

DITRANSITIVE GOAL VERBS IN VIETNAMESE¹

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1. *Introduction.*

This paper describes a class of verbs found in Vietnamese and believed to exist in all languages. Verbs of this class express certain kinds of natural, space-oriented activity that go on in all societies, though the specific means of their expression may be language- or area-particular. They are treated here in some detail in the hope that the findings adduced will suggest directions of research in other Mon-Khmer languages. It is further hoped that cumulative research will show which shared characteristics of grammatical form are language-family characteristics and which are area characteristics. Such indications should in turn throw light on the grammatical structure of proto-Mon-Khmer.

The languages of mainland Southeast Asia share many grammatical features. It has yet to be determined whether any of these shared features are language-family characteristics or whether they are areal or typological. In a paper discussing certain grammatical properties shared by Vietnamese, Khmer and Black Tai (Clark, 1972) I have called attention to the wide-

¹This is an expansion of one aspect of my doctoral dissertation, *Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese* (University of Hawaii), to appear shortly as a monograph in *Pacific Linguistics*. Examples from Vietnamese and Rhade are here cited in their standard orthographies; the transcription of Khmer forms is based on that developed by Huffman (1970), while the transcription of Thai forms follows Kullavanijaya (1974). I am deeply indebted to Stanley Starosta and Tôn-nũ Kim-Chi for all of their generously given help; I am grateful also for assistance received from Nguyễn-Đặng Liêm in Vietnamese and from James Tharpe and Kenny Boun-Ya in Rhade. While my dissertation was in progress Saveros Pou and Pranee Kullavanijaya gave me help with Khmer and Thai respectively, and some of the information originally provided by them reappears here.

spread occurrence of *coverbs*, the term by which I refer to locational and directional prepositions derived from corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs. A case in point is the coverb meaning 'to' and the corresponding verb 'give'. This is found not only in the three languages just mentioned but also in Thai and Lao (Tai languages) and in at least three Mountain Mon-Khmer languages of south and central Vietnam: Chrau (D.D. Thomas, 1971 and personal communication, and D.M. Thomas, 1969), Sedang (Smith, 1969 and personal communication), and Jeh (Gradin, 1970a, 1970b). Coverbs, described in detail in my forthcoming monograph on coverbs and case in Vietnamese, are introduced here because they play a large role in Vietnamese in the behavior of the class of verbs under discussion. This role is described in sections 2 and 3.

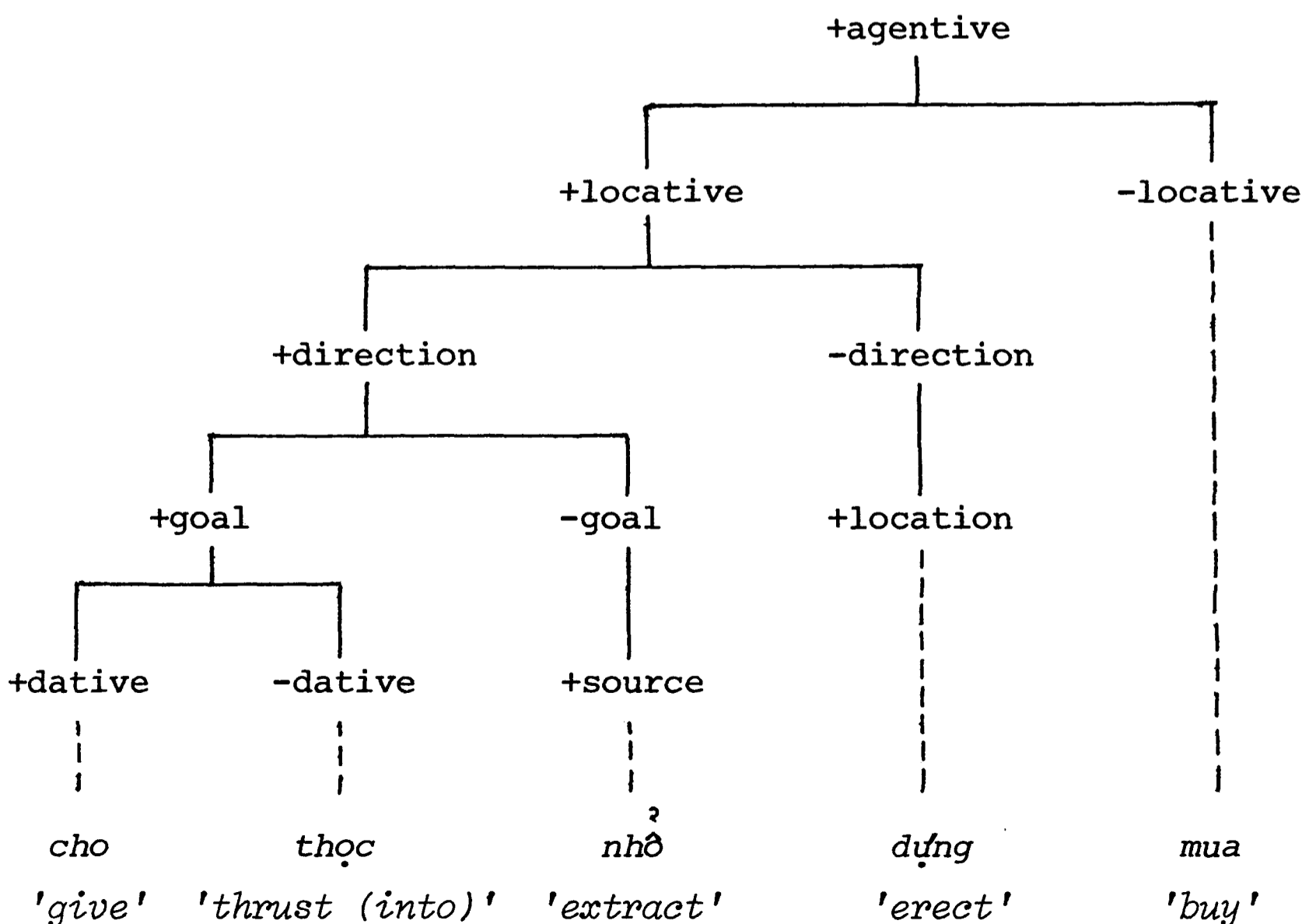
The framework in which this class is presented is one developed by Stanley Starosta, applied by Harvey Taylor (1971), and refined by Paul Li (1973), Pranee Kullavanijaya (1974), Videa DeGuzman (1976), and myself. It is a generative framework which obviates the need for a distinct deep structure and transformations. Proponents of this framework claim in part that, for each vocabulary item in a given language, the mind of the speaker contains a set of inherent features particular to that item. These inherent features include a specification of the item's category (that is to say, its grammatical function, e.g., verb), its semantic-grammatical characteristics, its phonological character, and any idiosyncratic grammatical or phonological behavior it may exhibit.

For every verb in a language, the grammatical characteristics include a statement (the "case frame") of which case relations occur with the verb and how they are realized. A case relation is a particular relationship holding between a predicate and its associated nominals according to which every nominal constituent of a sentence plays a particular role (its "case") with respect to the predicate. The realizations---that is, the overt configurations by which these case relations are marked---

are called "case forms." Case forms include such factors as word order and the presence or absence of prepositions. The case frame of a verb, in short, consists of its obligatory and possible case relations and their case forms. Examples of case relations and case forms are given in the next section.

The cooccurrences of case relations and case forms provide the basis on which verbs are subcategorized. A verb's case frame tells the class and subclasses to which it belongs; that is, verbs which share the same set of case relations belong to the same class, while members of that class which share the same case forms for their several case relations belong to the same subclass. This results, of course, in many verbs' belonging to a number of different subclasses.

The case frame of a given verb is, in turn, determined by that verb's inherent features. Shown here is a tree of verb inherent features which are relevant to this discussion:



The classes of verbs represented by these features are: Agentive, Agentive Locative, Agentive Locative Location, Agentive Locative Source, Agentive Locative Goal, and Agentive Dative. Also represented are non-Locative Agentive verbs and non-Dative Agentive Locative Goal verbs. Fuller explanations of these features are given in section 2.6.

Stanley Starosta (personal communication) states that an exhaustive classification of verbs is equivalent to a statement of the syntactic properties of verbal sentences; he suggests the possibility of reconstructing syntax by reconstructing the distributional properties of verbs and verb classes.

Against this background I may now state that the purpose here is to show how the class of Agentive Locative Goal verbs behaves in Vietnamese. That is, I propose to show the case relation and case form cooccurrences particular to this class of verbs. It should be possible to compare the behavior of this class in Vietnamese with the behavior of the same class in other Mon-Khmer languages.

2. *Case Relations and Verb Classes.*

In this section I shall discuss four relevant case relations and their case forms, show the distinction between inner and outer Locative, and state the case frames assigned to verb classes on the basis of the features in the tree given above. This much will constitute background for the presentation of verbs in section 3. It is assumed that the same background will be applicable to verb subcategorization in all languages.

In section 1 it was stated that coverbs play a large role in the behavior of Agentive Locative Goal verbs in Vietnamese. Coverbs were described as locational and directional prepositions which have corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs. In fact, the Goal Dative preposition and all Goal Locative prepositions (including the Terminus prepositions) are coverbs, while one of the two Location Locative prepositions is a coverb. (These are given in the sections discussing Dative,

Goal and Terminus Locative, and Location Locative.) Thus all prepositions occurring with the Datives and inner Locatives (see below) of Agentive Goal verbs are coverbs, except the prepositions with Source Locatives.

When the Locative of an Agentive Goal verb occurs without a preposition, its head noun is a "locative relator noun" (Thompson, 1965: 200-202; Clark, forthcoming). Locative relator nouns include *trong* 'the inside', *trên* 'top, the space above', *giữa* 'the middle, the space between', and so on.

Major case relations posited and discussed for Vietnamese in my forthcoming monograph are Agentive, Objective, Dative, Locative, Instrumental, Benefactive, Comitative, and Time. The case relations of interest here are Agentive, Patient (termed Objective in an earlier paper), Dative, and Locative.

2.1. *Agentive*.

The Agentive is the instigator of the action of the verb. Verbs having an Agentive case relation with their normal grammatical subject are said to be Agentive verbs. Such verbs are always accompanied by a nonsubject Patient case relation, and are therefore one class of transitive verbs. The grammatical subject of a verb occurs in the Nominative case form.

In Vietnamese the Agentive occurs *only* as the relation between the verb and its grammatical subject. The grammatical subject always precedes the verb, being usually the immediately preceding noun phrase (NP), and never occurs with a preposition; this is the Nominative case form for Vietnamese. A simple sentence with an Agentive verb has the shape: Agentive NP - Verb - Patient NP. For example,

- (1) *em* *sẽ* *gởi* *một* *vật* *kỷ-niệm*
 younger sibling will send one object souvenir
 = 'I'll send a souvenir'.

Here *gởi* 'send' is an Agentive verb, and *em* 'younger sibling' is in the Agentive case.

(2) *chim* *sẻ* *làm* *ổ*
 bird sparrow do nest
 = 'The sparrows made a nest'.

Here *làm* is an Agentive verb, and *chim* is in the Agentive case.

2.2. Patient.

The Patient is the case in closest relationship with the verb: the thing that is located or moves in physical or abstract space, or that is directly affected or described. It is assumed that every verb takes a Patient case relation, whether in the Nominative case form, as grammatical subject of the verb, or in some other case form.

In Vietnamese sentences of the type with which we are concerned here, the Patient is the "thing that moves in space" and always occurs in the Accusative case form. Nouns in the Accusative case form in Vietnamese follow the verb and are without prepositions. Examples are *vật* 'object' in sentence 1 above, and *ổ* 'nest' in sentence 2.

2.3. Dative.

The Dative is the animate point of reference with respect to the Patient, frequently the goal or source of the action of the verb. We are concerned here with the Goal Dative which occurs only with Agentive verbs.

In Vietnamese the Goal Dative can occur in any one of three case forms: (a) the "Dative" case form, i.e. with the Goal Dative preposition *cho* 'to' (a coverb), as in *cho chị* in sentence 3 below and in *cho tôi* in sentence 4; (b) the Goal Locative case form, i.e. with a Goal Locative preposition such as the coverb *qua* in sentence 5; and (c) the Accusative case form, i.e. without a preposition providing the Dative immediately follows the verb, as *chị* in sentence 6 and *tôi* in sentence 7, and providing the Patient NP consists of several words. For example,

- (3) em sẽ gửi một vật kỷ-niệm cho chị
 young sib will send one object souvenir to older sister
 = 'I'll send a souvenir to you, older sister'.
- (4) ông ấy bán nhà cho tôi
 Mr. that sell house to I
 = 'He sold a house to me'.
- (5) em sẽ gửi một vật kỷ-niệm qua chị
 young sib will send one object souvenir across to sister
 = 'I'll send a souvenir over to you'.
- (6) em sẽ gửi chị một vật kỷ-niệm
 young sib will send older sister one object souvenir
 = 'I'll send you a souvenir'.
- (7) ông ấy bán tôi một cái nhà lớn
 Mr. that sell I one thing house big
 = 'He sold me a big house'.

2.4. Locative.

The Locative is the orientation in physical or abstract space of the event of the verb (outer Locative), or the point or extent in physical or abstract space with specific respect to the Patient of the verb (inner Locative). The Locative has three aspects: Location, Source, and Goal. In Vietnamese, Goal includes Goal marked as Terminus (see below).

2.4.1. *Location* is the point in space in which the event or the Patient is located. In Vietnamese the Location Locative occurs in the Accusative case form with a locative relator noun such as *trong* 'the inside' in sentence 8 and *trên* 'top' in sentence 9, or it occurs in the Location subcase form with a Location Locative preposition as in sentence 10. The Location Locative prepositions are *tại* 'in, at' and the coverb ở 'in, at'.

- (8) chị ấy giặt áo trong chậu to
 older sister that wash tunic inside basin large
 = 'She washed the clothes in a large basin'.

- (9) *chim sẻ làm ổ trên cành có nhiều lá*
 bird sparrow do nest top branch have much leaf
'The sparrow built its nest on a branch with many leaves'.
- (10) *người Cao-Đài tụ-tập ở miền Tây-Ninh*
 person Cao-Dai gather in region Tay-Ninh
*'The Cao-Dai people are concentrated in the Tay-Ninh re-
 gion'.*

The non-Agentive (intransitive) Location verb ở 'be in' is the verb corresponding to the coverb ở 'in'. Its Location Locative occurs in the Accusative case form with or without a locative relator noun, as in the next examples.

- (11) *con mèo ở dưới cái bàn²*
 animal cat be in underneath thing table
'The cat's under the table'.
- (12) *bây-giờ chị Lan ở Long-Xuyên*
 now older sister Lan be in Long-Xuyên
'Lan is in Long-Xuyên now'.

2.4.2. *Source* is the point in space from which the action of the verb originates. In Vietnamese the Source Locative occurs in the Source subcase form with a Source Locative preposition, namely từ 'from', as in sentence 13, and khỏi 'out of', as in sentence 14 (where ra is an adverb). The Source Locative prepositions are not coverbs.

- (13) *em sẽ gửi một vật kỷ-niệm từ Bắng-Cóc*
 young sib will send one object souvenir from Bangkok
'I'll send a souvenir from Bangkok'.
- (14) *chị ấy nhổ cây ra khỏi đất³*
 she extract plant out out of earth
'She pulled up the plant (out of the ground)'.

²Thompson, 1965: 201.

³Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi, 1977 See archives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use.

With a small set of Locative Source verbs the Source Locative can occur in the Accusative case form. For example,

- (15) *tôi sẽ rời bệnh-viện ngày thứ-hai*
 I will leave hospital day second
 'I'll leave the hospital Monday'.

2.4.3. *Goal* is the point in space toward which the Patient is directed. In Vietnamese, the Goal Locative occurs in the Goal subcase form with a Goal Locative preposition, as in sentence 16 below, or in the Accusative case form with a locative relator noun, as in sentence 17, where *dưới quyển sách* is to be interpreted as a Goal Locative because of the [+goal] marking on the verb *đút*.

- (16) *em sẽ gửi một vật kỷ-niệm về Long-Xuyên*
 young sib will send one object souvenir back to Long-Xuyên
 'I'll send a souvenir back to Long-Xuyên'.

- (17) *nó lén đút bức-thơ dưới quyển sách⁴*
 3p stealthily insert letter underneath volume book
 'He sneaked the letter under the book'.

All Goal Locative prepositions are coverbs. They are: *vào / vô* 'into', *ra* 'out to', *lên* 'up to', *xuống* 'down to', *qua / sang* 'across to', *về* 'back to', *lại* 'hither to', and *đi* 'to (thither)'.

With the set of non-Agentive Goal verbs which corresponds to the set of Goal coverbs, the Goal Locative occurs in the Accusative case form without a preposition and with or without a locative relator noun. For example,

- (18) *tôi phải lên trên Đà-lạt*
 I must go up top Dalat
 'I have to go up to Dalat'.

⁴Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966a: 593. www.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use.

- (19) *tôi sẽ về Huế ăn tết*
 I will return Hue eat festival
'I'll go back to Hue for Tet'.

Many examples of Goal Locatives are given in the section on Agentive Locative Goal verbs.

2.4.4. *Terminus* explicitly marks the attainment of a Goal. In Vietnamese, the *Terminus* Locative occurs in the *Terminus* sub-case form with a *Terminus* Locative preposition. For example,

- (20) *họ dọn nhà đến khu đại-học*
 they arrange house to area university
'They moved to the university compound'.

The two *Terminus* prepositions are both coverbs: *đến* 'reaching to' and *tới* 'reaching to'. With their corresponding non-Agentive *Terminus* Locative verbs, *đến* 'arrive at' and *tới* 'arrive at', *Terminus* always occurs in the Accusative case form, as does *phi-trường* in

- (21) *tôi sẽ đến phi-trường gặp cô ấy*
 I will arrive at airport meet Miss that
'I'll go to the airport to meet her'.

The following is a sentence having three directional Locatives: a Source Locative with *từ* 'from', a Goal Locative with *qua* 'across to', and a *Terminus* Locative with *đến*.

- (22) *nó chạy từ đường Duy-Tân qua cầu này đến*
 3p run from street Duy-Tan across bridge this to
chợ đó
 market that

'He ran from Duy-Tan Street across the bridge to the market'.

2.5. Inner and Outer Locative.

As noted above (2.4), the outer Locative is the orientation in space of the event of the verb. The outer Locative is always

a Location Locative. With Agentive verbs it is the location of the Agent. In Vietnamese the outer Locative frequently occurs initially in the sentence.

By contrast, the inner Locative---that is, the point or extent in space with reference to the Patient---occurs only with Locative verbs; depending upon the verb's requirements, it can be a Location Locative or a directional Locative. Some Locative verbs have obligatory (or "strict") inner Locatives, others have optional (or "nonstrict") inner Locatives (Kullavanijaya, 1974: 56). In Vietnamese the inner Locative rarely occurs initially.

Sentences 23 to 27 contain both inner and outer Locatives. In 23, *trong phòng ngủ*² is an outer Locative while *trên giường* is an inner Locative in the Accusative case form with the locative relator noun *trên* 'top'. The latter is interpreted as a Goal Locative because the verb *đề*² 'put' has an inherent [+goal] feature.

- (23) *trong phòng ngủ nó thường đề sách trên giường*⁵
 inside room sleep 3p usual put book top bed
 'In the bedroom, he usually puts his books on the bed'.

Both *đựng* 'erect' in sentence 24 and *giặt* 'wash' in 25 are [-direction] verbs, for which reason their inner Locatives---*trước nhà* and *trong chậu* to respectively---are interpreted as Location Locatives. Both verbs occur with locative relator nouns. Their outer Locatives are marked by the Location Locative preposition *ở*.

- (24) *ở nhà-quê người ta dựng một cây tre cao trước nhà*⁶
 in country people erect one tree bamboo tall front house.
 'In the country, people erect a tall bamboo tree in front of the house'.

⁵Nguyễn-Đặng Liêm.

⁶Jones and Thong, 1960: 186.

- (25) ở ngoài hiên chị ấy giặt áo trong chậu to
 in outside veranda she wash tunic inside basin large
 'On the veranda, she washes clothes in a large basin'.

If the outer Locative in sentence 25 is not topicalized, it follows the inner Locative, as in

- (26) chị ấy giặt áo trong chậu ở ngoài hiên
 she wash tunic inside basin in outside veranda
 'She's washing clothes in a basin out on the veranda'.

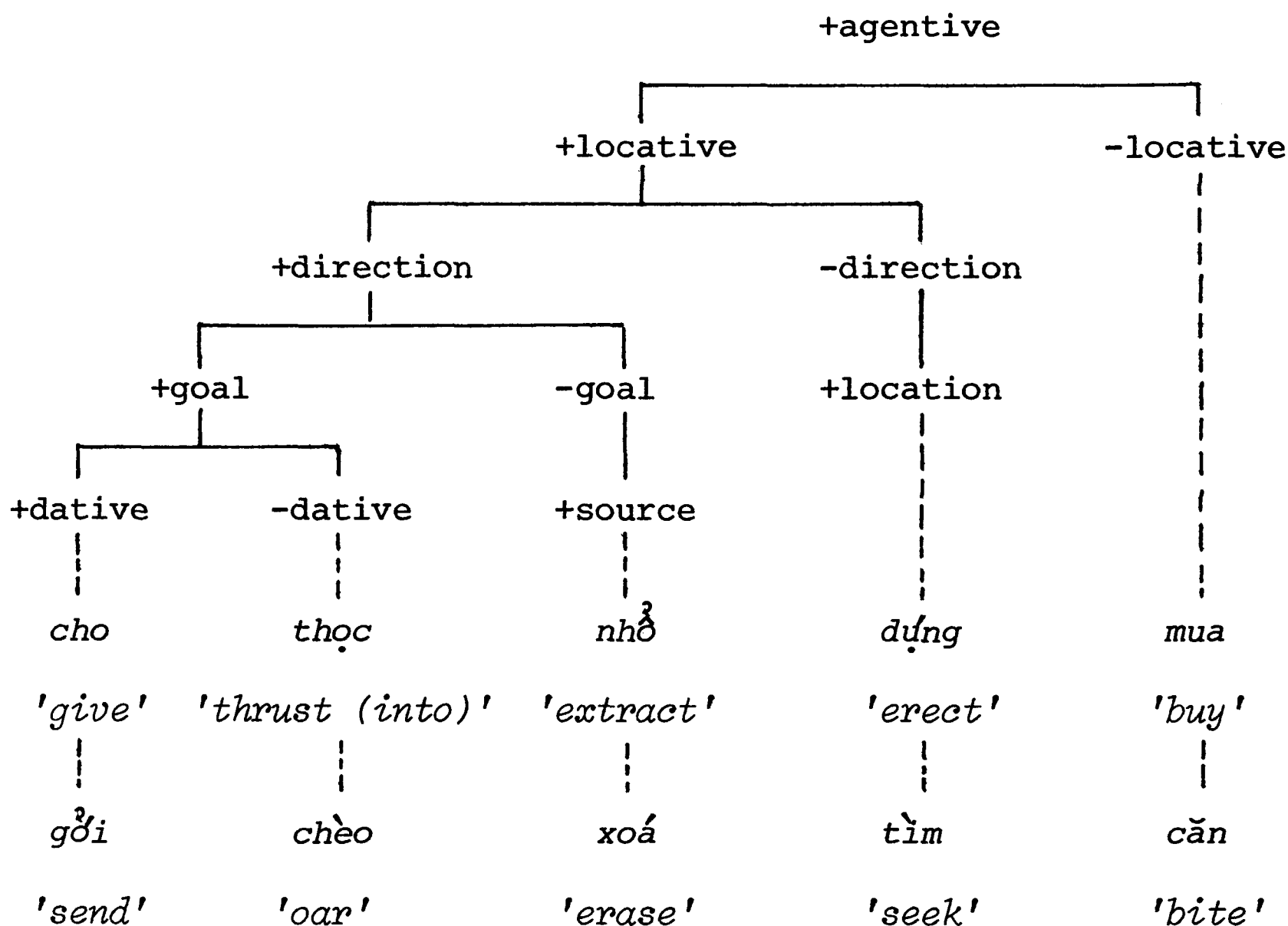
In sentence 27 *ngồi* 'sit' is a non-Agentive Locative verb with an inner Locative, *bên tay trái*, and an outer Locative, *trong xe đò*, both with locative relator nouns.

- (27) trong xe đò nó thường ngồi bên tay trái
 inside bus 3p usual sit side hand left
 'In the bus, he usually sits on the left side'.

For further discussion of outer and inner Locatives, see Fillmore (1968: 26, fn 34), Platt (1971: 30-33), Teng (1972: 17-18, 59-61), Kullavanijaya (1974: 55 ff.), and Clark (forthcoming).

2.6. Classes of Agentive Verbs.

Agentive transitive verbs can be classified on the basis of their cooccurrence with the Agentive, Patient, Dative and Locative cases and on the basis of the case forms in which these case relations occur. Since these cooccurrences are determined by each verb's inherent features, the tree of inherent features given in section 1 is repeated here with further examples of Vietnamese verbs in each major class. What these inherent features mean in terms of verb case frames in Vietnamese is stated hereafter. (See Ramos, 1973: 110, on the classification of verbs.)



Agentive Locative Goal verbs, which is the class of verbs discussed in section 3, are those represented in the first two columns above. As for the other three columns, sentence examples of *nhổ*, *đựng* and *mua* are 14, 24 and 28 respectively.

The inherent features in the tree just given may be defined as follows in terms of verb case frames:

+agentive: An agentive verb takes its grammatical subject in the Agentive case relation in the Nominative case form, and always takes a Patient case relation having the Accusative case form.

+locative: A Locative verb takes an obligatory or optional Locative in an unspecified case form. Verbs with the inherent feature of [+locative] take inner Locatives.

-locative: A non-Locative verb may not take a directional Locative, that is to say, it may not take a Locative in a directional case form.

+direction: A [+direction] verb can take a directional Locative, which may be marked by a directional Locative case form, or it can take a Dative in a case form allowed for Dative.

- direction:* A [-direction] Locative verb has the inherent feature [+location], and can take an inner Location Locative but not a Locative marked by a directional case form.
- +goal:* A Goal verb can take a directional Locative in a case form allowed for directional Locative, or a Goal Dative in a case form allowed for Goal Dative.
- goal:* A [+direction] verb which is [-goal] has the inherent feature [+source].
- +dative:* A Dative Goal verb can take a Dative; the [+goal] feature insures that it is a Goal Dative and not a Source Dative.
- dative:* While a [-dative] Agentive Goal verb can take a Goal Locative, it cannot take a Dative.

The foregoing subclassification does not account for Source Dative verbs. In Vietnamese there does not appear to be any correlation between Source Locative and Source Dative, at least not in any marking. A Source Dative in Vietnamese occurs with the noun *của* 'property, possession of', as in *của ngoại-quốc* in sentence 28, or it can occur alone immediately following some Source-marked verbs, as in (*của*) *Lan* in 29, where *của* is optional.

- (28) *phụ-tùng phải mua của ngoại-quốc*
 accessory must buy property foreign country
 'We have to buy the spare parts from foreign countries'.

- (29) *tôi mượn (của) Lan một đôi dép*
 I borrow property Lan one pair sandal
 'I borrowed a pair of sandals from Lan'.

Note that these Source Datives cannot occur with the Source Locative preposition *từ* 'from'. This means that the following are ungrammatical:

- (28a) **phụ-tùng phải mua từ ngoại-quốc.*
- (29a) **tôi mượn từ Lan một đôi dép / một đôi dép từ Lan.*

It is supposed that these verbs are properly classified as non-Locative, and in the feature tree given above *mua* is given as

non-Locative. Source Datives are discussed in detail in my forthcoming monograph.

However, in many (perhaps most) languages, Source Datives occur in the Source Locative subcase form or at least with a Locative marker. Note for example the English translations of sentences 28 and 29: '*from* foreign countries' and '*from* Lan'. Khmer, a language related to Vietnamese and sharing many other syntactic characteristics, uses the Source Locative preposition /pii/ 'from' with Source Datives:

- (30) cəmnaek kriəŋ-laan....trəw tiñ pii baarəteeh⁷
 as for auto parts must buy from foreign countries
 '*As for auto parts, they have to buy them from foreign countries*'.

- (31) koət kcəy məkuu pii sərii⁸
 3p borrow one pair from Sari
 '*She borrowed a pair from Sari*'.

Two non-Mon-Khmer languages of Southeast Asia, Thai and Rhade (an Austronesian language spoken in central Vietnam), also use Source Locative markers with Source Datives. Sentence 32 exemplifies Thai, sentence 33 Rhade:

- (32) chǎn yàak yìim naŋsǎi càak pùk⁹
 I want borrow book from Pook
 '*I want to borrow a book from Pook*'.
- (33) êkei anǎn cañ pluh prāk mǒng kâo¹⁰
 man that borrow ten money from I
 '*That man borrowed ten dollars from me*'.

Perhaps the locative character of Source Datives in languages other than Vietnamese would be reflected in the following

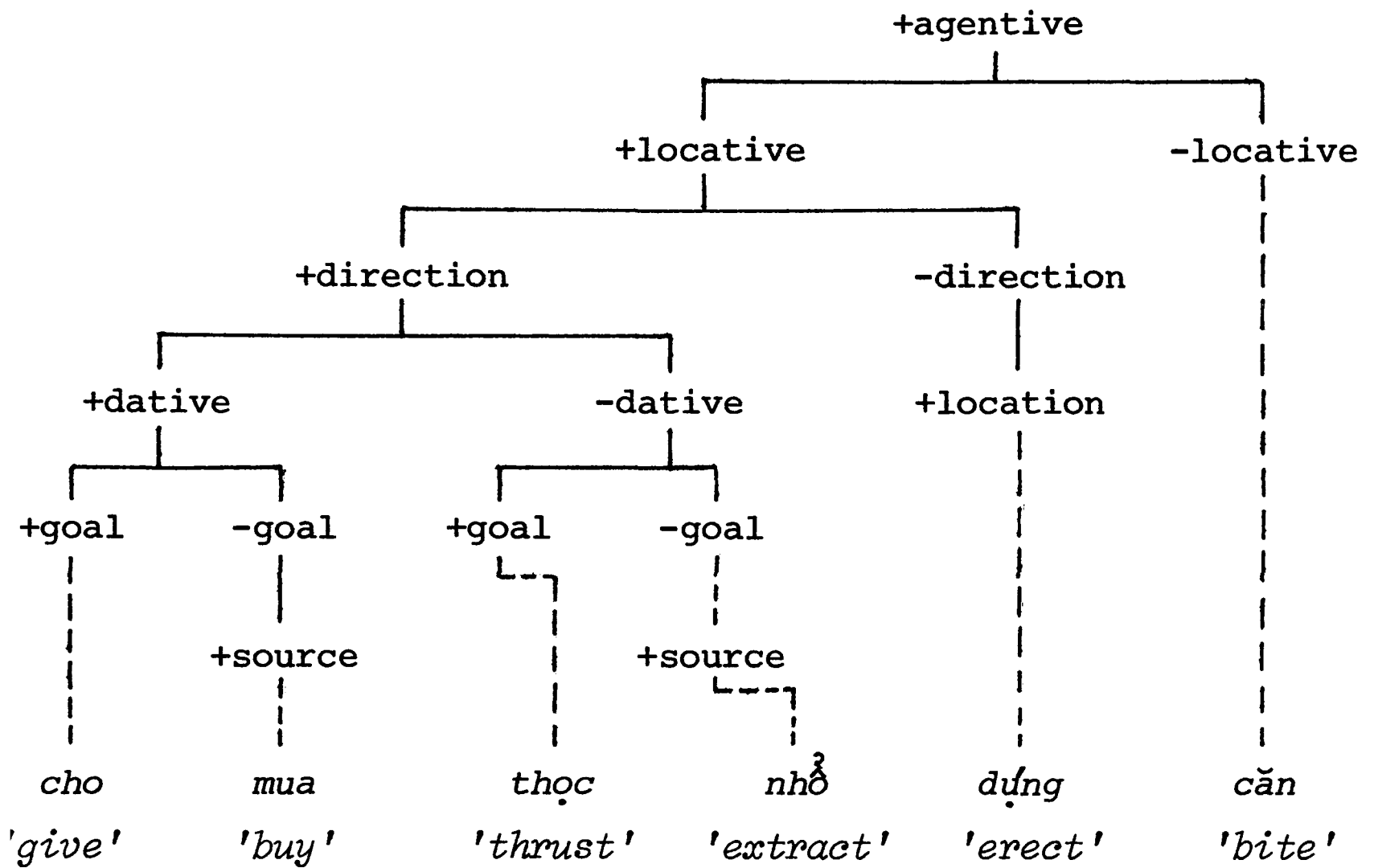
⁷Huffman, 1970: 372.

⁸Saveros Pou.

⁹Pranee Kullavanijaya.

¹⁰Kenny Boun-Ya and James Tharpe.

feature tree used in my forthcoming monograph on coverbs. This allows Source Dative verbs ([+dative], [-goal]) to be subclassified under Locative.



3. Agentive Locative Goal Verbs.

An Agentive Location Goal (ALG) verb allows a Goal Dative case relation or a Goal Locative case relation. Some ALG verbs can take a Dative but not a Locative, as *bán* 'sell' and *dạy* 'teach'. Others can take a Locative but not a Dative, as *chèo* 'oar' and *thọc* 'thrust'. Still others can take either a Dative or a Locative, as *gửi* 'send' and *ném* 'throw'.

We are concerned here with those ALG verbs which can take a Goal Locative, whether or not they can also take a Dative. To clarify their presentation here, these verbs are further broken down into semantic groups. Sentence examples are given with each group.

3.1. Agentive Goal Dative Verbs.

ALG verbs which are known to be able to take Datives fall into two main semantic groups, which I designate as *carry*-type

verbs and *send*-type verbs.

Carry-type verbs are those whose Agent is the instrument of locomotion, that is to say, the instrument which moves the Patient through physical or abstract space.

Send-type verbs are those whose Agent is the initiator of the movement of the Patient through space but does not accompany the Patient. It appears that all *send*-type ALG verbs can take the Dative. One verb, *cho* 'give', is included in the *send*-type group, though its Dative can sometimes be interpreted as a *carry*-type Dative.

3.1.1. *Send*-type Dative Verbs.

The following are representative *send*-type ALG verbs:

<i>tin</i>	'inform'	<i>gởi</i>	'send' ¹¹
<i>viết</i>	'write, note down'	<i>ném</i>	'throw'
<i>biên</i>	'write down'	<i>quăng</i>	'throw'
<i>cho</i>	'give'	<i>liêng</i>	'throw'

Some of these, such as *tin*, *viết*, *biên* and *cho*, rarely take Locatives; others, such as *ném*, *quăng* and *liêng*, seem to prefer Locatives over Datives. The verb *gởi* occurs freely with either Dative or Locative. Although *viết* and *biên* rarely take *send*-type Locatives, they occur frequently with "surface" Locatives and are included in the list of *put-on*-type verbs in section 3.3.3.

The following sentences exemplify *send*-type verbs occurring with Datives, most of which are marked by the Dative preposition *cho*, which is a coverb; as noted below, the Dative with the verb *cho* does not occur with the preposition *cho*. Sentences 5 above and 35a below illustrate Datives with Goal Locative prepositions.

¹¹Cf. sentences 1, 3, 5, 6, 13, and 16.

- (34) *tôi sẽ tin địa-chỉ mới cho chị rõ*
 I will inform address new to older sister clear
'I'll let you know exactly the new address'.
- (35) *nó viết vài lời cho ông Hải*
 3p write several word to Mr. Hai
'He wrote some words to Mr. Hai'.
- (35a) *nó viết vài lời về ông Hải*
 3p write several word back to Mr. Hai
'He wrote some words back to Mr. Hai'.
- (36) *chị biên thư cho bọn em nhé*
 older sister write letter to group young sib O.K.?
'Please write us a letter, older sister!'
- (37) *ông ấy vừa cho con gái chiếc xe Huê-Kỳ¹²*
 he just give daughter object vehicle America
'He just gave his daughter an American car'.

Cho 'give' is the only verb in this group which obligatorily takes its Dative in the Accusative case form immediately following it. In other words, it cannot occur with its corresponding preposition *cho* 'to'.

In sentence 38, marginally acceptable to native speakers, the preposition *cho* has the value of 'for' and *con gái* has a Benefactive case relation with the verb *cho*, not a Dative case relation.

- (38) *ông ấy vừa cho chiếc xe cho con gái*
 he just give car for daughter
'He just gave a car (to somebody) for his daughter'.
- (39) *tôi ném quyển từ-điển của tôi cho nó*
 I throw volume dictionary property I to 3p
'I tossed my dictionary to him'.

¹²Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966: 68.

- (40) *quăng cái đó lên cho tôi nhé*
 throw thing that up to I O.K.?
'Throw that up to me, will you?'
- (41) *em liêng trái xoài cho tôi đi*
 young sib throw fruit mango to I imperative
'Throw me a mango, little sister!'

For examples of *gởi* 'send' with a Dative see sentence 3, with the Dative preposition *cho*; sentence 5, with the Goal Locative preposition *qua*; and sentence 6, where the Dative is in the Accusative case form immediately following the verb. For an example of *gởi* with a Goal Locative see sentence 16.

The following exemplifies sentences containing both a Locative and a Dative, in which case the Locative must precede the Dative:

- (42) *tôi nhận quà chị gửi sang Mỹ cho tôi*
 I receive gift older sister send across to America to I
'I received the gift you sent to the U.S. to me'.

The following illustrate other ALG Dative verbs with Locatives:

- (43) *nó tin việc này về Sài Gòn¹³*
 3p inform matter this back to Saigon
'He sent the information about this matter back to Saigon'.
- (44) *cô ấy viết thư vào Long-Xuyên*
 she write letter into Long-Xuyên
'She sent a letter to Long-Xuyên'.
- (45) *nó cho hàng-hoá đi Sài Gòn¹³*
 3p give goods to Saigon
'He sent the goods to Saigon'.

¹³ Nguyễn Đăng-Liêm.

- (46) *chị hai ném giấy đó vào lửa*
 sister two throw paper that into fire
 'Second sister threw the paper into the fire'.
- (47) *tôi ném quyển từ-điển của tôi vào nó*¹⁴
 I throw volume dictionary property I into 3p
 'I threw my dictionary at him'.

The Locative noun in sentence 47 is animate but is clearly not a Dative, since *vào* with the verb *ném* indicates a spatial target rather than a recipient, as with *cho* in 39 above.

- (48) *nó ném kẻ-thù của nó xuống đất*¹⁵
 3p throw enemy property 3p down to earth
 'He dashed his enemy to the ground'.
- (49) *người đánh cá quăng lưới xuống nước*¹⁶
 person hit fish throw net down to water
 'The fisherman cast his net into the water'.
- (50) *cô ấy thình-lình quăng mình vào lửa*
 she sudden throw self into fire
 'She suddenly threw herself into the fire'.
- (51) *Hùng liệng sợi dây qua sông*
 Hung throw fiber rope across river
 'Hung threw the rope across the river'.
- (52) *chúng nó liệng đá xuống những người bao-vây*¹⁷
 plural 3p throw stone down to plural person besiege
 'They threw down stones on the besiegers'.

3.1.2. Carry-type Dative Verbs.

The following are representative carry-type ALG verbs which can take Datives:

¹⁴Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 1109.

¹⁵Ibid., 706.

¹⁶Ibid., 857.

¹⁷Ibid., 601.

<i>đưa</i>	'hand, take, deliver'
<i>đem</i>	'take, carry'
<i>mang</i>	'carry, take'
<i>khiêng</i>	'carry (something heavy)' ¹⁸
<i>gánh</i>	'carry on a shoulder-pole'

Except for *đưa*, which occurs freely with both Dative and Locative, *carry*-type verbs are more often associated with the Locative than with the Dative. That they do occur with the Dative is shown in the sentences below.

- (53) *bà đưa hình tôi cho bạn giùm tôi*
 Mrs. hand picture I to friend for I
 'Please, madam, give my picture to my friend for me'.

Note that in sentence 54 there is a Locative phrase as well as a Dative. However, this Locative phrase is part of the Dative noun phrase, that is to say, *trong làng* is an attribute of *người*.

- (54) *nó đem tin cho mọi người trong làng*¹⁹
 3p carry news to all person inside village
 'He carried the news to everyone in the village'.

- (55) *mang cho tôi ba tờ biên-lai*
 carry to I three sheet receipt
 'Bring me three receipts'.

- (56) *họ khiêng cái rương đến cho bác rồi*²⁰
 they carry thing chest reaching to uncle already
 'They already carried the chest over to uncle'.

¹⁸ *Khuân* has the same meaning.

¹⁹ Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 980.

²⁰ Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

- (57) em gánh nước cho chị ở đầu xóm²¹
 young sib pole-carry water to old sister in head hamlet
'Take the water to the woman at the end of the hamlet'.

The next eight sentences illustrate these same five verbs with Goal Locatives:

- (58) nó đưa lại nhà tôi ba chục cam²²
 3p hand to house I three ten orange
'He brought thirty oranges to my house'.
- (59) con sẽ...đem xác ba xuống giữa sông²³
 child will take body father down to middle river
'I'll bring your body, father, (as you ask, and throw it) into the middle of the river'.
- (60) người làm ruộng đem nước vô ruộng cách nào ông²⁴
 person do field take water into field way which Mr.
'How do the farmers bring water into the rice field?'
- (61) chị ấy mang xuống bếp hai cân gạo²⁵
 she carry down to kitchen two weight rice
'She carried two kilos of rice down to the kitchen'.
- (61a) chị ấy mang gạo xuống bếp²⁵
 she carry rice down to kitchen
'She carried rice down to the kitchen'.
- (62) những người bị thương được mang đi²⁶
 plural person suffer wounded get carry away
'The wounded men were carried away'.

²¹Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

²²Trần et al., 1960: 123.

²³Shum, 1965: 93.

²⁴Jones and Thong, 1960: 221.

²⁵Lê-Văn-Lý, 1960: 259.

²⁶Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 649.

Note that sentence 62 contains a Locative adverb rather than a Locative phrase.

- (63) họ khiêng những người bị thương đi nhà-thương
 they carry plural person suffer wounded to hospital
 'They carried the wounded to the hospital'.
- (64) họ cột lại thành bó và gánh về sân đập lúa²⁷
 they tie up become sheaf & carry back-to court beat rice
 'They tie them up into bundles and carry them back to the
 threshing floor'.

3.2. Carry-type Locative Verbs.

As was noted in section 3.1, *carry*-type verbs are those whose Agent is the instrument of locomotion, the instrument which moves the Patient through physical or abstract space. The eight verbs listed below, so far as has been found, do not take the Dative. They do take Goal Locatives, either (a) in the Accusative case form without a preposition but with a locative relator noun or (b) in the Goal subcase form, i.e. with a Goal Locative preposition. It has been mentioned in section 2.4 that all Goal Locative prepositions are coverbs. Illustrative sentences are given hereafter.

cầm	'hold, carry'	lôi-kéo	'pull, drag, draw'
chở	'transport'	lôi-cuôn	'pull along, carry'
dời	'transfer, move'	lái	'drive, steer'
dọn	'move, arrange' ²⁸	chèo	'oar, row'

Sentences 65, 70 and 75 below contain both a Source Locative and a Goal Locative, with the Goal Locative in 65 and 70 explicitly marked for Terminus with the Terminus preposition *đến* 'reaching to'. Since extent in space is implied by the feature of direction associated with a Goal verb, theoretically

²⁷Jones and Thong, 1960: 222.

²⁸Cf. sentence 20 above.

any Locative Goal verb can take both a Source Locative and a Goal Locative to specify the beginning and terminal points of extent. Verbs which do not allow a Source Locative have the inherent feature [-source].

- (65) ông ấy cầm tiền từ văn-phòng đến ngân-hàng
 he hold money from office to bank
'He carried the money from the office to the bank'.
- (66) người ta chở người và xe hơi qua sông bằng phà máy²⁹
 people carry person and car across river by ferry
'They transport people and automobiles over the river by ferry'.
- (67) ngày mai tôi phải chở bạn tôi vào nhà-thương
 tomorrow I must carry friend I into hospital
'I have to take my friend to the hospital tomorrow'.
- (68) chở củi về rừng³⁰
 transport firewood back to forest
'To carry coals to Newcastle'.
- (69) văn-phòng này họ dời đến Chợ-lớn
 office this they move to Cholon
'This office they moved to Cholon'.
- (70) văn-phòng đã được dời từ Sài-gòn đến Chợ-lớn³¹
 office (past) get move from Saigon to Cholon
'The office has been transferred from Saigon to Cholon'.
- (71) người ta dọn đồ ăn lên bàn thờ³²
 people arrange thing eat up to table venerate
'People place food on the altar'.

²⁹Jones and Thong, 1960: 228.

³⁰Proverb.

³¹Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 290.

³²Jones and Thong, 1960: 187.

- (72) bị lôi-kéo vào tròng³³
 suffer pull into trap
 'Be lured into a trap'.

Sentence 73 has a Locative adverb instead of a Locative noun phrase:

- (73) rồi anh này lôi-kéo người con gái này đi
 then brother this drag person daughter this away
 'And then this young man dragged the daughter away'.
- (74) cô ấy bị lôi-cuốn vào vòng chính-trị³⁴
 she suffer pull into circle politics
 'She was drawn into politics'.
- (75) bà ấy lái xe từ Biên-Hòa lên Đà-lạt
 Mrs. that drive vehicle from Bien-Hoa up to Dalat
 'She drove the car from Bien-Hoa to Dalat'.
- (76) cô lái đò chèo thuyền qua sông
 Miss steer ferry oar sampan across river
 'The barge girl is oaring the boat across the river'.
- (77) cô lái đò chèo thuyền vào bờ
 Miss steer ferry oar sampan into bank
 'The barge girl is pulling the boat ashore'.
- (78) Nam chèo ghe ra khơi³⁵
 Nam row boat out to open sea
 'Nam rowed his boat off the shore'.

3.3. Put-type Locative Verbs.

Put-type verbs are ALG verbs whose Agent is the instrument of placing; having the inherent feature of [-locomotion], they refer to the Patient's being located by a relatively stationary Agent. They are divided here into three groups: (a) general

³³ Lê Văn Hùng, 1955: 391.

³⁴ Ibid., 391.

³⁵ Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1972: 406.

put-type verbs, (b) *put-in*-type verbs, and (c) *put-on*-type verbs.

These three groups are distinguished in part by their occurrence or nonoccurrence with Source Locatives. Some general *put*-type verbs can take a Source Locative³⁶ while others cannot. These latter have the inherent feature of [-source]. The *put-in*-type verbs, on the whole, cannot take an extent Source Locative---that is to say, they cannot occur with the extent Source preposition *từ* 'from'. Some, however, can occur with the [-extent] Source preposition *khỏi* 'out of'.³⁷ Such verbs have the inherent feature of [-extent]. The *put-on*-type verbs occur only with Goal Locatives.

3.3.1. General Put-type Verbs.

General *put*-type ALG verbs do not have specific requirements respecting the nature of their Goal Locatives. Instead, a [+interior] or [+surface] interpretation is imposed by semantic marking on the preposition occurring with the Locative and on the Locative head noun in specific sentences. The following nine verbs are representative of this group:

*đê*² 'put, place'³⁸

đặt 'place, put'

*bỏ*² 'put, throw away'

vứt 'discard'

*ấn*¹ 'press, thrust'

giúi 'slip (into), push, thrust'

góp 'contribute, participate, collect'

*đổ*² 'pour, spill'

tát 'bail, scoop (as with a bucket)'

³⁶Cf. sentence 94 below, with *vứt* 'discard'.

³⁷Cf. sentence 96.

³⁸Cf. sentence 23 above. <http://ives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm> for terms of use.

Examples of these verbs in sentences are given below. While the Locative in sentence 79 occurs with a Location preposition, it is interpreted as Goal because of the [+goal] marking on the verb *để*. It is further interpreted as an interior Goal because of the [+interior] marking on *ở* and *trong*.³⁹

- (79) *nàng để kẹo ở trong hộp*
 young woman put candy in inside box
'She placed the candy in a box'.
- (80) *nó để cái ghế vào một góc và ngồi xuống*
 3p put thing chair into one corner and sit down
'The child put a chair in a corner and sat down'.
- (81) *họ đặt ống nước quanh tường*
 they place pipe water around wall
'They placed a water pipe all around the wall'.
- (82) *Phong đặt một cái hôn lên tay người đẹp*
 Phong place one thing kiss up to hand person pretty
'Phong kissed the hand of the pretty young woman'.
- (83) *cha mẹ đặt đâu con ngồi đấy*⁴⁰
 father mother place where child sit there
'Whom the parents have selected, the daughter will marry'.
- (84) *bỏ cái thư này vào thùng thư nào gần nhất*⁴¹
 put thing letter this into letter-box which near first
'Drop this letter in the nearest mailbox'.
- (85) *họ bỏ một đứa bé mới sanh ngoài đường*⁴²
 they put one child just born outside street
'They abandoned a new-born infant in the street'.

³⁹For a surface Goal with *để* see sentence 23 above.

⁴⁰Proverb.

⁴¹After Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 106.

⁴²Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 104. "In the street" may connote "in a public place."

- (86) nó vứt con búp-bê xuống đất⁴³
 3p discard child doll down to earth
'She threw the doll down on the floor'.
- (87) ông thư-ký ấn vào túi áo cả sấp tiền⁴⁴
 secretary thrust into pocket tunic all wad money
'The clerk shoved the whole wad of banknotes into his coat pocket'.
- (88) nó ấn ngón tay lên vết thương⁴⁵
 3p thrust finger hand up to wound
'He pressed his finger on the wound'.
- (89) Phong giúi một bài thơ vào tay nàng
 Phong thrust one poem into hand she
'Phong thrust a poem into her hand'.
- (90) Phong góp mặt vào việc đó
 Phong donate face into matter that
'Phong took a hand in that matter'.
- (91) xin cho chim góp nhạc về trời⁴⁶
 please give bird donate music back to sky
'Please let the birds bring music back to the sky'.
- (92) chị phải đổ gạo vào bao trước khi đi chợ
 you must pour rice into bag before time go market
'You (older sister) have to pour the rice into a sack before you go to the market'.
- (93) họ tát nước ao nước mương vô ruộng bằng gàu⁴⁷
 they scoop water pond water ditch into field by bucket
'They scoop water from ponds and ditches into the rice field by means of buckets'.

⁴³ Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966: 563.

⁴⁴ Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1976: 19.

⁴⁵ Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 45.

⁴⁶ From the song *Xin Cho Trời* (1966) by Trịnh-Công-Són.

⁴⁷ Jones and Thong, 1960: 221.

Instead of a Goal Locative, sentence 94 has a Source Locative with the extent Source Locative preposition:

(94) nó vút giấy từ xe đò⁴⁸

3p discard paper from bus

'He cleaned the trash out of the bus (onto the ground).'

3.3.2. Put-in-type Verbs.

Many of the *put*-type verbs are of the *put-in*-type, called Verbs of Inserting by Nguyễn Đình-Hoà (1976). Their Locatives are interpreted as [+interior] Goal Locatives and are often, though not always, marked with the preposition *vào* 'into' or with the locative relator noun *trong* 'inside'. The following are representative *put-in*-type verbs:

đút	'insert' ⁴⁹
xen	'insert'
nhét	'push in, cram'
thọc	'thrust, poke'
đăng	'insert; publish'
nhúng	'dip, immerse'
kể	'mention, count'
đâm	'stab, prick'
đóng	'drive in, fix'

These verbs are illustrated in the sentences given below. Observe in sentence 95 the non-Agentive Locative verb *nhìn* and its Goal Locative. Some *put-in*-type verbs can occur with the [-extent] Source preposition *khỏi* as in 96 but not with the extent Source preposition *từ* as in 97.

⁴⁸Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

⁴⁹Cf. sentence 17 above.

- (95) Lan đút đầu qua cửa-sổ và nhìn vào mặt em
Lan insert head across window and look into face young sib
'Lan put her head in the window and looked at her sister'.
- (96) Lan đút đầu ra khỏi cửa-sổ
Lan insert head out out of window
'Lan stuck her head out the window'.
- (97) Lan đút đầu / bức thư đó từ cửa-sổ
Lan insert head / letter that from window
'Lan put her head / the letter out the window'.
- (98) họ xen một điều-khoản vào giao-kèo⁵⁰
they insert one condition into contract
'They inserted a clause into the agreement'.
- (99) Lan nhét quần áo vào va-li rồi đi
Lan cram clothes into valise and then go
'Lan stuffed her clothes into a suitcase and left'.
- (100) nó thọc tay vào cửa-sổ
3p thrust hand into window
'He thrust his hand in through the window'.
- (101) nó thọc gậy trong bùn
3p thrust stick inside mud
'He thrust a stick into the mud'.
- (102) tôi muốn đăng một bài vào tờ báo
I want publish one text into sheet newspaper
'I want to publish an article in the newspaper'.
- (103) Lan nhúng áo vào thuốc nhuộm
Lan dip tunic into drug dye
'Lan dipped her blouse in the dye
rồi lấy ra phơi trên dây
and then take out dry top line
and then took it out to dry on the line'.

⁵⁰ Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 1210.

- (104) *Quý lúc nào cũng nhúng tay vào việc quan-trọng*
 Quý moment which also dip hand into matter important
 'Quý always has a hand in the important matters'.
- (105) *tôi được họ kể trong số ngững hội-viên*
 I get they count inside number plural member
 'I am fortunate to be counted as a member by them'.

Sentence 106 has a Locative adverb rather than a Locative noun phrase:

- (106) *đừng kể tôi vào*⁵¹
 don't count I in
 'Don't count me in'.
- (107) *nó đâm dao-găm vào tim kẻ-thù*⁵²
 3p stab dagger into heart enemy
 'He thrust a dagger into his enemy's heart'.
- (108) *Phong đóng đinh vào tường*
 Phong drive nail into wall
 'Phong is driving nails into the wall'.

3.3.3. Put-on-type Verbs.

Members of this subclass of *put*-type ALG verbs have Locatives which are interpreted as [+surface] and usually occur with the preposition (coverb) *vào* with the value of 'onto' rather than 'into', or sometimes with the locative relator noun *trên* 'top'.

Put-on-type verbs occur only with Goal Locatives, never with Source Locatives; they thus have [-source] as an inherent feature. This subclass consequently contradicts the theory mentioned in section 3.2 that every Locative Goal verb can take both a Source Locative and a Goal Locative.

The following list of representative *put-on*-type verbs

⁵¹ Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 515.

⁵² Ibid., 323.

includes the *send*-type Dative verbs *viết* and *biên* already mentioned in section 3.1.1.

<i>chép</i>	'write down'
<i>vẽ</i>	'draw, paint'
<i>treo</i>	'hang' ⁵³
<i>dán</i>	'glue, stick'
<i>gắn</i>	'glue, join, pin'
<i>áp</i>	'press against, approach'
<i>thoa</i>	'rub, anoint'
<i>trét</i>	'smear'
<i>viết</i>	'write'
<i>biên</i>	'write, note down'

The following three verbs are included in this section because their Locatives tend to be interpreted as surface Locatives:

<i>chĩa</i>	'point (gun)'
<i>xoay</i>	'turn (on axis), direct'
<i>chiếu</i>	'shine, project'

Below are examples of these verbs in sentences. Compare the surface Locative in 109 with the *send*-type Locative in 44, both containing the verb *viết* and the preposition *vào*.

(109) *chị viết vài nốt nhạc vào bản nhạc đó*
 you write some note music onto copy music that
 'Please write some notes on that music sheet'.

(110) *họ biên tên cô ấy vào sổ*
 they write name she onto register
 'They entered her name on the list'.

⁵³*Treo* sometimes functions as a general *put*-type verb.

- (111) Ông ấy chép vào sổ những việc đã xảy ra⁵⁴
 he write onto record (pl.) matter (past) happen out
'He recorded the things that had happened'.
- (112) họ vẽ cành đào vào tờ giấy bùa⁵⁵
 they draw branch peach onto sheet paper amulet
'They draw a peach branch on a (paper) amulet'.
- (113) người ta cũng treo vào cành đào
 people also hang onto branch peach
 một tờ giấy bùa⁵⁶
 one sheet paper amulet
'They also hang an amulet onto the peach branch'.
- (114) nó dán mũi vào cửa kính⁵⁷
 3p stick nose onto window glass
'She pressed her nose against the shop window'.
- (115) tổng-thông gắn huy-chương
 president pin medal
 vào ngực áo người phi-công⁵⁸
 onto chest tunic person pilot
'The President pinned the medal on the pilot's breast'.
- (116) cô ấy áp giấy vào kiếng với bàn tay
 she press paper onto glass with hand
'She pressed the paper on the glass with her hand'.
- (117) Lan thoa dầu vào tay và chân rồi nằm nghỉ
 Lan rub oil onto arm and leg and then lie rest
'Lan rubbed oil onto her arms and legs, then lay down to rest'.

⁵⁴ Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 216.

⁵⁵ Thompson, 1965: 233.

⁵⁶ Idem.

⁵⁷ Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966: 85.

⁵⁸ Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

- (118) họ phải trét đất sét vào kẽ gạch
 they must smear clay onto crack brick
'They have to spread clay over the crack in the wall'.
- (119) khi đó người lính sẽ chĩa súng vào vật gì
 time that person soldier will aim gun onto object what
'At that time, the soldiers will aim at something'.
- (120) kia! bạn xoay vòi nước vào đám cháy đi
 there friend turn spout water onto group burn (imper.)
'Hey! Turn the water on the fire!'
- (121) người cảnh-sát chiếu đèn vào mặt thằng đó
 person police shine light onto face guy that
'The police flashed the light in his face'.

4. Summary.

An ALG verb is a transitive verb: its grammatical subject stands in the Agentive case relation to it, and it always has a Patient case relation. Moreover, it takes an obligatory or optional inner Goal Locative. An inner Locative has been defined as a point or extent in space with specific reference to the Patient; a Goal Locative is the point in space toward which the Patient is directed.

It has been shown that ALG verbs can be divided into two major syntactic groups, namely those which can take Datives and those which cannot. While the question of strict and nonstrict Datives and Locatives has not been gone into here, syntactic subgrouping would further divide these verbs into four subclasses: (a) Dative verbs which have obligatory Datives, (b) Dative verbs which have optional Datives, (c) Locative verbs which have obligatory Goal Locatives, and (d) Locative verbs which have optional Goal Locatives.

Verbs can be classified into semantic groupings as well. ALG verbs fall into three semantic groups:

- 1) *Send*-type verbs, those whose Agent is the initiator of the movement of the Patient through physical or abstract

space without accompanying the Patient. Examples of these are *gởi* 'send', *viết* 'write', and *ném* 'throw'. It appears that all *send*-type verbs can take Datives.

2) *Carry*-type verbs, those whose Agent is the instrument of locomotion which moves the Patient through space. Some *carry*-type verbs can take Datives while others apparently cannot. Examples of those which can take Datives are *đưa* 'hand, deliver' and *đem* 'take, carry'. Examples of those which cannot are *chở* 'transport', *lôi-kéo* 'pull, draw (into)', and *chèo* 'oar, row'.

3) *Put*-type verbs, those which have the inherent feature of [-locomotion] and denote the Patient's being placed by a relatively stationary Agent. *Put*-type verbs do not take Datives. They are divided into three subgroups:

a) *Put-in*-type verbs, those having [+interior] Locatives, as *đút* 'insert', *thọc* 'thrust, poke', and *nhúng* 'dip, immerse';

b) *Put-on*-type verbs, those having [+surface] Locatives, as *chép* 'write down', *dán* 'glue, stick', and *thoa* 'rub, anoint'; and

c) *Put*-type verbs which do not specify the nature of their Locatives, as *đẻ* 'put, place', *bỏ* 'put, throw away', and *ấn* 'press, thrust'.

These semantic groups appear to have only two significant syntactic distinctions:

The first of these has been mentioned in the paragraphs immediately above. All *send*-type verbs can take Datives; *carry*-type verbs are divided into those which can and those which cannot take Datives; and none of the *put*-type verbs take Datives.

The second distinction has to do with the cooccurrence of Locatives. Whereas *send*- and *carry*-type verbs can occur with both Source and Goal Locatives expressing extent in space, *put*-type verbs are more restricted in respect to Source Locatives. Most of them do not occur with the Source Locative preposition

từ 'from', which expresses extent. Some of them can occur with the non-extent Source Locative preposition *khỏi* 'out of'. The *put-on*-type verbs do not occur with any Source Locatives.

The Goal Datives of ALG verbs usually occur with the Dative preposition *cho* 'to'. Their Goal Locatives occur with the Goal Locative prepositions cited in section 2.4.3 or with locative relator nouns---place nouns expressing spatial relationship between other nouns and their verbs. The Goal Locatives of *put*-type verbs make particular use of the Goal Locative preposition *vào* 'into, onto'.

All Goal prepositions are coverbs, that is to say, prepositions which are derived from corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs. Neither of the two Source Locative prepositions occurring with ALG verbs are coverbs. This is also true for spoken Khmer and Chinese, where Source prepositions are not coverbs. On the other hand, Thai /càak/ 'from' has a still active corresponding verb, namely /càak/ 'leave'. Moreover, /càak/ as both verb and preposition is found in literary Khmer and Old Mon.⁵⁹

It would be interesting to see how the facts presented here compare with the behavior of ALG verbs in other languages of mainland Southeast Asia, particularly the Mon-Khmer languages, and in earlier stages of any of these languages, including Vietnamese.

⁵⁹S. Pou, personal communication. See my forthcoming monograph (referred to in note 1) for a comparison of coverbs in Vietnamese, Khmer and Thai as well as for an historical hypothesis regarding prepositions deriving from verbs.

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