attempted to examine if the English original temporal and aspectual information, which was not explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by an explicit aspectuo-temporal device, could be recovered from other factors such as the situation type, rhetorical relations, context, and pragmatic inferences. The secondary aim of the study was to examine the meanings and functions of Vietnamese temporal and aspectual devices, which have not been well studied in previous research and have been under much debate, in discourse using real data.

For the purpose of the study, a total of sixteen excerpts, each consisting of various passages from contemporary narrative fictions, to the total length ranging from around

7000 to 10,000 words each, were collected. The total clauses in the Vietnamese original corpus were 3967, while the figure for the English original corpus was 4349 clauses. The data included four excerpts originally written in Vietnamese, four originally written in English, and their respective translated versions.

It was found that the use of explicit aspectuo-temporal devices was rare in both the Vietnamese original and translated texts. In the Vietnamese STs they were normally found to occur in contexts where their absence causes confusion and ambiguity. In the absence of the devices, contextual information was normally found to be sufficient to allow for the least variable interpretation. In the Vietnamese translations of the English texts, temporal adverbials were normally found to be directly translated from the English STs. The addition of TAs in the Vietnamese translated texts was very rare, which normally resulted in a different temporal reading in the translation when contextual information was not sufficient and extra contextual information was not supplied in the translation. Vietnamese aspectual markers were found more frequently in the Vietnamese translated texts than in the Vietnamese original texts, though they were not found often.

Overall, patterns of English tenses/aspects were found to translate Vietnamese clauses in the presence and absence of the Vietnamese explicit aspectuo-temporal devices. The temporal meanings conveyed by the English absolute tenses were found to normally correspond to the temporal meanings indicated by locating adverbials in Vietnamese, while those conveyed by the progressive and perfect aspects in English to generally correspond to the meanings conveyed, respectively, by the progressive and perfect aspectual markers (PAM) in Vietnamese. Vietnamese PAMs, though, were found to convey other meanings that are not among the range of meanings expressed by the English perfect. Certain aspects of these meanings were not expressed in the English translation. Most of the English original temporal and aspectual meanings, which were not explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by explicit aspectuo-temporal devices, were recoverable from the situation types, rhetorical relations, context, and pragmatic inferences.

Situation type was found to play an important role in the interpretation of temporal location in Vietnamese. In narrative, it was most crucial in advancing narrative time and in establishing temporal relations between eventualities in both languages. It was found

that the patterns for the interpretation of temporal relations in narrative in both languages were similar, despite the fact that one language is tensed and the other tenseless.

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Abbreviations

1PL: first person plural	PAM: perfect aspectual marker
1SG: first person singular	PART: particle
2PL: second person plural	PASS: passive
2SG: second person singular	POSS: possessive
3PL: third person plural	PERF/perf: perfect
3SG: third person singular	Perfv: perfective
Acc: accomplishment	PL: plural
Ach: achievement	PROG.: progressive
Act: activity	Q-PART: question particle
AoF: adverbs of frequency	R: point of reference (reference time)
AUX: auxiliary	RVC: resultative verb complement
CL: classifier	S: point of speech (speech time)
DEM: demonstrative	SitT: situation type
E: point of event (event time)	SL: source language
EXP: experiential	ST: source text
F-PART: final particle	St: state
Freq.: frequency	TA: temporal adverbial
Imperf: imperfective	TL: target language
Inst: instantaneous adverbs	TOP: topicalizer
LA: locating adverbial	TT: target text
LOC: location	
NEG: negation	

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Aims and significance of the study

The study primarily aims at finding out how the temporal and aspectual information in dialogue sections and in narrative sections in literary texts is translated from Vietnamese into English and from English into Vietnamese. Dialogues are classified as belonging to the deictic mode, where the time of a situation (event time) is related to the time of speech, while in narrative mode the time of a situation is not related to the time of speech, but to another time point (or another situation) (Smith 1999; 2000; 2003), as will be discussed in Chapter 2. In detail, it aims to find out if there are any patterns of English tense/aspect choices that may emerge in the translation of Vietnamese sentences that contain or do not contain an explicit temporal and/or aspectual marker. It also attempts to find out if and how the information expressed by the English tenses and aspects is conveyed in the Vietnamese translation and to provide a possible account of how the information can be recovered when it is not explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by an explicit temporal and/or aspectual device. Another purpose of the study is to provide a possible account of what factors seem to influence the translators' choice. It seeks to find out if their choices appear to be influenced by the translation strategies and/or by the rules governing the use of temporal and aspectual resources of the source language and/or target language.

The secondary aim of the study involves examining the uses (or functions) and meanings of the Vietnamese lexical items that have temporal and aspectual references in different discourse modes with the hope to provide more insights into the categorization, functions, and meanings of the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual markers, which have been much debated, as will be shown in Chapter 2. It also seeks to find out what temporal and aspectual devices in Vietnamese can equivalently convey the meanings expressed by different English tenses and aspects. Some scholars have attempted to discuss the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual resources in close

comparison with English or French, based mainly on decontextualized examples. None of these discussions, though, are comprehensive, as will be shown in Chapter 2. The present study is the first to examine the translators' choices of the temporal and aspectual resources available in a tenseless language to convey the information expressed by tenses and grammatical aspects in a tensed language. The close and contrastive examination of the temporal and aspectual information between the original and the translated versions is expected to allow for some generalizations about the correspondence in the temporal structures between the two languages.

Apart from investigating the explicit aspectuo-temporal devices in Vietnamese, the study also examines the role of situation type in discourse, which has been much neglected in previous research on the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual system. No studies have been conducted to find out how situation type can contribute to the interpretation of temporal location of a situation in deictic mode or that of the temporal relations between situations in narrative mode in Vietnamese. Smith and Erbaugh (2005) are the first to give an account of the role of situation type in the temporal interpretation in deictic mode in Mandarin Chinese, also a tenseless language. No studies have investigated how situation type contributes to the interpretation of temporal relations between clauses in a narrative or how it determines the temporal progression of a narrative in tenseless languages. Smith and Erbaugh (2005) only touch slightly on the contribution of situation type to the advancement of narrative time in Mandarin Chinese. The present study is the first to examine this issue in Vietnamese, in close comparison with English. It is thus expected to shed new light on the issue of how temporal and aspectual information can be elicited in Vietnamese discourse, with possible relevance to tenseless languages in general, when explicit aspectuo-temporal devices are limited.

Some background information relevant to the study will be introduced in Section 1.2. Section 1.3 will provide an outline of the thesis.

1.2. Theoretical background

One of the most difficult tasks for translators is to find linguistic and cultural equivalents for elements that are common in one language, but absent in another language. In Vietnamese/English translation, as Tran and Sachs (1997, p. XIX),

themselves practising translators, point out, “[t]he most obvious example of disparity between the two languages comes in the use of verb tenses”. It is so because

“In English, we could hardly make it to the grocery store and back, much less through a short story, poem, or novel, without a whole suitcase full of tenses. Vietnamese travel lighter. They speak and write in the basic structure that we might call “present tense”, occasionally using past or future markers, but more often leaving it to readers and listeners to fill in the time frame for themselves. One aspect of our task as translators lay in filling in such blanks.” (Tran and Sachs, 1997, p. XIX)

The basic structure that Tran and Sachs refer to as ‘present tense’ in Vietnamese is actually the structure in which the verbs are used in the base form with no temporal or aspectual marking at all, the interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of which is entirely dependent on the context, the inherent lexical meaning of the verb, and pragmatic inferences, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

In fact, Vietnamese is considered a tenseless language. It does not have a grammatical category of tense or aspect. The verbs remain in the base form regardless of the temporal reference a sentence may have, or the time at which the situation represented in the sentence may be located. Most of the time, the context gives sufficient information for the temporal location of a situation. When the temporal or aspectual information of a situation has to be expressed explicitly, Vietnamese resorts to certain lexical items that have temporal and/or aspectual reference. The temporal devices that most explicitly express the temporal location of a situation are temporal adverbs (Cao, 1998a). As will be shown in more detail in Chapter 2, when a temporal adverbial is present in a sentence in Vietnamese, the situation represented in the sentence is normally explicitly located at the time specified by the temporal adverbial (with some exceptions, as will be discussed later). Similarly, Vietnamese has some particles that can be used to express whether a situation is on-going, or in other words, to express the progressive aspectual meaning and those that convey a range of perfect meanings, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. Nonetheless, they are not used very often. More often, the temporal and aspectual information of a situation is dependent on the context, lexical meaning of the verb, and pragmatic inferences.

By contrast, English is a richly tensed language. In every finite sentence the verb is morphologically marked for tense, which explicitly locates the situation in time relative to the speech time, i.e. in the past, the present, or the future of the speech time. Every finite sentence in English also contains explicit aspectual information expressed by grammatical aspect as well as lexical aspect.

Compare the English sentence and the Vietnamese sentence in the following example.

(1)a. Mary walked to school

b. Lan đi bộ đến trường

Lan walk to school

The tense form of the verb in the English sentence (1a) is the simple past tense, thus the situation is understood to occur before the speech time, i.e. in the past. The situation [walk to school] is an accomplishment. It consists of a process that leads up to an endpoint, which is the arriving on foot at the school. An accomplishment in the simple past is presented as having a perfective aspect. Details of the English tense and aspect system will be presented in Chapter 2.

The Vietnamese sentence in (1b), presented out of context, and which does not contain any overt temporal or aspectual marking, is highly ambiguous. It is not clear whether the situation [walk to school] is located in the present, the past, or the future, nor if the situation has a perfective or an imperfective reading. If a past locating adverbial such as *hôm qua* ('yesterday'), or a future locating adverbial such as *ngày mai* ('tomorrow'), is added, the situation will be exclusively understood to be located in the past or future, respectively. In the English example, the presence of such locating adverbials would only serve to further specify the time of the situation. However, a locating adverbial such as *sáng nay*, which is classified by Dao (1965) as a 'present time adverb' (i.e. one of several adverbs that locate situations in the present) may not totally disambiguate the temporal and aspectual information of the situation in Vietnamese. Let us consider (2a) and (2b).

(2)a. Mary walked to school this morning

b. Sáng nay	Lan	đi bộ	đến	trường
<i>This morning</i>	<i>Lan</i>	<i>walk</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>school</i>

The situation in (2a) in English is still understood to have a past temporal location and a perfective aspect. The locating adverbial ‘this morning’ specifies the time of the situation. It is assumed that the speaker follows the Gricean maxim of quality (saying what the speaker believes to be true) and that the hearer understands that the sentence is uttered at a time later than the morning, for if it is uttered in the morning, another tense will be used. For example, the present progressive can be used if (i) Mary is in the process of walking at speech time, or (ii) Mary is about to walk to school and so if the sentence is uttered just before she leaves. If the speaker wants to say that "Mary walk to school this morning" is true, and the sentence is uttered in the morning *after* the event, then a present perfect (PP) would be used ("Mary has walked to school this morning"). The PP can only be used if the sentence is uttered at a later time in the *same* morning.

On the other hand, the situation in (2b) in Vietnamese is still ambiguous even though it contains a temporal adverbial. The temporal adverbial *sáng nay* (‘this morning’) locates the event [walk to school] in the morning, but it is not clear if the morning is in the past of, future of, or coincident with, the speech time, because there is no information about when the sentence is uttered. In order to understand the temporal location of the situation, one has to rely on the context in which the utterance is made. If it is made in the afternoon, then its location time is interpreted to be in the past. If the sentence is uttered in the morning, there is yet another ambiguity. Extra contextual clues about whether Lan is still at home or has already gone are needed. If she is still at home, then [walk to school] is understood to be located in the near future. If she has already gone, again the temporal location is past.

The aspectual interpretation of this sentence is another problem and it depends on the linguistic context and location time of the situation. If the location time is in the past and there is no explicit information to the contrary, this situation can be plausibly understood to have a perfective reading. However, one can add “*nhưng giữa đường mệt quá nó lại bắt xe buýt*” (literally ‘but half way too tired, she catch a bus’), in which case it is understood that the walking to school is not complete and the situation must be interpreted as being equivalent to having an imperfective aspectual meaning. It should also be noted that with the addition of the above clause, the situation in (2b) has a

salient past temporal reading. If the sentence is uttered in the morning and it is clear that Lan has gone, then plausibly the sentence can have a perfect meaning.

In the following English sentences, on the other hand, tense does not seem to express the temporal location of the situations in relation to the speech time. The passage is taken from the story “*The Snow Goose*” by Paul Gallico, which is included in the English data used in the present study.

- (3). Rhayader went inside, bearing the bird, which he placed on the table, where it moved feebly. Curiosity overcame fear. The girl followed and found herself in a room warmed by a coal fire, shining with many coloured pictures that covered the walls, and full of a strange but pleasant smell (‘The Snow Goose’, p. 20).

In this passage the reader may not have a sense of the temporal location of the situations, but s/he may have a sense of the time progressing with certain sentences and not with the others. This passage is a typical narrative, which Labov (1972) defines as “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is referred) actually took place” (Labov, 1972, p. 359). Since a narrative is seen as an account of past experiences (whether they are real or imagined), the most common tenses that are unmarked are the past tenses (Fleischman, 1990; Linhares-Dias, 2006; Weinrich, 1985), as used in the above example. The tense used in narrative does not have the same function as that in ordinary use, such as in everyday conversations (Fleischman, 1990). According to Smith (1999), in narrative, tense conveys continuity. The time of a situation is not related to the time of speech, but to the time of the preceding and following situations. The interpretation of the temporal relations between situations in narrative, as well as of the narrative progression in English, is largely determined by viewpoint aspect, situation type, rhetorical relations between the clauses, and pragmatic inferences, as will be elaborated in Chapter 2.

No studies have been conducted to examine how the temporal structure of a Vietnamese narrative is realized or whether the overt temporal and aspectual markers in Vietnamese behave similarly or differently in different discourse modes, such as narrative and deictic. In deictic mode, which is normally found in direct conversations and news reports, the time of a situation is related to the time of speech (Smith, 2000; 2003). The

following narrative passage is taken from a novel in Vietnamese, which is included in the data used in this study.

- (4). Tôi đi thẳng về nhà,
ISG walk straight to home
 cầu trời khẩn phật đừng gặp ai.
pray to God not meet anyone
 Tôi đang đau bụng muốn chết!
ISG PROG stomach ache want die!
 May thay, đường làng vắng teo.
Luckily, road village deserted
 Lũ trẻ đã dong trâu về chuồng
Children PERF bring buffalo to shed
 và mọi nhà đang xáo xác chuẩn bị bữa cơm tối.
and every home PROG hastily prepare CL dinner

“I go straight toward home, pray not to meet anyone. I have [progressive aspectual marker] a terrible stomach ache. Luckily, the village roads be deserted. The children bring [perfect aspectual marker] buffaloes home and in every house people prepare [progressive aspectual marker] dinner”

In the English translation of the Vietnamese example the verbs are intentionally left in the base form. The translation is provided just for easy reference. The Vietnamese narrative passage seems atemporal. The temporal location of the situations does not seem to be in focus here. How are the temporal relations between the situations as well as the temporal progression of the narrative to be interpreted? What are the functions and/or meanings of the particles *đang* and *đã* in narrative? Although these questions are not of primary concern in this study, particular attention will be paid to them, since no previous studies have addressed these issues. It is expected that the results of this study will shed some light on these issues and may open up a new direction in research on Vietnamese temporality and aspectuality in discourse.

In direct conversations, when faced with a sentence such as (1a) or (2a) in Vietnamese, the hearer has the option of asking for more information to assist his/her interpretation of the temporal and aspectual meaning of the situations. However, when reading a

written text, this option is not available. It could be expected that translating temporal and aspectual information of Vietnamese literary texts into English is even more challenging. The questions arise as to what factors seem to influence the translators' interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of the Vietnamese texts and their choices of English tenses and aspects to convey this information in their translation of the Vietnamese texts. Also, when the information expressed by English tenses and aspects has to be conveyed in the Vietnamese translation, how do translators choose to present it in Vietnamese? What devices do they use to compensate for the lack of tense and grammatical aspect in Vietnamese? What translation strategies do they seem to adhere to? Do translation strategies seem to play an influential role in the translators' choices? Or are their choices influenced by the rules that govern the use of temporal and aspectual devices in each language? These questions will be of primary concern in this study.

As briefly stated earlier and elaborated on in Chapter 2, although Vietnamese verbs are not morphologically marked for tense or aspect, Vietnamese has a variety of lexical items that can be used to explicitly convey the temporal and aspectual information of a situation. It might thus be expected that they are exploited frequently by the translators to convey, in the Vietnamese translation of an English text, the temporal and aspectual information expressed by tense and aspect in the English original. They may also be expected to provide the translators with the most obvious clues that they can rely on in their interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of the Vietnamese source texts.

The translators' choices may be influenced by the translation strategies (approaches) that they use; i.e. whether the translators choose to be faithful to the source language (SL) and so attempt to find in the target language the closest equivalents of the SL linguistic expressions in both forms and meaning or whether they choose to adhere to the norms of the target language (TL). The type of translation that adheres to the SL is widely known as SL-oriented, while that which adheres to the TL is known as TL-oriented. A brief overview of the nature of SL-oriented and TL-oriented translation strategies will be provided in Chapter 2. The question of how they are realized in the translation of temporal and aspectual information between Vietnamese and English has never been studied before.

1.3. Outline of the thesis

In this chapter, the topic of this study and the issue under investigation have been introduced. Brief information about the temporal resources available in Vietnamese and the differences in the temporal and aspectual system between Vietnamese and English has also been provided. The next chapter will give a detailed review of the temporal and aspectual systems of English and Vietnamese and also discuss contemporary translation approaches. The methods of data collection and analysis will be presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will provide a detailed account of the temporal and aspectual resources (including situation types) found in the Vietnamese ST and the patterns of tense/aspect choices that emerge in the English translation. The translation strategies are also discussed where applicable. The temporal and aspectual resources that are used in the Vietnamese translation of English tenses/aspects will be presented in Chapter 5, which also covers the factors that can help to recover in the Vietnamese translation the information expressed by English tenses/aspects where this information is not explicitly expressed in the Vietnamese target language by an overt temporal or aspectual device. Chapter 6 will provide a general discussion of the results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 and give generalizations about the categorization, functions, and meanings of the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual resources and about the temporal structure of Vietnamese narrative. Summary and conclusion of the thesis will be presented in Chapter 7, which will also include the implications and suggestions for further studies, which are drawn from the results of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. English system of tense and aspect

2.1.1. *English tense*

2.1.1.1. *Definition of tense*

As Binnick (1991) points out, although tense has been investigated for 25 hundred years, it is still very poorly understood. This view is also shared by Barwise and Perry, who feel “lost in the subtleties of tense and aspect” (Barwise & Perry, 1983, p. 288). Lakoff makes a similar remark when he states that of many accounts given of tense, “none [at the time of his writing] ... is satisfactory, since they cannot account for many ways in which tenses are used in English” (Lakoff, 1970, p. 838).

Generally, tense is used to refer to the morphological markers on the verb which function to describe the temporal relations between the situation and the time of utterance (Hartmann & Stork, 1976; Kamp & Reyle, 1993; Lyons, 1977). In other words, tense is widely viewed as a grammatical category. Many definitions of tense as such have been proposed, among the first being Jespersen who defines tense as “the linguistic expression of time relations, as far as these are indicated in the verb forms” (Jespersen, 1931, p. 1). Comrie gives a similar definition of tense as “grammaticalised expression of location in time” (Comrie, 1985, p. 9). More recently, Fabricius-Hansen states that tense is “a grammatical category that serves to locate situations in time” (Fabricius-Hansen, 2006, p. 566), thus sharing the same view as held by Comrie.

The definition of tense as a grammatical category means that it has to be “integrat[ed] into the grammatical system of a language” (Comrie, 1985, p. 10) either by means of bound morphemes (i.e., inflection on the verb morphology) or by grammatical words adjacent to the verb such as the auxiliaries. Thus, this definition, widely accepted, as Comrie himself points out, “permits a highly constrained theory of tense” (Comrie,

1985, p. 10). It does not recognize lexicalization of temporal location as tense. The requirement that tense is a grammatical category is a necessary criterion that distinguishes tensed and tenseless languages, i.e. languages that do not have tense. More importantly, reserving ‘tense’ as a purely grammatical category reflects a long tradition in Linguistics of a fundamental divide between grammatical and lexical or other categories, despite any semantic overlap.

2.1.1.2. Formal structure of tense

Of the many formal theories of tense proposed, according to Mani, et.al, “Reichenbach’s work has had an enduring influence on subsequent work in formal semantics” (Mani, Pustejovsky, & Gaizauskas, 2005, p. 11) with his famous classic three “time points”: the point of speech (S), the point of event (E), and the point of reference (R). Smith (1978) calls these three points, correspondingly, as Speech Time (ST), Event Time (ET), and Reference Time (RT) (Smith, 1978, p. 44). For convenience, in the present study, the abbreviations S, E, and R will be used to refer to point of speech (or Speech Time), point of event (or Event Time), and point of reference (or Reference Time), respectively. Smith gives definitions of the three points as follows.

Speech Time (ST) is the time at which a given sentence is uttered, that is, the moment of utterance. Reference Time (RT) is the time indicated by a sentence, which need not be the same as ST. Event Time (ET) refers to the moment at which the relevant event or state occurs, which need not be the same as RT. (Smith, 1978, p. 44)

Using his three time points, Reichenbach (1947) formulates the three customarily recognized grammatical tenses: present tense, past tense, and future tense as follows, where a comma represents simultaneity and a dash anteriority.

Present tense: S,R,E, that is, S simultaneous with R simultaneous with E

Past tense: R,E—S, i.e., R simultaneous with E and both R and E before S

Future tense: S—R,E, which means S before R, and R simultaneous with E

He goes on to establish the relations between S and R (with R being in the past, at the same time, or in the future relative to S) and between E and R (with E before,

simultaneous with, or after R) and arrives at nine “fundamental forms”, as shown in Table (1).

Table 1: Reichenbach’s representations of nine fundamental forms

Structure	Reichenbach’s name	Traditional name
E—R—S	Anterior past	Past perfect
E, R—S	Simple past	Simple past
R—E—S	Posterior past	—
R—S, E		
R—S—E		
E—S, R	Anterior present	Present perfect
S, R, E	Simple present	Present
S, R—E	Posterior present	Simple future
S—E—R	Anterior future	Future perfect
S, E—R		
E—S—R		
S—R, E	Simple future	Simple future
S—R—E	Posterior future	—

(Reichenbach, 1947, p. 293)

As Mani, et.al. (2005) observe, only seven of these nine relations are realized in English, with the simple future being “ambiguous” (Mani et al., 2005, p. 11). The present tense, the past tense, and the future tense are commonly known as absolute tenses while the past perfect (pluperfect) and the future perfect are traditionally, albeit controversially, referred to as relative tenses. Comrie calls the pluperfect and the future perfect tenses “absolute-relative” (Comrie, 1985, p. 64). These tenses are dealt with in more detail in the following sections.

2.1.1.3. *Absolute tense*

Absolute tense is defined as a tense which “includes as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre” (Comrie, 1985, p. 36). Thus, absolute tenses are regarded purely from the point of view of the present (time of speech) (Binnick, 1991). The absolute tenses in English are simple present, simple past, and simple future.

2.1.1.3.1. Simple present tense

The present tense describes situations which may overlap with the time of speech (Fabricius-Hansen, 2006). It is used to refer to situations, states, and processes which hold at the present moment, to report an ongoing series of events, to describe an act performed simultaneously with the speech (such as in sports commentaries), and to speak of habitual situations (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999; Comrie, 1985). It has unrestricted use with stative verbs, while with event verbs it conveys habitual meaning or ‘eternal truth’ (Leech, 1987). The present tense can also be used to refer to a future event that is scheduled (Leech, 1987) or a past event in narration. The use of the present tense in narrative is referred to as “conversational historical present” (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999, p. 113), as in example (5) below, taken from Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999).

(5). So he stands up in the boat and waves his arms to catch our attention

2.1.1.3.2. Simple past tense

The simple past tense locates situations in time prior to the present moment (or the time of speech). According to Comrie, “the English past tense refers to a situation that held at some time prior to the present moment” (Comrie, 1985, p. 24). It has the implication that the situation no longer holds at the present moment. The use of the past tense to refer to a present situation indicates “social distancing” (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999, p. 114) or “politeness” (Comrie, 1985, p. 20), as exemplified in (6).

(6). Waiter to a customer: Did you want to take a seat next to the window, Sir?

The past temporal location of the situation in this example is not implied.

The English simple past tense is commonly utilized in narrative as a narrative tense, which denotes situations enacted at the narrative time. The function and meaning of the simple past tense in narrative are dealt with in more details in Section 2.4.2.1 below.

2.1.1.3.3. Simple future tense

In English the future tense is rather controversial; there are arguments that English has no future tense as a grammatical category (Leech, 1987; Smith, 1978) on the basis that

the auxiliary *will* has a number of uses rather than be the mere expression of future time reference, such as the use of *will* in conditional clauses, which does not necessarily have future time reference. However, Comrie argues that “future time reference uses of *will* are grammatically distinct from modal uses of *will* in ... subordinate clauses, so that ... the grammar will have to refer directly to the feature of future time reference” (Comrie, 1985, p. 48). His illustrative examples, in his words, “suggest ... that English does have a separate grammatical category of future time reference, i.e. a future tense”. Nonetheless, as Fabricius-Hansen observes, “in general, the future tense is less stable as a grammatical category than the past tense; it is often expressed periphrastically” (Fabricius-Hansen, 2006, p. 568). Despite the arguments, in the present study the structure “*will* + VP” is referred to as the simple future tense in English, as it is commonly known.

The future tense locates a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment. In other words, the situation described by the future tense is located after the time of speech.

2.1.1.4. *Relative tense*

According to Fabricius-Hansen, relative tenses “locat[e] the situation time E not directly with respect to the utterance time U [Reichenbach’s speech time] but as preceding or following a secondary time of orientation O [Reichenbach’s reference point] that, in its turn, may precede, follow, or overlap with the utterance time” (Fabricius-Hansen, 2006, p. 570). In English, relative tenses include the pluperfect (or past perfect) and the future perfect. Comrie calls these “absolute-relative” tenses (Comrie, 1985, p. 65).

2.1.1.4.1. The pluperfect (past perfect)

The pluperfect, also called anterior relative past tense (Fabricius-Hansen, 2006, p. 570), locates a situation prior to a time of reference, which itself precedes the time of speech. The time of reference is established by examining the context. As such, as Comrie points out, the pluperfect is “heavily context-dependent” (Comrie, 1985, p. 67).

In the example below, the adverbial *at 9 o’clock* provides the time of reference, which is also the reference time of the event [arrive].

(7). I arrived at the concert at 9 o’clock, but the concert had finished

The past perfect can denote an event and a consequent (result) state, which holds at R, which may be indicated by a simple past tense event or by a temporal adverbial as exemplified in (7) above. In Lascarides and Asher's words, "a perfect transforms an event into a consequent state, and asserts that the consequent state holds" (1993, p. 253). This view is also shared by Moens and Steedman (1988) and Kamp and Reyle (1993). The past perfect, however, can also denote an event without a result state, in which case the event expressed by the past perfect receives a retrospective meaning, as in (8).

(8). I arrived at the concert at 9 o'clock, but the concert had finished at 8.30

The semantics and functions of the past perfect in narrative are discussed in more details in Section 2.4.2.1.

2.1.1.4.2. The future perfect

The future perfect is also called an anterior relative past tense (Fabricius-Hansen, 2006, p. 570). Note that the term "relative past tense" here has to be understood as "past relative to a future reference point" (Comrie, 1985, p. 75). The future perfect locates a situation prior to R, which, in turn, is located after S. The following example illustrates this.

(9). Mary will have arrived by 3 o'clock tomorrow

In (9), R is established by an adverbial, *3 o'clock*, which follows S and the event of Mary's arrival takes place before *3 o'clock*.

2.1.1.5. *The present perfect*

The present perfect in English, as well as in other European languages, is complex in its use and meaning. Thus, in the present study it is treated separately. Generally, the present perfect has widely been recognized to have four main types or readings, as described by McCawley (1971, 1981) and Comrie (1976): the perfect of result or stative perfect, the universal perfect or perfect of persistent situation, the existential or experiential perfect, and the perfect of recent past or 'hot news' perfect.

The perfect of result or stative perfect refers to a past situation, the result of which is relevant (or still holds) at the present moment (S), as exemplified in (10).

(10). John has arrived (which entails that at present John is here)

This meaning of the present perfect has also been widely known as ‘resultative perfect’, described as involving a result state (Bauer, 1970; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994; Kruisinga, 1931). The state denoted by the perfect is understood to result from the occurrence of an event (Bybee et al., 1994; Moens, 1987; Moens & Steedman, 1988; Smith, 1997). The result state has been variously referred to as ‘result’, ‘resultant’, ‘consequent’, or ‘perfect state’ (de Swart, 1998; Giorgi & Pianesi, 1997; Kamp & Reyle, 1993; Katz, 2003; Moens, 1987; Parsons, 1990; Smith, 1997).

The universal perfect or perfect of persistent situation refers to a situation that began in the past and continues up to, or even beyond, the present. This meaning, according to Portner (2003), obtains with stative VPs. This can be illustrated by (11), taken from Portner (2003, p. 462). Portner refers to such sentences as ‘stative’.

(11). Mary has been angry all day (and she is still angry)

The existential or experiential perfect refers to a situation that has occurred at least once in the time interval that leads up to the present, such as illustrated in (12) below.

(12). I have seen that movie (which entails that I have seen it at least once in the time interval before the present)

The perfect of recent past or ‘hot news’ perfect refers to a situation which has just occurred in the immediate past. The recent past or the ‘hot news’ meaning is normally indicated by the adverbs ‘just’ or ‘recently’ (Brinton, 1988). The following example illustrates this.

(13). I have just met Jane

The types exemplified in (10)-(13) characterise the Standard English perfect. It is in fact much more complex and has caused much debate and puzzling.

2.1.2. English aspect

2.1.2.1. Definition of aspect

Although both tense and aspect are concerned with time, they express temporality in different ways. Tense is a deictic category, i.e. it relates the time of the situation (E) to another time point, normally S or R (Comrie, 1985). Aspect, on the other hand, is not relative to the time of utterance (Jakobson, 1957; Lyons, 1977). It serves to indicate the internal temporal structure of the situation itself, such as describing whether a situation is ongoing or complete (Comrie, 1976). Comrie defines aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1976, p. 3). There are many different views of what aspect is. Kruisinga (1931), for example, defines aspect as expressing “whether the speaker looks upon an action in its entirety, or with special reference to some part (chiefly the beginning and end)” (Kruisinga, 1931, p. 221). According to Johnson (1981, p. 152), aspect refers to “one of the temporally distinct phases in the evolution of an event through time”. A detailed definition is given by Brinton (1988). According to her,

“Aspect is a matter of the speaker’s viewpoint or perspective on a situation. The speaker may choose to portray an event as completed (perfective aspect), or as ongoing (imperfective aspect), or as beginning (ingressive aspect), continuing (continuative aspect), ending (egressive aspect), or repeating (iterative or habitual aspect)” (Brinton, 1988, p. 3).

According to Smith, “aspect traditionally refers to grammaticalized viewpoints such as the perfective and imperfective” (Smith, 1997, p. 1). She calls grammatical aspect ‘viewpoint aspect’. A situation can also be viewed as static or dynamic, punctual or durative, bounded or unbounded, continuous or iterative. Such temporal properties of a situation are determined by the inherent lexical meaning of the situation portrayed. Aspect defined in this way has been known as ‘lexical aspect’, ‘aktionsart’, or ‘situation type’, the last term coined by Smith (1997). In Smith’s view, aspectual meaning of a situation results from interaction between situation types and viewpoints. Viewpoint is generally indicated morphologically and gives a full or partial view of the situation talked about. Situation type is conveyed by the verb and its arguments, or verb constellation, and indirectly classifies the event or state talked about according to its

temporal properties. Section 2.1.2.2 below gives a detailed account of situation types and viewpoint types.

2.1.2.2. *Situation types and viewpoint types*

2.1.2.2.1. Situation types

Situation types are determined by the inherent lexical nature of verbs or verb phrases. Vendler (1967) first identifies three characteristics which determine the classification. These are boundedness or telicity, duration, and change. Bounded or telic verbs are those which have a natural endpoint, while unbounded or atelic verbs can continue indefinitely. Durative verbs describe events that span over a time, in contrast to non-durative events that are punctual or instantaneous. Change can refer to either a homogeneous event, which is identical from one moment to the next; or a heterogeneous event, which is changing from moment to moment. Based on these characteristics, Vendler proposes four verb classes: *states*, *activities* or *processes*, *accomplishments*, and *achievements*. Smith (1997) calls these situation types and she adds one more situation type, *semelfactives*. The temporal features of these situation types can be summarised in the following table, modified from Smith (1997, p. 20).

Table 2: Temporal features of the situation types

Situations	Static	Durative	Telic
States	+	+	-
Activity	-	+	-
Accomplishment	-	+	+
Semelfactive	-	-	-
Achievement	-	-	+

States are static and durative. States are situations which hold consistently for an interval. Smith (1997) distinguishes between two types of states: states such as *love*, *know*, *be tall*, *resemble*, *live*, *like*, *think that*, *contain*, *want*, *desire*, *hate*, *rule*... and generalizing states including sentences of generic predicates such as “Tigers eat meat” and habitual sentences such as “Mary walks to school every day”. States are not normally compatible with the progressive aspect, except for verb constellations (verbs

and the arguments) of posture and location (e.g. “Steve is sitting in the chair”) (Smith, 1997, p. 33).

Activities are, according to Smith (1997), dynamic, durative, and atelic. Activities have no limit or natural endpoint; they terminate or stop, but do not finish. Typical examples of activities are *laugh, walk, run, swim, push/pull something, snow, eat, seek, write, read, think about...* Activity verb constellations are compatible with adverbs of simple duration such as ‘for an hour’ or ‘slowly’, as exemplified in (14), taken from Smith (1997, p. 45).

- (14)a. He pushed the cart for an hour
- b. He slowly pushed the cart

Accomplishments are dynamic, durative, and telic. Accomplishments consist of a process and an outcome, describing events with an initial and a natural final endpoint (e.g., *make a chair, walk to school, build a house, read a book, paint a picture, write/read a novel, give/attend a class, play a chess game, grow, destroy, recover, get ready...*). Accomplishments are compatible with completive adverbs such as ‘in an hour’, as illustrated in (15), taken from Smith (1997, p. 44).

- (15). We built a castle in an hour

Semelfactives are dynamic, atelic, and instantaneous (instantaneous events consist of a single point) (e.g., *tap, knock, cough...*)

Achievements are dynamic, telic, and instantaneous. In Smith’s words, achievements “are instantaneous events that result in a change of state” (Smith, 1997, p. 30) (e.g., *win the race, reach the top, recognize, realize, spot something, find, lose, start, stop, break, acquire...*). Achievements are not normally compatible with the progressive aspect. The progressive conveys the preliminaries of achievements, which are conceptually detached from the events, as exemplified in (16).

- (16). Jane was winning the race

This sentence does not entail that Jane actually won the race.

States and activities are both durative and atelic. They involve no change of state. On the other hand, accomplishments and achievements both result in a change of state (Dowty, 1979; Pustejovsky, 1991; Rothstein, 2004, 2007).

2.1.2.2.2. Viewpoint types

English is customarily said to have two types of viewpoint: *perfective* and *imperfective* (Brinton, 1988; Comrie, 1976; Smith, 1997). They will be examined in detail below.

2.1.2.2.2.1. Perfective viewpoint

In English the perfective viewpoint is normally signaled by the simple form of the main verb (Brinton, 1988; Smith, 1997). Perfective viewpoints generally refer to the totality of a situation including the beginning, middle, and end as a whole (Comrie, 1976; Smith, 1997). As Comrie points out, the perfective “looks at the situation from the outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation” (Comrie, 1976, p. 4). According to Smith, “sentences with a perfective viewpoint present a situation as a whole. The span of the perfective includes the initial and final endpoints of the situation” (Smith, 1997, p. 66). They have a closed interpretation. Smith also adds that “perfective viewpoints prototypically include the endpoints of a situation, so that the **schema of the Universal Grammar perfective does not apply to statives**” (Smith 1997, p. 69) (emphasis added). However, also according to Smith (1997, p. 70), in English “the perfective viewpoint appears with sentences of all situation types”, including stative situations. In fact, both Brinton (1988) and Smith (1997) argue that the perfective viewpoint is the only viewpoint available for stative sentences, because in English “the perfective does not include the endpoints of states” (Smith, 1997, p. 69).

It is hard to understand why the schema of the English perfective viewpoint is different from the schema of the Universal Grammar perfective and allows states to have a perfective viewpoint. As shown in the previous section, states in English have no intrinsic, natural endpoints. The same is true of activities. In order to account for her argument that perfective viewpoint is available to all situation types, Smith states that perfective viewpoint conveys either termination or completion depending on the situation types: activities, for instance, convey termination whereas accomplishments

convey completion (Smith, 1997). She gives the following examples to illustrate these points.

- (17)a. Lily swam in the pond (activity)
- b. John wrote a letter (accomplishment)

She explains that the perfective in (17a) renders the termination of the situation, i.e. it emphasises that *Lily stopped swimming*, while in (17b) it draws attention to the fact that *John finished writing the letter*. The accomplishment ‘write a letter’ is understood to have reached its endpoint when the letter was finished. It saliently has a perfective viewpoint. However, the endpoint of the activity ‘swim’, even in the past simple tense, is not always entailed. It is possible to add the following information to (17a) to have (17a') without causing any contradiction.

(17a'). Lily swam in the pond 20 minutes ago. She is still swimming in the pond.

The perfective viewpoint does not allow such extension. As will be shown later, the perfective viewpoint in English is not generally available to states and activities, especially in narrative. Perfective viewpoints of states and activities require additional information.

According to Smith (1997), in English, the perfective viewpoint can have either a closed or open interpretation. A closed interpretation asserts the completion of the event. Closed interpretation is compatible with non-stative sentences. Stative sentences normally have an open interpretation. However, Smith argues that they may have a closed interpretation depending on the context. The conjunction (*but he no longer owns them*) of (18) below (taken from Smith, 1997, p. 171), for example, gives the sentence a closed interpretation, that is, the state no longer obtains.

(18). Sam owned 3 peach orchards last year, but he no longer owns them

It has to be noted here that the closed interpretation requires additional information. The conjunction (*and he still does*) can be added to (18) without causing any contradiction.

2.1.2.2.2. Imperfective viewpoint

The imperfective viewpoint in English is commonly considered to be signaled with the verb ‘*be*’ and the ‘*ing*’ (progressive) form of the main verb (Brinton, 1988; Smith, 1997). Imperfective viewpoint focuses on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final endpoints (Smith, 1997). Thus, in Comrie’s words, the imperfective “looks at the situation from the inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation” (Comrie, 1976, p. 4).

Smith (1997) distinguishes two types of imperfectives: *general* (applied to all situation types and tend to be limited to past tenses) and *progressive* (applied only to non-statives). The English progressive is not normally compatible with stative verbs (Comrie; 1976; Leech, 1987; Smith, 1997). The stative progressive has a marked use, the effect of which is to present the state as an event (Smith, 1997) or to convey the temporariness of the states (Leech, 1987). English progressive in its basic use focuses on the internal stages of durative, non-stative situations.

As stated earlier, the imperfective is basically concerned with the internal structure of a situation. Smith (1997), however, argues that imperfective viewpoints can focus on the external stages of a situation, and is thus available for achievements. In such cases, they “focus the preliminary and/or resultative stages of a situation” (Smith, 1997, p. 75). In example (19a) below, the focus is on the preliminary stage, while in (19b) on the resultative stage.

- (19)a. The team was reaching the summit
- b. The statue is sitting in the corner

In (19a), “there is no suggestion that ... the achievement [*reach the summit*] actually takes place” (Smith, 1997, p. 75). The imperfective viewpoint in (19b), on the other hand, “present[s] a state that follows the final endpoint of a telic event ... [It] focus[es] an interval after the change of state” (p. 76). She calls this “Resultative imperfective viewpoint” (Smith, 1997, p. 76).

2.2. Vietnamese temporal and aspectual system

2.2.1. General observation

There is wide disagreement among Vietnamese linguists regarding whether Vietnamese has tense or not. According to Cao (1998a), traditional Vietnamese grammarians strongly argue that Vietnamese has tense. They state that Vietnamese has three tenses: the present tense, expressed by *đang* (‘in progress’, ‘in the process of’), the past tense, indicated by *đã* (literally meaning ‘put an end to’), and the future tense, conveyed by *sẽ* (‘will/shall’) (Bùi, 1952; Đào, 1979; Panfilov, 1993; Rhodes, 1651; V. K. Trương, 1883, to name just a few). This view held for more than three centuries. Also according to Cao (1998a, p. 1), traditional grammarians came to the conclusion that Vietnamese has tense because they were strongly influenced by the tense systems of European languages, so much so that they could not accept that there existed a language that had no tense. As such, they searched for some linguistic devices that could be used to indicate time, and they came up with a set of three lexical items that, they claimed, expressed three tenses, as stated above, and concluded that Vietnamese had tense.

Modern Vietnamese grammarians and linguists point out that these traditional grammarians based their arguments only on the meanings of the above lexical items out of context (Cao, 1998a). Although *đã*, *đang*, *sẽ* can be used to express past, present, and future meaning, respectively, as Cao (1998a) observes, it is not difficult to find countless examples in Vietnamese discourse to illustrate that *đã* does not always refer to the past, or *đang* to the present, or *sẽ* to the future. The following are some of the examples taken from Cao (1998a).

(20)a. Bây giờ tôi **đã** có đủ tiền
Now *1SG* ***đã*** *have* *enough* *money*
“Now I **have** enough money”

b. Nếu hai tháng nữa anh mới dọn đến thì tôi
If *two* *monthsmore* *2SG* *just* *move* *here* *TOP* *1SG*
đã ở chỗ khác rồi
đã *stay* *place* *different* *already*
“If you move here in two months, I **will be** in another place”

(21)a. Sáng mai anh nên đến thật sớm,
Morning tomorrow 2SG should come very early,
 khi cả nhà tôi **đang** ngủ
when whole family 1SG đang sleep
 “You should come early tomorrow when my family **is still sleeping**”

b. Hồi ấy tôi **đang** học cấp ba,
That time 1SG đang study level three,
 còn anh **đang** chuẩn bị thi đại học
and 2SG đang prepare exam university
 “That time I **was studying** in a high school, and you **were preparing** for TEE exams”

(22). Hôm qua không có anh thì tôi không biết
Yesterday without 2SG then 1SG NEG know
 chuyện gì **sẽ** xảy ra
what sẽ happen
 “I don’t know what **could have happened** without you yesterday”

Đã in (20a) is used in a sentence representing a present state, signalled by the present time adverb *bây giờ* (‘now’), while in (20b) it indicates a future situation, which is conveyed by the temporal adverbial (TA) *hai tháng nữa* (‘in two months’). In (21a), *đang* is used in a future situation, specified by the TA *sáng mai* (‘tomorrow morning’), whereas in (21b) it conveys a past event, indicated by the TA *hồi ấy* (‘that time’). According to Cao, if *đang* in (21b) is replaced by *đã*, the sentence would sound odd. Similarly, (21a) would be unacceptable if *sẽ* is used in place of *đang*. Clearly in (22), *sẽ* is used in a past situation, expressed by the TA *hôm qua* (‘yesterday’). As argued by Cao (1998a), in these examples, the time of the situations is not located by *đã* or *đang* or *sẽ*. It is the temporal adverbials that locate the time of these situations. As Cao (1998a, p. 10) observes, “when there is a need to locate a situation in the past or the present, Vietnamese puts the situation in the corresponding time frame indicated by temporal adverbials such as *xưa kia* (‘long ago’), *trước đây* (‘in the past’), *hiện nay* (‘now’, ‘in the present’), *bây giờ* (‘now’, ‘in the time being’, ‘meanwhile’)”¹

¹ Original quote: “Khi cần định vị một sự tình trong thời quá khứ hay trong thời hiện tại, tiếng Việt dùng đến những khung đề có nghĩa từ vựng thích hợp như *xưa kia*, *trước đây*, *hiện nay*, *bây giờ*, v.v.”

(translation by the current researcher). The use of lexical items to express temporality in Vietnamese will be elaborated on in Section 2.2.2.

Only recently have modern grammarians and linguists raised their voices against the entrenched view that Vietnamese has tense. According to H.T. Nguyễn (2006), many Vietnamese grammarians confuse tense and time, using both terms to refer to the same entity, thus being very ambiguous in their arguments about whether Vietnamese has tense or not. Similarly confusingly, as shown above, some scholars assign tense meaning to the above mentioned lexical items (Đinh, 2001; M. T. Nguyễn & Nguyễn, 1998; Panfilov, 1993; L. C. Thompson, 1965, to name a few) and conclude that Vietnamese has tense. However, they deny that tense is a grammatical category in Vietnamese. As H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 15) puts it, “these linguists do not recognize the category of tense as an independent grammatical category in Vietnamese”² (translation by the current researcher). Others, on the other hand, clearly deny that Vietnamese has tense (Cao, 1998a; Emeneau, 1951; Jones & Huỳnh, 1960; Đ. D. Nguyễn, 1996). Cao (1998a, p.8-10) strongly concludes that “it is impossible to find in Vietnamese anything that resembles ‘tense’... In other words, Vietnamese has absolutely no tense”³ (translation by the current researcher). What is meant is that Vietnamese does not have a grammatical category for tense.

In fact, Vietnamese verbs are not inflected for tense and aspect. In sentences they are used in their base forms without morphological marking for tense or aspect. Most of the time, the interpretation of temporality is heavily dependent on the context and knowledge of the world, or in other words, on pragmatics (Aubaret, 1864; Bulteau, 1953; Cadière, 1958; K.T. Nguyễn, 1997; Trần, Bùi, & Phạm, 1940; V. K. Trương, 1883). L.C. Thompson (1965, p. 218) also states that

Vietnamese verbs are in themselves ... timeless. They establish only the fact that a particular action, series of actions or state of affairs is in effect. They depend entirely on the linguistic and situational context for their reference to relative time.

² “Cac nhà ngữ học thuộc khuynh hướng này không thừa nhận sự tồn tại của phạm trù thời như một phạm trù ngữ pháp độc lập trong tiếng Việt”

³ “không thể tìm thấy trong tiếng Việt một cái gì tương ứng với ý nghĩa ‘thì’... Nói một cách khác tiếng Việt tuyệt nhiên không có *thì*”

Jones and Huynh (1960) make a similar observation about Vietnamese verbs, saying that “most verbs in Vietnamese are timeless, by which is meant they are not present, past, or future, but simply establish a relationship, the existence of a state of being or an action” (Jones & Huynh, 1960, p. 131). Consider the following examples.

(23)a. Cậu đi đâu đấy? (speaker A)

Uncle go where [final particle]?

Where you go?

(b). Minh đi đến trường (speaker B)

I go to school

I go to school

Out of context, (23a) and (23b) are ambiguous as to the time they refer to. Now let us consider the following contexts for these utterances.

Context 1: Speaker A is walking on the road when he meets speaker B and utters (23a). In this case, (23a) will naturally be interpreted to mean “*Where are you going?*” (present progressive) and, (23b) accordingly, as “*I’m going to school*”.

Context 2: Speaker A sees that speaker B is about to go out. (23a) and (23b) will then be interpreted as follows:

(a). *Where are you going?* (futurate use of the present progressive)

(b). *I’m going to school*

Context 3: Speaker A sees that speaker B has just come home. In this case, the situation will be inferred as past or recent past as in the following.

(a). *Where did you go?* (simple past)

(b). *I went to school*

Or

(a). *Where have you been?* (present perfect with a recent past or “hot news” meaning)

(b). *I’ve been to school.*

As Cao (1998a) observes, Vietnamese sentences themselves do not normally carry temporal meaning if the time of the situations can be inferred from the contexts. When

the time of a situation needs to be emphasized or made explicit to avoid ambiguity, Vietnamese resorts to the use of various lexical items. These are presented in Section 2.2.2 below.

2.2.2. Lexical items expressing temporal and aspectual information in Vietnamese

Although Vietnamese does not mark tense and aspect grammatically, it has numerous lexical items that can be used to indicate the time or aspect of a situation. As M.T. Nguyễn (1995, p. 1) points out:

The number of lexical items expressing time and tense...listed in research works on Vietnamese ranges from twenty, thirty to a few tens, depending on the point of view of each researcher. The terms that these scholars assign to these lexical items as well as the meanings associated with them also vary greatly (English translation provided by the present researcher)⁴.

The three lexical items, *đã*, *đang*, and *sẽ*, mentioned above have attracted the widest discussion and have come to be known as ‘particles’ (Rhodes, 1651), ‘adverbials of time’ (Aubaret, 1864; Bùì, 1956; Cadière, 1958; Grammont & Lê, 1911; Lê, ?; H. Q. Nguyễn, 2001; K.T. Nguyễn, 1997; L. Nguyễn, 1956; V. K. Trương, 1883), ‘auxiliary verbs’ (Robert & Hùynh, 1960; V. C. Trương & Nguyễn, 1963), ‘verbs indicating time’ (Emeneau, 1951; William & Merrill, 1953), ‘time indicators’ (Panfilov, 1993), ‘adverbials of aspect’ (Trần et al, 1940), ‘tense markers’ (L. C. Thompson, 1965, p. 206), or ‘time modals’ (D. L. Nguyễn, 1969, p. 81; Trần et al., 1940, p. 94). Gradually, the list of lexical items expressing time in Vietnamese has been broadened to include a wider range such as *bèn* (‘then’, ‘so’), *chưa* (‘not yet’), *còn/vẫn còn* (‘still’), *gần* (‘almost’), *hãy/hãy còn* (‘still’), *lại* (‘again’), *liền* (‘straightaway’, ‘immediately’), *mới/vừa mới* (‘recently’, ‘just recently’), *rồi* (‘put an end to’, ‘already’), *xong/xong rồi* (‘finish’, ‘complete’), *sắp* (‘be going to’, ‘be about to’), *từng* (‘used to’). The list also includes such temporal adverbials as *hôm nay* (‘today’), *bây giờ* (‘now’), *hôm qua* (‘yesterday’), *tuần trước* (‘last week’), *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’), *tuần sau* (‘next week’), *sang năm* (‘next year’), *trong hai ngày* (‘for two days’), etc.

⁴ “Số lượng những từ biểu thị các ý nghĩa thời, thể hoặc gần gũi với thời, thể được liệt kê trong các tài liệu nghiên cứu tiếng Việt xê dịch từ hai, ba đến vài chục, tùy quan điểm của mỗi nhà nghiên cứu”

Below are some examples illustrating the use of some of these lexical items in sentences.

(24). Mai viết thư cho Hạ **tuần trước**
Mai write letter for Ha last week
“Mai wrote a letter to Ha **last week**”

(25). **Ngày mai** anh đến thăm em
Tomorrow 1SG come visit 2SG
“I will come to see you **tomorrow**”

(26). **Bây giờ** mình phải viết bài,
Now 1SG have to write essay,
không nói chuyện với cậu được
NEG talk with 2SG F-PART
“**Now** I have to write an essay. I can’t talk to you”

(27). Anh **sẽ** nấu cơm tối
1SG sẽ cook rice evening
“I **will cook** dinner”

(28). Tôi **đã** xem bộ phim ấy
1SG đã see film that
“I **saw/have seen** that film”

(29). Ngày mai tôi **đã** đi rồi
Tomorrow 1SG đã go already
“I **will have gone** tomorrow”

(30). Tôi **đang** đọc tiểu thuyết “Chiến Tranh và Hòa Bình”
1SG đang read novel “War and Peace”
“I **am/was reading** the novel “War and Peace””

(31). Con ăn cơm **rồi/xong rồi**
1SG eat rice already/finish already
“I **ate already** (or I **have already eaten**)”

- (32). Minh **vừa mới** làm xong bài
1SG just recent do finish homework
 “I **have just done** the homework”

The temporal adverbials *tuần trước* (‘last week’) in (24), *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’) in (25), and *bây giờ* (‘now’) in (26) definitely locate the situations in the past, future, and present, respectively. *Sẽ* in (27) indefinitely locates the situation in the future. However, it should be noted that if a future temporal adverbial, such as *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’), is inserted into (27), *sẽ* can be omitted. In (28), *đã* gives the sentence an experiential meaning, i.e., it indicates that the event of ‘seeing that film’ has occurred sometime in the past, before speech time. As observed by some scholars (Cao, 2000; H.T. Nguyễn, 2006; M. T. Nguyễn 1995), in this situation *đã* has an aspectual meaning, here perfect meaning. This meaning is more apparent in (29). This situation has a future meaning, indicated by the future temporal adverbial *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’). *Đã* functions to indicate that the event of ‘I go’ will have taken place before a reference point in the future, which is tomorrow. In examples (30)-(32), similarly, all the particles express aspectual meaning rather than temporal meaning. In (30) *đang* conveys a progressive (imperfective) meaning, while *rồi/xong rồi* in (31) and *vừa mới* in (32) give the sentences a completive, perfect reading.

Due to the complexity of lexical items used for expressing time in Vietnamese, as demonstrated above, it can easily be understood why their treatment in the literature on Vietnamese grammar varies so widely and is so inconsistent and why they are assigned so many different terms. Up to now there has never been agreement on a common term to refer to these lexical items.

As demonstrated above, some Vietnamese lexical items can explicitly locate situations in time, while others can be used to convey aspectual meaning. In this thesis they are mainly categorised into three groups, *temporal adverbials*, *auxiliaries*, and *aspectual markers*. Details are presented in the following sections.

2.2.2.1. *Temporal adverbials*

The category of temporal adverbials includes locating adverbials (LA) such as *hôm nay* (‘today’), *bây giờ* (‘now’), *hôm qua* (‘yesterday’), *tuần trước* (‘last week’), *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’), *tuần sau* (‘next week’), *sang năm* (‘next year’), *hai ngày nữa* (‘in the next

two days’), etc, and other temporal adverbials that have temporal inferences including adverbs of frequency such as *thường/thường xuyên* (‘often’, ‘usually’), *luôn luôn* (‘always’), *đôi khi* (‘occasionally’), *hiếm khi* (‘rarely’), *thi thoảng* (‘occasionally’), *vẫn hay* (‘often’), *hàng ngày* (‘every day’), *tối tối* (‘every night’), *các/mỗi buổi sáng/sáng nào* (‘every morning’), *cứ mùa xuân về* (‘every spring’), instantaneous adverbs such as *bỗng nhiên/bất ngờ* (‘suddenly’, ‘all of a sudden’), and the anaphoric adverb *rồi* (‘then’), occurring in clause-initial position.

According to Cao (1998a), in Vietnamese temporal adverbials are the most explicit and important devices for locating situations in time. Yet, very little research has been devoted to discussing the role of TAs in Vietnamese. M.T. Nguyễn (1995) even suggests that TAs be excluded from the list of lexical items that convey temporal information in Vietnamese sentences, for no particular reason, which is surprising, given their important role in expressing temporal location of situations. Of all the scholars who have attempted to take TAs into consideration, Dao (1965) gives the most comprehensive account of ‘time adverbials’ (in her term) available in Vietnamese. She divides them into ‘present time adverbials’ such as *bây giờ* (‘now’), *lúc này* (‘at the present’), *hôm nay* (‘today’), *tuần này* (‘this week’); ‘past time adverbials’ such as *khi nãy* (‘a moment ago’), *hôm qua* (‘yesterday’), *năm ngoái* (‘last year’); and ‘future time adverbials’ such as *lát nữa* (‘in a moment’), *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’), *sang năm* (‘next year’).

As illustrated in examples (24), (25), and (26) above, the time adverbials, as specified by Dao, explicitly locate situations in time. In this thesis they are referred to as locating adverbials (LA). They are divided into present LAs, which include what Dao calls ‘present time adverbials’; past LAs, which are ‘past time adverbials’ in Dao’s categorization; and future LAs, consisting of what Dao refers to as ‘future time adverbials’. This categorization does not seem to raise any issue with the past and future LAs, as examples (24) and (25) above show.

However, present LAs may present some degree of ambiguity and may be dependent on the context for their temporal meaning, as exemplified in (33).

- (33). **Hôm nay** Mai đi Hà Nội
Today *Mai* *go* *Hanoi*

“Today Mai go to Hanoi”

This utterance can have a few possible readings, depending on the context. If this utterance is an answer to the question “*Mai đi Hà Nội khi nào?*” (‘When did Mai go to Hanoi?’), then the situation is understood to have past temporal location. If it answers the question “*Khi nào/bao giờ Mai đi Hà Nội?*” (‘When will Mai go to Hanoi/When is Mai going to Hanoi?’), then it is interpreted to occur in the future. According to Đ.D. Nguyễn (1996), in Vietnamese, questions starting with *khi nào* or *bao giờ* (both meaning ‘when’) have a default future temporal reference, whereas questions ending with *khi nào* have a default past temporal reference. The situation may also have a perfect reading, if it is uttered in response to the question “*Mai đã đi Hà Nội chưa?*” (‘Has Mai gone to Hanoi?’). The meaning of the aspectual marker *đã* will be presented in Section 2.2.2.3.

How can such temporal adverbials be treated? No study has been conducted to address this issue. It seems that the temporal meaning of such TAs also depends on the situation type represented in the sentence, as will be shown later.

2.2.2.2. Auxiliaries

The category of auxiliaries consists of two lexical items, *sẽ* (‘will’/‘shall’) and *sắp* (‘about to’). Both of them occur before the main verb. Many scholars such as Emeneau (1951), William and Merrill (1953), Panfilov (1993) state that *sẽ* expresses future tense. Cao (1998a), among some others, argues that this auxiliary does not convey future tense, on the ground that it can co-occur with present, past, or future LAs, as illustrated in the following examples.

(34)a. **Ngày mai** tôi **sẽ** mang quyển sách đó đến cho anh
Tomorrow *1SG* *AUX* *bring* *CL* *book* *that* *for* *2SG*
“Tomorrow I will bring that book for you”

b. Con **sẽ** làm bài tập **bây giờ** (child to mother)
1SG *AUX* *do* *homework* *now*
“I’ll do the homework now”

c. **Hôm qua** anh ấy nói với tôi là anh ấy **sẽ** đến chơi,
Yesterday 3SG tell with me that 3SG AUX come visit,
 mà anh ấy lại không đến
but 3SG TOP NEG come

“Yesterday he told me that he would come to visit me, but he didn’t come”

As shown in these examples, *sẽ* can naturally co-occur with a present, past, or future LA. Their argument is that if it conveys future tense, it cannot occur in a present or past context. Let us examine the temporal meaning of each of the above examples. The future LA in (34a) locates the situation in the future of the speech time. The situation is understood to have future meaning. The presence of *sẽ* is not really necessary for the situation to have a future reading due to the presence of the future LA *ngày mai* (‘tomorrow’), which explicitly locates the situation in the future of S. The presence of *sẽ* seems to further emphasize the occurrence of the situation at a time later than S. In (34b) *sẽ* seems to express a promise that the doing of the homework will take place after S. All three situations [tell], [he *sẽ* come visit], and [he not come] in (34c) are located in relation to a past time denoted by the past LA *hôm qua* (‘yesterday’). The situation [he *sẽ* come visit] certainly cannot be understood to occur after S, or in other words, it does not have absolute future meaning. However, in relation to the situation [tell], *sẽ* expresses that the situation [come visit] will take place (though it did not happen) at a time later than R specified by the situation [tell], which is itself located in the past of S by the LA *hôm qua* (‘yesterday’). Thus, in this context it seems to convey the future-in-the-past meaning, which may be said to correspond to the meaning expressed by the English structure “would + VP”.

As illustrated in the above example, *sẽ* conveys the meaning of posteriority. It expresses that a situation occurs at a time later than some other time, which can be S (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995), or R specified by another situation.

Sắp has the same temporal meaning as *sẽ*. The difference between them, as pointed out by M.T. Nguyễn (1995), lies in the degree of certainty. *Sắp* has a high degree of certainty. A situation conveyed by *sắp* is understood to be certain to happen in the near future. *Sẽ*, on the other hand, has an inherent degree of uncertainty. A situation conveyed by *sẽ* may or may not happen. Compare (35a) and (35b).

(35)a. Anh ấy sẽ chuyển đến Hanoi
 3SG AUX move to Hanoi
 “He will move to Hanoi”

b. Anh ấy sắp cưới vợ.
 3SG AUX get married.
 Tôi mới nhận được thiệp mời từ anh ấy
 1SG *just* receive invitation from 3SG
 “He is going to get married. I have just received an invitation from him”

In (35a) the situation [move] may occur in the future of S, but this meaning can be cancelled by further information. There is no certainty implied. The speaker of (35b) expresses his/her certainty that the situation [get married] is about to occur in the near future, since s/he has an evidence for this, which is the wedding invitation.

2.2.2.3. Aspectual markers and aspectual meaning

Modern linguists argue that Vietnamese has a range of aspectual markers that can be used to express various aspects. The main aspectual markers include *đang/đương/vẫn đang/còn đang* (‘in progress’), *đã/rồi/ đã...rồi* (‘put an end to’, ‘already’), *chưa* (‘not yet’), and *từng/đã từng* (‘experiential’). In general the aspectual markers *đang/đương/vẫn đang/còn đang* (‘in progress’) are categorized as progressive aspectual markers, while all the others belong to the category of perfect aspectual markers.

2.2.2.3.1. Progressive aspectual markers and progressive meaning

Discussions about the functions and meanings of the marker *đang*, and its variants *đương/vẫn đang/còn đang*, have varied. H.T. Nguyễn (2006) refers to *đang* as one of the imperfective markers, while M.T. Nguyễn (1995), Cao (1998a), and Do-Hurinville (2007) argue that *đang* conveys the progressive meaning. Even though H.T. Nguyễn (2006) categorises *đang* as an imperfective aspectual marker, he also claims that “*đang* functions to convey the progressive meaning [corresponding to the progressive meaning] in English” (H.T. Nguyễn, 2006, p. 81)⁵. According to these scholars, the aspectual marker *đang* focuses on part of the situation, normally the middle part, without information about the beginning and end of the situation.

⁵ “*đang* có vai trò của tác từ đánh dấu ý nghĩa tiếp diễn (progressive operator) trong tiếng Anh”

Đang can be used with all situation types: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements, as illustrated in examples (36). Situation types are dealt with in more detail in 2.2.2.4.

(36)a. Lan **đang** hạnh phúc (state)

Lan PROG happy

“Lan is/was happy”

b. Lúc tôi đến Nam **vẫn đang** nấu cơm (activity)

When ISG come Nam PROG cook rice

“When I came, Nam was cooking”

c. Bố tôi **đang** đóng một cái bàn (accomplishment)

Father ISG PROG make one CL table

“My father is/was making a table”

d. Minh **đang** lên tới đỉnh núi (achievement)

Minh PROG reach summit

“Minh is/was reaching the summit”

e. Hà **vẫn đang** ho (semelfactive)

Ha PROG cough

“Ha is/was coughing”

With states, as in (36a), *đang* conveys the meaning that the state is temporary and holds at S. *Đang* is not normally compatible with states denoting permanent properties such as *cao* (‘be tall’), *thấp* (‘be short’), *vuông* (‘be square’), *tròn* (‘be round’), *hiểu* (‘understand’), *biết* (‘know’), etc, or achievements such as *chết* (‘die’), *tìm thấy* (‘find’), *nổ* (‘explode’) (Cao, 1998a; Do-Hurinville, 2007; H.T. Nguyễn, 2006). However, according to these scholars, in certain contexts *đang* can co-occur with stative denoting permanent properties, in which cases it emphasises the temporariness of the states.

When it is placed before an accomplishment (36c), it leads one to infer that the event did not reach completion (or that the endpoints of the event were not reached). In (36d), used with an achievement, *đang* turns the achievement into a process in which the reaching of the summit is not included. *Đang* used with a semelfactive gives the

semelfactive an iterative meaning, so (36e) is interpreted as consisting of a series of individual coughs (H.T. Nguyễn, 2006).

2.2.2.3.2. *Perfect aspectual markers and perfect meanings*

Discussions on the aspectual meaning conveyed by Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers (PAM) have been as varied as the scholars who have taken the effort to explore the aspectual meaning of these aspectual markers. In general, PAMs in Vietnamese have been described to convey the following meanings.

According to Do-Hurinville (2007), the basic literal meaning of the PAM *đã* (which is the most commonly used aspectual marker) is “to stop or to put an end to a state” (*‘chấm dứt hay làm cho hết một tình trạng nào đó’*) (p. 19). When the PAM *đã* or *rồi* is used with a state, this is exactly what it conveys, i.e. putting an end to a state X and indicates that a new state Y obtains at R (which coincides with S) (Cao, 1998a/1998b; Do-Hurinville, 2007). Cao (1998b, p. 486), for example, states that “*đã* used with a stative verb presupposes that the state [represented by the stative verb] did not exist [before R]”⁶. Do-Hurinville (2007, p. 20) elaborates on this, saying that when used with such states, “[*đã*] puts an end to states... and emphasises that states X... obtain only at the time of speech”⁷. In other words, *đã* implies that the current state denoted by it is the opposite of a past state. The following examples, taken from Do-Hurinville (2007, p. 21), illustrate this (English translation by the present researcher).

(37)a. Nam **đã** già

Nam PERF old

“Nam is old”

b. Trời **đã** lạnh

Sky PERF cold

“It is cold”

which Do-Hurinville interprets as follows: in (37a) the state of Nam being old presupposes that the state of him being young has “terminated” (*‘chấm dứt’*) (Do-

⁶ “**Đã** dùng với các vị từ tĩnh tiền giả định rằng trước kia cái trạng thái, tính chất ấy chưa có”

⁷ “*Đã* chấm dứt các tình trạng X?... , đồng thời nhấn mạnh là các tình trạng X.. chỉ đạt được kể từ điểm phát ngôn”

Hurinville, 2007, p. 21), i.e. the state of Nam being young no longer holds and the state of Nam being old is acknowledged at R/S (i.e. it obtains at R/S). Similarly, in (37b) the state of being cold is understood to obtain at R (which coincides with S) and it is assumed that it did not exist before. The aspect marker *-le* in sentence-final position (called ‘sentence-final *-le*’) in Mandarin Chinese, also a tenseless language, has also been widely observed to mark a change of state and current relevance (Chao, 1968; Ross, 1995; Soh, 2008; Sybesma, 1999; Xiao and McEnerry, 2004).

When used with non-stative verbs, the main meaning that PAMs in Vietnamese convey is the resultative perfect meaning (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995; Cao, 1998a/b; H.T. Nguyễn, 2006; Do-Hurinville, 2007). In Cao’s (1998a, p. 28) words, “*đã* used with non-stative verbs convey that a situation has occurred before S (or a time of orientation). However, the speaker’s attention is directed at the result brought about by the situation, rather than on the situation itself”⁸. H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 116) also states that when used with non-stative verbs, Vietnamese PAMs denote an “event that has reached its natural endpoint before the point of reference as well as the resultative state of the event [at the point of speech]”⁹. The following example illustrates this.

- (38). Bà ấy đến **rồi**
 3SG arrive **PERF**
 ‘‘She has arrived’’

The arrival in this situation is understood to have occurred before R which coincides with S. At the same time, it is implied that at S *she* is here. Thus, the resultative meaning conveyed by the PAM *đã* or *rồi* corresponds to the resultative meaning expressed by the English perfect aspect, as observed by Cao (1998a, b), H.T. Nguyễn (2006), and Do-Hurinville (2007). In this sense the Vietnamese PAM *đã/rồi* can be considered to correspond closely to the aspect marker *-le* in Mandarin Chinese, also a tenseless language. The aspect marker *-le* in Mandarin Chinese has been widely recognized to mark the current relevance of the event described in the sentence, which

⁸ “*đã* dùng với các vị từ [+ Động] cho ta một vị ngữ biểu hiện một biến cố diễn ra trước thời điểm phát ngôn (hay một thời điểm nào đó được lấy làm mốc). Tuy nhiên mối quan tâm của người nói hướng vào kết quả của biến cố hơn là bản thân biến cố”

⁹ “sự tình đã đạt đến kết điểm nội tại trước một thời đoạn quy chiếu cụ thể và trạng thái hệ quả của sự tình đó”

is similar to the perfect in English (Li, McMillan Thompson, & Thompson, 1982; Li & Thompson, 1981), or to denote a result state (Lin, 2003).

The combination of *đã* and *từng* can be used to denote a state or event that “was completed a long time before the point of speech and the results are not relevant at the point of speech” (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995, p. 7)¹⁰. Also, according to this author, “in Vietnamese ‘*từng + P*’ expresses the meaning similar to what Bernard Comrie calls the experiential perfect in English” (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995, p. 7)¹¹. This meaning is exemplified in (39).

(39). Tôi **đã** **từng** đến Hà Nội
1SG PERF EXP come Hanoi
I have been to Hanoi

which is understood that I have been to Hanoi on at least one occasion in the time interval before S.

The recent past or ‘hot news’ meaning in Vietnamese can be expressed by *mới/vừa/vừa mới* (‘recently/just recently’). Since, the recent past or ‘hot news’ meaning they express is widely recognized as part of the perfect meaning, for convenience, in this study they are included in the category of PAMs in Vietnamese. This meaning is illustrated in the following example.

(40). Nam **vừa mới** tới
Nam just recently arrive
“Nam has just arrived”

Perfect aspectual markers in Vietnamese can also convey a situation which began in the past and continues up to, and even beyond, the present, as exemplified in (41) below, taken from H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 90).

¹⁰ “được hoàn thành trước thời điểm phát ngôn một thời gian rất dài, và kết quả không còn lưu lại ở thời điểm phát ngôn nữa”

¹¹ ““*từng + P*” trong tiếng Việt có ý nghĩa tương tự cái mà Bernard Comrie gọi là “thể hoàn thành trải nghiệm” (the experiential perfect) trong tiếng Anh”

(41). Anh Nam **đã** học tiếng Anh 2 năm **rồi**
CL Nam PERF study English 2 year PERF

“Nam has studied/has been studying English for 2 years” (and he is still studying English)

It can be seen that PAMs in Vietnamese can be used to convey the range of perfect meanings expressed by the English perfect. However, they are not used very often in any mode of discourse. According to K.T. Nguyễn (1977), Vietnamese PAMs are used most frequently in news reports (23.4%), followed by social sciences works (14%). They almost never appear in natural sciences works, while in literary texts their occurrences amount to just three percent.

More often in Vietnamese, sentences appear with no aspectual markers, just as in Mandarin Chinese, also a tenseless language, as observed by Smith (1997). Smith refers to sentences without a viewpoint morpheme in Mandarin Chinese as having a neutral viewpoint. Sentences with a neutral viewpoint have both open (imperfective) and closed (perfective) readings, depending on the situation type and contextual information. As will be shown below, what Smith observes in Mandarin Chinese also applies to Vietnamese.

2.2.2.3.3. *Perfective viewpoint?*

Discussions about Vietnamese perfective aspect vary greatly. However, most of them centre on the linguistic devices that can be used to express the perfect, completive, and resultative aspects. As H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p.109) states, “to find aspectual markers for the perfective aspect in Vietnamese is a difficult task... The conception *perfective*, in our view, means *completive* or *perfect*... It does not denote a perfective situation...”¹² (italics as in original; translated by the present researcher). Of all the scholars who have taken the task of giving an account of the perfective aspect in Vietnamese, H.T. Nguyễn’s (2006) account seems to be the most comprehensive. According to him, there are no obvious aspectual adverbials that convey the perfective viewpoint in Vietnamese. This meaning is normally indicated by accomplishments or achievements that are put

¹² việc xác nhận các chỉ tố đánh dấu thể hoàn thành (perfective aspect) trong tiếng Việt là một vấn đề nan giải... khái niệm hoàn thành được dung theo chúng tôi có nghĩa là *kết thúc* hoặc *đĩ thành* (perfect)... chứ không đánh dấu một sự tình hoàn thành (perfective situation)”

into a past context, clearly signaled by past locating adverbials or when a situation is bounded by an adverb of completion such as *mất một ngày* ('in one day'), *mất hai tiếng* ('in two hours'), as illustrated in (42), the Vietnamese original taken from H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 111), English translation by the present researcher.

- (42). Tôi viết bài báo cáo này **mất một ngày**
1SG write CL report this take one day
 "I wrote this report in one day"

H.T. Nguyễn (2006), however, goes on to say that the perfective aspect in Vietnamese can be manipulated through the combination of *đã* with an accomplishment or achievement and with such verbs as *hết* ('empty'), *xong* ('finish'), *nốt* ('finish'), *thấy* ('discover'), *ra* ('detachment'), and *được* ('attainment'). Smith (1997) calls such verbs as mentioned above 'resultative verb complements' (RVCs). According to H.T. Nguyễn (2006), combinations of accomplishment or achievement with RVCs put a focus on the endpoint of a situation or, in other words, they convey the result of the event represented in the situation. The event is taken to have finished before a reference point, as illustrated by the following example, both the Vietnamese versions and the English translations are provided by H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 121-3), the gloss translation provided by the present researcher.

- (43)a. Nam **đã** sửa **được** chiếc xe này **rồi**
Nam PERF repair RVC CL car this PERF
 "Nam has repaired that car"
- b. Nam **đã** đọc **xong** quyển sách đó
Nam PERF read RVC CL book that
 "Nam finished/has finished reading that book"

In (43a) it is understood that Nam has successfully repaired the car before R which is itself before S and also that, as the result, the car is in a working condition at S. This meaning is, as can be seen, similar to the resultative meaning conveyed by Vietnamese PAMs discussed above and also very close to the resultative perfect meaning in English. In (43b) the PAM *đã* together with the RVC *xong* conveys the completive aspect, which

“in English... is expressed by... the simple past or the present perfect” (H.T. Nguyễn, 2006, p. 124)¹³.

It seems that the aspectual meaning expressed by *đã...xong* is also not very different from the resultative meaning conveyed by *đã/đã... rồi*, as discussed above. It also denotes an event that has occurred before S and the relevance of the state resulting from the occurrence of the event S. The aspectual meaning seems to be determined by the aspectual marker *đã*. The RVC *xong* adds telicity to the situation, indicating that the situation has reached its endpoint.

However, if a definite past LA is inserted in (43) above to produce (43') below, the sentences will plausibly have a perfective reading.

(43')a. **Tuần trước** Nam **đã** sửa **được** chiếc xe này **rồi**
Last week Nam PERF repair RVC CL car this PERF
 “Nam repaired that car last week”

b. Nam **đã** đọc **xong** quyển sách đó **tối hôm qua**
Nam PERF read RVC CL book that night yesterday
 “Nam finished reading that book last night”

Unlike the English present perfect, which is not compatible with a definite past locating adverbial, Vietnamese PAMs can freely be used with definite past LAs. When they appear with a past LA, Vietnamese PAMs, as Do-Hurinville (2007) observes, emphasize that the situation occurred and finished at the time specified by the LA. The situations in (43') are thus located in the past by the LAs *tuần trước* (‘last week’) and *tối hôm qua* (‘last night’), and have a perfective reading. Note that the perfective reading arises from the presence of the RVCs *được* (‘attainment’) in (43'a) and *xong* (‘finish’) in (43'b). Without the RVCs the perfective reading may not arise. Consider (43'') below, expanded from (43').

(43'')a. **Tuần trước** Nam **đã** sửa chiếc xe này,
Last week Nam PERF repair CL car this
 nhưng không sửa được
but NEG repair RVC

¹³ “trong tiếng Anh... được thực hiện hóa bằng...simple past, present perfect”

“Nam attempted to repair that car last week, but he couldn’t repair it”

b. Nam **đã** đọc quyển sách đó **tối hôm qua,**
Nam PERF read CL book that night yesterday
nhưng chưa đọc xong
but not yet read RVC

“Nam read that book last night, but did not finish”

The ‘but-clauses’ can be inserted into the sentences in (43") without causing any contradiction. In (43"a) Nam is understood to have performed the task of repairing the car, but did not succeed. At S the car is still not in a working condition. Similarly, in (43"b) the situation [read that book] is understood to have occurred last night, but was not finished. At S the book is not read through.

2.2.2.3.4. Perfect aspectual markers and other meanings

Apart from the main aspectual meanings discussed above, Vietnamese PAMs also convey some other meanings, the most common of which is to indicate that something happens earlier than usually expected (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995; Do-Hurinville, 2007). The following examples, (44a) taken from Do-Hurinville (2007, p. 26) and (44b) from M.T. Nguyễn (1995, p. 6), illustrate this meaning. The gloss translation and the English translation are provided by the present researcher.

(44)a. Hấn về hôm trước, hôm sau **đã** thấy uống rượu
3SG return day before, day after PERF seen drink wine
“He came back one day, the next day he already drank wine”

b. Ngày mai thế nào chuyện anh đến tôi chơi cũng
Tomorrow surely story 2SG come 1SG visit also
đã chạy khắp làng
PERF spread all over village

“Surely tomorrow the news of you coming to visit me will spread all over the village”

The presence of the PAM *đã* in both sentences above conveys that the situation [drink wine] and the situation of the news spreading all over the village occur earlier than

usual or earlier than one would normally expect. The person referred to as *hắn* in (44a) is a main character named Chí Phèo in a popular literary work “*Chí Phèo*” by a famous Vietnamese writer Nam Cao. Chi Pheo is an excessive drinker. He is arrested for drinking and causing chaos in the public. Yet, when released, he immediately drinks again. The normal expectation is that after being released Chi Pheo would behave better and would not turn to alcohol so soon. The perfect marker *đã* is used in this sentence to explicitly convey the ‘earlier than expected’ meaning.

Another common use of *đã*, as Do-Hurinville (2007) observes, is in a comparative structure to emphasize that a state is always valid, as exemplified below (taken from Do-Hurinville (2007, p. 27).

- (45). Bà **đã** đẹp nhưng Bạch Tuyết lại còn đẹp hơn
 2SG PERF beautiful but Snow White even beautiful more
 “You are beautiful, but Snow White was even more beautiful”

The use of *đã* in the sentence above is to assert that the beauty of the hearer is unquestionable and well-established and the state of her being beautiful is always true. If anyone (Snow White in this case) is more beautiful than her, then that person is considered exceptionally beautiful.

2.2.2.4. Situation type

Very little research has been conducted into the classification and temporal properties of situation types in Vietnamese. Cao (1998a) and H.T. Nguyễn (2006) provide the most comprehensive accounts of Vietnamese situation types. Both of them are under primary influence of the classification of situation types in English and other European languages. They both based their classification mainly on two characteristics: (a)telicity and durativity. Based on these characteristics Cao categorized Vietnamese verb phrases (VP) into four groups: telic, atelic, dynamic, and non-dynamic (stative). His definition of a telic situation is based on the definition by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Thus, he defines a telic situation as one that consists of a process that leads up to an endpoint or an action that brings about a result. An atelic situation, on the other hand, does not bring about a result, so that part of the situation is the same as it is when it stops, or in other words, it does not have an endpoint. He provides the following examples to illustrate

the contrast between telicity and atelicity (Cao, 1998a, p. 12); situations (a-d) are telic, while all the situations in (a'-d') are atelic.

(46). Telic situations vs. atelic situations

- a. Họ đi đến trường
3PL go to school
 “They went /are going to school”
- a'. Họ đi trên đường cái
3PL go on road
 “They are going on the road”
- b. Nó bán mất cuốn sách rồi
3SG sell T-PART CL book PERF
 “S/he has sold the book”
- b'. Nó bán sách ở góc phố
3SG sell book LOC corner
 “S/he sells books in the corner”
- c. Tôi viết bức thư mất nửa giờ
1SG write CL letter take half hour
 “I wrote the letter in half an hour”
- c'. Tôi viết thư nửa giờ liền
1SG write letter half hour continuously
 “I wrote letters for half an hour”
- d. Quả bom nổ một tiếng inh tai
CL bomb explode one sound hurt ear
 “The bomb exploded loudly”
- d'. Bom nổ đi ùng ngày đêm
Bomb explode noisily day night
 “Bombs explode days and nights”

A dynamic situation, according to Cao, involves intentional changes (such actions as *nhảy* (‘dance’), *đánh* (‘beat’), *uống* (‘drink’), *bẻ* (‘bend’)) or unintentional changes (such events as *rơi* (‘fall’), *cháy* (‘burn’), *đổ* (‘pour’), *chảy* (‘flow’), *nổ* (‘explode’),

chìm ('sink'), *chết* ('die'). Non-dynamic (stative) situations, on the contrary, involve no changes. Cao divides stative situations into controllable (such as *ngồi* ('sit'), *cầm* ('hold'), *đứng* ('stand')) and uncontrollable (e.g. *nóng* ('hot'), *sốt* ('fever'), *sợ* ('scared/fear'), *thích* ('like'), *gầy* ('thin'), *ốm* ('sick'), *dài* ('long'), *lớn* ('grow'), *già* ('old')).

H.T. Nguyễn (2006) gives a more detailed account of Vietnamese situation types, which is based on the accounts given by Vendler (1967) and Smith (1997). He distinguishes five types of situations: states, activities, accomplishments, achievements, and semelfactives, just the same as Smith's classification. Not surprisingly, his definitions of the five situation types are also the same as that given by Vendler and, in particular, by Smith. States, according to him, are unbounded, contain no endpoints, and can hold indefinitely. He divides states into two groups, generalizing states such as those exemplified in (47) and states (e.g. *thích* ('like'), *hiểu* ('understand'), *biết* ('know'), *đẹp* ('beautiful'), *là* ('be'), *nghĩ* ('think'), *yêu* ('love')), as exemplified in (48). Vietnamese has many stative verbs for which English corresponding forms are adjectival. The Vietnamese examples are taken from H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 61-62). The tense forms in the English translation are inserted, since Vietnamese does not have tense.

(47). Generalizing states:

a. Trái đất quay chung quanh mặt trời
Earth revolve around sun

“The earth moves around the sun”

b. Sáng nào tôi cũng đi học lúc 8 giờ
Every morning ISG also go school at 8 o'clock

“I go to school at 8 o'clock every morning”

c. Con đường này chạy đến bờ sông
CL road this run to bank river

“This path leads to the river”

(48). States:

a. Hổ là loài ăn thịt
Tiger be species eat meat

“Tigers **are** meat eating animals (Tigers eat meat)”

- b. Tôi **nghĩ** anh đang gặp khó khăn
1SG think 2SG PROG encounter difficulty
 “I **think** you are in trouble”

Activities, according to H.T. Nguyễn, are dynamic, durative, and atelic; they do not bring about a change of state. He gives as examples the following: *tìm* (‘look for’), *chạy* (‘run’), *đi dạo* (‘walk’), *ngủ* (‘sleep’), *cười* (‘laugh/smile’), *đẩy xe* (‘push a cart’), *ăn* (‘eat’), *đọc sách* (‘read books’), *viết thư* (‘write letters’), *hát* (‘sing’), etc.

Accomplishments, like in English, are telic, consist of a process that leads up to an endpoint, and when they reach their endpoint, they bring about a change of state. H.T. Nguyễn (2006, p. 64-65) gives the following examples to illustrate accomplishments in Vietnamese.

(49). Accomplishments:

- a. Lan đã ăn một ổ bánh mì
Lan PERF eat one loaf bread
 “Lan has eaten a loaf of bread”

- b. Nam đang đóng một cái ghế
Nam PROG make one CL chair
 “Nam is/was making a chair”

- c. Nam đã sơn lại căn phòng ấy
Nam PERF repaint CL room that
 “Nam has repainted that room”

The argument is that when the event of eating one loaf of bread is finished, the loaf of bread is gone. Similarly, (49c) conveys that at the speech time the repainting of the room has reached the endpoint, i.e. the room has a new paint. The presence of the PAM *đã* conveys that the situations have taken place before S. The endpoint of the making of a chair in (49b), however, is not entailed due to the progressive aspectual marker *đang*, which removes the natural endpoint (as the progressive only focuses on the middle part of the event) and coerces the accomplishment into an activity at the clause level (Xiao and McEnery, 2004).

Achievements are punctual and also telic, and bring about a change of state. Examples may include such VPs as *chết* ('die'), *tắt* ('blow out'), *nổ* ('explode'), *tìm thấy* ('find'), *vỡ* ('break'), etc. Semelfactives are instantaneous, consisting of a single event. For example, *ho* ('cough', understood as one cough), *bay đi* ('fly away', subject being one bird), *gật đầu* ('nod the head', nodding once).

H.T. Nguyễn (2006) also notices that the temporal meaning of a situation type can be shifted due to such factors as the singularity or plurality of the verb's arguments, temporal adverbs (e.g. adverbs of frequency and instantaneous adverbs), and certain particles. The following examples illustrate shifted interpretation of a situation type.

(50). Shifted situation types due to prepositions or complements

a. Cô Hoa ngồi bên cạnh tôi (state)

Miss Hoa sit besides I SG

"Miss Hoa sits/is/was sitting next to me"

a'. Hoa ngồi xuống bên tôi (accomplishment)

Hoa sit down besides I SG

"Hoa sat down next to me"

b. Nam thì già, còn vợ anh ấy thì trẻ (state)

Nam be old, but wife 3SG be young

"Nam is old, but his wife is young"

b'. Nam già đi nhiều từ khi bị vợ bỏ

(accomplishment)

Nam old RVC much since PASSIVE wife leave

"Nam has aged a lot since his wife left him"

c. Con chim đang bay (activity)

CL bird PROG fly

"The bird is flying"

c'. Con chim bay lên (achievement)

CL bird fly up

"The bird flew/has flown up"

The addition of the preposition *xuống* ('down') to the state *ngồi* ('sit') turns it into an accomplishment, while the addition of the verb *đi* (literally meaning 'go') shifts the

state *già* ('old') to an accomplishment *già đi* ('age'). The achievement *bay lên* ('fly up') in (50c') is created from the addition of the preposition *lên* ('up') to the activity *bay* ('fly'). Đ.H. Nguyễn (1996) calls such lexical items, which occur at a postverbal position and alter the temporal features of a situation type, 'coverbs', while Fukuda (2006) refers to them as telic particles, since they add telicity to the situation type. Brinton (1988) also notices that English has prepositions, referred to as 'verbal particles', such as *up*, *down*, *out*, and *off* that can convert an activity into an accomplishment. Such particles are referred to by Smith (1997) as Resultative Verb Complements (RVCs). For convenience and consistency, in the present thesis such postverbal positioned lexical items that function to add telicity to a situation in Vietnamese are also referred to as RVCs.

(51). Shifted interpretation due to temporal adverbials:

a. Sáng nay tôi đọc một tờ báo (accomplishment)
This morning *1SG* *read* *one* *CL* *newspaper*
 "I read a newspaper this morning"

a'. **Sáng nào** tôi cũng đọc một tờ báo (activity)
Every morning *1SG* *also* *read* *one* *CL* *newspaper*
 "**Every morning** I read a newspaper"

b. - Anh đến lúc nào?
2SG *arrive* *when?*
 "What time did you arrive?"

- Tôi đến lúc 8 giờ (achievement)
1SG *arrive* *at* 8 *o'clock*
 "I arrived at 8 o'clock"

b'. Tôi **luôn luôn** đến vào lúc 8 giờ (generalizing state)
1SG ***always*** *arrive* *at* 8 *o'clock*
 "I **always** arrive at 8 o'clock"

With the presence of the TA *sáng nay* ('this morning'), the situation [*đọc một tờ báo*] ('read a newspaper') in (51a) has what Smith (1997) calls a 'single event' reading. On the hand, the adverb of frequency *sáng nào* ('every morning') in (51a') gives the situation, to use Smith's (1997) term, a 'multiple event' reading, turning it into an iterative activity. Iterative activity has habitual reading, thus this situation can also be

interpreted as a generalizing state. In (51b') the adverb of frequency *luôn luôn* ('always') shifts the punctual reading of the achievement [*đến*] ('arrive') to habitual reading and the situation is turned into a generalizing state. This may be attributed to Smith's (1997) observation that in a clash between the temporal values of a temporal adverbial and the temporal values of situation type, the temporal values of the adverbial override the temporal values of the situation type.

(52). Shifted interpretation due to plurality or singularity

a. Nam ăn **một quả táo** (accomplishment)

Nam eat one CL apple

“Nam ate an apple”

a'. Nam ăn [**nhieu**] táo (activity)

Nam eat [PL] apples

“Nam eats [lots of] apples”

b. Lan hét vang cả nhà (activity)

Lan scream loud whole house

“Lan is shouting loudly”

b'. Lan hét lên **một cái** (semelfactive)

Lan scream up once

“Lan screamed once (Lan let out a scream)”

It should be noted that Smith (1997) also notices the influence of number marking on the interpretation of situation type in English. Thus, it seems that H.T. Nguyễn's (2006) classification of situation type in Vietnamese as well as his discussion of shifted interpretation of situation type is heavily influenced by Smith's (1997) classification and discussion of situation type in English.

2.2.2.5. *Interpretation of temporal location based on the temporal properties of situation type*

No studies have been conducted to investigate how temporal location of a situation can be determined by the temporal properties of the situation type in Vietnamese. In other tenseless languages also, very little research has been carried out to examine this issue. Smith and Erbaugh (2005) are probably the pioneers in attempting to propose a pattern of temporal interpretation in deictic mode in Mandarin Chinese. Their generalization

takes into account three pragmatic principles, “Bounded Event Constraint”, “Simplicity Principle of Interpretation”, and “Temporal Schema Principle”. According to Smith and Erbaugh (2005), the Bounded Event Constraint principle allows the interpretation that unbounded situations are normally located in the present, while bounded events are normally located in the past. Departure from the pattern requires additional explicit information, as explained by them:

“Bounded events may be located in the Future, and states or on-going events may be located in the Past or Future. These departures from the pattern are expressed with additional information... However, no bounded events are located in the Present. This is an important, non-accidental, gap in the paradigm. It is due to a general constraint that events in the present cannot be bounded” (Smith and Erbaugh, 2005, p. 716).

In the deictic pattern, as Smith and Erbaugh state, the default temporal location of bounded events is past rather than future. This default pattern is constrained by the second pragmatic principle, the “Simplicity Principle of Interpretation”, which Smith and Erbaugh explain as follows: “when faced with information that does not fully determine an interpretation, people choose the simplest interpretation to resolve it”, or in other words, people choose the interpretation that requires the least additional information. The formulation of this principle was based on the study by Kanizsa (1976) which found that when people are presented with a partial or indeterminate picture or shape, their visual system constructs a simple complete percept of the picture or shape rather than a complex or incomplete one. Levinson (2000) makes a similar observation in the informativeness or I-principle, that the speaker may choose to give less information than required in an utterance and the hearer fills it in with specific information to arrive at a simple interpretation, based on world knowledge. Smith and Erbaugh apply this principle in temporal interpretation in deictic pattern, proposing that the Simplicity Principle of Interpretation constrains the interpretation that bounded events are past rather than future, since the future involves a certain degree of uncertainty. Thus, the future is more complex than the past.

The “Temporal Schema Principle” constrains the interpretation of the temporal property of a situation type. The constraint of this principle is, as Smith and Erbaugh state, that the temporal interpretation of a zero-marked clause (i.e., clause that does not contain an

explicit temporal or aspectual marker) is determined by the temporal schema of the situation type represented in the clause, unless there is explicit information to the contrary. Thus, for example, verb constellations that express telic or instantaneous events, such as accomplishments or achievements, are taken as bounded, while state verb constellations and activity verb constellations as unbounded, unless there is explicit information to the contrary. Smith (1997) refers to clauses without an overt aspect marker in Mandarin Chinese as having a ‘neutral aspect’. Since Vietnamese temporal and aspectual system shares many similarities with that of Mandarin Chinese, the term ‘neutral aspect’ can be extended to refer also to Vietnamese clauses that contain no explicit aspectual marker.

The findings of the present study are expected to shed more light on the role of situation type in the temporal interpretation of situations in tenseless languages, not only in deictic mode, but also in narrative mode. The nature of tense and aspect (including lexical aspect or situation type) in narrative in English is presented below.

2.3. Temporality in narrative

2.3.1. Definition of narrative

Definitions of narrative vary according to different angles from which narrative is viewed. In terms of temporal relations, narrative is commonly viewed as an account of a sequence of events. For example, Labov (1972) defines narrative as “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is referred) actually took place” (Labov, 1972, p. 359). Labov was also the first to actually define narrative texts by properties of their temporal structure (Hata, 1989). He defines a minimal narrative text as “a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered” (Labov, 1972, p. 360). Similarly, Smith (1999) states that “the essence of narrative is that its situations are taken to occur in sequence” (Smith, 1999, pp. 488-489). Comrie (1985) gives a more detailed definition of narrative. According to him, a narrative

“is by definition an account of a sequence of chronologically ordered events (real or imaginary), and for a narrative to be well informed it must be possible to work out the chronological order of events from the structure of the narrative with minimal difficulty; this constraint of minimal difficulty means the easiest way to present these

events is with their chronological order directly reflected in the order of presentation” (Comrie, 1985, p. 28).

Thus, a key feature of narrative is that it presents events in a chronological order, or in de Swart’s (2007, p. 2286) words, it “involves putting a sequence of events in a temporal order”. Labov and Waletzky (1966) see the strict temporal sequence as “the defining characteristic of narrative” (Labov & Waletzky, 1966, p. 22). The sequencing of events is referred to by Dry (1981) as the timeline or the main story line of a narrative.

2.3.2. Temporality in narrative

2.3.2.1. Function of tense and aspect in narrative

The functions of tense and aspect in narrative discourse are very different from those in ordinary language. As Fleischman (1990, p. 3) puts it, “[i]t has often been observed that tense usage in narrative is anomalous with respect to a language’s normal use of tenses – that the relationships between time and tense in narrative are not the same as those obtaining in ordinary language”. While in conversations tense is deictic, i.e. it relates the time of a situation to the time of speech, in narrative tense expresses continuity (Smith, 1999; 2007). On the other hand, aspect indicates whether a situation is on-going or complete in conversations, whereas in narrative aspect helps to determine the backgrounding and foregrounding of the text or the movement of narrative time.

According to Fleischman (1990), the functions of tense and aspect in narrative are frequently pragmatic in nature, and they are different across genres and across languages. Smith (1999) views the role of tense and aspect in their contribution to the temporal structure of a narrative, saying that

“Temporal location allows a speaker to locate a situation in time from an external point of view, ignoring its internal structure, while aspect specifies the internal temporal structure of the situation. The two sub-systems come together in narrative discourse. Narrative presents situations which are bound by a unifying thread of some kind. The temporal relations between these situations constitute the dynamics of narrative... Aspectual information helps to determine the advancement of narrative time.” (Smith, 1999, p. 488)

Due to the nature of narrative as referring to specific experiences that are assumed to have occurred in some past world (real or imagined), the most common and also unmarked tenses used are the past tenses (Fleischman, 1990; Linhares-Dias, 2006; Weinrich, 1985). The simple past tense in which the events are narrated normally receives a value of presentness, referred to by Mendilow (1965) as “fictive present” and “any expository matter is felt as past in relation to that present” (Mendilow, 1965, p. 94).

However, the present tense is also found in narration, although, as Linhares-Dias (2006) observes, present tense narration is more unusual than its past tense counterpart. This use of the present tense is called “narrative present”. In Wolfson’s (1979) view, novelists often use the present tense to “lend realism” to their dialogue. When both the past and present tenses are used in narration to report temporally ordered, punctual events on the event line, the past is normally used for “low-focus” events, while the present is used for “high-focus” events (Fleischman, 1990). Novelists often switch between the past and the present in their narration as a stylistic device, employed for the sake of greater vividness (Fleischman, 1990; Kamp & Reyle, 1993; Paden, 1977), or to indicate a shift in point of view on the part of the narrator (Hatcher, 1942).

The past perfect is also commonly used in narrative to express flashbacks. In narrative the past perfect normally conveys that the event expressed by the past perfect occurs before the reference time of the event expressed by the simple past tense. In this use the past perfect conveys the “past-of-the-past” or retrospective past meaning. Irandoust (1999) calls this interpretation of the past perfect the “*S/T-configuration*” (with S standing for the “source space”, which is the time frame in which the event has taken place; and T for the “target space”, which is the time frame in which the result state of the event is acknowledged). This interpretation obtains when the past source space is explicitly identified, as demonstrated in the following example, taken from Irandoust (1999, p. 286).

(53). Mary entered the kitchen. John was waiting for her. He had washed all the dishes early in the morning and had prepared a leisurely breakfast.

The past perfect in the above example explicitly presents the eventualities (the term ‘eventuality’ is used for particular states and events, following Bach (1981)) of John’s

washing the dishes and preparing the breakfast as eventualities that took place in a prior time frame (source space), which precedes the time frame in which Mary entered the kitchen (target space). In the following example (also taken from Irandoust (1999, p. 280), the source space of the event of John's washing the dishes is not explicitly specified. The past perfect focuses the attention on the result state, which is evident at the time Mary entered the kitchen.

(54). Mary entered the kitchen. John had washed all the dishes.

In this example the past perfect makes visible the result state of John's washing all the dishes, which is noticed by Mary at the time of her entering the kitchen, probably by her noticing that the dirty dishes are no longer in the kitchen sink, but are on the shelf clean and dry. When the past perfect focuses on the result state of a past event rather than on the event itself, it conveys the "perfect-in-the-past" meaning. This interpretation is referred to by Irandoust as the "*T-configuration*" (Iranoust, 1999, p. 287).

In a sequence between a simple past and a past perfect sentence, according to Lascarides and Asher (1993), the past perfect sentence normally elaborates, explains, or provides background for, or contrast with, the event presented in the simple past sentence. As such, the past perfect in general indicates a backward movement of narrative time (Lascarides and Asher, 1993). However, if a series of related events are conveyed by the past perfect, they can be sequenced and thus enables movement of time, as illustrated in the following example, taken from Lascarides and Asher (1993, p. 250).

(55)a. Max arrived at the summit at midday.

b. He had got up at 5:30am,

c. had prepared his lunch, and

d. had passed base camp before 7am.

In (55), (a) provides the reference time for the past perfect events in (b), (c), and (d), indicating that the past perfect events occur before this reference time. The rhetorical relation between the simple past sentence and the past perfect sentences is that of *Elaboration*, which does not enable temporal progression. Rhetorical relations are discussed in more detail below. However, within the episode of past perfect events, the

events are interpreted to sequence one another and the time is understood to move from one event to the next.

In narrative the past perfect has also been observed by Irandoust (1999) to suspend an episode and introduce a new episode, in which case it serves as an anchoring point for the time frame in which the events in the new episode are enacted. According to Irandoust, the simple past tense cannot normally be used to create similar stylistic effect.

Aspect in narrative serves as a grounding tool; i.e. a tool for distinguishing between foreground and background. The imperfective aspect often provides background for the narration, while the perfective aspect functions to mark the foreground. Background and foreground are the key features of a narrative temporal structure. They are discussed in detail in the following sections.

2.3.2.2. *Expression of foreground information or movement of narrative time*

Foreground is the most important feature of narrative discourse. As Couper-Kuhlen (1989, p. 7) puts it, “the notion of *foreground* is a crucial one in most theories of narrative discourse” (italics as in original). Foreground is referred to as the “backbone” of narrative (Linhares-Dias, 2006, p. 70; Longacre, 1983, p. 100), “the main narrative plane” (Wehr, 1984, p. 106), “the actual story line” (Hopper, 1979, p. 213), or reference time progression (Kamp & Rohrer, 1983; Partee, 1984). Foreground is indicated by events or, to use a more neutral term, situations that are on the time line. These situations are referred to as foreground sentences “in which the action of the narrative takes up and time begins to move forward” (Dry, 1983, p. 20). Foreground is indicated by different linguistic devices, both grammatical and lexical.

2.3.2.2.1. Foreground and viewpoint aspects

The viewpoint aspect that is normally used for narrating sequences of events, or for advancing narrative time is the perfective (Dry, 1981, 1983; Hopper, 1979, 1982; Smith, 1997, 1999, among others). Smith, for example, states that “advancing the plot is perhaps the most basic use of perfectives in narrative” (Smith, 1997, p. 92). A similar observation is made by Forsyth (1970) who argues that “the expression of a sequence of actions is one of the most characteristic functions of perfective verbs in an extended

context” (Forsyth, 1970, p. 9-10). As mentioned earlier, the perfective viewpoint is commonly said to be available to all situation types, including states and activities (Brinton, 1988; Smith, 1997). It should thus be expected that all situation types with a perfective viewpoint will advance narrative time. Let’s consider the following examples, taken from the novella “*Old Man and the Sea*” (OMAS).

(56)a. “He **shipped** the oars and **brought** a line from under the bow...and he **baited** it with one of the sardines. He **let** it go over the side and then **made** it fast to a ring bolt in the stern” (OMAS, p. 26)

b. “He also **drank** a cup of shark liver oil each day from the big drum in the shack where many of the fishermen **kept** their gear. It **was** there for the fishermen who **wanted** it. Most fishermen **hated** the taste. But it **was** no worse than getting up the hours that they **rose**...” (OMAS, p. 30)

All the verbs in both (56a) and (56b) are in the simple past form. According to Brinton (1988) and Smith (1997), as shown earlier, they have a perfective viewpoint. One would expect the narrative time to advance with each clause in the simple past form. True enough, in (56a) the narrative time moves forward with each clause. However, temporal progression is not implied in (56b). Under closer examination, all the situation types in (56a) are accomplishments, whereas all of the situation types in (56b) are stative or generalizing statives. A perfectly presented situation needs to be included in its reference time and with each perfectly presented situation a new reference time is introduced, which enables temporal progression (Hinrichs, 1986). States in the simple past form, as exemplified in (56b), do not seem to qualify to have a perfective viewpoint. It seems that in English the simple past tense form is not the marker of perfectivity, i.e. it does not always give a situation a perfective reading, as argued by some scholars. It seems that a situation in the simple past tense can have either a perfective or imperfective viewpoint, depending on situation type. De Swart & Verkuyl (1999) thus refer to clauses in the simple past tense as having a neutral aspect.

The progressive imperfective aspect, as Couper-Kuhlen (1989) points out, sometimes also pushes the action forward. She illustrates this point with the following example (Couper-Kuhlen, 1989, p. 14).

(57). and my friend and I were sort of playing ahead (...) and so I was just batting this thing up there and it fell in the hole and rolled out and lo and behold I get this hole in one

She argues that the event (I be batting this thing) must be interpreted as having completed as a “prerequisite for the ball to reach the hole” (Couper-Kuhlen, 1989, p. 15). Her argument for this interpretation is the fact “that the Simple Present/Past can be substituted for the progressive with no change in the meaning” (Couper-Kuhlen, 1989, p. 14). Nevertheless, she cautiously concludes that whether a progressive is foregrounded or not depends on whether or not it moves the current reference time ahead, which leads to the inference of whether the next event takes place after or during the former one. Even though Couper-Kuhlen does not explicitly mention the role of pragmatic knowledge in arriving at a foreground interpretation for a progressive sentence, it can be seen here that in such a situation pragmatic knowledge is necessarily called upon, a point supported by Dry (1983) and to which we will return later.

2.3.2.2.2. Foreground and situation aspects

The movement of narrative time is not only indicated by viewpoint aspect, but also by situation type. Of the four situation types proposed by Vendler (1967), accomplishment and achievement sentences with the perfective viewpoint aspect always propel narrative time, since “accomplishments and achievements introduce a new reference point which replaces the old reference point and which is temporally ordered after the old reference point” (Hinrichs, 1986, p. 71). They have an intrinsic natural endpoint, or in other words, they are telic situations (Dowty, 1986; Dry, 1981, 1983; Hatav, 1989; Hinrichs, 1981; Smith, 1999). State and activity sentences, due to their durative, atelic nature (having no limit or natural endpoint), do not normally advance narrative time. Kamp (1979) and Partee (1984) also recognize the dependence of temporal anaphora on the aspectual distinction between events and states, whereby events introduce a new reference time or Klein’s (1994) ‘topic time’, which, according to Bittner (2007), is updated by each event verb type, whereas stative verbs do not introduce a new reference or topic time. She argues that temporal anaphora based on distinction between events and states is universal and extends to grammatically tenseless languages.

Hatav (1989) and Smith (1999) argue that states and activities may advance narrative time when they are presented as inchoatives. The inchoative interpretation is normally achieved by overt linguistic marking, for example, adverbials such as ‘suddenly’ or by pragmatic inference. Along the same line, Dowty (1986) and Dry (1983) claim that stative and activity sentences advance narrative time when they receive an inceptive interpretation (e.g. with adverbials like ‘suddenly’ or ‘in a moment’), as in the following example, taken from Dowty (1986, p. 26).

(58). John went over the day’s perplexing events once more in his mind. Suddenly he was fast asleep.

The state (be fast asleep) receives an inceptive interpretation from the adverb ‘suddenly’. In this case the state denotes an inchoative situation and thus infers the movement of narrative time. The contribution of temporal adverbials to the movement of narrative time will be dealt with in Section 2.2.4.

Depraetere (1995) argues that it is not only the telicity but also the boundedness of a situation that determines the foregrounded status of the situation. A situation is presented as bounded when it is described as having reached a temporal boundary (Declerck, 1989, 1991). As such, broadly, all bounded telic events are foregrounded. But, bounded atelic situations (bounded states or activities) may also be foregrounded (Couper-Kuhlen, 1987; Depraetere, 1995; Hatav, 1989; Smith, 1999). Depraetere uses the following example, taken from Couper-Kuhlen (1987, p. 16) to illustrate an atelic event receiving a foreground interpretation.

(59). The balloon popped. The child jumped.

According to Depraetere, the first clause is bounded telic. The second clause (the child jump) is intrinsically atelic. But in this situation it is understood that the child jumps as a result of the sudden explosion of the balloon and it is bounded to the left. This situation thus receives a sequential interpretation. It seems that the sequential interpretation in this example is also elicited from the rhetorical relation of result, as will be elaborated below.

Hinrichs (1986) attributes the sequential interpretation of accomplishments and achievements to the movement of reference point, as stated earlier. According to

Hinrichs, if two sentences both contain an accomplishment or achievement in the past tense, then the events are understood as happening in succession. If one of the two sentences contains an activity or a state, then the events can be interpreted as either succeeding or overlapping each other. If both sentences contain an activity or a state, then the events overlap each other temporally, since states and activities are unbounded and atelic and thus do not normally introduce a new reference time. These observations are also shared by Kamp and Reyle (1993), who show that in the relation between e_α and e_β (e_α, e_β), if e_β is an event, then typically it is interpreted as following event e_α ($e_\alpha < e_\beta$), whereas if e_α is an event and e_β is a state, the relation is invariably that of inclusion ($e_\alpha \subseteq e_\beta$) or overlap ($e_\alpha \cap e_\beta$).

2.3.2.2.3. Foreground and temporal adverbials and connectives

As shown earlier, temporal adverbials can play a crucial role in determining the foregrounded status of a situation. As Smith (1997) points out, in a clash between the verb constellation and a temporal adverbial, the feature value of the temporal adverbial overrides the value of the verb constellation. Smith calls this shifted interpretation the ‘principle of external override’ (Smith, 1997, p. 53). By this principle, for example, a telic adverbial will give an atelic verb constellation a telic interpretation. This explains why the state in (58) above acquires a sequential interpretation.

Instantaneous adverbs such as *suddenly*, *all of a sudden*, *in a moment* give a situation (of any type, including state and activity) an inceptive reading and thus infer a sequential interpretation. Locating adverbs such as *today*, *the day before*, *two hours later*, etc, reflect the fact that the speech time moves forward with the story. According to de Swart, “narrative progress is at least partly achieved by moving the speech time forward” (de Swart, 2007, p. 2284). Dry (1983) gives a detailed account of the temporal connectives that move narrative time. These include *after*, *before*, and *until*, since they “always refer to a boundary point of a situation” (Dry, 1983, p. 40), be it initial or final point. Reference to sequenced temporal points, she argues, triggers the illusion of time movement.

The anaphoric adverb ‘then’ in clause-initial or clause-medial position functions to sequence the event in the ‘then’ clause to the event in the clause preceding the ‘then’ clause (E. Thompson, 1999). As E. Thompson points out, ‘then’ is “...an overt marker

of time linking in tense structure” (E. Thompson, 1999, p. 139). Thus, the anaphoric adverb ‘then’ always advances narrative time.

2.3.2.2.4. Foreground and rhetorical relations and pragmatic inferences

Foregrounded information can also be conveyed by rhetorical relations and our world knowledge about the natural order of events. These pragmatic factors are particularly crucial for the establishment, as well as the working out, of the temporal structure of narrative in languages (such as Vietnamese) that do not mark tense and aspect grammatically. According to de Swart, “[r]hetorical relations can be used to help select the intended temporal relation” (de Swart, 2007, p. 2281). The rhetorical relations that help elicit foregrounded information are *Narration* and *Result* (Asher & Lascarides, 2003). When the two events are related by *Narration*, it is assumed that the order in which they are presented follows their temporal order. The relation of *Narration* imposes a temporal precedence order on the eventualities, apart from being related spatio-temporally, so much so that “where things are in space and time at the end of e_α is where they are at the beginning of e_β ” (Asher & Lascarides, 2003, p. 462). The axiom for *Narration* is as follows:

Narration: $(\alpha, \beta) \Rightarrow \text{overlap (pre-state } (e_\beta), \text{ Adv } \beta \text{ (post-state } (e_\alpha))$

So that $e_\alpha < e_\beta$, in other words, events are assumed to have occurred in the same order as that in which they are presented (cf. Grice’s maxim of manner). This order is defeasible though, and further information can lead to a revision. Example (60), taken from Asher and Lascarides (2003, p. 462), illustrates the relation of *Narration*.

(60). Max came in the room. He sat down. He lit a cigarette

It is understood here that the sitting down only takes place after Max comes into the room and he sits down before he lights the cigarette. In other words, Max comes into the room, then he sits down, then he lights the cigarette. The events are interpreted to occur in the order they are presented.

The rhetorical relation of *Result* obtains when the effect is presented as following the cause in their temporal order, as in (61), taken from Asher and Lascarides (2003, p. 463).

(61). John pushed Max. He fell

It is understood that Max fell as the result of John's pushing him. The relation of *Result* can be represented in the following axiom.

The temporal consequence of *Result*: $Result(\alpha, \beta) \Rightarrow (e_\alpha < e_\beta)$

2.3.2.3. *Expression of background information*

Backgrounded situations are those that are not on the time line. They do not contribute to the movement of narrative time, but provide more information (description, explanation, or elaboration) for the foregrounded situations. Background information is typically expressed by the imperfective aspect (Hopper, 1979; 1982; Smith, 1997; 1999).

Background information can also be elicited from the rhetorical relations of *Explanation*, *Elaboration*, and *Background*. *Explanation* refers to the reversal of temporal order; i.e. the event described in the second clause is understood to have caused that described in the first clause, as illustrated in (62), taken from Asher and Lascarides (2003, p. 462).

(62). Max fell. John pushed him.

In this example the cause of Max's fall is presented as following the result. Pragmatic knowledge allows us to interpret that the falling follows the pushing, not the other way around, thus the second sentence has to be understood as giving an explanation to the cause of the fall. It does not advance narrative time.

Temporal consequence of *Explanation*:

(a) *Explanation* $(\alpha, \beta) \Rightarrow (\neg e_\alpha < e_\beta)$

(b) *Explanation* $(\alpha, \beta) \Rightarrow (\text{event } (e_\beta) \Rightarrow e_\beta < e_\alpha)$

These axioms are explained by Ritz (2007, p. 137) as follows:

The first consequence, (a), states that the eventualities of the first part cannot precede temporally those of the second. The second consequence, (b), specifies that if the

second part contains a verb referring to an event, then this event will precede any event in the first part.

In the relation of *Elaboration*, “the second proposition provides more detail about the event described in the first” (Asher and Lascarides, 2003, p. 8), as exemplified in (63), taken from Asher and Lascarides (2003, p. 8).

(63). (a) Max had a lovely meal last night. (b) He had a great meal. (c) He ate salmon. (d) He devoured lots of cheese. (e) He then won a dancing competition.

In the above example, the clauses (b-e) elaborate on the clause (a), i.e. elaborating on the eventuality of Max having a lovely night. The elaborating clauses, thus, do not enable temporal progression. The relation of *Elaboration* can be represented in the following axiom.

Temporal consequence of *Elaboration*: $Elaboration(\alpha, \beta) \Rightarrow \text{Part-of}(e_\alpha < e_\beta)$

The relation *Background* holds when “one constituent provides information about the surrounding state of affairs in which the eventuality mentioned in the other constituent occurred” (Asher and Lascarides, 2003, p. 460).

Temporal consequence of *Background*: $Background(\alpha, \beta) \Rightarrow \text{overlap}(e_\alpha, e_\beta)$

This can be illustrated in the following example, taken from Asher and Lascarides (2003, p. 460).

(64). Max opened the door. The room was pitch dark.

The second clause in this example provides background information about the state of affair (the state of the room) surrounding the eventuality of Max opening the door. The state of the room being pitch dark is interpreted to be simultaneous with the eventuality of opening the door. Thus, like *Elaboration*, *Background* does not provide temporal progression.

Certain temporal adverbials and temporal connectives also play a role in giving rise to an imperfective reading, which does not advance narrative time. Adverbs of frequency,

for example, render a situation (of all situation type) iterative or repetitive. As such, they can turn a single event with a perfective viewpoint into an iterative activity with an imperfective reading.

While extensive research has been conducted to examine the role of different temporal resources in tensed languages in narrative discourse, very little research has been carried out to find out how temporal resources contribute to the temporal structure of narrative in tenseless languages. None has been done in Vietnamese. It is thus expected that the results of the present study will also provide useful information on how temporal structure in Vietnamese narrative, with possible relevance to other tenseless languages, is constructed. Before we present the study, it is useful to provide an overview of translation approaches. Even though the study is not concerned with aspects of translation theory per se, it is useful to brief on the nature of the two main translation approaches that are in practice in contemporary translation and on the notion of translation equivalence, as they will be referred to often in the present study.

2.4. Overview of translation equivalence and translation strategies

2.4.1. Definition of translation

There are many different definitions of translation proposed. As Nida (1964) observes, “definitions of ... translating are almost as numerous and varied as the persons who have undertaken to discuss the subject” (Nida, 1964, p. 161). Jakobson (1959) was among the first scholars in the twentieth century to provide a definition of translation. According to him, “translation from one language into another substitutes messages in one language not for separate code-units but for entire messages in some other language” (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233). The view of translation as ‘substitution’ of messages by one language for another is shared by Catford, who defines translation as “substitution of TL [target language] meanings for SL [source language] meanings” or “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (Catford, 1965, p. 20).

Munday (2001) views translation from a broader perspective and proposes a more comprehensive definition, as follows:

The term **translation** itself has several meanings: it can refer to the general subject field, the product (the text that has been translated) or the process (the act of producing the translation, otherwise known as **translating**). The process of translation between two different written languages involves the translator changing an original written text (the **source text** or **ST**) in the original verbal language (the **source language** or **SL**) into a written text (the **target text** or **TT**) in a different verbal language (the **target language** or **TL**) (Munday, 2001, p. 4-5) (author's emphasis).

2.4.2. Translation equivalence

2.4.2.1. The notion of equivalence

Central to the studies of translation is the notion of equivalence. The pioneer scholar to raise the notion of equivalence in translation was Jakobson (1959). He places equivalence in a close relationship with linguistic meaning. His so called "equivalence in meaning" focuses on "differences in the structure and terminology of languages" rather than on the untranslatability of a message from one language to another (Munday, 2001, p. 37).

According to Venuti, "equivalence has been understood as 'accuracy', 'adequacy', 'correctness', 'correspondence', 'fidelity', or 'identity'; it is a variable notion about how the translation is connected to the foreign text" (Venuti, 2000, p. 5). Translation equivalence has been a dominant issue in translation studies (Munday, 2001). Kenny (1998) observes that although it is a central concept, it is also a controversial one.

Approaches to the question of equivalence can differ radically: some theorists define translation in terms of equivalent relations (Catford, 1965; Nida and Taber, 1969; Toury, 1980a; Pym, 1992, 1995; Koller, 1995) while others reject the theoretical notion of equivalence, claiming it is either irrelevant (Snell-Hornby, 1988) or damaging (Gentzler, 1993) to translation studies (Kenny, 1998, p. 77).

Baker, who devotes a whole textbook to discussing different types of equivalence, claims she uses the notion of equivalence "for the sake of convenience – because most translators are used to it rather than because it has any theoretical status" (Baker, 1992, pp. 5-6).

Still, equivalence is considered as a “necessary condition for translation” (Kenny, 1998, p. 77). It is popularly defined as the “relationship between a source text (ST) and a target text (TT) that allows the TT to be considered as a translation of the ST in the first place” (Kenny, 1998, p. 77). However, as Pym has observed from most of the definitions of equivalence, the relationship between translation and equivalence is circular: “equivalence is supposed to define translation, and translation, in turn, defines equivalence” (Pym, 1992, p. 37).

Despite the controversy about the nature of translation equivalence, it continues to be a central concept in translation theory. Contemporary theorists (Baker, 1992; Bassnett, 1991; Munday, 2001, to name but a few) are still devoting substantial chapters to translation equivalence.

2.4.2.2. Types of equivalence

Catford (1965) was among the first who distinguished two different types of equivalence: “formal correspondence” and “textual equivalence”. He describes “formal correspondence” as “any TL category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the ‘same’ places in the ‘economy’ of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL” and “textual equivalent” as “any TL text or portion of text which is observed on a particular occasion... to be the equivalent of a given text or portion of text” (Catford, 1965, p. 27). He goes on to illustrate his discussion with very simple, decontextualized examples, then concludes “formal equivalence can only be established ultimately on the basis of textual equivalence at some points” (Catford, 1965, p. 32). Snell-Hornby describes Catford’s approach as a “circular definition which leads nowhere” (Snell-Hornby, 1988, p. 20).

Nida (1964) approaches the problem of translation equivalence from a “scientific” perspective, proposing two different types of equivalence: “formal equivalence” and “dynamic equivalence”. “Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such a translation one is concerned with such correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept... One is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language” (Nida, 1964, p. 159). Thus, the orientation of formal equivalence is towards the ST structure, emphasizing accuracy and

correctness of both form and content of the ST language. In other words, Nida's "formal equivalence" takes into account both linguistic and cultural features of the source language text.

"Dynamic equivalence", on the other hand, "is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic relationship ..., that the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message" (Nida 1964, p. 159). In such a translation, the source message, according to Munday, "has to be tailored to the receptor's linguistic needs and cultural expectations" (Munday, 2001, p. 42) so that the target reader, without much knowledge of the source language culture, can still understand the source message and respond in substantially the same manner as the source text reader. "Dynamic equivalence" thus "aims at complete naturalness of expression" (Nida, 1964, p. 159); the translator is expected to seek "the closest natural equivalence to the source-language message" (Nida, 1964, p. 166; Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 13).

Nida's approach to translation has been influential (Munday, 2001, p. 43). Some other discussions of the types of equivalence have evolved around his two types of equivalence with more or less similar definitions despite different terms. His 'formal equivalence', for example has been referred to as 'semantic equivalence' by Newmark (1981) and also as 'formal equivalence' by Koller (1979/1989), while his 'dynamic equivalence' has been called as 'communicative equivalence' by Newmark (1981) and as 'pragmatic equivalence' by Koller (1979/1989).

Although different types of equivalence at all levels of the entity of texts have been proposed, overall, they can be categorized under two main types, "formal equivalence" and "dynamic equivalence". As Venuti (2000) points out, "the binary oppositions are basically synonymous, despite the variations among them" (Venuti, 2000, p. 122). The "formal equivalence" opposition is concerned with matching as closely as possible the SL elements (semantic and syntactic) with the TL elements; i.e., communicating linguistic and cultural features of the source text, while the "dynamic equivalence" opposition deals with the effect of a text on its reader; i.e., establishing in translation a relationship between the TL text and its reader which is the same as that existing between the SL text and its reader.

2.4.3. Translation methods

There are two main methods of translation corresponding to two main types of equivalence. These are source-language oriented and target language oriented methods. According to Venuti (1995, p. 20), the SL-oriented method puts “an ethnodeviant pressure on [target-language cultural] values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the [target] reader abroad”. Using this method, the translator is expected to preserve the foreign identity of the source text and to make the translated text “a place where a cultural other is manifested” (Venuti, 1995, p. 20). In the history of translation studies this method is widely known as “literal translation” (or “word-for-word”), a term first introduced by Cicero and St Jerome (Munday, 2001). A “literal translation” aims at replacing “each individual word of the ST ... with its closest grammatical equivalent in [the TT]” (Munday, 2001, p. 19). SL-oriented translation has also been known by some other terms such as a “faithful translation” (Newmark, 1988, p. 46), “metaphrase translation” (Dryden, 1680/1992.), and “alienating translation” (Schleiermacher, 1813/1977). SL-oriented translation is characterized by ‘accuracy’, ‘correctness’, ‘faithfulness’, ‘fidelity’, and ‘loyalty’ to the original in both form and content.

As such, SL-oriented translation is mainly concerned with preserving the linguistic and cultural differences of the source text by seeking the “purely ‘formal’ replacement of one word or phrase in the SL by another in the TL” (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 40). In this type of translation, formal equivalents of the SL linguistic elements are primarily aimed for.

TL-oriented translation, on the other hand, is the type of translation which involves “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values” (Venuti, 1995, p. 20). This type of TL-oriented translation has also been designated by different terms. It is most widely referred to as “free translation” (or “sense-for-sense”), and is concerned with the sense and content of the ST rather than with the form of the ST. In Baker’s words (1997, p. 321), it aims at “creat[ing] fluent texts which convey [...] the meaning of the original without distorting the target language”. Other terms for this approach include “idiomatic translation”, which “reproduces the ‘message’ of the original but tends to distort nuances of meaning by preferring colloquialism and idioms where these do not exist in the original” (Newmark, 1981, p. 47); “paraphrase

translation”, which allows changes of whole phrases or even more to convey the meaning of the ST (Dryden, 1680/1992); and “naturalizing translation”, where the reader is left in peace as much as possible and the author is moved towards the translator (Schleiermacher, 1813/1977).

TL-oriented translation allows the tailoring of the source message to the linguistic needs and cultural expectations of the receptors. The typical characteristics of this type of translation are ‘fluency’, ‘naturalness’, ‘transparency’, and ‘readability’ (Venuti, 1995). The concern with ‘fluency’ and ‘naturalness’ in TL-oriented translation means that it allows alterations or adaptations of the SL items, such as “shifting word order, using verbs in place of nouns, and substituting nouns for pronouns” (Nida, 1964, p. 167). If the source text contains linguistic and cultural elements alien to the target language and culture, they are more likely to be avoided in the translation. In adopting this translation approach dynamic equivalence is mainly sought for.

In the translation of temporal and aspectual information between Vietnamese and English, due to the great disparity between the two temporal and aspectual systems, as shown above, it can be expected that achieving formal equivalence is largely impossible. The adherence to the SL seems highly inapplicable. It will thus be interesting to see how the elements of the translation approaches (either SL or TL) are manipulated in the translation of temporal and aspectual information between Vietnamese and English and whether they may have any influence on the translators’ choices of the linguistic forms in the TL to convey the temporal and aspectual information expressed in the ST.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the temporal and aspectual systems of English and Vietnamese and demonstrated how significantly the systems differ between the two languages. It has also provided a brief on the notion of translation equivalence and translation approaches. Given such disparity between the temporal and aspectual systems of the two languages, it is easily understandable why translating temporal and aspectual information from one language to the other poses a great challenge for translators, as stated in Chapter 1.

However, no studies have investigated how translators use the limited aspectuo-temporal resources of Vietnamese to accommodate the meaning conveyed by the temporal and aspectual resources of English. Nor have any studies been conducted to find out how translators choose to present the Vietnamese ST information, which is rarely conveyed by an explicit aspectuo-temporal device, in the English TL, in which the presence of tense and aspect in every finite sentence is obligatory.

The present study is aimed at investigating these issues with the hope to provide translators with useful information as well as a better understanding of the use and meanings of the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual devices, which may be helpful for translators in translating temporal and aspectual information from Vietnamese to English and from English to Vietnamese as well as for teachers of Vietnamese to speakers of other languages.

The data used in the study as well as the method of data analysis will be presented in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The previous chapter has shown how different the Vietnamese and English temporal and aspectual systems are. While in English the temporal information of a situation is normally explicitly indicated by the verb form, Vietnamese allows a high degree of vagueness and ambiguity since in sentences the verb is always used in the base form. In English, verbal inflections play a crucial role in helping the hearer locate a situation temporally. Speakers have no choice but to indicate the time at which a situation occurs, as tense marking is obligatory. Vietnamese, on the other hand, may allow different interpretations depending on linguistic and communicational contexts as well as pragmatics and knowledge of the world. In order to arrive at an appropriate temporal interpretation of a situation, the listener is required to play an active part in gathering all the linguistic and contextual clues as well as using their pragmatic knowledge. In oral conversations, the listener has a chance to clarify any vagueness or ambiguity by asking for more information from the speaker. In written texts, however, the reader can only rely on linguistic clues, such as temporal adverbials, aspectual markers, auxiliaries, rhetorical relations, and their knowledge of the world.

Given these great disparities between the temporal systems of the two languages, it could be seen that translating temporal information in narrative texts between English and Vietnamese is not an easy task. This study aimed at investigating translators' choices of temporal resources in conveying temporal and aspectual information from Vietnamese to English and vice versa. In detail, it set out to find answers to three main questions, guided by several sub-questions as follows.

1. What choices do translators make when translating a literary text from Vietnamese into English with respect to tense and viewpoint aspect? More specifically:
 - a. Are there any patterns of tense/aspect choices that emerge in the English translation of deictic sections of the Vietnamese text given the presence or absence of temporal adverbials in the Vietnamese text?

b. Are there any patterns of tense/aspect choices that emerge in the English translation of deictic sections of the Vietnamese text given the presence or absence of aspectual markers in the Vietnamese text?

c. Are there any patterns of tense/ aspect choices that emerge in the English translation of deictic sections of the Vietnamese text given the lexical aspect of verb phrases?

d. Are there any patterns of aspect choices that emerge in the English translation of narrative sections of the Vietnamese text given the presence of aspectual markers in the Vietnamese text?

e. Are there any patterns of aspect/situation type choices that emerge in the English translation of narrative sections of the Vietnamese text given the lexical aspect of verb phrases in the absence of aspectual markers?

2. How is temporal and aspectual information conveyed when translators translate an English literary text into Vietnamese?

a. Is information expressed by English tenses and aspects in the deictic sections conveyed explicitly by overt temporal adverbials or aspectual markers in the Vietnamese translation? If not, is it recoverable from other factors and if so, what are they?

b. Is information expressed by English aspects in the narrative sections conveyed explicitly by overt temporal adverbials or aspectual markers in the Vietnamese translation? If not, is it recoverable from other factors and if so, what are they?

3. What factors seem to influence the translators' choices?

a. Do the translators' choices appear to be influenced by the translation strategies adopted?

b. Do the translators' choices appear to be influenced by the rules governing the use of the temporal and aspectual resources of the source language or those of the target language?

The data needed and the methods of analysing the data employed in the study are presented in Section 3.1 and 3.2 below.

3.1. Data

For the purpose of the study, a total of sixteen excerpts from contemporary narrative fictions were collected. Each excerpt consisted of various passages, taken from one particular narrative text, to the total length ranging from around 7000 to 10,000 words. The total clauses in the Vietnamese original corpus were 3967, while the figure for the English original corpus was 3972 clauses. The data included four excerpts originally written in Vietnamese, four originally written in English, and their respective translated versions. The Vietnamese excerpts were taken from two short stories, “*Tướng Về Hưu*” (‘The General Retires’) and “*Một Chiều Xa Thành Phố*” (‘An Evening Away from the City’), and two novels, “*Tiểu Thuyết Vô Đề*” (‘Novel Without a Name’) and “*Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*” (‘The Sorrow of War’). Correspondingly, the English excerpts were also taken from two short stories, “*The Fall of Edward Barnard*” and “*The Snow Goose*”, and two novels, “*The Old Man and the Sea*” and “*The Quiet American*”. The reason for selecting these texts was basically the availability of both the original and translated versions. Detailed background information about those short stories and novels is given below.

“*Tướng Về Hưu*” (‘The General Retires’): The short story “*Tướng Về Hưu*” was written in 1986 by Nguyễn Huy Thiệp, “one of the most talented and popular Vietnamese writers of recent times” (Lockhart, 1992, p. back cover). It was first published in Hanoi in 1987. The version used in this study was republished in the Nguyễn Huy Thiệp’ 2004 collection of short stories titled “*Những Truyện Thành Thị*” (‘Stories of the City’). This story was translated into English by Greg Lockhart and first published in “*The General Retires and Other Stories*” in 1992. It is this translation version which was analysed in the present study. This story has a very linear temporal structure. The events seem to follow one another in a temporal order. However, the temporal order of events is not often expressed explicitly, i.e. conveyed by linguistic devices.

“*Một Chiều Xa Thành Phố*” (‘An Evening Away from the City’): The author of this short story is a famous Vietnamese writer, Lê Minh Khuê. She wrote the story in 1982. Information about its first publication has not been located. The Vietnamese version

collected for this study comes from “*Truyện Ngắn Chọn Lọc: Những Dòng Sông, Buổi Chiều, Con Mưa*” (‘Selected stories: Rivers, Afternoons, Rain’), edited by Thu Ha in 2003. It was translated by Bac Hoai Tran and Dana Sachs and published in 1997 in “*The Stars, the Earth, the River: Short Fiction by Le Minh Khue*”. The main character in this story, on her trip to the country to visit her old friend, recalls many events that occurred in the past of the narrative time. The usage and non-usage of linguistic devices indicating a shift in time in this story is an interesting point.

“*Tiểu Thuyết Vô Đề*” (‘Novel Without a Name’) is a famous novel by Dương Thu Hương. It was written in 1990 and was banned in Vietnam due to “its scathing dissection of the day-to-day realities of life for the Vietnamese during the final years of the ‘Vietnam War’” (Phan and McPherson, 1995, front flap). The draft of this novel was somehow taken to America where it was published by Van Nghe Publishing House in 1991. The novel is considered comparable to the world famous war fiction “*All Quiet on the Western Front*” by Erich Maria Remarque (Phan and McPherson, 1995, front flap). “*Tiểu Thuyết Vô Đề*” was translated into English by Phan Huy Dương and Nina McPherson and the English version was first published in 1995 as “*Novel Without a Name*”. The temporal structure of this novel is interesting. It contains a lot of flashbacks within flashbacks. The novel revolves around the ordeals the narrator goes through on the front, most notably his long journey through the tortuous jungles of central Vietnam to a unit where his childhood friend, who is reported mad, is kept, then to his village, then back to the front and what happens during the journey. Among the events he encounters at the narrative time, the protagonist recalls many of the events that occurred before the narrative time. In one passage, when he recalls the events that happened before the narrative time, he also relives his childhood memories which take place in a time-sphere anterior to the time of his recalled events, i.e., the time-sphere which itself is anterior to the narrative time. The novel is not divided into chapters, but into numerous sections. Four sections were chosen for the study. These sections contain events that are enacted in different time-spheres. In these sections the narrator goes back and forth frequently in time, which requires the reader to play an active part in interpreting the temporal information of the passages.

“*Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*” (‘The Sorrow of War’) is a first novel written by Bảo Ninh in 1989. It was first published in 1990 with the title “*Thân Phận Tình Yêu*” (‘The Fate of Love’), then republished in 1991 as “*Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*” (‘The Sorrow of War’). This

novel was one of the three that received Literary Awards in Vietnam for the best literary works in 1991. The English translation, by Vo Bang Thanh and Phan Thanh Hao, with Katerina Pierce, was first published in 1993 and reprinted three times in 1994. This novel tells of a demobilized soldier (Kiên), who has gone through the Vietnam War, surviving the fiercest battles and witnessing thousands of his fellows being killed in the most horrible ways. When the war ends, Kiên returns home, trying to adjust to a normal life, but what he has experienced during the war keeps haunting him. He can no longer be an ordinary person like the one he was before he was mobilized. Kiên becomes a writer. He wants to write about something other than the war, but he always ends up writing about the fighting, killing, and other terrible scenes of the war. His war experiences have become the darkest part of his life. He lost his youth and love in the war. Like the novel *“Novel Without a Name”*, this novel also contains many flashbacks.

“The Old Man and the Sea” is a novella (just over 100 pages in length) by Ernest Hemingway, written in Cuba in 1951 and published in 1952. It was the last major work of fiction to be produced by Hemingway and published in his lifetime. *“The Old Man and the Sea”* led to numerous accolades for Hemingway, including the 1953 Pulitzer Prize for Fiction, the Award of Merit Medal from the American Academy of Letters that same year, and most prestigiously, the Nobel Prize in Literature that came in 1954. It was translated by Mac Do and the Vietnamese translated version was published in 1998. The novella has a linear temporal structure with many internal dialogues made by the main character (the old man) to himself or the sea creatures around him.

“The Quiet American” was written by Graham Greene and was first published in 1955 in Great Britain. Graham Greene spent three years writing it. The novel set the scene in the Vietnam War. The main characters are the narrator (Fowler), a British journalist in his fifties who has been covering the French war in Vietnam for over two years; Pyle, the one referred to as “the quiet American”; and Phuong, the girl both Fowler and Pyle are in love with. *“The Quiet American”* has been twice adapted to film. It was translated by Vu Quoc Huy. The translated version used for this study was published in 2007 by The Labour Publisher in Vietnam. This novel has a very interesting temporal structure. It constantly moves back and forth in time between the events that are enacted at narrative time and those happening at the time frame before the narrative time.

“*The fall of Edward Barnard*” is a short story by Somerset Maugham (1874-1965), described as one of the most popular author of his era. The year “*The Fall of Edward Barnard*” was written or first published has not been successfully located. The version chosen for this study was taken from “*The Complete Short Stories of W. Somerset Maugham*” published in 1951. This story also contains many flashbacks, with the main character travelling back and forth in time. Within a particular time frame the events are enacted relatively in a sequence.

“*The snow goose*” is a short story by Paul Gallico (1897-). It was first published in 1944. This story also has a relatively linear temporal structure; the events are enacted more or less in the order they occur with a few flashbacks.

3.2. Data analysis

3.2.1. Steps taken to find answers to research question (1) and sub-questions (1a-1e) (Vietnamese-English translation)

The analysis was conducted in two separate discourse modes, the deictic mode (found in the dialogue sections) and the narrative mode (found in the narrative sections), as explained in the previous chapter. The texts were broken into clauses. For the purpose of this study a clause is defined as having an explicit or an implicit subject and at least one verb in the predicate, which represents a situation. Clauses with modal verbs that conveyed possibility, ability, or necessity, such as *có thể* (‘can/be able/may/might’), *phải* (‘have to/must’) in Vietnamese and ‘may’, ‘might’, ‘must’, ‘would’, ‘can’, or ‘could’, and conditional clauses, were not considered. Though modals may have temporal inferences, they were not of concern in this study. Each clause was examined in its original context and then compared with the English translation.

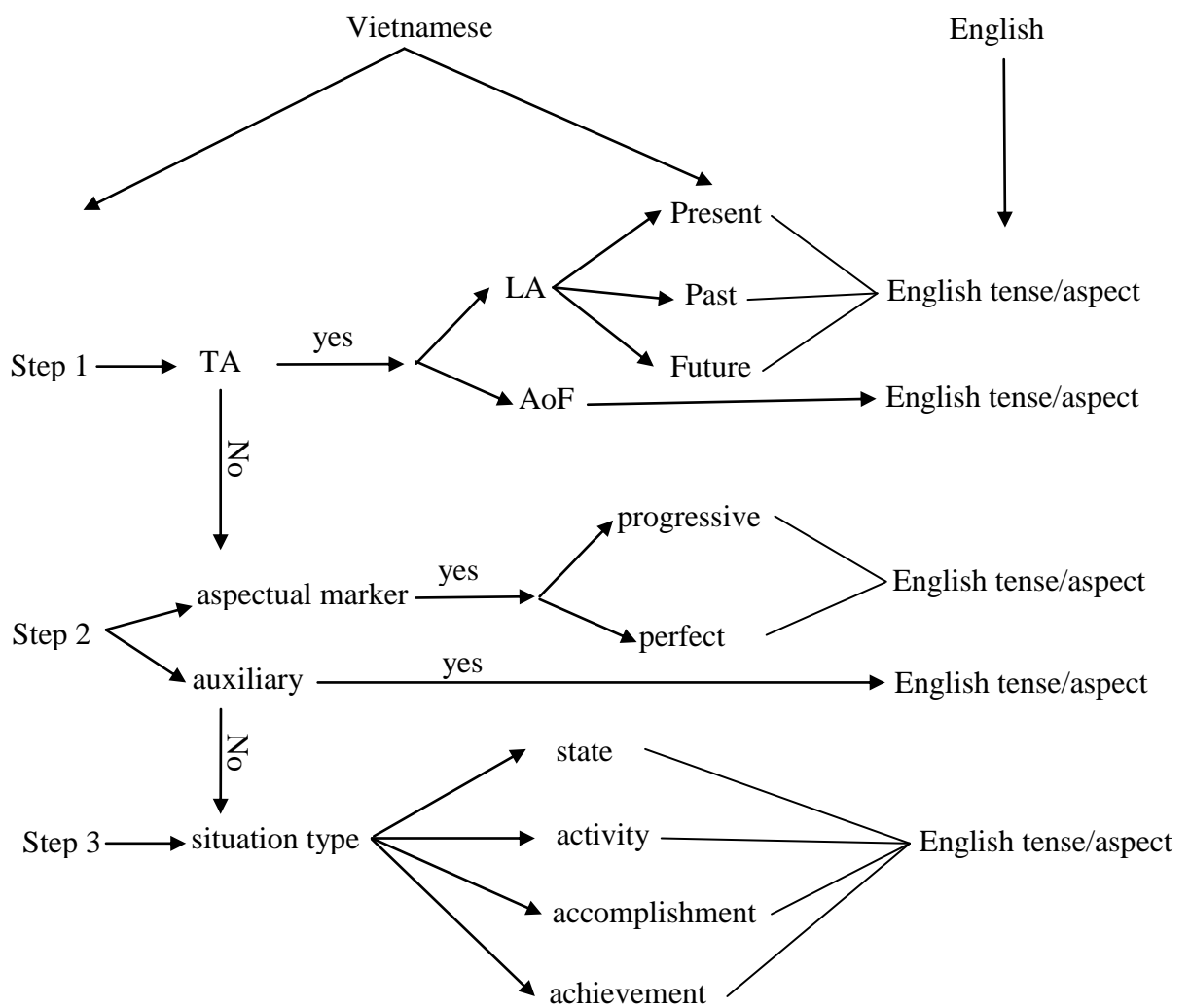
3.2.1.1. Steps taken to find answers to research sub-questions (1a-1c) (deictic mode)

Three steps were taken to find answers to research sub-questions (1a-1c), which are concerned with finding patterns of tense/aspect choices in the Vietnamese-English translation of deictic mode. These can be summarized in diagram 1.

In the first step, in the deictic sections, each clause was first and foremost examined for the presence of a temporal adverbial (TA) or locating adverbial (LA). As shown in Chapter 2, in Vietnamese temporal adverbials are the most explicit device for locating a

situation in time. When a TA is present in a sentence, the temporal location of the situation represented in the sentence is understood to be explicitly and specifically indicated by the TA. The temporal feature value of a TA is widely said to override the temporal feature value of the other temporal resources (Smith, 1997). As such, in the examination of the temporal resources used in each clause in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese texts, a temporal adverbial was first searched for. If a TA was found, it was taken that the interpretation of temporal location of the situation represented in the clause was conclusive. The situation was interpreted to be located in the time expressed by the TA.

Figure 1: Steps of data analysis taken to find answers to sub-questions (1a-1c)



Note: TA: temporal adverbials; LA: locating adverbials; AoF: adverbs of frequency

The TAs were categorized into present LAs, past LAs, future LAs, and adverbs of frequency. As shown in Chapter 2, Dao (1965) is the first to provide a detailed list of TAs that she calls “present time adverbials” as those in Table (3), “past time adverbials” as those in Table (4), and “future time adverbials” as those in Table (5) below. In the present study, Dao’s “present time adverbials”, “past time adverbials”, and “future time adverbials” were referred to as “present LAs”, “past LAs”, and “future LAs”, respectively. Dao’s listing of temporal adverbials was used as a basis for what temporal adverbials in Vietnamese might include.

Table 3: Present time adverbials

Hiện tại/ hiện nay/ hiện giờ/ bây giờ	Now
Lúc này	At the present
Ngay lúc này	Right at the moment
Hồi này/ dạo này/ độ này	Presently, recently
Ngày nay	Nowadays
Hôm nay	Today
Sáng hôm nay	This morning
Trưa hôm nay	This afternoon
Chiều hôm nay	This late afternoon
Tối hôm nay	Tonight
Tuần này	This week
Tháng này	This month
Năm nay	This year
Đời bây giờ	Nowadays

Table 4: Past time adverbials

Khi nãy/ hồi nãy/ lúc nãy	A moment ago
Hôm qua	Yesterday
Sáng hôm qua	Yesterday morning
Chiều hôm qua	Yesterday afternoon
Tối hôm qua	Last night
Hôm kia	The day before
Hôm kia	Two days before
Hôm nọ	The other day
Tháng trước	Last month
Tuần trước	Last week
Năm ngoái	Last year
Năm kia	The year before
Lần trước	Last time
Trước kia/trước đây	In the past
Hồi xưa/ngày xưa/xưa kia	Once upon a time
Lúc bấy giờ/dạo ấy/khi ấy	At that time

Table 5: Future time adverbials

Chốc nữa/lát nữa/tí nữa	In a minute/in a second
Mai sau/sau này/về sau	In the future
Mai/ngày mai	Tomorrow
Sáng mai	Tomorrow morning
Chiều mai	Tomorrow afternoon
Tối mai	Tomorrow
Ngày kia	The day after tomorrow
Tuần sau/tuần tới	Next week
Tháng sau/tháng tới/sang tháng	Next month
Năm sau/sang năm/năm tới	Next year
Hai tuần nữa	In two weeks
Hai tháng nữa	In two months
Hai năm nữa	In two years

Nobody has made any attempt to make a list of all the possible adverbs of frequency in Vietnamese. Possible adverbs of frequency may include, but not be limited to, the following: *thường/thường xuyên* ('often', 'usually'), *luôn luôn* ('always'), *đôi khi* ('occasionally'), *hiếm khi* ('rarely'), *thi thoảng* ('now and then'), *vẫn hay* ('often'), *hàng ngày* ('every day'), *tối tối* ('every night'), *các/mỗi buổi sáng/sáng nào* ('every morning'), *cứ mùa xuân về* ('every spring'), etc.

After the TA was found and categorized in the Vietnamese SL clause in deictic mode, a contrastive comparison with the translation was then conducted to find out what tense/aspect was used in the English TL to convey the Vietnamese SL clause that contained the particular TA. The frequency of the occurrences of a TA in the Vietnamese ST and of the tense form(s) found in the English translation to convey the SL clause containing the TA was calculated and tabulated. The tense form(s) that were found to occur most frequently in the English translation was/were considered to form a pattern or patterns.

If a TA was not found in a Vietnamese clause, the next step was carried out to search for an auxiliary or an aspectual marker. The two auxiliaries in Vietnamese that convey temporal information are *sẽ* and *sắp/sắp sửa*. As reviewed in Chapter 2, there has been a debate about what temporal information these auxiliaries convey. Not much has been said about the temporal meaning of *sắp/sắp sửa*. As with *sẽ*, the traditional view holds that it conveys future tense, whereas the modern view discards this, without a strong argument of what exactly the function of *sẽ* is, as discussed in Chapter 2. In the present study, both of these auxiliaries were examined under the same category of auxiliary. If a Vietnamese clause was found to contain no TA, but an auxiliary, the auxiliary was taken to explicitly express the temporal information of the situation represented in the clause. The interpretation also took into account information from the context and situation type. It was then compared with the translation to find out what English tense form was used to convey the SL situation. The occurrences of the SL auxiliary as well as those of the TL tense form(s) were calculated to determine a pattern or patterns. The results were also tabulated for easy reference.

The other temporal resources that were searched for in this step were aspectual markers. The Vietnamese aspectual markers that were examined included *đang/vẫn đang* ('in progress'), *đã/rồi/ đã...rồi* ('to put an end to'), *chưa* ('not yet'), *từng/đã từng*

(‘experience’), and *mới/vừa/vừa mới* (‘recently/just recently’). The aspectual marker *đang/vẫn đang* (‘in progress’) is widely discussed to convey the progressive meaning, and is different from the other aspectual markers, as illustrated in Chapter 2. This aspectual marker was thus treated as a separate category of aspectual markers. As also explained in the Literature Review, the aspectual markers *đã/rồi/ đã...rồi, chưa, từng/đã từng*, and *mới/vừa mới* are widely argued to convey the perfect meaning. In the present study they were classified in the same category of perfect aspectual markers.

When a Vietnamese clause was found to contain an aspectual marker (with no TA), the aspectual and/or temporal meaning of the situation represented in the clause was determined primarily from the meaning of the aspectual marker. The contribution of the contextual information and the information from situation type was also considered, since, as shown in Chapter 2, the lexical meaning of the situation type can influence the interpretation of an aspectual marker. The tense form that was used in the English translation of the Vietnamese clause that contained the aspectual marker was then searched for. The frequency of occurrences of the Vietnamese aspectual marker and the English tense form in the corresponding translated clause was also calculated and tabulated. A pattern or patterns of tense(s)/aspect(s) found to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a particular aspectual marker was/were determined based on the frequency of occurrences.

If a Vietnamese clause was found to contain no TA or auxiliary or aspectual marker, the next step was taken to determine the situation type of the situation represented in the clause. The determination of situation types took into consideration the combination of information from the verb and its arguments, verbal particles, prepositional phrases, and the context. Four classes of situation types, as categorized by Vendler (1967), were identified: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements.

States: States were identified as those verb phrases that expressed stative, durative, atelic situations, i.e. those that were understood to hold persistently throughout time, to involve no change, and to lack inherent or potential endpoints, as discussed in Chapter 2. Examples could include, but are not limited to, such verb phrases as *ngồi* (‘sit’), *cầm* (‘hold’), *đứng* (‘stand’), *nóng* (‘hot’), *sốt* (‘fever’), *sợ* (‘scared/fear’), *gầy* (‘thin’), *ốm* (‘sick’), *dài* (‘long’), *lớn* (‘grown/big’), *già* (‘old’), *thích* (‘like’), *hiểu* (‘understand’), *biết* (‘know’), *đẹp* (‘beautiful’), *là* (‘be’), *nghĩ* (‘think’), *yêu* (‘love’), *sống* (‘live’), etc.

The category of states also included general statements and habitual events (accomplishments, achievements, and activities that were presented as repetitive or habitual), as illustrated in example (47) in Section 2.2.2.4 in Chapter 2.

Activities: activities were identified as those VPs that expressed dynamic, durative situations that were presented with no potential endpoint, such as *tìm* ('look for'), *chạy* ('run'), *đi dạo* ('walk'), *ngủ* ('sleep'), *nói* ('talk/speak'), *cười* ('laugh/smile'), *đẩy xe* ('push a cart'), *ăn* ('eat'), *đọc sách* ('read books'), *viết thư* ('write letters'), *hát* ('sing'), *nhảy* ('dance'), *đánh* ('beat'), *nhìn* ('look'), *uống* ('drink'), etc, unless there was explicit information that shifted the interpretation of an activity, rendering it bounded or inceptive, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Accomplishments: accomplishments were classified as those VPs that expressed a dynamic, telic situations that have natural or potential endpoints, such as *đọc một cuốn sách* ('read a book'), *viết một bức thư* ('write a letter'), *ăn một bát cơm* ('eat a bowl of rice'), *đi đến trường* ('go to school'), *đi ra cửa* ('go to the door'), *sửa cái xe đạp* ('fix the bike'), *rửa mặt* ('wash the face'), *đứng dậy/lên* ('stand up'), *bảo/nói* ('say'), *hỏi* ('ask'), *trả lời* ('answer'), etc, unless explicit information, which may be conveyed by adverbs of frequency, verbal particles or prepositional phrases, other lexical items, or elicited by the context, shifted the meaning of the verb and its arguments.

Achievements: the classification of achievements included the VPs that expressed punctual or instantaneous telic situations, such as *chết* ('die'), *tắt* ('blow out'), *nổ* ('explode'), *tìm thấy* ('find'), *vỡ* ('break'), *gật đầu* ('nod the head'), *bật khóc* ('burst into tears'), etc, unless there was explicit information from adverbs of frequency, verbal particles or prepositional phrases, other lexical items, or the context, which led to a shifted interpretation.

As also discussed in Section 2.2.2.4 in Chapter 2, temporal adverbials, verbal particles, prepositions, and plural marking can alter the temporal meaning of a situation type. For example, the addition of the preposition *lên* ('up') to the activity *bay* ('fly') could turn the activity into an achievement *bay lên* ('fly up'). Similarly, the addition of the telic verbal particle or a RVC *được* ('obtain') to the activity *tìm* ('look') can convert the activity into an achievement *tìm được* ('find'). Plural markers and adverbs of frequency, on the other hand, can turn accomplishments or achievements into generalizing states,

as illustrated in Chapter 2. When a temporal adverbial, preposition, plural marker, or verbal particle was present in a clause and led to a shift of the temporal property of the situation type represented in the clause, the situation type was classified according to the shifted temporal property.

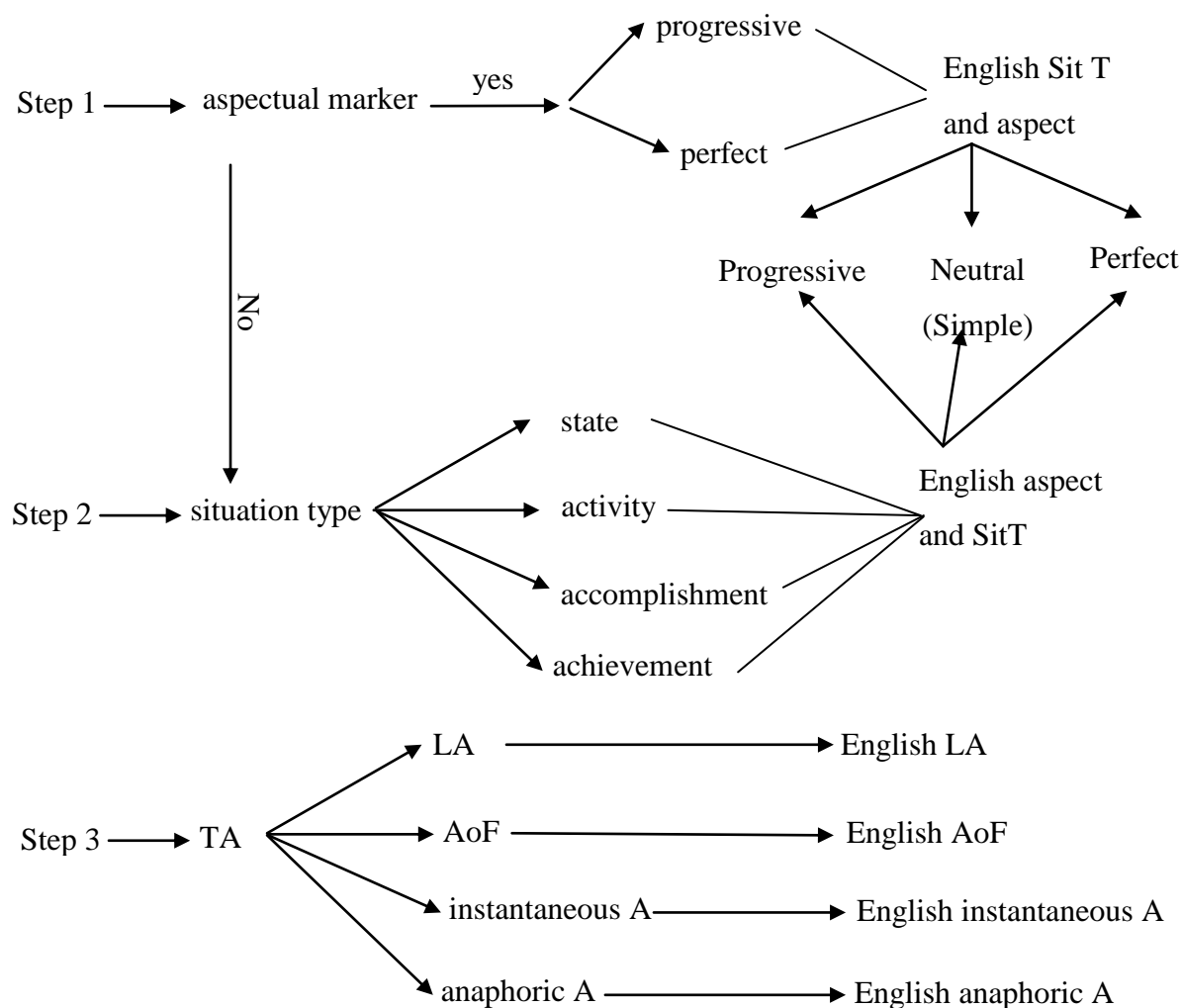
After the situation type of the situation represented in a Vietnamese clause was identified, it was then compared with the English translation to find out what tense/aspect was used. The frequency of occurrences of each situation type and of the tense/aspect that was found in the corresponding clause in the English translation was calculated and tabulated. The determination of a pattern was, again, based on the frequency of occurrences of a particular tense/aspect used in the English translation.

3.2.1.2. Steps taken to find answers to research sub-questions (1d-1e) (narrative mode)

As shown in Chapter 2, in narrative the traditional and most common tense used is the past tense, since narrative is seen as an account of past events or past experiences, whether they are real or imagined. It was assumed that this practice in English narrative was observed in the translation. The examination of the English translation of Vietnamese narrative sections thus did not focus on looking for tense patterns, but was concerned with finding patterns of English aspects in the presence of aspectual markers and for each situation type in Vietnamese narrative. This is because in narrative, as reviewed in Chapter 2, it is viewpoint aspects and situation type that primarily express temporal progression of narrative and also the temporal relations between eventualities in narrative. Temporal adverbials can contribute to the interpretation of narrative temporal progression and also of situation type. This was assumed to hold across languages; i.e. the role of temporal adverbials in Vietnamese narrative was taken to be similar to that in English narrative. Temporal adverbials in narrative were thus treated in a separate category. The temporal adverbials that were of concern in narrative included locating adverbials, adverbs of frequency, instantaneous adverbs, and anaphoric adverb, since they can contribute to the temporal meaning of narrative, as shown in Chapter 2. Their occurrences found in the Vietnamese narrative sections were calculated and compared with their corresponding temporal adverbials in the English translation.

The examination of the narrative sections involved three steps, which can be summarized in diagram (2).

Figure 2: Steps of data analysis taken to find answers to sub-questions (1d-1e)



Note: SitT: situation type; TA: temporal adverbial; LA: locating adverbial; A: adverb; AoF: adverb of frequency

The first step involved searching for an aspectual marker in a Vietnamese clause and the aspect used in the English translation of the clause. The type of aspectual markers searched for in a Vietnamese narrative clause was the same as those in the deictic sections, i.e. progressive aspectual marker *đang/vẫn đang* and perfect aspectual markers *đã/rồi/ đã...rồi, chưa, từng/đã từng, and mới/vừa/vừa mới*. When an aspectual marker was found in a Vietnamese clause, it was categorized according to whether it was a progressive or perfect aspectual marker. It was then compared with the corresponding clause in the English translation to find out what aspect was used in the TL. The English aspect found was categorized into one of the three groups, progressive, perfect, and neutral (expressed by the simple tense). As shown in Chapter 2, there is a general

agreement that the perfective viewpoint in English is expressed by the simple form of the verb (be it present or past), regardless of the situation type (Brinton 1988, Smith 1997). However, as examples (56a) and (56b) in Section 2.4.2.2.1 of Chapter 2 demonstrate, it is not always the case, especially in narrative. States and activities (processes) in the simple tense do not normally receive a perfective reading, whereas the simple tense normally gives rise to a perfective reading for accomplishments and achievements. Additional explicit information from the context may override this interpretation. Following de Swart and Verkuyl (1999) who state that the simple past tense in English is aspectually neutral, in the present study the term ‘neutral aspect’ was used to refer to situations in the simple past tense. If the simple present tense was used instead of the simple past tense for narrating, the situation narrated by the simple present tense was also referred to as having a ‘neutral aspect’, since in narrative the simple present tense has a similar temporal function as the simple past tense and can be used interchangeably, as shown in Chapter 2. The interpretation of imperfective or perfective viewpoint called for the consideration of the situation type and contextual information. Thus, the situation type of the situation represented in the English TL clause with a neutral aspect needed to be determined and the viewpoint aspect of the situation to be accordingly interpreted.

The determination of the situation type took into account the lexical meaning of the verb and its arguments, as proposed by Vendler (1967) and elaborated on by Smith (1997), as was reviewed in Chapter 2. Again, the frequency of occurrences of each aspectual marker in the Vietnamese ST and of the situation type and aspect in the corresponding clause in the English TT was calculated and tabulated.

When no aspectual marker was found in a Vietnamese clause, the situation type of the situation represented in the clause was identified. The identification of the Vietnamese situation type went through the same process as described above for the deictic sections. The interpretation of the situation type in narrative also took into account the information from temporal adverbials and the context. The comparison with the English translation focused on aspect and situation type, as described above. Like in the Vietnamese narrative, the information from temporal adverbials and the context was also taken into consideration in the interpretation of situation type and viewpoint aspect in the English TTs. For example, a state could be interpreted to receive an imperfective or perfective reading, depending on contextual information. If the context made it clear

that the state was inchoative (e.g. expressed by temporal adverbials such as ‘suddenly’ or ‘in a moment’) or bounded (e.g. by pragmatic inference, such as illustrated by example (58) in Chapter 2), the state was identified as having a perfective reading. Similarly, if there was explicit information to render an activity inceptive (e.g. by temporal adverbials such as ‘suddenly’ or ‘in five minutes’ or by pragmatic inference) or bounded (e.g. by adverbs of duration such as ‘for half an hour’, by temporal connectives such as ‘until’, or by pragmatic inference), the activity was also interpreted to have a perfective meaning. Accomplishments and achievements in the simple tense, on the other hand, were by default understood to have a perfective meaning, since they have inherent natural endpoints. Imperfective reading of accomplishments and achievements required additional explicit information from the context, such as that expressed by adverbs of frequency, which rendered the accomplishments or achievements iterative, in which case they were classified as generalizing states with an imperfective reading.

After the comparison, calculation, and tabulation processes were carried out, the identification of patterns was conducted. A pattern was established when a category in the English TT was found to occur most frequently to translate consistently a category in the Vietnamese ST.

3.2.2. Steps taken to find answers to research question (2) and sub-questions (2a and 2b)

3.2.2.1. Steps taken to find answer to research sub-question (2a)

In order to find out if and how the information expressed by English tenses and aspects in deictic sections is explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation, and if not, how it can be recovered, the following steps of data analysis were taken:

1. Identifying tense and grammatical aspect in each clause in the English ST
2. Identifying overt temporal resources used in the corresponding clause in the Vietnamese translation. These included temporal adverbials, aspectual markers, and auxiliaries
3. Identifying situation type in each zero-marked clause in the Vietnamese translation

The details of each step of data analysis are as follows. The first step involved the identification of the tense form in each clause in the English ST. The tense form that was found was categorized as belonging to one of the three main groups, present, past, and future. The present tense group might include the simple present, present progressive, present perfect, and present perfect progressive. The past tense group might consist of the simple past, past progressive, past perfect, and past perfect progressive. Similarly, the future tense group might include the simple future, future progressive, near future, future perfect, and future perfect progressive.

The next step was concerned with finding an overt temporal device in the corresponding clause in the Vietnamese translation. The Vietnamese overt temporal resources that were of concern consisted of temporal adverbials, auxiliaries, and aspectual markers. If a Vietnamese locating adverbial was found in the translation of an English clause that contained a particular tense, it was concluded that the temporal information expressed by the English tense was explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation. Likewise, if the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker was found in the translation of an English clause that was expressed by the progressive aspect, the aspectual meaning of the ST was concluded to be explicitly conveyed in the TL. This is because, as shown in Chapter 2, the meaning conveyed by the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker is widely recognised to correspond to the meaning expressed by the English progressive aspect. The same conclusion was reached if a Vietnamese perfect aspectual marker was found to translate an English perfect sentence with resultative perfect meaning, experiential meaning, or 'hot news' meaning, since Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers are generally discussed to convey the meanings of the English perfect, apart from conveying other meanings, as reviewed in Chapter 2. On the other hand, due to the lack of agreement on the meaning of the Vietnamese auxiliaries, as explained in Chapter 2, conclusions as to what temporal meaning is expressed by the Vietnamese auxiliaries had to be drawn from the results of the study.

Variables were expected to be found and were discussed where applicable. For example, a progressive aspectual marker might be found in the Vietnamese translation of an English perfect clause, in which case it could be considered that the English clause was translated into Vietnamese with an explicit aspectuo-temporal device. However, the meaning of the original English text might not be concluded to be explicitly expressed in the Vietnamese translation. In this case, further examination might be needed to

determine the possible reason why the Vietnamese device was chosen and what meaning (or what part of the meaning of the original text) it might convey.

When no temporal adverbial, auxiliary, or aspectual marker was found in the Vietnamese translation of an English SL clause in the deictic sections, the next step was taken to identify the situation type of the situation in the Vietnamese TL clause.

The frequency of occurrences of each English tense form and each Vietnamese temporal device or situation type that was found to translate the English tense was calculated and tabulated. The table and the information presented in the table resembled Table (n) below.

Table (n): English-Vietnamese translation, dialogue sections

Source texts		Target texts											
Resources	Freq	Temporal adverbials				Aspectual markers		Aux	Situation type				
		Pres	Past	Fut	Ao F	Prog	perf		State	Act	Acc	Ach	
Present	Sim												
	Prog												
	Perf												
	PP												
Past	Sim												
	Prog												
	Perf												
Future	Sim												
	Perf												
	Prog												
	Near												
	PP												

Legend: Freq: frequency; sim: simple; prog: progressive; perf: perfect; PP: perfect progressive; AoF: adverbs of frequency; LA: locating adverbials; TA: temporal adverbials; act: activity; acc: accomplishment; ach: achievement

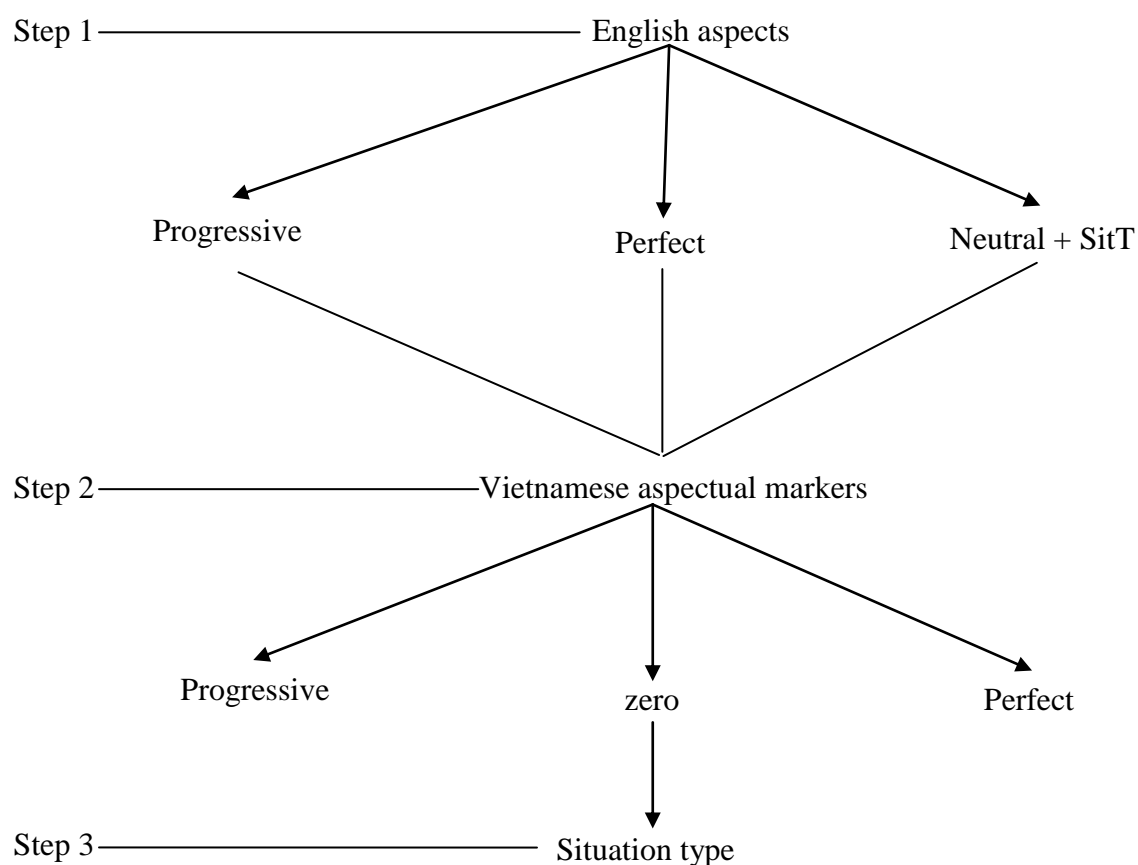
3.2.2.2. Steps taken to find answer to research sub-question (2b)

To find the answer to research sub-question (2b), the data analysis was conducted in three steps.

1. Identifying the aspect of the situation represented in each English narrative clause
2. Searching for an aspectual marker in the corresponding clause in the Vietnamese translation
3. Identifying situation type in each zero-marked clause in the Vietnamese translation

These steps can be summarized in diagram 3.

Figure 3: Steps taken to find answer to sub-research question (2b)



Note: SitT: situation type

In the first step the aspect of the situation represented in each English narrative clause was identified and categorized as belonging to one of the three groups: progressive, perfect, and neutral, as specified in Section 3.2.1.2 above. Determination of an imperfective or perfective reading for a situation with one of the above aspects in the English narrative had to be drawn from contextual information. Situation type plays a crucial role in the perfective or imperfective reading for an English sentence with the neutral aspect, as explained in Section 3.2.1.2 above. Thus, the situation type of the situation represented in each English narrative clause with the neutral aspect was also identified.

The second step was concerned with finding an aspectual marker in the corresponding narrative clause in the Vietnamese translation. The aspectual marker found was categorized as either progressive or perfect. If a progressive aspectual marker was found in the Vietnamese translation of an English clause with the progressive aspect, it was concluded that the information expressed by the English aspect was explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation. The same conclusion was drawn if a Vietnamese perfect aspectual marker was found to translate an English clause with the perfect aspect. Exceptions were not ruled out. They were also discussed if found.

If no aspectual marker was found in the Vietnamese translation, the next step was conducted to identify the situation type of the situation represented in the Vietnamese TL clause. The identification of the situation type went through the same process as described in Section 3.2.1.1 above.

The frequency of occurrences of each English aspect and situation type (with neutral aspect) as well as their corresponding Vietnamese aspectual marker or situation type was calculated and tabulated. Due to the important contribution of temporal adverbials to the interpretation of temporal structure of narrative, TAs used in the English ST and their Vietnamese translation in the TT were also located, calculated, and tabulated. The interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of the situations both in SL and TL took into account the information from temporal adverbials. The same types of temporal adverbials as described in Section 3.2.1.2 were of interest.

In the absence of an aspectual marker in the Vietnamese translation of an English narrative clause, which might result in the SL temporal and aspectual meaning not being

conveyed explicitly in the TL, rhetorical relations between clauses in the TT were considered to find out if information from rhetorical relations helped to recover the meaning of the ST in the translation. According to Asher & Lascarides (2003), rhetorical relations can lead us to derive temporal relations between situations as well as the interpretation of narrative movement. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are five rhetorical relations that have temporal consequences: *Narration*, *Result*, *Explanation*, *Elaboration*, and *Background* (Asher & Lascarides, 2003). The relations of *Narration* and *Result* enable narrative progression, while the other relations do not advance narrative time.

When the two events are related by the relation of *Narration*, they “need to cohere spatio-temporally in addition to being related by a temporal precedence relation” (Ritz, 2007, p. 136). The example below illustrates the rhetorical relation of *Narration* between two eventualities in Vietnamese.

(65). Anh mở cửa, bước vào phòng, bật đèn lên,
 3SG open door, enter room, turn light on,
 và ngồi xuống ghế.
 and sit down chair

“He opens/opened the door, enters/entered the room, turns/turned on the light(s), and sits/sat down on a chair”

Without tense marking on the verbs, calling upon world knowledge, it is feasible to understand that the events in (65) follow each other in the order they are presented. The eventuality of entering the room typically occurs after one opens the door, and that only after coming inside the room can one turn on the light. Finally, one sits down after the lights have been switched on.

In the relation of *Result*, the effect follows its cause, as discussed in Chapter 2. This rhetorical relation in Vietnamese can be illustrated by the following example.

(66). Nam vấp phải hòn đá, ngã bổ nhào về phía trước
 Nam slip over rock, fall full length forward
 “Nam slips/slipped over a rock. He falls/fell forward”

not advance narrative time. This rhetorical relation in Vietnamese can be exemplified in (69).

(69). Tôi nằm nghỉ trên giường.
 ISG lie rest on bed.
Xung quanh tôi lũ trẻ nô đùa, la hét inh òi.
Around ISG group child play, scream noisily

“I rested in bed/ I was in bed resting. Around me the children were playing, making lots of noise”

In this example, the second and third clauses describe the state of affair surrounding the eventuality of resting in bed. They do not advance narrative time.

3.2.3. Steps taken to find answer to research question (3) and sub-questions (3a and 3b)

Finding answers to research question (3) and sub-questions (3a and 3b) required an in-depth analysis of the semantics and pragmatics of the SL clauses and the translation as well as the translation strategies. It is widely agreed that the primary task of a translator is to decode the meaning of the ST and transfer this meaning into the TL using the linguistic resources that are available in the TL. The translator’s choices are also governed by the translation strategies that the translator adopts. In order to determine the factors that seem to influence the translators’ choices, the following three steps were carried out.

1. Examining the temporal and aspectual meaning of the SL clauses and determining the clues that appear to influence the translators’ interpretation of temporal and aspectual information of the clause in the STs
2. Examining the temporal and aspectual meaning of the TL clauses as explicitly expressed by the translators’ choices of the temporal resources of the TL (taking into account also contextual information)
3. Establishing whether the translators’ choices appear to be influenced by the meanings and forms of temporal and aspectual resources of the SL or those of the TL.

Step 1 involved examining the temporal and aspectual meaning of the SL clauses based on the information expressed by overt temporal and aspectual resources (such as temporal adverbials, aspectual markers, or auxiliaries in Vietnamese or tense, aspect, and TAs in English), situation type, contextual information, and pragmatic inferences. The examination focused on which of the temporal resources seemed to provide the clues for the translators' interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of the original texts.

The next step was concerned with the examination of the temporal and aspectual information of the corresponding clauses in the translation as primarily and explicitly expressed by the explicit temporal or aspectual devices of the TL, also taking into consideration information from the context. This examination was meant to establish whether the temporal and aspectual information as expressed by the choices of a temporal and/or aspectual device of the TL was correspondent to the temporal and aspectual information as conveyed in the SL. If the information expressed by a temporal and/or aspectual device of the SL was conveyed in the translation by a temporal and/or aspectual device of the TL that most closely corresponded to that of the SL, then it could be concluded that the translators' choices observed the correspondence between the SL and TL temporal and/or aspectual device and reflected the norms of both languages. An example could be the choice of the English progressive to translate a Vietnamese clause containing the progressive aspectual marker and an event VP.

If the form(s) used in the translation did not correspond to that/those used in the SL (even though the corresponding form(s) was/were available), but nevertheless the TL forms were commonly used in the TL, then the translation could be considered to be influenced by the rules governing the use of forms in the TL. In this case the translation strategy was also considered to be TL-oriented. For instance, the choice of the English simple present or simple past tense instead of the progressive to translate a Vietnamese clause that contained the progressive aspectual marker *đang* and a stative VP could be considered to be an example of a TL-oriented translation.

On the other hand, if the form(s) chosen in the translation was/were not considered to be common in the TL, but nevertheless faithfully conveyed the meaning of the ST, then the translation was considered to reflect the norms of the SL and the translation strategy to be that of SL-oriented. An example could be the overuse of LAs in the Vietnamese TL

to convey the tense form of each and every English clause, despite the fact that in Vietnamese LAs are the most explicit device to convey temporal location of situations. As shown in Chapter 2, they are not commonly used in every sentence to convey temporal information. Another example could be the choice of the English progressive to translate a Vietnamese clause containing the progressive aspectual marker *đang* and a stative VP, since the English progressive, as discussed in Chapter 2, is not normally compatible with stative VPs.

The results of the data analysis are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Vietnamese-English translation

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the data analysis of the Vietnamese source texts and their English translations and provides answers to research question (1) and sub-questions (1a-1e) as well as research question 3 and sub-questions (3a and 3b). The results are presented according to the discourse modes that were of concern in this study, the deictic mode (found in dialogue sections) and the narrative mode (found in narrative sections), as detailed in the previous chapters, and according to different linguistic patterns found in the Vietnamese STs. Section 4.1 provides quantitative results of all the temporal and aspectual resources found in both STs and TTs. Detailed discussion of the temporal resources found in the Vietnamese STs and the choices of tense, aspect, and other temporal resources found in the English translations are presented in Section 4.2. Section 4.3 summarizes the chapter.

4.1. Temporal and aspectual resources found in Vietnamese STs and English TTs: quantitative results

The total number of clauses found in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese STs was 885. As detailed in the previous chapter, in the deictic mode, the focus was on examining the resources that were exploited in the original Vietnamese texts to convey temporal information of situations, in particular, the temporal location of situations, and on finding the tense/aspect forms that were used in the English translations to convey the temporal meaning as indicated by temporal adverbials, auxiliaries, and aspectual markers, and situation types in the original. Details are presented in Table (6) below.

As Table (6) shows, of the 885 clauses found in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese corpus only 184 (i.e. about 20 percent) contained an explicit linguistic device such as a temporal adverbial, an aspectual marker, or an auxiliary, to convey the temporal meaning of the situations represented in the clauses. It should be noted that some clauses in the original were not translated into English. The linguistic device found most frequently in the deictic sections of Vietnamese STs was temporal adverbials. They

were found in 11.6 percent of all the clauses in deictic mode. The percentage for auxiliaries is nearly 5 percent and that for aspectual markers is 4.4 percent.

Table 6: Vietnamese – English translation, deictic mode

Original resources		English tense and aspect patterns										
Resources	Freq	Present				Past			Future			
		Sim	Prog	Perf	PP	Sim	Prog	Perf	Sim	Prog/ near	Perf	
TA	Present TA	21	13		4					2		
	Past TA	47					47					
	Fut TA	22								21	/1	
	AoF	11	8	3								
Aux	Sẽ	41	5							32	2/1	
	sáp	3	1								/2	
Asp.M	Prog	4	1					1				
	Perf	35	8		14	1	10		1			
Sit.T	State	510	424	3	7		36			12	/3	4
	Act	96	40	30	4	2	8			7	1/2	
	Acc	20	0		6		10			3		
	Ach	75	8	2	19		34			8		

Legend: Freq: frequency; sim: simple; prog: progressive; perf: perfect; PP: perfect progressive; TA: temporal adverbials; Aux: auxiliaries; Asp.M: aspectual markers; Sit.T: situation type; AoF: adverbs of frequency; Act: activities; Acc: accomplishments; Ach: achievements

The narrative sections of the Vietnamese corpus consisted of 3082 clauses. The English narrative tense that was found predominantly used in the English translations of all the Vietnamese texts examined was the simple past tense. As detailed in the previous chapter, the analysis of the narrative sections in Vietnamese-English translation focused on a) English situation type and aspect that were used to translate Vietnamese clauses containing an aspectual marker; b) English situation type and aspect that were used to translate Vietnamese clauses containing no aspectual marker; c) English temporal adverbials that were utilized to translate temporal adverbials in the Vietnamese STs. As explained in Chapter 3, Vietnamese narrative clauses containing a modal verb were

excluded. The resources that were found and the frequency of occurrences are presented in Table (7) below.

Table 7: Vietnamese-English translation, narrative sections

Vietnamese ST		English TL aspect and situation type										
Resources	Freq	Prog	Perf	(Neutral) Imperfective reading				(Neutral) Perfective reading				
				stat	act	acc	ach	stat	act	acc	ach	
Aspectual markers	Prog	34	10		7	16						
	Perf	166	5	50	68	10						15
Situation type	St	1042		116	800	34			21			9
	act	894	42	88	33	650				27	4	21
	acc	378		14							357	4
	ach	309		8					10	8	7	256
AUX		Freq	Would + V					Was/were going to				
		16	10					4				
Temporal adverbials	TA	Freq	LA	AoF	Inst	Anaphoric						
	LA	137	109									
	AoF	55		42								
	Inst	27			10							
	Anaphoric	40				20						

Legend: Freq: frequency; LA: locating adverbials; Sit.T: situation type; AoF: adverbs of frequency; St: states; Act: activities; Acc: accomplishments; Ach: achievements; Inst: instantaneous adverbs; Aux: auxiliary; TA: temporal adverbials

The percentage of Vietnamese clauses containing an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker in narrative mode was found to be lower than that in deictic mode. The figure was nearly 15 percent, compared to the 20 percent found in the deictic sections. Like in deictic sections, temporal adverbials were also found more frequently than aspectual markers.

Detailed discussion of the results presented in the above tables is provided in the following sections according to the following categories: a) clauses containing a

temporal adverbial; b) clauses containing an auxiliary; and c) clauses containing no explicit temporal or aspectual device (zero-marked clauses).

4.2. Detailed discussion of the results

4.2.1. Translation of clauses containing a temporal adverbial

4.2.1.1. Translation of clauses containing a past LA or a future LA in deictic mode

As Table (6) shows, in deictic mode of the Vietnamese STs, clauses containing a past locating adverbial (LA) were found most frequently, followed by those containing a future LA. In all situations where a past LA was used, the situations were conveyed in the English translation by the simple past tense, as exemplified in (70) below. The titles of the texts where the examples were taken from are abbreviated as follows: NWN for “*Novel Without a Name*”; SR for “*Sorrow of War*”; EAFC for “*An Evening Away from the City*”; GR for “*The General Retires*”.

(70). Ngày xưa tao với chòm Nhân ăn trộm ở nhà
Hàn Tín (GR, p. 32)

Long ago 1SG with gangster Nhan rob LOC house
Han Tin

“**Many years ago, I robbed** Han Tin’s house with that gangster, Nhan”

Detailed examination revealed that a past LA, as exemplified above, explicitly locates a situation in the past of the speech time (S), in accord with what has been found in previous research. The use of the English simple past tense to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a past LA conveyed similar temporal meaning as that conveyed in the ST. The translators’ choices of the simple past tense to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a past LA in deictic mode seems to be influenced by the presence of the LA in the SL.

Similarly, it was found that when a future LA was present in a Vietnamese clause in deictic mode, it explicitly located the situation in the future of S. It was thus not surprising to find that all, but one, Vietnamese clauses that contained a future LA were conveyed in the English TL by the simple future tense. The simple future tense, when it was used in the English translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a future LA,

conveyed similar temporal meaning as that indicated by the future LA in the Vietnamese STs, as shown in (71) below.

- (71). **Sớm mai** tôi gửi đồng chí (NWN, p. 96)
Tomorrow morning ISG give comrade
“I’ll give you the letter before you go”

The LA *sớm mai* explicitly and exclusively locates the situation [give] in the future. Without it the temporal location of the situation would be highly ambiguous. The simple future tense explicitly conveys the future meaning as indicated by the future LA in the Vietnamese ST.

The one situation conveyed in the SL by a future LA, which was not expressed in the English TL by the simple future tense, was found to be conveyed by the near future (*be going to*). Thus, the temporal meaning of the TL situation was still understood to be similar to that conveyed in the SL.

4.2.1.2. Translation of clauses containing a present LA in deictic mode

Less than two thirds of the Vietnamese clauses containing a present LA, as categorized in Chapter 3, were found to be translated into English with the simple present tense. These clauses were all found to contain a stative verb, as exemplified below.

- (72). ...**đạo này** trông lại trẻ hơn ngày xưa đây (EAFC, p.291)
...nowadays look even young more old days F-PART
“...you look even younger than before”

The above sentence contains the stative verb *trông* (‘look/appear’). Without the present LA it would still be most naturally understood to have present temporal location, since it presents an unbounded situation. The present LA in this example specifies the present time. The present temporal location of the original situation is conveyed explicitly in the English translation by the simple present tense.

However, not all Vietnamese clauses that contained a stative VP and a present LA were found to be conveyed in the English translation by the simple present tense. The other tenses that were used in the translation were the simple future tense and present perfect. Consider the following examples.

(73)a. Sao **hôm nay** cứ ngọt xốt thế? (GR, p. 22)
 Why **today** keep sweet *F-PART?*
 “**Will** you **continue** to speak so sweetly **after today?**”

b. “...anh ấy **lúc này** lại nắm phần thắng trong tay” (EAFC, p. 295)
 ...3SG **at the present** TOP hold victory in hand
 “...surely, he’s **gotten** what he wanted”

The original in (73a) contains a present LA *hôm nay* (‘today’) and an adjective *ngọt xốt*. It is understood that the state of being sweet is temporary and only holds at the time specified by the LA *hôm nay*. The utterance is made (as a comment) to the speaker’s nephew’s wife, who does not have much respect for the speaker, after she addresses him with the appropriate, respectful term *chú* (‘uncle’). The original situation can have two interpretations. It can be understood to be a comment, which can be rendered as ‘You are being so sweet today’. Or it can be interpreted as the speaker’s expression of surprise, which can be rendered as ‘Why are you being so sweet today?’ The focus is entirely on the present moment and no future reference is implied. The simple future tense used in the translation represents the original situation as an inquiry about a future situation. As a result, ‘You are so sweetly spoken today’ is not explicit in the English translation and is only presupposed by the use of the verb ‘continue’.

In (73b), without the present LA *lúc này* (‘at the present’), the situation would still be understood to hold at the present. The LA emphasizes the presentness of the situation. What is implied by the original situation is that at the present moment the person referred to as *anh ấy* (a 3rd person singular referent) is in a favourable situation, or that things are going his way. The utterance is made in a context where the speaker is talking about her decision to marry the boyfriend referred to as *anh ấy* because she is pregnant with his child. In the Vietnamese culture, when a girl falls pregnant before marriage, she is in a very disadvantaged situation, and in many cases is forced to marry the man who has got her pregnant. The man in such cases is said to ‘hold victory in his hand’. The original situation is understood to be temporally located in the present (at the speech time). The present perfect used in the translated version conveys the resultative meaning, indicating that the result state of having what he wanted holds at the reference time, thus the translation conveys the semantic entailment of the original, rather than the

surface meaning. In other words, while the Vietnamese expresses the state of having ‘what he wanted’ at S, the English expresses the result state of the event of getting ‘what he wanted’ at S. It seems that the proposition “He’s gotten what he wanted” implies “He has what he wanted”.

There were six Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained a present LA and an achievement or accomplishment verb constellation. Two of them were translated into English with the simple future tense, while the other four with the present perfect, as illustrated in examples (74a) and (74b).

(74)a. **Lần này** không tha cho thủ trưởng (NWN, p. 22)
This time NEG release for chief
 “**This time** we **won’t** let him off”

b. **Đạo này** đi miền Nam (EAFC, p. 295)
Presently go South
 “**Now** he’s **gone** to the South”

The original in (74a) contains the deictic TA *lần này* (‘this time’), which in this context denotes present time. The achievement *tha* (literally meaning ‘release’), however, represents a bounded event. Bounded events are not normally located in the present, thus are incompatible with a present tense in English. The “Bounded Event Constraint” principle proposes that bounded events are located in the past or the future (Smith and Erbaugh, 2005), as discussed in Chapter 2. This explains the use of the simple future tense in the translation of (74a). The context gives information that this event is yet to happen.

The original in (74b) also contains a present LA, *đạo này* (‘presently’), which is categorised by Dao (1965) as a present time adverb. This sentence represents a bounded event, conveyed by the accomplishment *đi miền Nam* (‘go to the south’). The context makes it clear that at S the person referred to as ‘he’ is not physically present. The situation [go to the South] is understood to have occurred before S. The situation has an indefinite past temporal location. The LA ‘now’ is also compatible with the present perfect. The choice of the present perfect appeared to have taken into account not only the presence of the LA but also the situation type.

4.2.1.3. Translation of clauses containing an adverb of frequency in deictic mode

Adverbs of frequency were found in just 11 clauses in deictic sections, most of which (eight) were found in one short story “*Một Chiều Xa Thành Phố*” (‘An Evening Away from the City’). The majority of them (eight) were translated into English with the simple present tense; the other three with the present progressive.

(75)a. *Đạo này* *lão* *đi* *công tác* **luôn** *ấy* (EAFC, p. 292)
Presently *3SG* *go* *business* ***always*** *F-PART*

“These days, he’s **always going** off somewhere on missions for work”

b. *Cái tay* *bụng* *lép* *môi* *dày dày* **hay** *đi* *qua*
CL *man* *stomach* *flat* *lip* *thick* ***often*** *go* *past*
cổng *ấy* *mà,* *mày* *biết* *tên* *là* *gì* *không?* (EAFC, p.
285)

gate *F-PART,* *2SG* *know* *name* *be* *what* *Q-PART*

“And that man with the sunken stomach and thick lips who **sometimes walks** past the gate, do you know what his name is?”

The adverbs of frequency in the above situations in the Vietnamese SL give the situations a habitual (or iterative) reading. The present LA *đạo này* (‘presently’) in (75a) locates the situation in the present. No present LA is present in the other sentences, but the situations are also most naturally understood to be located in the present, since they are presented as unbounded. The English translated situations also receive a present temporal location.

4.2.1.4. Translation of temporal adverbials in the narrative sections

Not all temporal adverbials that were found in the narrative sections of Vietnamese STs were translated into English. In the Vietnamese narrative sections it was found that LAs played an important role in progressing narrative time, as illustrated in the following example.

(76) **Hôm thứ bảy** *mẹ* *tôi* *bỗng* *ngồi* *dậy* *được.*
On Saturday *mother* *1SG* *suddenly* *sit* *up* *RVC*
Đi *lững thững* *một mình* *ra* *vườn.*
Walk *leisurely* *alone* *in* *garden*

Ăn	được	com...			
<i>Eat</i>	<i>able</i>	<i>rice</i>			
Hai hôm	sau,	mẹ	tôi	nằm liệt,	
<i>Two day</i>	<i>later,</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>1SG</i>	<i>embedded</i>	
	lại	bỏ	ăn,		
	<i>again</i>	<i>NEG</i>	<i>eat</i>		
	lại	đi ngoài	như	cũ (GR, p. 21)	
	<i>again</i>	<i>have diarrhea</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>before</i>	

“**On Saturday** my mother suddenly got up. She walked leisurely alone in the garden. She could eat again. **Two days later** my mother was embedded. She again rejected foods and had diarrhea like she had before”

Except for the first eventuality, which is conveyed by the achievement [*ngồi dậy được*] (‘sit up’) and may advance narrative time on its own, all the other eventualities are conveyed by either states or activities and are understood to temporally overlap each other and fail to advance narrative time. Yet, progression of narrative time still obtains due to the presence of the LAs [*hôm thứ bảy*] (‘on Saturday’) and [*hai hôm sau*] (‘two days later’). It is naturally understood that two days from the Saturday time has passed. Thus, all the events happening on the day which is two days from the Saturday belong to another episode which follows the Saturday episode. The function of LAs in narrative as such (in IP (initial prosopositional) Adjunct position) is referred to by Vieu et al. (2005) as a “discourse frame” or a “frame introducer”, which “introduce[s] a temporal setting in which not only the first clause, but all the others are evaluated” (Vieu et al, 2005, p. 181). The presence of each LA in the Vietnamese ST introduced a new episode and the LA set the time frame for the episode. In the English translation also, the movement of narrative time obtained from the presence of the corresponding LAs.

However, just about 80 percent of the Vietnamese LAs were found to be translated into English. Close examination revealed that not all Vietnamese LAs were found in IP-Adj position and these (i.e. those that were not in IP-Adj position) were the ones that were not normally translated into the TL.

An even smaller percentage (76 percent) of adverbs of frequency found in the Vietnamese narrative were translated into English. Most of the non-translation of Vietnamese adverbs of frequency was found when an adverb of frequency was used

together with a state or an activity. In all of these cases there was explicit information in the TL to render the situation iterative. The omission of the adverb of frequency in the English translation did not cause the TL situation to have a different temporal meaning from that of the SL situation. When used with an event verb type, adverbs of frequency in the Vietnamese narrative were found to turn the event into an iterative activity. The translation of the SL situation type by means of a corresponding TL situation type required the adverb of frequency to be translated into the TL for the TL situation to have similar temporal meaning to that of the SL situation, as shown in example (77).

(77). **Thi thoảng** cha tôi cũng **ghé về** nhà (GR, p. 8)
Now and then *father* *1SG* *also* *drop by* *home*
 “**Now and then**, he passed by”

The situation [*ghé về*] (‘drop by’) is an achievement. Used without an adverb of frequency it would be most naturally understood to be a single event. The adverb of frequency *thi thoảng* (‘now and then’) turns this event into an iterative activity. This event was conveyed in the English translation by the achievement [pass by]. The corresponding adverb of frequency was found necessary for the TL situation to have an iterative reading.

Instantaneous adverbs were found to give rise to a punctual and bounded reading to situations that were otherwise durative and unbounded in the Vietnamese STs. They were also commonly found with VPs expressing punctual, telic, or bounded situations. Only 37 percent of instantaneous adverbs used in the STs were found to be translated into English with a corresponding instantaneous adverb. The highest degree of non-translation of instantaneous adverbs was found in the English translation of the excerpts taken from the novel “*The Sorrow of War*”. The reasons for the non-translation of instantaneous adverbs, it was found, were either because the clauses that contained the instantaneous adverbs were not translated into English or because there was explicit information in the TTs to give the situations a bounded and telic reading. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(78)a. **Bác** **Hương** **sửng sốt** **nhìn** **tôi.**
Uncle *Huong* *surprisingly* *look at* *1SG*

Trí não tôi **chợt** **tê buốt** (NWN, p. 107)

Brain *1SG* *suddenly* *stunned*

“Luong’s father flinched and looked up at me. I **shuddered**”

b. Và **bất chợt** anh **hiểu** **được** vì sao...

(SW, p.64)

And *suddenly* *3SG* *understand* *T-PART* *why...*

“He understood **then** why...”

The instantaneous adverb *chợt* (‘suddenly’) in (78a) renders the state [*tê buốt*] (‘stunned’) inchoative, indicating that the state obtains as the result of Huong’s surprising look. The two eventualities are also related by the rhetorical relation of *Result*. Without the instantaneous adverb, the two eventualities would still be understood to follow each other. The same rhetorical relation obtained in the English translation, which gives the TL similar temporal interpretation to that of the original, even in the absence of the corresponding instantaneous adverb. Note also the change of situation type in the translation; the original stative verb ‘stunned’ was changed to the achievement ‘shudder’, which also contributed to the interpretation of temporal progression.

The instantaneous adverb [*bất chợt*] (‘suddenly’) in (78b) gives rise to an inchoative (and thus sequential) reading to the state [*hiểu*] (‘understand’). Though it was not correspondingly translated into the TL, the use of the anaphoric *then* was sufficient to give the situation a sequential interpretation. Although the omission of the instantaneous adverbs was not found to result in disparity in temporal meaning between the ST and the TT, it was unclear why the translators made the choice to present some eventualities not as explicitly inchoative as they appeared in the ST with the instantaneous adverbs (in most of such situations the inchoative reading of the TL situation had to be elicited from the temporal properties of situation type and other contextual information).

The Vietnamese anaphoric adverb *rồi* (‘then’), which was found to sequence the clause that contained it with the preceding clause, was also not frequently translated into the TL. Just half of the instances of *rồi* were conveyed in the English translation by the corresponding anaphoric adverb *then*. The rest was either conveyed by the coordinating conjunction *and* (a very frequent alternative of ‘then’ in English) or omitted. Detailed

examination showed that when *rồi* was used in the Vietnamese STs to sequence two eventualities conveyed by an accomplishment or achievement, it was normally conveyed in the English translation by *and*, as exemplified in (79a) below. On the other hand, when *rồi* was used to sequence two eventualities conveyed by activities or an activity and an accomplishment/achievement, it was normally conveyed in the translation by the corresponding English anaphoric adverb *then*, as illustrated in (79b).

(79)a. ...tôi lại gốc cau lấy ba lô,
 ...*I* *go to* *tree* *betel* *grab* *backpack*
rồi vào nhà (NWN, p. 105)
then *enter* *house*

“I...picked up my rucksack, **and** went into the house”

b. Nó nhìn mẹ nó chăm chăm
 3SG *look at* *mother* 3SG *attentively*
rồi cất giọng thật chanh chua (EAFc, p. 290)
then *raise* *voice* *very* *sourly*

“She fixed her gaze on her mother, **then** raised her voice aggressively”

Both of the eventualities in (79a) are conveyed by telic event verbs and are most naturally understood to follow each other (they are related by the rhetorical relation of *Narration*). The anaphoric adverb only reinforces their sequential interpretation. The conjunction *and* in the translation seems to have the same function as the anaphoric *then* in this situation. But it is not always the case. The anaphoric *rồi* in (79b), on the other hand, puts a temporal bound on the activity [*nhìn*] (‘look at’) (making it bounded to the right), and renders it sequenced to the eventuality [*cất giọng*] (‘raise voice’). Without *rồi*, the two eventualities could be understood to temporally overlap. The same holds true in the English translation. The anaphoric *then* is necessary for these eventualities to have a sequential interpretation in the English translation (Glasbey, 1993). The substitution of the anaphoric *rồi* for the English conjunction *and* in this case could have resulted in the TL situation having different temporal meaning from that of the SL situation, since without the anaphoric adverb in the English TL the eventuality of raising voice could be interpreted to temporally overlap the eventuality of looking. The choice of whether to use the corresponding anaphoric adverb ‘then’ or the conjunction ‘and’ in the English translation seemed to be influenced by situation type.

4.2.2. Translation of clauses containing an auxiliary

A total of 44 clauses containing an auxiliary were found in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese corpus. Most of them were instances of the auxiliary *sẽ* (which literally means ‘will/shall’). The auxiliary *sắp* (‘be going to/be about to’) was found in only three clauses, which equates to less than one instance per text, not enough evidence for a generalization. Thus, it was not considered.

Nearly 80 percent (32 out of 41) of the clauses that contained the auxiliary *sẽ* were translated into English by means of the simple future tense, as illustrated in example (80) below.

(80)a. Minh **sẽ** lo ngay,
 1SG *AUX* *take care* *soon*,
sẽ viết thư ngay về cho cậu đây (EAFC, p. 300)
 AUX *write* *letter* *soon* *for* *2SG* *F-PART*
 “**I’ll take care** of it soon, and **I’ll write** to you immediately”

b. Em **sẽ** nhớ anh mãi (SW, p. 79)
 1SG *AUX* *remember* *2SG* *forever*
 “**I’ll never forget** you, though”

In the Vietnamese original sentences, the auxiliary *sẽ* conveys that the situations are to occur in the future of the speech time. This supports the argument that *sẽ* locates a situation at a time later than S. In these sentences the presence of *sẽ* is necessary for the situations to have the future temporal meaning as they do. Without it the Vietnamese sentences would be ambiguous; the situations in (80a) could be more plausibly understood to be located in the past, and that in (80b) would have a present temporal location. The English simple future tense correspondingly conveys the future temporal location as expressed by the Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* in the above examples. The fact that 80 percent of Vietnamese original clauses that contained *sẽ* were conveyed in the English translation by the simple future tense lends support to the traditional view that *sẽ* conveys future tense in Vietnamese.

The other English tenses that were found to translate the other twenty percent of Vietnamese clauses containing *sẽ* in deictic mode were simple present tense (found in 5

clauses, amounting to 12 percent), the future progressive (found in just one clause), and the near future (found in 2 clauses). The English future progressive and near future also locate situations in the future, so they equivalently convey the temporal meaning of the original clauses. However, in some instances when a Vietnamese clause that contained *sẽ* was translated into English with the simple present tense, the temporal meaning of the English translation may have been different from that conveyed in the Vietnamese original, as illustrated in the following example.

(81). Chắc chắn **sau này** nó **sẽ** nghịch hơn con (NWN,
p. 24)

Surely later 3SG AUX active more than 2SG
“He’s even more restless than you were”

The original sentence contains both a future LA and the auxiliary *sẽ*, clearly and explicitly conveying that the baby referred to as ‘*nó*’ (a third person singular) is predicted to be very active when he comes out of the mother’s womb and as he grows up in the future, rather than the affirmation that he is now restless, which is what conveyed by the present tense in the English translation. It could be argued though that the mother makes the prediction based on the movement of the baby in her womb. Thus, an implicature of the original sentence is that at the present the baby is pretty active (or restless) inside the mother’s womb. It seems that the translator chose to convey the implicature of the SL sentence instead of adhering to the SL surface structure.

Only 17 instances of the auxiliary *sẽ* were found in the narrative sections of the Vietnamese source texts. In narrative mode *sẽ* was found to convey that the situation expressed by *sẽ* occurs at a time later than the narrative time, or in other words, it occurs in the future of the narrative time. More than half of the instances of *sẽ* in narrative mode were translated into English with the future of the past structure ‘would + VP’, most of the remaining with ‘was/were going to’. Infinitival clauses and modal verbs such as ‘could’, ‘may’, or ‘might’ were also found in the English translation of some clauses in the narrative sections of the Vietnamese STs. The following example illustrates the use of *sẽ* in narrative mode and the English structure ‘would + VP’ in the English translation.

(82). Khi Tân nói một cách thành thực, là sẽ lo
When Tan say/speak honestly, that AUX arrange
 cho Viên trở lại đại học, anh im lặng (EAFC, p. 301)
for Vien return to university, 3SG quiet

“Seeing Tan speak so honestly and enthusiastically, that she **would** take care of everything so that Vien could go back to school, he kept quiet”

The eventualities [*nói*] (‘say’) and [*im lặng*] (‘quiet’) are presented as occurring at the narrative time. The eventuality [*lo*] (‘arrange/take care’) is conveyed by the auxiliary *sẽ*, which indicates that it occurs at a time later than the narrative time, i.e. in the future of the event time of both situations [*nói*] and [*im lặng*]. In other words, the eventuality [*lo*] is projected into the future of the narrative time, which is by default in the past of S. The English ‘would’ also expresses the future-in-the-past meaning, hence the choice of ‘would’ to translate the Vietnamese *sẽ* in narrative sections.

4.2.3. Translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a perfect aspectual marker in deictic mode

Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers (PAM), mainly *đã*, were found in only 35 clauses in deictic mode (amounting to just 4.4 percent). It was found that the main meaning conveyed by a PAM in deictic mode of the Vietnamese STs was the resultative perfect. The other meanings that were occasionally found to be conveyed by a PAM were the completion of a past situation and change of state meanings.

The most common English tense/aspect pattern that was found in the translation of clauses containing a PAM, which conveyed the resultative perfect meaning, was the present perfect. Given that one of the core meanings expressed by the English perfect is the resultative perfect meaning, as shown in Chapter 2, this finding was not surprising. Needless to say, this tense/aspect choice equivalently conveyed the original temporal and aspectual meaning conveyed by Vietnamese PAMs, as illustrated in the following example.

(83). Giấy tờ của cậu tôi đã chuẩn bị (NWN, p. 39)
Paper POSS 2SG 1SG PERF prepare

“I have prepared all the papers”

In the Vietnamese ST the PAM *đã* conveys that the event of preparing the papers has occurred before the speech time, the result state of which (i.e. of the papers being ready for collection) holds at the reference (speech) time. The choice of the present perfect in the English translation seemed to have been influenced by the presence of the PAM in the SL and conveys the same meaning.

It was, however, surprising to find that the English simple past tense was found in the translation of some Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained a PAM that conveyed the resultative perfect meaning, as demonstrated in example (84) below.

- (84). Minh **đã** xem **rõ** (EAFC, p. 297)
1SG PERF check PERF
“I already **checked** inside the net for them”

The Vietnamese PAM in this example conveys similar meaning to that in example (83) above, focusing on the current result state of the event of checking the net. The simple past in the English translation expresses that the event of checking the net occurred in the past, the result of which is not in focus at S. The present perfect would have more equivalently conveyed the original temporal and aspectual meaning, as illustrated in example (83) above. The choice of the simple past tense instead of the present perfect to translate this and some other sentences containing a PAM in the Vietnamese deictic mode was unclear. However, as observed by Biber et al (1999), “While *already* frequently occurs in perfect constructions, this adverb alone can signal current relevance, as evidenced by the possible substitution of the perfect of result with the simple past aspect taking *already* in American English and some dialects of British English” (Biber et al, 1999, p. 463).

The English simple present tense was also found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM with resultative meaning in deictic mode. A close examination revealed that in these instances there was normally a change of situation type in the translation, i.e. the situation type in the translation was different from that found in the Vietnamese STs. The shifted situation type that was commonly found in the translation in such instances was states, as exemplified in (85).

- (85)a. Ông **đã** về! (NWN, p. 64)
2SG PERF return!

“You’re back.”

b. Tôi **rồi** (NWN, p. 44)

Arrive *PERF*

“Here we **are**”

In the Vietnamese ST the situations in (85a, b) contain an accomplishment or achievement. The PAM in these situations conveys that the events have just reached their endpoints at R, and the result states hold at S, i.e. the PAM conveys the resultative perfect meaning as in examples (83) and (84) above. As observed by Cao (1998b) and Do-Hurinville (2007), in such instances the PAM puts a focus on the result states of the telic events. The simple present tense in the English translation explicitly presents the original (result) states simply as states holding at S. The current result state of the event [*ông đã về*] (which literally means ‘you have returned/come back’) in (85a) is that at S ‘you are back’. Similarly, the result state of the event ‘*tôi rồi*’ (literally meaning ‘have arrived’) in (85b) is that at S whoever is referred to is here. The choice of a state instead of an achievement as used in the STs may account for the choice of the simple present tense in the English translation of these (as well as two more similar) sentences. But what seemed to motivate the choice of states instead of the corresponding achievements in the translation? Was that because the structures ‘you’re back’, uttered when one sees somebody who has just come back, and ‘here we are’, uttered when somebody has just reached his/her destination, are more common in English than the perfect structure with an achievement? This issue will be returned to in Chapter 6.

The PAM *đã* in (85a) seems to convey not just the resultative perfect meaning. This structure is often used in a context where the speaker is unaware of the addressee’s return or is not expecting the addressee to come back at the time s/he does. In other words, the addressee’s return is new and unexpected to the speaker. The utterer of this sentence is a little girl whose grandfather has left her at home to go and help a neighbour without telling her when he might be back. The girl is thus totally unaware of the grandfather’s coming back until the moment she sees him. The PAM *đã* is often used in such a context to express the speaker’s surprise at the addressee’s return or to mark unexpectedness. To put it another way, *đã* in this structure seems to mark mirativity, which occurs in contexts “in which the speaker’s discovery of the reported fact is relatively recent” (de Lancey, 2001, p. 378). As de Lancey observes, in English

mirativity “is not directly expressed in the morphosyntactic system” (de Lancey, 2001, p. 377), but it can be marked by ‘intonation contour’. This can be done orally. In writing it is not easily evident. In the following example, from the narrative mode, however, the mirativity can be expressed lexically in the English translation by the equivalent translation of the other lexical items that seemed to also contribute to the expression of mirativity.

(86). Lúc này, nét mặt ông ta thật hiên.
At that moment, expression face 3SG very tender.
 Tôi không ngờ mình đã dẫn dắt câu chuyện
1SG NEG expect 1SG PERF guide CL story
 được ngọt ngào đến thế (NWN, p. 86)
RVC smoothly so

“At that moment, he had a tenderness about him, an earnestness. I was surprised that I had been able to convince him easily”

This passage was taken from the novel “*Novel Without a Name*”, enacted in the first person. The protagonist, on his mission to help his friend (Bien), who is reported mad (though in fact he only pretends to be mad), has to convince the commander-in-chief, who is in charge of Bien’s case, that Bien is really mad and his madness is genetically inherited. The protagonist does not have much knowledge of this mental illness and has only heard some medical jargon, which he makes ultimate use of in his effort to convince the commander-in-chief. To his surprise, and unexpectedly, the commander-in-chief appears to be fully convinced that Bien is really mad. The second sentence in (86) expresses his surprise at the unexpected achievement, i.e. the fact that he has succeeded in convincing the commander-in-chief. He has only become aware of this fact at the time he sees the commander-in-chief’s convincing, tender, sympathetic look on his face. The mirativity is expressed in this sentence not only by the PAM *đã*, but also by the negation of the verb ‘*ngờ*’ (‘expect’). The presence of the formal equivalent of the verb phrase ‘expect’ in negation in the English translation together with the perfect achieved the retainment of the mirative meaning in the TL. De Lancey (2001) also argues that the perfect construction in English can have some association with mirativity, since it consists of a past completed event and the aftermath consequences normally perceptible at the time of speech. If the speaker knows about the event only

through the perception of its long lasting consequences, then “this sense already has some connection to the notion of mirativity” (de Lancey, 2001, p. 378).

As shown in Chapter 2, when a PAM is used with a stative verb, it expresses a change of state. This use of Vietnamese PAMs was found in six clauses in deictic mode of the Vietnamese corpus, in all of which it was translated into English with the simple present tense. The following examples are illustrative.

(87)a. Các cháu lớn rồi (EAFC, p. 299)

PL children big/grown up PERF

“Your children are big enough already”

b. Ta đã già (SW, p. 63)

1SG PERF old

“I’m old”

As discussed in Chapter 2, when used with stative verbs denoting non-permanent properties such as *già* (‘old’), *lớn* (‘grown up’), *lạnh* (‘cold’), or *biết* (‘know’), Vietnamese PAMs express a change of state (Cao, 1998b; Do-Hurinville, 2007). This is true of (87a) and (87b). The marker *rồi* in (87a) and *đã* in (87b) put an end to the presupposed states of being small and young, respectively, and focus on the result of this change, i.e. the fact that the states of being big/grown up/old hold at speech time. According to Đ.D. H.T. Nguyễn, (1996), “in such situations, when translated into English, the English present tense has to be used” (*trong những trường hợp này khi dịch sang tiếng Anh, cần để động từ ở thì hiện tại*). The simple present tense was in fact chosen in the English translation of (87a, b). This structure, while conforming to the TL norms and explicitly conveys the present state, does not convey the presupposition that there has been another state, which has changed into the present state, the perception of which is perceptible at the time of speech.

When a Vietnamese clause in deictic mode contained a PAM, which was used to put an emphasis on the completion of a situation in the past of S, the English simple past tense was used and it was found to most closely convey the original meaning. This is illustrated in the following example.

(88). Cái hộp đường vét nhẵn hôm nọ **rồi** còn gì
(NWN, p. 27)

CL jar sugar empty the other day PERF F-PART

“You **licked** it clean a long time ago”

The definite past LA *hôm nọ* (which literally means ‘the other day’) locates the situation [empty] in the past. The PAM *rồi* emphasizes the occurrence and the completion of the event in the past time specified by the TA. The past meaning of the original situation was conveyed in the English translation by the simple past tense and also the TA ‘a long time ago’. The English perfect would be odd in this sentence, since it is not compatible with definite past temporal adverbs. This may account for the choice of the simple past tense in the English translation of this as well as other sentences in the Vietnamese STs that contained a PAM and a definite past LA.

4.2.4. Translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a perfect aspectual marker in narrative mode

In narrative mode of the Vietnamese texts, PAMs were found much more often than in deictic mode, occurring in nearly 20 percent of the total clauses. The main meanings conveyed by Vietnamese PAMs in narrative mode were found to include the resultative perfect, retrospective past, and change of state meanings. The PAM *đã* was also found to perform some interesting discourse functions, which included introducing a new episode, breaking off from the previous episode, and suspending or ending an episode, as will be shown below. These discourse functions, performed by the PAM *đã*, have never been observed in Vietnamese narrative. They were found often in the Vietnamese texts analysed.

Only 30 percent of the total narrative clauses containing a PAM were translated into English with the perfect (mostly past perfect). The English pluperfects were mostly found in the translation of Vietnamese narrative clauses that contained a PAM which was found to convey either the retrospective past temporal or the resultative perfect meaning. These clauses were normally found to present the result state of the event conveyed by a PAM as holding at the narrative time and temporally overlapping the preceding or following event, and thus they did not advance narrative time. The perfect aspect that was used in the English translation of these clauses was found to correspondingly convey the meaning expressed by the PAM in the Vietnamese STs,

whereas the simple past tense might have resulted in a difference in the temporal structure of the narrative. The following examples illustrate this.

(89)a. Và bắt chợt anh hiểu được rằng vì sao
And suddenly 3SG understand T-PART that why
 mẹ **đã** từ bỏ cha con anh... (SW, p. 64)
mother PERF leave father child 3SG
 “He understood then why his mother had left his father...”

b. Một thời gian sau, khi Kiên nhập ngũ
Some time later, when Kien join army
 Hạnh **đã** vào thanh niên xung phong.
Hanh PERF join Volunteer Youth Brigade
 “When Kien joined up Hanh had already become involved with the Volunteer Youth Brigade.”

In (89a) *đã* conveys that the situation [*bỏ*] (‘leave’) occurred before the narrative time which is the time when the situation [*hiểu được*] (‘come to understand’) is enacted. Even though the event of leaving is explicitly presented retrospectively, the result of it, i.e. the understanding, is only perceived at the narrative time. The PAM *đã* conveys the resultative perfect meaning. The result state is understood to temporally overlap the situation [understand]. Both of the clauses in (89b) are event clauses (both achievements), but the presence of the PAM *đã* in the second clause indicates that the result state of Hanh being in the Volunteer Youth Brigade coincides with the event time of Kien joining the army. The two eventualities thus temporally overlap each other. The English past perfect, as shown in Chapter 2, can convey the ‘perfect of the past’ (or result state of a past event) meaning, hence the choice of the past perfect in the English translation. A similar temporal relation between the eventualities in the English translation was achieved by the presence of the past perfect in the places where the PAM *đã* was used in the original.

More than two thirds of the instances of Vietnamese PAMs in the narrative sections were translated into English with the neutral aspect (the simple past tense). These instances of PAMs were found to mainly combine with states to convey a change of state meaning or to perform the episode segmentation function mentioned above. A

change of state was expressed by a PAM and a stative verb, as in deictic mode. While in the English translation of Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained a PAM and a stative VP the simple present tense was mainly utilized, in narrative mode the simple past tense was commonly used, as exemplified in (90) below, taken from “NWN” (p. 18).

- (90). Tôi cuốn chăn, nằm im. Tôi **đã tỉnh** hoàn toàn,
ISG roll blanket, lie still. ISG PERF awake completely,
 không còn tê dại vì thấy mình tan biến dưới đáy nước
no longer stunned for find self vanish under bottom water
 “I wrapped myself more tightly under my covers. I was no longer some diluted
 substance in the depths of the water. I **was lucid**”

The presence of the PAM *đã* in the Vietnamese original indicates the protagonist’s change of state from not being awake to being fully awake and the state of being awake holds at the narrative time. As this example shows, this use of *đã* gives the situation a stative value. The situation temporally overlaps its preceding and following situations and thus does not enable temporal progression. The stative situation [be lucid] in the English translation, expressed by the simple past tense, also holds at the reference (narrative) time, shared by the preceding stative situations, and thus does not move narrative time. The temporal relation between these eventualities is that of temporal overlap (Kamp and Reyle, 1993; Hinrichs, 1986). Although the presupposition that there was an earlier state that was the opposite of the current state was not conveyed in the translation, the use of the simple past tense with a stative VP conveyed similar temporal meaning to that expressed in the SL.

However, the use of the simple past tense to translate Vietnamese clauses containing the PAM *đã*, which functions to segment narrative episodes, was found to normally result in a difference in the temporal structure of the text, as illustrated in the following example.

- (91). Tám tuần liền, cơm chỉ muối trộn ớt và
Eight week straight, rice only salt mixed with chilli and
 môn thực nấu canh suông. Bọn lính bèn săn khỉ.
colocasia cook soup plain. PL soldier decide hunt monkey

Ngày hôm	đầu tiên,	chúng	đã	hạ	được	một
<i>Right day</i>	<i>first,</i>	<i>3PL</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>kill</i>	<i>RVC</i>	<i>one</i>
con	dộc.	Lần	ấy	có	năm	thằng
<i>CL</i>	<i>orang-utan.</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>only</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>CL</i>
hai	cậu	bếp	dám	ăn	món	cháo.
<i>two</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>cook</i>	<i>dare</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>soup</i>
Nhưng	lần	thứ hai	con	số		gấp đôi. (NWN, p. 22)
<i>But</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>second</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>number</i>		<i>double</i>

“For eight weeks all we ate was rice with a bit of salt, red chillies, and root soup. And so the men **had begun** to hunt monkey. On the first day out they killed an orang-utan. That time only five hunters and the cook **had dared** to taste the soup. By the next time, the number doubled”

The situations in (91) occur in a war context where the soldiers have gone through weeks having nothing much to eat, and so they decide to hunt monkeys. In the Vietnamese original two episodes seem to emerge, marked by the PAM *đã*: the rice eating episode (1st episode), which ends with the soldiers’ decision to hunt monkeys, and the killing and eating orang-utan episode (2nd episode). The two episodes are presented as following each other. The clause containing *đã* was translated into English with the simple past tense, whereas the past perfect was found in the translation of two original zero-marked clauses. According to Irandoust (1999), the English past perfect can also function to introduce a new episode, break off from, or suspend, an episode. In doing so, it “put[s] the reader into the heart of events and gives him or her the impression of joining a story being told” (Irandoust, 1999, p. 289). The two occurrences of the past perfect in the translation of (91) seem to perform this function. They seem to break the passage into three episodes, the rice eating episode, the orang-utan hunting episode, and the orang-utan soup tasting episode. The episodes are also understood to follow one another. In the orang-utan hunting episode in the English translation the event of killing an orang-utan, conveyed by the simple past, is understood to elaborate on the event of hunting, whereas in the Vietnamese original the event of killing an orang-utan is presented as belonging to another episode marked by the presence of the PAM *đã*, which follows the decision to hunt monkeys in the previous episode. The temporal segmentation of the text in the English translation is thus different from that in the original. The motivation for the translators’ choices in the translation of the above

passage as well as the choice of the simple past tense instead of the past perfect to translate those containing a PAM functioning to segment episodes were unclear.

It should be noted that the use of the PAM *đã* to segment episodes in Vietnamese narrative mode was found relatively often and was equally relatively often translated into English with the neutral aspect (or the simple past tense), which, as demonstrated above, normally led to a different temporal reading in the translation.

4.2.5. Translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a progressive aspectual marker

In deictic sections of the Vietnamese source texts, the progressive aspectual marker *đang/vẫn* was found in only four clauses, and only two of these were found to be translated, one with the simple present tense, the other with the simple past tense. The remaining two were not translated into English. There was thus not enough information to draw any conclusion regarding the English tense/aspect pattern in the translation of this aspectual marker used in Vietnamese deictic mode.

In narrative, the progressive aspectual markers *đang*, *vẫn*, or *vẫn đang* were found in 34 clauses, amounting to just nearly 1.2 percent. In all situations where it was used, it was found to give the situations a progressive (imperfective) reading, presenting them as temporally overlapping the preceding or following events. Clauses that contained a progressive aspectual marker were not found to advance narrative time. The progressive aspect in English is also widely recognized to give a situation an imperfective, backgrounded reading, which does not enable temporal progression, as detailed in Chapter 2. Interestingly, only nearly one third of Vietnamese narrative clauses containing a progressive aspectual marker were found to be conveyed in the English translation by the progressive aspect. The remaining two thirds were conveyed by the neutral aspect (the simple past tense). Close examination revealed that the English neutral aspect was found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses, in which the progressive aspectual marker was used with a stative verb. The choice of the simple past tense instead of the progressive was seemingly attributed to the fact that the English progressive is incompatible with stative verbs. The use of either the English progressive or neutral aspect to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a progressive aspectual marker was found to convey the imperfective meaning, thus the temporal structure of

the original texts was retained in the translation, as demonstrated in the following example.

- (92). (e₁) Tôi đi thẳng về nhà,
ISG walk straight to home
 (e₂) cầu trời khẩn phật đừng gặp ai.
pray to God not meet anyone
 (e₃) Tôi **đang** đau bụng muốn chết!
ISG PROG stomach-ache want die!
 (e₄) May thay, đường làng vắng teo.
Luckily, road village deserted
 (e₅) Lũ trẻ **đã** dong trâu về chuồng
Children PROG bring buffalo to shed
 (e₆) và mọi nhà **đang** xáo xác chuẩn bị bữa cơm
 tối.
and every home PROG hastily prepare CL
dinner

“(e₁) I...headed for my father’s house, (e₂) praying no one would recognize me. (e₃) My stomach churned. (e₄) Fortunately the streets were deserted. (e₅) The children had already brought in the water buffalo and (e₆) the women were feverishly preparing the evening meal”

The first two clauses in the original text do not contain any explicit aspectuo-temporal marking (the translation of zero-marked clauses will be discussed later). The progressive aspectual marker *đang* occurs in (e₃) with a stative verb and in (e₆) with an activity. (e₃) is understood to give an explanation to the protagonist’s not wanting to meet anyone on his way home. (e₃) is thus related to (e₂) by the relation of *Explanation*, which does not enable temporal progression (Asher and Lascarides, 2003). The same temporal relation was elicited in the English translation with the use of the neutral aspect and an activity verb in (e₃).

Clauses (e₄), (e₅), and (e₆) are what the protagonist observes on his way home. (e₄) describes the state of affair of the village road. (e₅) and (e₆) seem to explain why the road is deserted. They are also related to (e₄) by the relation of *Explanation*. The PAM *đã* in (e₅) conveys the resultative perfect meaning, as discussed earlier. In (e₆) *đang*

gives the eventuality of preparing dinner a progressive, imperfective reading. The buffaloes had been driven home and everybody was preparing dinner at home, as a result of which the village road was quiet. None of these eventualities moves narrative time. The use of the progressive aspect in the English translation of (e₆) and of the past perfect in (e₅) resulted in the TT having similar temporal structure as that of the original.

4.2.6. Translation of clauses containing no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking in deictic mode

4.2.6.1. Zero-marked clauses containing a stative verb in deictic mode

More than 90 percent of clauses in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese corpus did not contain any explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. More than two thirds of them contained a stative verb, a majority of which (424, amounting to 83 percent) were conveyed in the translation by the simple present tense. Some examples are provided in (93).

(93)a. **Trông** mặt màý góm ghiéc như mặt ma (NWN, p. 33)
Look face 2SG terrible like face ghost
 “You **look** like a ghost”

b. **Thế** hai cha con **có** bao nhiêu tiền? (GR, p.19)
So two father child have how much money?
 “How much money **do** you **have**?”

The sentence in (93a) contains a stative verb, thus the situation in this sentence is most plausibly understood to be located at S (the present moment), since there is no contextual information to the contrary. Similarly, (93b) is the speaker’s inquiry about how much money her maid and her father have at the time of speech (to decide if she needs to give them more money for the trip). The English simple present tense explicitly locates the situations in the present. The choice of the simple present tense to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a state or an activity in deictic mode might be accounted for by the pragmatic principle of ‘Bounded Event Constraint’, discussed in Chapter 2.

The second most common English tense found to convey the temporal meaning of Vietnamese zero-marked clauses with a stative verb in deictic mode was the simple past, even though it was found in the translation of only about seven percent of

Vietnamese zero-marked stative clauses. A close examination of these clauses revealed that there was explicit contextual information to impose a past temporal reading for the situations represented in the clauses, as illustrated in (94) below.

- (94). anh **không biết** đâu... Nhà Phien **nghèo** lắm
2SG NEG know F-PART... Family Phien poor very
 “You **didn’t know**, but he **was** very poor”

When this conversation takes place, Phien has been shot dead (during the war). The most natural understanding of the temporal location of the state of Phien’s family being poor is past (the speaker knows about this because Phien told him when he was alive). Even though his family may still be poor at the time of speech, if the speaker observes the maxim of quality, he is obliged to describe Phien’s financial state as it was at the time Phien told him, which is in the past. Finally, the state of not knowing is naturally understood to have come to an end at the time of speech, since the listener is given information that changes the state of his knowledge. The past tense used in the English translation explicitly conveys the past meaning, which is contextually inferred in the original.

Other English tense forms were also found, though very infrequently, in the translation of Vietnamese zero-marked stative clauses in deictic mode. These included the simple future tense (found in 12 clauses, amounting to about 2.3 percent), the present perfect (found in 7 clauses, taking up 1.3 percent), the present progressive (found in only three clauses, amounting to approximately 0.6 percent); the near future tense (also found in three clauses), and the future perfect tense (found in just four clauses). Since they were found to occur very infrequently, they are considered exceptions. What was found in these situations conforms to the exceptions stated in Smith and Erbaugh’s (2005) principle that unbounded situations can be located in the past or the future with explicit information from the context. In-depth examination of these situations confirmed that there was rich contextual information that imposed a non-present temporal reading. Example (95) below illustrates a future reading of a zero-marked clause in Vietnamese and, hence, the choice of the simple future tense in the English translation.

- (95). đừng lấy hai nghìn của ông, tôi bù cho
NEG take two thousand of grandfather, 1SG match

hai nghìn ấy, lại cho thêm năm nghìn.
two thousand that, and give more five thousand.
 thế là hai cha con có chục nghìn (GR, p.19)
So that two father child have ten thousand

“Don’t take the 2,000 from father. I’ll make it up and give you 5,000 more.
 That means the three of you **will have** 10,000”

This utterance takes place after the one exemplified in (93b) above. After the speaker is informed of how much money the hearer has and where he got the money from, the speaker decides to give the hearer more money, and promises to match the two thousand, then give five more thousand. Since these are promises, they are to be performed in the future. Also, the rhetorical relation of *Result* (conveyed by ‘so that’) means the state of having ten thousand Vietnam Dongs obtains after the actions are performed by the speaker. The state of having ten thousand is thus understood to hold in the future, hence the choice of the simple future tense.

4.2.6.2. Zero-marked clauses containing an activity verb in deictic mode

A total of 96 zero-marked clauses were found to contain an activity verb constellation. The tense form that was found predominantly in the translation of Vietnamese zero-marked clauses with an activity was the simple present tense. It was found to be used to translate nearly half of the activity clauses. A close examination revealed that most of these activity clauses represented iterative or habitual situations, as illustrated in (96) below, taken from the novel “*Novel Without a Name*” (page 44).

(96). Ở đây cánh lái xe cung cấp xăng cho em dư dả
Here PL driver supply petrol for 1SG plenty
 “I get a steady supply from the truck drivers”

The collective noun phrase *cánh lái xe* (‘drivers’) gives the situation an iterative and habitual reading, which seems to account for the choice of the simple present tense in the English translation.

The simple present tense was also found in the English translation of Vietnamese activity clauses with a singular pronoun or a single noun phrase, which was most naturally understood as representing an on-going activity. The choice of the English

simple present tense in the translation was often found to also involve a change of situation type from an activity into a state. Example (97) below, taken from “NWN” (p. 24), illustrates this.

- (97). Em con đấყ... Nó **đạp** khiếყ khôყ?
- Younger sibling 2SG F-PART... He **kick** terriblyQ-PART?*
- “That’s your baby brother! You **feel** him moving?”

The utterance in (97) is made by a mother to her son about the baby in her womb. She tells her son that the baby in her womb is his baby brother. The son is putting his hand on the mother’s tummy and feels the baby kicking when the mother says ‘*nó đạყ khiếყ khôყ?*’ (a closer English equivalent would be ‘isn’t he kicking strongly?’). The mother’s utterance is a comment on how fiercely the baby is kicking at the time of speech. The English translation does not contain an activity as the original does, but a state [feel], which may account for the use of the simple present tense. The English translation does not make as visible as the original does the activity of the baby kicking, since the focus is on the listener not on the baby.

The second most frequently found tense form in the English translation of Vietnamese zero-marked activity clauses in deictic mode was the present progressive. It was found in the translation of more than a quarter of the Vietnamese activity clauses. These clauses were understood to represent on-going processes, as exemplified in (98) below, taken from “E AFC” (p. 286).

- (98). – Sao màყ khôყ **cườỉ** hả Việყ?
- Why 2SG NEG **laugh** Q-PART Vien?*
- “Why **aren’t** you **laughing**, Vien?”
- Tại **nổỉ** xấყ bác sĩ tương lai của nó đấყ
- Because **talk** ill doctor future POSS 3SG F-PART*
- “Because we’re **saying** bad things about her future doctor”

The situations in (98) take places in a context where the friends are making fun of Vien, the main character in the short story “*Mộყ Chiềყ Xa Thành Phố*” (‘An Evening Away from the City’) and her boyfriend. Everybody is laughing, except Vien, so one friend asks why Vien is not laughing. The other answers by saying that it is because they are talking ill of Vien’s boyfriend. Both situations are expressed by an activity and are

understood to be on-going at the time of speech. The choice of the present progressive equivalently conveys the temporal and aspectual meaning of the ST in the translation.

The English simple past tense was found in the translation of eight Vietnamese activity clauses in deictic mode, all of which received a past temporal location from the contextual information, as exemplified in (99).

- (99). anh không biết đâu... Nhà Phien nghèo lắm
 2SG NEG know F-PART... Family Phien poor very
 Hai anh em **chăn vịt** thuê, **mót thóc,**
 Two sibling **tend duck** for money, **pick paddy rice,**
đánh dậm **nuôi** nhau (NWN, p. 33)
fish raise each other

“You didn’t know, but he was very poor. They **made** a living tending ducks, stealing a bit of paddy rice here and there, fishing in the rice paddies”

The first two stative clauses were discussed in example (94) above. As stated earlier, when this conversation takes place, Phien is dead. It is understood that the activities of tending ducks, picking paddy rice, and fishing for a living are what he often did before he was enlisted. The most natural understanding of the temporal location of these situations is thus past. This interpretation is mainly elicited from contextual information. The choice of the English simple past tense makes the past temporal location of the original situations explicit in the translation.

4.2.6.3. Zero-marked clauses containing an accomplishment or achievement in deictic mode

Unlike zero-marked clauses containing a state or an activity, those containing an accomplishment or achievement found in the deictic sections were more likely to be conveyed in the translation by the simple past tense. Half of the clauses with an accomplishment and nearly half of those with an achievement were translated as such. The present perfect was found to be the second most common tense for translating accomplishment and achievement clauses. It was found to translate 20 percent of accomplishment clauses and 25 percent of achievement clauses. In the Vietnamese original these situations are naturally understood to be temporally located in the past. Consider the following examples.

(100)a. Nó **kể** với em (NWN, p. 33)

3SG **tell** to 1SG

“He **told** me”

b. Con **cướp** của nó (EAFC, p. 294)

1SG **snatch** from 3SG

“I **stole** it from her”

c. Tôi có **viết** **thư** riêng

1SG also **write** **letter** personally

cho Sư trưởng Nguyễn Văn Hào (NWN, p. 39)

for Commander Nguyen Van Hao

“I **ve written** a letter to Nguyen Van Hao, the division commander”

d. Thằng Phien **lẩn** đi đâu? (NWN, p. 33)

DEM Phien **vanish** where?

“Where **has** Phien **gone** to?”

The situations [*cướp*] (‘rob/snatch’) and [*lẩn*] (‘vanish’) are denoted by achievements, while the situations [*kể*] (‘tell’) and *viết thư* (‘write letter’ (understood to be ‘a letter’)) by accomplishments. With no information to the contrary, the situations are most naturally understood to be located in the past, since they are bounded and telic events. Since there is no aspectual marker in these situations in the SL to impose an explicit aspectual meaning, either the English simple past tense or present perfect would sufficiently convey the temporal meanings of the SL situations. Though the present perfect in English conveys different aspectual meaning from that conveyed by the simple past, the situation conveyed by the present perfect can also be understood to be located in the (indefinite) past, especially so when the perfect is used with an accomplishment or achievement, in which case it always denotes a past completed event.

None of the accomplishment clauses in the data were found to be translated with the simple present tense, while it was used to translate eight clauses (approximately 10 percent) with achievement verb constellations. The translation of Vietnamese clauses containing an achievement into English with the simple present tense was found to often

involve a change of the situation type into states, as illustrated in the following example, taken from “NWN” (p. 19).

- (101). Thăng khi, làm gì mà **mò dậy** sớm thế?
 DEM *monkey,* *for what* *PART* *get up* *early* *so?*
 “You asshole. Why **are** you **up** so early?”

The original situation is conveyed by an achievement. It is understood that the situation [get up] occurred before S. The result state that is brought about by the endpoint of the achievement [get up] may or may not be relevant at the time of speech. The English translated situation is conveyed by a state in the simple present tense. It focuses on the present state of the event [get up]; i.e. the state of being awake, which holds at S. Thus, the translation conveys the semantic entailment of the original. The same was found in the other instances where the simple present tense was used to translate Vietnamese zero-marked clauses containing an achievement in deictic mode.

The simple future tense that was found in the English translation of three Vietnamese clauses containing an accomplishment and eight achievement clauses deserves some attention. A close examination revealed that the Vietnamese clauses that were translated into English with the simple future tense received a future temporal reading in the ST. The following example illustrates this.

- (102). - Con sợ hả?
 - *2SG* *scared* *Q-PART?*
 - Con sợ chú **chết** luôn (NWN, p. 65)
 - *1SG* *afraid* *3SG* *die* *F-PART*
 “Are you frightened? – Yes, that he **will die**”

The first clause in this example is the speaker’s inquiry about the current mental state of the hearer, hence the simple present tense in the English translation. The answer confirms that indeed at the speech time she is frightened by the fact that she is thinking the soldier (referred to as *chú* (a third person singular in Vietnamese)) may die. The achievement [die] is thus not understood to have happened. In other words, if it is to occur, it will occur in the future of S. Here, the contextual information makes it explicit that the telic event [die] has to be interpreted to be located in the future, not in the past. This may account for the choice of the simple future tense in the English translation.

The choice of the simple future tense in the translation of the other Vietnamese clauses can be accounted for along the same line.

4.2.7. Translation of clauses containing no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking in narrative mode

As Table (7) shows, in the narrative sections of the Vietnamese original texts, three quarters of the clauses contained no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. A majority of them (86 percent) were translated into English with the neutral aspect. The English perfect and progressive aspects were found in the translation of just eight percent and 1.6 percent, respectively. The neutral aspect in the English translation of Vietnamese narrative zero-marked clauses was predominantly found to be used with the situation type that was equivalent to the one used in the original. Non-equivalent situation type was also occasionally found. The details are presented below.

4.2.7.1. Translation of Vietnamese zero-marked narrative clauses with the neutral aspect and equivalent situation type

As Table (7) shows, a majority (78.6 percent) of zero-marked clauses in narrative were translated into English with the neutral aspect and equivalent situation type. In the absence of an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker, it was generally found that if two eventualities in Vietnamese narrative were both conveyed by states and/or activities, the temporal relation between them was understood to be that of temporal overlap, unless there was explicit information to the contrary. If both of them were conveyed by accomplishments and/or achievements, they were understood to be related by the temporal relation of succession, unless explicit information cancelled that interpretation. If one of the eventualities was conveyed by a state or an activity and the other by an accomplishment or achievement, the temporal relation between them was plausibly interpreted to be that of temporal overlap or temporal inclusion, unless there was explicit information that imposed a different interpretation. It was also found that clauses containing an accomplishment or achievement in Vietnamese moved narrative time forward, while state and activity clauses only advanced narrative time with extra explicit information from the context or through pragmatic inferences. As discussed in Chapter 2, similar patterns of interpretation of a temporal relation between two eventualities with a neutral aspect have been observed in English narrative (e.g. Hinrichs, 1986; Kamp and Reyle, 1993). Thus, generally, the use of an equivalent

situation type with the neutral aspect in the English translation of Vietnamese narrative zero-marked clauses resulted in the TT having similar temporal structure as that of the original. The following examples illustrate this.

Temporal overlap between eventualities represented by states and/or activities:

- (103). Tân nhìn thấy cái dây phơi đầy tã vàng ố.
Tan see CL clothes line full of diaper yellow-stained.
- Một người đàn bà tóc húi cao **đang** hí húi ở sân.
One CL woman hair tie up high PROG busy in yard.
- Cái áo chị ta mặc chỉ cài có hai khuy trên cổ.
CL blouse 3SG wear only fasten only two button up neck.
- Tà áo phanh ra
Flap blouse open
- phơi cả mảng bụng trắng.
Reveal whole CL belly white.
- Quần xẻ từ gấu lên đến gối.
Pant tear from cuff up to knee.
- Đôi guốc thì thật kỳ cục,
Pair wooden clog be very strange,
- một chiếc rất cao, quai xanh.
one CL very high, strap green.
- Chiếc kia mòn vẹt góc, quai vàng.
CL other worn flat heel, strap yellow.
- Chị ta đi lại trên sân,
3SG walk around LOC yard,
- dáng cò nhấc vì đôi guốc. (EAFC, p. 290)
limp due to pair wooden clog

“Tan saw the line on which the yellow-stained diapers hung. A woman, her hair piled up in a bun, was doing something in the yard. Only two buttons on the neck of her shirt held it closed while the flaps blew open, revealing a white belly. The cuffs of her pants were torn to the knee. Her wooden clogs were very strange. One of them had a high heel and a green strap. The other had no heel and yellow strap. Consequently, she walked around the yard, limping.”

The passage in (103) begins with an achievement clause, then continues with a series of stative or activity clauses, describing the appearance of the woman introduced in the second clause and what she is doing. All these appearance features are understood to be captured at the time Tan saw the woman. They are all simultaneous, or in other words, they all temporally overlap each other, either totally or partially. The corresponding situation types were used in the English translation and similar temporal interpretation was achieved.

The realization of temporal overlap between a state/activity and an event (accomplishment or achievement) is exemplified in (104) below, taken from the short story “*The General Retires*” (p. 31).

- (104). (e₁) ông Cơ cùng với ông Bông vớt bùn dưới ao...,
 Mr Co together with Mr Bong clean mud in pond
 (e₂) bỗng thấy một cái đít chum nổi lên.
 Suddenly see one CL bottom jar emerge
 (e₃) Hai ông hì hục đào,
 They eagerly dig
 (e₄) lại thấy một cái đít chum nữa,
 Again see one CL bottom jar more

“Mr Co and Mr Bong were cleaning the mud out of the pond..., when they suddenly saw the bottom of a water-jar that had risen to the surface. The two men dug eagerly, then found another jar.”

The first clause (e₁) contains an activity [Mr Co and Mr Bong clean mud in the pond]. The second eventuality (e₂) (the discovery of the first jar) is an achievement, which is understood to occur during the cleaning, or in other words, as being included in the eventuality of cleaning. The same holds between e₃ [dig] and e₄ [see the second jar], i.e. the discovery of the second jar is understood to happen during the digging. The two eventualities thus also temporally overlap. In the English translation, (e₁) was expressed by the progressive aspect with the equivalent activity [clean], thus making the on-going process more visible in the translation. The use of the equivalent situation types in the English translation of the other clauses retained the original temporal structure in the translation.

This is evidenced also in the following example, which consists of mainly achievements.

- (105). Còn Viên thì từ trên giường **nhảy xuống** đất...
*And Vien TOP from bed **jump down** ground*
 nó **đứng bật** lên **được**
*3SG **stand straight up RVC***
 và **chạy vụt** ra ngoài (EAFC, p. 286)
*and **ran rushing outside***
 “As for Vien, she **jumped down** from her bunk... she **immediately recovered her balance and rushed out door**”

The events in this example are naturally understood to follow one another. The corresponding achievements with the neutral aspect were used in the English translation, which also gave the TL situations a sequential interpretation.

4.2.7.2. Translation of Vietnamese zero-marked narrative clauses with the neutral aspect and non-equivalent situation type

Just under a quarter of Vietnamese narrative zero-marked clauses, which were translated into English with the neutral aspect, were found in the translation to contain a non-equivalent situation type. As shown earlier, when equivalent situation type was used in the translation, the original temporal structure was found to be retained in the translation. Interestingly, it was found in the corpus analysed that the presence of non-equivalent situation type also did not lead to a disturbance of the original temporal structure, regardless of what situation type was utilized to substitute for the one used in the original. Detailed examination of the clauses translated as such revealed that in these clauses contextual information and pragmatic inferences imposed a shifted reading for the situation type used in the original. The pragmatically inferred shifted reading of the original situation type was made more explicit in the English translation by the use of a situation type that was different from the original one. The following examples are illustrative.

- (106)a. Con chó mực vào **liếm láp** (EAFC, p. 293)
*CL dog black enter **lick***
 “The black dog came into the house and **started to lick up** the mess”

b. Cha tôi thường bỏ thư viết vào phong bì... cỡ
Father 1SG often put letter write into envelope... size
 20x30...Ba tháng sau **hết sạch** loại phong bì ấy

(GR, p.14)

20x30...Three month later run out of type envelope that.
 “My father usually put his letters in...envelopes, 20 cm by 30 cm... After three months, he **was** out of official envelopes”

In (106a) the activity [lick] receives an inceptive interpretation. It is understood that the eventuality of licking starts after the dog comes into the room. This interpretation is pragmatically inferred in the ST. The achievement [start] in the English translation makes this inceptive meaning explicit. Most of the achievements that were found in the English translation of Vietnamese activity clauses are of this type (‘start’ or ‘begin’).

The second sentence in (106b) in the Vietnamese ST contains an achievement, but in the English TT it contains a state with the neutral aspect. Nevertheless, the TA ‘after three months’ gave the TL state an inchoative (perfective) reading, rendering it sequenced to the preceding event, as it is in the original.

4.2.8. Translation of zero-marked narrative clauses with the English perfect or progressive aspect

The English progressive aspect was only found in the translation of Vietnamese zero-marked narrative clauses containing an activity. It was found in 42 clauses (amounting to just 4.7 percent). In most of the situations where the English progressive was used, it made more explicit and visible the on-going of the processes, which was not so visible and explicit in the ST due to the absence of the progressive aspectual marker. The following examples illustrate this.

(107). Vien thanh minh trong khi
Vien explain while
 hai đứa trẻ **hằm hè** nhau. (EAFC, p. 296)
two CL child bicker each other
 “While the two children **were bickering**, Vien said...”

Even in the absence of the progressive aspectual marker, the Vietnamese activity [*hằm hè*] ('bicker') in the above example is most naturally understood to be on-going. It is interpreted to be simultaneous with the eventuality [*thanh minh*] ('explain'). While in the ST the progressive reading is primarily pragmatically inferred, the presence of the progressive aspect in the English translation necessarily made this meaning visible and explicit.

The English perfect was found in the translation of Vietnamese narrative zero-marked clauses containing all situation types. In detail, it was found to translate 11 percent of clauses containing a stative verb, nearly 10 percent of clauses containing an activity, 2.6 percent of clauses containing an accomplishment, and just one percent of those containing an achievement. In some of these instances the English perfect was found to either make explicit the retrospective meaning of the TL situations, elicited in the STs from the contextual information, as illustrated by example (108) below. In the others it caused a change in the temporal structure of the narrative, as demonstrated by example (85) above.

- (108)a. Tân bước nhanh hơn khi nghĩ tới... ngày ấy.
Tan walk quickly more when think about... day that.
 Sao ngày ấy cái gì cũng **đễ dàng**,
Why day that everything also easy
 ngay cả những điều ước cũng **nhẹ nhõm** (EAFC, p. 283)
even PL wish also light-hearted

“Tan walked more quickly when she thought about the conversations that she and Vien had in the forest. Things **had been** so **easy** then. Even their wishes **had been light-hearted**”

- b. Ông Co cứ loay hoay bên đồng ván
Mr Co busy himself around pile timber
 vợ tôi **xẻ** hôm trước (GR, p. 22)
wife ISG cut day before

“Mr Co busied himself around the pile of timber my wife **had cut** the day before”

In the ST all the bolded situations in (108a) are represented by states. Equivalent states were found in the English translation, but with the past perfect. The translators' choice of the perfect in these situations seems to be influenced by the temporal adverbial 'ngày ấy' ('those days'). These situations occur when Tan, on a business trip, is visiting the area where her friend is living. They haven't seen each other for a very long time. As she is walking, she thinks about what she and Vien did in the past, in those days when they were two young soldiers in the battlefield. The states of everything being easy and their wishes being light-hearted held in the past of the narrative time, which is the time when Tan is walking toward her friend's house and recalling the past events in her mind. The SL readers know that these states are in the time frame before the narrative time due to the adverbial 'those days' (which might also account for the absence of a perfect aspectual marker). Similarly, in (108b) the temporal adverbial 'hôm trước' ('the day before') in the situation [xẻ] ('cut') presents this situation as occurring in the past of the narrative time. The retrospective meaning was explicitly conveyed in the English translation by both the equivalent temporal adverbial and the perfect aspect or the 'temporal' use of the past perfect.

4.3. Conclusion

To sum up, in the Vietnamese-English translation the following patterns of tense and aspect used in the English TL to translate the original situations with or without explicit aspectuo-temporal markers were found.

a). *Patterns of English tense/aspect choices found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a TA*: it was found that in the translation of dialogue sections from Vietnamese to English, when a LA was used in a sentence, the situation denoted by the VP was understood to be explicitly located at the time specified by the LA. The tense forms most commonly found in the English translation of Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode were the ones conveying the original temporal meaning indicated by the LA, with the exception of the pre-categorized present LAs. In detail, the English simple past tense was found to translate all the Vietnamese clauses containing a past LA. Similarly, all, but one, Vietnamese clauses containing a future LA were conveyed in the English translation by the simple future tense, the remaining one by the near future. The pre-categorized present LAs were found to convey different temporal meanings in different contexts. The translation seemed to reflect this by the use of a variety of tenses/aspects.

However, the most common tense was the simple present. The pattern of English tense/aspect found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained an adverb of frequency was also the simple present tense.

In the Vietnamese narrative sections, LAs were found to contribute to the advancement of narrative time. Instantaneous adverbs gave clauses containing them an inceptive and perfective (sequential) reading (thus also moving narrative time). The anaphoric adverb *rồi* was found to convey similar sequential meaning as that of the English ‘then’. Finally, adverbs of frequency normally gave rise to an iterative (imperfective) interpretation. Not all original Vietnamese TAs were translated into English with equivalent TAs.

b). *Patterns of English tense/aspect choices found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing the auxiliary sẽ*: the most common English tense that was found to convey the original Vietnamese clauses with the auxiliary *sẽ* in deictic mode was the simple future tense. In all situations where it was used, the Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* was found to convey that the situation expressed by it will take place after the speech time. This meaning corresponds to the future meaning expressed by the English future simple tense. In narrative mode, *sẽ* was found to express a situation that occurred at a time later than the narrative time, which is by default in the past of S. The English tense that was predominantly found to translate Vietnamese clauses containing *sẽ* in narrative mode was the future-in-the-past tense (expressed by ‘would’).

c). *Patterns of English tense/aspect choices found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing the progressive aspectual marker đang/vẫn đang*: no particular pattern of English tense/aspect was found for the translation of clauses containing a progressive aspectual marker in deictic mode. The number of occurrences of this aspectual marker in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese corpus was too small (the average was just one occurrence per text).

In the translation of Vietnamese narrative clauses containing a progressive aspectual marker, the most obvious pattern was the use of the neutral aspect with states and activities. The English progressive aspect was found in the translation of just less than a third of Vietnamese clauses containing a progressive aspectual marker. The choices of

either the progressive aspect or the neutral aspect with states or activities in the translation were found to reflect the norms of the TL.

d). *Patterns of English tense/aspect choices found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a perfect aspectual marker*: two patterns of tense/aspect choices were found in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM. In the deictic mode the present perfect was found most often, followed by the simple past. In the narrative mode the simple past was found most frequently, followed by the past perfect. The use of the English perfect to translate a Vietnamese clause containing a PAM was found in all instances to convey similar temporal and aspectual meaning to that of the original. The simple past tense was not always found to convey similar temporal and/or aspectual meaning to that conveyed by the Vietnamese PAM in the STs. In the narrative mode, Vietnamese PAM *đã* was found to perform different functions, apart from conveying the past-of-the-past (or past retrospective) meaning. It could serve to break off from an episode or to introduce or end an episode and provide an anchoring point for all related sentences.

f). *Patterns of English tense/aspect choices found in the translation of Vietnamese zero-marked clauses*: in the translation of Vietnamese clauses containing no explicit temporal or aspectual marking in deictic mode, the simple present tense was by far the most common tense found to translate clauses with states and activities (the present progressive was also often found in the translation of activity clauses), while the simple past tense was found most often in the translation of clauses containing an accomplishment or achievement. The simple past tense was found in the translation of stative and activity clauses in deictic mode when there was explicit information to impose a past temporal reading for the state or activity situation. In the translation of clauses with an accomplishment or achievement, the present perfect was second most commonly found, which resulted in the TL explicitly conveying the past temporal location and the perfect meaning, which was either not available or implicit in the original.

In the translation of Vietnamese zero-marked clauses in narrative sections, the neutral aspect (or simple past tense) was found most frequently with the situation type that corresponded to the original one, which was found to equivalently convey the original temporal and aspectual meaning. When a non-equivalent situation type was used in the

English translation, it was found that the shift of the situation type was to make the original meaning more explicit and visible in the TL. The past perfect, which was used much less frequently in the translation of Vietnamese narrative zero-marked clauses, was mostly found to translate stative and activity clauses, very rarely with accomplishment or achievement clauses. In a majority of instances where the perfect was found, it either explicitly conveyed the retrospective past meaning that was contextually implied in the original or introduced a new episode in a more stylistic way.

The progressive aspect was also found in the translation of Vietnamese narrative zero-marked clauses, but only of those containing an activity. The use of the progressive was probably intended to make the original aspectual meaning, which was implicit, more visible and explicit in the translation.

Chapter 5: English-Vietnamese translation

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the data analysis of the English source texts and their Vietnamese translations, which was conducted to find answers to research question (2) and sub-questions (2a and 2b), i.e. to find out how English temporal and aspectual information was conveyed in the Vietnamese translation of the English texts in both deictic and narrative modes. Section 5.1 quantitatively presents the tenses/aspects found in the English texts (in both deictic and narrative sections) and the temporal resources that were found in the Vietnamese translations to convey each English tense/aspect. Detailed discussion of the results is provided in Section 5.2.

5.1. Temporal and aspectual resources found in English STs and Vietnamese TTs: quantitative results

A total of 960 clauses were found in the dialogue sections of the English texts in the data corpus. The tenses/aspects found in the dialogue sections included the simple present, present progressive, present perfect, simple past, past progressive, past perfect, simple future, future perfect, and near future. Clauses in the simple present tense were by far the most common, occurring in 669 clauses, amounting to nearly 70 percent of the total clauses. The second most frequently found tense was the simple past, taking up 28 percent, followed by the simple future tense, found in almost 14 percent of the clauses. The present perfect was found in 80 clauses, amounting to just eight percent. The other tenses occurred very infrequently. The distribution of the English tenses/aspects and the Vietnamese resources found to convey the meaning of the tenses/aspects are presented in Table (8) below.

As shown in Table (8), of the 1225 clauses in the English deictic sections, only 359 (29.3 percent) were found to be explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by an explicit aspectuo-temporal device. The explicit aspectuo-temporal devices that were found most frequently were perfect aspectual markers, occurring in 125 clauses (amounting to nearly 33.8 percent of the clauses marked with an explicit aspectuo-

temporal device), followed by temporal adverbials, found in 106 clauses (28.7 percent). The Vietnamese auxiliaries were found in 103 clauses (27.9 percent). The progressive aspectual marker was used the least often, found in just 25 clauses (6.7 percent).

Table 8: English-Vietnamese translation, dialogue sections

Source texts			Target texts										
Tense/ Aspect	Freq	Temporal adverbials				Aspectual markers		Aux	Situation type				
		Pres LA	Past LA	Fut LA	Ao F	Prog	Perf		St	Act	Acc	Ach	
Present	Sim	669	27			13	12	17	7	529	40	3	7
	Prog	43	2				10	1	3/3		15	4	3
	Perf	80						46		10	4	3	17
Past	Sim	272		54				52		80	11	3	70
	Prog	13					3	4			6		
	Perf	6						5					
Future	Sim	132	2		8				80/6	12	2	2	3
	Near	10							3/1	1		2	1

Legend: Freq: frequency; Sim: simple; Prog: progressive; Perf: perfect; LA: locating adverbials; Pres: present; Fut: future; TA: temporal adverbials; Aux: auxiliary; AoF: adverbs of frequency; St: state; Act: activities; Acc: accomplishments; Ach: achievements

In the narrative sections of the English corpus a total of 3124 clauses were found. Only 14.2 percent of them were translated into Vietnamese with some explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. The tenses/aspects and situation types that were found in the English STs and the temporal or aspectual resources found in the Vietnamese translations are presented in Table (9) below.

As can be seen from Table (9), a majority (nearly 88 percent) of the English narrative clauses were conveyed by the neutral aspect (i.e. the simple past tense). Just 8.7 percent were conveyed by the perfect (past perfect) and 3.4 by the progressive aspect (past progressive). The situation type that was found most frequently in the English narrative clauses with the neutral aspect was that of state, occurring in 1207 clauses (amounting to 40 percent) out of the total 3124 clauses found in the narrative sections of the English STs. A majority of them (or 96 percent to be exact) were found to have an imperfective

reading. 70 of the English narrative stative clauses with the neutral aspect were translated into Vietnamese with the corresponding situation type (state) with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. Explicit aspectuo-temporal marking was found in the Vietnamese translation of 17 percent of English narrative stative clauses. The device that was predominantly used was one of the perfect aspectual markers.

Table 9: English – Vietnamese translation: narrative mode

Source text			Target texts									
Sit.T	aspect	freq	Temporal adverbials				Aspectual markers		Situation type			
			LA	Ao F	Ins	rôi	Prog	Perf	St	Act	Acc	Ach
	Perf	263	13					130	20	33	32	44
	Prog	104					21	9	4	60	4	6
St	Neutral (imperf)	1160	7	8			18	123	871	21	12	41
Act	Neutral (imperf)	500		7		3	20		28	390	8	12
St	Neutral (perfv)	47			3			6	21	3		14
Act	Neutral (perfv)	75				2			2	47	7	10
Acc	Neutral (imperf)	12									12	
Ach	Neutral (imperf)	10								4		6
Acc	Neutral (perfv)	529				3		5			433	6
Ach	Neutral (perfv)	314			5	3		10			13	266
Would + VP		Freq	Auxiliary <i>Sẽ</i>									
		110	50									
Temporal adverbials		Freq										
LA		122	89									
AoF		35		35								
Inst		10			10							
Then		68				47						

Legend: Freq: frequency; Prog: progressive; Perf: perfect; Perfv: perfective; Imperf: imperfective; LA: locating adverbials; Sit.T: situation type; AoF: adverbs of frequency; Act: activities; Acc: accomplishments; Ach: achievements; Ins: instantaneous adverbs

Activities were found to appear second most frequently in the narrative sections of the English STs, with 575 instances, 500 of which (or 87 percent) were found to receive an

imperfective reading. Only seven percent of English activity clauses were translated into Vietnamese with an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker. A majority of zero-marked clauses found in the Vietnamese translation of English activity clauses contained the corresponding situation type (activity). Other situation types were found infrequently.

The remaining 865 English narrative clauses contained either an accomplishment or achievement, 97.4 percent of which were presented as having a perfective viewpoint. In the Vietnamese translation of these clauses, accomplishments or achievements with no temporal or aspectual marking were found predominantly. Very few clauses were translated with explicit aspectuo-temporal marking, or with a different situation type.

Nearly half of the 263 English narrative perfect clauses were conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by a PAM. The rest were represented, in the order from most frequently to least frequently, by states, achievements, activities, and accomplishments. Just nearly 20 percent of English narrative clauses with the progressive aspect were translated into Vietnamese with a progressive aspectual marker. The other 80 percent were all conveyed in the translation by an activity.

In the narrative sections of the English texts, the future-of-the-past structure ‘would + VP’ was found in 110 clauses, less than half of which were translated into Vietnamese with the auxiliary *sẽ*. The remaining were conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by either zero-marked clauses or modal verbs such as *có thể* (‘can/could/may/might’), *phải/cần phải* (‘must/have to’).

122 instances of LAs were found in the English narrative sections. 73 percent of them were equivalently translated into Vietnamese. The anaphoric adverb ‘then’ was also used frequently, occurring 68 times, just 69 percent of which were translated into Vietnamese with the corresponding anaphoric adverb *rồi*. Adverbs of frequency and instantaneous adverbs were not found very frequently in the English narrative sections, with 35 and 10 instances, respectively. However, all of them were equivalently translated into Vietnamese.

The details are discussed in the following sections.

5.2. Detailed discussion of the results

5.2.1. Translation of English clauses in deictic mode with a Vietnamese temporal adverbial

As stated above, temporal adverbials were found in the translation of 106 English clauses in deictic mode. Half of the instances (54 to be exact) of TAs were found in the translation of clauses in the simple past tense. Another 40 instances were found in the translation of English clauses in the simple present tense. Only ten English simple future clauses were translated into Vietnamese with a TA. It should be noted, though, that many instances of temporal adverbials in the Vietnamese translation were directly translated from the English original. Regardless of this, it was found that when a TA was used in the Vietnamese translation of an English clause in deictic mode, it correspondingly conveyed the temporal/aspectual information that was expressed by the tense/aspect in the English original. The following examples are illustrative. The titles of the texts where the examples were taken from are abbreviated as follows: FEB for the short story “*The Fall of Edward Bernard*”, QA for the novel “*The Quiet American*”, OMAS for the novella “*The Old Man and the Sea*”, and SG for the story “*The Snow Goose*”.

(109)a. When I saw you **this morning**, Bateman,

“Khi tớ trông thấy cậu **sáng nay**, Bâytoman ạ,
When I see 2SG this morning, Bateman F-PART

I **seemed** to see myself as I **was two years ago** (FEB, p. 62)

tớ như trông thấy lại mình **hai năm trước**”
1SG seem see again myself two year before

b. Perhaps you’ll see what I mean **tonight** (FEB, p. 54)

“Có lẽ cậu **sẽ** thấy cái điều tớ nói vào **tối nay**”

Perhaps you AUX see thing 1SG say in tonight

The situation [*trông thấy*] (‘see’) in the first clause of (109a) is explicitly located in the past by the LA *sáng nay* (‘this morning’). Even though Dao (1965) includes such Vietnamese LAs as *sáng nay* (‘this morning’), *chiều nay* (‘this afternoon’), and *tối nay*

(‘tonight’) in her list of ‘present time adverbs’, as shown in Chapter 3, in this situation the context makes it explicit that the event of seeing took place in the past of the speech time. On the other hand, the LA *tôi nay* in (109b) has to be interpreted to refer to the future. The verb phrase ‘see’ in this situation is an achievement, which denotes a bounded and telic event. According to the “Bounded Event Constraint” principle, it can only be located in the past or future (Smith and Erbaugh, 2005). The presence of the auxiliary *sẽ* indicates that the event will occur in the future.

As shown in the previous chapter, some LAs categorized as present time adverbs were also found in the Vietnamese original texts to have non-present temporal references. They can have past or future temporal reference, depending on the context in which they are used.

5.2.2. Translation of English clauses in narrative mode with a Vietnamese temporal adverbial

In the Vietnamese translation of English narrative mode, not many temporal adverbials were utilized. Most of those that were found were direct translations of the original TAs. As stated earlier, not all of the temporal adverbials used in the English STs were translated into Vietnamese. All of the instances of the original instantaneous adverbs and adverbs of frequency were equivalently translated into Vietnamese. As shown in Chapter 2, in English narrative instantaneous adverbs can render atelic and unbounded eventualities (such as those denoted by states or activities) inceptive, thus giving them a perfective reading and moving the narrative time forward. The same was found in the narrative sections of the English corpus. Also, as discussed in the previous chapter, instantaneous adverbs were found to perform the same function in Vietnamese narrative, i.e. giving an eventuality an inceptive (perfective) reading. Thus, the equivalent translation of the original instantaneous adverbs in all instances where they were used equivalently conveyed the original temporal and aspectual meaning. When they were utilized in the Vietnamese translation to present an original situation that did not contain an instantaneous adverb, it was found that they made the inceptive meaning of the original situation more explicit in the translation.

In those instances where an adverb of frequency was used in the English STs, it was found to give the situation an iterative (imperfective) reading. The choice of an equivalent adverb of frequency in the Vietnamese translation was found essential for the

TL situation to have similar temporal and aspectual meaning to that of the original, since as illustrated in the previous chapter, in the Vietnamese narrative adverbs of frequency explicitly presented an event as iterative. Adverbs of frequency were also found in the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses that did not contain an adverb of frequency, in which cases the TL was found to make the original iterative meaning more explicit in the translation.

Locating adverbs that were used in the English original were normally found to set the time frame for a series of related situations or to give a situation a sequential reading, conforming to what has been found in the previous studies, as reviewed in Chapter 2. The same is true of LAs in Vietnamese narrative, as discussed in Chapter 4. However, some of the Vietnamese temporal adverbials used in the translation of some narrative perfect clauses in the English STs, which were included in the category of LAs in Table (9), were not found to serve this function (to set the time frame for other related situations and to advance narrative time), but to give rise to a retrospective past interpretation. This will be discussed in more detail in Section (5.2.10) below.

It was found that not all instances of the English original LAs in narrative sections were translated into Vietnamese. Most of the English LAs that were omitted in the Vietnamese translation were instances of the English LA ‘now’ used in the novella “*The Old Man and the Sea*”. The following example illustrates this.

(110). He watched the flying fish... , he thought [...]. The clouds over land **now** rose like mountains (OMAS, p. 27)

“Ông lão	ngắm	những	chú	cá	bay...,	lão	nghĩ:	“...”	
<i>Old man</i>	<i>watch</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>fish</i>	<i>flying...,</i>	<i>3SG</i>	<i>think:</i>	<i>“...”</i>	
Trên	trời,	gần	ven	biển	mây	tụ	lại	như	núi”
<i>Above</i>	<i>sky,</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>edge</i>	<i>sea</i>	<i>cloud</i>	<i>gather</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>mountain</i>	

The LA ‘now’ in the English original introduces a new reference time, which is different from the previous reference time, which is contained in the eventualities of watching and thinking. The LA ‘now’ indicates that the eventuality of the clouds rising is contained in this new reference time. The new reference time moves narrative time forward. The absence of the LA in the Vietnamese translation resulted in the eventuality of the cloud gathering sharing the same reference time with the eventualities of

watching and thinking. Narrative progression was thus not achieved. The absence of the equivalent LA in the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses containing a LA was found to cause a difference in temporal meaning between the ST and the TT when the situation was a state or an activity, but not when the situation was an accomplishment or an achievement, due to the telic and bounded nature of accomplishments and achievements.

5.2.3. *Translation of English clauses in deictic mode with a Vietnamese perfect aspectual marker*

In deictic mode, Vietnamese PAMs were found in the translation of English clauses in the simple present tense, present progressive, present perfect, simple past, past progressive, and past perfect. The English tenses that were most often translated into Vietnamese with a PAM were the past perfect (five out of six English clauses in the past perfect were translated as such) and present perfect (with half of 80 clauses translated as such). As discussed in the previous chapter, when a Vietnamese clause containing a PAM was translated into English with a perfect, the temporal and aspectual meaning in the translation was similar to that in the original. Likewise, the use of a PAM in the Vietnamese translation of an English perfect clause gave the translated situation similar temporal and aspectual meaning to that of the original. The following examples further illustrate this.

(111)a. **I've told** you about him (FEB, p. 52)

“Cháu **đã** nói về anh ấy với chú”
1SG PERF tell about 3SG to 2SG

c. But perhaps he **has been hooked** many times (OMAS, p. 40)

“Nhưng chắc hẳn nó **đã** bị mắc câu nhiều lần”
But perhaps 3SG PERF PASS hook PL times

Vietnamese PAMs were also found in the translation of 52 English clauses in the simple past tense. As discussed in the previous chapter, when a Vietnamese clause in deictic mode containing a PAM was translated into English with the simple past tense, the TL situation generally conveyed different temporal and aspectual information, except for some instances where the PAM was used together with a definite past LA. The same was found by the use of a Vietnamese PAM to translate an English clause in the simple

past tense, which did not contain a past LA or explicit contextual information to impose a definite past temporal reading, where the PAM resulted in a different temporal and aspectual interpretation in the Vietnamese TL, as exemplified in the following example.

(112). I **knew** his father (QA, p. 23)

“Tôi	đã	từng	gặp	cụ	thân	sinh ra	anh ta”
<i>ISG</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>EXP</i>	<i>meet</i>	<i>old man</i>	<i>father</i>		<i>3SG</i>

The stative situation [know] in the English ST is presented as holding in the past. The use of the PAM *đã từng* with an event verb type in the Vietnamese translation gave the situation an experiential perfect meaning, indicating that the meeting has occurred before the speech time with a possible implication that the speaker knows the father as the result of the meeting. The state of knowing may still hold at the time of speech. The TL situation thus has a different temporal and aspectual reading from that expressed by the simple past tense in the English ST. For the TL situation to have similar temporal and aspectual reading to that of the ST, a past LA might be used together with an equivalent stative verb.

In some clauses, however, the use of a PAM without a definite past LA to translate an English clause in the simple past tense was found to convey the semantic entailment or implicatures of the original sentences, or was used to avoid ambiguity, as shown in the following example.

(113). York **was** here more than two years ago (QA, p. 16)

“York	đã	xa	nơi đây	hơn	hai	năm
rồi”						
<i>York</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>away from</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>more than</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>year</i>
<i>PERF</i>						

The state [be here] in the English ST is understood to hold in the past, and no longer hold in the present, which entails that at the speech time York is not here. The use of the PAM *đã...rồi* in the Vietnamese translation conveys that York has been away from here for more than two years, which implies that in the present he is not here. Thus, even though the translation did not convey the original surface meaning, it conveyed the original implicature. The motivation for this choice is not clear.

When a definite past LA was present in the English original and was equivalently translated into Vietnamese, the use of the Vietnamese PAMs in the translation of English clauses in the simple past tense was found to explicitly convey the temporal and aspectual meaning of the original. Consider the following examples.

(114)a. I **wanted** to marry you the very first day I saw you (FEB, p. 68)

“Anh **đã** muốn lấy em ngay từ hôm đầu gặp em”

ISG PERF want marry 2SG ever since day first meet
2SG

b. ...and yesterday I took the opportunity to ask Mr. Braunschmidt himself

(FEB, p. 66)

“nên hôm qua tiện dịp anh **đã** hỏi chính ông Brausmit”

so yesterday by chance ISG PERF ask directly
Mr Braunschmidt

The past temporal meaning of the situations in the above examples in the English ST is expressed by both the simple past tense and the definite past LAs ‘the very first day’ in (114a) and ‘yesterday’ in (114b). The equivalent translation of these LAs into Vietnamese resulted in the equivalent past temporal meaning in the TT. The use of the PAM *đã* in (114b) emphasized the completion of the situation [ask] in the past time specified by ‘yesterday’. In (114a), however, it conveyed that the situation [want to marry] happened earlier than normally expected. This meaning of *đã* has also been observed by Cao (1998) and Do-Hurinvill (2004/7), as shown in Chapter 2, and was also found in the Vietnamese corpus in the present study, as discussed in Chapter 4. It is natural for somebody to fall in love the very first day s/he sees somebody, but it is unusual to want to marry somebody the very first day they meet. This ‘earlier than expected’ meaning is emphasized in the Vietnamese translation by the PAM *đã*, while in the English ST it can be elicited from the LA ‘the very first day’.

Vietnamese PAMs were also found, though not frequently, in the translation of English clauses in the simple present tense. A close examination showed that all, but one, of these clauses in the English STs contained a stative verb. All of the stative verbs that

appeared in these clauses were correspondingly transferred into Vietnamese TL. As discussed in the previous chapter, when a PAM is used with a stative verb, it conveys a change of state; it puts an end to an old state and expresses the fact that the new state holds at S. In the English original, the simple present tense expresses only the fact that a state holds at S. The following example illustrates this.

(115). I'm used to it (FEB, p. 57)

“Tớ đã quen rồi”
1SG PERF used to PERF

The states of being used to it (it here refers to the lifestyle in the town where Edward, the main character in the short story “*The Fall of Edward Bernard*”, lives) in the English original sentence is presented as holding in the present by the simple present tense. The PAM *đã* in the Vietnamese translation conveys that there has been a change of state from not being used to the lifestyle there to being used to it. In the English original the state of Edward being used to the lifestyle he has seems to be persistent, not a new state that has just obtained as what is implied in the Vietnamese translation. This finding is consistent to what was found in the Vietnamese-English translation of deictic mode discussed in the last chapter, which showed that Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM with a stative VP was commonly translated into English with the simple present tense.

Interestingly enough, Vietnamese PAMs were also found in the translation of English clauses with the progressive aspect (both present progressive and past progressive). Since the perfect meaning conveyed by *đã* and the progressive meaning are different, the use of *đã* in the translation of English progressive clauses were found to give the TL situation a different aspectual meaning from that expressed in the SL. The following example illustrates this.

(116). he... **was playing** in the big leagues when he was your age (OMAS, p. 16)

“ông cụ ngay từ hồi bằng tuổi cháu đã chơi
old man right at same age 2SG PERF play
 cho những hội lớn”
for PL league big

The English original presents the event of playing as on-going at a time in the past specified by the temporal clause. In other words, the progressive focuses on the middle part of the past situation, ignoring the beginning part. The temporal clause in the Vietnamese translation correspondingly locates this event in the past. As discussed in Chapter 2 and earlier, when *đã* is used with a definite past LA, it emphasizes the completion of the situation in the past time specified by the context or a LA. It does not seem to be the case in (116), since the activity [play] is inherently unbounded and atelic. It cannot be interpreted to have finished. The most natural interpretation of the function of *đã* in this sentence is that it expresses that the event of playing for the big leagues started in the past time specified by the temporal clause. In other words, it puts the focus on the beginning part of the situation with a possible implication that the state resulting from the start of the event [play], which is the state of playing, held at R, indicated by the temporal adverbial ‘*ngay từ hồi bằng tuổi cháu*’ (‘right at your age’). Though the progressive meaning expressed by the English progressive aspect in (116) could be inferred in the Vietnamese translation, it could have been more equivalently expressed by the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* or by both perfect aspectual marker *đã* and progressive aspectual marker *đang*, in which case they could make explicit and visible not only the beginning of the event, but also the post phase (i.e. the internal phase) following the start of the event.

5.2.4. Translation of English clauses in narrative mode with a Vietnamese perfect aspectual marker

As Table (9) shows, Vietnamese PAMs were found in the translation of English clauses in narrative mode with all viewpoint aspects and situation types, except for activity. Most of the instances of Vietnamese PAMs, though, were found in the translation of English narrative perfect clauses. In all of the instances where a PAM was utilized to translate an English perfect clause, it explicitly conveyed the temporal and/or aspectual meaning as expressed in the English TL (the resultative perfect meaning or the retrospective past meaning). The following example illustrates the use of the PAM *đã* to translate English clauses conveyed by the past perfect.

(117)a. He was uncertain he **had done** all that was possible (FEB, p. 39)

“Anh không dám chắc là anh **đã**
 3SG NEG dare sure that 3SG PERF

làm tất cả những gì có thể làm được”
do all PL what can do RVC

b. When I opened my eyes she **had lit the lamp** (QA, p. 5)

“Khi tôi mở mắt ra thì đèn đã thắp”
When 1SG open eye out TOP lamp PERF light

When Vietnamese PAMs were used to translate English clauses with the progressive aspect, it was normally found that the TL conveyed different aspectual meaning from that of the original, which was not surprising. However, if the SL situation with the progressive aspect received an inceptive reading, then the PAM in the Vietnamese translation conveyed the original meaning. Also, in the instances where Vietnamese PAMs were used to translate English progressive clauses, they did not cause any disparity in the interpretation of temporal relations between the clauses as found in the original. Consider the following examples.

(118)a. The slant of the line showed he **was swimming** at a lesser depth (OMAS, p. 44)

“Độ nghiêng của sợi dây chỉ rõ rằng
Slant POSS CL line show clearly that
 con cá đã ngoi dần lên mặt nước”
CL fish PERF rise gradually up surface water

b. They undressed and Edward **showed** Bateman how to make the strip of red trade cotton... **Soon** they **were splashing** in the warm, shallow water (FEB, p.56)

“Họ cởi quần áo và Edward chỉ dẫn cho bạn
3PL take off clothes and Edward show for friend
 cách làm cái dải bông đỏ... Chẳng mấy chốc họ
way do CL strip cotton red... Soon 3PL
 đã vùng vẫy trong chỗ nước nông ấm áp”
PERF splash LOC place water shallow warm

In the English ST the eventuality of the fish swimming at a lesser depth is presented as on-going at the time the old man examines the slant of the line, which shows the depth at which the fish is swimming. In the Vietnamese translation the PAM *đã* conveys that

the rising of the fish up to the surface has started before, and the result state holds, at the time the old man examines the slant of the line. The interpretation of continuation arises due to the presence of the adverb *dần dần* ('gradually'). The result state of the fish rising temporally overlaps the event [show].

The eventuality [splash] in (118b) in the English original is expressed by the progressive aspect, but the adverb 'soon' renders it sequenced to the preceding events. The situation thus received an inceptive, sequential reading. The Vietnamese PAM *đã* in the translation of (118a) and (118b) conveyed similar meaning as it did in the translation of (116) above. The presence of the equivalent adverb *chẳng mấy chốc* ('soon') imposes a sequential reading on the eventuality of splashing.

In the Vietnamese translation of English clauses with the neutral aspect, Vietnamese PAMs were found most often in the translation of English clauses with stative verbs. In most of these instances the Vietnamese PAM was found to convey either the resultative perfect meaning or change of state. Some examples are presented below.

(119)a. When the boy came back the old man was asleep in the chair and the sun **was** down (OMAS, p. 13)

“Khi	cậu bé	trở lại,	ông lão	ngồi	ngủ gục	trên
<i>When</i>	<i>boy</i>	<i>return,</i>	<i>old man</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>asleep</i>	<i>on</i>
ghế bành,	ánh	nắng	đã	tắt ”		
<i>sofa,</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>extinguish</i>		

b. he exulted when he saw the long streets of grey houses... He **was** at home (FEB, p. 40)

“anh	hoan hi	được	thấy	những	dãy phố	dài	với
<i>3SG</i>	<i>happy</i>	<i>able</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>street</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>with</i>
những	tòa nhà	màu xám...	Anh	đã	về đến	nhà”	
<i>PL</i>	<i>houses</i>	<i>grey...</i>	<i>3SG</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>home</i>	

In the original of (119a), it is understood that when the boy left the old man to go get something to eat, the sun was still in the sky, but when he returned, the sun had set down in the horizon. The simple past tense in the English ST explicitly conveys the state of the sun being down. The PAM *đã* in the Vietnamese translation conveys the resultative perfect meaning. The state resulted from the event of the sunlight being

extinguished is simultaneous with the time the boy returned and does not move narrative time. In the Vietnamese translation of (119b) *đã* conveys that ‘he’ had arrived home, which entails ‘he was home’ at the time of reference. The presence of *đã* seems to also function to stylistically end the home coming episode.

A few other instances of the PAM *đã* used in the Vietnamese translation of some English clauses containing an accomplishment or achievement with the neutral aspect were also found to be explored for the effect of breaking off from the previous episode and starting a new episode, which was not visible or available in the English original texts. The narrative in the Vietnamese translation was thus presented more vividly than it was in the original.

5.2.5. Translation of English clauses in deictic mode with a Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker

Vietnamese progressive aspectual markers were found in the translation of only 25 out of 1225 English clauses in deictic mode, twelve of which are in the simple present tense, ten in the present progressive, and the other three in the past progressive.

The use of Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang/vẫn đang* in the translation of 12 English clauses in the simple present tense was found to explicitly convey the present temporal meaning of the SL situation. A close examination revealed that all of the English SL situations that were conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by a progressive aspectual marker contained a stative verb, and the progressive aspectual marker rendered the stative situation temporary in the TL, as exemplified in (120a). In some of the instances, though, the situation type that appeared in the Vietnamese translation was different from that found in the English original. While in the SL the situation was presented as stative, in the TL it was presented as a process, as illustrated in examples (120b).

(120)a. I **love** someone very much (QA, p. 72)

“tôi	dang	yêu,	rất	say đắm”
<i>ISG</i>	PROG	<i>love,</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>passionately</i>

b. ...perhaps my big fish **is** around them (OMAS, p. 27)

“...có lẽ chú cá khổng lồ của ta
...perhaps CL fish giant POSS ISG
đương rượt theo đàn cá này”
PROG move along group fish this

The marker *đang* in the translation of (120a) describes the state of loving as temporary and holding at S. In (120b) the use of *đương* (an archaic form for *đang*) and an event VP explicitly turned the original state into an on-going process, indicating that the situation is on-going at S (the present moment), since an on-going activity is unbounded and there is no contextual information to impose a contrary temporal reading.

When the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker was chosen to convey an English clause in the present progressive, it most explicitly conveyed the temporal and aspectual information expressed by the present progressive, as exemplified in (121).

(121). I don't think we're **speaking** of the same person (FEB, p. 49)

“Tôi không nghĩ là ta **đang** nói về cùng một người”
ISG NEG think that IPL **PROG** speak of same one person

The situation [speak] in the English SL is presented as going on at S. The presence of the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker explicitly conveys the original meaning for the same reason as discussed above.

The use of the marker *đang* in the Vietnamese translation of the three English clauses in the past progressive also gave rise to the present temporal reading.

(122)a. Besides, I **was expecting** you (FEB, p. 41)

“Với lại em **đang** mong anh”
Besides ISG **PROG** expect 2SG

b. One might almost think that he **was joshing** me (FEB, p. 48)

Người ta	ắt	nghĩ	rằng	Etuốt	đang	bồn	cợt	với
anh								
<i>One</i>	<i>surely</i>	<i>think</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>Edward</i>	<i>PROG</i>	<i>josh</i>	<i>with</i>	
<i>ISG</i>								

The presence of *đang* in the Vietnamese translation conveys that the situations are taking place at S. There is no contextual information available in the TT to impose a past temporal reading. A past LA would be necessary for the TL situations to have similar temporal reading to that expressed in the SL.

5.2.6. Translation of English clauses in narrative mode with a Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker

The Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* was found in the translation of English narrative clauses with the progressive aspect and those with the neutral aspect of states and activities. In all instances where the progressive aspectual marker was used in the Vietnamese translation of an English clause in the progressive, it was found to explicitly convey the original temporal and aspectual meaning. The following example is just illustrative.

(123) He rowed slowly and gently toward where the bird **was circling** (OMAS, p. 26)

“Nhè nhẹ	đều đều	ông lão	boi	lại	chỗ
<i>Gently</i>	<i>steadily</i>	<i>old man</i>	<i>swim</i>	<i>toward</i>	<i>place</i>
con	hải	bằng	đương	lượn”	
<i>CL</i>	<i>man-of-war</i>	<i>bird</i>	<i>PROG</i>	<i>circle</i>	

In the English original the progressive clause presents the eventuality [circle] as ongoing and simultaneous with the eventuality [row]. The same interpretation of the temporal relation between the two eventualities in the Vietnamese translation is achieved by the use of the marker *đang*.

The English clauses with the neutral aspect, which were translated into Vietnamese with the progressive marker, were found to contain either a state or an activity. The presence of the progressive marker in the translation of these English clauses explicitly indicated

that the states were temporary and held only at the narrative time, whereas with an activity it explicitly presented the situation as an on-going process and temporally overlapping the preceding or following event. Consider the following examples.

(124)a. Isabel **was** unhappy (FEB, p. 49)

“Isabên **đang** đau khổ”

Isabel PROG unhappy

b. But as the old man **watched**, a small tuna rose in the air, turned and dropped head first into the water (OMAS, p.30)

“Trong khi ông lão **đương** chăm chú chợt thấy một

While old man PROG attend suddenly see one

con cá thu nhảy lên, rồi đâm nhào đầu xuống nước”

CL tuna jump up, then drop head down water

The adjective ‘unhappy’ in the English original of (124a) has some properties of temporariness. Even though it can be persistent over a period of time, it is also changeable. It is unlikely that somebody is unhappy forever. While in the original it was revealed later that sure enough Isabel was soon happy again, the progressive aspectual marker *đang* in the Vietnamese translation makes the temporariness of the state of being unhappy visible and explicit at the time of reference which is also the narrative time.

The eventuality [watch] in the English original of (124b) is conveyed by an activity with the neutral aspect. It is naturally understood that this eventuality temporally overlaps the following eventualities, those of the tuna rising, turning, and dropping back into the water. These eventualities are interpreted to occur while the old man is watching. Even though in the original the eventuality [watch] is not explicitly presented as on-going by the progressive aspect, this meaning can be pragmatically inferred. In the Vietnamese translation this meaning is explicitly expressed by the progressive aspectual marker.

5.2.7. Translation of English clauses in deictic mode with Vietnamese auxiliaries

Vietnamese auxiliaries were found most frequently in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the simple future tense. In the previous chapter it was found that all Vietnamese clauses containing an auxiliary in deictic mode received a future reading and most of them were translated into English with the simple future or near future tense. 65 percent of English clauses in the simple future tense were found to be conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by an auxiliary. In the Vietnamese translation the use of *sẽ* to translate English clauses in the simple future tense explicitly conveyed the meaning as expressed by the simple future tense in the English STs.

The auxiliary *sắp* was also found in the Vietnamese translation of six English clauses in the simple future. As shown in Chapter 2, the difference between the auxiliary *sẽ* and *sắp* lies in the degree of certainty. A situation expressed by *sắp* is understood to be certain to occur in the immediate future. When *sắp* was used in the translation of an English simple future tense clause, it was found to convey similar temporal meaning as that expressed in the English STs, i.e. the situation occurs after the speech time. The translation makes more visible the certainty of the occurrence of the situation in the immediate future, while this information might not be so explicit in the English STs.

(125). He'll take it (OMAS, p. 34)

“Nó	sắp	cắn”
3SG	AUX	bite

The sentence in (125) is uttered by the Old Man when one of his fishing lines is moved as if it was taken by a fish and then it is released, and the fish seems to be getting away. The Old Man is praying for the fish to come back and take the line again, and he utters (125). He predicts that the fish will take the line. The certainty of the fish taking the line in the English SL is not expressed. The use of *sắp* in the Vietnamese translation, on the other hand, makes explicit not only the information that the situation occurs in the future but also the certainty that it will occur soon.

Vietnamese auxiliaries were also found, though very infrequently, in the translation of other tenses, including the simple present and present progressive. In English the simple present tense and the present progressive can be used to express a future situation, as

shown in the Literature Review chapter. Thus, the use of the auxiliary *sẽ* or *sắp* in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the present progressive also explicitly conveys the original temporal meaning, as exemplified in (126).

(126). When **are** you **coming** back to Chicago? (FEB, p. 60)

“Khi nào cậu **sẽ** trở về Chicagô?”

When 2SG AUX come back to Chicago?

(126) is an inquiry about when the hearer is coming back to Chicago; i.e. about the hearer’s plan of coming back to Chicago. The event of coming back, if taking place at all, is understood to occur in the future. The choice of *sẽ* in the Vietnamese translation successfully transferred this future meaning into the TL.

5.2.8. Translation of English clauses in deictic mode into Vietnamese with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking

As shown in Table (8), of the 1225 English clauses in deictic mode only 359 (or 29.3 percent) were translated into Vietnamese with an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker. The rest was translated into Vietnamese with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. The situation types that were found in the zero-marked clauses in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses were mostly equivalent to the situation types in the original. Different situation types from the original ones were also found. Details are provided below.

5.2.8.1. Use of zero-marked stative clauses in the Vietnamese translation

Zero-marked stative clauses were found most frequently in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the simple present tense and second most frequently in the translation of those in the simple past tense in deictic mode.

As discussed in Chapter 4, situations represented by states in Vietnamese, like in English, are unbounded and atelic, and are most naturally located in the present. In the Vietnamese translation of English stative clauses in the simple present tense, where the SL states were translated into Vietnamese with an equivalent stative verb, even with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking, the TL situations were understood to have present temporal meaning as expressed by the simple present tense in the SL. The following example is illustrative.

(127). Because he **loves** you (FEB, p.46)

“Bởi vì anh ấy **yêu** em”

Because 3SG love 2SG

The equivalent stative verb used in the Vietnamese translation of the above sentence naturally gives rise to an interpretation of present temporal location.

On the other hand, the equivalent states in the Vietnamese translation of English stative clauses in the simple past in deictic mode with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking were, in many cases, not found to convey the original past temporal meaning, as illustrated in (128).

(128). They say his father **was** a fisherman.

“Hình như bố hắn ta cũng **là** dân chài.

Maybe father 3SG also be fisherman

Maybe he **was** as poor as we **are** (OMAS, p. 16)

Nếu đúng như vậy thì hắn cũng **nghèo** như bọn mình”

If correct so then 3SG also poor like 1PL

In the original the states of his father being a fisherman and of him being poor are explicitly located in the past by the simple past tense. These states no longer hold in the present. In the Vietnamese translation the absence of an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker resulted in all the three states, i.e. the state of ‘we’ being poor, that of ‘his father’ being a fisherman, and that of ‘he’ being poor, holding at the same time, most plausibly, in the present. The temporal information of the situations in the English original is explicitly and exclusively conveyed by the tense forms, no contextual information is available. No additional information was supplied in the Vietnamese translation either. In the translation, the context did not make it clear that ‘his father’ is no longer a fisherman nor that ‘he’ is no longer poor. For the Vietnamese translation to convey the original past temporal meaning of the states of ‘his father’ being a fisherman and that of ‘he’ being poor, a past LA such as *trước đây* (‘before’, ‘in the past’) might be needed.

The use of no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking in stative clauses in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the present perfect and a future tense also normally

resulted in the TL situations having different temporal meaning from that of the original. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(129). that school **has gotten** away from me (OMAS, p. 26)

“lũ cá này chắc **muốn** chuồn”
PL fish this perhaps want go away

The situation [get away] in the English original is presented as having occurred before S. It is implied that at S the fish are gone. This situation is denoted by an achievement. The situation type that was found in the Vietnamese translation of this sentence is a state. The TL sentence conveys that the state of the fish wanting to get away still holds at S, which entails that at S the fish are still around, which is different from what is expressed in the SL. If the original achievement [get away] had been maintained in the Vietnamese translation, the translated sentence would have conveyed part of the original meaning. The use of an equivalent situation type with the PAM *đã* would have most equivalently conveyed the original meaning.

When there was explicit contextual information to give rise to a past temporal reading, such as a past LA at the beginning of a paragraph or in the first sentence of a paragraph, which serves to specify the time for all related situations, normally these situations were found to be conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by means of the corresponding situation types (many of them were states) with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. Yet, they were all understood to be located in the past as specified by the past temporal adverbial, which was equivalently translated into Vietnamese, as exemplified in (130) below.

(130). When I saw you this morning, Bateman, I seemed to see myself as I was **two years ago** (FEB, p. 62)

“Khi tớ trông thấy cậu sáng nay, Bâtôman
When 1SG see 2SG morning this, Bateman
 ạ, tớ như trông thấy lại mình
F-PART 1SG seem to see again self
 hai năm trước”
two year ago

The above sentence appears at the beginning of a paragraph that contains a series of sentences describing the events and states of affair surrounding the events that occurred two years in the past of S. The equivalent temporal adverbial ‘two years ago’ was retained in the Vietnamese translation, which specifies the time of all the situations presented in the paragraph.

Examination of the rhetorical relations between sentences enabled recovery of some of the information expressed by English tenses/aspects in the Vietnamese translation that contained no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking. The following example illustrates this.

(131). I will eat it all and then I’ll be ready (OMAS, p. 49)

“Ồ, ta sẽ ăn hết. Như vậy là ta sẵn sàng”
Ok, 1SG sẽ eat all. As such TOP 1SG ready

In the Vietnamese translation of (131) the auxiliary *sẽ* is present in the first clause, which gives the situation a future temporal meaning. The state [*sẵn sàng*] (‘be ready’) in the second clause is understood to obtain as the result of the event [*ăn hết*] (‘eat all’), thus the state also receives a future temporal interpretation.

5.2.8.2. Use of zero-marked activity clauses in Vietnamese translation

Zero-marked activity clauses were found in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the simple present tense, present progressive, present perfect, simple past, past progressive, and simple future tense. Since activities denote unbounded and atelic events, they are normally located in the present, unless there is explicit information to the contrary, as shown in Chapter 4. Thus, not surprisingly, when activities were present in the zero-marked clauses in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the simple present tense and present progressive, the TL sentences were most naturally interpreted to convey the original temporal meaning. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(132)a. Pyle knows I **smoke** a few pipes before bed (QA, p.5)

“Pyle biết tôi làm vài điếu trước khi đi ngủ,
Pyle know 1SG do few pipes before go sleep,

b. I guess it's another wife he's **talking** about (FEB, p. 53)

“Tôi cho là chú ấy **nói** đến một người vợ khác”
1SG reckon that 3SG talk about one CL wife other

In the English original the situation [smoke a few pipes] in (132a) is presented as an iterative (present habitual) activity. In the English deictic sections activity clauses in the simple present tense were all found to have an habitual reading. The corresponding situation type was used in the Vietnamese translation. The TL situation [do a few pipes] also has an habitual reading; it is understood to be the speaker's habit to smoke before he goes to bed. Since there is no explicit information to impose a past or future reading, the habit is understood to hold in the present.

Likewise, the presence of the corresponding activity [*nói*] ('talk') in (132b) gives the TL situation a present temporal location. Pragmatic inference may allow for a progressive reading for this situation in the Vietnamese translation. This situation is presented as a single event with no explicit information to enforce an habitual reading.

When explicit contextual information was available in the Vietnamese zero-marked activity clauses that were used to translate English clauses in the other tenses, rather than the simple present or present progressive, the original temporal information is normally recoverable from the context, as illustrated in the following examples.

(133)a. I **was expecting** Pyle at ten, but he didn't turn up (QA, p. 11)

“Tôi **chờ** Pyle tới, lúc mười giờ,
1SG wait Pyle come, at ten o'clock,
nhưng hắn không tới”
but 3SG NEG come

b. Why **were** you **expecting** him? (QA, p. 11)

“Anh **chờ** hắn ta để làm gì?”
You wait 3SG for what?

The speaker of (133a) is being questioned by the police after the death of an American named Pyle. He is asked to report on what he did the day before Pyle was murdered. He listed what he did, which included the event of waiting for Pyle at ten. After he utters (133a), the policeman asks the question in (133b). The event of waiting for Pyle in

(133a) is conveyed by the corresponding situation type in the Vietnamese translation. The context gives rise to a past temporal reading for the TL situation in (133a), which in turn gives rise to a past temporal interpretation for the TL situation in (133b). The progressive aspectual reading also arises naturally in the Vietnamese TL, even without the progressive aspectual marker *đang* due to the presence of the adverb *lúc mười giờ* ('at ten o'clock').

As demonstrated above, explicit contextual information is necessary for a non-present reading of a Vietnamese zero-marked clause in deictic mode that contained an activity. When contextual information was not available, the use of an activity with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses in the other tenses, rather than the simple present tense or present progressive, was normally found to convey different temporal meaning from that expressed in the original, as illustrated below.

(134). He's **planted** coconut there (FEB, p. 65)

“Chú ấy	trồng	dừa	ở đó
<i>3SG</i>	<i>plant</i>	<i>coconut</i>	<i>there</i>

In the English original the speaker of (134) expresses that the person referred to as 'he' has an island and he has planted coconut there on the island. The present perfect used in the original sentence conveys that the event of planting coconut has been completed at S. In the Vietnamese translation this situation is presented by a zero-marked activity verb. The situation [plant coconut] in the Vietnamese translation is plausibly interpreted to be going on at S. The insertion of the PAM *đã* would give the Vietnamese TL situation similar temporal and aspectual meaning to that expressed in the original.

5.2.8.3. *Use of zero-marked accomplishment or achievement clauses in Vietnamese translation*

Zero-marked accomplishments and achievements were found in the Vietnamese translation of all the tenses/aspects found in the English deictic mode, except for the past progressive and the past perfect. Most of them were found in the translation of English clauses in the simple past tense and the present perfect. As discussed in the previous chapter, Vietnamese zero-marked clauses containing an accomplishment or an achievement normally received a past temporal reading, unless explicit contextual

information was available to impose a different reading. The same was found in the Vietnamese translation of English deictic sections. When an achievement or accomplishment was present in a zero-marked clause in the Vietnamese translation of an English clause in the simple past or present perfect tenses, the TL was found to convey the original past temporal meaning. The perfect reading, though, did not naturally arise. The following examples are illustrative.

(135)a. Child, where **did** you **find** it? (SG, p. 21)

“Này em! Em **thấy** nó ở đâu đây?”
Hey sister! 2SG find 3SG where F-PART?

b. He’s **adopted** me as his nephew (FEB, p. 54)

“Ông ấy **nhận** tớ làm cháu”
3SG adopt 1SG be nephew

The achievements used in the Vietnamese translation of (135a) and (135b) are equivalent to the situation type that was used in the English ST. The situations are naturally understood to be located in the past. Pragmatic inference also gives rise to the interpretation in the Vietnamese translation that the result state of the event [adopt] in (135b) is still relevant at the speech time, since there is no explicit information to block this reading.

Equivalence in temporal and aspectual meaning in the Vietnamese translation where accomplishments or achievements were used with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking to translate English clauses in the other tenses, rather than the simple past or present perfect, was not normally found to obtain. Let us consider the following examples.

(136)a. What **have** you **got**? (OMAS, p. 13)

“Cháu **mang** cái gì **lại** thế?”
2SG bring what back F-PART?

b. What **are** you **doing** here? (QA, p. 20)

“Anh **tới** đây làm gì?”
2SG arrive here for what?

In the ST, the situation [have got] in (136a) is stative and is expressed by the simple present tense. The state holds in the present (at S). This stative situation is represented in the Vietnamese translation by the accomplishment [*mang lại*] ('bring back'). The situation [do] in the original of (136b) is presented as an on-going activity. The speaker is concerned about what the hearer is doing at S. In the Vietnamese translation this situation is denoted by the achievement [*tới*] ('arrive'). The situations [bring back] and [arrive] in the Vietnamese translation naturally have a past temporal reading. In the Vietnamese translation of the above sentences, if the situation type of the original was maintained in the TL, the original temporal and aspectual reading would arise in the translation.

The temporal and aspectual meaning of the original can, in some instances, be recovered from the context or pragmatic inference in the translation, as exemplified below.

(137). I'll **get** the cast net and go for sardines (OMAS, p. 11)

“Cháu	đi	lấy	cái	lưới	đánh	cá nục	đây”
<i>1SG</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>get</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>net</i>	<i>fish</i>	<i>sardine</i>	<i>F-PART</i>

The situation [*đi lấy*] ('go get') in (137) in the translation was conveyed by an accomplishment. The final particle *đây* in Vietnamese indicates that the speaker is setting off to do what he utters in the sentence. The course of action uttered in the sentence is thus by default located in the immediate future.

In the other instances where accomplishments or achievements were chosen to translate English clauses in the simple future or near future, it was found that explicit contextual information was also available to give rise to a future reading for the situations represented by the accomplishments or achievements.

5.2.9. Translation of English clauses in narrative mode into Vietnamese with no explicit aspectuo-temporal marking

5.2.9.1. Use of equivalent situation type in Vietnamese translation

As stated in Section 5.1, just under 19 percent of the total narrative clauses in the English ST were translated into Vietnamese with an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker. The remaining 81 percent were conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by no explicit

aspectuo-temporal marking. Most of the zero-marked clauses in the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses were found to contain situation types that were equivalent to those appearing in the English original. As discussed in the previous chapter, this phenomenon was also found in the English translation of Vietnamese zero-marked narrative clauses, which normally resulted in the original temporal structure being retained in the translation. The same was found true in the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses. Below are some further illustrative examples.

(138)a. Frith **listened** and **felt** her heart dying within her (SG, p. 41)

“Frith	lắng nghe	và	cảm thấy	lòng	mình
<i>Frith</i>	<i>listen</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>feel</i>	<i>gut</i>	<i>self</i>
buồn	như	muốn	chết”		
<i>sad</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>dying</i>			

b. I **took off** my tie and my shoes and **lay down** on the bed (QA, p. 4)

“Tôi	tháo	ca	vát, bỏ	giày	và	nằm dài	ra
giường							
<i>1SG</i>	<i>take off</i>	<i>tie,</i>	<i>take off</i>	<i>shoe</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>lie down</i>	<i>on</i>
<i>bed</i>							

The original of (138a) contains an activity [listen] and a state [feel] with the neutral aspect, both of which are conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by the equivalent situation type with zero-marking. Pragmatic knowledge allows for the most natural interpretation in the Vietnamese translation that the eventuality of feeling temporally overlaps the listening. This interpretation in the English original is also elicited from pragmatic inference. On the other hand, both of the events in (138b) are represented by an event verb type (accomplishment and achievement) with the neutral aspect. The events are naturally interpreted to follow each other in the order they are presented, since they are related by the rhetorical relation of *Narration*, which indicates that the event of taking off the tie and shoes has to reach the endpoint before the event of lying down can take place. The same situation types were used in the Vietnamese translation. The sequential interpretation of the events in the Vietnamese translation is also elicited from the rhetorical relation of *Narration*. It is naturally understood that the protagonist takes off his tie first and only after his tie is removed does he take off his shoes. Similarly, his shoes are taken off before he lies down on the bed.

Not all state or activity clauses with the neutral aspect in the English STs, however, had an imperfective (temporal overlap) reading. 40 stative clauses and 75 activity clauses also received a sequential interpretation. Similarly, not all accomplishment and achievement clauses with the neutral aspect received a perfective reading. Imperfective (mostly iterative) readings were found to arise in some (22) clauses. Similar interpretation was also elicited in the Vietnamese translation from the presence of equivalent situation type, context, and pragmatic inferences. Illustrative examples are presented below.

(139)a. as he **rowed** he **heard** the trembling sound as flying fish **left** the water
(OMAS, p. 22)

“Vừa boi	ông lão	vừa	nghe thấy	tiếng động	của
<i>As swim</i>	<i>old man</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>hear</i>	<i>sound</i>	<i>POSS</i>
những con	cá	bay	nhảy lên	khỏi	mặt nước”
<i>PL CL</i>	<i>fish</i>	<i>flying</i>	<i>jump up</i>	<i>out of</i>	<i>surfacewater</i>

b. They **sat down** in front of the log fire and Isabel **looked** at him with calm grave eyes” (FEB, p. 42)

“Họ ngồi xuống	cạnh	đống	củi	đang	cháy
<i>3PL sit</i>	<i>down</i>	<i>beside</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>wood</i>	<i>PROG burn</i>
và	Izaben	nhìn	anh	với	đôi mắt
<i>and Isabel</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>3SG</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>pair</i>	<i>eye solemn</i>

The eventuality of rowing in (139a) is represented by an activity, while the two eventualities [hear] and [leave] by achievements. As discussed in Chapter 2, according to Hinrichs (1986) and Kamp and Ryle (1993), when a situation is conveyed by a state or an activity and the other by an accomplishment or achievement, the temporal relation between the two situations is that of overlap or inclusion. On the other hand, if both situations are conveyed by an accomplishment and/or achievement, the two situations are normally understood to be related by the temporal relation of succession, unless there is additional information to the contrary. In (139a), however, all the three eventualities [row] (activity), [hear] (achievement), and [leave] (achievement) are understood to be simultaneous due to the mass noun [fish], which entails that there is not just one fish, and the temporal connective ‘as’. The hearing of the trembling sound and the leaving of the fish are interpreted to be iterative. This iterative meaning is

conveyed in the Vietnamese translation not only by the equivalent situation types, but also by the temporal connective *vừa...vừa* (which literally means ‘as... as’), which is often employed to convey that two or more eventualities are happening at the same time.

Example (139b) also contains an achievement [sit down] and an activity [look at], but the two eventualities are not understood to temporally overlap each other. Pragmatic inference gives rise to the interpretation that the activity [look at] began after they sat down. In other words, the activity [look at] received an inceptive reading. The two eventualities are sequenced. The original situations were translated into Vietnamese with the equivalent situation types. The same sequential interpretation of the two eventualities in the Vietnamese translation was also elicited from pragmatic inference.

In short, the presence of equivalent situation types in the Vietnamese translation resulted in the TL clauses having similar temporal reading to that arising in the English original, even though in many instances the interpretation of temporal relations between clauses in both the original and translation was heavily reliant on the context and pragmatic inferences.

5.2.9.2. Use of non-equivalent situation type in Vietnamese translation

In the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses with the neutral aspect, as stated earlier, the situation types that were found in a majority of zero-marked clauses were equivalent to those used in the English original. In some instances a different situation type was found. Non-equivalence of situation type between the original and the translation, as shown in the previous chapter, was also found in the translation of narrative sections from Vietnamese to English. Like in Vietnamese-English translation of narrative sections, when a stative clause in the original was translated with an activity, or an accomplishment with an achievement, and vice versa, this did not result in a difference in the temporal interpretation between the ST and the TT. The same was found in the English-Vietnamese translation of narrative sections.

The choice of an accomplishment or achievement to translate an English narrative clause containing a state or an activity was found to occur in either of the following scenarios: a) when the original stative or activity clause received a perfective (inceptive) reading, in which cases the translation made this interpretation more explicit; or b)

when the original stative or activity clause provided an explanation for, or elaboration on, the preceding clauses, in which cases the translation also had similar temporal interpretation to that of the original. The following examples illustrate this.

(140)a. The snow goose opened its round yellow eyes and **nibbled** at it (SG, p. 24)

“Con	ngỗng	trón	tuyết	mở	tròn	đôi	mắt	màu	vàng
<i>CL</i>	<i>goose</i>	<i>snow</i>		<i>open</i>	<i>round</i>	<i>pair</i>	<i>eye</i>	<i>yellow</i>	
và	bắt đầu	ri	mồi”						
<i>and</i>	<i>begin/start</i>	<i>nibble</i>	<i>bait</i>						

b. He didn't know: it **was** his orders to fetch me (QA, p. 7)

“Hắn	không	rõ	lý	do.					
<i>3SG</i>	<i>NEG</i>	<i>know</i>	<i>reason.</i>						
Hắn	chỉ	nhận	được	lệnh	là	tới	kiếm	tôi”	
<i>3SGonly</i>	<i>receive</i>	<i>T-PART</i>	<i>order</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>come</i>	<i>find</i>	<i>1SG</i>		

The eventuality [nibble at it] in the original of (140a) is conveyed by an activity verb and is interpreted to follow the eventuality of opening the eyes. The two clauses are also related by the rhetorical relation of *Narration*. It is understood that after the goose opened his eyes, he started nibbling at the food. In other words, the activity receives an inceptive and thus sequential reading. The achievement [*bắt đầu*] (‘begin/start’) seemed to have been chosen to make the inceptive reading more visible in the translation. The sequential interpretation did not arise in the Vietnamese translation of the second clause in (140b), since this clause provided an explanation for the first clause, i.e. for ‘his’ ignorance of the reason. The two clauses, in both the English original and in the Vietnamese translation, are related by the rhetorical relation of *Explanation*, which does not enable temporal progression.

Very few of the English narrative clauses that contained an achievement were translated into Vietnamese with a different situation type (i.e., states or activities). Just four of them were found to be conveyed in the translation by an activity. In all of these instances the achievements were found to be presented in the original as iterative or imperfective. This is illustrated in the following example.

(141). Up the street **came** the lovely flat figures (QA, p. 10)

“Đọc theo phố, những dáng thanh mảnh duyên dáng **qua lại**”

Along street PL figure flat graceful go back and

forth

The achievement [come] in the English original is presented as iterative due to the plurality of the subject noun phrase. It is understood that the eventuality of the girls coming occurs again and again. This eventuality was represented in the Vietnamese translation by the activity [*qua lại*] (‘go back and forth’), which inherently has an iterative reading. The change of the situation type in the translation appeared to make the original meaning more explicit in the TL.

5.2.10. Translation of English (past) perfect clauses in narrative mode into Vietnamese with no perfect aspectual marker

As shown in Table (9), just under half of perfect clauses in narrative mode in the English STs were translated into Vietnamese with a PAM. As also discussed in Section 5.2.4 above, in all instances where a Vietnamese PAM was used to translate an English narrative perfect clause, it resulted in the translation having similar temporal interpretation as that of the original. When a Vietnamese PAM was not present, in many instances, it was found, the TL situations received a different temporal interpretation from that arising in the original. In some instances the contextual information or pragmatic inferences were found available to recover the original temporal information that was not explicitly conveyed in the translation in the absence of a PAM. Consider the following examples.

(142)a. The boy went out. They **had eaten** with no light on the table (OMAS, p. 18)

Cậu bé ra về.

Boy leave.

Khi nãy hai người ăn cơm thầm với nhau

Earlier two person eat rice silently with each other

b. They had both known her when she was a child... (FEB, p. 42)

Cả hai	người	đều	biết	nàng	khi
<i>Both</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>equally</i>	<i>know</i>	<i>3SG</i>	<i>when</i>
nàng	còn	là	cô bé	con...	
<i>3SG still</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>girl</i>	<i>small</i>		

The past perfect in the English original of (142a) conveys a retrospective past temporal meaning. It presents the event [eat] as occurring before the reference time of the event [go out]. Even though a PAM is not present in the Vietnamese translation, the retrospective meaning of the original can be recovered in the translation from the presence of the temporal adverbial *khi nãy* ('earlier'), which specifies a time earlier than the time at which the event of the boy leaving occurs. The presence of the TA may account for the absence of a PAM. Thirteen of the English narrative perfect clauses were translated into Vietnamese with a temporal adverbial (such as the one used in (142a) or *trước đó/lúc trước* ('before that'), *trước kia* ('before')) which explicitly indicates that the event represented in the clause containing the LA occurs before another event. They were included in Table (9) under the category of LAs for convenience, even though it can be argued that such TAs may not really be LAs.

The state of the men knowing the girl (which is referred in the Vietnamese translation as *nàng* (an archaic pronominal term used to refer to a female) is presented as holding at the time when the girl is a small child, which is a long time in the past of the narrative time. At the narrative time the girl is not a child anymore, but a very beautiful and charming girl that both men are madly in love with. The temporal clause is sufficient in giving the state a retrospective past interpretation. In the Vietnamese translation of English perfect clauses in narrative that contained a temporal clause with a past temporal reference, Vietnamese PAMs were not normally found.

When contextual information was not available in the Vietnamese translation of English perfect clauses in narrative, in the absence of a PAM, the TL may have a very different temporal interpretation from that of the original. Consider the examples below.

(143)a. ...he stood up and braced himself and held his hand up against the sun. It was only a line burn that **had cut** his flesh (OMAS, p. 47)

“Ông lão đứng lên vừa cố giữ thăng bằng vừa đưa
Old man stand up as try keep balance as hold
 tay về phía mặt trời. Sợi dây câu suốt trên tay
hand toward sun. CL line graze on hand
 hót đi một chút da”
cut off little skin

b. The bird **had got** up and was circling (SG, p. 58)

“Con chim bay lên và lượn vòng quanh”
CL bird fly up and circle around

The past perfect in the second sentence of (143a) in the original conveys that the event of the line cutting the old man’s hand occurs before the reference time of the event of him holding his hand up against the sun. The result of the line cutting is noticed or evident at the time he holds up his hand against the sun. In the Vietnamese translation the event of the man holding his hand toward the sun is presented as unbounded and temporally overlapping the event of the line grazing his hand, which resulted in a little of his skin being cut off. In other words, it is understood that in the Vietnamese translation the event of the line grazing and cutting his hand occurs when he is holding his hand toward the sun. For the event of the line cutting off some skin on the old man’s hand in the Vietnamese translation to have the same temporal interpretation as that of the original, the PAM *đã* or a temporal adverbial such as *trước đó* (‘before that’) or *khi nãy* (‘earlier’), as used in (142a) above, may be needed in the final clause. It is unclear what motivated the translators’ to make the choices as they did.

In (143b) the past perfect presents the event of the bird getting up as occurring before the reference (narrative) time, the result of which is that at the narrative time the bird is up in the air and is circling. Note that the eventuality [circle] is expressed by the progressive aspect. Both the state of the bird being up and that of the bird circling in the English original are temporally overlapping or simultaneous. In the Vietnamese translation the absence of a PAM such as *đã* in the first clause and of the progressive aspectual marker *đang* in the second clause resulted in the event of the bird flying up being sequenced to the event of its circling (which receives an inceptive (perfective) reading). Again the translators’ motivation for the choices is not clear.

5.2.11. Translation of English progressive clauses in narrative mode into Vietnamese with no aspectual marker

As shown in Table (9), only 21 (or 20 percent) of the 104 English narrative progressive clauses were translated into Vietnamese with a progressive aspectual marker, in which cases the TL explicitly conveyed the original temporal information, as discussed earlier. Another 9 clauses (or 8.6 percent) were conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by a PAM, which, surprisingly, was not found to lead to a difference in the temporal interpretation between the ST and the TT.

71 percent of the English progressive clauses in narrative were translated into Vietnamese with no aspectual marker. The situation type found in most of these clauses in the Vietnamese translation was similar to the situation type used in the English original. In the narrative sections of the English STs, the progressive aspect was not always found to present a situation as on-going at the reference time and temporally overlapping the preceding or following situation, as it normally does. In some clauses the progressive aspect was found to convey sequential meaning. The use of an activity in the Vietnamese translation of an English progressive clause, in which the progressive aspect conveys the progressive meaning, was normally found to achieve similar temporal interpretation as that obtained in the original. The same is true with the use of an accomplishment or achievement in the Vietnamese translation of an English progressive clause, in which the progressive aspect conveys the sequential meaning. Consider the following examples.

(144)a. he...struck hard with both hands, gained a yard of line and then struck again and again, **swinging** with each arm alternatively... (OMAS, p. 36)

“Ông lão... cố nú sơi dây bằng cả hai tay;

Old man... try pull CL line by both hand;

lão kéo lại được một thước dây.

3SG pull back RVC one yard line

Hai cánh tay đưa lên đưa xuống rất đều...”

Two arm swing up swing down very consistently

b. He came home one night told his wife he was penniless, and after dinner, **going into his study**, shot himself (FEB, p. 43)

“Một đêm kia ông về nhà, nói với vợ rằng
One night other 3SG come home, tell with wife that
 ông không còn lấy một xu để rồi sau bữa ăn,
3SG NEG have left even one penny so that after meal,
 ông vào phòng làm việc và tự sát”
3SG enter room study and commit suicide

In (144a) the eventuality [swing] in the English original has a progressive meaning. It is presented as going on throughout the time the old man strikes. The eventuality [strike] is presented as an iterative activity. The swinging and the striking are temporally simultaneous. The eventuality [swing] is represented in the Vietnamese translation by the reduplication of the equivalent situation type with the particles *lên...xuống* (‘up...down’), which, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, conveys repetition and can turn an achievement or accomplishment into an activity. The activity of the arms swinging up and down is understood to go on at the same time the old man pulls the line. The two eventualities are also interpreted to be temporally simultaneous. The presence of the progressive aspectual marker in the translation did not seem essential.

The English progressive aspect used in (144b), on the other hand, does not seem to give rise to a progressive reading for the eventuality [go into his study]. Pragmatic knowledge lends support to the interpretation that the character shoots himself after he has gone into the study room, rather than upon his entering. In other words, the interpretation of temporal overlap between the two eventualities, [go into the study] and [shoot], does not seem to arise naturally. Rather, the two eventualities are more plausibly interpreted to sequence each other. It should be noted that this interpretation is mostly elicited from pragmatic inference. The use of the achievements in the Vietnamese translation, with no aspectual marker, to denote the original eventualities, naturally gave rise to the sequential reading. The presence of the progressive aspectual marker in the Vietnamese TL may cause a difference in the temporal order of the events, hence its absence in the translation.

In the following examples pragmatic inference does not give rise to a sequential reading for the eventualities in the progressive clauses in the English original. Yet, this interpretation arises in the Vietnamese translation.

(145)a. Edward slipped on a coat and, **putting on** his hat, he accompanied Bateman out of the store (FEB, p. 51)

“Etuôt	xỏ	vội	áo ngoài,	vr	mũ	lên	đầu
<i>Edward</i>	<i>slip on</i>	<i>hurriedly</i>	<i>coat,</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>head</i>
rồi	theo	Bâyteman	ra khỏi	cửa hiệu”			
<i>then</i>	<i>follow</i>	<i>Bateman</i>	<i>out of</i>	<i>store</i>			

b. ...the old man thought, and he watched the school working the water white and the bird now **dropping** and **dipping** into the bait fish (OMAS, p. 30)

“...ông	lão	nghĩ	vậy.	Đàn	cá	thu	boi	lượn	ngầu	bọt	lên;
<i>...old man</i>	<i>think</i>	<i>so.</i>		<i>Group</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>swim</i>		<i>bubbly</i>		<i>up;</i>	
con	chim	bỗng		lao	xuống	bắt	những	con	cá	nhỏ”	
<i>CL bird</i>	<i>suddenly</i>			<i>drop</i>	<i>down</i>	<i>catch</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>fish</i>	<i>small</i>	

In the English original the eventuality of putting on the hat in (145a) is conveyed by the progressive and can be naturally understood to temporally overlap the eventuality of accompanying Bateman out of the store. World knowledge allows for the interpretation that one can both put on the hat and walked at the same time. This interpretation seems to be the most plausible in the original. The use of the equivalent situation type (accomplishment) in the Vietnamese translation of this eventuality, with no progressive aspectual marker, and also the presence of the anaphoric adverb *rồi* (‘then’), explicitly sequences the eventuality of putting on the hat to the eventuality of following Bateman out of the store. In (145b) both of the English original eventualities [drop] and [dip] are presented as iterative activities that are going on at the same time the old man is watching the fish. The two eventualities are simultaneous with each other and with the eventuality of watching. They do not create a new reference time (their reference time is also the reference time of the eventuality of watching), and thus do not enable narrative progression. In the Vietnamese translation, the eventuality of the bird dropping is presented as an instantaneous and telic event, which received a sequential reading and advances the narrative time. The eventualities of the old man watching and the bird dipping are not conveyed at all in the Vietnamese translation. In the above examples the original backgrounded events are presented as foregrounded in the translation. This kind of shift was found in the Vietnamese translation of another nine English narrative progressive clauses. The motivation for the shift is unclear.

5.3. Conclusion

To sum up, in the translation of English texts, Vietnamese explicit aspectuo-temporal devices were not found to be utilized very often. The percentage of the English clauses in deictic mode being translated into Vietnamese with an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker was 29.3, while the figure for the translation of narrative clauses was even smaller (just 18.6 percent). The explicit aspectuo-temporal markers that were found most frequently in the Vietnamese translation of English texts, in both deictic and narrative modes, were perfect aspectual markers. They were found to translate most of the tenses that were found in the English deictic sections, with the exception of the future tenses. In narrative sections, they were found to translate English clauses with all types of aspect (perfect, progressive, and neutral) and with all situation types. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the Vietnamese-English translation various tenses/aspects were also used to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM.

Vietnamese PAMs were found most often in the translation of English perfect clauses in both discourse modes. When a Vietnamese PAM was used to translate an English perfect clause (either present perfect or past perfect, in either deictic or narrative mode), it was found to most equivalently and explicitly convey the original temporal and aspectual information, as expressed by the English perfects. This conforms to the observation that Vietnamese PAMs convey the range of meanings corresponding to the range of meanings expressed by the English perfects, as discussed in Chapter 2.

When used to translate other English tenses/aspects, rather than the perfects, Vietnamese PAMs were found to convey a range of different meanings, which were not found in the original. These included change of state (normally found in the translation of English stative clauses in the simple present tense in deictic mode and stative clauses with the neutral aspect in narrative mode); an indication that something happens earlier than normally expected (normally found in the translation of simple present tense clauses in deictic mode); and the ‘episode ending/breaking’ or ‘episode opening’ meaning (found in the translation of narrative sections only), which has never been observed in any previous studies on the functions of the Vietnamese PAMs. In many instances the presence of a Vietnamese PAM in the translation of English tenses and aspects, other than the perfects, gave rise to a difference in aspectual reading from that

of the original. In some of these situations the translation was found to convey the semantic entailment or implicatures of the original, rather than the surface meaning.

Temporal adverbials were found second most frequently in the Vietnamese translation of both deictic and narrative sections of the English STs. Most of them were found to be directly translated from the English original. Only very few were actually added (where in the original a TA was not present) in the translation. In the translation of English deictic mode, past LAs were found most often and only in the translation of English simple past clauses. Present LAs and adverbs of frequency were most commonly found in the translation of English clauses in the simple present tense in deictic mode. In all of these cases the TAs explicitly conveyed the original temporal information. In the translation of narrative sections, the use of a temporal adverbial (of any type) that was equivalent to the one used in the English original was also found to explicitly convey the original temporal meaning. Not all of the original TAs were found to be translated into the TL, most of the non-translated ones being instances of the LA 'now', which in most cases resulted in the TL having a different temporal interpretation from that of the original. On the other hand, the addition of a TA in the translation of some English narrative clauses proved a good strategy in explicitly conveying the original temporal information in the TL.

Progressive aspectual markers were not found very often in the Vietnamese translation of English texts in either discourse mode. In deictic mode they were found in the translation of the English present simple tense, present progressive and, and past progressive. In all of the instances where a progressive marker was present, it was found to explicitly give the situation expressed by it a present temporal and progressive aspectual reading. Thus, the aspectual meaning arising in the translation of English clauses in the simple present tense and the past progressive in deictic mode was different from that expressed in the original. In the translation of English narrative sections, Vietnamese progressive aspectual markers were found in the translation of progressive clauses and stative and activity clauses with the neutral aspect, in all of which the translation was found to have similar temporal interpretation to that obtained in the original, even though in stative clauses the states were interpreted as being temporary, unlike in the original text.

Vietnamese auxiliaries were exclusively found in the translation of English simple future tense in deictic mode, which may explain why the auxiliaries *sẽ* is strongly viewed by traditional Vietnamese grammarians as a future tense marker in Vietnamese. The fact that it was found to translate also English clauses in narrative mode that were expressed by the past form of the auxiliary ‘will’, i.e. the future-in-the-past tense, indicates that it does not merely convey future temporal meaning. Discussion of the meaning of the Vietnamese auxiliaries will be presented in the next chapter.

In the absence of temporal and aspectual marking, the temporal and aspectual information expressed by tenses and aspects in the English original was found to be recovered, to a large degree, from the information denoted by the temporal features of situation type or elicited from the context, world knowledge, or rhetorical relations between the clauses. In detail, in deictic mode the temporal information expressed by the simple present tense and the present progressive in the original was broadly recoverable from the presence of state or activity verb constellations in the translation, while that expressed by the English simple past and present perfect by the use of accomplishments and achievements in the Vietnamese TL. Aspectual information of the original was mostly recoverable from the context and pragmatic inferences. In narrative mode the temporal and aspectual information of the original, not explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by an explicit aspectuo-temporal marker, could be recovered from the choice of situation types that were equivalent to those used in the original, from the rhetorical relations between the clauses, and from pragmatic inferences. The choice of an accomplishment or achievement in Vietnamese to translate an English stative or activity clauses that received an inceptive (sequential) reading was found to be a good strategy in making the sequential interpretation more explicit in the translation. On the other hand, the use of situation types that were not equivalent to those used in the original could result in a temporal reading that was different from that arising in the English original.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The previous two chapters have presented the patterns of tense/aspect choices found in the English translation of the Vietnamese texts and the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual resources found in the Vietnamese TTs for conveying the temporal and aspectual meanings expressed by tense, viewpoint aspect, and lexical aspect in the original English texts. Some patterns of English tense/aspect usage were found to convey the meaning expressed by Vietnamese aspectuo-temporal devices such as temporal adverbials, auxiliaries, aspectual markers, and also by the temporal features of the situation types. The previous chapter has also shown the frequency of the Vietnamese aspectuo-temporal devices that were utilized by the translators to explicitly convey the temporal and aspectual meaning that were expressed in the English STs by tense and viewpoint aspect. This chapter will provide a general discussion of the results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 and relate what was found in this study with what has been found and discussed in the literature. The discussion will focus on the meanings and functions of the Vietnamese temporal resources that were utilized in the Vietnamese STs and TTs, with comparison to the meanings and functions of English tenses and aspects, and on the translators' choices.

Overall, it was found that despite the lack of tense in Vietnamese and the availability of the explicit aspectuo-temporal devices that could be used to express temporal and aspectual information, as detailed in Chapter 2, the explicit aspectuo-temporal devices were not found very often in either the Vietnamese original texts or the Vietnamese translated texts, though in the Vietnamese translated texts they were found a little more frequently. More specifically, in the Vietnamese original texts they were found to convey 20 percent of the total clauses in deictic mode and just 16 percent of clauses in narrative mode, whereas in the Vietnamese translation of English STs they were found in 37 percent of clauses in deictic mode and 19 percent of clauses in narrative mode. A possible explanation for the higher frequency of Vietnamese explicit aspectuo-temporal devices in the Vietnamese translated texts than in the Vietnamese original ones could be

attributed to the lack of extra contextual information in many clauses for the situations represented in these clauses in the Vietnamese translation to convey the original temporal and aspectual meaning. As shown in Chapter 5, since in English tense can explicitly convey the temporal location of a situation, extra contextual information was not available in many clauses; the temporal location of the situations was often drawn exclusively from tense. This was especially so when a sentence was uttered out of context. When contextual information was not available in the Vietnamese TTs, the absence of an explicit temporal adverbial or aspectual marker could result in a different temporal and/or aspectual reading from that conveyed in the English STs. The translators might have needed to make more extensive use of the Vietnamese explicit aspectuo-temporal devices to compensate for the lack of contextual information when translating English texts into Vietnamese.

The usages, functions, and meanings of each temporal device in Vietnamese and how they were exploited in the translation are presented in the following sections. Section 6.1 is concerned with the contribution of temporal adverbials to the interpretation of temporal location in deictic mode and of temporal relations between clauses in narrative mode. Section 6.2 is devoted to the discussion of the meanings of Vietnamese auxiliaries and the treatment of the auxiliary in translation, while Vietnamese aspectual markers are discussed in Sections 6.3 and 6.4. The role of situation type in the interpretation of temporal location and temporal progression is discussed in Section 6.5.

6.1. Temporal adverbials: temporal location and temporal progression and use of TAs in translation

The results of the data analysis confirm the observation by some scholars, as detailed in the Literature Review Chapter, that TAs are the most explicit device in Vietnamese to express temporal location of situations. Sentences that contained a locating adverbial were found to have the most explicit temporal interpretation. The past LAs and future LAs invariably located situations in the past and future, respectively. They seemed to have provided translators with primary clues on their choices of tense to express the original meaning of the Vietnamese STs. All of the original Vietnamese clauses that contained a past LA were found to be conveyed in the translation by the simple past tense. Those containing a future LA were also mostly translated into English with the

simple future or near future tense. In all of these clauses the TL situations had a similar temporal reading to that of the original.

Since LAs most explicitly express temporal location in Vietnamese, it would be expected that they were exploited frequently in the Vietnamese translation of English tenses in deictic mode. Surprisingly, however, they were utilized in the Vietnamese translation of just 11 percent of the English clauses in deictic mode, i.e. just 11 percent of clauses in the Vietnamese translation of English deictic sections contained a LA. It was interesting to find that the frequency of occurrences of LAs in the Vietnamese translation of the deictic sections of the English texts was similar to that found in the deictic sections of the Vietnamese STs (just slightly above 11 percent). The translation reflected the trend in contemporary translation practice to prefer the TL- oriented strategy, which aims to produce a TT that reads as natural or almost as natural as the original does. The translation seemed to follow the norms of the Vietnamese TL, in which TAs, as observed by Cao (1998a) among some others, are not normally used for expressing temporal location. The findings confirm the assumption made by Tran and Sachs, themselves translators of a text used in the present study, that Vietnamese readers are accustomed to “fill[ing] in the time frame for themselves” (Tran and Sachs, 1997, p. XIX), resulting in the restricted insertion of TAs in the Vietnamese translation of English texts.

However, it was found that the absence of a LA in the Vietnamese translation of some English clauses in deictic mode gave rise to a different temporal reading in the translation. As shown in Chapter 5, some situations in the English deictic mode were temporally located exclusively by the tense forms of the verbs. These situations were normally expressed by a past or future tense and a stative VP. They were found to contain no LA and to introduce a new topic. The Vietnamese translation contained an equivalent stative VP with no LA. Since the context did not provide sufficient information to give rise to a past or future temporal reading, the stative situations naturally received a present temporal location, as constrained by the “Bounded Event Constraint” principle. It was found that in these contexts, a past or future LA would have been needed for the situations in the translation to have similar temporal meaning as that expressed in the English STs. Aiming for a high degree of naturalness in the translation of such sentences may not be an optimal option. Although temporal adverbials, like other explicit temporal or aspectual devices in Vietnamese, are not used

very often, they are, as observed by Cao (1998) (see Chapter 2), necessarily called upon in contexts in which the absence of them would lead to ambiguity.

Interestingly, the Vietnamese original clauses containing a LA that was categorized as ‘present TA’ by Dao (1965), detailed in Chapter 3, were not always found to express a present temporal location. The Vietnamese present LAs that were most likely to receive a variable temporal interpretation include indefinite deictic temporal adverbials such as *đạo này* (‘recently’), *lúc này* (‘at present’), *hôm nay* (‘today’), *năm nay* (‘this year’), *lần này* (‘this time’), *sáng nay* (‘this morning’), *chiều nay* (‘this afternoon’), *tối nay* (‘tonight’). Close examination revealed that clauses containing such TAs in the Vietnamese STs were not normally found to locate the situations in the present, unlike what had been observed in various previous studies on expressions of temporal location in Vietnamese (as reviewed in Chapter 2). It was found in the present study that contextual information and pragmatic knowledge in some cases imposed a past (mostly indefinite past) or future temporal reading for the situations that contained a present LA. The English translation was found to reflect that by the choice of other tenses, such as the present perfect and the simple future tense, rather than the simple present tense. The pre-categorised ‘present TAs’ were also often found in the Vietnamese translation of English sentences in the simple future tense or present perfect.

This suggests that including such LAs as those mentioned above in the category of present temporal adverbs (i.e. those that locate situations in the present) as listed by Dao (1965) is not entirely accurate. No other studies have been conducted to examine and categorise temporal adverbials in Vietnamese. As was shown in the previous chapters, the temporal reference of such adverbials is saliently dependent on the context and the speech time. For example, the adverbial *tối nay* (‘tonight’), as exemplified in (109b) in the last chapter is understood to locate the situation in the future since the contextual information indicates that the speech time is not coincident with the time specified by the adverbial, but is before it. These adverbs are deictic, and their temporal location is determined in relation to S, but since they may denote an extended period of time (including S), situations can be located in the past or future of S.

In narrative sections, locating adverbials were found to perform similar functions in both languages. They introduced a new reference time or a new reference frame for a series of related situations, thus they contributed to the advancement of narrative time.

Given the lack of tense in Vietnamese and the important role of LAs in progressing narrative time, it could also be expected that LAs found in the narrative sections of the STs would be translated correspondingly in the TL in both directions (Vietnamese-English and English-Vietnamese translations), but more frequently so in English-Vietnamese translation. It was again surprising to find that this was not the case. The degree of equivalent translation of LAs in narrative sections from English to Vietnamese was less than 73 percent, while the figure for Vietnamese-English translation was slightly under 80 percent, thus LAs in English narrative sections were less frequently translated into Vietnamese. This finding is interesting. Originally, LAs were found to occur in 4.8 percent of the total narrative clauses in the Vietnamese STs, which is slightly more frequent than the occurrences of LAs in the narrative sections of the English STs (4.0 percent). In the Vietnamese translations of the narrative sections of the English STs, by contrast, LAs were found in just 2.9 percent of the clauses. As was shown in the last chapter, the omission of a LA in the Vietnamese translation of an English narrative clause containing a LA was often found to result in a different temporal interpretation in the translation from that of the original, especially so if the clause contained a stative verb. On the other hand, in Vietnamese-English translation the omission of a LA in the translation of an original clause containing a LA was not found to cause a difference in temporal interpretation. Given that the role played by LAs in Vietnamese narrative was found to be the same as in English narrative, this finding might be striking at first. However, as mentioned in Chapter 4, close examination of the clauses containing a LA that was not translated into English revealed that most of the non-translations of the LAs were found where these LAs did not occur in the initial position (IP-adjunct position). In this position they function to provide the time frame for the sentence containing it and other sentences that follow (Vieu et al, 2005). In a non-IP Adj position, LAs were found to provide a new reference time for the situation represented in the clause, without necessarily creating a reference frame for the other related sentences. Some were also found to occur in clauses that expressed a telic event. The perfective viewpoint used in the English translation together with an equivalent telic verb and also the contextual information allowed for a sequential interpretation, which was similar to that explicitly conveyed in the Vietnamese original text by the presence of a LA.

As shown in Chapter 2, the English anaphoric adverb ‘then’ in clause initial position sequences the event in the ‘then’-clause to the event in the preceding clause. No

previous studies have been carried out to examine the meaning and function of the Vietnamese anaphoric adverb *rồi* in narrative. Do-Hurinville (2007) only touches slightly on the function of *rồi* with decontextualized examples and also observes that *rồi* can express sequential meaning. The present study confirms his observation. The Vietnamese anaphoric *rồi* in clause initial position was found to perform the same function as the English ‘then’. Again, given the lack of tense and infrequent use of aspectual markers in Vietnamese, the anaphoric *rồi* could have been exploited frequently in Vietnamese narrative to convey temporal progression. Surprisingly enough, it was found in just 1.4 percent of narrative clauses in the Vietnamese STs, compared to 2.25 percent of occurrences of the English counterpart ‘then’ found in the narrative sections of the English STs. One possible explanation for this phenomenon as well as the infrequent use of other TAs in the Vietnamese texts (both source and target) may be because Vietnamese exhibits a higher degree of ambiguity. Vietnamese readers may have a greater tolerance to ambiguity than English readers, who may be accustomed to greater use of explicit temporal resources in English. This can be seen in the high level of redundancy in temporal expressions, such as the use of both tense and LAs to convey a temporal location when either tense or LAs alone can already locate a situation in time. Vietnamese readers, on the other hand, may be used to being active in working out the temporal information from contexts and knowledge of the world.

More instances of ‘then’ were found to be translated into Vietnamese with *rồi* (69 percent) than instances of *rồi* being translated into English with ‘then’ (50 percent). A majority of the other half instances of *rồi* were translated into English with the conjunction ‘and’, which in some clauses was found to give rise to a different temporal reading in the translation from that arising in the original, especially when the situation type represented in these clauses was a state or an activity, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the clauses that contained a telic verb, the use of English ‘and’ to translate Vietnamese *rồi* did not result in a different temporal interpretation. This was so due to the viewpoint aspect, which was available in every finite clause in English. As shown in chapter 2, telic VPs in the simple past (the most common narrative tense in English), normally received a perfective and sequential reading, even in the absence of ‘then’. In the English STs also, the conjunction ‘and’ instead of the anaphoric adverb ‘then’ was often found to sequence telic events. The use of the conjunction ‘and’ instead of the anaphoric adverb ‘then’ was thus another indication that the translation showed the tendency to attend to the naturalness of the TL.

It should be noticed though that the use of the English conjunction ‘and’ to translate instances of the Vietnamese anaphoric adverb ‘*rồi*’, when it was used in the Vietnamese STs to sequence two events that were represented by a state or an activity, did not normally result in the sequential interpretation in the translation. In the English translation the interpretation of temporal overlap was still found to arise. This suggests that the choice of whether to use the English conjunction ‘and’ or the anaphoric adverb ‘then’ to translate clauses that contain the anaphoric adverb ‘*rồi*’ in Vietnamese narrative calls for a careful consideration of the situation type.

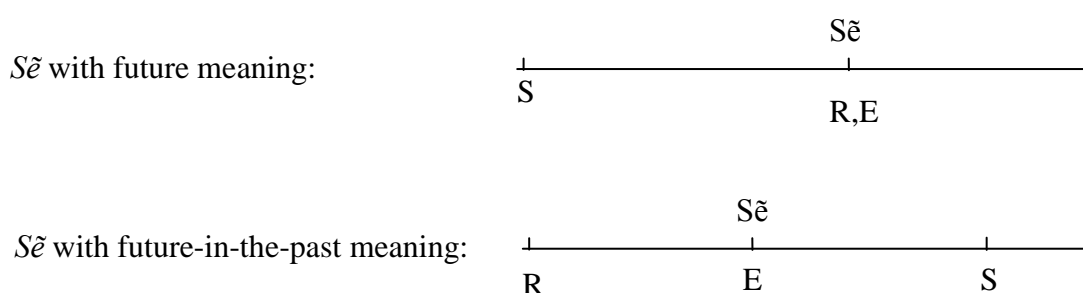
6.2. Vietnamese auxiliaries vs. English tense

In deictic mode, a majority of clauses containing the Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* were translated into English with the simple future tense (will + VP). Likewise, the Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* or *sắp* (*sẽ* was mostly used) was found to translate more than two thirds of English clauses in the simple future tense, making this tense the only one being most consistently and frequently translated with one Vietnamese explicit aspectuo-temporal device. This finding is interesting. Is it an indication that Vietnamese auxiliaries are indeed a future tense marker? Or that the translators’ choice was heavily influenced by the traditional view that *sẽ* conveys future tense in Vietnamese?

As shown in chapter 2, according to Jespersen (1931), Comrie (1985), and Fabricius-Hansen (2006), tense is by definition a grammatical category that is compulsory in every finite sentence. It is still not conclusive if *sẽ* can be considered a grammatical category that conveys future tense in Vietnamese. It is also not compulsory. If a future LA is present in a clause in Vietnamese, the auxiliary can be, and often is, omitted. In addition, *sẽ* was also often found in narrative mode to indicate that the situation described by *sẽ* occurs at a time later than the narrative time, which is by default in the past of S (reading time). In this usage it expressed temporal meaning similar to the meaning expressed by the English future-in-the-past ‘would + VP’. Most of the Vietnamese clauses in narrative mode that contained the auxiliary *sẽ* were translated into English with the past form of the auxiliary ‘will’, i.e. with ‘would’, preceding a VP. Similarly, most of English clauses in narrative mode that were described by ‘would’ preceding a VP were translated into Vietnamese with the auxiliary *sẽ*.

This finding is in accord with what is observed by Cao (1998a) that *sẽ* can be used in a past context as well as in a future context. In the present study, it was less often found in narrative mode (past context) than in deictic mode, where it was found in future contexts. This suggests that *sẽ* is not an absolute future tense marker even though it can convey that a situation occurs at a time (which can be considered R) later than S in deictic mode. It can also be used to describe an event that occurs at a time later than another time in the past of S. The meanings of *sẽ* can be formally represented in the following diagram.

Figure 4: Meanings of Vietnamese *sẽ*



Using Reichenbach's (1947) framework, these meanings can be represented as follow:

Sẽ with future meaning: S—R, E; which is similar to the formal representation of the semantics of the English simple future tense (will + VP), as shown in chapter 2.

Sẽ with future-in-the-past meaning: R – E – S, which is similar to the meaning expressed by the English 'would + VP', as shown in Chapter 2.

Thus, the use of the Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* to translate English clauses expressed by either the 'will + VP' or the 'would + VP' resulted in the translation having similar temporal meaning to that expressed in the original. The same was true when the English 'will + VP' or the 'would + VP' was used to translate Vietnamese clauses containing *sẽ*.

The fact that in deictic mode the auxiliary *sẽ* was found much more frequently in the Vietnamese TTs than in Vietnamese STs may be accounted for by the translators' effort in finding the closest formal equivalent in the target language to express the SL linguistic feature (Nida, 1964). Of the temporal resources available in Vietnamese, the

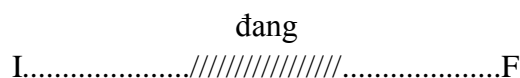
auxiliary *sẽ*, preceding the main verb, seems to be the closest equivalent to the English auxiliary ‘will’ in its present or past form ‘would’, also preceding the main verb.

6.3. Vietnamese aspectual markers vs. English tense and aspect

6.3.1. Progressive aspectual marker *đang/vẫn đang* versus English tense and aspect

As shown in Chapter 2, the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang/vẫn đang* is widely recognized as conveying the meaning of the progressive aspect (Nguyễn, 1995; Cao, 1998a; H.T. Nguyễn, 2006; Do-Hurinville, 2007). This was supported in the present study. When used with an event verb type, *đang* was found to focus on the inner phase of a situation, conveying that the situation is on-going at a particular time, with no information about its beginning or end. The meaning of the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* can be represented in the following diagram.

Figure 5: Semantic representation of the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker



Note: I: initial point; F: final point

The interval between I and F is filled with a situation, whose beginning is I and end F, and the part in slashes (diagonal lines) is what *đang* is used to refer to.

This semantic representation of *đang* is the same as the semantic representation of the English progressive aspect provided by Smith (1997, p. 73), presented in Diagram 6 below.

Figure 6: Semantic representation of the English progressive aspect



It could thus be expected that Vietnamese clauses containing *đang* would be frequently translated into English with the progressive aspect and, vice versa, English clauses with the progressive aspect be frequently translated into Vietnamese with *đang*. This was not what was found in the present study.

In the deictic mode of the Vietnamese STs, *đang* was found in only four clauses, as shown in Chapter 4, thus no conclusion could be made about whether or not a pattern of tense or aspect was found. However, in the Vietnamese translation of English texts *đang* was found to translate just less than a quarter of English clauses in deictic mode. In narrative mode the figure was even smaller. Just 20 percent of English clauses with the progressive aspect in narrative mode were conveyed in the Vietnamese translation by *đang*. Again, the English-Vietnamese translation seemed to adhere to the TL-oriented translation strategies, which, according to Nida (1964), would produce the TT which may appear natural to the TL reader as if it was written in the TL. In the Vietnamese STs in both discourse modes, *đang* was not found often, even much less frequently in deictic mode.

It should be noted that the use of the Vietnamese *đang* to translate an English clause in deictic mode that was conveyed by the past progressive did not automatically give the translated text a past progressive reading as it was conveyed in the English original. Since *đang* only makes visible the inner phase, or in Comrie's (1976, p. 24) words, the 'internal temporal structure', of a situation, the situation described by *đang* is unbounded and atelic. According to Smith and Erbaugh (2005), unbounded situations are normally located in the present. Indeed, it was found in the present study that when *đang* was used in a sentence without a LA, the situation represented in the sentence often received a present temporal reading. This explained why the use of *đang* in the translation of some English progressive clauses in deictic mode gave the translated situations a present progressive reading, whereas in the English STs they had a past progressive reading, conveyed by the past progressive. This suggests that in translating English past progressive clauses in deictic mode into Vietnamese, the use of *đang* should be accompanied by a past LA.

Even though *đang* was not frequently found in the Vietnamese translation of English clauses with the progressive aspect, it was found to translate English clauses in the simple present and simple past tenses. Close examination showed that these English clauses in the simple present or simple past tense normally contained a stative VP. The use of *đang* was also often found with a stative VP in the Vietnamese STs. This finding confirms the observations by some scholars such as Cao (1998a), H.T. Nguyễn (2006), and Do-Hurinville (2007) that the progressive marker in Vietnamese can be used with all situation types, frequently used with states denoting transitory properties, or

relatively unstable properties, such as *yêu* ('love'), *vui* ('happy'), *buồn* ('sad'), *ốm* ('sick/ill'), *lớn* ('big/grown'). Carlson (1977) refers to such stative VPs as 'stage-level' predicates. When used with a stage-level stative VP, *đang* seemed to focus on the internal stage of the state at the time of reference (which is contextually determined), emphasizing the non-permanence of the state.

In the present study the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* was not found with stative predicates denoting properties of relative permanence, such as *xanh* ('blue'), *tròn* ('round'), *đẹp* ('beautiful'), *xấu* ('ugly'), *bé/nhỏ* ('small'), which Carlson (1977) refers to as 'individual-level' predicates, applying directly to individuals. This finding conforms to H.T. Nguyễn's (2006) and Do-Hurinville's (2007) observations that *đang* is not normally used with states denoting properties of relative permanence, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, the text genre seems to have an influential role in the restricted use of *đang* with individual-level stative VPs. A search in Google, conducted by the present researcher, returned countless results of *đang* with individual-level stative VPs such as '*đang sở hữu*'¹⁴ ('in the possession of'), '*đang đẹp*'¹⁵ ('be beautiful'), '*đang tròn*'¹⁶ ('be round').

The norms of *đang* being compatible with stative VPs in Vietnamese may account for the translators' frequent choices of *đang* to translate English stative clauses in the simple present or simple past tense.

On the other hand, the English progressive aspect was not found with a stative VP although, as shown in Chapter 2, the English progressive aspect can be used with stative predicates to mark the temporariness of the state (Comrie, 1976; Leech, 1978), or in other words, to present the state as being dynamic and heterogeneous (Smith, 1997) or to 'coerce' the state into an event (de Swart, 1998). Coercion is a process of changing the aspectual type of a proposition through the use of modifiers such as temporal adverbials, tenses, and aspectual auxiliaries (Moens and Steedman, 1988; Pustejovsky, 1996; de Swart, 1998). The finding strongly reflected this restriction in the use of the

¹⁴ <http://www.photo.yeah1.com/showthread.php?t=86537> (retrieved 30/11/2010 @10.35am)

¹⁵ <http://vietbao.vn/The-gioi-giai-tri/Cat-Tuong-Cuoc-song-van-dang-dep/55155352/399/> (retrieved 30/11/2010 @10.35am)

¹⁶ <http://mp3.xalo.vn/ketqua.music?q=m%E1%BA%B7t%20tr%C3%B2n%20xinh> (retrieved 30/11/2010 @10.35am)

English progressive. In neither English STs nor English TTs was the English progressive found with a stative predicate. It was only found to be utilized to translate Vietnamese clauses containing the progressive aspectual marker with non-stative VPs. Vietnamese clauses containing the progressive aspectual marker with stative VPs were normally translated into English with the simple present or simple past tense. A possible explanation for the translators' non-use of the English progressive aspect to translate Vietnamese clauses containing the progressive aspectual marker *đang* and a stative VP seems to be the translators' attempt to closely follow the norms of the English TL, avoiding the marked use of the progressive aspect with stative VPs, which might have made the TT appear unnatural.

The translators' choice may also be accounted for by arguing that the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* is not merely a progressive aspectual marker, but a general imperfective marker, as raised by H.T. Nguyễn (2006). Its basic meaning seems to be to indicate a contingent situation, be it stative or non-stative. When used with non-statives, it expresses that the situation is on-going at the time of reference. When used with a stative, it conveys continuousness, with the added emphasis on the temporariness of the state. Thus, it does not entirely correspond to the English progressive aspect as argued by some scholars, reviewed in Chapter 2. Generally, situations described by *đang* are unbounded and have an imperfective reading. This is seen more clearly in narrative. In Vietnamese narrative, it was found that situations described by *đang* served as background situations, which temporally overlapped the preceding or following situations, and did not advance narrative time. This is in accord with what has been found about the function of the imperfective in English narrative, as discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, in narrative when *đang* was used to translate English clauses with the imperfective aspect, such as those described by the progressive or statives and even activities in the simple past tense, the translation normally achieved equivalence in the temporal meaning.

On the other hand, the absence of the progressive aspectual marker in the Vietnamese translation of some English narrative progressive clauses containing a telic verb type was found to cause a difference in the temporal ordering of the events. While in the English STs the progressive aspect presented the eventualities as unbounded, atelic events, temporally overlapping the preceding or following events, the absence of the progressive aspectual marker in the Vietnamese translation resulted in the eventualities

being presented as bounded, telic events, which received a sequential interpretation. The progressive aspectual marker was found necessary in the Vietnamese translation of these clauses for the TL to have similar temporal structures as that expressed in the English STs. This was because telic verbs are inherently bounded and events described by telic verbs are naturally interpreted to follow each other. The unboundedness, imperfectivity of these events in the English STs was conveyed by the progressive aspect. In order for the events in the Vietnamese translation to be unbounded and to receive an imperfective reading, the progressive aspectual marker *đang* would have been necessarily called upon.

A possible explanation for the translators' choice of not using the aspectual marker *đang* to translate the above mentioned English clauses in narrative mode that were described by the English progressive aspect and telic verb types may be the overlooking of the interaction between the information from viewpoint aspect and lexical aspect. The absence of *đang* in the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses described by the progressive aspect and an activity, for example, was not found to result in a different temporal interpretation.

Thus, the meanings conveyed by the Vietnamese aspectual marker *đang* correspond not only to the meaning expressed by the English progressive, but also to the meaning conveyed by statives in the simple present or simple past tense, which is one of the meanings of the imperfective. Table (10) below summarises the meanings of the Vietnamese aspectual marker *đang* and the corresponding meanings in English.

Table 10: Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* vs. English unmarked use of tense and aspect

Vietnamese		English	
		Deictic mode	Narrative mode
Đang + non-stative VP	No LA or no explicit temporal information provided by context	Present progressive	Past progressive
Đang + stative VP	No LA or no explicit temporal information provided by context	Simple present tense	Simple past tense
Đang + non-stative VP	Past LA or explicit contextual information to locate the situation in the past	Past progressive	Past progressive
Đang + stative VP	Past LA or explicit contextual information to locate the situation in the past	Simple past tense	Simple past tense

6.3.2. Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers (PAMs) vs. English tense and aspect

As discussed in Chapter 2, Vietnamese PAMs have been observed to convey the range of meanings conveyed by the English perfect such as the resultative perfect meaning, the experiential meaning, and the perfect of persistence meaning (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995; Cao, 1998a/b; H.T. Nguyễn, 2006; Do-Hurinville, 2007). In addition, Vietnamese PAMs have also been observed to express a change of state, i.e. they express the presupposition that the state represented in a clause is the result of a change from an opposite state and to convey that something happens earlier than expected or happens unexpectedly (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995; Cao, 1998a/b; Do-Hurinville, 2007). In the present study, the Vietnamese PAMs (*đã* or *đã...rồi* were found most frequently) were often found to convey the resultative meaning and change of state meaning. Another function at discourse level, frequently found for the PAM *đã* in narrative mode, and which had never been observed in any previous study on the meanings and functions of *đã*, was to

mark the beginning or end of an episode or to suspend an episode. As shown in Chapters 4 and 5, Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM were translated into English with different tenses and aspects. Similarly, Vietnamese PAMs were found to be chosen to translate English clauses described by different English tenses and aspects. The use of Vietnamese PAMs with different meanings and how they were used in the Vietnamese STs and translated into English, as well as how they were utilized to translate English tenses and aspects are discussed in the next sub-sections.

6.3.2.1. *PAMs with resultative meaning vs. English tense and aspect*

As discussed in Section 2.2.2.3.2 in chapter 2, the resultative perfect meaning conveyed by a PAM with a telic verb (such as an accomplishment or achievement) in Vietnamese has been argued to correspond to the resultative meaning conveyed by the English perfect with a telic verb. Cao (1998a), for example, claims that the resultative meaning conveyed by the PAM *đã* can be correspondingly expressed in English by the auxiliary 'have' and the past participle of a telic verb. The results of the present study confirmed this observation. Most of the clauses in Vietnamese STs in both discourse modes that contained a PAM and a telic verb, which conveyed the resultative meaning, were found to be translated into English with the perfect aspect and a corresponding telic VP, especially in the narrative mode. Similarly, the resultative perfect meaning expressed by the English perfect (with a telic VP) was also mainly translated into Vietnamese with a PAM and a telic VP, which most equivalently and explicitly conveyed the original meaning.

However, in the present study it was found that not all instances of *đã* with a telic verb conveying the resultative meaning were translated into English with the perfect and a corresponding telic verb. Some of Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained a PAM and a telic VP with the resultative perfect meaning were found to be conveyed in the English translation by the simple present tense. These clauses normally contained the PAM *đã* or *rồi* and an achievement verb such as *về* ('return/come back') or *tới* ('arrive'), which were expressed in the English translation by the simple present tense of the stative verb 'be back' or 'be here', respectively, as demonstrated in example (85) in Chapter 4. The English translation focussed on the result state that obtained at S, but did not convey that the state resulted from a past event. The translators' choice was interesting. What seemed to motivate this choice? The answer was not conclusive from

the results of the present study. A possible hypothesis may be that the use of the simple present tense is more common than the use of the perfect in similar contexts in English. To test this hypothesis, the current researcher informally conducted a crosscheck with six native speakers of English and a search in Google. In the informal crosscheck, the participants were asked what they would say when they see somebody who has just come back and what they would say when they have just reached their destination. All of them replied they would say ‘you’re back’ in the former context, while ‘here we are’ or ‘we are here’ was what all of the informants would say in the later context. The search in Google for ‘has come back’ returned 801,000,000 results, while that for ‘is back’ returned 3,950,000,000 results. These results showed the tendency towards the use of the simple present tense. However, these results should be taken with caution. Further research would be needed to confirm or reject the hypothesis.

Some Vietnamese perfect clauses with the resultative perfect meaning in deictic mode were also translated into English with the simple past tense, which was often found to result in a difference in the aspectuo-temporal meaning in the TT. The translation focussed on the past event, while the ST focused on the state resulting from the past event. The use of the English perfect to translate Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained a PAM and a past LA, however, was found to equivalently convey the original meaning. This will be discussed in more detail below.

6.3.2.2. PAMs with the past temporal meaning vs. English tenses and aspects

In deictic mode, Vietnamese PAMs were also found to co-occur with definite past LAs and event VP to convey that a situation occurred and was completed in the past time specified by the LA with no implication of present result or any present relevance. This finding supports Do-Hurinville’s (2004/7) and Cao’s (1998) observations that Vietnamese PAMs can be used with definite past LAs in news reports (also classified as deictic discourse mode) to emphasize the past completion of the events reported in the news within the specified past time. In this usage, the PAMs seem to no longer convey perfect aspectual meaning. Rather, they seem to express past temporal meaning. This accounted for the translators’ choices of the simple past tense instead of the present perfect in the treatment of Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM and a past LA. Even though in some dialects of English the present perfect can co-occur with a definite past LA, such as in Australian English (Ritz, 2007/2010, Ritz and Engel, 2008), this

combination is not allowed in standard English (Comrie, 1976; Klein, 1992; Leech, 1987). The translators' choices of the simple past tense clearly conformed to the norms of the TL.

Interestingly, while the use of PAMs with a definite past LA was not found often in the deictic sections of Vietnamese source texts, it was found more often in the Vietnamese translation of English deictic mode. The translation seemed to have reflected the strongly rooted assumption that the Vietnamese PAM *đã* expresses past tense that corresponds to the English simple past and the French preterit (Cao, 1998a; Do-Hurinville, 2004).

6.3.2.3. *PAMs with the change of state meaning vs. English tenses and aspects*

As shown in chapter 2, Cao (1998a/1998b) and Do-Hurinville (2007) argue that when the PAM *đã* is used with a stative VP, it conveys a change of state, i.e., it indicates that the state represented by the VP is a change from a presupposed earlier state which was the opposite of the current state. This is supported in the present study. In the corpus used in the present study, the PAM *đã* was commonly found with a stative VP to convey that the state described by *đã* obtaining at R was a change of a state that presupposedly existed before the state described by *đã*. Vietnamese clauses with *đã/rồi* and stative verbs, indicating a change of state, were found to be most commonly translated into English with the simple present tense of stative VPs in deictic mode and the simple past tense of stative VPs in narrative mode. The translation presented the state which held at R, i.e. the state described by *đã* in the SL, but did not convey the presupposed earlier state.

Even though the presupposition that the state represented in the clause did not hold at some earlier time was not available in the English translation, the English simple tenses of stative verbs seemed to be the most appropriate structures to convey the meaning of the Vietnamese structure *đã/rồi* + stative VPs, since they conveyed the other part of the meaning conveyed in Vietnamese, that is the information that the state represented in the clause held at a contextually determined reference time (which could be the speech time in deictic mode and narrative time in narrative mode). The choice of the perfect in these contexts might convey a very different meaning, since, according to Leech (1987, p. 36), the perfect with states means that “the state extends over a period of time lasting up to the present moment” (present moment in deictic mode is by default the speech

time; in narrative mode ‘present moment’ is understood to be the narrative time). This may have accounted for the translators’ choice of the simple tenses instead of the perfect. But, as mentioned above, the simple present or simple past tense used with a stative VP only conveyed part of the meaning conveyed by the Vietnamese *đã* with a stative VP.

A question may arise as to whether there is another temporal structure in English that can equivalently or closely convey the change of state meaning expressed by the Vietnamese PAM with a stative VP. It is argued here that such a temporal structure is possible, and it is the English perfect with the resultative meaning. Recall that the resultative meaning conveyed by the English perfect involves a state, which resulted from a past event (Bybee et al., 1994; Moens, 1987; Moens & Steedman, 1988; Smith, 1997). According to Leech (1987, p. 39), “this meaning is clearest with ‘transitional event’ verbs...denoting the switch from one state to another” such as ‘arrive’, ‘give’, ‘break’, ‘recover’, ‘grow’, etc. Thus, for the use of the English perfect to translate Vietnamese clauses containing *đã* with a stative VP conveying a change of state, an event VP might be used in the English translation instead of a stative VP equivalent to that used in the Vietnamese STs. This can be demonstrated in (146), repeated from (87) with the alternative use of the perfect and an event VP instead of the simple present tense with a stative VP.

(146)a. Các cháu lớn **rồi** (EAFC, p. 299)

PL children big/grown up PERF

“Your children are big enough already”

- “Your children have grown up” (which implies a change of state from not being grown up before R to being grown up at R)

b. Ta **đã** già (SW, p. 63)

1SG PERF old

“I’m old”

- “I have become old” (which implies a change of state from not being old before R to being old at R)

As can be seen, the English perfect with a transitional event VP could more equivalently convey the change of state meaning expressed by the Vietnamese PAM *đã* and a stative

VP. The translators' choice of the simple tense with the equivalent stative VP instead of the perfect was unclear. Was that because the use of a stative VP in the simple tense in similar contexts is more common than the perfect with an event VP? Further research may be needed to provide a conclusive answer to this question. The results of the present study showed a consistent preference in the translators' choices of the simple tenses over the choices of the perfect. The Vietnamese PAM *đã* with a stative VP was also found to translate some English clauses in the simple present tense (in deictic mode) and simple past tense (in narrative mode) used with a stative VP.

6.3.2.4. *PAMs and other stylistic effects vs. English tenses and aspects*

Another function of *đã* in narrative was found in this study, which has never been observed in any previous studies on Vietnamese PAMs. It was found that *đã* could be exploited in narrative at a paragraph initial position or within a paragraph to introduce a new episode or to break off from a previous episode whereby the *đã*-clause serves as an anchoring time for the whole episode, or it can be used at a paragraph final position to suspend, or put an end to, an episode. The new episodes introduced by the sentences containing *đã* in Vietnamese narrative did not necessarily move narrative time forward, though in many cases they did. In some others they gave further background information or provided an elaboration. The English perfect has also been observed to perform a similar function in English narrative, as discussed in the last chapter. Ritz (2010) also observes that in Australian English the present perfect can be used (in fact, it was found pervasively in the data used in Ritz's study, which consisted of numerous police news reports) to introduce new information or new sub-episode in a story. Interestingly, most of the instances of *đã* to mark the beginning, end, or break off from, an episode in Vietnamese narrative were not found to be conveyed in the English translation by the past perfect, but by the simple past tense, which, as observed by Irandoust (1999), discussed in Chapter 2, cannot normally perform this stylistic function. The translators' choices of the simple past tense instead of the past perfect in these contexts may be accounted for by the fact that the use of the English past perfect to mark the beginning, end, or break from, an episode has not been widely observed in standard English. Apart from the observation made by Ritz (2010) about this use of the perfect (present perfect though) in Australian English and the use of the past perfect in the English translation of French literary texts, as observed by Irandoust (1999)

mentioned above, no other observations have been made in any other previous studies about this function of the perfect in English.

The unpopularity of the use of the past perfect in English to mark the beginning, end, or break from, an episode in narrative was supported also in the present study, which found that the English past perfect was rarely used in the English corpus to perform this function.

It was also interesting to find that the exploitation of *đã* for episode segmentation occurred much more often in the Vietnamese source texts than in the Vietnamese translated texts. This may be explained by the fact that the function of the Vietnamese PAM *đã* for episode segmentation has never been observed or discussed in any previous studies. It is understandable that translators may not choose a linguistic element that is not widely recognized in one language to translate a linguistic element that is also not widely recognized in the other language, since as Nida (1964) argues, when a linguistic element of the SL is not familiar or ‘alien’ in the TL, it may be omitted or replaced by another linguistic element that is commonly used in the TL.

The sense of unexpectedness conveyed by Vietnamese PAMs, which has been discussed in some studies on Vietnamese PAMs, as detailed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.3, was also found in the present Vietnamese corpus (in both original and translated texts). It has been observed in previous studies that Vietnamese PAMs can be used to indicate that a situation occurs earlier than normally expected (M.T. Nguyễn, 1995; Do-Hurinville, 2007). In the present study it was found that the ‘unexpectedness’ conveyed by a Vietnamese PAM (mainly *đã*) was extended to the expression of any information, which, according to de Lancey, who discusses mirativity in several languages, “is new or unexpected to the speaker” (de Lancey, 2001, p. 370) or which “the speaker has just recently been aware of” (de Lancey, 2001, p. 379). Vietnamese PAMs were found to also describe eventualities that were highly unpredictable or unexpected in a given context. This is better known as the mirative effect. While mirativity in English is, as noticed by de Lancey, “not directly expressed in the morphosyntactic system”, but is normally marked by intonation contour (de Lancey, 2001, p. 377), which is not visible in written texts, in Vietnamese, as observed in the present study, it can arise from the use of the PAM *đã*. The mirative effect has also been found by Ritz (2010) to be conveyed by the perfect (again the present perfect) in Australian English. As discussed

in Chapter 4, according to de Lancey (2001), the perfect construction in English can also have some association with mirativity, since the occurrence of the event described by the perfect is known to the speaker only through the consequences or results that are perceptible at the time of speech (de Lancey, 2001).

However, in the present study, the use of the PAM *đã* in the Vietnamese STs to mark mirativity was not found to be translated into English with the perfect. Likewise, such uses of *đã* were not chosen to translate any perfect clauses in the English STs. Perhaps the use of the standard English perfect to convey mirativity is not a common practice or is not widely recognized, thus it was not used as such in either the English STs or in the English translations of Vietnamese texts.

In short, the present study confirmed that Vietnamese PAMs conveyed a variety of meanings as observed in various previous studies, such as the resultative perfect meaning, change of state, past temporal meaning, and the unexpectedness or mirativity. The experiential and perfect of persistence meanings, which have also been observed of the Vietnamese PAMs in previous studies, were not found in the present study. On the other hand, the use of the Vietnamese PAM *đã* for segmentation of episodes in narrative, which has never been observed or discussed in any previous studies, was found in the present study.

The results of the present study supported the claim that the resultative perfect meaning conveyed by a Vietnamese PAM corresponds to the resultative meaning expressed in English by the perfect. The meaning expressed by the PAM *đã* with a definite past LA was found to correspond to the past meaning conveyed by the simple past tense in English. The simple past tense or simple present tense with a stative VP was also normally found in the English translation of the Vietnamese PAM *đã* with a stative VP, which conveyed a change of state. However, the choices of the simple tense with a stative VP were not found to equivalently convey the change of state meaning as expressed in the original; it only conveyed part of the original meaning. The use of the English perfect with a transitional event VP has been demonstrated in this study to be able to more equivalently convey the original meaning. Both the mirative effect and the stylistic effect of the Vietnamese PAM *đã* to mark the beginning, end, or break from, an episode (or episode segmentation) in narrative were mostly found to be translated into English with the simple past tense, which did not seem to create a similar effect in the

English translation. It was not conclusive from the results of the present study how equivalently the English perfect could have conveyed the meanings conveyed in the Vietnamese SL. Though the English perfect has been observed to be able to mark mirativity and episode segmentation in English in previous studies, it was not found or rarely found in the present study. The meanings of Vietnamese PAMs and the meanings correspondingly expressed by different English tenses and aspects could be summarised in Table (11) below.

Table 11: Vietnamese perfect PAMs and their English equivalents

Vietnamese		English	
Combinations	Meanings/ functions	Deictic mode	Narrative mode
<i>đã/rồi</i> + event VP	Resultative	Present perfect	Past perfect
<i>đã/rồi</i> + achievements <i>về</i> ('come back/return') or <i>tới/đến</i> ('arrive')	Resultative	- Simple present of [be back] or [be here] - Present perfect + equivalent achievement	- Simple past of [be back] or [be here] - Past perfect + equivalent achievement
<i>đã/rồi</i> + stative VP	Change of state	Present perfect + event VP	Past perfect + event VP
<i>đã/rồi</i> + past LA	Past temporal meaning	Simple past tense	Simple past tense
<i>đã/rồi</i> + any VP	Episode segmentation		Past perfect
<i>đã/rồi</i> + any VP	Mirativity	Perfect	Perfect

6.4. Situation types vs. English tenses and aspects and situation types

6.4.1. Situation types in deictic mode vs. English tenses and aspects

In Vietnamese, lexical aspect was found to play the most active role in the temporal interpretation of a situation in both deictic and narrative modes, since explicit aspectuo-temporal devices, as discussed above, were not used often. In deictic mode, the properties of situation types were found to be crucial in determining the temporal

location of a situation in Vietnamese in the absence of an explicit aspectuo-temporal device. In general, it was found that situations denoted by states or activities in Vietnamese were normally understood to be temporally located in the present, while those represented by accomplishments or achievements normally received a past temporal interpretation, unless there was explicit contextual information to the contrary. This result lends support to Smith and Erbaugh's (2005) findings that in Mandarin Chinese, also a tenseless language, zero-marked states and activities are normally located in the present, while zero-marked accomplishments and achievements are normally located in the past, unless there is explicit information to the contrary.

It was found that a majority of Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode that contained a state were translated into English with the simple present tense, while most of those containing an activity were conveyed in the English TL by either the simple present tense or the present progressive, both locating the situations in the present. Similarly, a majority of English clauses in the simple present tense or present progressive were found to be translated into Vietnamese with stative or activity VPs. Other tenses were found in the English translation of Vietnamese zero-marked stative or activity clauses, when there was explicit contextual information in the Vietnamese original to impose a different temporal reading rather than the present. Similarly, the use of zero-marked states or activities in Vietnamese to translate English clauses in the past or future tense in deictic mode achieved equivalence in temporal meaning only when there was sufficient contextual information to locate the situations in the past or future. When contextual information was not sufficient enough to impose a past or future temporal reading, present temporal reading was found to arise in the Vietnamese translation. Insertion of extra contextual information in the Vietnamese translation was found necessary for the TL situations to have a past or future temporal reading, as conveyed by the past or future tense in the English original. The default temporal meanings indicated by situation type in the absence of LAs in Vietnamese, as found in the present study, are summarized in Table (12), together with English tenses that explicitly convey these meanings.

Table 12: Situation type in Vietnamese and default temporal location in deictic mode

Situation type	Default temporal location	English tenses
State	Present	Simple present tense
Activity	Present	Simple present tense/present progressive
Accomplishment	Past	Simple past tense/present perfect
Achievement	Past	Simple past tense/present perfect

Departures from these patterns require explicit information from the context. When the context does not provide explicit information to locate, for example, a state or an activity in the past or future, in order to express that the state or activity holds in the past or future, a past or future LA is necessary. Thus, in the Vietnamese translation of English stative or activity clauses expressed by the simple past tense or future tense, the use of the equivalent state or activity in the translation may require an insertion of a past or future LA, as demonstrated in the present study.

6.4.2. Situation type in narrative vs. English tenses and aspects

In Vietnamese narrative, situation type was found to play the most crucial role in the temporal structure of the narrative and in determining the temporal relations between clauses. Very few studies have examined the contribution of situation type to the temporal structure of narrative in tenseless languages. No studies have been conducted to examine how zero-marked clauses determine narrative advancement in Vietnamese. The present study was the first of this kind. The detailed examination of the temporal relations between clauses in Vietnamese narrative and of narrative advancement revealed that the temporal structure of the narrative was determined largely by situation type.

In general, it was found that the temporal relation between an event e_α and an event e_β was that of temporal overlap or temporal inclusion if e_α was an accomplishment or achievement AND e_β was a state or activity or if both of them were states or activities, unless there was explicit information to the contrary. If both of them were accomplishments or achievements, they normally followed each other in the order they

were presented, or in other words, they were related by the temporal relation of succession, unless explicit information imposed a different reading. These patterns of interpretation of temporal relations in Vietnamese narrative were found to be similar to those in English narrative, as discussed by Hinrichs (1986) and Kamp and Reyle (1993), detailed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2.2.2. The interpretation of temporal relations in Vietnamese narrative was also influenced by information from aspectual markers, temporal adverbials, rhetorical relations, and pragmatic inferences. The interaction of information from viewpoint aspect, temporal adverbials, rhetorical relations, and pragmatic inferences in the interpretation of temporal relations has also been widely recognized in English narrative (Smith, 1999).

In general, it was found that when a situation type in a narrative clause with a neutral aspect (indicated by the lack of an aspectual marker in Vietnamese and by the simple past tense in English) in the SL (either Vietnamese or English) was translated into the TL with an equivalent situation type, the TL clause was understood to convey similar temporal meaning as that of the SL clause. That may account for the translators' frequent choices of the TL situation type that was equivalent to the SL situation type. In the translation, the use of a situation type that was different from that used in the original was often found to occur when the situation type in the SL had a shifted interpretation. For example, when a state or an activity in the SL received a bounded (such as inceptive), thus sequential, reading from contextual information, the use of an accomplishment or achievement with the neutral aspect in the TL was often found to make the sequential reading more explicit in the translation.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a general discussion of the patterns of English tenses and aspects found to translate Vietnamese texts in the presence and absence of explicit temporal and aspectual devices as well as the patterns of temporal adverbials, auxiliary, aspectual markers, and situation types used in the Vietnamese translation of English texts. The meanings and functions of Vietnamese temporal and aspectual resources, as found in the corpus used in the present study have also been discussed in close comparison with the English tenses and aspects that conveyed equivalent meanings. Possible explanations for the translators' choices were also provided. The next chapter

will summarize the study, present the implications drawn from the findings, state the limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies, and conclude the thesis.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1. Summary

The study was set out to examine the translation of temporal and aspectual information from Vietnamese to English, and vice versa, using four literary texts originally written in Vietnamese and their English translated versions and four literary texts originally written in English and their Vietnamese translated versions. The study aimed at finding out what English tense/aspect patterns were used to translate temporal and aspectual information of the Vietnamese ST in the presence or absence of Vietnamese temporal adverbials, auxiliaries, and aspectual markers as well as the temporal or aspectual information conveyed by situation types. In English-Vietnamese translation the aim was to find out what and how temporal or aspectual resources of Vietnamese were used to convey the temporal and aspectual information as expressed by English tense and viewpoint aspect in the English ST. The degree of explicitness or implicitness in the translation of temporal and aspectual information as well as the degree of equivalence in temporal and aspectual meaning in the translation from the SL to the TL was also examined. The study also attempted to propose some explanation for the translators' choices in the translation of temporal and aspectual information from Vietnamese to English and vice versa.

Some patterns of English tense and aspect were found for conveying temporal and aspectual information in the Vietnamese STs. Patterns of Vietnamese temporal adverbials, auxiliary and aspectual markers were also found for conveying temporal and aspectual information conveyed by tense and viewpoint aspect in the English STs. In addition, situation types were found to be exploited somewhat consistently to transfer the temporal and aspectual meaning from the ST to the TT in both directions.

In deictic mode (found in dialogue sections), English tense gives explicit information about temporal location of a situation, whereas the temporal resources that most explicitly expresses temporal location in Vietnamese are temporal adverbials. However,

in general, TAs were not found often in either Vietnamese STs or Vietnamese translations of English texts. The frequency of occurrences of TAs in the dialogue sections of the Vietnamese original texts was almost the same as that found in the dialogue sections of the English original texts even though temporal location of situations in English is explicitly expressed by tense, and TAs only further specify the time. In translating temporal information expressed by English tense into Vietnamese, TAs would be expected to be exploited extensively to compensate for the lack of tense in Vietnamese. It was thus surprising to find that the frequency of occurrences of TAs used in the deictic sections of the Vietnamese original texts was similar to that used in the Vietnamese translation of the deictic sections of the English texts. This might suggest that the translation conformed closely to the Vietnamese TL norms in that temporal adverbials were not utilized often to convey temporal location of situations and in that Vietnamese readers are more tolerant to ambiguity and play an active role in filling in the missing temporal information for themselves. On the other hand, the translation was also faithful to the SL in that addition of TAs or of extra contextual information necessary for the temporal interpretation of a situation in the Vietnamese translation was rarely found. The absence of a TA or of explicit contextual information in the Vietnamese translation of many English clauses in deictic mode was found to result in the TL situations having a different temporal reading from that of the English original. This phenomenon was also found in the Vietnamese translation of the English narrative sections, but to a lesser degree.

Vietnamese auxiliaries were predominantly found in the Vietnamese translation to convey English clauses in the simple future tense in deictic mode. Likewise, a majority of Vietnamese clauses in deictic mode containing an auxiliary was found to be expressed in the English translation by the simple future tense, which might provide an explanation for the traditional view that the auxiliary *sẽ* functions as a future tense marker in Vietnamese. In the present study, however, the Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* was also found often in the narrative mode, in which it conveyed that a situation occurred at a time later than the narrative time, which is by default in the past of S. This use of *sẽ* was found to also correspond to the use of the English ‘would + VP’. This supports the modern view that *sẽ* is not an absolute future tense marker.

Even though the Vietnamese progressive aspectual marker *đang* expresses the progressive aspectual meaning, surprisingly, it was found to translate as many English

clauses in the progressive as those in the simple present tense in deictic mode, whereas in the Vietnamese translation of English narrative clauses it was found to convey more clauses with the neutral aspect (i.e. the simple past tense) than those with the progressive aspect. All of the English clauses in the simple present tense and nearly half of those in the simple past tense, which were translated into Vietnamese with the progressive aspectual marker, contained a stative VP. The translation reflected the norms of the Vietnamese TL, since in Vietnamese the progressive aspectual marker is compatible with stative VPs.

Vietnamese PAMs were found to translate all English tenses and aspects except for the future tenses. However, they were found most frequently in the translation of English clauses in the present perfect and past perfect, the simple present tense, and the simple past tense. Most of those in the simple present and simple past tenses were found to contain a stative verb, in which cases the use of a Vietnamese PAM in the translation indicated a change of state. This meaning was not normally available in the English original. The presupposition that there was an earlier state which was the opposite of, and is ended by, the state described by the VP, could thus be considered to be extra information brought into the Vietnamese translation by the use of a PAM. On the other hand, when the English simple present or simple past tense was used to translate Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM, the implication of a change of state was normally found to be missing in the English translation. The highest degree of equivalence in temporal and aspectual meaning between the ST and the TT normally obtained when a PAM was used to translate an English perfect clause or when the English perfect was used to translate a Vietnamese clause containing a PAM. There were, of course, some contexts where the English perfect was not found to convey the meaning expressed by the Vietnamese perfect sentence. Vietnamese PAM *đã* was found to have multiple uses, some of which have not been found among the uses of the English perfect. Thus, other tenses and aspects had to be used in the English translation of Vietnamese clauses containing a PAM. Though they did not fully equivalently convey the surface meaning as expressed by the PAM in Vietnamese, they equivalently or closely conveyed the semantic entailment and they conformed to the norms of the English language, thus producing a natural target text.

In the absence of Vietnamese explicit aspectuo-temporal devices in the translation of English texts, the original temporal and aspectual meaning conveyed by English tenses

and aspects were found to be recovered to a large extent from situation type, rhetorical relations, contextual information, and pragmatic inferences. In deictic mode, situation type was found to play an important role in the interpretation of temporal location of situations in Vietnamese. Situations denoted by states and activities were most naturally interpreted to be temporally located in the present, while those denoted by accomplishments and achievements to be located in the past, unless there was explicit contextual information that imposed a different reading. In the translation of deictic mode, Vietnamese zero-marked clauses containing a state or an activity were found to be normally conveyed in the English TL by the simple present tense or the present progressive, while those containing an accomplishment or achievement by the simple past tense or the present perfect. Departures from these patterns were found to be associated with explicit contextual information that imposed a contrary temporal reading.

In the Vietnamese translation of English deictic mode, the use of states or activities to translate English clauses in the present tenses (simple present and present progressive) and use of accomplishments and achievements to translate English clauses in the past tenses were found to be useful in compensating for the lack of tense and of explicit aspectuo-temporal devices in Vietnamese. The temporal information conveyed by a past tense in English was not normally found to be recoverable in the Vietnamese translation by the use of a state or an activity when explicit contextual information, which could allow for a past temporal reading, was not available.

In narrative, the interaction of situation type and aspectual markers was found to form the temporal structure of a narrative, to determine the temporal relations between eventualities, and to advance narrative time in Vietnamese. Similar observations have been made about the interaction of situation type and aspects in English narrative and were further supported in this study. When a situation type represented in a clause in the SL was translated into the TL with the corresponding situation type, equivalence in temporal reading between the ST and the TT was normally found to achieve. Interestingly, in this study it was found that the use of a non-equivalent situation type in the translation in either direction did not result in a difference in the temporal interpretation between the ST and the TT. This is because in the instances where this occurred there was contextual information in the ST which imposed a shifted interpretation on the situation type. The translation reflected this shifted reading through

the use of a different situation type, which made the original temporal and aspectual information more explicit in the translation. Generally, the highest degree of formal equivalent translation was found to occur in the treatment of situation type, which also generally resulted in the equivalence in the temporal and aspectual meaning between the SL and the TL.

Rhetorical relations between clauses and pragmatic inferences were also found to play an important role in the temporal interpretation of a narrative in both Vietnamese and English. They were found to be called upon often in recovering the original temporal and aspectual information in the Vietnamese translation of the English narrative sections where Vietnamese aspectual markers were not present.

Finally, it was found that despite the lack of tense in Vietnamese, the patterns of temporal interpretation of the temporal structure of a narrative in Vietnamese were similar to those in English. The patterns called upon the information from situation type, aspect (or aspectual markers), rhetorical relations, contextual information, and pragmatic inferences in both languages.

7.2. Implications

This study has been the first to examine the translation of temporal and aspectual information from a tensed language (English) to a tenseless language (Vietnamese) and vice versa, in two different discourse modes, deictic and narrative. It has also been the first to examine the uses and meanings of Vietnamese temporal resources in discourse. It thus has some important implications and suggestions regarding the expressions of temporal and aspectual meanings in Vietnamese and the translation of temporal and aspectual information between Vietnamese and English.

Firstly, the study has shed more light on the meanings and functions of the Vietnamese temporal and aspectual resources and helped to reconcile the traditional and modern views regarding the functions of Vietnamese auxiliaries and aspectual markers. As discussed in Chapter 2, traditional grammarians and linguists viewed Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* as a future tense marker, *đang* as a present tense marker, and *đã* as a past tense marker, whereas the modern scholars totally reject this view. In the modern view, *đang* and *đã* convey merely aspectual meaning, while the function of *sẽ* remains unclear.

The results of this study showed that traditional view of Vietnamese auxiliary *sẽ* as a future tense marker was not entirely accurate or entirely inaccurate. The function and meaning of *sẽ*, as found in this study, should be best determined according to the mode of discourse in which it is used. In deictic mode it can indeed behave like a future tense marker; i.e. it locates a situation in the future of speech time. But it can also locate a situation at a time later than another time which is in the past of speech time, in which case it does not convey a future meaning, but rather a meaning similar to the future-in-the-past. This use of *sẽ* as such is commonly found in narrative mode. It seems that *sẽ* can be best categorized as a marker of posteriority, i.e., functioning to locate a situation at a later time than a time of orientation, which may or may not coincide with speech time.

The study has also brought new lights onto the much debated issue of whether *đang* and *đã* convey temporal or aspectual meaning. The results of this study suggested that they primarily convey aspectual meaning, but also give indirect information about the temporal location of a situation. The results of this study are expected to be useful for a new approach to the issue of Vietnamese temporal and aspectual markers as well as of temporal interpretation in Vietnamese. It is hoped that they have also provided useful information for translators in their exploitation of Vietnamese aspectual markers in the translation between English and Vietnamese. Especially, the results of this study may help to raise the translators' awareness of the range of different meanings and functions of the Vietnamese PAM *đã*, which correspond to the temporal and aspectual meanings expressed by different tenses and aspects in English.

Secondly, the study can help to raise translators' awareness about the importance of contextual information in the Vietnamese translation of English tenses and aspects in deictic mode. Since in English temporal information of a situation is explicitly and, in many cases, exclusively expressed by tense which is obligatory in every finite sentence, extra contextual information is not always essential for the temporal interpretation. As was found in the present study, the temporal location of many situations in the English dialogue sections was conveyed extensively by tense. This was especially so for the sentences which were uttered out of the context. Yet, the temporal interpretation of the situations was still conclusive. The tense forms made explicit the temporal location of the situations. Temporal interpretation of a situation in Vietnamese, on the other hand, is heavily dependent on contextual information, the most explicit being information

conveyed by temporal adverbials. Aspectual markers can also provide implicit information about the temporal location of a situation. When temporal adverbials or aspectual markers are not available, the context normally provides sufficient information for the temporal interpretation of a situation. When translating temporal information from English to Vietnamese, contextual information should be paid particular attention to, so much so that extra contextual information may need to be added in the Vietnamese translation to make temporal location of a situation explicit, since, as stated earlier, contextual information is not always available in the English texts. Close adherence to the SL may result in ambiguity or confusion in the Vietnamese translated texts, as shown in the last chapter. As was also demonstrated in the last chapter, adding an appropriate temporal adverbial in the Vietnamese translation of an English clause, the temporal meaning of which is exclusively expressed by tense, could be useful in minimizing or eliminating the ambiguity of the TL situation, allowing the TL situation to have similar temporal meaning to that of the SL situation. Thus, the translation of English tense meaning in deictic mode into Vietnamese calls for the TL-oriented approach, which allows the addition of extra contextual information and of temporal adverbials, where they are not available in the SL.

Very few studies have been conducted to examine the contribution of situation type in temporal interpretation in tenseless languages. Smith and Erbaugh (2005), as stated earlier, are the first to investigate how situation type determines the interpretation of temporal location in Mandarin Chinese in deictic mode. They only slightly touch on its role in the temporal interpretation in narrative mode. This study has been the first to examine in detail the role of situation type in the temporal interpretation in a tenseless language in both discourse modes, it may thus have significantly contributed to a better understanding of how situation type is utilized to express temporal location of situations in deictic mode and how it determines the temporal relations between eventualities in narrative mode in Vietnamese in particular and, perhaps more generally, in tenseless languages.

This study may have also provided translators with useful information on how to exploit situation type effectively in translating temporal and aspectual information from a tensed language to a tenseless language, and vice versa. The results seem to suggest that when tense meaning has to be translated into a tenseless language such as Vietnamese, which does not even regularly utilize lexical items that have temporal and aspectual

references, greatest attention should be paid to finding the formal equivalent for the original situation type. As was found in this study, achievement of a formal equivalence in the translation of original situation type generally resulted in the achievement of equivalence in the temporal meaning between the ST and the TT.

Finally, the contrastive examination of the temporal and aspectual systems of Vietnamese and English carried out in this study has an important implication for the teaching of Vietnamese language to English speakers and speakers of other tensed languages as well as for the development of textbooks on Vietnamese grammar. Countless current textbooks and online resources¹⁷ on Vietnamese grammar still state clearly that in Vietnamese the present tense is expressed by the particle *đang* and the past tense by the particle *đã* (Đinh, 2001; M.T. Nguyễn and Nguyễn, 1998; H.Q. Nguyễn 2001, to name just a few). As clearly demonstrated in this study, even though *đang* and *đã* can give indirect information about the temporal meaning of a situation, they do not express tense meaning in the way the tenses in tensed languages do. The primary meaning that they convey is aspectual.

7.3. Limitations of this study and suggestions for further studies

One of the limitations of the present study lay in the method of data collection. Due to the restriction on both time and budget, only one translated version of each original text could be collected. Also, only one text genre (literary texts) was collected due to the unavailability of translated versions of texts of other genres. Thus, comparison of the interpretation of temporal and aspectual information in the SL by different translators and their choices of temporal and aspectual resources to convey it in the TL, and probably providing an account of the translators' strategies, was not possible.

Another limitation was concerned with the decoding of the texts. In the interpretation of the results, judgments were primarily reliant on the present researcher's intuition as a native speaker of Vietnamese. Even though greatest care was taken to ensure an accurate and objective interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of the

¹⁷ <http://www.101languages.net/vietnamese/grammar.html> (retrieved 29/07/2010 @ 4.27pm);
<http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Vietnamese/Tense> (retrieved 30/07/2010 @ 1.57pm);
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnamese_syntax#Tense_markers (retrieved 30/07/2010 @ 2.01pm);
<http://www.tesolcourse.com/tesol-course-articles/problems-learners/article-06-jp.php> (retrieved 28/09/2010 @ 2.41pm)

texts, taking into account information from all the available temporal and aspectual resources as well as the context and pragmatic inferences, the interpretation was nevertheless lacking a crosscheck and may thus be open for a counter-argument.

Further studies could reduplicate this study in a number of ways. Instead of using a number of different texts, each being translated by a single translator, as what was used in this study, further studies could use one single text originally written in Vietnamese and one originally written in English and have them translated by a few different translators separately. This kind of data would enable the researcher(s) to see how differently or similarly different translators process the same piece of temporal/aspectual information in the SL and translate it into the TL. That would also allow for an easy comparison of choices that different translators make using the translation strategies that they use.

Even more interesting would be further studies that could have one short text originally written in Vietnamese (or English) translated into English (or Vietnamese) by one or more translators and then translated back into Vietnamese (or English) by other translator(s) to find out how differently or similarly a particular piece of temporal/aspectual information is interpreted and transferred into the TL and back into the SL. In such studies the comparison of the temporal resources that are originally used in the original language and those used in the back translation from the TL into the original language might yield very interesting results.

It would also be interesting to conduct a research on the translators' motivations in choosing to convey in the translation the semantic entailments or pragmatic implicatures of the original rather than the temporal and aspectual meaning as expressed on the surface structures in the ST, or on the motivations to make occasional changes to the temporal order of the original events, as occasionally found in this study.

Further investigation of the functions and meanings of the Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers in narrative mode would also be an interesting topic for a study. No studies have ever been conducted into the uses and functions of the Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers in narrative before. As has been found in this study, they can be used in narrative for various purposes and stylistic effects. Those that were found in the present study, and which have never been observed in any previous studies, are the use

of the PAM *đã* to introduce a new episode or to break off from or suspend a previous episode and the use of *đã* to mark mirativity, i.e. to convey information that is new and unexpected to the speaker, rather than just conveying that something happens earlier than normally expected. It was beyond the scope of this study to conduct a detailed investigation on the full range of the functions and meanings of Vietnamese perfect aspectual markers in narrative. Further studies could conduct a detailed investigation into the interesting functions of the PAM *đã* as mentioned above. Such a study would provide more insights into the functions and meanings of this marker, which has not yet been widely studied.

Alternatively, further studies could examine the use and functions of Vietnamese aspectual markers in other text genres such as news reports, direct narration, or natural conversations, focusing on not only the aspectual meaning of these markers, but also the temporal meaning. Such studies would shed more light on whether it can be concluded that Vietnamese progressive aspectual markers have a default present temporal location interpretation, unless there is explicit information to the contrary, as was observed in this study.

7.4. Conclusion

It goes without saying that languages differ from one another, however close any two languages are. Between Vietnamese and English, as has been shown in the present study, the language domain that is of significant disparity is the temporal and aspectual system. While English is packed with tenses and aspects, Vietnamese does not have a grammatical category for tense and only marks aspect optionally and occasionally. The translation process from English to Vietnamese has been shown to involve constant decoding of information expressed by English grammatical tenses and aspects and recoding it into Vietnamese with occasional use of lexical items that have temporal and/or aspectual references. In other words, the process primarily involves making explicit temporal and aspectual information in the ST implicit in the TT. On the other hand, the translation process from Vietnamese to English involves regular elicitation of temporal and aspectual information often expressed implicitly in the ST and insertion of tenses and aspects in the TT based on the translators' interpretation of the temporal and aspectual information of the ST. This process thus involves making the implicit temporal and aspectual information of the ST explicit in the TT. The translators can be

considered as ambassadors, who make original English temporal and aspectual information less specific in Vietnamese translations, while disambiguating the original Vietnamese temporal and aspectual information in English translations of Vietnamese texts. These processes seem to reflect the differences in the readers' tolerance toward ambiguity. While Vietnamese readers seem to be comfortable with the high level of ambiguity and be active in disambiguating the temporal and aspectual information for themselves, English readers are accustomed to having temporal and aspectual information explicitly and clearly expressed, which requires a lesser effort on the part of the readers to fill in the information for themselves. Achieving meaning equivalence in the translation, while at the same time producing a translated text that reads natural in the TL and does not disturb the TL readers, calls for translators' careful choices and strategies. The results of this study are hoped to have provided translators with useful information on how to achieve these goals in the translation of temporal and aspectual information between Vietnamese and English.

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