

STUDIES IN VIETNAMESE CASE GRAMMAR

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of London

by

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1979



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ABSTRACT

This thesis is primarily concerned with a description of the syntax of some sentence-types in Vietnamese in terms of a 'CASE' Grammar. 'CASE', in this study, is intended to account for the underlying functional relationships of noun phrases and of sentential complements to the main verb of the sentence.

The study of CASES is carried on within the modified framework of Fillmore's Case Grammar. The centrality of the verb is emphasised. The Cases are predictable from the semantic features of the verb.

Causative constructions, Topicalisation, Passivisation and Complement-types in Vietnamese have been examined. To identify Cases, syntactic and semantic tests have been used. Finally, in order to formalise the description of the syntactic-semantic relationships between the verb and the Cases in the sentence, a set of base and transformational rules have also been proposed.

It is hoped that this thesis will help Vietnamese students of Linguistics and teachers of Vietnamese towards a better understanding of their mother tongue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. J.E. Buse, for his invaluable guidance, assistance and for many of the linguistic insights presented in this thesis.

I also wish to thank Dr. D.C. Bennett, Mr. J.H. C.S. Davidson, Professor E.J.A. Henderson, Mr. C.P. Hill and Dr. G.C. Horrocks for their valuable comments and suggestions.

Finally, I wish to thank the Vietnamese families in Sussex (England) for the many hours they spent discussing the data with me.

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ABBREVIATIONS and NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

A	for	Agentive Case.
Adj	"	Adjective.
Adv	"	Adverb.
Au	"	Authoritative Case.
B	"	Benefactive Case.
BR	"	Base Rule.
C	"	Case or Complement.
Ca	"	Causative Case.
Com	"	Comitative Case.
Comp	"	Complementiser.
Conj.	"	Conjunction.
Cvb	"	Coverb.
Det	"	Determiner.
E	"	Experiencer Case.
Ess	"	Essive Case.
F	"	Factitive Case.
fn	"	footnote.
G	"	Goal Case.
I	"	Instrumental Case.
IMa	"	Instrumental Material Case.
IMe	"	Instrumental Method Case.
IMo	"	Instrumental Mode Case.
L	"	Locative Case
Lit.	"	Literal meaning.
M	"	multiple occurrence.
N	"	Noun.
NP	"	Noun phrase.
NP--Equi Del	"	Equivalent Noun Phrase Deletion.

O; O1, O2, O3	for	Surface Object , first Object, second Object, third Object.
D.O.	"	Direct Object.
I.O.	"	Indirect Object.
O	"	Objective Case.
\bar{O}	"	A Proposition functioning as a complement ^{is embedded} within the Objective Case.
\tilde{O}	"	An O in which a relative construction has been embedded.
(OBL) - (OPT)	"	(Obligatory) - (Optional)
Pa	"	Path Case.
Pred	"	Predicator.
$\overline{\text{Pred}}$	"	A Proposition functioning as a complement is embedded within the Predicator.
Prep	"	Preposition.
Prop	"	Proposition.
Q	"	Quantifier.
S	"	Sentence or Surface Subject.
So	"	Source Case.
TR	"	Transformational Rule.
V	"	Verb.

* An asterisk preceding a sentence or phrase means that sentence or phrase is ungrammatical or unacceptable.

? A question mark indicates doubt regarding acceptability.

∅ Absence of an element or constituent.

() 1) when used either in a Base Rule, in a Transformation, or in a Case-frame, parentheses indicate that something is optional. The structure would still be grammatical without the item in parentheses. For example, in the following, the parentheses show that the adverb (Adv) is optional or could be left out.

The boy was (very) ill.
 NP V Adv Adj

() 2) is used for translation e.g.

<u>có</u>	<u>thể</u>	(Lit : have ability)	'can'
Rice	is	eaten	(English)
* ('Cơm	bi	ăn')	(Vietnamese).

(Ø) The linked parentheses indicate that at least one of the linked elements must be chosen.

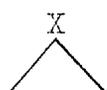
$\left(\begin{matrix} X \\ Y \end{matrix} \right)$ Either X or Y is selected (exclusive disjunction)

→ This symbol is used to represent the rewriting process in Base Rules.

⇒ This symbol is used to represent the rewriting process in Transformational Rules.

[+X] X is a positively marked semantic feature.

[-X] X is a negatively marked semantic feature.

 Abbreviation for a syntactic structure dominated by a constituent X, where the detailed syntactic representation below X is not relevant.

Typographical Conventions

1) Single quotation-marks: ''

- for meanings.
- for literary translation.
- for terms and expressions.

2) Double quotation-marks: ""

- for quotations from other authors.
- for titles of articles.

O. INTRODUCTION

O.1 Background to the Linguistic situation in Vietnam.

In Vietnam, before 1954, Linguistics meant Traditional Grammar which was associated with Traditional French Grammar. Vietnamese grammarians (e.g. Kim; Đắc, 1950; Thanh, 1956) tried to force Vietnamese into the French mould. All French definitions of parts of speech and French nomenclature had been translated into Vietnamese. In elementary and secondary schools, students were taught how to analyse the grammatical nature and function of the lexical items in the surface structure of a sentence (i.e. 'Analyse Grammaticale' in French).

On May 7, 1954 the Việt-Minh (i.e. Vietnamese Communists) defeated the French at Điện-Biên-Phủ (see Appendix 3). The French completely retreated from Vietnam. The Geneva Agreement was signed on July 21, 1954. Then, the American troops began to fill Saigon and all provinces in South Vietnam.

From 1955, 1958 and 1969 American Structural Grammar, Transformational-Generative Grammar, and Case Grammar have been taught to Vietnamese students of Linguistics in the Faculties of Letters and Pedagogy. Because of lack of English linguistic books, Vietnamese students find that it is difficult to understand these types of Grammar.

0.2 Purpose of the study

This thesis is concerned with a description of some relational aspects of Vietnamese syntax and semantics in terms of a 'Case' Grammar. It is written with the main purpose of helping Vietnamese students of Linguistics and teachers of Vietnamese towards a better understanding of their mother tongue.

A Vietnamese Case Grammar¹ studied here can be sketchily presented as a picture of Grammar built around the verbs. It is the semantic features of the verb which dictate and restrict the kind of Cases may occur with it. The term Case² in this study refers to the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship between the main verb of a sentence and a noun phrase (NP) or a NP complement³.

Specifically, this thesis attempts:

1. To explain why a particular verb has a particular Case-frame in terms of its semantic features.
2. To explain the co-occurrence restrictions of the Cases in a sentence as indicated by the semantic features of the verb.
3. To illustrate some means by which the Cases are distinguished from each other syntactically and semantically.
4. To demonstrate a regular correlation (though not perfect) between Cases and their realisation in surface structure.

1. Actually, it is a modified version of Fillmore's Case Grammar.

2. The terms Case, deep Case, Case-relation and deep Case-relationship all mean the same. They are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

3. To use Rosenbaum's (1967) term. The term 'Propositional complement' will be used later (see Chapter 10).

5. To explain why two sentences using the same verb and having the same syntactic pattern may be understood differently by Vietnamese speakers due to deep Case distinctions.
6. To explain how Vietnamese speakers make the correct predictions of the kind of Cases which are not overtly expressed in surface structure due to the incorporation process of the verb.
7. To demonstrate the kind of Cases being embedded inside other Cases.
8. To illustrate the relations between the semantically defined classes of verbs and the forms of the complement constructions in surface structure.
9. To describe the uses of Case-relationships in Vietnamese.
10. To formalise the description of a Vietnamese Case Grammar.

0.3 Scope of the Present study.

Consider: Question : On Monday?

Statement: Next week.

Exclamation: Ouch, my foot!

These utterances⁴ belong to parole (de Saussure, 1915) or performance (Chomsky, 1965).

According to Chomsky (1965), performance involves many factors including competence (i.e. the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language), memory, distraction, perception and others. Some of these are essentially psychological in nature, and therefore performance is primarily the subject matter of the psychologist.

4. utterance: see Appendix 2.

Both de Saussure and Chomsky agree that the proper objective of the linguistic study of language is the characterisation of the regular rules of grammar, and not a description of the utterances produced by speakers of a language. For this reason, the above utterance-types are not taken into consideration in the present study.

In addition to the exclusion of the utterance-types, eight other limitations have been imposed on this study.

The first relates to the length of the sentence. Each example illustrated in this study does not contain more than three 'propositions'.⁵ The three Propositions may be conjoined as in compound sentences or one of them is embedded either within a Predicator

or within a deep Case (See Chapter 10). The number of deep Cases in each Proposition is limited to four in maximum.

The second relates to the Case inventory.

The following sentences are not considered in this study.

- (1) Ba cao hơn Mai
 Ba tall more than Mai
 'Ba is taller than Mai!
- (2) Ba dùng gậy để đánh con chó.
 Ba use stick inorder to hit classifier dog.
 'Ba used a stick in order to hit the dog!

5. Proposition: (see 22).

(3)	Ba	mua	xe	<u>của</u>	cô	Mai
	Ba	buy	car	property	Miss	Mai
	'Ba	bought	the car	of	Miss	Mai
	'Ba	bought	Miss	Mai's	car!	

The reasons are as follows:

(1) One assumption of the present Case Grammar model is that a deep Case may select a preposition. Sentence (1) contains the Comparative Case (i.e. hơn Mai 'than Mai') and Sentence (2) contains the Purposive Case (i.e. để đánh con chó 'in order to hit the dog'). These Cases do not select prepositions but conjunctions. Therefore, they are excluded from this study.

(2) The Source Case in English selects preposition from.

(4)	<u>Ba</u>	bought	<u>the car</u>	<u>from</u>	<u>Miss Mai.</u>
	A		O		So

In Vietnamese, a speaker does not say

(5)	*	<u>Ba</u>	mua	<u>xe</u>	<u>từ</u>	<u>Cô</u>	<u>Mai.</u>
		A		O	So		
		'Ba	bought	<u>the car</u>	<u>from</u>	<u>Miss</u>	<u>Mai!</u>

The Vietnamese verb mua 'buy' requires the accompaniment of a Genitive construction marked by the noun của 'property, possession'.

In example (3) của states a Genitive relationship between two nouns: the possessor (i.e. Miss Mai) and the possessed (i.e. the car).

Relationships between nouns are outside the scope of the verb-noun Case-relationships discussed in this study.

The third relates to all types of Vietnamese sentences containing negation. Interrogative sentences

are only used as syntactic tests to identify some Cases.

The fourth relates to the internal construction of noun phrase and verb phrase. Ambiguity and vagueness are also not discussed. It is traditionally recognised that each of these 'topics' would amount to a thick separate volume by itself. Therefore, it is impossible for me to study them along with Case Grammar in one volume.

The fifth relates to such elements as Modals and Aspect. These are essentially the same as the constituent M of the Base Rules in Fillmore's Case Grammar. I shall not be concerned with Modals and Aspect because they do not bear directly on the question of Case-relationships between nouns and verbs.

The sixth relates to the idiomatic meaning of the verb. For example:

(6)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>tǎng</u>	<u>An</u>	<u>hai</u>	<u>cái</u>	<u>tát.</u>
	A		B		O	
	Ba	offer	An	two	classifier	slap
	<u>'Ba</u>	<u>offered</u>	<u>An</u>	<u>two</u>	<u>slaps</u>	

instead of:

(7)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>tát</u>	<u>An</u>	<u>hai</u>	<u>cái.</u>
	A		E		O
	Ba	slap	An	two	classifier
	<u>'Ba</u>	<u>gave</u>	<u>An</u>	<u>two</u>	<u>slaps!</u>

The verb tǎng 'offer' in (6) has an idiomatic meaning. Idiomatic meanings of a verb are excluded from the data. Only the basic or central sense of the verb is taken into account.

The seventh relates to the 'encyclopedic knowledge' as opposed to the 'linguistic facts' including so-called extra-linguistic human beliefs, perceptions of time and space.

(8) Ông Bá có ba người con trai.
 Mr. Bá have three person classifier boy.
 'Mr. Bá has three sons'.

(9) Ông Bá có ba người con trai câm.
 Mr. Bá have three person classifier boy dumb
 'Mr. Bá has three dumb sons'!

Có 'have' is a Benefactive verb (see 11.7). In this Case Grammar model when có occurs in a sentence, a definite role is automatically assigned to the nouns which accompany it. For example, Ông Bá 'Mr. Bá' must function as a Benefactive in both sentences; ba người con trai (câm) 'three (dumb) sons' must function as an Objective.

It is true, of course, that if one assigns the Semantic Role Benefactive to Mr. Bá in both sentences, one cannot capture the cultural knowledge of Vietnamese speakers that it is a good thing to have sons, but a bad thing to have dumb sons; but this is not the aim of a Grammar.

The eighth relates to the phonology of Vietnamese. This study is concerned with the relationship between Vietnamese syntax and semantics, so there does not appear any need for discussing Vietnamese phonology. The reader can consult the Introduction to Spoken Vietnamese by Jones, Jr. and Thông (1957) or Vietnamese-English

Dictionary by Hũa (1959) if he wishes to know the Vietnamese phonological system.

It is not the purpose of this study to discover all the Cases and to describe all syntactic/semantic aspects of Vietnamese. In order to limit the scope of this study to a manageable extent, a boundary is thus drawn.

0.4 Orthography

The writing system known as Quốc-Ngũ⁶ (Lit: National Language) is used⁶. It is the Vietnamese language in Roman alphabet script which was worked out in the 17th century by catholic missionaries from Spain, Portugal, Italy and France, and has been officially used since the beginning of this century.

0.5 Sources of Data

The data illustrated in this thesis are primarily based on the standard South Vietnamese dialect spoken by educated Saigonese. However, North Vietnamese is sometimes mentioned in contrast with Sãigõn dialect, particularly when Hã-Nõi and Sãigõn speakers use different verbs and different prepositions with the same Case in order to express the same meaning.

According to Lý (1968), the structure of the Vietnamese language is the same in all parts of the country. It is the same language, but is spoken with three different accents: Hã-Nõi (North Việtnam), Huế (Central part of Việtnam), and Sãigõn (South Việtnam) and with a small number of different

6. Quốc-Ngũ¹ (see Appendix 3).

vocabulary items particular to each region.

In order to know clearly how each of the Cases could be used, I have paid many visits to Vietnamese families in Sussex to collect data from them and to discuss with them the semantic aspects of some verbs.

0.6 Methods of Investigation.

In the American structuralist tradition, the subject-predicate dichotomy and substitution patterns play an important part in establishing sentence types. This is because syntax is considered central.

In this study, the traditional subject-predicate distinction is abandoned. Semantics is considered central, and it is assumed that the semantic structure of a sentence is built around a central verb.

The methods of investigation a Vietnamese Case Grammar adopted in this thesis can be summarised briefly as follows:

First, verbs are classified according to their semantic features (e.g. Action, Process and State verbs. These three main types of verbs are sub-classified into small groups called Destruction verbs, Factitive verbs, Experiential verbs, Benefactive verbs, etc.). Each verb has a set of semantic relations to the nouns or noun phrases.⁷

Next, a set of discrete Case-relationships are postulated and defined semantically. (I believe that no investigation could proceed without assuming - a priori - a set of semantically defined Case-relationships).

7. These relations will be expressed in terms of Case-relationships.

Then, after examining the set of sentences having the same verb, and after applying the definitions, the Cases in each sentence are assigned, e.g.

(10)a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ $\frac{\text{m}\overset{?}{\text{o}}}{\text{O}}$ $\frac{\text{c}\overset{?}{\text{u}}\overset{?}{\text{a}}}{\text{O}}$.
 Ba open door
 'Ba opened the door'

b. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ $\frac{\text{m}\overset{?}{\text{o}}}{\text{O}}$ $\frac{\text{c}\overset{?}{\text{u}}\overset{?}{\text{a}}}{\text{O}}$ $\frac{\text{b}\overset{?}{\text{a}}\overset{?}{\text{n}}\overset{?}{\text{g}}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{g}\overset{?}{\text{a}}\overset{?}{\text{y}}}{\text{I}}$.
 Ba open door by stick.
 'Ba opened the door with a stick!

c. $\frac{\text{C}\overset{?}{\text{u}}\overset{?}{\text{a}}}{\text{O}}$ $\frac{\text{m}\overset{?}{\text{o}}}{\text{O}}$.
 Door open
 'The door opened'.

The verb $\frac{\text{m}\overset{?}{\text{o}}}{\text{O}}$ 'open' is accompanied by the nouns which are a realisation of the following verb-noun relations: Agentive, Objective, Instrumental (see Chapter 11).

$\frac{\text{c}\overset{?}{\text{u}}\overset{?}{\text{a}}}{\text{O}}$ 'the door' has an Objective semantic relation to the action of the verb.

$\frac{\text{b}\overset{?}{\text{a}}\overset{?}{\text{a}}\overset{?}{\text{n}}\overset{?}{\text{g}}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{g}\overset{?}{\text{a}}\overset{?}{\text{y}}}{\text{I}}$ 'with a stick' has the semantic relation of Instrumental to the action of the verb.

$\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ is the agent of this action. It has an Agentive semantic relation to the action of the verb.

The next task is to try to discover how all Agentive Cases, Objective Cases, Instrumental Cases, etc., behave syntactically. The uniformities in the syntactic behaviour of the Cases are then formalised. Two sets of rules (i.e. Base and Transformational Rules) are provided since the set of discrete Case-relationships have both semantic and syntactic significance.

In general, in studying Vietnamese Case Grammar, I have used three principal types of information: overt manifestation (e.g. the occurrence of prepositions, the syntactic order of the grammatical elements in surface structure), the semantic features of the verbs and my intuitive judgments.

As a native speaker of Vietnamese, I have a great deal of intuitive knowledge about linguistic appropriateness (or correctness) which I have amassed over the years. It is not difficult for me to think about Vietnamese and to use my intuitive judgments to match the observable grammatical properties with the reflection of the semantic relationships between the various noun phrases in a sentence and the main verb.

The number of sentences examined in this thesis is quite large, but I am not sure that I have come across all classes of verbs in Vietnamese - or that I have presented all characteristics of the Cases. Some uses of the Cases are bound to have escaped my attention.

0.7 Plan and Organisation.

This thesis consists of twelve chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with "A Traditional Notion of 'Case' "

I have pointed out that in Vietnamese there are devices (i.e. prepositions and word order) which are similar to Case inflections in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

A brief background information on essential constituents that make up sentences in Vietnamese is also presented.

Chapter 2 deals with "The Theoretical Background of Case Grammar". The treatment of Case in a type of T.G. proposed in Chomsky's Aspects (1965), Fillmore's and Anderson's works have been presented. Fillmore's works have been studied in detail along with my comments on the adequacy of Fillmore's basic assumptions on Case matters.

Chapter 3 presents a "Review of Some studies in Vietnamese syntax in terms of a Case Grammar" .

Little has been written about 'Case' in Vietnamese. Up to now, there are only two published works (i.e. Clark's and Liêm's) dealing with Vietnamese Case Grammar. Both Clark and Liêm have studied Vietnamese Cases in the framework of Lexicase Grammar developed by Starosta (1971, 1972, 1973).

Chapter 4 presents "Some syntactic and semantic Aspects of Vietnamese Verbs". The verb in Vietnamese plays a dominant role in the syntactic and semantic structure of a sentence. It is the most important element upon which all other elements of the sentence (e.g. noun, preposition, adverb) depend and by which they are determined.

Chapter 5 deals with "Lexical Decomposition and Causative Constructions" in Vietnamese. The notion of causality, the syntax and semantics of causative constructions have been discussed.

Chapter 6 deals with "Topicalisation, Passive and Submissive Constructions". I have pointed out that those Vietnamese sentences which appear to be 'passive' sentences are, in fact, object-topicalised sentences.

Chapter 7 presents "A Case Grammar Model for Vietnamese". Some theoretical assumptions have been postulated. I have emphasised that the study of the relationship between Vietnamese syntax and semantics in this thesis is carried on within the modified framework of Fillmore's Case Grammar. However, no attempt is made to present a comparative study of Vietnamese Case Grammar and Fillmore's English Case Grammar.

Chapter 8 presents the "Ordering simple Transformational Rules". Some transformational processes have been postulated. They can change the deep structure of a number of independent simple sentences in Vietnamese into the correct surface structures.

Chapter 9 deals with "The Conjoining Transformations". Like English, there are various types of conjunction in Vietnamese. The process of co-ordination with và 'and' has been discussed as illustrative.

Chapter 10 deals with "The Embedding Transformations" which allow for the generation of most of the complex sentences in Vietnamese.

Chapter 11 presents the uses of "Deep Case-Relationships in Vietnamese". Two types of Cases: Causal and non-causal Cases have been examined.

Chapter 12 reviews the overall study of a Vietnamese Case Grammar and presents some problems which have arisen in the analysis of the Cases.

Finally, there are three appendixes.

Appendix I summarises two sets of rules (i.e. Base Rules (B.R.) and Transformational Rules (T.R.)) and Case inventory. Lexical entries of some Vietnamese verbs have also been presented.

Appendix II defines some linguistic terms used throughout the thesis.

Appendix III defines some Vietnamese cultural/historical terms used in the data.

CHAPTER 1.A TRADITIONAL NOTION OF 'CASE' AND THE VIETNAMESE.

The aim of this chapter is to point out that in Vietnamese there are devices (i.e. prepositions and word order) which are similar to Case inflections in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

A brief background information on essential constituents that make up sentences in Vietnamese is also presented.

1.1 Case Inflections

Early traditional grammarians (e.g. Sanskrit, Greek and Latin grammarians) have equated the notion of Case with "the semantic functions of inflectional affixes on nouns or the formal dependency relations which hold between specific nominal affixes and lexical-grammatical properties of neighbouring elements" (Fillmore, 1968a ; 2).

If 'Case' means 'Case inflections', then Vietnamese has no Case Grammar, since in Vietnamese, all nouns are morphologically invariable despite of their different grammatical relations with the verbs in the sentences.

The various modifications of meaning which are expressed in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin by adding Case-endings to the noun are expressed in Vietnamese by placing a preposition before the noun or by altering the order of the

words in the sentence. For example, to express the idea of

The boy loves the girl.

the Vietnamese words must be arranged in the order shown below:

(11)	Ngụ̃i	con	trai	<u>thượ̀ng</u>	ngụ̃i	con	gạ́i.
	Person	classifier	boy	love	person	classifier	girl
		'The	boy	<u>loves</u>	the		girl.'

In Latin, there are six ways of expressing this idea.

1. puer amat puellam.

2. puellam puer amat.

3. amat puer puellam.

4. amat puellam puer.

5. puer puellam amat.

6. puellam amat puer.

Puellam, the accusative, with its special inflectional Case-ending, m, can stand initially, medially or finally in the sentence without changing the meaning of that sentence.

Since Vietnamese does not have inflectional affixes on nouns, the traditional description of Case systems of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin cannot be accepted as the basis for the treatment of Vietnamese Case systems.

1.2 Vietnamese Word order

Syntactically, Vietnamese is a

S V O language.

(i.e. subject verb object)

(Note that in this thesis, the terms 'subject' (or 'surface subject') and 'object' (or 'surface object') mean 'grammatical subject' and 'grammatical object';

the notions 'logical (or deep) subject' and 'logical (or deep) object' have no place in Case Grammar.

Since Vietnamese is not an inflectional language, 'subjects' and 'objects' are marked by their sequential order. In unmarked sentences, 'subject' is the NP which immediately precedes the verb and 'object' is the NP which immediately follows certain classes of verb).

For example:

Affirmative: (12) Ba bán sách này .
 S V O
 Ba sell book this
 'Ba is selling this book!

Negative: (13) Ba không bán sách này .
 S V O
 Ba no sell book this
 'Ba does not sell this book!

Interrogative:
 (14) Ba bán sách này không ?
 S V O
 Ba sell book this interrogative word
 'Does Ba sell this book?'

(15) Ba bán gì ?
 S V O
 Ba sell what
 'What did Ba sell?'

(16) Ai bán sách này ?
 S V O
 who sell book this
 'Who sells this book?'

The SVO order is the unmarked form of a sentence.

Whenever O is topicalised^{7'} the order is OSV.

- (17) Sách này , Ba bán .
 O S V
 Book this Ba sell
 'This book , Ba is selling!

With questions, the order OSV is acceptable if O is not questioned.

- (18) Sách này , Ba bán không?
 O S V
 Book this Ba sell interrogative word
 'This book , is Ba selling?'
- (19) Sách này , ai bán ?
 O S V
 Book this who sell
 'This book , who sells ?'

7'. Topicalisation (see Chapter 6)

CHAPTER 2.THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF CASE GRAMMAR.

Case Grammar dates from the mid-1960s and is an offshoot of Transformational-Generative Grammar (T.G.) in the sense that

"it was a reaction against the failure of T.G. to distinguish the Semantic Roles of noun phrases in relation to their verbs from the positions that the noun phrases occupy in syntactic configurations." (Bolinger, 1975: 548).

For this reason, before discussing Fillmore's and Anderson's Case Grammar, I want to present briefly the treatment of the Semantic Roles of noun phrases in a type of TG as advocated by Chomsky.

2.1 Chomsky's Aspects (1965)

2.1.1 Syntax - Semantics Connection.

In Generative Grammar the connection between semantics and syntax has always been a difficult problem to elucidate clearly. Chomsky (1957: 93) states:

"There is no aspect of linguistic study more subject to confusion and more in need of clear and careful formulation than that which deals with the points of connection between syntax and semantics. The real question that should be asked is: 'How are the syntactic devices available in a given language put to work in the actual use of this language'."

Chomsky (1965) discusses cases in which a more abstract notion of grammatical function than the one represented in deep structure is needed. There are such

instances as :

- (20) a. John bought the book from Bill.
 b. Bill sold the book to John.

in which the clear syntactic - semantic relationship cannot be described in transformational terms.

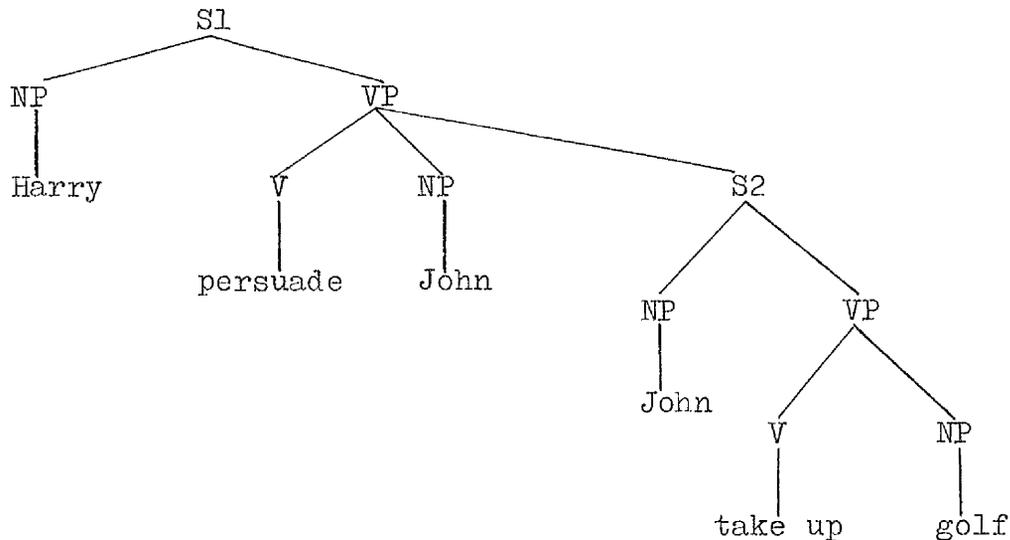
2.1.2. 'Logical' and 'Grammatical' Subject.

Chomsky draws the distinction between the 'logical' (i.e. deep structure) and 'grammatical' (i.e. surface structure) subject of a sentence. The 'logical' subject is the NP which is immediately dominated by S (i.e. sentence) in the deep structure; the 'grammatical' subject is the leftmost NP which is immediately dominated by (the topmost) S in the surface structure (Lyons, 1970: 81).

The logical object can be defined as the relation holding between an NP and an immediately dominating VP. For example:

- (21) John was persuaded by Harry to take up golf.

John is the grammatical subject. The above sentence may be represented informally as follows:



Harry is the logical subject of the matrix sentence S1. John is the logical subject of the embedded sentence S2. The logical subject of S2 is identical with the logical object of S1.

Chomsky claims that logical subject (or subject of) and logical object (or object of) are semantically relevant notions, on which the semantic interpretation of the sentence depends.

2.1.3 Case

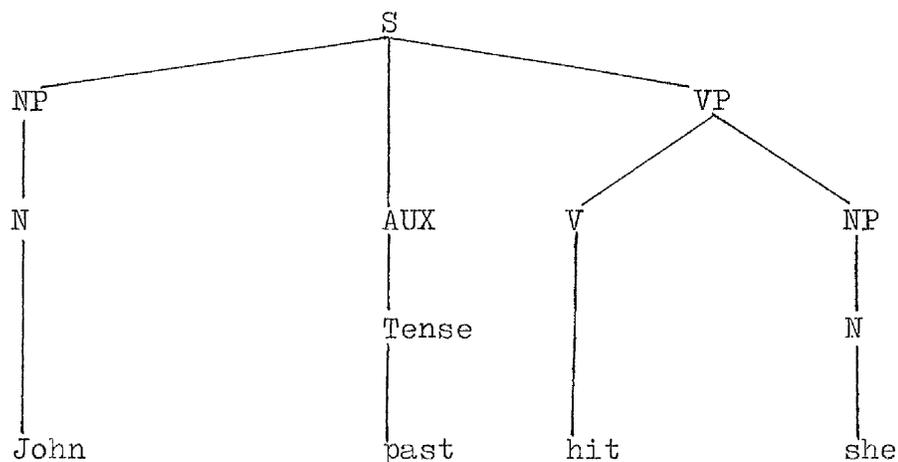
Discussing Case, Chomsky (1965: 221) says that Cases are only surface features.

"Case is usually determined by the position of the noun in surface structure."

(22) John hit her .
 | |
 Nominative Accusative

Since Case often depends on aspects of surface rather than deep structure, the features involved in the Case dimension are certainly added to a formative by rather late transformations.

The underlying structure of (22) would be represented as follows:



In order to get the actual surface realisation of sentence (22), it is necessary to apply the Case transformation to the NP immediately dominated by the VP.

The transformational rule which introduces the feature [+ Accusative] to the NP immediately dominated by the VP converts she into her. Then, further rules will turn the string:

John + past + hit + her

into

John hit her.

This approach to the study of Case is completely different from that of Fillmore as we shall see in the subsequent section.

2.2. Fillmore's Case Grammar.

Theoretical Assumptions of Fillmore's Case Grammar.

The framework of Fillmore's Case Grammar can be constructed on the basis of his undermentioned works :

1. "A Proposal Concerning English Prepositions" (1966a)
2. "Towards a Modern Theory of Case" (1966b)
3. "The Case for Case" (1968a)
4. "Lexical Entries for Verbs" (1968b)
5. "Types of Lexical Information" (1969a)
6. "Verbs of Judging: an Exercise in Semantic Description" (1969b)
7. "The Grammar of Hitting and Breaking" (1970a)
8. "Subjects, Speakers and Roles" (1970b)
9. "On Generativity" (1970c)
10. "Some Problems for Case Grammar" (1971)
11. "The Case for Case Reopened" (1977)

Of these, the third expounds Fillmore's Case Grammar in detail and still remains the standard treatment. The tenth sketches the inadequacies that have emerged in the initial formulation during the intervening period. The eleventh answers several criticisms of Case theory, and

relates the notion of deep Case to that of grammatical relation.

The discussion in this review will be based on the third, tenth and eleventh, since it seems to me that these works cover the exposition of Fillmore's Case Grammar.

2.2.1 Case and Case form.

Fillmore uses the terms Case and Case-form to name two distinctive concepts associated respectively with the deep structure and the surface structure.

"I shall adopt the usage first proposed, as far as I can tell, by Blake (1930), of using the term Case to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship, and the term Case-form to mean the expression of a Case-relationship in a particular language - whether through affixation, suppletion, use of clitic particles, or constraints on word order." (1968a: 21).

2.2.2 Case and the Semantic Notion of Subject and Object

Fillmore's Case Grammar proposal comes as a reaction to the TG Grammar as advocated by Chomsky in Aspects (1965). He questions whether or not the semantic notion of subject is correlated with the surface subject. Fillmore shows that in many instances one cannot give a consistent semantic interpretation to the concept subject or object. This may be seen from the following

sentences:

- (23) a. The door opened.
 b. John opened the door.
 c. The key opened the door.

The door, John and the Key are specified as subject in Chomsky's framework but it is obvious that John is an actor in the way that the door and the key are not.

The door, in all these sentences is understood to undergo the same type of process (i.e. the Role is constant) but it is a subject in (23a), direct object in (23b & c).

Fillmore proposes a deep structure in which the Semantic Roles are represented directly, and at such a level (considerably more abstract, or 'deeper', than that envisaged by Chomsky) there will accordingly be no subject and object functions: these functions will be definable only at later stages in the derivation.

He also proposes to assign constant semantic function to nouns which apparently play the same Role in different environments; the door is Objective in all three sentences of example (23), John is Agentive and the key is Instrumental.

2.2.3 Basic Assumptions of Case Grammar.

Two assumptions are essential to the argument of

Case Grammar.⁸

The first of these is the centrality of syntax. In Grammars where syntax is central, the forms of words are specified with respect to syntactic concepts not the other way around (1968a: 3). This means that in Case Grammar, the organisation of the sentence as a whole should be taken as the framework within which the functions of the individual grammatical morphemes could be stated (1977: 62).

The second assumption is the importance of covert categories. Some sentence constituents lack obvious 'morphemic' realisations but have a reality that can be observed on the basis of selectional constraints and transformational possibilities. The concept 'covert category' makes it possible to believe that at bottom all languages are essentially alike. (1968a: 3).

2.2.4 Base Rules of Case Grammar.

Case Grammar consists of a base component and a set of transformational rules. The function of the

⁸. The phrase Case Grammar is misleading. Fillmore (1977:62) says that the proposals he made in "The Case for Case" did not cohere into a model of Grammar.

"Instead, they were suggestions about a level of organisation of a clause that was relevant to both its meaning and its grammatical structure; that provided a way of describing certain aspects of lexical structure; and that offered convenient classifications of clause types."

base component is to characterise the underlying structures of sentences. The mechanism which maps the underlying structures into surface structures is constituted by transformational rules.

2.2.4.1 Base Component: A sentence consists of two major constituents. (1968a: 24). They are:

1. Proposition: A tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns (and embedded sentences, if there are any).
2. Modality includes negation, tense, mood and aspect.

The first base rule, then, is (i) abbreviated to (i').

(i) Sentence \longrightarrow Modality + Proposition.

(i') S \longrightarrow M + P

The proposition constituent is 'expanded' as a verb and one or more Case categories.

(ii) P \longrightarrow V + C1 + C2 + + Cn (C = Case).

Each Case category dominates two constituents. They are: the Case-marker which is represented by the symbol K (from Kasus) and an NP.

Case-Marker (K): The Case-markers in English are typically prepositions.

"The rules for English prepositions may look something like this: the A (i.e. Agentive) preposition is by; the I (i.e. Instrumental) preposition is by if there is no A, otherwise it is with; the O (i.e. Objective) and F (i.e. Factitive) prepositions are typically zero; the B (i.e. Benefactive) preposition is for; the D (i.e. Dative) preposition is typically to...."
(1968a: 32).

(iii) C \longrightarrow K + NP

(iv) NP \longrightarrow d + N (d = Determiner).

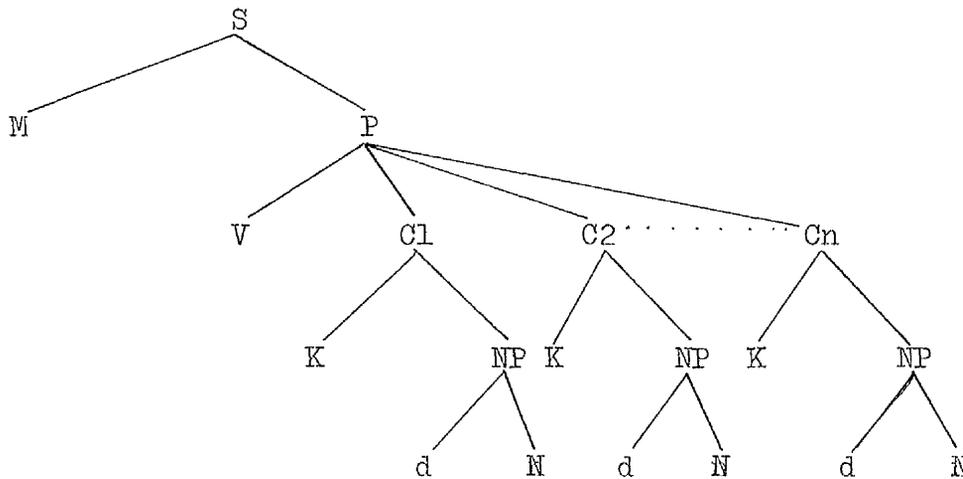
Fillmore (1968a: 32-33) says:

"The position of prepositions can be guaranteed either by having the Case categories rewritten as prep + NP, or by having prep be one of the obligatory constituents of NP. I shall make the former choice, although the grounds for deciding one way or the other are not particularly clear."

The Cases and the verbs to which they are related are the primitives which constitute a universal base component. The surface sentences of different languages are derived from this base by a set of transformations which are language-specific.

Rules (i'), (ii), (iii) and (iv) will generate the deep structure like the following

figure.



In the deep structure, the noun phrases following the verb⁹ are unordered, and furthermore, no one of them can be said to be the subject.

"The present essay is intended as a contribution to the study of formal and substantive syntactic universals. Questions of linear ordering are left untouched, or at least unresolved." (1968a: 2).

A base-component without any sequential ordering of items of Case Grammar is opposed to the concatenation - system of the standard theory which implies a sequential ordering in the base structure (Chomsky, 1965 : 124-127).

Fillmore (1968a: 33) gives rules that specify the choice of surface subject.

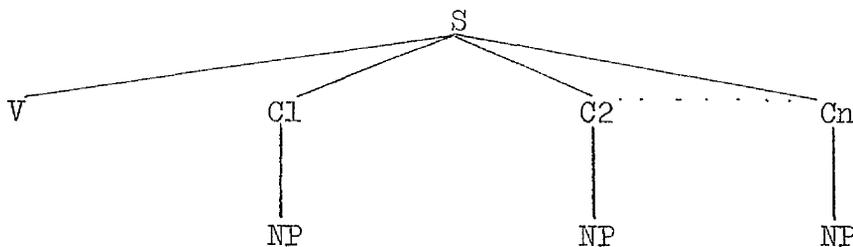
⁹. Note that some of Fillmore's terminology has changed from the time of 1968a. In 1968b, 1969, 1970b Fillmore talks about 'Predicates' rather than 'Verbs' and 'Arguments' or 'Roles' rather than 'Cases'.

"If there is an A, it becomes the subject; otherwise, if there is an I, it becomes the subject; otherwise, the subject is the O."

2.2.4.2 Fillmore's 1970b Case-Grammar model

In the 1970b Case-Grammar model, there is no longer a Proposition (P) and a Modality (M), nor is there a K-marker for NPs. With the loss of M, the features of negation, tense, mood and aspect are directly adjoined to the verb constituent. Similarly, with the loss of K, the Case-markers are directly adjoined to the noun phrases by means of preposition selection rules (Cook, 1971: 11).

Each sentence consists of a verb and a series of Cases. Each Case directly dominates its own NP.



2.2.4.3 Lexical Selection

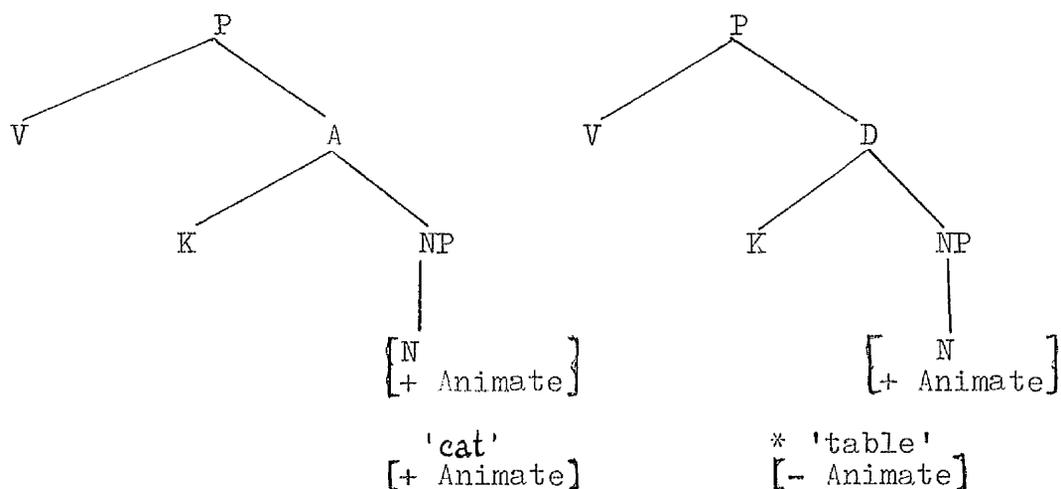
Two main problems of lexical selection are that of the nouns and that of the verbs.

1. Nouns: Those features of nouns required by a particular Case are to be specified by obligatory rules of the type such as the following, which specifies that any

N is an A or D phrase must contain the feature [+ Animate].

$N \longrightarrow [+ \text{Animate}] / \text{A, D } [X - Y].$

This context-sensitive subcategorisation rule applies before lexical items are inserted in the underlying structure, and is to prevent the insertion under N-nodes dominated by A or D of lexical entries of nouns inherently specified [- Animate].



2. Verbs: The insertion of verbs depends on the particular array of Cases, the 'Case-frame' provided by the sentence. For example, verbs like murder and terrorize may be inserted into the frame: $+ [\text{--- D } + \text{A}]$.

Verbs like give into: $+ [\text{--- O } + \text{D } + \text{A}]$, and so on.

Complex sentences with sentence embedding are generated by recursion of the category S in the O (bjective) relationship.

(24) We persuaded John that he could win.
 A D O(S)

The Case-frame of persuade is: $+ [\text{--- S } + \text{D } + \text{A}]$.

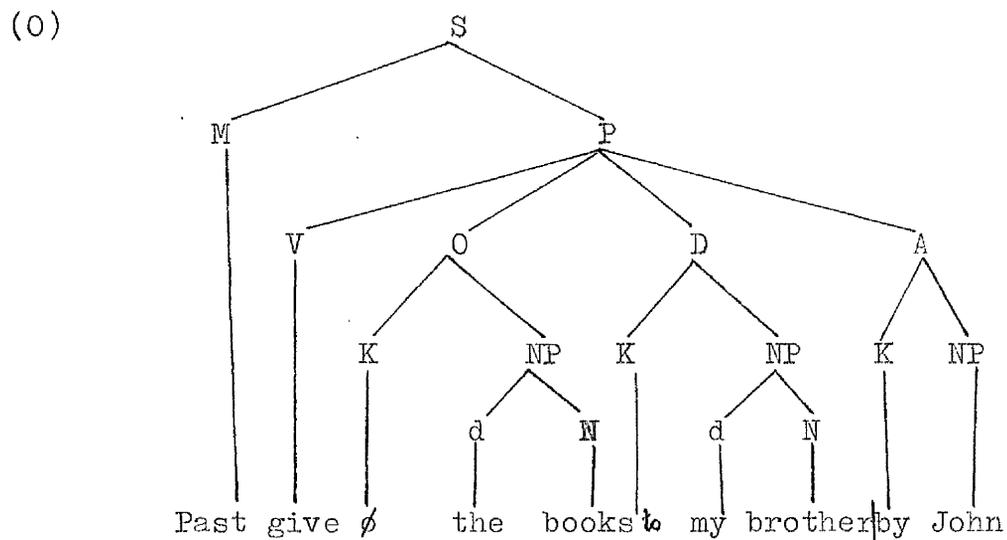
2.2.5 Transformational Rules (1968a Case Grammar Model)

The following transformational rules can be applied to simple active sentences.

1. Subjectivalisation.
2. K-deletion.
3. Objectivalisation.
4. Tense incorporation.

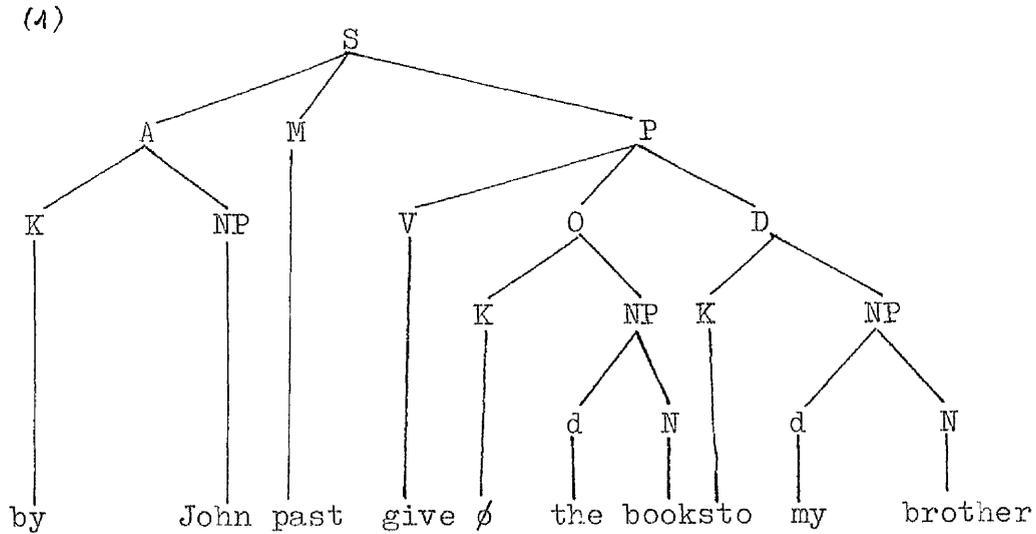
Example (25) John gave the books to my brother.

The structure which underlies the above example can be diagrammed as follows:



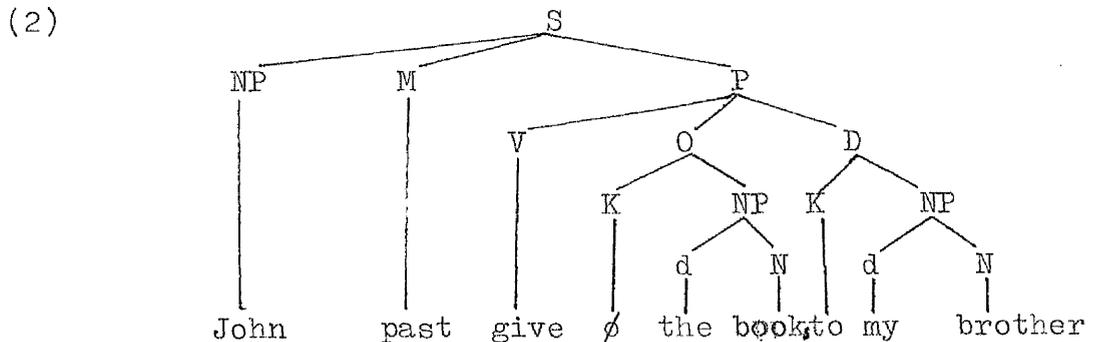
To convert this deep structure into surface structure, we must apply:

1. Subjectivalisation: The subjectivalisation transformational rule moves A to the surface subject position (which is in front of Modality). Then, it is directly subjoined to the category S.



2. K-deletion:

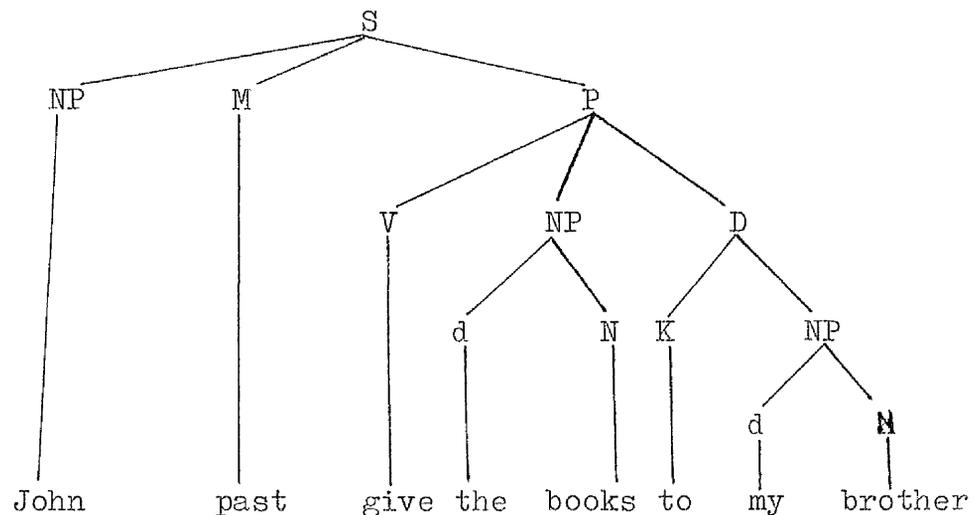
In English, subjects are not preceded by Case-markers. We, therefore, apply the K-deletion transformation. At the same time we delete the Agentive **node**. We will be following a convention which deletes the **node** naming the Semantic Role whenever the K has been deleted.



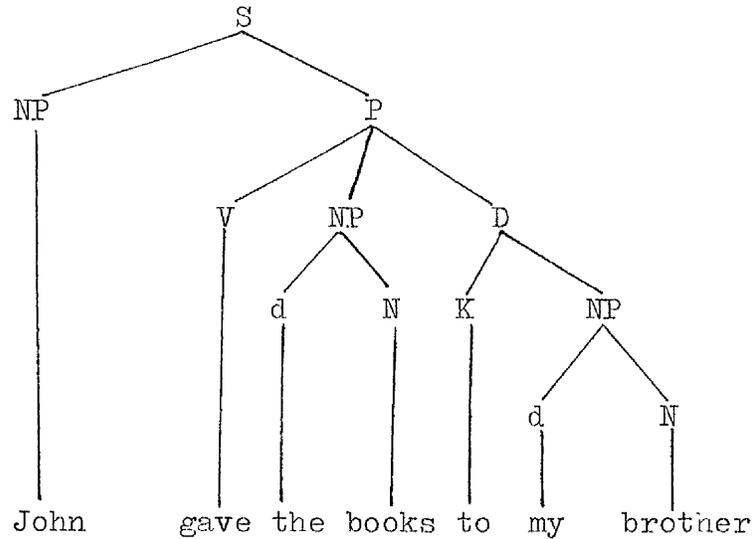
3. Objectivalisation : If our original ordering (i.e. Phrase Marker (o)) had placed Objective before Dative - as we could have since we gave no ordering restrictions for the original tree - we would still perform objectivalisation even though it applied vacuously, with no change in ordering.

4. K-deletion : The Objective Case-Marker K is deleted and with it the Objective node.

(4)



5. Tense incorporation includes the following steps:
- The tense of the verb, which is under the Modality node (M) must be incorporated under the verb node (V), and the M-node must be deleted.
 - The tense (in English) becomes an affix which follows the verb, and it is bound to that verb by subsequent morphophonemic rules.



This terminal string has reached the surface structure.

We have: John gave the books to my brother.

2.2.6 Case Notions

The Case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate, concepts which identify certain types of judgments human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgments about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and what got changed. (1968 a: 24).

Fillmore has modified the number and description of Cases from publication to publication. The following Cases are variously postulated in 1968a, 1969a, 1971 and 1977.

1. Agentive (A)
(1968a: 24) the Case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb.

(1969a: 116) the instigator of the event.

(1971: 44) the 'principal cause'.

(1977: 75) the manipulator.

(26) John opened the door.
A O

2. Counter-Agent (C)

(1969a: 116) the force or resistance against which the action is carried out. (Fillmore does not discuss this Case and he appears to have rejected it in later publications).

(27) John protected Mary from the dog.
A E C

3. Dative (D)

(1968a: 24) the Case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb.

(28) John Killed Bill.
A D

4. Experiencer (E)

(1969a: 116) the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action. (It is called Dative in 1968a: 24).

(1971: 42) where there is a genuine psychological event or mental state verb, we have the Experiencer.

(29) I suspect that John loves Mary.
E O

5. Factitive (F)

(1968a: 25) the Case of the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb.

(30) $\frac{I}{A}$ constructed $\frac{a \text{ bridge.}}{F}$.

6. Goal (G)

(1969a: 116) the place to which something moves.

(31) $\frac{He}{A}$ went $\frac{to \text{ London.}}{G}$.

(1971: 41) The later location, state or time point.

(1971: 42) (i) where there is a transfer or movement of something to a person, the receiver as destination is taken as the Goal.

(32) $\frac{John}{A}$ sold $\frac{the \text{ car}}{O}$ $\frac{to \text{ Bill.}}{G}$.

(ii) since the Goal Case is used to indicate the later state or end result of some action or change, it can absorb what I used to call 'Resultative' or 'Factitive'; that is, it specifies the end-result Role of a thing which comes into existence as a result of the action identified by the Predicator, as in:

$\frac{I}{A}$ wrote $\frac{a \text{ poem.}}{G}$.

or $\frac{I}{A}$ constructed $\frac{a \text{ bridge.}}{G}$.

(1977:75) the thing on which the manipulated
thing acts.

(33) $\frac{I}{A}$ hit $\frac{\text{the stick}}{P}$ $\frac{\text{against Harry}}{G}$.

7. Instrumental (I)

(1968a: 24) the Case of the inanimate force or
object causally involved in the action or
state identified by the verb.

(34) $\frac{\text{John}}{A}$ opened $\frac{\text{the door}}{O}$ $\frac{\text{with the key}}{I}$.

(1969a: 116) the stimulus or immediate physical cause
of an event.

(35) $\frac{\text{He}}{I}$ reminded $\frac{\text{me}}{E}$ $\frac{\text{of his father}}{O}$.

(1971: 42) the Case of the immediate cause of an event.

(36) $\frac{\text{The accident}}{I}$ caused $\frac{\text{the revolution}}{O}$.

8. Locative (L)

(1968a: 25) the Case which identifies the location or
spatial orientation of the state or action
identified by the verb.

(37) $\frac{\text{Chicago}}{L}$ is windy.

9. Objective (O)

(1968a: 25) the semantically most neutral Case, the case
of anything representable by a noun whose role

in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb. The term is not to be confused with the notion of direct object, nor with the name of the surface Case synonymous with Accusative.

(38) John opened the door with the key.
 A O I

(1969a: 116) the entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration.

(39) This river flows into the sea.
 O G

(1971: 42) (i) the entity which moves or which undergoes change. Sentences embedded to Objects can serve to identify, for example, the content of a psychological event, as with verbs of judging or imagining.

(40) I suspect that John loves Mary.
 E O

(ii) where there is a non-psychological verb which indicates a change of state, such as one of dying or growing, we have the Object.

(41) Mr. Smith died.
 O

10. Path (Pa)

(1971: 50) the 'itinerative' additional complement type
to Source and Goal.

(42) He walked from the cemetery gate to the
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{A} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{So} \\ \text{chapel along the canal.} \\ \text{G} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{Pa} \end{array}$

11. Patient (P)

(1977: 75) the thing which gets manipulated.

(43) I hit the stick against Harry.
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{A} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{P} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{G} \end{array}$

12. Result (R)

(1969a: 116) the entity that comes into existence as
a result of the action.

(44) I constructed a bridge.
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{A} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R} \end{array}$

13. Source (So)

(1969a: 116) the place from which something moves.

(1971: 41) the earlier location, state or time point.

(1971: 50) the starting point.

14. Time (T)

(1971: 49) the temporal orientation of action or event.

2.2.7 Criteria for Determining Cases.

Fillmore mentions four assumptions by which we can determine the Cases.

Assumption 1. No Case-relationship occurs more than once in a simple sentence (except with coordination) (1968a: 22).

It has been suggested (Baron, 1971: 77) that Fillmore postulates this assumption because of the Factitive. In English, the Factitive Case never occurs more than once in a simple sentence.

Assumption 2.

- (a) There should be a natural 'stopping point' in assigning semantic functions to noun phrases occurring in specific syntactic positions (1971:40).
- (b) There is a stopping place in the attempt to list the semantic functions that go with any given Predicator (1971: 40). For example, there are four semantic functions for the NP subject that *patterns* with the Predicator 'warm' in English.

- (45) 1. $\frac{I}{E}$ am warm.
2. $\frac{\text{The jacket}}{I}$ is warm.
3. $\frac{\text{Summer}}{T}$ is warm.
4. $\frac{\text{The room}}{L}$ is warm.

is grammatical, because Bill and Peter share the same Case-relation. But:

(48) * Lately I've been sadder than 'Love Story'.

is ungrammatical, because I and 'Love Story' do not share the same Case-relation.

Fillmore refers to the above three assumptions as 'principles of contrast'.

Assumption 4. Earlier - later indications are different instances of the same Cases, namely, Source and Goal.

With verbs of motion we have earlier - later location.

(49) He went from the top of the hill to the cemetery gate.
 A (Earlier Location) (Later Location)
 (Source) (Goal)

With verbs of temporal lapse, we distinguish earlier - later time points.

(50) The pageant lasted from sundown until midnight.
 (Earlier Time) (Later Time)
 (Source) (Goal.)

With transformation verbs we find earlier - later states.

(51) He changed from a 96-pound weakling into a
 (Earlier state)
 (Source)
famous football hero.
 (Later state)
 (Goal)

This assumption is called the 'principle of complementarity'.

Fillmore says that these two principles are fairly vague

"....they seldom lead to beautifully unambiguous results, and they are always subject to other sorts of consideration" (1971: 42)

Incidentally, assumptions 1 and 4 are contradictory.

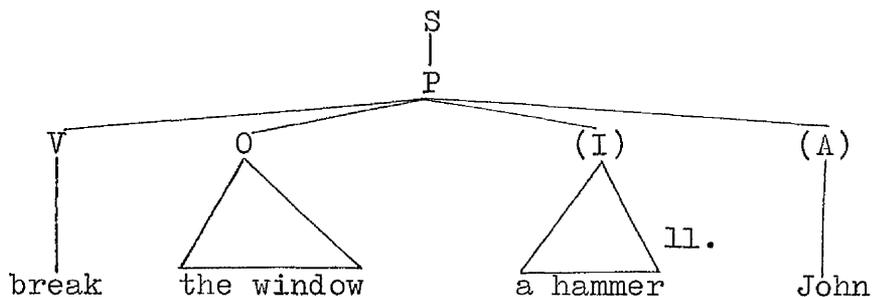
2.2.8 Merits of Fillmore's Case Grammar.

Fillmore's Case Grammar has at least four merits.

1. It enables us to recognise the cognitive equivalence of sentences which have different surface-structure patterns. Thus, it enables us to say that the different surface forms in (52), for example, are derived from a common¹⁰ Proposition in their deep-structure representations.

- (52)
- a. John broke the window with a hammer.
 - b. The window was broken by John with a hammer.
 - c. A hammer broke the window.
 - d. The window was broken by a hammer.
 - e. The window was broken.
 - f. The window broke.

10. 'Common' up to the presence or absence of optional elements.



In the above diagram, the O is obligatory, the I and A are optional. The various forms of (52) arise as the result of a hierarchically ordered series of subjectivalisation transformations which would effectively shift the O, the I or the A to the front of the sentence. In the standard theory (Chomsky, 1965), the sentences in (52) may not be formally syntactic related.

2. The problem for the standard theory that the (configurationally defined) subject was not given a consistent semantic interpretation is avoided. In (52 a, b, c) all of John, the window and a hammer are deep-structure subjects in Aspects, but their Semantic Role is clearly quite different in each instance. Fillmore's Case Grammar is capable of giving each NP in (52a, b, c) a constant semantic function.

3. Case Grammar is capable of accounting for the lexical relation between the 'two verbs' open used in sentences (53 a & b).

11. Note that the triangles are used here to indicate that other details of the full deep structure formulation have been omitted.

2.2.9 Some Familiar Problems of Fillmore's Case Grammar.

The aim of this section is to present some problems of Fillmore's Case Grammar which have been cited in earlier Case Grammar investigations. Suggestions have been made when these problems occur in the study of Vietnamese Case Grammar.

1. Problem of Case-Marking Prepositions

Referring specifically to the Instrumental Case in English, Fillmore indicates that when the Proposition contains an Agentive, the preposition with marks Instrumental. Nilsen (1972:20) says that

"More often than not, this generalization holds true, but to use it as a means of Case identification or assignment brings up a number of problems. The most obvious problem is that there is by no means a one-to-one relationship between preposition and Case."

The following examples illustrate that with is used with different Cases.

- (55) a. Instrumental: He hit the dog with a stick.
 b. Comitative: He went with Mary.
 c. Locative: He remained with John.
 d. Manner: He spoke with great enthusiasm.

The same Case may be marked by different prepositions, as in the following sentences:

Objective (O)

(1971: 42) Where there is a non-psychological verb which indicates a change of state, such as one of dying or growing, we have the Object.

Consider: (58) Mrs. Smith worried about her daughter.

The noun phrases Mrs. Smith and her daughter are both related to the verb worried. One wonders which of them is to be specified as Experiencer.

It may be interpreted (in favour of the definition 1971: 42) that the noun phrase which indicates initiation of the psychological event or mental state verb, is to be specified as Experiencer. Thus, Mrs. Smith is an Experiencer and not her daughter.

- (59) a. Mrs. Smith died.
O
- b. Mrs. Smith felt worried.
E

According to Fillmore's definitions of E and O (1971: 42), Mrs. Smith in (59a) is an O, but in (59b), she is an E.

In fact, whatever process, psychological or non-psychological may be involved in feeling dying or worrying, the way the noun phrase Mrs. Smith is affected in (59a) is not different from that in (59b). In other words, if no external Agency affects Mrs. Smith in (59b), so is the case in (59a). Thus, there is no reason why Mrs. Smith in both (59a & b) should not be specified either as E or O.

Nilsen (1972: 13) also criticises Fillmore's first assumption. He says:

"There are several exceptions to the rule. Examples include symmetrical sentences where the noun phrases are interchangeable. Since there is no difference in meaning (except for a topicalisation difference) between

- and (i) John is similar to Peter.
(ii) Peter is similar to John.

both John and Peter must be members of the same deep Case, whatever it is."

Fillmore (1970 b: 262) however, claims that the difference between (i) and (ii) is not one of topicalisation, but one of Role. For him, the subject in such sentences is Instrument, the object Objective.

"It is frequently the case, however, that apparent symmetric predicates are not properly symmetric after all. Sentences of the form (37-a). (37-a) NP resembles NP are extensionally symmetric if both NPs are definite referring expressions, but otherwise (as in (37-b) not.
(37-b) Your brother resembles a horse.
My interpretation of the Similarity Predicates is that one of the terms has the role stimulus (or what I would call Instrument, but with the notion of 'implement' abstracted away), the other has the role Theme (or what I have called Object in my earlier writings)".

- (b) According to Dougherty (1970: 510), Fillmore's third assumption (i.e. only NPs representing the same Case may be conjoined) is not quite correct. He gives a number of examples as an illustration.

- (i) Both the key and the locksmith opened the door.
- (ii) Neither the key nor the locksmith opened the door.
- (iii) Did the locksmith or the key open the door?
- (iv) The door was opened once with a key and twice
by the locksmith.
- (v) John and Mary gave a book and were given a book
respectively.

However, according to many native English speakers, examples (i), (ii) and (iii) are not entirely acceptable. Examples (iv) and (v) are grammatical but both are marked as involving separate acts.

Fillmore needs to state his notion of conjunction explicitly in order to explain that what he means is: In coordinate constructions, the Predicate must indicate that, for example, the action of the two Agentives is performed at the same time, or the conjoined Cases "have their source in an adnominal comitative" (Anderson, 1977: 41).

4. Problem of Cases on two 'levels' (or Co-referential Cases)

(61) John swam.

In 1968a, Fillmore claims that only one Case can be allotted per argument (i.e. NP); therefore, the only possible Case-frame for sentence (61) is:

Swim: + [— A]

In 1970b, Fillmore allows more than one Case-relation per NP. Fillmore analyses John in John swam as having two Case-relations: Agentive and Objective.

For him, this type of Agentive cannot take a separate Objective since the agent is both performer and the object of the action¹².

Other verbs that occur with this type of Agentive are:

laugh, smile, walk, cry, work.

(62) John laughed.

A
O

Laugh: + [— $\frac{A}{O}$]

Fillmore (1970b: 264-265) says:

"In my proposals on 'Case Grammar' I have assumed that the Role types which one can refer to in describing the semantic structure of predicates make up a universally valid and reasonably well-specified set of concepts. I have assumed, too, that the Role types are themselves unanalyzables I have convinced myself that certain Role notions recur across widely variant languages, namely those for which one finds useful the terms Agent, Instrument, Location, Object, Patient, etc..... The most serious difficulties have had to do with specifying exactly what this small set of Role types consisted of, and determining whether or not it would turn out to be necessary, at least for some verbs, to interpret certain arguments as serving two Role functions simultaneously" (underlined mine).

He continues: "I am at the moment ready to assume that it may be necessary to treat the semantic Roles of arguments on two 'levels' (i.e. Coreferential Cases)".

12. Anderson (1971: 50) describes the same type of agent as one which "operates in some sense upon itself".

It is obvious that in a system which allows an argument to serve two Role functions simultaneously, the semantic structure of a sentence can be captured in an intuitively pleasing way. However, it seems difficult to decide which Cases are on which level - for instance, in example (62), should the A be regarded as on the high level, and the O on the lower level.

Laugh: + [— $\begin{matrix} A \\ O \end{matrix}$]

or the other way up e.g. Laugh: + [— $\begin{matrix} O \\ A \end{matrix}$] ?

The Case system becomes complicated because some Cases always occur on one level. For instance, it is difficult to find examples of:

I A
A or L

Since the combinations of Cases on two levels cannot be presented in a systematic way, the two-level Case system is inconsistent.

Treatment of Co-referential Cases in the present study of Vietnamese Case Grammar

The fact that an NP, for example, plays two Semantic Roles in deep structure, but one Semantic Role is obligatorily left out of the surface structure indicates

that there is a level of representation deeper than the one provided by the Base Rules of Case Grammar. To my knowledge, up to now, nobody can propose the appropriate rewrite rules which can represent the multiple case-relations for an NP.

To deal with Coreferential Cases, Anderson (1971) treats one of the two coreferential Cases as a Case feature.

(63) John ran.
 [Erg
 [Nom]

Nominative (Nom) is attached to Ergative (Erg) (i.e. Agentive in Fillmore's Case Grammar) and is marked as a Case feature.

I do not follow this approach, since it is very confusing to treat Cases sometimes as syntactic-semantic relationships between the main verb of a sentence and NPs, and sometimes as semantic features of the other Cases.

The Case model adopted in this thesis does not allow an argument to function^{as} two Cases at the same time. The Cases are treated as discrete constituents of a Proposition. Depending on the verb-type, each NP in a sentence functions one and only one Case, e.g.

(64) Ba chay.
 'Ba ran'.

Chay is a physical|Action verb. It selects an A which is - according to the definition - an 'animate' entity

who is an immediate actor, doer, performer or manipulator of an action.

(65) Xe chạy.
*('The car ran')

Again, chạy in (65) is also a physical Action verb. It must select an A, but xe 'the car' is an 'inanimate' entity, therefore it cannot perform the action of running by itself. xe 'the car' in sentence (65) fits the description of the O (i.e. the 'inanimate' entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration.) Thus, it functions as an O.

There are two lexical entries of chạy 'run'.

chạy 1: + [— A + (O)] e.g. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ chạy . 'Ba ran'.

$\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ chạy $\frac{\text{má}'\text{y}}{\text{O}}$ 'Ba ran the machine'.

chạy 2: + [— O + (So) + (G)] e.g. Xe chạy* ('The car ran')

$\frac{\text{Xe}}{\text{O}}$ chạy $\frac{\text{tủ}'\text{đường}}{\text{So}}$ Bach-Đặng $\frac{\text{tới}'\text{đường}}{\text{G}}$ Cường-Đế.

*('The car ran from Bach-Đặng street to Cường-Đế street')

5. Problem of Suppression, Deletion and Incorporation of Case

(i) Problem with Fillmore's terminologies

Fillmore makes a distinction between the conceptual presence of a Case-relation and its actual realisation in surface structure. When a Case-relation

is conceptually present but not overtly realised in the sentence, Fillmore says that it is suppressed, deleted or left out of the surface structure.

Discussing the English verb cook, Fillmore (1968a: 29) says:

"The frame feature of cook is presumably something like:

+ [— O (A)]

and an idiosyncratic transformational feature of the verb is that just in case the A is present and the O is some NP representing a typical NP for the verb (that is, something like food or a meal) the O element may be deleted"

In 1968b: 384, discussing verb hit, Fillmore says:

"Conceptually, ... the agent is an unnecessary part of expressions containing hit (e.g. in The rock hit the tree there may not be the implication of an outside Agency). Syntactically, certain conceptually present Roles may be 'suppressed' under certain conditions".

In 1969a: 379, Fillmore says:

"Sometimes an argument is obligatorily left out of the surface structure because it is subsumed as a part of the meaning of the Predicate."

When a Case is suppressed, it does not appear in the deep structure of the sentence in question. This is distinct from deletion. A Case is deleted (or

obligatorily left out) when it appears in the deep structure, but is absent from the surface structure.

For Fillmore, the direct object of a verb must be 'typical' for that verb if deletion is to occur. This point is contradictory to Gruber's as we shall see in the subsequent section.

(ii) Gruber and Incorporation.

According to Gruber (1976: 9-36), there are cases of incorporation of nouns, such as direct objects, and adjectives, such as adjectival complements. In the incorporation process, the noun, for example, must be 'typical' for the verb. Incorporation is the idiosyncratic characteristic of a lexical item. It may either be optional or obligatory.

Optional incorporation.

"Consider the word eat - we can say:

The baby is eating cereal.

The baby is eating a marble.

But if we say:

The baby is eating.

We automatically imply that the baby is eating some sort of food, not possibly a marble. We can show that it is just about exactly the categories specifying food underlying a noun that is incorporated in eat" (1976: 35).

Obligatory incorporation

(66) John crossed the road.

Where across is incorporated into the verb cross
we cannot say: * John crossed across the road.

(iii) Application to the study of Vietnamese Case Grammar.

Consider:

(67) Ba đi săn.
A
Ba go hunt.
'Ba went hunting'.

(68) Ba đi bộ.
A
Ba walk.
'Ba walked'.

Although in sentences (67) and (68), the verbs săn 'hunt' and đi bộ 'walk' are not followed by any NP or prepositional phrase, Vietnamese speakers understand that in (67)

Ba đi săn thú.
A E
Ba go hunt animal.
'Ba went hunting animals'.

and in (68)

* Ba đi bộ bằng chân.
A I
Ba walk by leg.
* ('Ba walked with his legs'.)

In this thesis, I use the term incorporation to explain these facts. By incorporation, I mean 'the

NP has conceptually been absorbed into the Predicator'.
I agree with Gruber that incorporation is the
idiosyncratic characteristic of a lexical item.

With the obligatory incorporation, the NP is
absent in both surface and deep structure (e.g. Ba walked).
With the optional incorporation, the NP may or may not be
present in surface and deep structure.

For instance:

(67) $\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{Ba}} \\ \text{A} \end{array}$ di sǎn.
'Ba went hunting'.

Sǎn 'hunt': + [— A]

(67') $\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{Ba}} \\ \text{A} \end{array}$ di sǎn $\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{nai}} \\ \text{E} \end{array}$.
'Ba went hunting deer.'

Sǎn 'hunt' : + [— A + E]

The Case-frame of Sǎn 'hunt' is: + [— A + (E)]

where E is an optional Case which may or may not be
present in surface and deep structure.

The term deletion is used in this study to
indicate that the Case must be present in deep structure
but may not be present in surface structure.

$\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{He}} \\ \text{E} \end{array}$ was killed [] $\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{in New York}} \\ \text{L} \end{array}$.

The A is unspecified and thus not realised in
surface structure.

6. Problem of Order of Underlying Elements.

Jayawardana (1971:46) argues that:

"The main objective of Case Grammar is to support the idea of inventing a deep structure which is common to all languages. One of the crucial problems associated with such a common deep structure is the order of underlying elements. However, Case Grammar lacks explicit theoretical discussions about the constituent order of the base structure".

The order of elements in the deep structure is a matter of some dispute. There are three main hypotheses of the base (or deep structure):

- unordered bases.
- single order base.
- ordered bases.

According to Bartsch and Vennemann (1972: 38), the main argument for the 'unordered bases' hypothesis derives from the fact that different languages can have different word order, and even can dispense with grammatically functional word order altogether if a richly developed morphological system permits this. If one assumes the word order of the deep structure of one language as the universal order for deep structures, then languages with different basic word orders must be derived by rules which make such languages look inherently more complicated than the language that served as a model for deep structure order.

Anderson (1971, 1977) and Fillmore favour the hypothesis of unordered bases.

It is said (Ross, 1970: 257-258) that an 'unordered base' appears inevitable for languages like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

'Single order base' hypothesis embodies a claim that

"the evidence internal to any language will lead us to select a particular underlying order, and that this order will be the same for any language" (Anderson, 1977: 72).

'Ordered bases' hypothesis appertains, apparently idiosyncratically, to particular languages. In the present study of a Vietnamese Case Grammar, I choose this hypothesis because the word order in Vietnamese is relatively fixed.

7. Problem of a Universal Base Component

Fillmore claims that there exists a universal base component, and that surface sentences are derived from this base by a set of transformations which are language-specific.

However, according to Lakoff (1968: 214-5).

"There is at present no empirical evidence to support such an assertion. The choice of deep structure cannot be determined in any definitive way even for English, much less for other less-studied languages. The choice of deep structure will affect the rest of the grammar, of course, but in no case at present has the nature of the transformational component forced on us a specific choice of deep structure. Hence, since the nature of the base in any language cannot be determined conclusively, the decision as to whether the base is language-specific, Indo-European, or language-universal must rest on other factors. Thus, the linguist will work on each language individually, assuming no universality of the phrase-structure rules. The appearance of

similarities between unrelated languages would, of course, support the hypothesis of a universal base, but not prove it— not until all known languages have been shown, on independent grounds, to share the same deep structure will the hypothesis be proved empirically. This will probably never be done."

2.3 Anderson's Case Grammar (1971)

Anderson's Case Grammar differs from Fillmore's Case Grammar and Chomsky's 'standard' theory in rejecting a special level of deep structure intermediate between the levels of semantic and surface syntactic representation.

Anderson uses a Dependency Grammar to account for Case-relations.

"...Case-relations can be given a more natural expression with respect to the notion of dependency."¹³ (1971: 30, footnote 1)

In a Dependency Grammar, the relationship of modifier to head is very important. The head of a construction governs its modifiers, the modifiers depend on the head. Consider the configuration



In a dependency model, this is to be interpreted as:

B and C modify A

13. Fillmore (1968: 87; 1971: 55) does mention the possibility of using dependency notation, but does not take this up. "Dependency Case Grammars" is explained in detail in Anderson, 1977: 92-100.

i.e. A is the head of the construction and governs B and C (B and C might, for example, be a determiner and an adjective, while A is a noun) whereas in a phrase-structure Grammar (such as is employed by Chomsky and Fillmore) this configuration would be interpreted as:

B + C is an A (e.g. B might be a determiner; C, a noun; and A is a noun phrase).

Anderson provides two main reasons for using a Dependency Grammar to account for Case-relations. These reasons can be seen by comparing Fillmore's (1968a) Phrase-structure method of introducing Cases with Anderson's.

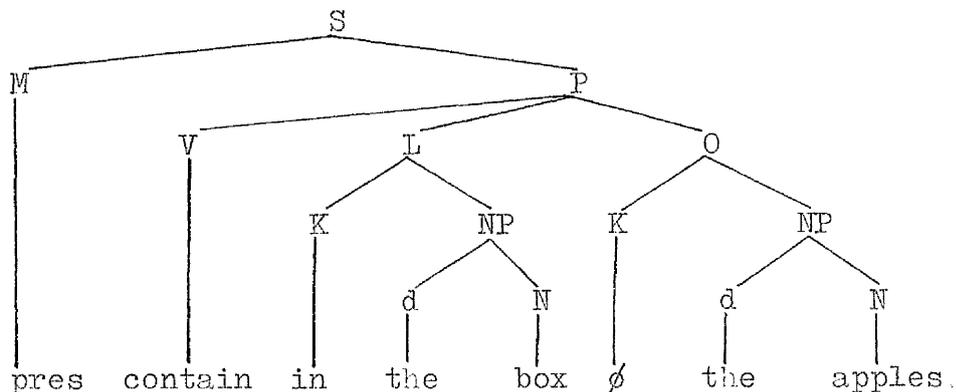
In Fillmore's (1968a) Grammar, a Case is re-written as

K + NP

where K may be realized as a preposition, postposition, or case-form. The configuration for the sentence

(69) The box contains the apples.

in a Fillmorean Grammar is thus:

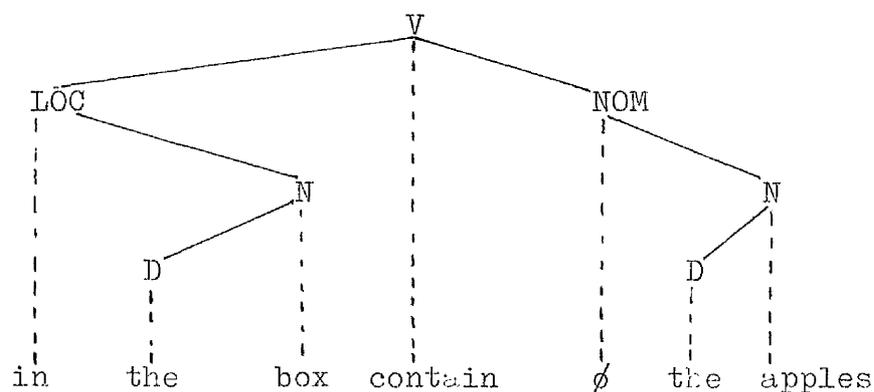


Firstly, Anderson points out that it seems misleading to say that:

K + NP is a L

Rather, especially, in a sentence of this type, L describes the function of the NP.

Secondly, this notation is redundant in the introduction of a category K which has to agree with the nature of the dominating Case. Therefore, sentence (69) should be represented by a Dependency tree as follows:



(Note that the discontinuous lines attach lexical items to lexical categories (which are now the only categories). They are the reflex of a category-assignment function which maps categories on to lexical items). (Anderson, 1977:94).

Anderson posits two pairs of Cases : the non-local (Nominative (Nom) - Ergative (Erg)) and the local (Locative (Loc) - Ablative (Abl)).¹⁴.

¹⁴. Anderson's Ergative Case is the same as Fillmore's Agentive. Note that Anderson operates through a relatively elaborate set of Base Rules which mention Cases sometimes as segments, sometimes as features.

(74)

- a. We walked from Waterloo Bridge along the Embankment to Westminster.
- b. We walked from Waterloo Bridge to Westminster along the Embankment.
- c. We walked along the Embankment to Westminster from Waterloo Bridge.

from Waterloo Bridge : Source.

to Westminster : Goal.

along the Embankment : Path.

Concluding Remarks

1. Anderson believes that a theory of grammar should be semantically based. Therefore, his work is based on Generative Semantics.

Fillmore (1971: 35) claims that:

"My position was what would now be called 'deep-structure interpretivist'"

However, Chomsky (1972: 101) quoting Fillmore (1968a: 88)

"....it is likely that... syntactic deep structure (independently motivated on syntactic grounds).... is going to go the way of the phoneme. It is an artificial intermediate level between the empirically discoverable 'semantic deep structure' (i.e. the Case system) and the observationally accessible surface structure, a level the properties of which have more to do with the methodological commitments of grammarians than with the nature of human language"

states that: "This conclusion has something of the flavor of Generative Semantics."

2. A Comparison between Fillmore's and Anderson's Case lists reveals that several of Fillmore's Cases (e.g. Location, Goal, Source, Experiencer) are included in Anderson's Locative.

Fillmore's and Anderson's Case Grammar models are different in their approach and scope. Fillmore's main objective in writing Case Grammar is to support the idea of universal grammar. His belief is that the most straightforward deep-structure commonalities between languages are to be sought at the 'deepest' level, where any sentence of any language can be broken down into the Predicate on the one hand, and the Cases that are appropriate for that particular Predicate on the other.

Anderson's primary aim in writing The Grammar of Case is to search for the common underlying 'abstract' relations that can be given a localist interpretation (Anderson, 1971: 210) - The Case-relations in Anderson's Case Grammar are characterised by dependency rules similar to those suggested by Hays (1964).

3. Anderson's dependency tree diagram of a simple sentence is more economical than Fillmore's phrase-structure tree. It shows clearly the Cases which are determined by the verb.

Fillmore (1971: 55) says that :

"I have in mind a kind of dependency notation which makes use of kernel trees or 'stemmas' each containing one root node, one or more labeled branches, and a variable or index symbol at the leaf end of each branch"

The semantic interpretation of the sentence is a collection of 'stemmas' plus information on variable relation. Unfortunately, these suggestive notions are not presented in any formalised manner.

In this thesis, the verb is considered central. It determines the kind of Cases which can occur with it. Presumably the dependency theory and dependency phrase-marker can give an accurate formal account of the syntactic-semantic relationships between a main verb and the noun phrases in a sentence. However, I do not use the notation of dependency but constituency. This is because it is not clear to me where the dependencies originate.

The type of phrase-marker I use in this thesis is similar to that of Fillmore's 1970b Model (See Chapter 7).

4. Fillmore's and Anderson's works deal with the English language specifically. However, since it is now widely believed that a modern deep Case theory based on deep Case-relations, may have universal application; we may apply this theory in an attempt to describe the syntactic structure of languages other than English, for example, Vietnamese.

In the present study of a Vietnamese Case Grammar, the modified Fillmore's Case system is chosen in preference to Anderson's Localistic Cases. The reason is that there are instances when the NPs are not manifested in surface structure of the sentence, Fillmore's Case system is able to provide a fairly specific set of Case notions in deep structure of that sentence. This reflects the competence of the ideal speaker-hearer

more precisely than Anderson's four-Case system-

(1971, 1972, 1973).

Starosta examines seven languages with different systems of Case-expression then comes to the conclusion that:

- (1) The realisation of two Case-relations by the same Case-form is not random. (The term Case-form is used here in a broad sense, including devices like word order as well as Case-marking prepositions).
- (2) The same pairs of Case-relations tend to share common realisations in many different languages.
- (3) To describe this phenomenon properly, it becomes necessary to assign labels to Case-forms (Anderson, 1977: 66).

Starosta proposes two universal sets of Case features.

- (1) A set of Case-relations (CR) (which are roughly the same as Fillmore's 1968a: 24).
- (2) A set of Case-forms (CF) which include Ergative (in Ergative languages), Nominative (in Accusative languages), Benefactive, Dative, Allative, Instrumental, Locative, Accusative and Ablative.

Starosta argues that it is possible to state the systematic correlation between Case-forms and Case-relations and to indicate which CF - CR associations are universal.

The Lexicase Grammar model consists of a language-specific base component composed of Phrase-structure Rules, a lexicon, and a phonological component. The lexicon consists of lexical entries which are specified for grammatical category features, Case-form features, idiosyncratic syntactic features, semantic features, and phonological representation; and lexical subcategorisation rules (SR) (SR is a rule which subcategorises lexical items, defining the possible classes and subclasses of lexical items), redundancy rules (RR) (RR: a rule which predicts the presence of one feature on the basis of another feature), and derivation rules (DR) (DR: a rule which serves as a pattern for introducing new members of a class of lexical items based on the members of another class), which operate on lexical entry matrices to produce lexical items. (Clark, 1975: 13-14).

Starosta criticises Fillmore in incorporating Case in the base component, since Fillmore uses Case relational terms as labels of nodes which dominate category symbols, i.e.

$$C(\text{ase}) \longrightarrow K + \text{NP}.$$

In Lexicase Grammar, Case-relations and Case-

forms are represented as lexical features of nouns and postpositions or prepositions. Thus, there is no need to represent Case as a syntactic node.

(76)	<u>Nó</u>	<u>chay</u>	<u>vào</u>]	<u>của</u>	<u>hàng</u>	<u>xe đạp</u>	.
	[+NM		[+L]	[+ AC			
	[+OBJ		[+GOL]	[+ LOC			
	He	run	into		door store		bicycle	
	<u>'He</u>	<u>ran</u>	<u>into</u>		<u>the bicycle shop</u>		(Clark,	
							1975: 104)	

(In each square bracket [], the Case-form is put above the Case-relation. Abbreviations consisting of three capital letters denote Case-relations (e.g. OBJ = Objective, GOL = Goal), one or two capital letters denote Case-forms (e.g. NM = Nominative, L = Locative) This convention is introduced by Starosta).

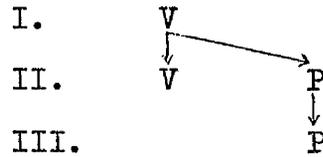
With Case-forms and Case-relations marked on lexical items and the relations between lexical items shown by derivation and subcategorisation rules, the surface syntactic structure alone appears to contain enough information to show the grammatical relationships between sentences, and constitutes a (systematic) semantic representation which serves as input to contextual semantic interpretation. Such a frame-work eliminates the necessity for a distinct deep structure and a transformational component, thus radically simplifying the grammar.

3.1.2 Coverbs (cvb)

Within the framework of the Lexicase model, Clark

treats coverbs as prepositions (P) derived from verbs (V).

Clark says that three broad stages can be postulated for the history of a single lexical item.



In stage I, the word occurs only as a verb. In stage II, the word occurs both as a V and as a P which may or may not retain the same semantic features as the verb. It goes without saying that within this stage, there is a long range of varying usage such that at the beginning of the stage the word may perhaps be used as a P only rarely and under given conditions, and at the end of the stage usage as a verb occurs rarely or vestigially. In stage III, the word is no longer used as a verb and is used only as a P.

Because verbs and prepositions are subject to category-particular syntactic rules, Clark considers the preposition and the verb to be two separate lexical items, related by a derivational rule.

It can be shown in several ways that a word performing a 'prepositional function' cannot be a verb. In the first place, verbs in series implies two actions or states, whether they are simultaneous actions or sequential actions as consecutive action, purpose, or resultative. The sentence, with the word vào

(77) Lan chạy vào vườn.
 Lan run go into garden.
 'Lan ran into the garden'.

could be considered to have serial verbs and to mean

'Lan ran and entered the garden'

However, (77) is not conceptualised by native speakers as having sequential actions. Vào could still be considered to be a verb if (77) is interpreted as simultaneous action.

'Lan ran, entering the garden'.

However,

(78) Lan nhìn vào cửa sổ .
 Lan look go into window
 'Lan looked into the window'

cannot be interpreted as:

*'Lan locked, entering the window!'

vào in (78) cannot be a verb.

To say that vào in (77) is a verb and vào in (78) is something other than a verb is to make an inconsistent and ad hoc statement about the grammar of Vietnamese, since the two vào's are grammatically identical. It might be claimed that vào in both (77) and (78) is a verb functioning as an adverb modifying the direction of chạy and nhìn. However, if this were the case, the presence of vào should be optional, and it is not;

(79) a. * Lan chạy vườn is ungrammatical
 * ('Lan ran garden')

b. (?) Lan nhìn cửa sổ .
 * ('Lan looked window')

Clark claims that Coverbs satisfy the requirements of verbs. For example, the verb thọc

(Lit. thrust) has the following Case-frame.

thọc (Lit: thrust)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{NM} \\ + \text{AGT} \end{array} \right] \\ + \text{AC, OBJ} \\ + \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{L} \\ + \text{AC, +rel} \end{array} \right], + \text{LOC} \end{array} \right]$$

The above Case-frame states that verb thọc

(1) has an obligatory Agentive, an obligatory Objective and an obligatory Locative.

(2) The Agentive must occur in the Nominative Case-form. The Objective must occur in the Accusative Case-form. The Locative must occur in the Locative Case-form or the Accusative Case-form with a Locative Relator Noun (+ rel = Relator).

(80) a. Ông thư-ký thọc tay vào túi áo.
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{NM} \\ + \text{AGT} \end{array} \right]$ V $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{AC} \\ + \text{OBJ} \end{array} \right]$ cvb $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{AC} \\ + \text{LOC} \end{array} \right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{L} \\ + \text{GOL} \end{array} \right]$

Mr. secretary thrust hand enter pocket jacket
 'The clerk put his hand into his coat pocket'.

b. Ông thư-ký thọc tay trong túi áo.
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{NM} \\ + \text{AGT} \end{array} \right]$ V $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{AC} \\ + \text{OBJ} \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{AC} \\ + \text{LOC} \end{array} \right]$

Mr. secretary thrust hand interior pocket jacket
 'The clerk put his hand in his coat pocket'.

3.2 Cases, clauses and sentences in Vietnamese by Liêm (1975).

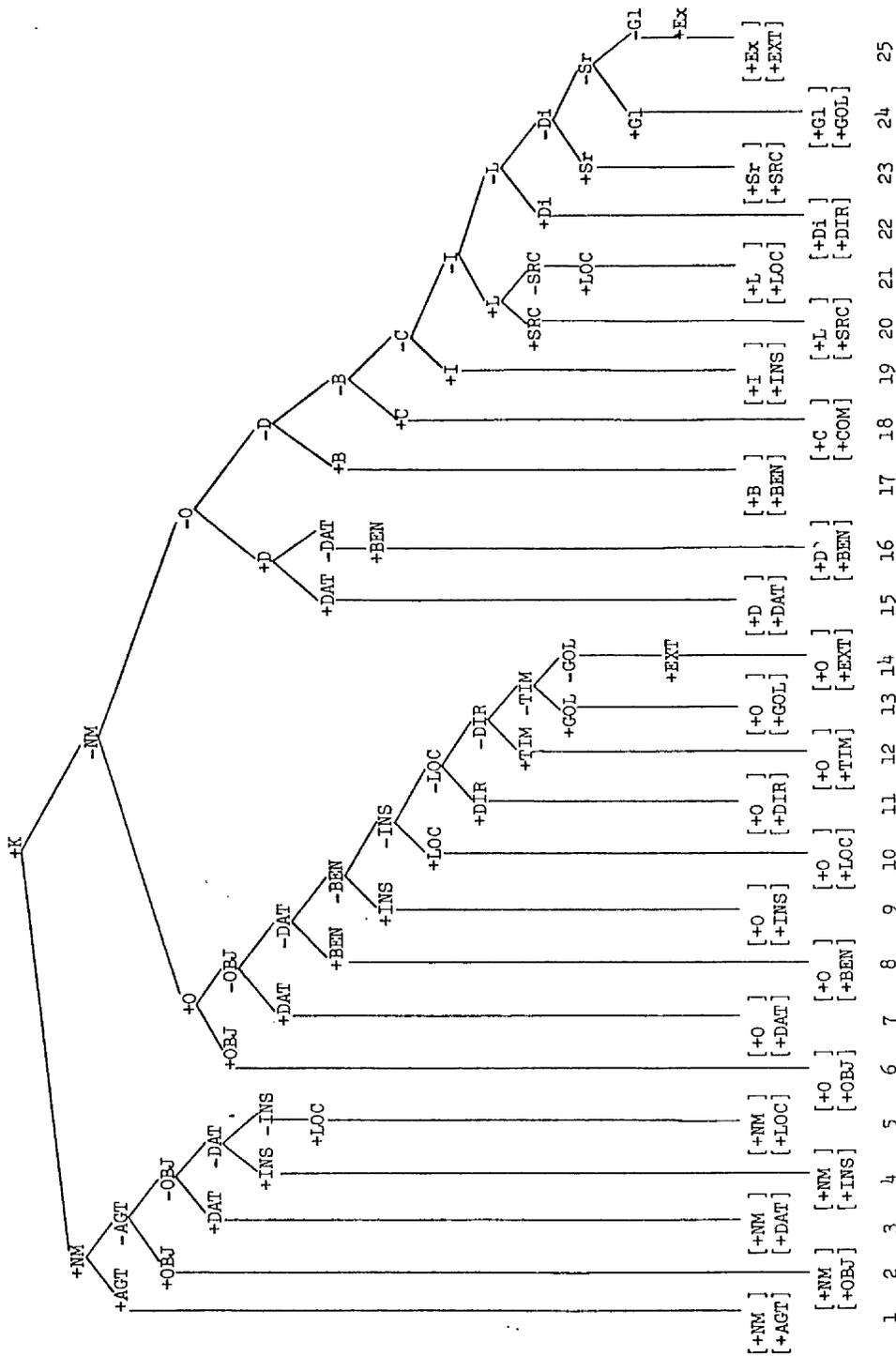
Liêm's monograph presents a contrastive analysis of Vietnamese and English on the Case, Clause and Sentence levels for the purpose of helping a language teacher to improve his teaching materials in teaching Vietnamese to those whose mother tongue is English. It consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 deals with Case-forms and Case-relations. Liêm utilises Tagmemics (Brend 1970, Cook 1969, Longacre 1964, Pike 1954-1960) and a Lexicase Grammar model. From Chapter 2 to Chapter 7, Liêm discusses clause types and verb classification, clause classes, clause units, sentence classes, sentence types and sentence units.

Following Fillmore (1966b, 1968a, 1971), Liêm postulates twelve Case-relations. They are: Agentive (AGT), Objective (OBJ), Dative (DAT) Benefactive (BEN), Comitative (COM), Instrumental (INS), Locative (LOC), Direction (DIR), Time (TIM), Source (SRC), Goal (GOL) and Extent (EXT).

These twelve covert Case-relations are pigeon-holed in eleven overt Case-realizations (or Case-forms) of which some are marked by their positions vis-à-vis the verb, and some are marked by prepositions. The Case-realizations are:

The twenty-five possible combinations of covert Case-relations and overt Case-realizations can be arrived at by applying Case-related redundancy rules which can be drawn from Chart II.

CHART II: SUMMARY OF REDUNDANCY RULES



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

Chart II begins with [+K] for Case positivity and ends with the twenty-five tagmemic slots (covert Case-relations and overt Case-realizations) already stated in Chart I in another way. Following are some examples of the tagmemic slots.

[+NM, +AGT] is hosted by transitive verbs.

(81)	<u>Ông</u> <u>âý</u>	mua	<u>sách</u>	<u>giũm</u>	<u>tôi</u>
	[+NM +AGT]		[+O +OBJ]		[+B +BEN]
	Mr. that	buy	book	for	me.
	'He	bought	<u>books</u>	<u>for</u>	<u>me</u> '

[+NM, + OBJ] is hosted by intransitive verbs.

(82)	<u>Ông</u> <u>âý</u>	<u>đi</u>	<u>giũm</u>	<u>tôi</u>
	[+NM +OBJ]			[+B +BEN]
	Mr. that	go	for	me
	'He	<u>went</u>	<u>for</u>	<u>me</u> '

3.3. General Remarks on the Lexicase Grammar, Clark's and Liêm's works

In order to avoid Fillmore's problem of having a Case-labelled node dominate categorial elements, Starosta argues that Case-relations should be regarded as lexical features rather than relations. This is the main point which makes Starosta's Lexicase Grammar seem to destroy one of the most important notions in Fillmore's Case Grammar i.e. the underlying functional relationships between the various noun phrases in a sentence and the main verb.

2. Clark's examples: (p.100 & p.104)
- a. Họ giết đồng-bảo mình .
 [+ NM] [+ AC]
 [+ AGT] [+ OBJ]
 They killed our own countrymen'
- b. Nó chạy vào cửa hàng xe đạp .
 [+ NM] [+ L]
 [+ OBJ] [+ GOL] [+ AC]
 'He ran into the bicycle shop!

For me, ông ấy 'he' and nó 'he' in (1b & 2b) are Agentive because ông ấy (in 1b) and nó (in 2b) performed the physical action of going for me and running into the bicycle shop.

To say that the [+ Animate] subject of verbs like mua 'buy' and giết 'kill' functions as an Agentive whereas the [+ Animate] subject of verbs like đi 'go' and chạy 'run' functions as an Objective is contradictory to the intuitive feelings of the Vietnamese native speaker.

CHAPTER 4.Some Syntactic and Semantic Aspects of Vietnamese Verbs.

The verb in Vietnamese plays a dominant role in the syntactic and semantic structure of a sentence. It is the most important element upon which all other elements of the sentence (e.g. noun, preposition, adverb) depend and by which they are determined.

4.1 Syntactic Aspects.4.1.1 One Verb form: one time.

If one defines 'tenses' as the various forms of a 'verb-cluster' which show time, one has to say that the Vietnamese verb is 'tenseless'. A Vietnamese verb, having only one invariable form does not by itself express time or aspect. Time is expressed by the context, by time expressions, by time-relationship particles or by a combination of such items¹⁶.

In the following three sentences, the verb đi 'go' remains the same although the time differs from one sentence to another.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|----|-----------|------------|
| (83) | a. | <u>Tuần trước,</u> | Ba | <u>đi</u> | Huế. |
| | | Week before | Ba | go | Huế. |
| | | 'Last week, | Ba | went | to Huế! |
| | b. | <u>Tuần này,</u> | Ba | <u>đi</u> | Hà-Nội. |
| | | Week this | Ba | go | Hà-Nội. |
| | | 'This week, | Ba | goes | to Hà-Nội! |
| | or | 'This week, | Ba | will go | to Hà-Nội! |

16. See Time in Appendix 2.

- c. Tuần sau, Ba đi Nha-Trang.
 Week after Ba go Nha-Trang.
 'Next week, Ba will go to Nha-Trang!
 or 'Next week, Ba goes to Nha-Trang!

4.1.2 Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

According to traditional grammarians (e.g. Kim et al, pp.87-88, 91-92; Emeneau, 1951:48) and tagmemic grammarians (e.g. Bình, 1971:162; Liêm, 1975:42) there are two kinds of verbs in Vietnamese: transitive and intransitive.

4.1.2.1. Intransitive Verbs are verbs

- having no objects (i.e. 'động-tử không có túc-tử' in Kim et al, p.91)

	S	V
(84)	Ba	<u>chết</u> .
	Ba	die
	'Ba	<u>died!</u>

- which cannot be used with objects (Bình, 1971:162)

4.1.2.2. Transitive verbs are verbs which must be followed by objects (Bình, 1971: 162)

- (a) Monotransitive verbs e.g. đánh 'hit', thương 'love'

	S	V	O
(85)	Ba	<u>đánh</u>	Hai .
	Ba	hit	Hai
	'Ba	<u>hit</u>	Hai!

- (b) Ditransitive verbs e.g. bán, 'sell', mang 'bring'
gửi 'send!'

With a ditransitive verb, the shorter object is usually placed before the longer one.

	S	V	D.O	I.O.	S:subject
(86)	<u>Ba</u>	mang	<u>sách</u>	<u>vô trường</u>	V:verb
	Ba	bring	book	to school	DO: Direct Object
	' <u>Ba</u>	brought	<u>books</u>	<u>to school</u> '	IO: Indirect Object

The direct object (D.O.) sách 'book' is a monosyllabic word. It is placed before the indirect object (I.O.) which consists of two words: vô and trường.

Vietnamese speakers do not say:

(86a)	*	Ba	mang	vô trường	sách
	?	'Ba	brought	to school	books!

	S	V	I.O.	D.O.
But				
(86b)	<u>Ba</u>	mang	<u>vô trường</u>	<u>sách từ-điển Anh - Việt.</u>
	Ba	bring	to school	book dictionary English Viet- namese.
	' <u>Ba</u>	brought	<u>to school</u>	<u>the English-Vietnamese dictionary!</u>

Bình (1971: 162) claims that there are also transitive/intransitive verbs. These verbs are used sometimes with, sometimes without, objects. For example, the verb cuối 'laugh, smile' is a transitive/intransitive verb since it may be used either with an object, as in the first example below, or else without any object, as in the second example.

	S	V	D.O.
(87) a.	Ba	cuối	Mai.
	Ba	laugh	Mai.
	'Ba	laughed	at Mai!
b.	S	V	
	Ba	cuối.	
	'Ba	laughed!	

Both traditional and tagmemic grammarians distinguish a transitive verb from an intransitive verb by the presence or absence of an object.

The notions of transitivity and intransitivity have no value in Fillmore's Case Grammar. Following Fillmore, I do not make any distinction between transitive verbs and intransitive verbs or direct objects and indirect objects at the deep structure level. However, I shall use the terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' verbs

- in the sense described by traditional and tagmemic grammarians - when I examine the syntactic structure of a sentence.

With ditransitive verbs (e.g. bán 'sell', mang 'bring', gói 'send'), I do not use the terms 'direct' and 'indirect' objects but the 'first' object and the 'second' object (or O1 and O2).

The 'first' object follows the verb and precedes the 'second' object. It may correspond to a direct or an indirect object in Traditional and Tagmemic Grammars.

S	V	1st O(O1)	2nd O(O2)
<u>Ba</u>	mang	<u>sách</u>	<u>vô trường.</u>
' <u>Ba</u>	brought	<u>books</u>	<u>to school!</u>
S	V	1st O (O1)	2nd O (O2)
<u>Ba</u>	mang	<u>vô trường</u>	<u>sách từ-điển Anh-Việt.</u>
' <u>Ba</u>	brought	<u>to school</u>	<u>the English-Vietnamese dictionary!</u>

When a verb has three objects, I shall use the terms: first object, second object and third object (or O1, O2 and O3).

	S	V	1stO(01)	2ndO(02)	3rdO(03)
(88)	<u>Ba</u>	dịch	<u>lá</u> <u>thỏ</u>	<u>từ</u> <u>tiếng</u> <u>Anh</u>	<u>ra</u> <u>tiếng</u> <u>Việt</u> .
	'Ba	trans- lated	<u>the</u> <u>letter</u>	<u>from</u> <u>English</u>	<u>into</u> <u>Vietnamese!</u>

When there is only one O (e.g. with monotransitive verbs), that O is always the first object (i.e. 01).

	S	V	O
	Ba	dánh	Hai .
	'Ba	hit	Hai!

The copula lā 'be' is not followed by objects but complements (C).

	S	Copula	C
(89)	Cây viết	<u>lā</u>	một vũ-khí.
	'A pen	is	a weapon!

4.2. Semantic Aspects.

4.2.1. Stative and Non-Stative verbs in English.

Discussing the English verbs, Lakoff (1966) makes a distinction between stative and non-stative verbs. Three syntactic characteristics of the non-stative verbs are shown below:

- (90) a. Only non-stative verbs may occur in the imperative construction.
 b. Only non-stative verbs may occur in the progressive aspect.
 c. Only non-stative verbs may occur with manner adverbs.

He cites know as a typical example of a stative verb in English.

- a. * Know the answer.
- b. * Max is knowing the answer.
- c. * Max reluctantly knew the answer.

Lakoff's postulation, as stated in (90), is to state the constraints by means of verb features. Fillmore, on the other hand, takes another position. He comments that:

"The question we need to ask is whether Lakoff's features are primitives in the lexical entries for verbs, or whether they permit reduction to concepts of the type I have been outlining (i.e. Case-frames)" (1968a: 31).

For him, Lakoff's stative and non-stative features are redundant in Case Grammar because it is a matter of whether a Case-frame has A or not. He lists pairs of verbs to illustrate this point.

<u>See</u> :	+ [_____ O+D]	versus	<u>Look</u> :	+ [_____ O+A]
<u>Know</u> :	+ [_____ O+D]	"	<u>Learn</u> :	+ [_____ O+A]
<u>Die</u> :	+ [_____ D]	"	<u>Kill</u> :	+ [_____ D+(I)+A]
<u>Hear</u> :	+ [_____ O+D]	"	<u>Listen</u> :	+ [_____ O+A]

The left column entries are stative verbs and the right column entries are non-stative verbs. According to Fillmore, in the lexical entries on the right column, we can find A. Therefore, the presence of A is equivalent to non-stative.

In this study, the semantic features of the verbs are not classified according to the Cases in the Case-frames. Instead, I assume that the semantic relationships of nouns to verbs are determined by the semantic features of verbs. There are three basic semantic features of verbs. Action, Process and State (cf. Chafe, 1970: 98-101, selectional features in his own terminology). Therefore, there are Action, Process and State verb-types in Vietnamese.

4.2.2. Vietnamese Action Verbs.

Action verbs are dynamic. They describe observable activities, and take the Agentive Case.

Following are some criteria for determining the Action verbs in Vietnamese. They are primarily syntactic.

1. They occur in imperative sentences. Imperative sentences are sentences - in normal situations - telling human being(s) to do or not to do something.

(91) [!]
 Bắn!
 'Shoot!

2. They occur with such time-relationship particles as: đang/đang 'overlapping time - relationship, in the process of', đã 'earlier time - relationship', vừa, vừa mới 'immediate earlier time - relationship', sẽ 'later time - relationship!

(92)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>đã</u>	<u>đi</u>	<u>Sāigōn.</u>
	A		G	
	Mai	earlier time- relationship	go	Sāigōn.
	' <u>Mai</u>	<u>already went</u>		<u>to Sāigōn!</u>
or	' <u>Mai</u>	<u>has gone</u>		<u>to Sāigōn!</u>

3. They occur with the auxiliaries e.g. có thể (Lit: have ability) 'can', phải 'must!'

(93)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>phải</u>	<u>đi</u>	Sāigōn.
	' <u>Mai</u>	<u>must</u>	<u>go</u>	to Sāigōn!

4. They occur with all types of manner expressions.

(i) <u>Speed</u>	(94)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>ngồi</u>	<u>xuống</u>	<u>một cách</u>	<u>chậm-chạp</u>
		Mai	sit	down	one manner	slow.
		' <u>Mai</u>	sat	down	<u>in a slow manner!</u>	

Một cách chậm chạp 'in a slow manner' indicates the speed with which the activity of sitting down was performed by Mai.

- (ii) Manner of the actual performance of an action.

(95)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>đi</u>	<u>một cách</u>	<u>khập-khiễng.</u>
	A			
	Mai	walk one	manner	unsteady
	' <u>Mai</u>	walked	<u>unsteadily!</u>	
or	' <u>Mai</u>	walked	<u>with a limp!</u>	
or	' <u>Mai</u>	<u>hobbled/tottered!</u>		

- (iii) State-of-mind of an agent.

(96)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>lái</u>	<u>xe</u>	<u>một cách</u>	<u>cẩn-thần.</u>
	A		O		
	Mai	drive car	one manner	careful.	
	' <u>Mai</u>	drove the car	<u>in a careful manner!</u>		

Một cách cẩn-thần 'in a careful manner' ascribes some state-of-mind to the agent Mai.

(iv) Evaluation of an action with respect to its moral, practical and intellectual values.

(97) Mai trả lời câu hỏi một cách vụng-về.
 A O
 Mai answer question one manner clumsy.
 'Mai answered the question in a clumsy way!

(v) Result of an action.

(98) Mai viết thứ một cách rõ ràng.
 A F
 Mai write letter one manner clear.
 'Mai wrote the letter illegibly!

When Mai wrote the letter illegibly, what she wrote was illegible. Here, it is senseless to interpret the expression một cách không rõ-ràng 'illegibly' as characterising the manner in which the action of writing is carried out as being illegible¹⁷.

5. They can be used in reply to

Mai làm gì?
 Mai do what
 'What did Mai do ?'
 - chay 'ran!

17. However, not all Action verbs co-occur with all types of manner expressions. e.g.

a. * Ba cử-xử.
 * 'Ba behaved!

b. * Ba cử-xử một cách chậm-chạp.
 * 'Ba behaved in a slow manner!

BUT c. Ba cử-xử một cách khéo-léo.
 'Ba behaved in a skilful manner!
 or 'Ba behaved well!

6. They co-occur with the subordinate conjunctions: dê,
ngõ hầu 'in order to!

(99) Ba dùng gậy dê đánh con chó.
A I
Ba use stick in order to hit classifier dog.
'Ba used a stick in order to hit the dog!

7. They co-occur with the Benefactive Case.

(100) Ba mua cho Mai cuốn sách.
A B O
Ba buy for Mai classifier book.
'Ba bought for Mai a book!

8. They may occur with the Instrumental Case.

(101) Ba đánh con chó bằng gậy.
A E I
'Ba hit the dog with a stick!

9. They can be duplicated.

(102) Ba cuối cuối , nói nói .
A
Ba smile smile talk talk
'Ba kept smiling and talking!

10. They may be subject to number of occurrences.

(103) Ba thăm Mai hai lần.
A E
Ba visit Mai two time.
'Ba visited Mai twice!

11. They occur in complex sentences with or without the
complementiser rằng 'that'.

(104) Ba nói (rằng) Hai binh.
A O
Ba say that Hai ill
'Ba said (that) Hai was ill!

(iii) Transference verbs, e.g. mua 'buy', bán 'sell', muaban 'trade', mượn (South Vietnamese) or vay (North Vietnamese) 'borrow', cho mượn/cho vay 'lend', cầm 'pawn', nhập-cảng 'import', xuất-cảng 'export'.

(iv) Communication verbs e.g. nói 'speak', kể 'tell', tả 'describe' bàn cãi, thảo luận 'discuss', chỉ-trích 'criticise', viết 'write' giảng, giải-nghĩa 'explain', yêu cầu 'request', hứa 'promise', trình, báo cáo 'report', chỉ thị 'give directive!

(v) Motion verbs e.g. đi 'go' đi bộ 'walk' chạy, 'run', nhảy 'jump', lên 'ascend' xuống 'descend', leo trèo 'climb', VÔ (South Vietnamese), vào (North Vietnamese) 'enter', về 'return', qua 'cross'.

(vi) 'Carrying' verbs e.g.

Ấm, bồng (South Vietnamese), bé (North Vietnamese)
'carry somebody in one's arms'.

Ôm 'carry somebody/something in both arms and hugged
against body!

Cõng 'carry somebody on one's back!

Chở (South Vietnamese), đèo (North Vietnamese) 'carry
somebody/something on one's vehicle!

Gánh 'carry two things balanced, one suspended at
each end of a shoulder bar!

Vác 'carry something/somebody reasonably heavy on
shoulder!

Xách 'carry something by one hand a light thing!

Bưng (South Vietnamese), Khuôn (North Vietnamese) 'carry
something in both hands a heavy thing!

[?]
Quay 'carry something suspended at one end of a
 shoulder bar!

Khiêng '(Two people) carry somebody/something, sharing
 the weight!

4.2.4 Process and State Verbs

4.2.4.1 Definitions:

Process verbs are also called change-of-state verbs. Change-of-state here is loosely defined to cover not only the change of an intrinsic state, such as from 'alive' to 'dead', but also the change in location and the change in a psychological state.

Process verbs are dynamic. They describe physical, observable and mental events. The grammatical subject of a Process verb neither initiates nor performs any action, but is affected by the event denoted by the verb. It has no control over the event, therefore it cannot be the Agentive.

Most Process verbs take the Experiencer, some take the Objective.

State verbs indicate a temporary state which necessarily occupies a span of time or an (inherent) quality of an entity.

State verbs include all words which are called adjectives by traditional grammarians¹⁹. Most State verbs take the Objective, some take the Experiencer.

19.

(see Appendix 2).

7. They do not occur with the Instrumental Case.

- (111)a. * Tuyết tan bằng sức nóng.
 'Snow melted with heat!
- b. * Tuyết trắng bằng sức nóng.
 *('Snow white with heat!)

8. They do not occur with all Causative and Experiential verbs.

- (112)a. Ba lãm Hai chết.
 Causative V.
 'Ba caused Hai to die!
- b. * Ba lãm Hai cao.
 Causative V.
 *('Ba caused Hai to be tall').
- c. * Ba quên chết.
 Experiential V.
 *('Ba forgot to die!).
- d. * Ba quên cao.
 Experiential V.
 *('Ba forgot to be tall')

4.2.4.3 Differences between Process and State verbs.

1. State verbs may be modified by rất 'very' hơi 'a little'

- (113) Ba rất mập.
 Ba very fat.
 *'Ba is very fat!

- (114) * Ba rất té.
 *('Ba very fall!)

Exception: Mental Process verbs. e.g.

(115)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>rát</u>	<u>thương</u>	<u>Mai</u> .
	<u>E</u>			<u>O</u>
	Ba	very	love	Mai.
	' <u>Ba</u>		<u>loved</u>	<u>Mai</u> <u>very much!</u>

2. State verbs may be duplicated.

(116)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>mập</u>	<u>mập</u> ,	<u>lùn</u>	<u>lùn</u> .
	<u>O</u>				
	Ba	fat	fat	short	short.
	' <u>Ba</u>	is	<u>fat</u> and	<u>short!</u>	

(117)	*	Ba	<u>té</u>	<u>té</u>
	*	('Ba	<u>fall</u>	<u>fall!</u> ')

3. Process verbs may be subject to number of occurrences.

(118)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>té</u>	<u>hai</u>	<u>lần</u> ,
	<u>E</u>			
	Ba	fall	two	time.
	' <u>Ba</u>	<u>fell</u>	<u>twice!</u>	

(119)	*	Ba	<u>lùn</u>	<u>hai</u>	<u>lần</u> .
	*	('Ba	<u>short</u>	<u>twice!</u> ')	

4. Process verbs may occur with the complementiser răng 'that', whereas State verbs may not.

(120)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>tin</u>	(<u>răng</u>)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>sẽ</u>	<u>thành-công</u> .
	<u>E</u>			<u>O</u>		
	' <u>Ba</u>	<u>believes</u>		<u>Mai</u>	<u>will</u>	<u>succeed!</u>
		(<u>that</u>)				

4.2.5. Classes of Process Verbs.

(i) 'Falling' verbs, e.g.

<u>Té</u>	'fall'	as in (121)	<u>Bé</u>	<u>Huy</u>	<u>té</u> .
			<u>E</u>		
			Baby	Huy	fall.
			' <u>Baby</u>	<u>Huy</u>	<u>fell!</u>

<u>Rối</u>	'fall'	as in (122)	<u>Tuyết</u>	<u>rối</u> .
			<u>O</u>	
			Snow	fall.
			' <u>The</u>	<u>snow</u> <u>fell!</u> '

Rung 'fall' as in (123) Lông rung.
 O
 Hair fall
 'The hair falls!'

Ngã 'fall' as in (124) Ghế ngã.
 O
 Chair fall.
 'The chair fell!'

Sập 'fall' as in (125) Nhà sập.
 O
 House fall.
 'The house fell!'

Rớt 'fall' as in (126) Bom rớt.
 O
 Bomb fall.
 'The bomb fell!'

Chìm 'sink' as in (127) Tàu chìm.
 O
 Boat sink.
 'The boat sank!'

(ii) 'Dying' verbs, e.g. chết, qua đời, thất lộc, bỏ mình,
ngòe 'die, pass away'.

(128) Ba chết.
 E
 'Ba died!'

(iii) 'Losing' verbs e.g. mất 'lose', lãm mất, bỏ mất
 (South Vietnamese), dánh mất (North Vietnamese) 'lose',
thất thủ 'be lost of military position', bai (trần)
 'lose (the battle)'.

(129) Lan mất cái va-li.
 E O
 Lan lose classifier suitcase.
 'Lan lost a suitcase!'

(iv) 'Breaking' verbs, e.g. Đẽ (South Vietnamese) or vỡ
 (North Vietnamese) 'break, shatter' selects such nouns as
ly 'drinking glass', chung, tách 'cup', bình 'vase', Kiến
 (South Vietnamese), Kính, gương (North Vietnamese) 'mirror,

spectacles', chén 'bowl', dĩa, 'plate!

(130) Bình bể.
 0
 vase break
 'The vase broke!

Gãy (South Vietnamese) or gãy (North Vietnamese) 'break, snap' selects such nouns as thước 'ruler', răng 'tooth', xương 'bone', gậy 'stick', viết chữ 'pencil', cành cây 'tree branch', cầu 'bridge'.

(131) Cây thước gãy.
 0
 classifier ruler break.
 'The ruler broke!

(v) Experiential verbs (see Experiencer Case)

(vi) Transformation verbs e.g. hóa, thành 'become', biến.
thành 'transform into', biến mất 'disappear, vanish',
đông (đặc) 'freeze', đỏ mặt 'blush, flush'.

(132) Bà thành ma.
 0 F
 'Bà became a ghost!

(vii) Fading verbs e.g. tān 'fade, decline', lụn 'waste away, diminish, consume itself up', héo 'wither!'

(133) Đèn tān.
 0
 Lamp decline.
 'The oil lamp (its declined!
 light)

(134) Bấc lụn.
 0
 Wick diminish
 'The wick diminished'. (Khái, 1972: 126).

4.2.6. Classes of State verbs.

- (i) 'Quality' verbs, e.g. đẹp 'beautiful', xấu 'ugly',
gian, xảo, giả dối, dối trá 'tricky, dishonest',
rông lượng 'generous', hà tiên, 'stingy' ác 'cruel!
- (ii) 'Measure' verbs e.g. Height: cao 'tall', thấp, lùn 'short!
Length: dài 'long', ngắn, cut 'short!
Weight: nặng 'heavy', nhẹ 'light!
- (iii) 'Colour' verbs, e.g. trắng 'white', đen 'black'
xanh 'blue'.
- (iv) 'Status' verbs, e.g. giàu 'rich', nghèo 'poor!
- (v) 'Health' verbs, e.g. manh 'strong', yếu 'weak!
- (vi) 'Age' verbs, e.g. giã 'old', trẻ 'young', cũ 'old, ancient',
mới 'new!
- (vii) 'Emotion' verbs, e.g. buồn 'sad', vui, sung sướng 'happy',
mừng 'glad!

The Causative verbs (e.g. ép 'force', bắt buộc 'oblige',
lãm 'make', đé 'let') and Authoritative verbs (e.g. Cho phép
'allow', cấm 'forbid') do not have the inherent features of
Action, Process or State. They are listed as exceptions to
all three verb-types: Action, Process and State verbs.

CHAPTER 5.

LEXICAL DECOMPOSITION and CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.5.1. Lexical Decomposition

Lexical decomposition is proposed by generative semanticists. McCawley (1968) discusses the English lexical item Kill and claims that it derives from a complex predicate CAUSE BECOME NOT ALIVE.

McCawley (1968) proposes the underlying representation of the sentence (135) JOHN KILLED HARRY as follows:

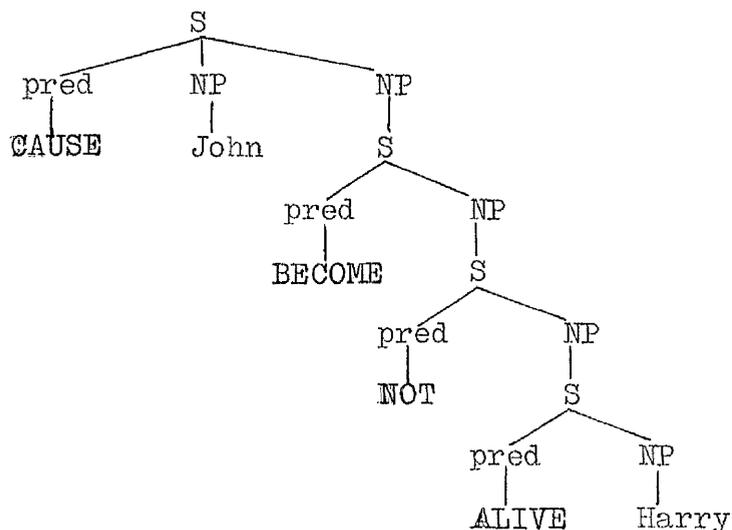


Figure 1.

He also proposes that there exists in English a rule which he refers to as predicate - raising. This operation has the effect of taking the main verb of a complement sentence and lifting it into the immediately higher main clause, attaching it to the main verb of that clause, thus producing a kind of compound verb. This rule is taken to operate prelexically, that is, before the lexicon has been used to fill in the phonological form of constituents.

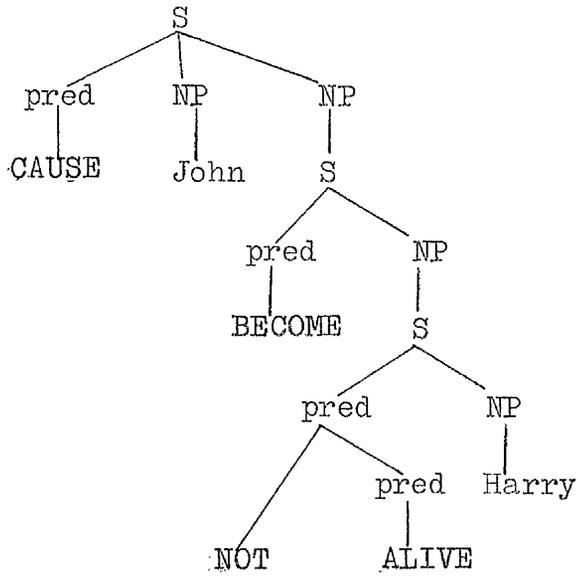


Figure 2.

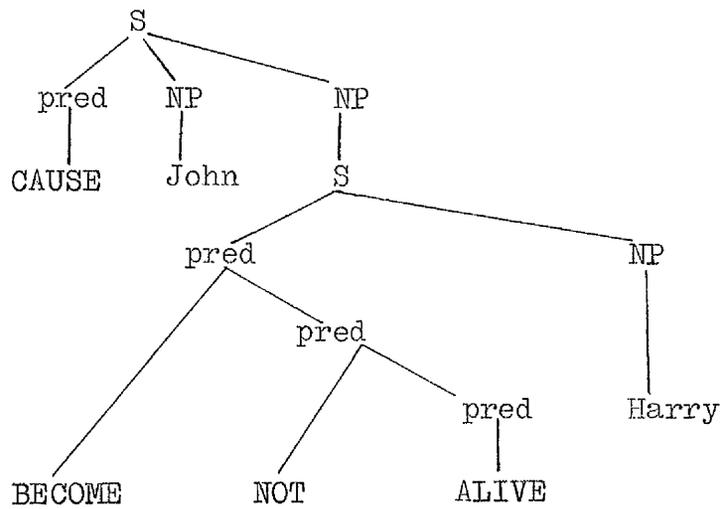


Figure 3.

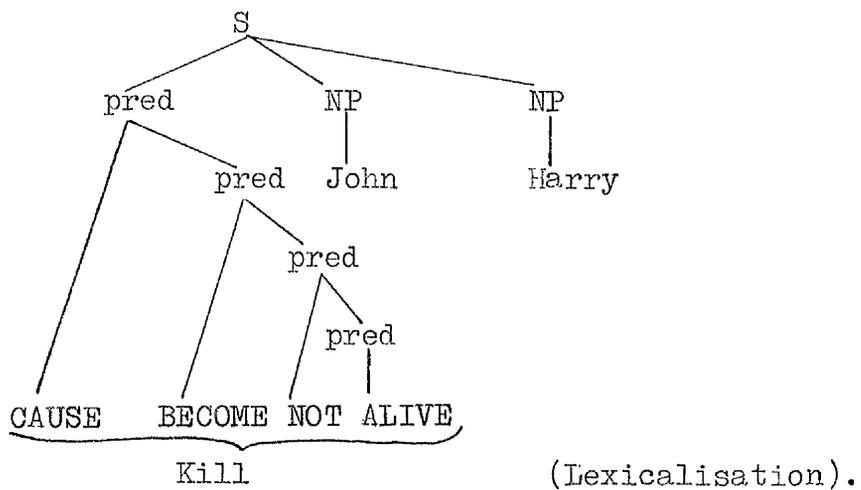


Figure 4.

The capitalised items (i.e. CAUSE BECOME NOT ALIVE) are McCawley's 'semantic predicates' which must be distinguished from his 'lexical items' which result from his rules of lexical insertion, in this case, CAUSE BECOME NOT ALIVE \implies Kill.

McCawley claims that predicate-raising is optional, since there is no need to perform all stages of the last derivation. For example, by failing to perform the last application of predicate-raising (i.e. Figure 4), one would obtain sentences such as

(136) John caused Harry to die.

In deriving sentence (135), McCawley invokes his lexical

insertion rule: BECOME NOT ALIVE \implies die
and CAUSE \implies cause

(see Figure 3).

There are at least three difficulties with McCawley's analysis.

First, there is the difficulty of making the rules explicit, which is a perennial attribute of such work (Brame, 1976:19)

Second, since predicate-raising is optional, and certainly rules such as NOT ALIVE \implies dead , etc., are part of McCawley's theory, why cannot the following sentence be generated?

(137) * John caused Harry to become dead.

McCawley's approach predicts that (137) is a well-formed sentence, but many English speakers say that it is not.

Third, the following pair of sentences are not synonymous.

- (138) a. John killed Harry.
 b. John caused Harry to die.

Chomsky (1972 : 42 : fn 7) makes the following remark:

".... John's negligence can cause the toast to burn, but it cannot burn the toast. Similarly, I can cause someone to die by arranging for him to drive cross-country with a pathological murderer, but I could not properly be said to have killed him, in this case."

Finally, Fodor (1970) advances considerable evidence to refute the Generative Semantics approach to causatives.

Two of his examples are:

- (139) a. John caused Mary to die and it surprised me that he did so.
 b.* John killed Mary and it surprised me that he did so.

- (140) a. John caused Bill to die on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday.
 b.* John killed Bill on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday.

The study of a Vietnamese Case Grammar in this thesis is based on Generative Semantics. However, I do not attempt to decompose the lexical items. This is because I want to make a distinction between the semantic structures of the lexical items (e.g. CAUSE BECOME NOT ALIVE) with the lexical entries (e.g. KILL).

The process of lexical insertion in the present model is treated differently from that of the generative semanticists. In Generative Semantics, lexical insertion may take place at any of the intermediate stages of the derivation (see Figures 2, 3, 4). The present model assumes that lexical insertion takes place immediately and on one occasion only at the end of the derivation stage ^(except the Predicate). Throughout the thesis only the basic forms of lexical entries are listed with their Case-frames, e.g.,

<u>Giết</u>	'Kill':	+ [——— A + E + (I)]
<u>Chết</u>	'die':	+ [——— E]

5.2. Causativity and Causative Constructions

The syntax and semantics of causative constructions have been extensively discussed recently in connexion with the hypothesis of lexical decomposition. But what are causativity and causative constructions?

5.2.1 Causativity involves the notion of causality, according to which agents are seen as the causes of the situations which, by their action, they bring into existence. They are called Causatives in the Vietnamese Case Grammar model developed in this thesis.

The notion of causality also includes situations where the Causative's actions effect a change in a psychological state of a person.

5.2.2 Causative Constructions: The term Causative Construction refers to a linguistic form which expresses a causative

situation²⁰. According to Shibatani (1976: 1-39), a causative situation consists of two phases:

- (i) The causing phase which usually involves an activity.
- (ii) The caused phase which involves an activity or a process.

These two phases are in causal relation if the following two conditions hold:

- (i) The realisation of the caused phase is assumed by the speaker to have taken place.
- (ii) The occurrence of the caused phase is wholly dependent upon the occurrence of the former, and therefore the situation allows one to entertain the counterfactual inference that if the former had failed to take place, the latter would not have taken place.

The following examples are not causative sentences

- (141) Tin Huy chết lã Mai xiú .
 News Huy die cause Mai faint
 'The news of Huy's death caused Mai to faint'.
- (142) Ba biêu Mai đi.
 Ba tell Mai go
 'Ba told Mai to go'.
- (143) Ba biết rã Mai đã có chõng
 Ba know that Mai already have husband
 'Ba knows that Mai was married'.

20. Meteorological phenomena (e.g. động đất 'earthquake', bão 'storm', gió 'wind') also function as Causers but they are not agents. They are not called Causatives but Forces in this study.

The reasons are:

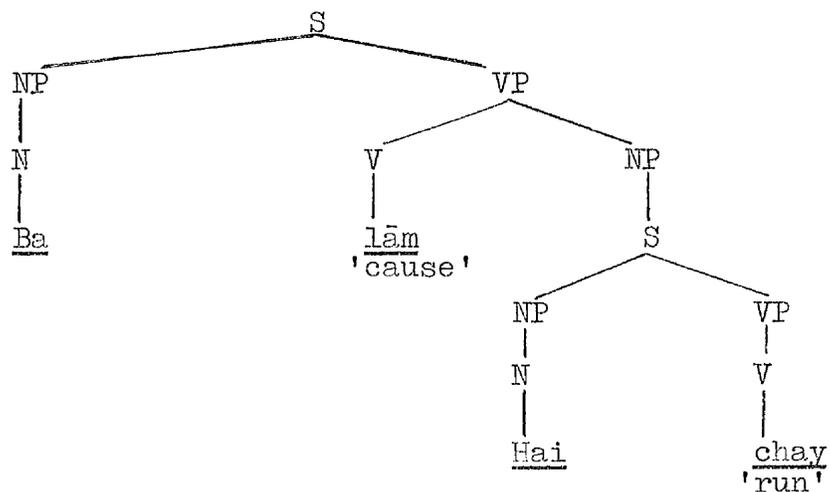
- (1) The causing phase of sentence (141) does not involve an activity.
- (2) Sentence (142) does not commit Ba to the assumption that Mai's going has taken place.
- (3) Sentence (143) does commit Ba to the assumption that Mai's marriage took place; but the occurrence of Mai's marriage is not dependent on Ba's knowing that the event took place.

5.2.3 Syntax of Causative Constructions

Vietnamese is a SVO language. The constituents of the causative sentence Ba lām Hai chạy are arranged in this order:

	S	V	O	
(144)	Ba	<u>lām</u>	Hai	chạy
	Ba	cause	Hai	run
	'Ba	<u>caused</u>	Hai	to run'.

and have the underlying syntactic structure as follows (after Chomsky's 1965 model).



The above Phrase-Marker indicates that a Vietnamese grammatical causative sentence contains two verb phrases - the one that dominates the causative verb e.g. lãm 'cause', and the other that dominates the verb of the caused event.

The subject of the embedded sentence must come between the matrix verb and the embedded verb if the embedded verb denotes an action. Thus:

- (145) * Ba lãm chạy Hai .
 Ba cause run Hai
 *('Ba caused to run Hai'.)

is ungrammatical.

If the embedded verb denotes a change of state, there are two possibilities:

- (146) a. Ba lãm Hai chết.
 Ba cause Hai die
 'Ba caused Hai to die'.
- b. Ba lãm chết Hai .
 Ba cause die Hai
 * ('Ba caused to die Hai'.)

In my dialect, these two sentences have the same meaning. Sentence (146a) is just a stylistic variant of sentence (146b), or vice versa.

5.2.4 Semantics of Causative Constructions

5.2.4.1. Causative verbs

(i) Lãm. The Vietnamese verb lãm has at least five meanings in English.

CHAPTER 6.TOPICALISATION, PASSIVE and SUBMISSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The aim of this chapter is to draw a distinction between Topicalisation, Passive and Submissive Constructions in Vietnamese. The present analysis attempts to show that those syntactic constructions which are considered by traditional and tagmemic grammarians as 'passive' sentences are, in fact, object-topicalised and submissive sentences.

6.1. Topicalisation

Topicalisation may be defined as a process of preposing an object to the position before the subject of a sentence.

As stated in Chapter 1 (1.2) in Vietnamese, the SVO order is the unmarked form of a sentence. Whenever O is topicalised the order is OSV.

Sentences of the types (167 & 170) below are called passive sentences by Vietnamese grammarians and linguists (e.g. Binh, 1971; Khai, 1972). In this study, they are called object-topicalised sentences. This is because each of these sentences can take an Agentive Case and the Agentive occurs only in the grammatical subject position (i.e. after the topicalised object, but immediately before the verb).

	S	V	O	
(165)	<u>Tôi</u>	bán	<u>nhà này</u> .	
	A		O	
	I	sell	house	this.
	'I'm	selling	<u>this house</u> !	

Topicalisation:

	O	S	V	
(166)	<u>Nhà này</u>	<u>tôi</u>	bán.	
	O	A		
	'This house	I'm	selling!	

	O	V		
(167)	<u>Nhà này</u>	bán.		
	O			
	House this	sell		
	'This house	is for sale!		

	S	V	O	
(168)	<u>Tôi</u>	mua	<u>xe này</u>	năm rồi.
	A		O	
	I	buy	car this	year last.
	'I	bought	<u>this car</u>	last year!

Topicalisation:

	O	S	V	
(169)	<u>Xe này</u>	<u>tôi</u>	mua	năm rồi.
or	<u>Xe này,</u>	<u>tôi</u>	mua	năm rồi.
	O	A		
or	' <u>This car</u>	I	bought	last year!
	' <u>This car,</u>	I	bought	last year!

	O	V		
(170)	<u>Xe này</u>	mua	năm	rồi.
	O			
	car this	buy	year	last.
	' <u>This car</u>	was bought	last	year!

Note that an NP can only be topicalised if it has specific referent (e.g. nhà này 'this house', xe này 'this car'). Vietnamese speakers do not say:

- (171) a. * Nhà, tôi bán.
 a. * ('House, I'm selling.')
- b. * Xe, tôi mua năm rồi.
 * ('Car, I bought last year.')

An indefinite NP can be topicalised if it is contrasted with another NP or mentioned earlier in a conversation.

- (172) Sách, chị không mua, chị mua mỹ-phẩm.
 Book sister no buy, sister buy cosmetics.
 'Book, you did not buy, you bought cosmetics.'

The above examples have illustrated that topicalisation in Vietnamese has three characteristics:

1. Only the object can be topicalised. A Case like Agentive - which is normally chosen as surface subject of an active simple sentence - cannot be further preposed or topicalised. Similarly, Causative, Authoritative and Essive Cases cannot be topicalised.
2. In an object-topicalised sentence, the word order is OSV.
3. The topicalised object can never be surface subject because of the optional occurrence of a deep Case in the grammatical subject position.

Below are examples of four types of topicalisation.

1. (173) Mai đã giặt áo lạnh này bằng tay.
 A O I
 'Mai has washed this sweater by hand'.

Objective topicalisation:

- (174) Áo lạnh này, Mai đã giặt bằng tay.
 O A I
 'This sweater, Mai has washed by hand'.

2. (175) Mai đã đan áo lạnh này bằng tay.
 A F I
 'Mai has knitted this sweater by hand'.

Factitive topicalisation:

- (176) Áo lạnh này, Mai đã đan bằng tay.
 F A I
 'This sweater, Mai has knitted by hand'.

3. (177) Mai đã đan áo lạnh này bằng tay.
 A F I
 'Mai has knitted this sweater by hand!'

Instrumental topicalisation:

- (178) Bằng tay, Mai đã đan áo lạnh này.
 I A F
 'By hand, Mai has knitted this sweater'.

4. (179) Chim hót riu-riú trên ngọn cây.
 A L
 'Birds are chirping on the treetop'.

Locative topicalisation:

- (180) Trên ngọn cây, chim hót riu-riú.
 L A
 'On the treetop, birds are chirping'.

Topicalisation and Focus.

Topicalisation is used when the speaker wishes to 'focus' upon some specific information. The process of topicalisation is related to focus. However, topicalisation is different from focus. When anNP is topicalised, it is also focused, but when something is focused, it does not necessarily mean that it is also topicalised. When one wants to focus something, he can use a syntactic device (e.g. to place the object NP before the subject of the sentence) or a phonological process (e.g. stress, pitch). Consider a sentence like (181), in which the capitalised word represents the main stress and highest pitch of the sentence.

(181) Ba leo TÂN ngon cây.
 'Ba climbed ALL THE WAY UP TO the treetop!'

Tân is a focused element which is not a topic.

6.2 PASSIVE

6.2.1 ACTIVE and PASSIVE VOICE.

There are no specific distinctions of voice in Vietnamese.

"An important way in which Vietnamese verbs differ from English verbs is that they do not in themselves imply a clear notion of 'voice' in the grammatical sense. In English, a (transitive) verb must be either active or passive. No such distinction is necessary in Vietnamese."
 (Thompson, 1965: 217)

According to Vietnamese grammarians and linguists (e.g. Tinh, 1952: 340; Lý, 1968: 83; Liêm, 1969: 140; Bình, 1971: 168), Vietnamese has both active and passive voice. However, the formal definitions of these terms have not been given.

6.2.2 Passive The passive in Vietnamese can be analysed as derived from the active counterpart.

Like topicalisation, passivisation is used when the speaker wishes to 'focus' upon some specific information and does so by placing that information at the beginning of the sentence.

The only difference between topicalisation and passivisation is that the Agentive in passivisation is marked by preposition do 'by'.

	S	V	O
(182)	<u>Tôi</u>	bán	<u>nhà này</u> .
	A		O
	'I'm	selling	<u>this house!</u>

<u>Topicalisation:</u>	O	S	V
(183)	<u>Nhà này</u>	<u>tôi</u>	bán .
	O	A	
	' <u>This house</u>	<u>I'm</u>	selling!

<u>Passivisation:</u>	O	S	V	21.
(184)	<u>Nhà này</u>	<u>do tôi</u>	bán.	
	O	A		
	House t:is by I	sell		
	' <u>This house</u>	is sold	<u>by me!</u>	

21. Note that verbs in Vietnamese are not morphologically marked for active or passive.

Like topicalisation, if an object NP has specific referent, it can be placed in surface subject position in passivisation.

Vietnamese speakers do not say:

- (185) * Nhã, do tôi bán.
 * ('House, is sold by me!)

Some verbs do not undergo passivisation: e.g. đeo, mặc đôi 'wear', chỉ hích 'criticise', rầy 'scold', khen, ca-tụng 'praise'.

- (186) a. Hông đeo nhân cưới.
 A O
 'Hông wore a wedding ring!'

- b. * Nhân cưới do Hông đeo.
 * ('A Wedding ring is worn by Hông!)

- (187) a. Ba rầy Hai.
 A E
 'Ba scolded Hai!'

- b. * Hai do Ba rầy.
 'Hai was scolded by Ba!'

6.3 Submissive Constructions

6.3.1 Problem with bi and được : According to Bình (following Lý, 1968), the two passive particles (i.e. empty words in Lý, 1968) in Vietnamese are bi and được.

"Bi and được are used to signal the fact that the subjects of their sentences do not actively engage in the events expressed by the

verbid²². but rather suffer or bear passively the results of some action on the part of some known or unknown performer". (Binh, 1971: 168)

Bi. In this thesis, bi is treated as a verb. Evidence is shown in the following examples.

Bi means 'undergo an unhappy experience'.

(188)a.	NPI <u>Ba</u> <u>bi</u> E Ba undergo (non-beneficial) 'Ba got	NP2 <u>hai vết thương</u> . O two wound . <u>two wounds!</u>
b.	NPI <u>Ba</u> <u>bi</u> E Ba undergo (non-beneficial) 'Ba had	NP2 <u>tại-nạn</u> . O accident. <u>an accident!</u>
c.	NPI <u>Ba</u> <u>bi</u> E Ba undergo(non-beneficial) 'Ba was	NP2 <u>tù</u> . prison. <u>imprisoned!</u>

If bi is omitted, the above sentences become ungrammatical. Thus, bi is a verb. It is not an empty word or a passive particle as Ly (1968) and Binh (1971) have analysed.

Bi is considered as a matrix verb in a complex sentence.

(189)	Ba <u>bi</u> E Ba undergo(non-beneficial) 'Ba was	[?] <u>ở tù</u> . O live prison. <u>imprisoned!</u>
-------	--	--

22. Since a Vietnamese verb does not express time, Binh, calls it a verbid where 'verbid' means 'non-finite verb form!'

Được 1. Được is a verb. Được means 'undergo a happy experience'

	NPI		NP2
(190) a.	<u>Bà</u> <u>được</u>		<u>đôi mắt đẹp</u> .
	<u>B</u>		<u>O</u>
	Bà undergo		two eye beautiful
	(beneficial)		
	' <u>Bà</u> <u>has</u>		<u>beautiful eyes!</u>
b.	NPI		NP2
	<u>Bà</u> <u>được</u>		<u>mùa</u> .
	<u>B</u>		<u>O</u>
	Bà undergo		season
	(beneficial)		
	' <u>Bà</u> <u>got</u>		<u>a good harvest!</u>

If được is omitted, the above sentences become ungrammatical. Thus, được is a verb in this syntactic construction.

2. Được is considered as a matrix verb in a complex sentence.

(191)	<u>Bà</u> <u>được</u>		<u>thắng cuộc</u> .
	<u>B</u>		<u>O</u>
	Bà undergo(beneficial)		win game.
	' <u>Bà</u>		<u>won the game!</u>

3. Được is not a verb if it follows another verb or occurs finally in a sentence.

(a) Được means 'all, in total'. It is a qualifier.

(192)	<u>Bà</u> <u>đi</u> <u>được</u>		<u>năm</u> <u>cây số</u> .
	<u>A</u>		
	Bà walk in total		five kilometre.
	' <u>Bà</u> <u>walked</u>		five kilometres (<u>in total</u>)'.

One always finds được preceding a cardinal number (e.g. năm 'five'). It functions as a qualifier of the following NP.

(b) Được means 'can, be able to!'

(192')	Ba	hát	bài	"Sāigōn"	<u>được</u> .
	Ba	sing	song	"Sāigōn"	can.
	'Ba	<u>can</u> sing	the song	"Sāigōn"!	

C.3.2 Bi and Được in Submissive Constructions.

Consider:

(193)	a.	<u>Ba</u>	dánh	<u>Mai</u> .
		A		E
		'Ba	hit	<u>Mai!</u>
	b.	<u>Mai</u> <u>bi</u>		Ba <u>dánh</u> .
		E		
		Mai	undergo (non-	Ba hit
			beneficial)	
		' <u>Mai</u>	<u>was (non-beneficial)</u>	<u>hit</u> by Ba'
	c.	<u>Mai</u> <u>được</u>		Ba <u>dánh</u> .
		E		
		Mai	undergo (beneficial)	Ba hit.
		' <u>Mai</u>	<u>was (beneficial)</u>	<u>hit</u> by Ba'

Passive: (194) * Mai do Ba đánh .
 Mai by Ba hit
 'Mai was hit by Ba!

Lý (1968), Bình (1971) and Khai (1972) call sentences (193b & c) passive sentences.

From the data and the rough English translations, it seems rather obvious that sentence (193b) has a normal interpretation whereas sentence (193c) has a non-normal interpretation. The selection of bi and được in these sentences depends on how the speaker interprets the action as to whether it is favourable or unfavourable to the person concerned. It is his subjective view of the happening. Since sentences (193b & c) do not have the same meaning as sentence (193a), they cannot be considered as the passive forms of sentence (193a). In this thesis, they are called submissive constructions.

6.3.3 Submissive Constructions and Verb types

As stated earlier, the submissive constructions cannot be analysed as derived from the active counterpart. Three types of verbs i.e. Action, Process and State verbs can be used in submissive constructions.

Action verb (195) Ba bi đi Hà-Nội.
_E
 *('Ba was (non-beneficial) gone to Hà-Nội')

Process verb (196) Ba bi chết.
_E
 'Ba was (non-beneficial) dead!

State verb: (197) Ba được mát.
_B
 'Ba was (beneficial) cool!

6.3.4 Uses of the submissive constructions

It is far from clear why or when the submissive constructions are used in Vietnamese. There are, perhaps, four points.

(i) The submissive constructions are used when the agent is unknown or unspecified.

(198) Tổng-Thống Carter bi () công-Kích.
_E _A
 President Carter undergo (non-beneficial) attack.
 'President Carter was attacked (by -)'

(ii) The submissive constructions are used in scientific writing or in reports.

(199) Tổng-Thống Carter được các Bộ-Tướng tiếp đón.
 President Carter undergo some Ministers welcome
 (beneficial)

(199) Tổng-Thống Carter được các Bộ-Tướng tiếp đón.
 President Carter undergo some Ministers welcome
 (beneficial)
 'President Carter was welcomed by the Ministers'

(iii) The submissive constructions are used in narrative. The same surface subject is retained in successive sentences.

- (200) Tông-Thông đến và được các Bộ-Trưởng tiếp-dón.
 President come and undergo some Minister welcome.
 (beneficial)

'The President
 came and was welcomed by the
 Ministers!

(iv) The submissive constructions are used when a speaker wants to express his subjective view. For example, the selection of bi or được depends on how the person involved in the action really feels at the moment he or she is receiving the action or how the speaker interprets the action as to whether it is favourable or unfavourable to the person concerned.

- (201)a. Tôi được Mỹ đen hôn.
_B _O
 I undergo (beneficial) American black kiss.
 'I was (beneficial) kissed by
a Negro'.

- b. Tôi bi Mỹ đen hôn.
_B _O
 I undergo (non-ben.) American black kiss.
 'I was (non-beneficial) kissed by
a Negro'.

CHAPTER 7.A Case Grammar Model For VietnamesePart I : Theoretical Assumptions

As stated earlier, and repeated here for emphasis, the study of Vietnamese Case Grammar in this thesis is carried on within the modified framework of Fillmore's Case Grammar. The following assumptions are postulated.

7.1 Assumption 1: Centrality of Verb

The verb is central to the Vietnamese sentence. Nouns are peripheral and tied to the verb centre by Case-relations such as Agentive, Experiencer, Objective and the like. It is the semantic features of the verb which dictate what types of Cases may occur with it.

Position of verb in deep structure

McCawley (1970: 298) argues that there are only two possible deep-structure types: verb-initial and verb-final. He gives evidence to support the VSO-hypothesis in English. The main point, is that, given this underlying order, it becomes a good deal simpler to state a number of transformational rules, such as passive and raising.

Fillmore assumes that in a universal deep structure, verb is in the initial position. (In Anderson's works (i.e. 1971 and 1977) verb is the highest node in a dependency tree diagram).

In this Vietnamese Case Grammar model, once a type of verb is selected, a definite Semantic Role is automatically assigned to the nouns which accompany the verb.

I shall follow the convention that the verb has the initial position in deep structure.

Predicator and verb: The term Predicator is used throughout this thesis.

A Predicator is the semantic nucleus of a sentence which describes an action, a process, state, quality, or the like.

Predicators in Vietnamese are typically manifested in surface structure by verbs, while Cases are normally manifested by NPs. However, it is also possible for a copula + NP to represent a Predicator.

Consider: (202) Ba là người thợ may.
 Ba be classifier worker sew.
 'Ba is a tailor!

(203) Ba may quần áo.
 Ba sew clothes.
 'Ba makes clothes!

In sentence (203), the Predicator is a verb (i.e. may 'make'). It is semantically specified as an Action verb which requires an A and an F in order to complete its inherent basic sense. (Ba functions as an A; quần áo 'clothes', as an F).

7.3. Assumption 3: Centrality of Semantics.

It is well-known that the most serious discussion in the framework of Transformational-Generative Grammar is on the nature of a theory of Grammar whether it should be syntactically-based or semantically-based. The first approach is referred to as 'Interpretive Semantics' and the second as 'Generative Semantics!'

Chomsky (1965: 16) argues that in a Grammar of a language, syntax is central and semantics is 'purely interpretative!'

In contrast to Chomsky, and following the generative semanticists (e.g. McCawley, Lakoff and Postal), I assume that semantics plays a central role in syntax, and that the well-formedness of a sentence is determined in its semantic structure.

7.4. Assumption 4: There are two types of Cases: Nuclear and peripheral.

One of the major difficulties in Case-assignment is the question of whether a certain Case is nuclear or peripheral (i.e. Inner and Outer Cases in Platt's 1971, Propositional and Modal Cases in Cook's 1972, 1973, 1974).

In this thesis, the nuclear and peripheral Cases are distinguished as follows:

- Nuclear Cases are required for particular semantically defined classes of verbs e.g. Agentive is a nuclear Case since it is required by Action verbs.
- Peripheral Cases are dependent on the presence of certain nuclear Cases in the sentence.

Some Cases belong to both types: nuclear and peripheral. For example, Instrumental is a nuclear Case when it is required by such verbs as giống 'resemble', khác 'differ' and tuông-tự 'be similar to!'

(205) Ba giống Hai.
 I Psych. O
 stimulus
 'Ba resembles Hai!'

It is a peripheral Case when it is dependent upon the presence of the Agentive.

(206) Ba đánh con chó bằng gậy.
 A E ITool
 'Ba hit the dog with a stick!'

The Cases may be obligatory or optional. Peripheral Cases are always optional. This means that they may or may not be present in deep structure.

(207) Ba đánh con chó.
 A E
 'Ba hit the dog!'

The Case-frame of đánh 'hit' in (206) and (207) is:

+ [—A + E +(ITool)] where ITool is an optional Case.

The nuclear Cases are obligatory. This means that they must be present in deep structure, but are not necessarily present in surface structure (because they may be deleted).

example, Fillmore's Agentive is subdivided into Causative, Authoritative and Agentive Cases.

Fillmore's Instrumental is divided into six sub-Cases: Instrumental Tool (ITool), Instrumental Mode (IMo), Instrumental Material (IMa), Instrumental Method (IMe), Instrumental Psychological Stimulus (I Psych Stimulus), and Instrumental Physical Stimulus (IPhys. Stimulus(see Chapter 11).

There are at least fifteen Cases in Vietnamese. They may be divided into two groups: Causal and non-Causal Cases.

Causal Cases are: Causative (Ca), Authoritative (AU), Agentive (A) and Instrumental (I).

In addition to these four Cases, the Force Case is also postulated in order to explain the activities of the meteorological phenomena.

Non-Causal Cases

- Non-Causal Cases that participate in the activity are: Experiencer (E), Benefactive (B), Objective (O), Factitive (F) and Comitative (Com).
- Non-Causal Cases that are non-participants in the activity are: Essive (Ess), Locative (L), Source (So), Goal (G) and Path (Pa).

All these Cases are discussed in Chapter 11.

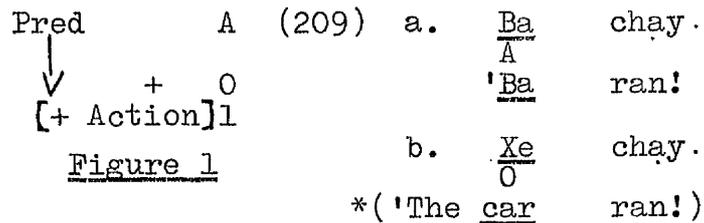
- 7.7. Assumption 7: The Cases have a natural hierarchy which determines the surface subject and first object.

Subject-Choice Rule:

The choice of a surface subject is not free but follows a subject-choice rule. This rule is only applied to nuclear Cases. Peripheral Cases are never chosen as surface subjects in active simple sentences. (A simple sentence is the one containing only one verb).

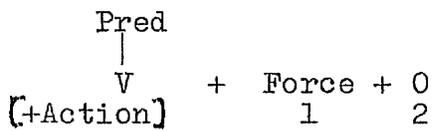
- 7.7.1. Action verb. In deep structure of an active simple sentence - and in normal situations - if the Predicator is an Action verb, this verb may conceptually be accompanied by Cases in four possible positions. If one of these Cases is an A, it must be chosen as surface subject.

1. One Case in deep structure



2. Two Cases in deep structure: The relative order of the co-occurrence of the Cases is shown below, with the ones on the vertical line being fluctuant among themselves.

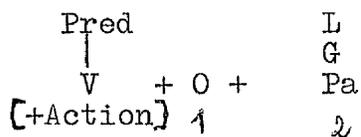
If there are Force and O, Force must be chosen as surface subject.



j. Gió mở cửa.
 Force O
 'The wind opened the door!'

Figure 2b.

If there are O and L (or G or Pa), O must be chosen as surface subject.



k. Chiếc xe chạy trên cầu.
 O L
 * ('The car ran on the bridge!')

l. Chiếc xe chạy tới cầu.
 O G
 * ('The car ran to the bridge!')

m. Chiếc xe chạy qua cầu.
 * ('The car ran across the bridge.')

Figure 2c.

3. Three Cases in deep structure.

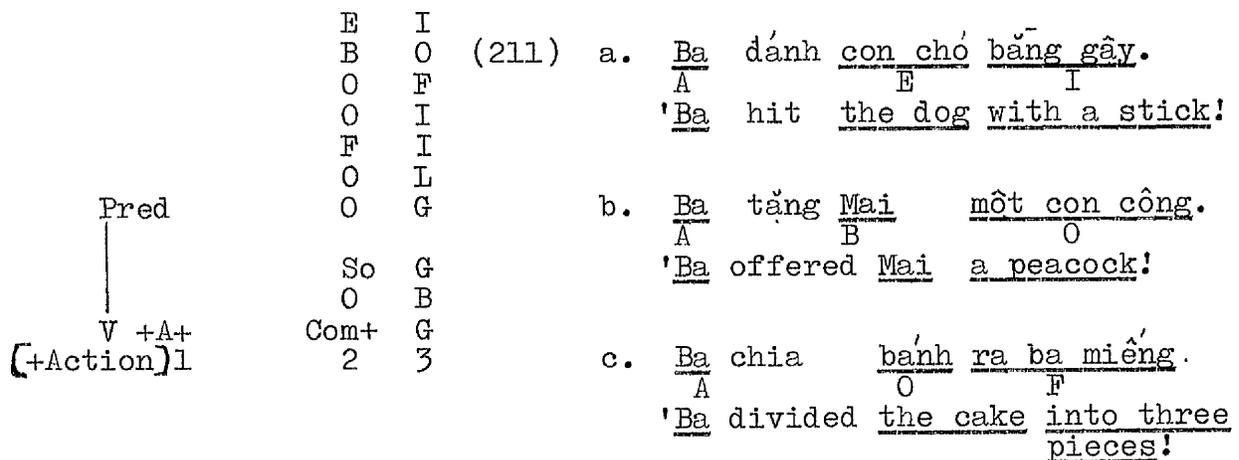


Figure 3a.

d. Ba giăt áo lạnh bằng tay.
 A O I
 'Ba washed the sweater by hand!

e. Ba đan áo lạnh bằng tay.
 A F I
 'Ba knitted the sweater
 by hand!

f. Ba đê[?] xe trong vườn.
 A O L
 'Ba kept his car in the garden!

g. Ba đổ[?] gạo vào nồi.
 A O G
 Ba poured rice into the saucepan!

h. Ba đi từ Huế đến Sài Gòn.
 A So G
 'Ba went from Huế to Sài Gòn!

i. Ba mua chiếc Honda cho Hai.
 A O B
 'Ba bought a Honda for Hai!

j. Ba theo Hai đến trường.
 A Com G
 'Ba followed Hai to school!

	G	(211')a.	<u>Ba</u> đi <u>chợ</u> <u>với Hai</u> .
			A G Com
			'Ba went to market with Hai!
Pred	So		
	E		
V	+ A+ O + Com	b.	<u>Ba</u> rời <u>Sài Gòn</u> <u>với Hai</u> .
[+Action]	1 2 3		A So Com
			'Ba left Saigon with Hai!

Figure 3b.

c. Ba đánh con chó với Hai.
 A E Com
 *('Ba hit the dog with Hai!)

d. Ba ăn cơm với cà-ri.
 A O Com
 'Ba ate rice with curry!

4. Four Cases in deep structure.

Pred				O	Com	L
				E	I	Com
V	+	A	+	F	I	Com
				O	B	I
[+Action]				O	+	So
				+		G
				1	2	3
						4

Figure 4

(212) a. Ba ăn cơm với cà-ri trong phòng ăn.
 A O Com L
 'Ba ate rice with curry in the dining room!

b. Ba đánh con chó bằng gậy với Mai.
 A E ITool Com
 * ('Ba hit the dog with a stick with Mai.')

c. Ba làm bánh bằng bột với sữa.
 A F IMa Com
 Ba make cake by flour with milk.
 'Ba made cake with flour and milk!

d. Ba mua chiếc Honda cho Hai bằng Mỹ-Kim.
 A O B I
 'Ba bought a Honda for Hai with American dollars!

e. Ba dịch lá thư từ tiếng Anh ra tiếng Việt.
 A O Sơ G
 Ba translated the letter from English into Vietnamese!

7.7.2. Process verb: With regards to the verbs which have the semantic feature [+ Process], the unmarked positioning of accompanying Cases may be shown as follows:

1. One Case in deep structure.

Pred			(213) a.	<u>Bình</u>	bẽ.
				O	
V	+	O		'The vase	broke!
[+Process]				b.	<u>Ba</u>
				E	chết.
				1	'Ba
					died!

Figure 5.

2. Two Cases in deep structure.

E	O	(214)	a.	<u>Ba</u>	thấy	<u>Hai</u> .
B	O			<u>E</u>		<u>O</u>
O	F			'Ba	saw	<u>Hai</u> !
V +	E + L		b.	<u>Ba</u>	trúng	<u>số</u> .
[+Process]	1 2			<u>B</u>		<u>O</u>
				'Ba	won	<u>the lottery</u> !

Figure 6a.

c. Ba thành ma.
O F
 'Ba became a ghost!

d. Ba chết trong nhã thường.
E L
 Ba died in the hospital!

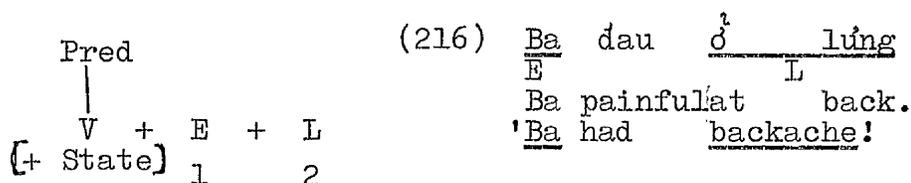
3. Three Cases in deep structure.

Pred	E	O	L	(214')	a.	<u>Ba</u>	thấy	<u>Hai</u>	trong	<u>nhã</u>	<u>thường</u> .
V +	B +	O +	L			<u>E</u>		<u>O</u>		<u>L</u>	
[+Process]	1	2	3			'Ba	saw	<u>Hai</u>	in	<u>the hospital</u> !	
						<u>B</u>		<u>O</u>		<u>L</u>	
						'Ba	tìm thấy	<u>cuốn sách đó</u>	trong	<u>phòng ăn</u> .	
<u>Figure 6b.</u>						'Ba	found	<u>that book</u>	in	<u>the dining room</u> !	

7.7.3. State Verb1. One Case in deep structure

Pred	E	O	(215)	<u>Ba</u>	cao .
V +	O			<u>O</u>	
[+State]	1			'Ba	is tall!

Figure 7.

2. Two Cases in deep structure.Figure 8.

When the verb is used in a sentence with only one Case, that Case will be the surface subject of the sentence (See 7.7.1. Figure 1; 7.7.2. Figure 5; 7.7.3. Figure 7).

First-Object-Choice Rule (The term first object is used here to indicate the NP which immediately follows certain classes of verb in unmarked sentences).

The first-object-choice rule applies to transitive verbs, when the verb requires more than one Case. When there are two Cases in deep structure of a sentence, the rule for first-object selection in Vietnamese is as follows:

Action verb: If A is selected as subject and E remains, then E becomes the first object. If E is not present, then B or O or F or Com or L or So or G or Pa becomes the first object (see 7.7.1. Figure 2a.)

If Force is selected as subject and O remains, then O becomes the first object (see Figure 2b).

If O is selected as subject and L (or G or Pa) remains, then L (or G or Pa) becomes the first object (see figure 2c).

Process verb: If E is selected as subject and O remains, then O becomes the first object. If O is not present, then L becomes the first object.

If B is selected as subject and O remains, then O becomes the first object.

If O is selected as subject and F remains, then F becomes the first object (see 7.7.2. Figure 6a. and 6b).

State verb: If E is selected as subject and L remains, then L becomes the first object (7.7.3. Figure 8).

When there are more than two Cases in deep structure of a sentence, the nuclear Cases must be chosen as subject or first object. For example:

<u>Ba</u>	đánh	<u>con chó</u>	bằng	<u>gậy</u> .
A		E	I	
'Ba	hit	<u>the dog</u>	<u>with a stick!</u>	

Đánh 'hit' is an Action verb which may be further specified as a Destruction verb. It requires an A and an E.

In the above sentence, Ba is an A which is chosen as subject according to the subject-choice rule. con chó 'the dog' is an E which is chosen as the first object since it is a nuclear Case.

bằng-gậy 'with a stick' is a peripheral Case. It must occur after the nuclear Case E.

Passive Sentences: It is assumed that when there is an A in a sentence, A is selected as subject. But there are instances when A does not become the subject of the sentence.

Consider:

Active form: (217) $\underset{A}{\text{Ba}}$ viết chuyện $\underset{F}{\text{'Lan'}}$.
 'Ba wrote the novel 'Lan'.'

Passive form: (218) Chuyện 'Lan' $\underset{F}{\text{do}}$ $\underset{A}{\text{Ba}}$ viết.
 'The novel 'Lan' was written by Ba.'

Sentences (217 & 218) contain only two Cases: A and F.
 If only A can become subject, then sentence (218) cannot exist. Therefore, there is a need to decide the subject in a passive sentence. The following assumption is made:

In a passive sentence, the Case which is already chosen as the first object in the first-object-choice rule will become subject.

Complex sentences - Subject-Choice Rule.

If there is Ca, then Ca is chosen as subject.

If there is Au, then Au is chosen as subject.

If there are E and \bar{O} (i.e. a Proposition is embedded within the Objective Case), then E is chosen as subject.

If there are B and \bar{O} , then B is chosen as subject.

(See Chapters 10 & 11).

Problem with Ditransitive verbs.

The first-object-choice rule cannot apply to the objects of ditransitive verbs. With a ditransitive verb, the shorter object is usually placed before the longer one.

For example: $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ mang $\frac{\text{sách}}{\text{O}}$ $\frac{\text{vô trường}}{\text{G}}$.
 'Ba brought books to school!
 (See 4.1.2.2. example 86)

Vietnamese speakers do not say:

* $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ mang $\frac{\text{vô trường}}{\text{G}}$ $\frac{\text{sách}}{\text{O}}$.
 ?' Ba brought to school books!
 (See 4.1.2.2. example 86a).

But: $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ mang $\frac{\text{vô trường}}{\text{G}}$ $\frac{\text{sách tự-diễn}^1 \text{ Anh-Việt}}{\text{O}}$.
 'Ba brought to school the English-Vietnamese dictionary!

7.8. Assumption 8: Those Cases which are not chosen as

subject or first object have prepositions associated with them.

Prepositions are an overt manifestation of some deep Cases in Vietnamese, just as accusative and dative affixes are an overt manifestation of deep Cases for many languages.

Depending upon the Case dominating an NP, and in some instances depending upon the verb also, it is possible to predict the preposition which will occur with any NP not serving as surface subject or surface first object.

In the unmarked instances, the Ca, Au, A, E, Ess and O have no particular preposition associated with them.

The B, F and Com are realised with or without prepositions. When they are nuclear Cases, there is no preposition associated with them. When they are peripheral Cases, they are associated with prepositions.

The So, G and Pa are realised in surface structure with or without prepositions. They are different from other Cases in the sense that with some ditransitive verbs, they are nuclear Cases but must be associated with prepositions.

For example:

Ba dô gao vô nôi.
 A O G
 'Ba poured
rice into the saucepan!
 (See 7.7.1. example 211)

Verb dô 'pour' requires three nuclear Cases, i.e. A, O and G. (Other ditransitive verbs (e.g. mang 'bring', gỏi 'send') require two nuclear Cases (i.e. A and O). Any Cases Co-occurring with A and O are peripheral. (Example 86)).

The L is not associated with prepositions (except preposition tại 'at, in') but Locative Relator nouns (See 11.12.4.3)

Preposition-Selection Rule

<u>Case</u>		<u>Preposition</u>
I	selects	<u>bằng</u> 'with'
B	"	<u>cho</u> , <u>giùm</u> , <u>giúp</u> 'for'
F	"	<u>ra</u> , <u>ra lām</u> 'into'
Com	"	<u>với</u> 'with'
So	"	<u>từ</u> 'from', <u>khỏi</u> 'away from'
G	"	<u>vô</u> , <u>ra</u> , <u>lên</u> , <u>xuông</u> , <u>về</u> , <u>tới</u> , <u>đến</u> , <u>lại</u> 'to'
Pa	"	<u>qua</u> , <u>ngang</u> 'along, across'
In passive sentences		
A	"	<u>do</u> 'by'

phép 'allow', cấm 'forbid') do not have these inherent features (see 4.2.6)). Each inherent feature of the verb, e.g. Action, is further specified as, e.g. Destruction, Factitive or Benefactive.

3. Rule features The rule features of the verb Ám-sát 'Assassinate', for example, are:
- Ám-sát neither requires a Propositional complement nor a Predicator complement (see Chapter 10).
 - Ám-sát does not require any adverb,
 - Ám-sát cannot undergo the passive process.
4. Contextual features are represented by a 'frame feature',²⁴ (i.e. a conflated Case-frames) in which the Cases that can occur with a verb are shown.
- The frame feature has three functions:
- (i) To represent a set of deep structures possible with a given verb with respect to its syntactic and semantic features.
 - (ii) To specify the types of Cases which are required by the syntactic and semantic features of a verb and which may co-occur with the verb in different circumstances.
 - (iii) To specify the complement-types in Vietnamese.

A frame feature is represented in square brackets with '+' in front, indicating that the set of Case-frames represented by the expression within the brackets are

24. "In lexical entries for verbs, abbreviated statements called 'frame features' will indicate the set of Case-frames into which the given verbs may be inserted". (Fillmore, 1968a: 27)

- (230) Ba biết (lā) Mai có hai trai.
 [+ Human] 'Ba knows (that) Mai got two sons'.

Thở^v 'breathe' (vào 'in' or ra 'out'): + [——— A]
 [+ Animate]

+ V
+ Action (Breathing)
+ Adverb <u>vào</u> 'in' or <u>ra</u> 'out'
_ Propositional complement
_ Predicator complement
_ Passive

The lexical entry of Thở^v 'breathe' indicates that Thở^v can occur in consttuctions of the following forms:

- (231) Ba thở^v .
 A
 'Ba breathes'.
- (232) Ba thở^v vào .
 A
 Ba breathe in
 'Ba inhales'.
- (233) Ba thở^v ra .
 A
 Ba breathe out.
 'Ba exhales'.

In normal situations, Vietnamese speakers do not say:

- (234) Ba thở^v bằng mũi .
 Ba breathe by nose.
 'Ba breathes with his nose'.

If, for some reason, Ba cannot breathe with his nose, a speaker may use an ITool Case.

Part II - Formal Orientation7.12. Factors determining the choice of a Base Representation

In this section, I shall attempt to describe certain characteristics of Vietnamese sentences which raise important questions about the choice of a Base Component in a Transformational Grammar.

Some Characteristics of Vietnamese Sentences as compared to English.

1. Syntactically, the basic word order in Vietnamese is SVO
2. When O is topicalised, the word order is OSV
3. In Vietnamese, the subject of a sentence can be omitted when no person or thing is being referred to, or if the speaker feels that the context is sufficient to signal who or what is being referred to, whereas the subject of a sentence is obligatory in English.

<u>Vietnamese:</u>	S	V	O
(239)		Đi	đâu ?
		go	where
<u>English:</u>	'Where are you going ?'		

<u>Vietnamese:</u>	V
(240)	Nóng quá.
	hot much.
<u>English:</u>	'It's very hot!

Notice that in example (240), the pronoun it serves as the grammatical subject of the sentence. Even though the speaker might not be referring specifically to a particular subject (i.e. he might be referring to the sun, day, weather, room or country), the sentence must have a grammatical subject.

4. Vietnamese does not have the emphatic do like English.

(241) I do hope that she will come.

5. There are no verb deletions or gapping rules in Vietnamese. In English, the gapping rule (Ross, 1970: 249-259) can operate to delete indefinitely many occurrences of a repeated main verb in a conjoined structure.

English: (242) Tom has a pistol , and Dick has a sword.

Vietnamese: 'Tom có một cây súng , và Dick có một cây gươm!

English: (243) Tom has a pistol , and Dick a sword.

Vietnamese *(' Tom có một cây súng , và Dick một cây gươm!)

English: (244) I ate fish , Bill ate rice, and Harry ate roast beef.

Vietnamese: 'Tôi ăn cá , Bill ăn cơm, và Harry ăn thịt bơn-rô-ti'

English: (245) I ate fish, Bill rice , and Harry roast beef.

Vietnamese: *('Tôi ăn cá , Bill cơm, và Harry thịt bơn-rô-ti')

6. Vietnamese does not have cleft-sentences like English.

(246) It is the big book that I have read.

7. Vietnamese does not have the 'extraposition' construction like English nor do the complementisers rằng, là 'that' ever occur initially in a sentence.

Vietnamese: (247) Những nhà ngữ-học không bao giờ
Pluraliser linguist never

đồng ý với nhau là đúng .
agree with each other be true.

English: * ('Linguists never agree with each other is true!)

English speakers say:

That linguists never agree with each other is true.

or

It is true that linguists never agree with each other.

8. Vietnamese does not have Psych-verbs like English. For example, the following sentences have the same meaning and the same syntactic structure in English.

	S	V	O
(248)	John	likes	Mary.
(249)	Mary	pleases	John.

In Vietnamese, if one says:

	S	V	O
(250)	Ba	thích	Mai.
	'Ba	likes	Mai'.

he cannot reverse the arguments in the above word order and use a single-word verb to express the same meaning. One must use a Causative construction.

(251)	Mai	lām	vũ̃a lōng	Ba.
	Mai	make	please	Ba.

or

	Mai	lām	Ba	vũ̃a lōng.
	Mai	make	Ba	please.
	'Mai	makes	Ba	pleased'.

or 'Mai pleases Ba'.

The Vietnamese phenomena I have outlined above raise important questions about the relationship between semantic representations at a deep level and surface structures of sentences, and about the types of rule required for mapping the semantic representations into surface forms.

7.13. Base Component of Simple sentences in Vietnamese7.13.1. Base Rules (BR)BR1: Prop \longrightarrow Pred + C1 + C2 + C3 + C4.

(Except in exceptional circumstances, the Cases may not be more than four)

BR2: Pred \longrightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V + (\text{Adv}) \\ \text{Copula} + \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$ BR3: NP \longrightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Q}) + \text{N} + (\text{Det}) \\ \text{N} + \text{N} \end{array} \right\}$ Q: Quantifier
Det: Determiner

BR3 may be rewritten as:

NP \longrightarrow	N
NP \longrightarrow	Q + N
NP \longrightarrow	N + Det
NP \longrightarrow	Q + N + Det
NP \longrightarrow	N + N

BR4: Lexical insertion for V (and Adv if there is any) or Copula + NPBR5: Insert Case-frame (or Ess if the Pred is Copula + NP)BR6: C \longrightarrow NP

BR7: Selection Restrictions-Semantic features of Nouns.

Words seldom occur alone, and there are restrictions of various sorts on what words can co-occur. Co-occurrence restrictions are the result of the meaning of the lexical items. Selection restrictions are to be stated in terms of what semantic features may occur together, though in most treatments the features are left unexplained or left for psychologists or philosophers to explain (Lehrer, 1974: 176)

Each verb has selection restrictions for subject and object. For example, verb ám-sát'assassinate' requires a subject and the first object with the feature [+ Human], the second and third object with the feature [- Animate].

The selection restrictions for verbs in Vietnamese are also predictable from the meanings of lexical items. For example, different 'putting-on' verbs in Vietnamese refer to the different actions involved in putting on the articles of clothing. Each 'putting-on' verb selects particular articles of clothing (see 11.8.4.1.).

According to McCawley (1968a: 132-133), the

syntactic selectional restrictions found in Chomsky (1965) such as animate - inanimate, human - nonhuman, masculine - feminine, etc., are really semantic features and do not belong in the syntactic component at all.

Lehrer (1974: 183) also says that:

"At any rate it seems that most of the features that Chomsky and others have listed under syntactic features of lexical items really are semantic".

Vietnamese are: $[\pm \text{Animate}]$ and $[\pm \text{Human}]$. There is a relation of hyponymy between $[\pm \text{Animate}]$ and $[\pm \text{Human}]$, i.e. if a noun is specified as $[\pm \text{Human}]$, it must necessarily be $[\pm \text{Animate}]$.

Lexicon

Am-sát

'Assassinate'

$:+ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ [+Human] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} +E \\ [+Human] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} +(ITool) \\ [-Animate] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} + (L) \\ [-Animate] \end{array} \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{Action (Destruction)} \\ - \text{Adverb} \\ - \text{Propositional Complement} \\ - \text{Predicator complement} \\ - \text{Passive} \end{array} \right]$

Đây 'this' [+ Det]
L'Đây 'this' [+ Det]
NéLinh 'soldier' [+ N, + Human] - Human)
NiNgựa 'horse' [+ N, + Animat]
TéNước 'water' [+ N, - Animat]
Tân 'till' [+ Prep. + Goa

The output of the Base Rules consists of a string of terminal symbols which, after lexical insertion, is interpreted as the deep structure of a sentence where semantics is conventionally considered as primitive and syntax is incorporated into semantics.

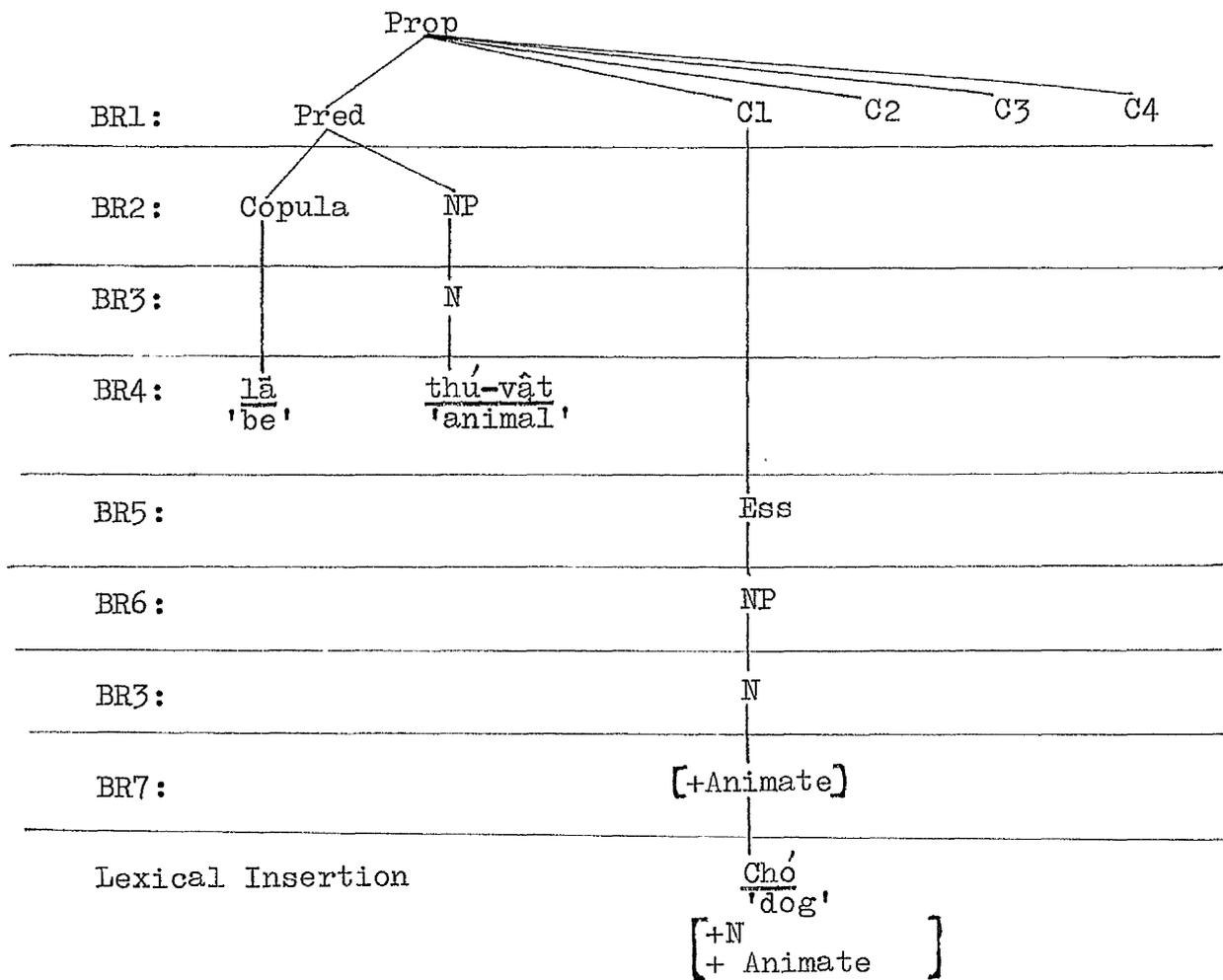
Phrase-marker or Tree diagram.

Semantic representations or meaning-trees of sentences can be drawn. These meaning-trees resemble syntactic tree diagrams in their branching form but differ from them by being much farther from the surface structure of actual sentences.

The type of tree diagram I use in this thesis is similar to that of Fillmore's 1970b model. I am aware that, like Fillmore, I mix categorial notions with relational (or functional) ones. But the problem is that I cannot find the better type of tree diagram I want to.

Consider (252) Chó là thú-vật.
 Ess
 'Dogs are animals!

This sentence may be represented as follows:



CHAPTER 8.Ordering Simple Transformational Rules

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate some transformational processes which can change the deep structure of an independent simple sentence in Vietnamese into the correct surface structures.

According to the theory as proposed by Katz and Postal (1964) and Chomsky (1964) I shall assume that transformations are without semantic effect.

Transformational Rules (TR) are either obligatory or optional. Most optional transformations are stylistically motivated in some way.

To illustrate the transformational processes, I shall use the tree diagrams almost exclusively.

8.1. Deep structure of a sentence

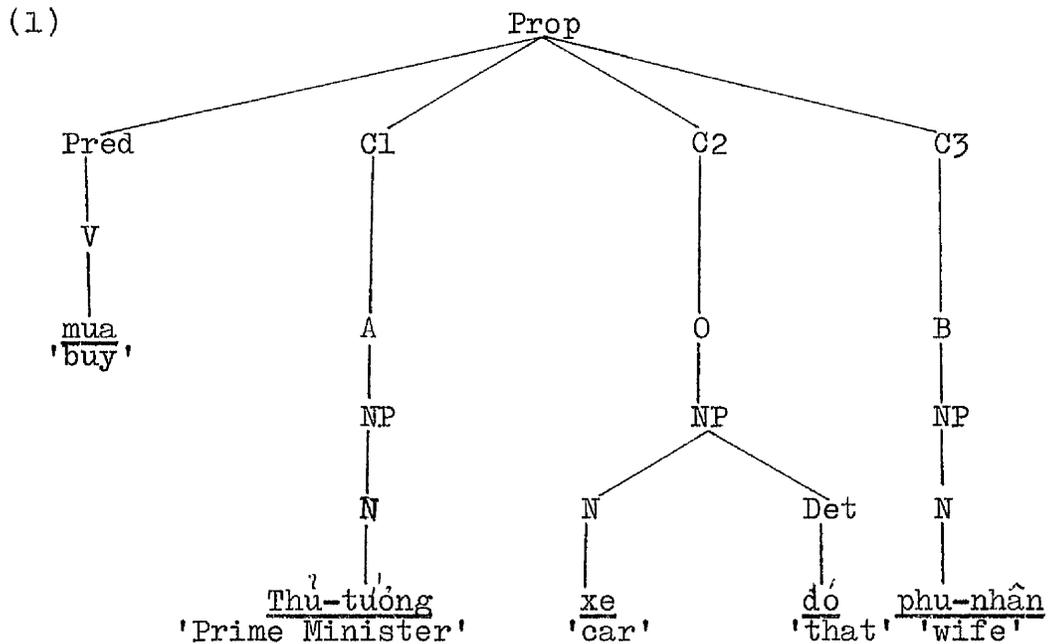
Suppose there is sentence (253)

(253)	<u>Thủ-tướng</u>	mua	<u>xe đó</u>	<u>cho</u>	<u>phu-nhân</u>	.
	A		O		B	
	Prime Minister	buy	car that	for	wife.	
	<u>'The Prime Minister</u>	bought	<u>that car</u>	<u>for</u>	<u>his wife!</u>	

Verb mua 'buy' requires two nuclear Cases i.e. A and O. Any Cases co-occurring with A and O are peripheral. The Case-frame of verb mua in sentence (253) is:

+ [——— A + O + B]

The deep structure of sentence (253) may be represented as follows:



This deep structure is transformed into the surface structures by a set of Transformational Rules.

8.2. Transformational Processes

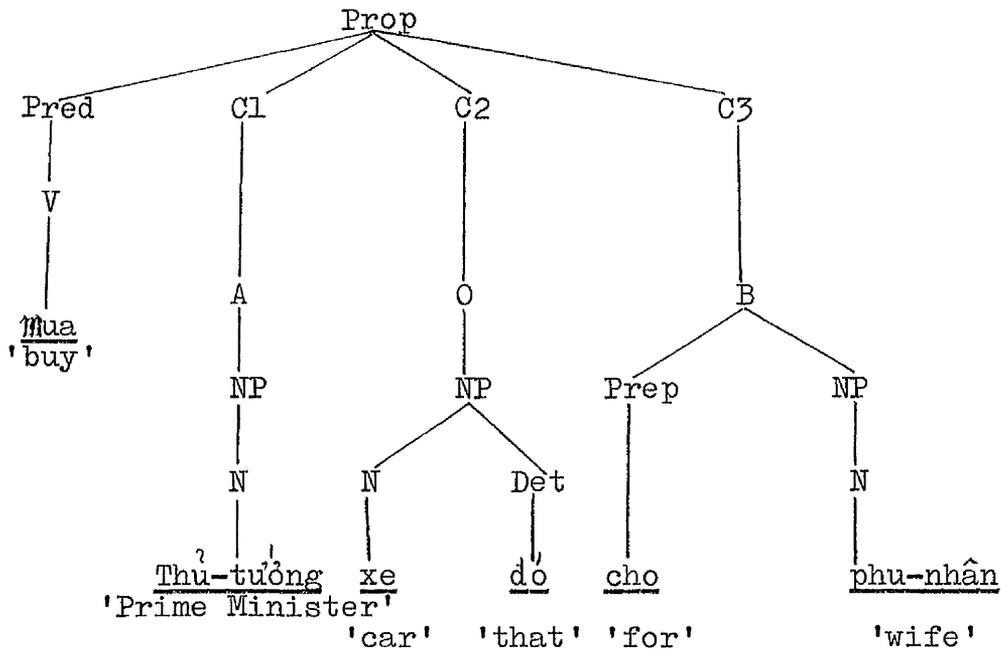
8.2.1. TR1: Preposition Attachment (OBL)

The Preposition Attachment Transformational Rule attaches a preposition to a Case according to the Preposition Selection Choice Rule.

The Case-frame of sentence (253) indicates that B is a peripheral Case. It must have a preposition associated with it.

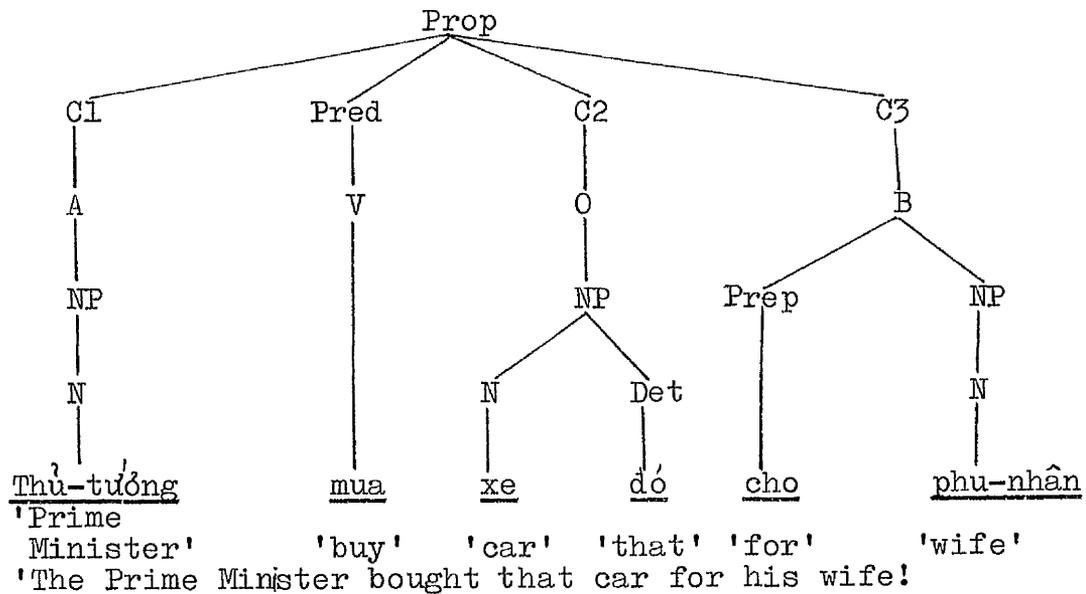
The Preposition Selection Choice Rule states that B selects preposition cho or giùm or giúp 'for'.

Apply TR1 to the Phrase-Marker (1), the result is:



In order to obtain the surface structure of sentence (253), we have to apply the Subject-fronting Transformational Rule.

- 8.2.2. TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL). This rule moves one Case to the front of the Predicator, according to the Subject Choice Rule. It is applied after the Preposition Attachment Transformational Rule.



8.2.3. TR3: Benefactive Movement (OPT)

Consider: (253) Thủ-tướng_A mua xe đó_O cho phu-nhân_B
 'The Prime Minister bought ~~that~~ car for his wife!

(254) Thủ-tướng_A mua cho phu-nhân_B xe đó_O.
 The Prime Minister bought for his wife that car!

(255) Thủ-tướng_A mua phu-nhân_B xe đó_O.
 'The Prime Minister bought his wife that car!

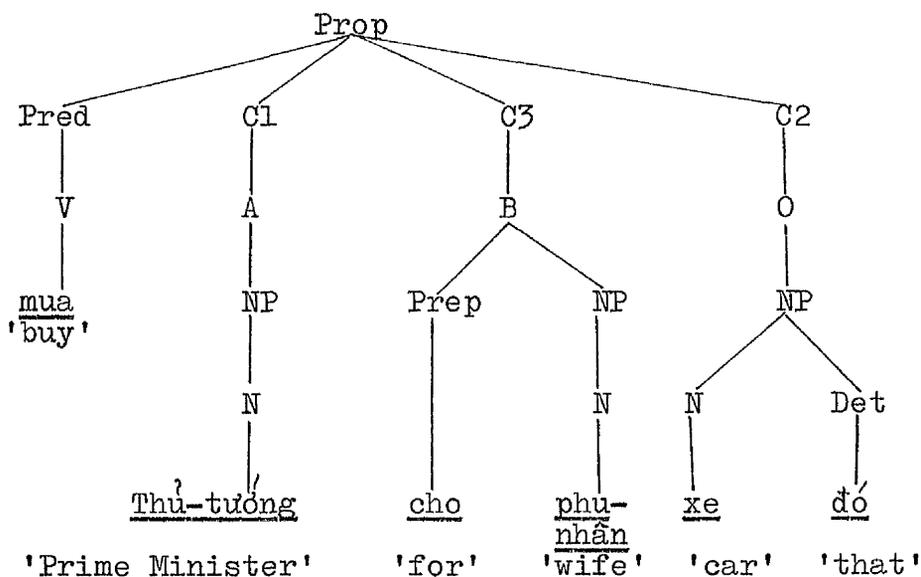
As stated in Chapter 1, since Vietnamese is not an inflectional language, the word order is extremely important. If the word order changes, meaning also changes.

However, in some syntactic structures such as those with prepositions cho/giũm/giúp 'for', different word orders produce stylistic variations but no major change in meaning. For example, sentences (253, 254 and 255) are synonymous although they have different syntactic structures.

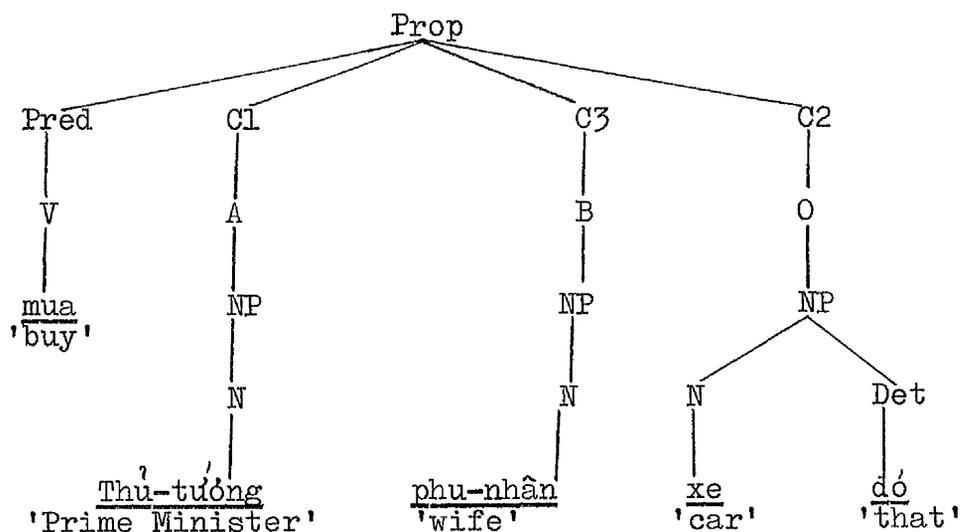
The number of sentences such as sentences (253, 254 & 255) can be easily multiplied, especially with the use of such verbs as chỉⁱ 'show', bánⁱ 'sell', gửiⁱ 'send', and the like. Therefore, the relationship between such sentences must be systematic rather than idiosyncratic.

The Benefactive Movement Transformational Rule has the function of reversing the order of two Cases: O and B. Then, the preposition attached to the B is optionally deleted.

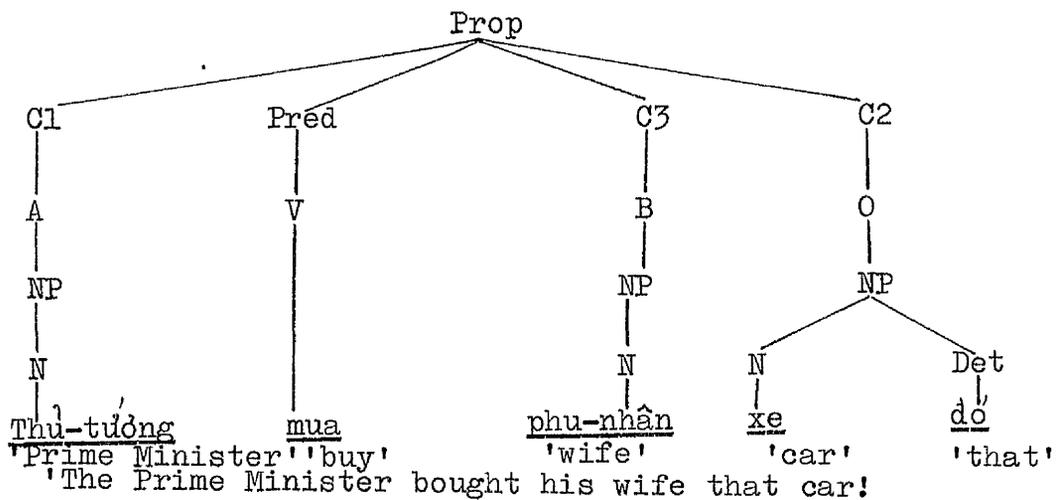
This Transformational Rule is applied before the Subject-fronting Transformational Rule.



The Benefactive preposition cho 'for' is optionally deleted.



Apply TRS, the result will be:

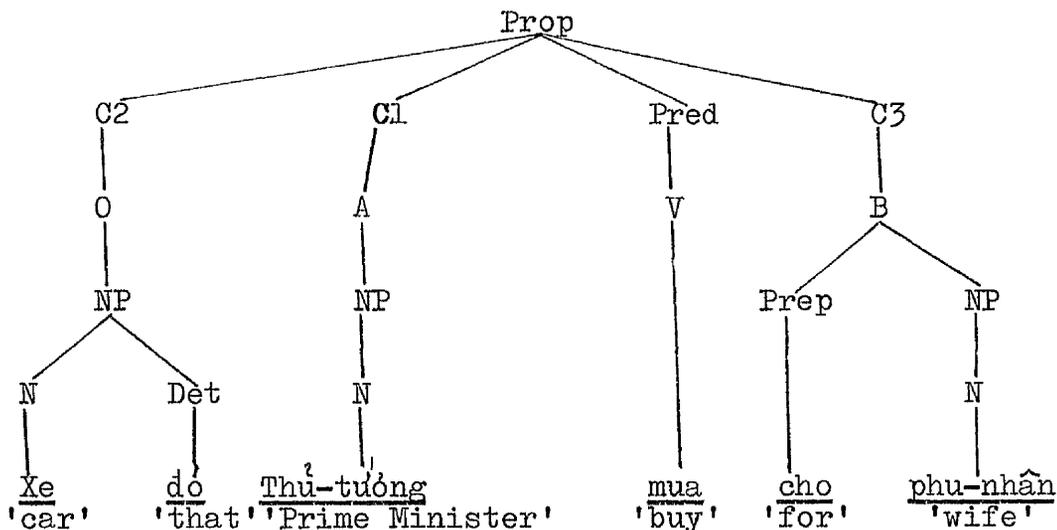


8.2.4. TR13: Topic-fronting (OPT). The topic-fronting TR moves the Case which is chosen as the topic of the sentence to the front of the Case that is chosen as the subject (according to the Subject Choice Rule).

This rule is applied after TR8: Subject-fronting.

(253) Thủ-tướng mua xe đó cho phu nhân.
 A O B
 'The Prime Minister' bought that car for his wife!

(256) Xe đó, Thủ-tướng mua cho phu nhân.
 O A B
 'That car,' the Prime Minister bought for his wife!



8.2.5. TR14: Passivisation (OPT)

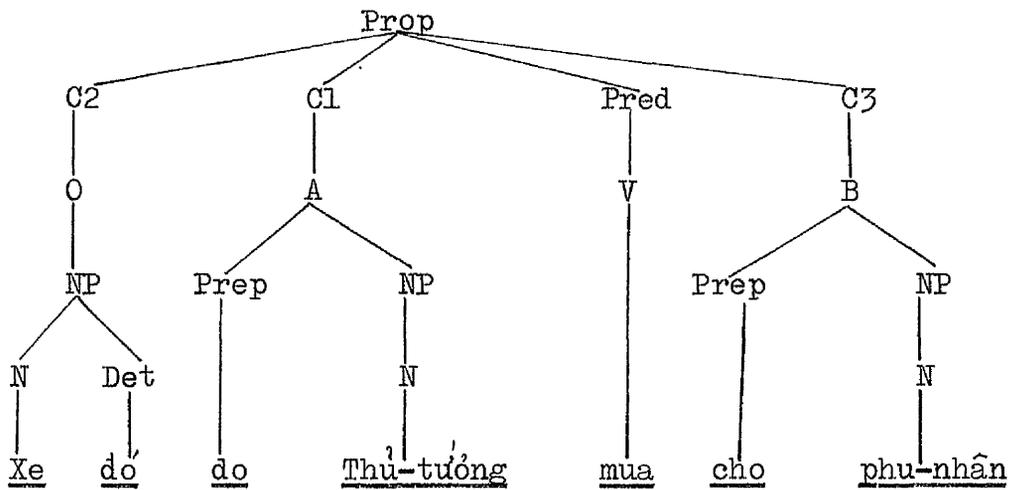
The Passivisation Transformational Rule

(i) moves the Case which is already chosen as the first object (according to the first-object-choice rule) to the front of the Case which is chosen as subject.

- (ii) attaches preposition do 'by' to the Case which is chosen as subject.

This rule is applied after TR13.

- (257) Xe đó do Thủ-tướng mua cho phu-nhân.
 'That car was bought by the Prime Minister for his wife!



'car'

'that' 'by' 'Prime Minister' 'buy' 'for' 'wife'

'That car was bought by the Prime Minister for his wife!'

CHAPTER 9.The Conjoining Transformations9.1. Recursive Processes.

Complex sentences in Vietnamese are formulated by the recursive processes. Some linguists (e.g. Lakoff, 1968a) believe that complementation, relativisation and conjunction, specifically coordination are the only possible recursive processes in language.

9.2. Coordination.

Like English, various types of conjunction are used in Vietnamese e.g. the coordinate và 'and', adversative nhưng 'but', subordinate nếu 'if', để 'in order to', disjunctive hay, hoặc 'or', and so forth.

The process of coordination with và 'and' will be discussed in this chapter as illustrative.

There are at least two types of coordination in Vietnamese, i.e. propositional and phrasal coordinations which are similar to sentence and phrasal conjunctions in English (Lakoff & Peters, 1969: 113-142)

9.3. Propositional Coordination.

Propositional coordination in Vietnamese is generated in the Base by rule 1.

BR1: Prop \longrightarrow ((Conj) + Prop)ⁿ, n > 2.

The superscript n indicates the multiple occurrence of the combination.

((Conj) + Prop)

or at least twice.

Suppose n = 2,3,4; BR1 may be rewritten as:

Prop \longrightarrow Conj + Prop1 + Conj + Prop2

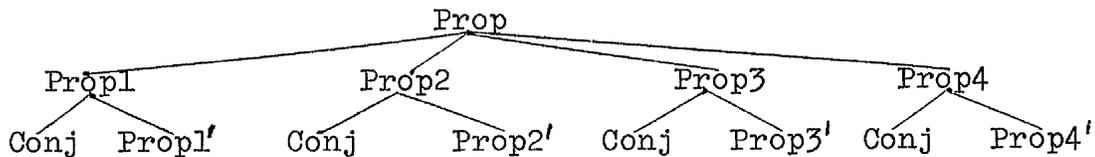
Prop \longrightarrow Conj + Prop1 + Conj + Prop2 + Conj + Prop3

Prop \longrightarrow Conj + Prop1 + Conj + Prop2 + Conj + Prop3 +
Conj + Prop4

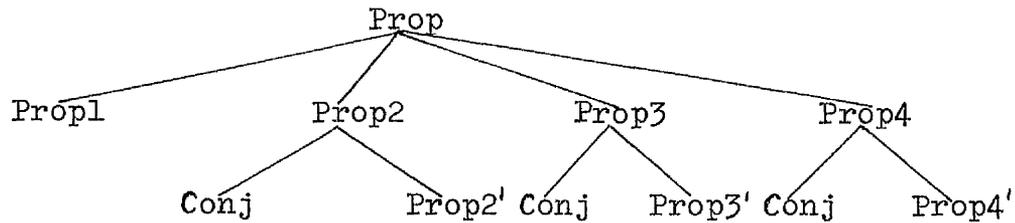
These rules generate Base structures of the form:



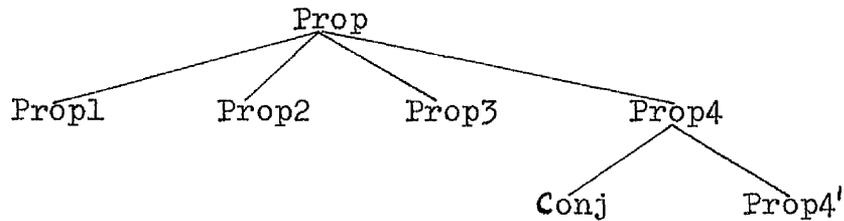
This form is conventionally converted into:



Then, the first Conj is obligatorily deleted by transformation, yielding:



Finally, there is an optional transformation deleting all but the last Conj, the result being:



When two Propositions are conjoined:

- (i) The Conj preceding the first Prop is obligatorily deleted.
- (ii) The Conj preceding the second Prop is obligatorily retained.

BR 1 may also be rewritten as:

Prop \longrightarrow Prop1 + Prop2

Prop \longrightarrow Prop1 + Prop2 + Prop3

Prop \longrightarrow Prop1 + Prop2 + Prop3 + Prop4

These rules show that two or more than two Props may be conjoined without the conjunction.

The following illustrate.

9.4. Coordination without conjunction.Sequential Conjunction.

(258) a. Ba v[̃] nhā .
 Ba return house.
 'Ba went home!

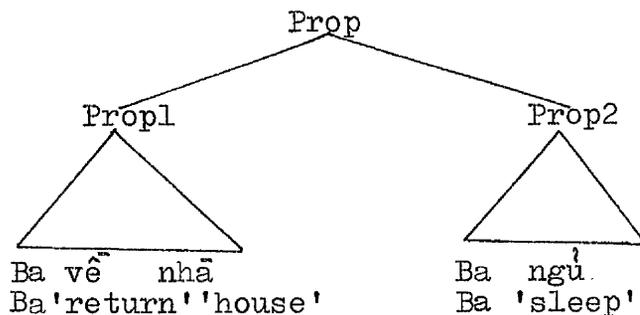
b. Ba ngu[?].
 Ba sleep.
 'Ba slept!

c. Ba v[̃] nhā ∅ Ba ngu[?].
 'Ba went home ∅ Ba slept!

Sentence (258c) is usually understood as meaning that Ba's two separate actions followed each other in time.

The ∅ symbol stands for 'no punctuation'. It shows that two very short sentences joined without a conjunction are usually not punctuated.

Sentence (258c) may be represented as follows:



9.5. Coordination with conjunction.9.5. 1. Conjoined Propositions.

(259) a. Ba ca.
 A
 Ba sing.
 'Ba sang!

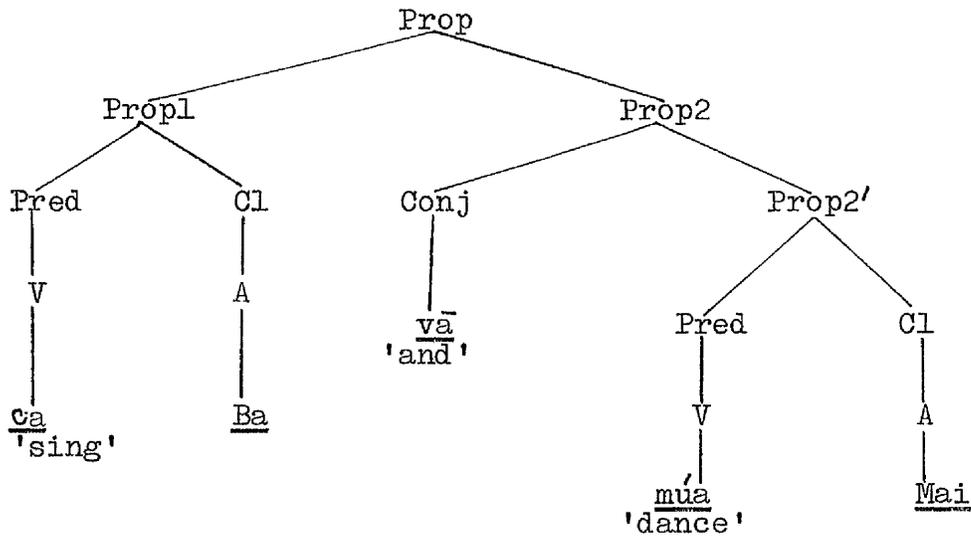
vā 'and'

b. Mai mua.
 A
 Mai dance.
 'Mai danced!

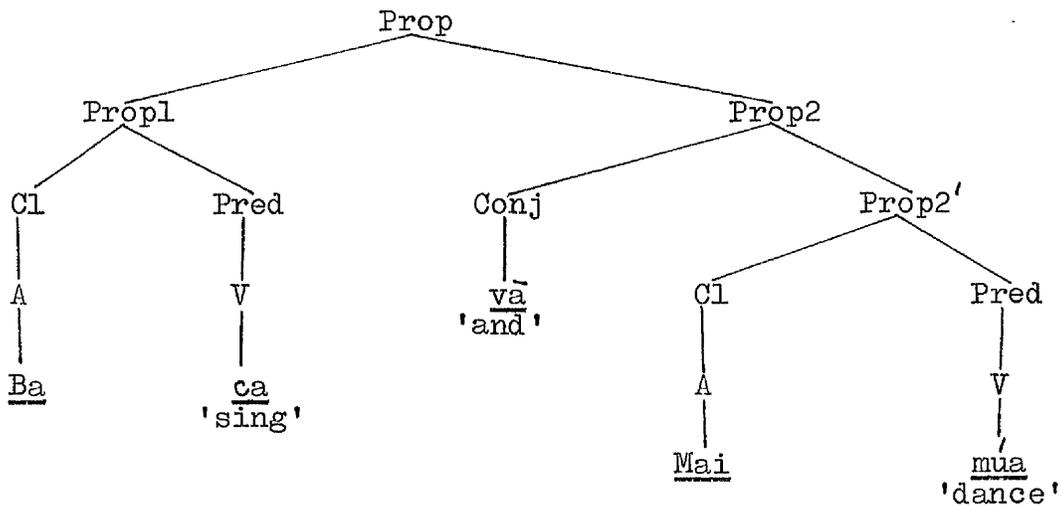
c. Ba ca vā Mai mua.
 A A
 'Ba sang and Mai danced!

Sentence (259c) is ambiguous. It may mean either that the actions of singing and dancing were simultaneous or that the dancing occurred after the singing. Again, there is no punctuation in sentence (259c). It shows that two very short sentences joined by a coordinate conjunction are usually not punctuated. Sentence patterns of this type and the type in 9.4 are called compound sentences.

Sentence (259c) may be represented informally as follows:



Apply TRS Subject-fronting to Prop2' first, then Prop1, we shall have:



9.5.2. Conjoined Predicators

- (260) a. Ba tɕi .
 A
 Ba come
 'Ba' came!

vā 'and'

b. Ba ca.
 A
 Ba sing.
 'Ba sang!

vā 'and'

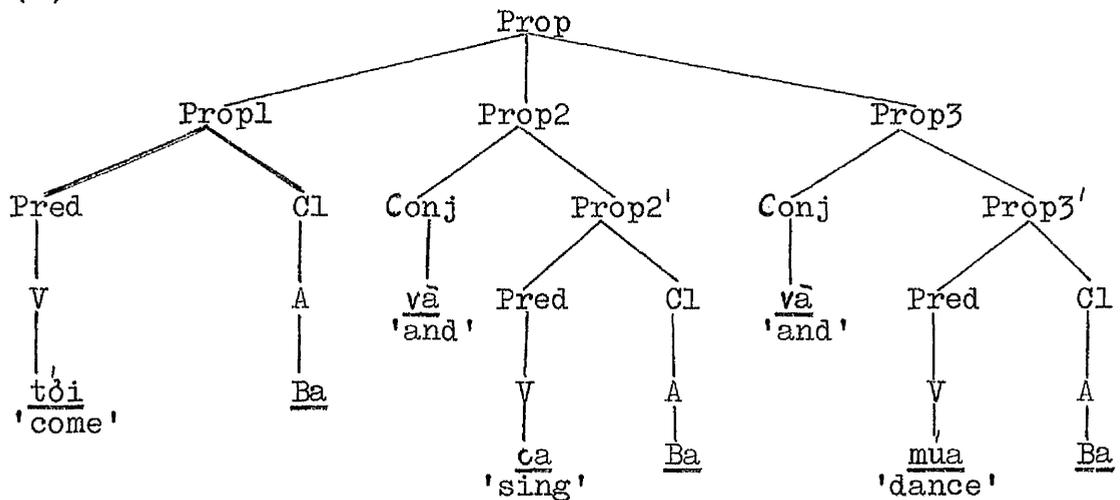
c. Ba múa.
 A
 Ba dance.
 'Ba danced!

d. Ba tôi vā ca vā múa.
 A
 'Ba came and sang and danced!

Sentence (260d) is usually understood as meaning Ba's several separate actions followed each other in time.

Sentence (260d) may be represented as follows:

(1)



Two Transformational Rules are involved here. They are: Conjunction Reduction and Identical Conjunct ²⁵ Reduction (Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 1968: 253-257).

25. A conjunct is the name given to what is conjoined.

TR5: Conjunction Reduction Transformation (OPT)

When two or more than two Propositions are conjoined, identical types of constituents (e.g. two Agentive constituents) having the same syntactic function in surface structure (e.g. two subjects) can be conjoined to form a compound constituent.

TR6: Identical Conjunct Reduction Transformation.

TR6 has the function of reducing the identical constituents in a compound constituent to a single constituent.

This rule obligatorily applies to a deep Case compound constituent, but optionally applies to a Predicator Compound Constituent.

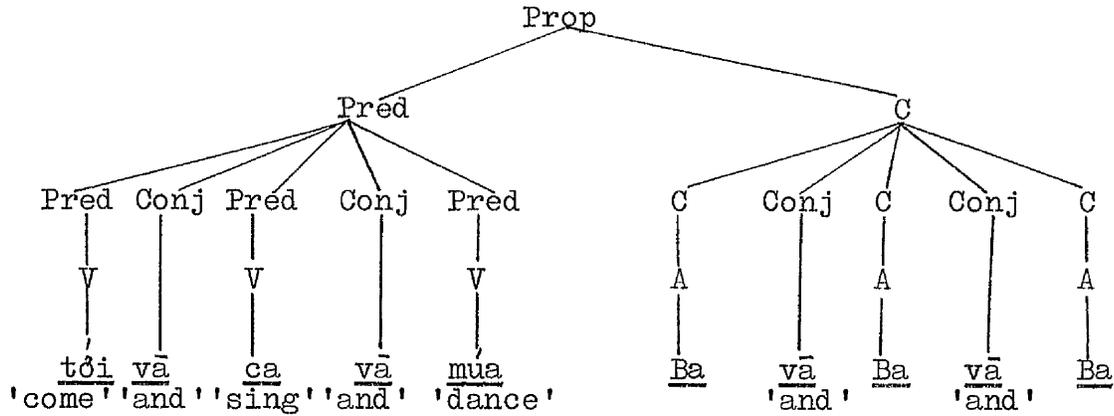
It should be noted that in the Phrase-Marker (1) above:

- (i) The surface subject of the three conjoined Propositions is Ba (an Agentive Case).
- (ii) Three Predicators of the three conjoined Propositions are three Action verbs which are used intransitively.

TR5 of Conjunction Reduction may optionally be applied to the above underlying tree. The functions of TR5 are:

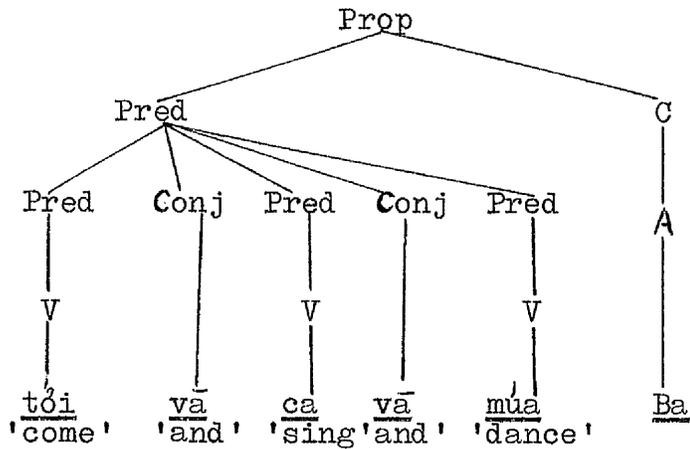
- (1) To restructure the underlying tree by introducing the new dominating C- and Pred-nodes for the conjoined C and Pred constituents.
- (2) To delete the original conjoined Prop-nodes.

The following illustrates the derived tree.



This tree shows that three Predicators tôi 'come', ca 'sing', and mua 'dance' have been conjoined under the domination of a common Pred-node; and three identical Agentives Ba have been conjoined under a common C-node. In both cases, the Conj is moved to a position between the two conjoined constituents.

To a Vietnamese speaker, the three lexical items Ba refer to the same person. In other words, three lexical items Ba have identical reference. When three constituents of a compound constituent are identical to the extent that they have identical reference, an Identical Conjunct Reduction Transformation reduces them to a single non-compound constituent.



The A then, is permuted to the position in front of the compound Predicator, producing the surface sentence:

(260d) Ba ^ltôi và ca và ^lmúa.
 'Ba came and sang and danced!

Iterative action

(261) a. Ba ^lmúa .
 A
 Ba dance.
 'Ba danced!

và 'and'

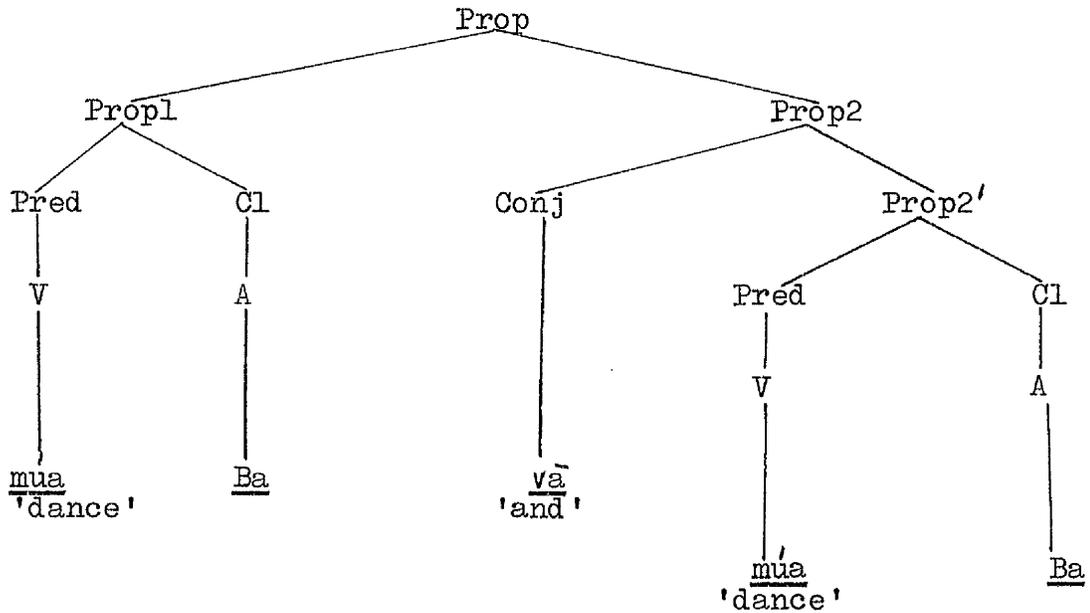
b. Ba ^lmúa.
 A
 Ba dance.
 'Ba danced!

c. Ba ^lmúa và ^lmúa.
 A
 'Ba danced and danced!

Sentence (261c) indicates Ba's iterative (or successive) action of dancing. This type of conjunction is commonly used in Vietnamese e.g.

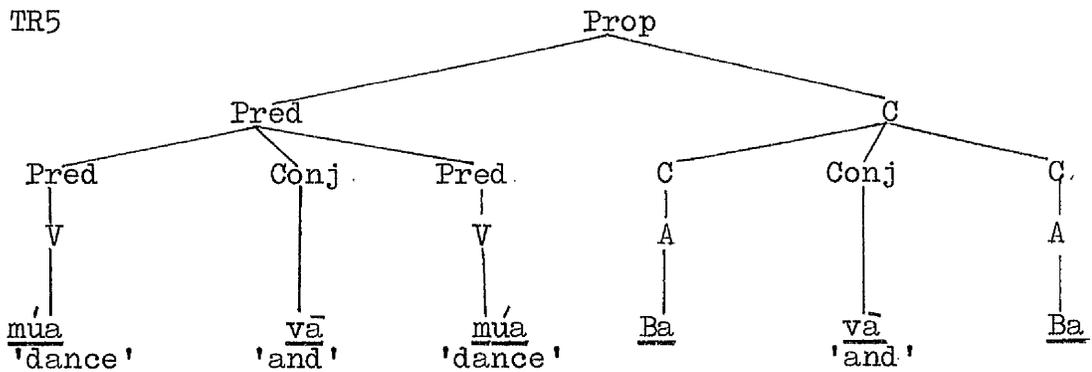
- (262) a. Ba cái vā cái . 'Ba argued and argued'.
 b. Ba nói vā nói . 'Ba talked and talked!
 c. Ba cười vā cười . 'Ba laughed and laughed!'

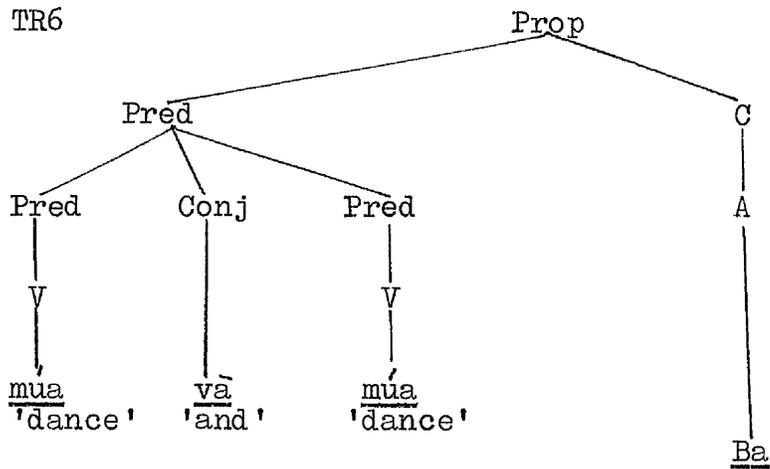
Sentence (261c) may be represented as follows:



TR5 Conjunction Reduction and TR6 Identical

Conjunct Reduction apply to this base string, giving the following derivations:





Apply TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL) to the above
Phrase-Marker.

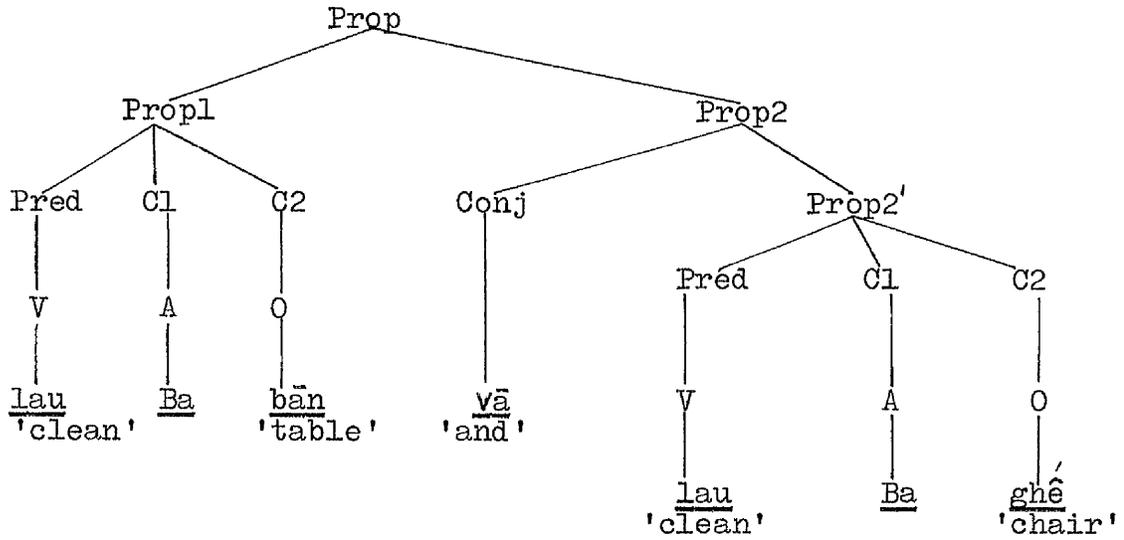
9.5.3. Conjoined Cases: certain conjoined Cases in Vietnamese are derived by transformations from underlying conjoined Propositions.

(263) a. Ba lau băn.
 A O
 Ba clean table
 'Ba cleaned tables!

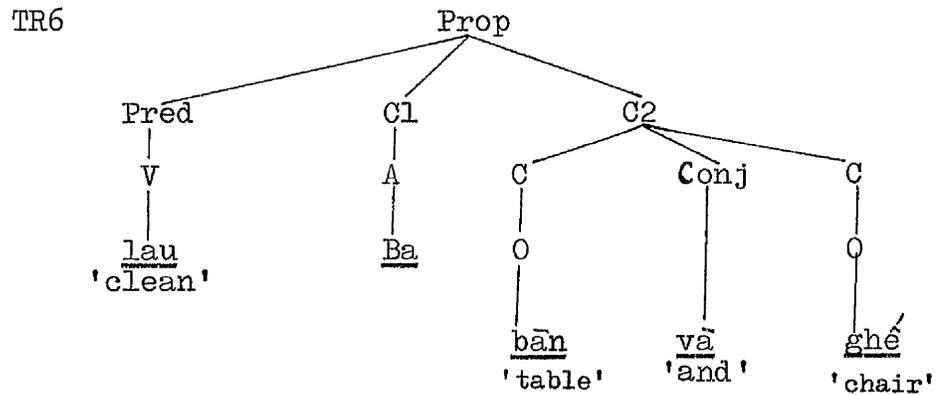
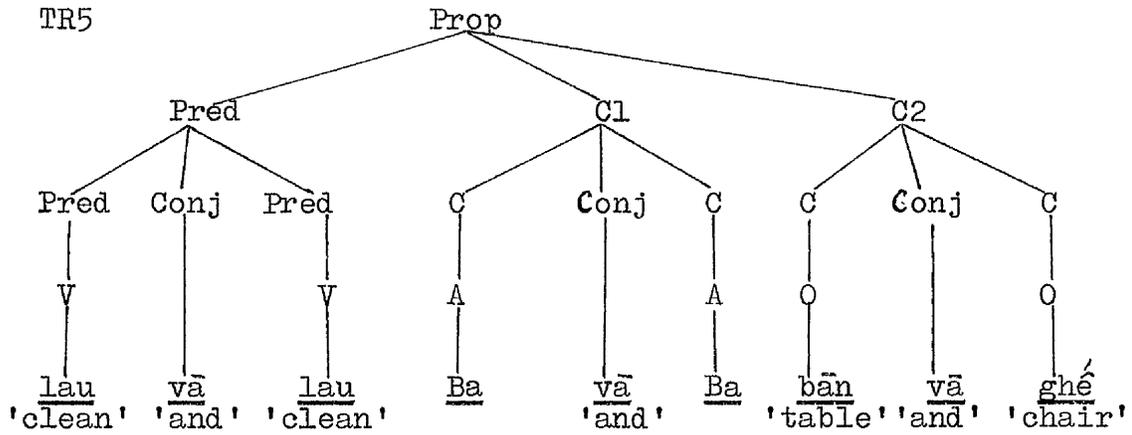
b. Ba lau ghế.
 A O
 Ba clean chair.
 'Ba cleaned chairs!

c. Ba lau băn và ghế.
 A O O
 'Ba cleaned tables and chairs!

Sentence (263c) may be diagrammed as follows:



TR5 and TR6 apply to this base string,
giving the following derivations:



Apply TR8 to this Phrase-Marker.

9.5.4. Phrasal conjunction.

Certain conjoined Cases are not derivable by transformations from underlying conjoined Propositions, but are generated as conjoined Cases in the Base (see 2.2.7. Assumption: Noun phrases belonging to the same Case may be conjoined to form a compound which fills a single deep Case in a simple sentence)

BR6 is expanded as follows:

$$\text{BR6} : C \longrightarrow (\text{Conj} + C)^n, n \geq 2$$

Condition: Both C(ases) are identical.

This rule has the same reading as that for conjoined Propositions above.

Suppose $n = 2, 3, 4$. BR6 may be rewritten as:

$$C \longrightarrow \text{Conj.} + C_1 + \text{Conj} + C_2$$

$$C \longrightarrow \text{Conj} + C_1 + \text{Conj.} + C_2 + \text{Conj} + C_3$$

$$C \longrightarrow \text{Conj} + C_1 + \text{Conj} + C_2 + \text{Conj.} + C_3 + \text{Conj.} + C_4$$

When two Cases are conjoined

- (i) The Conj preceding the first Case is obligatorily deleted.
- (i) The Conj. preceding the second Case is obligatorily retained.

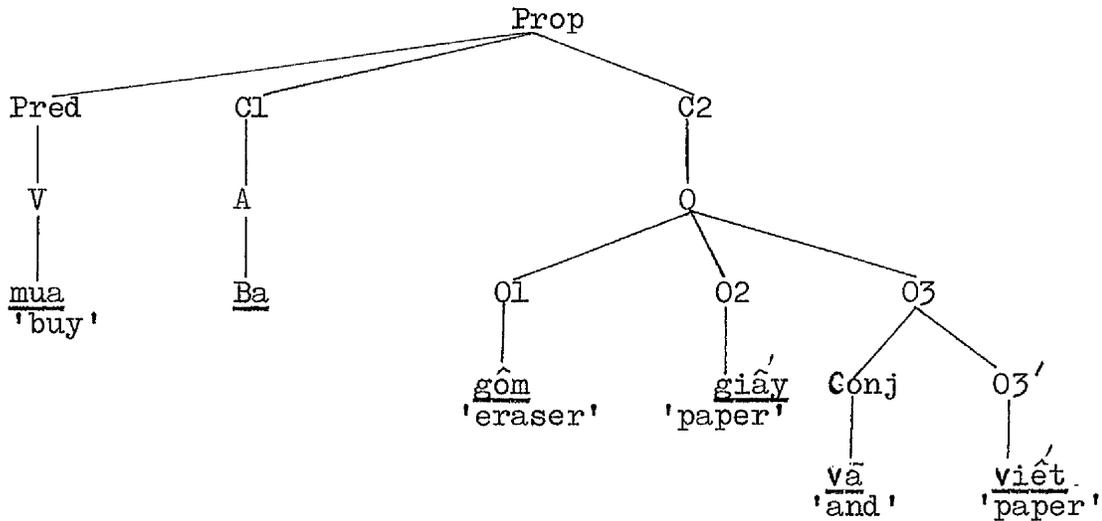
When more than two Cases are conjoined.

- (i) The Conj. preceding the first Case is obligatorily deleted.
- (ii) All of the other conjunctions preceding other conjoined Cases may be deleted except the last.

Example:

(264) Ba mua gôm, giấy và viết.
 A O1 O2 O3
 Ba buy eraser paper and pen.
 'Ba bought erasers, paper and pens!'

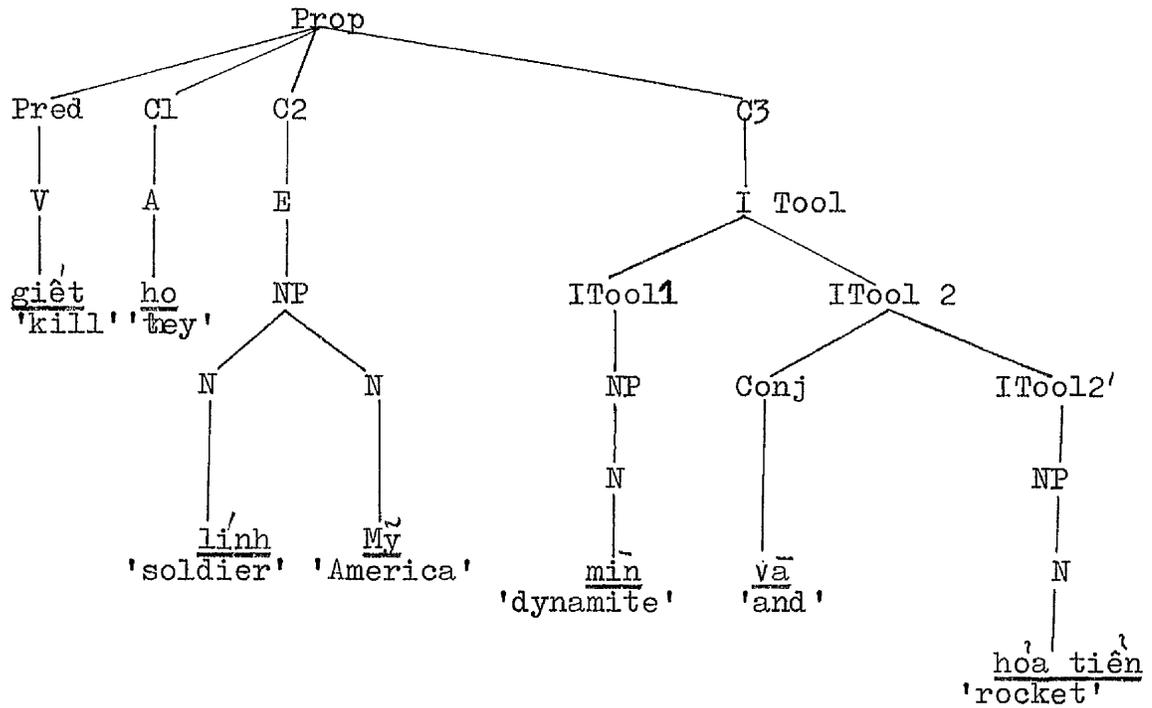
This sentence may be represented as follows:



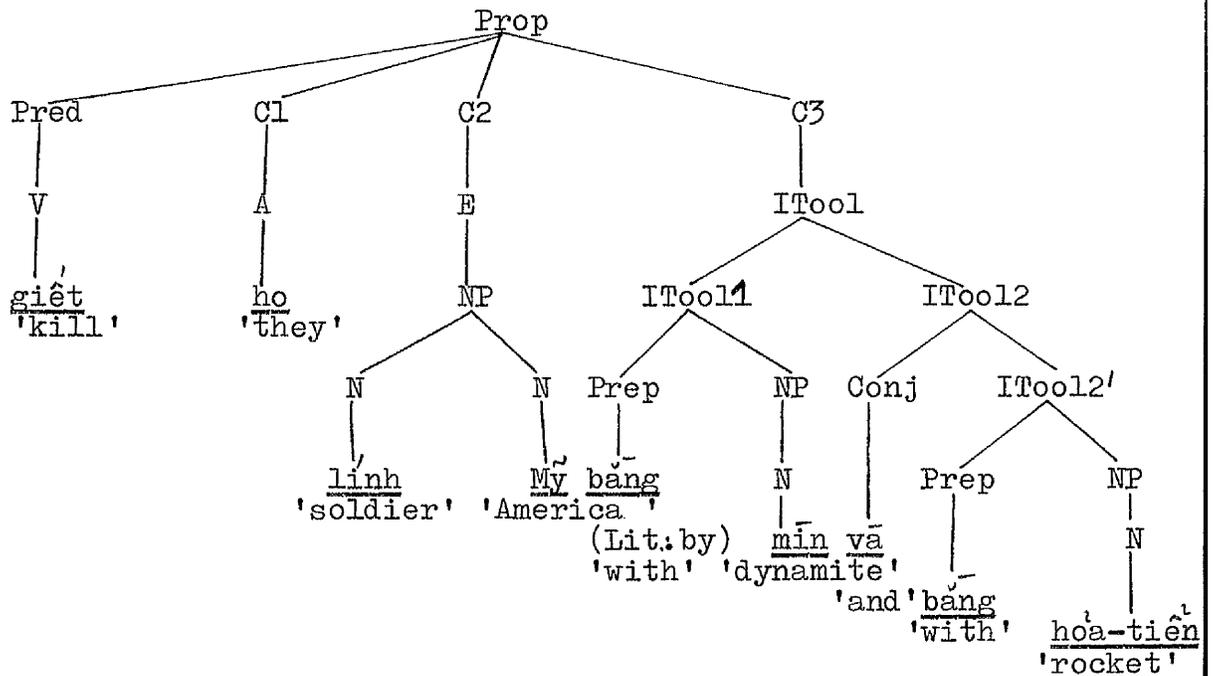
Ho giết lính Mỹ bằng mìn và hoà-tiên.
 A E I Tool 1 I Tool 2

They kill soldier America by dynamite and rocket.
 'They killed American soldiers with dynamite and rockets!'

The deep structure of sentence (265) may be represented as follows:



Apply TR1: Preposition Attachment (OBL).

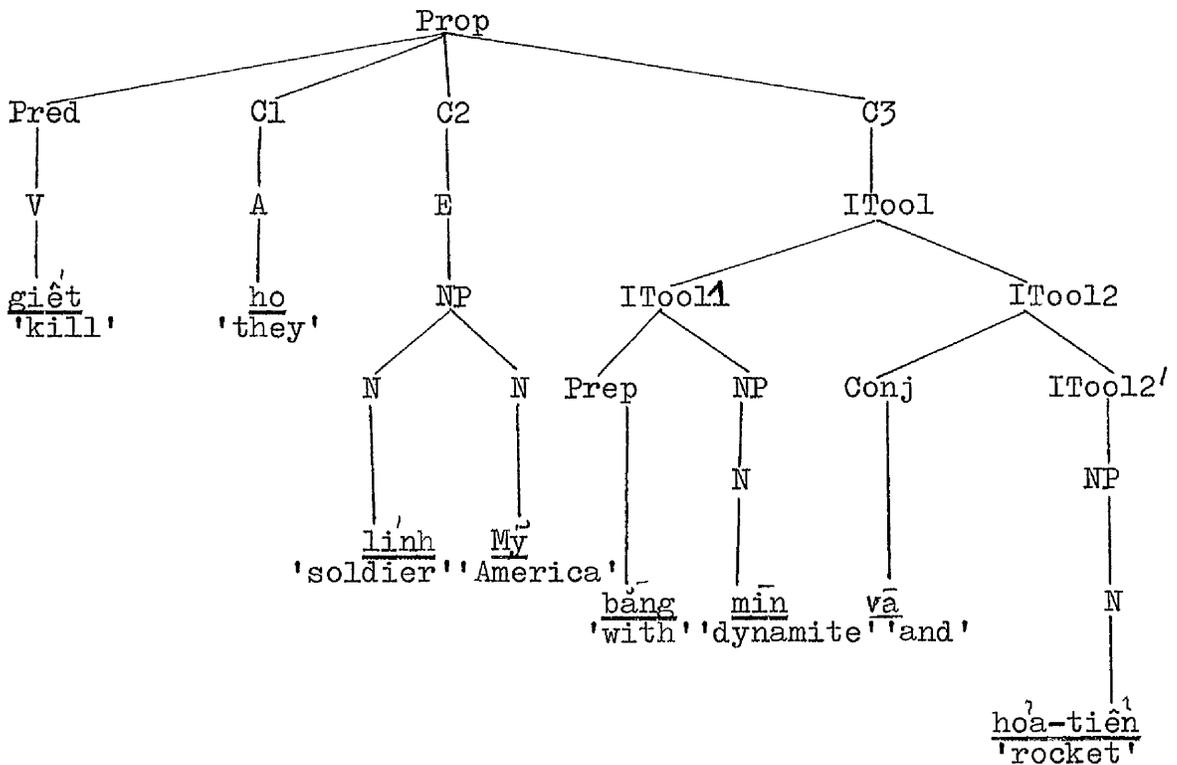


Apply TR7.

TR7. Preposition Deletion (OBL).

When two conjoined Cases select the same preposition:

- (i) the preposition preceding the first Case is obligatorily retained.
- (ii) the preposition preceding the second Case is obligatorily deleted.



CHAPTER 10.The Embedding Transformations.

Both English and Vietnamese have various means of 'building up' more complex sentences out of simple sentences (often in the sense of 'shorter' sentences). Among such means are 'complementation' and 'relativisation' processes which are roughly the combination of sentences through the use of syntactic devices other than coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

The aim of this chapter is to present some embedding transformations which will allow for the generation of most of the complex sentences in Vietnamese.

Before discussing the chief transformations involved in the process of complementation and relativisation in Vietnamese, I want to present briefly the treatment of English complement and relative sentences by Transformational-Generative and Case grammarians.

10.1. Complements in English

According to some Transformational-Generative grammarians (e.g. Rosenbaum, Paul & Carol Kiparsky), complements in English are sentences embedded in NPs which have it or a noun such as fact as their head noun.

For example, Rosenbaum (1967) argues that the underlined part of the following example is an instance of NP complement.

If fact - deletion is performed, then apply the complementiser-placement rule (or That-insert rule), the above structure becomes:

We regretted that you were sick.

10.2. Treatment of Complement and Relative Sentences in Fillmore's Case Grammar.

Fillmore (1968a: 28) proposes that one of the Case-nodes in the deep structure of a sentence may be rewritten as S rather than as K + NP. This rule accounts for complements in English.

In a Phrase-Marker then, an O-node may directly dominate an S-node. One of the inferences of this rule would thus seem to be that complements are not to be analysed as NPs or constituents of NPs in the deep structure of a sentence. This is a different point from the analysis of complement in the type of Transformational-Generative Grammar presented in section 10.1.

Fillmore (1968a: 49) also suggests that a second source of embedded sentences is within the NP itself.

"The rule for NP may be stated as

$$\text{NP} \longrightarrow \text{N (S)}$$

where the N is an ordinary lexical item and the adjunct S contains a co-referential copy of the same N, the result is an NP consisting of a N modified by a relative clause."

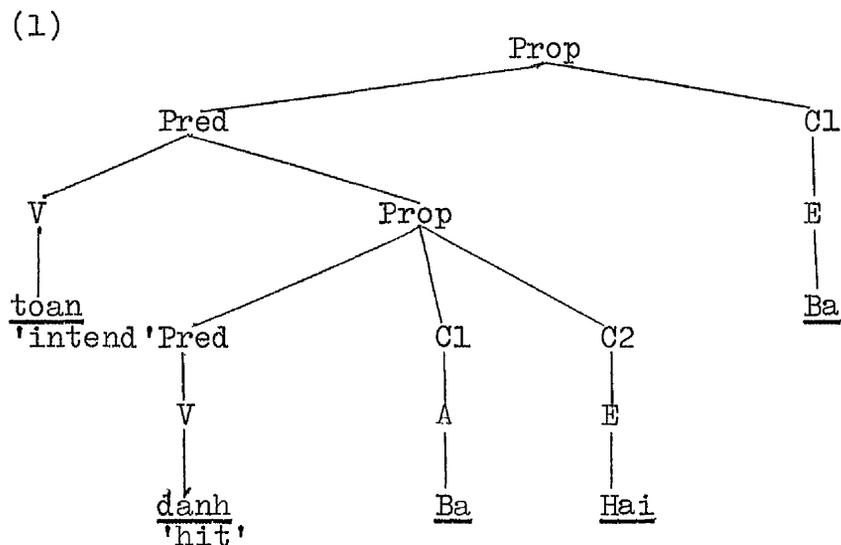
b. * Ba toan Ba đ'anh Hai.
 *('Ba intended Ba to hit Hai'.)

c. * Ba toan Mai đ'anh Hai.
 *('Ba intended Mai to hit Hai'.)

Syntactic Structure: The above examples show that:

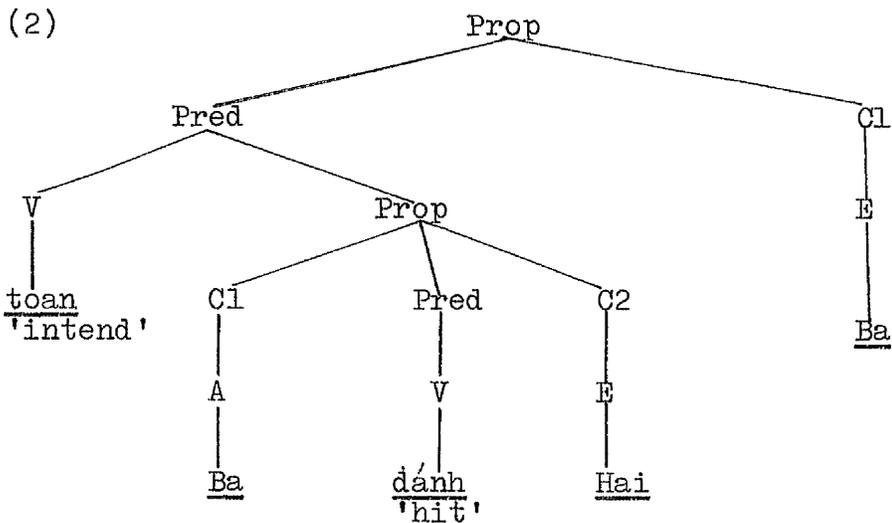
If the matrix verb²⁶ is toan 'intend', no NP can intervene between toan and the verb of the embedded sentence. In other words, the verb of the matrix sentence cannot be separated from the verb of the embedded sentence.

Semantic Representation: Sentence (268) may be diagrammed as follows:



26. A matrix verb is a verb in the matrix sentence.

Apply TR8 (OBL) Subject-fronting to the embedded Prop.



TR11: Equi-NP Deletion (OBL)

Deletion Transformations are the most powerful devices in T.G.

In this study, I assume that the recoverability principle proposed by Katz and Postal (1964) applies to Vietnamese as well. This principle implies that anything which is deleted during the transformational process must in general be recoverable.

The reason is this: the goal of Transformational-Generative Grammar is to describe the competence of the ideal speaker-hearer. The hearer must be able to reconstruct any deleted elements that represent part of the meaning of the sentence in order to interpret correctly what he hears.

The main question is how the speaker-hearer knows which of the underlying NPs, for example, must be deleted. In this thesis, the following assumption is made:

In deep structure of a complex sentence, if the NP in the embedded Prop is coreferential with another NP

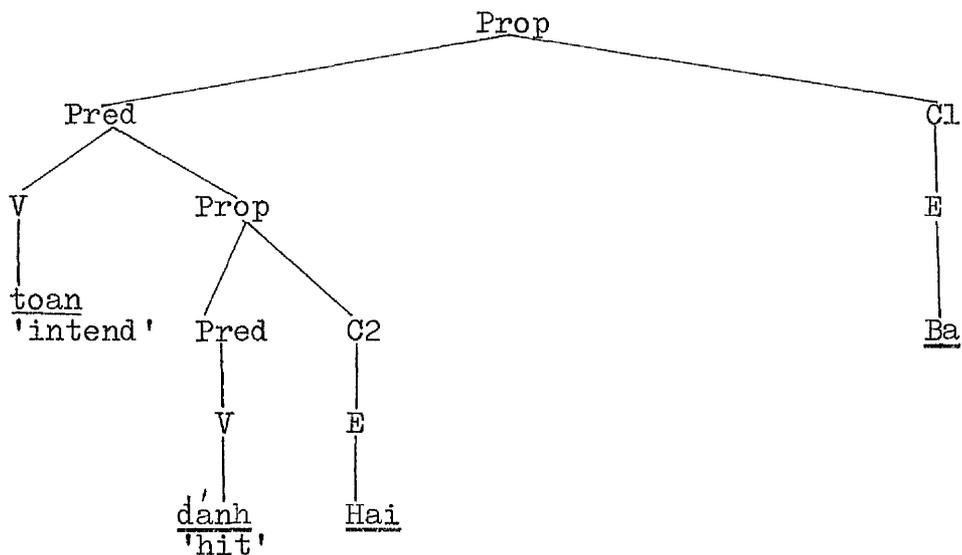
in the matrix Prop, the NP in the embedded Prop is obligatorily deleted.

It is necessary to posit a two-step deletion process:

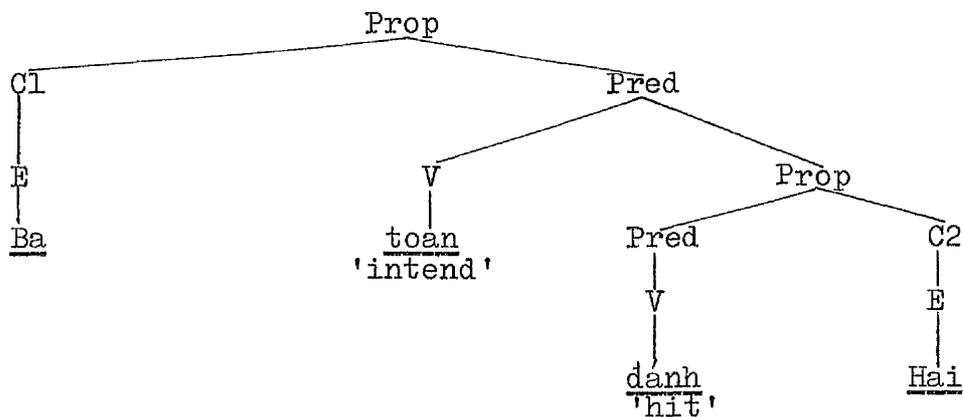
Step 1: Deletion of the lexical item(s) attached to the NP.

Step 2: Deletion of the Case-node dominating the NP, then the Case-branch.

Apply TR11: Equi-NP Deletion (OBL) to the Phrase-Marker (2), the coreferential NP Ba in the embedded Prop is obligatorily deleted. The result will be:



Apply TR8 (OBL) Subject-fronting to the matrix Prop.



The Case-frame of toan is: +[————— E]/Prēd which means that:

- 1) Verb toan 'intend' requires an E and a Predicator complement in its deep structure.
- 2) Prēd indicates that a Prop functioning as a complement is embedded within the Predicator.

Verbs that require Predicator complements are:

quyết, nhất-quyết 'resolute', cô, cô-gắng 'try', e.g.

(269) Ba cô leo lên.
 'Ba tried to climb up'.

10.3.3. Propositional Complement.

Type: 1: Example: Coercive Causative verbs, e.g. ép 'force',
bắt, bắt buộc 'oblige, compel'.

(270) a. * Ba ép đi Hai.
 *('Ba forced to go Hai'.)

 b. Ba ép Hai đi.
 Ca
 'Ba forced Hai to go'.

 c. * Ba ép Ba đi.
 *('Ba forced Ba to go'.)

Syntactic Structure: The above examples show that:

- (i) The verb of the matrix sentence (i.e. ép 'force') must be separated from the verb of the embedded sentence.
- (ii) The verb of the embedded sentence does not have the same surface subject as the verb of the matrix sentence.

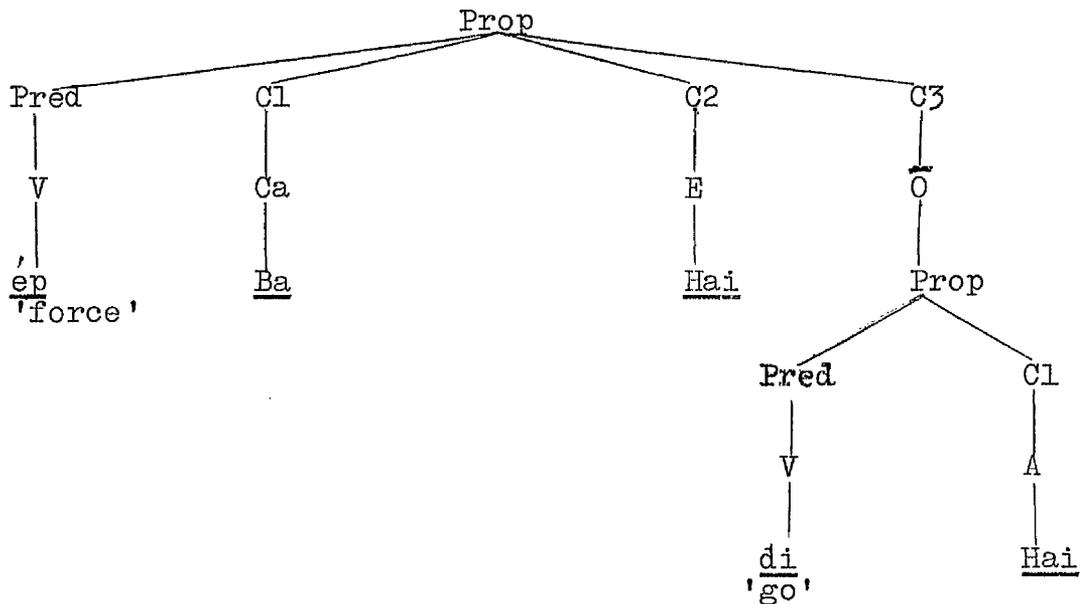
Semantic Representation:

The Case-frame of ép 'force' in (270b) is:

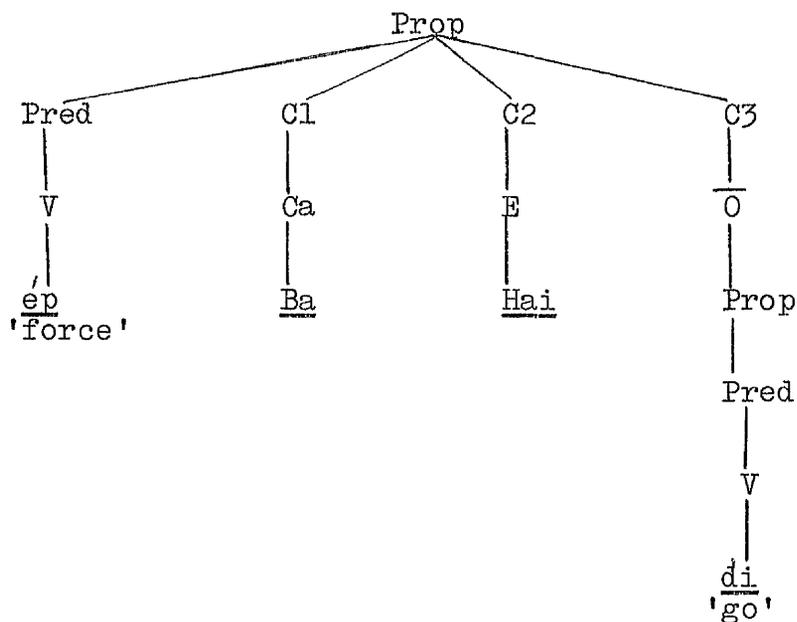
+ [————— Ca + E + \bar{O}]

This Case-frame indicates that verb ép requires a Ca, an E and a Propositional complement (i.e. the complement is embedded within O, not within Pred).

Sentence (270b) may be represented as follows:



Apply TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL), then TR11: Equi-NP Deletion (OBL) to the embedded Prop.



Apply TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL) to the matrix Prop.

Type 2: Example: Non-Coercive Causative verbs e.g. lām,
khiên 'cause, make', dê 'let'.

(271) a. * Ba lām di Hai .
 *('Ba caused go Hai!)

b. Ba lām Hai di .
 Ca O
 'Ba caused Hai to go!

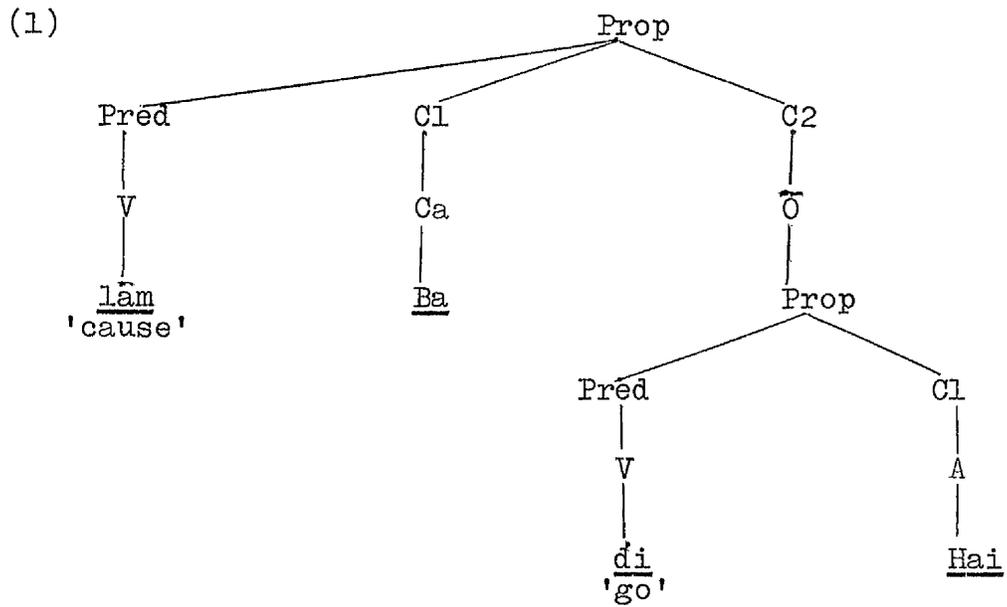
c. * Ba lām Ba di .
 *('Ba caused Ba to go!)

Syntactic Structure: The above examples show that the non-Coercive Causative verb lām 'cause' has the same syntactic structure as the Coercive Causative verb ép 'force'.

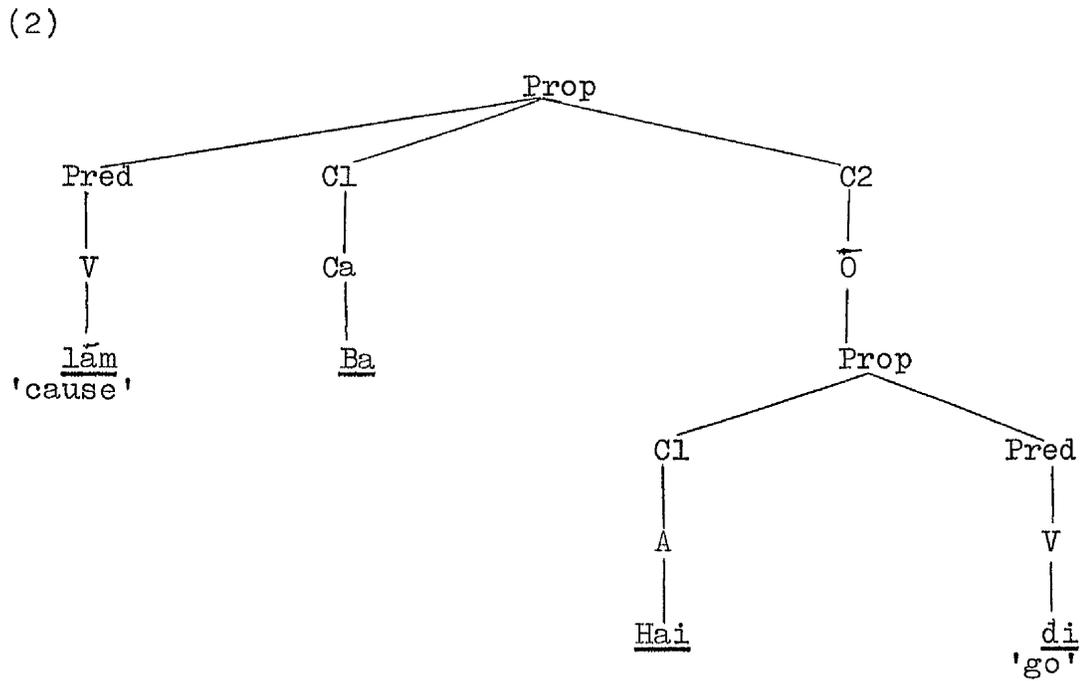
Semantic Representation (see 5.2.4.3.)

Lām 'cause' : + [— Ca + O]

Sentence (271b) may be diagrammed as follows:



Apply TR8 to the embedded Prop.

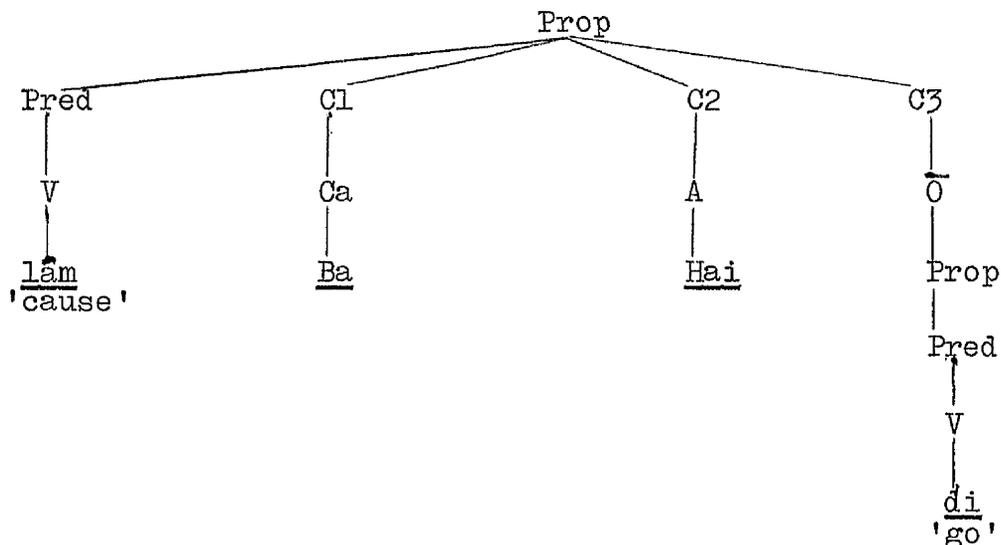


TR10: Case-Raising (OPT) (e.g. Agentive-Raising).

The Case-Raising Transformational Rule provides for an optional derivation in which the Case - which is chosen as subject of the embedded Prop - is raised to become a constituent of the matrix Prop. (The raised Case will be realised as the first object of the matrix verb in surface structure). Case-Raising is equivalent to Postal's rule for subject-raising in English.

"A rule that has the function of taking the complement subject NP in certain complement types and reassigning it as a constituent of the main clause". (Postal 1974: inside front cover)

Apply TR10 to the Phrase-Marker (2), the result will be:



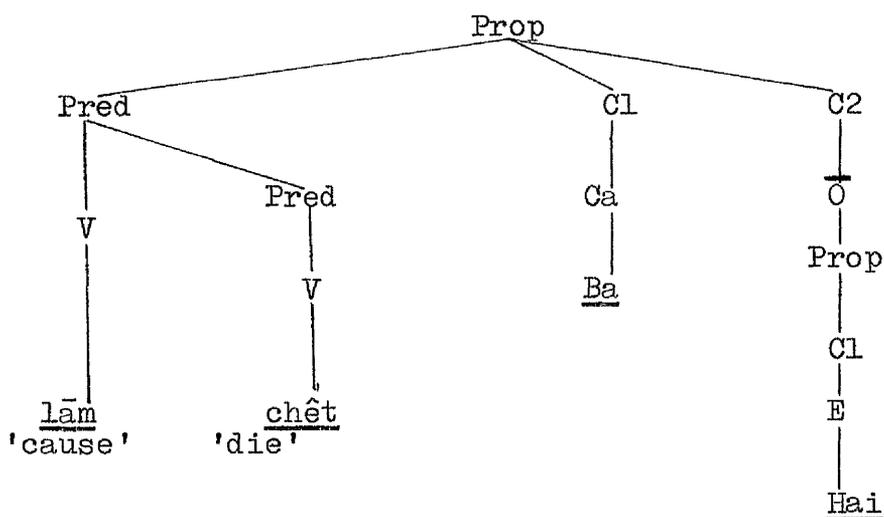
The Ca then, is permuted to the position in front of the Pred, producing the surface sentence:

<u>Ba</u>	lām	<u>Hai</u>	<u>di</u> .
<u>Ca</u>		O	
'Ba	caused	<u>Hai</u>	<u>to go</u> '.

TR4: Predicator-Raising (OPT)

This Transformational Rule has the function of taking the Predicator of the embedded Prop, lifting it into the matrix Prop and attaching it to the Predicator of the matrix Prop, thus producing a kind of compound Predicator.

Predicator-Raising is equivalent to McCawley's rule for Predicate-Raising in English (see 5.1).



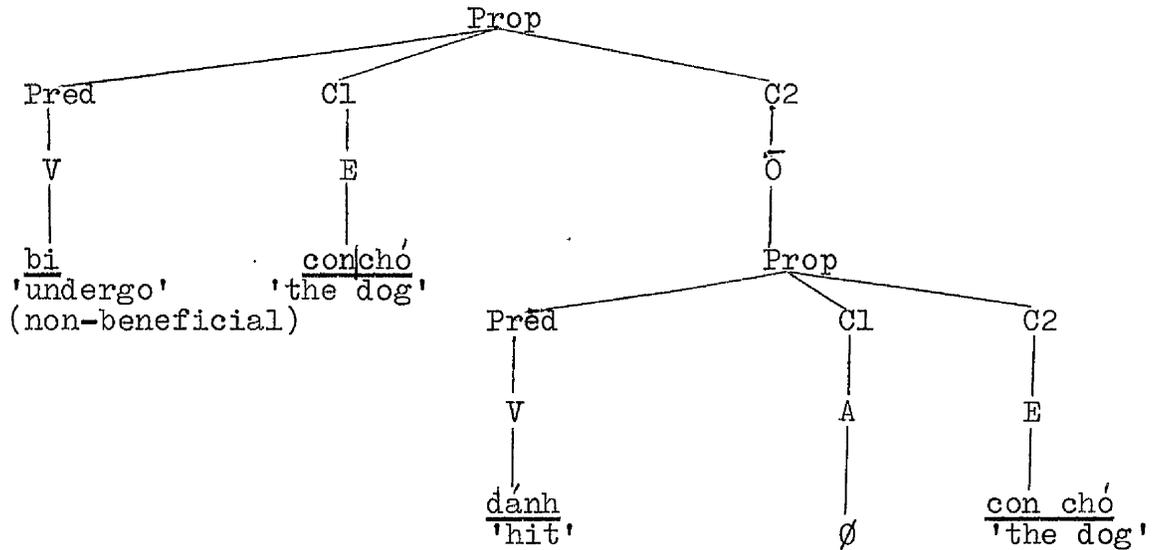
Apply TR8: Subject-fronting to the matrix Prop.

Type 3: Submissive verbs, e.g. bi 'undergo an unhappy experience!
được 'undergo a happy experience!

Consider (273) a. Ba đánh con chó
 A E
 'Ba hit the dog!

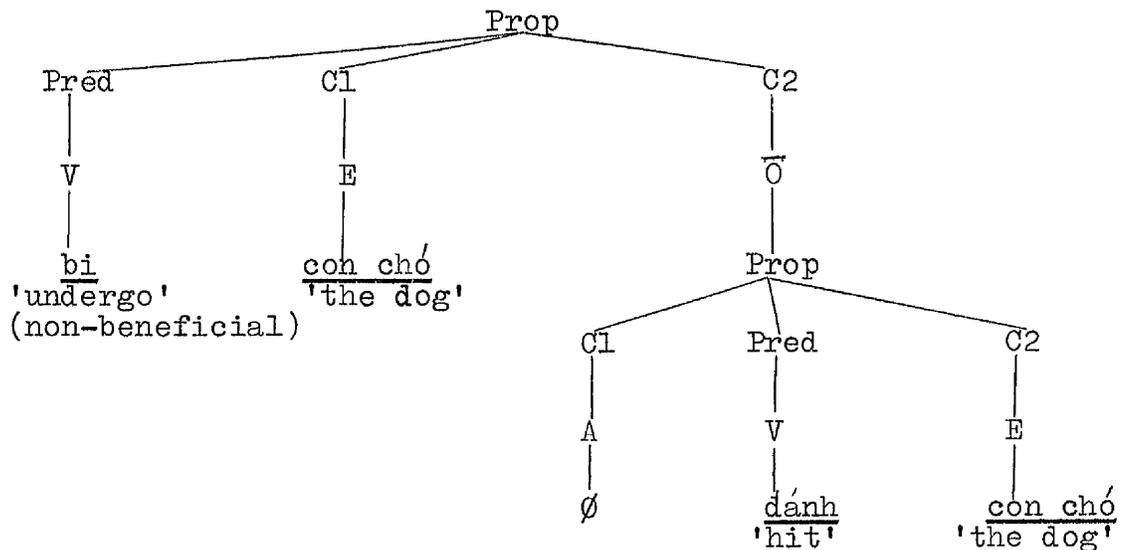
Sentence (273c) may be diagrammed as follows:

(1)



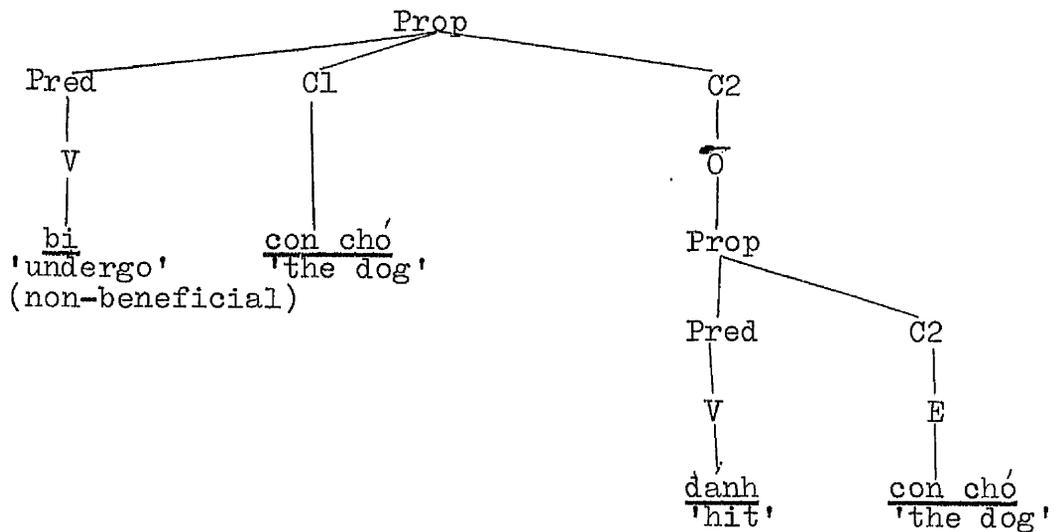
Apply TR8 to the embedded Prop.

(2)

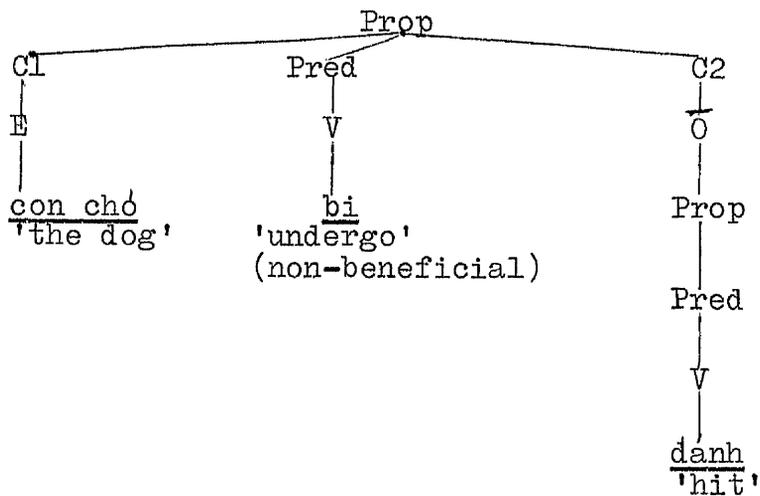


TR9: Case-Deletion (OBL) A nuclear Case is deleted in deep structure of a sentence when it dominates an unspecified NP (i.e. no lexical item is attached to the NP).

Apply TR9 to the Phrase-Marker (2), the result will be:



Apply TR11: Equi-NP Deletion (OBL) to the embedded Prop.
Then, apply TR8 to the matrix Prop.



Consider: (274)

- a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ lạnh.
Ba cold.
'Ba' was cold'.
- b. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ bi lạnh.
Ba undergo cold.
(non-beneficial)
'Ba' was cold'.
- c. * $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ bi Ba lạnh.
*('Ba' undergo Ba cold'.)
(non-beneficial)

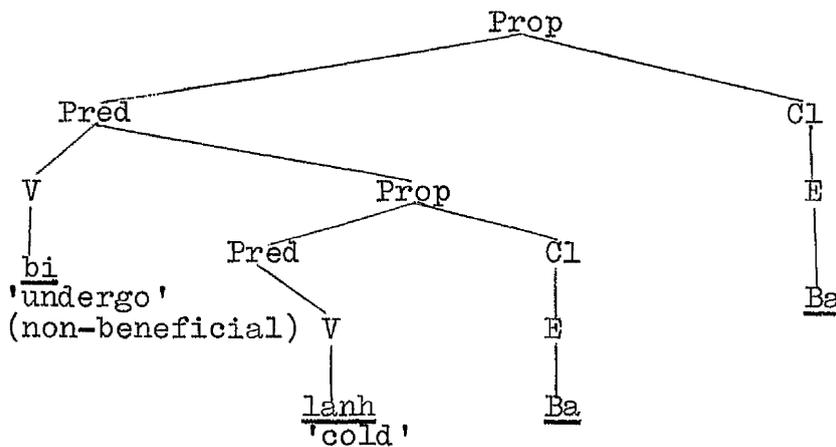
- d. * Ba bi Hai lanh.
 *('Ba undergo Hai cold'.)
 (non-beneficial)

Syntactic Structure: The above examples show that:

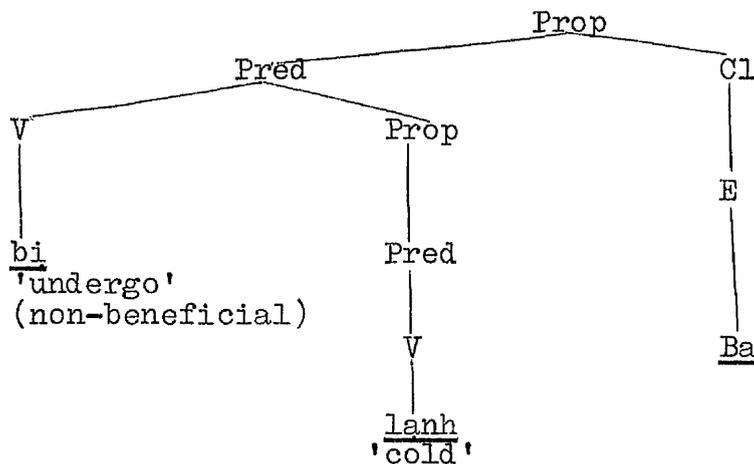
If the matrix verb is bi 'undergo an unhappy experience' (i.e. a Submissive verb) and the verb of the embedded sentence is lanh 'cold' (i.e. a State verb), no NP can intervene between bi and lanh.

Semantic Representation: The Case-frame of (274b) is:

+[-____ E]/Pred̄ (i.e. a Prop functioning as a complement is embedded within the Pred).



Apply TR8, then TR11; Equi-NP Deletion to the embedded Prop, the result will be:



Apply TR8 to the matrix Prop.

Type 4: Example: Hy-vong 'expect'.

- (275) a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ hy-vong thành-công.
'Ba expected to succeed'.
- b. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ hy-vong Ba thành-công.
'Ba expected himself to succeed!'
- c. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ hy-vong r̃ang Ba thành-công.
'Ba expected that he would succeed'.
- d. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ hy-vong Mai thành-công.
'Ba expected Mai to succeed'.
- e. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{E}}$ hy-vong r̃ang Mai thành-công.
'Ba expected that Mai would succeed'.

Syntactic Structure: The above examples show that:

- (i) Hy-vong 'expect' is a matrix verb. It always occurs in matrix sentences of complex syntactic constructions.
- (ii) The subject of the embedded sentence may or may not be identical with the subject of the matrix sentence. (275 b & d).
- (iii) The subject of the embedded sentence may or may not be deleted if it is identical with the subject of the matrix sentence (e.g. 275a & b).
- (iv) If the subject of the embedded sentence is not identical with the subject of the matrix sentence, it must be present in surface structure (e.g. 275d).
- (v) The complementiser r̃ang 'that' optionally follows the matrix verb (e.g. 275d & e).
- (vi) The matrix verb can be separated from the verb of the embedded sentence. If r̃ang is used, the subject of the embedded sentence should be present.

Hy-vong (răng) 'expect (that)' = + [—E + 0]

Complementisers (Abbreviation Comp) răng, lã, răng lã
'that'

Răng: The complementiser răng 'that' which introduces the Propositional complement is semantically empty, and in many cases may be optionally deleted.

Lã: The complementiser lã 'that' which introduces the Propositional complement is also semantically empty, and in many cases may also be optionally deleted.

It is interchangeable with răng.

- (275e) Ba hy-vong răng Mai thành-công.
Ba hy-vong lã Mai thành-công.
'Ba expected that Mai would succeed!

It seems that răng is much preferred after some verbs.

- (276) Tôi thề răng tôi không biết chuyện đó.
?Tôi thề lã tôi không biết chuyện đó.
'I swear that I do not know that story!

Lã is much preferred after other verbs.

- (277) Tôi thấy lã Ba có lý.
? Tôi thấy răng Ba có lý.
'I see/realise that Ba is reasonable!

Răng lã The compound complementiser răng lã (Lit: that that) 'that' appears to have the same distribution as răng.

- (278) Ba hy vong răng lā Mai thành-công.
 'Ba expected that Mai would succeed!

Because of the stylistic preference of each speaker, it is not possible for me to propose a general rule stating when and where one should use răng, lā or răng lā.

It is certain that verbs take Predicator complements and Propositional complements of Type 1 & Type 2 are ungrammatical with a complementiser. No speakers allow răng or lā after these verbs,

- (279) a. * Ba toan răng đánh Hai.
 * ('Ba intended that hit Hai!)
- b. * Ba ép răng Hai đi.
 * ('Ba forced that Hai went!)
- c. * Ba lām răng Hai đi.
 * ('Ba caused that Hai went')

Răng or lā or răng lā is optionally used with:

- (i) Belief verbs e.g. cho (răng), ngĩ (răng) 'take it for granted, think (that)', hy-vong (răng) 'expect (that)', tin (răng) 'believe (that)'.
 (ii) Sentiment verbs e.g. sỏ (răng) 'fear (that), be afraid (that)', tiếc (răng) 'regret(that)'.
 (iii) Knowledge verbs, e.g. biết (răng) 'know (that)', hiếu (răng) 'understand (that)'.
 (iv) Communication verbs e.g. nói (răng) 'say (that)', thề (răng) 'swear (that)', tuyên-bố (răng) 'declare (that), xác-nhận (răng) 'confirm (that), bảo

(rả̄ng) 'tell (that)', hỏi (rả̄ng) 'ask (that)', trả̄
lời (rả̄ng) 'answer (that)'.

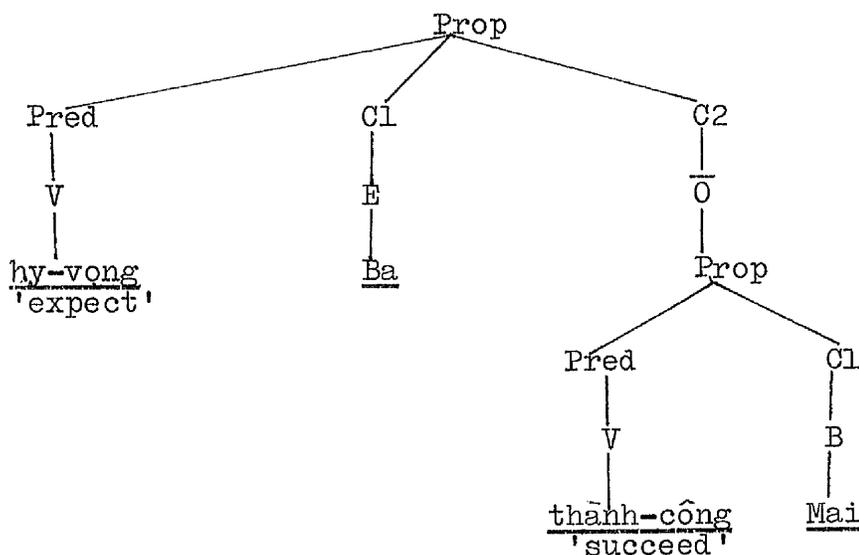
(280) Ba biết rả̄ng Hai là một nạn-nhân.
 'Ba knows that Hai is a victim!

The question whether the complementiser should be introduced in the Base or via a transformation is discussed below.

There are two hypotheses concerning the sources for complementiser: - The transformational hypothesis.
 - The Base-Rule hypothesis.

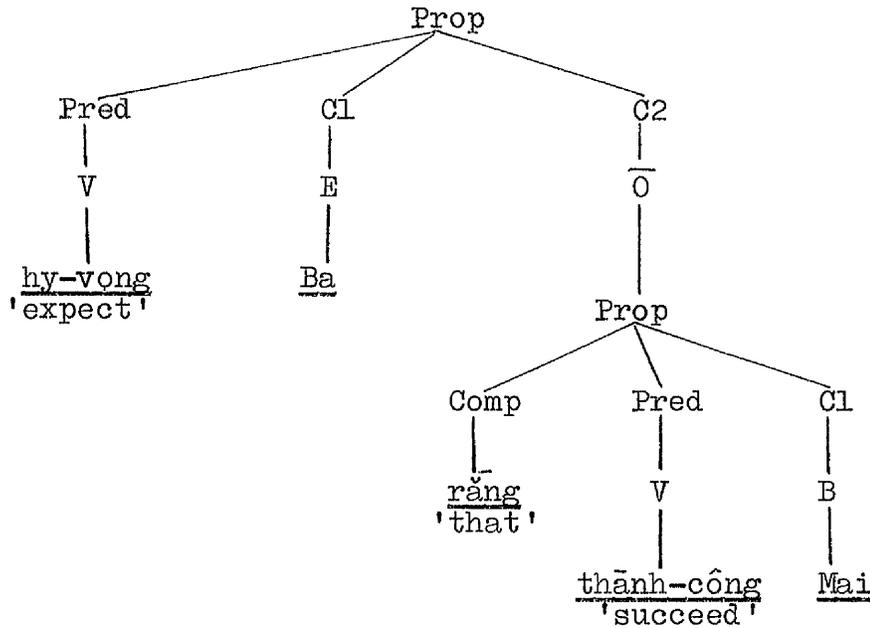
The transformational hypothesis states that since the complementiser has no meaning, no semantic effect, it should be introduced transformationally. For example, sentence (275e) Ba hy-vong rả̄ng Mai thành-công.
 'Ba expected that Mai would succeed!

may be represented as follows:

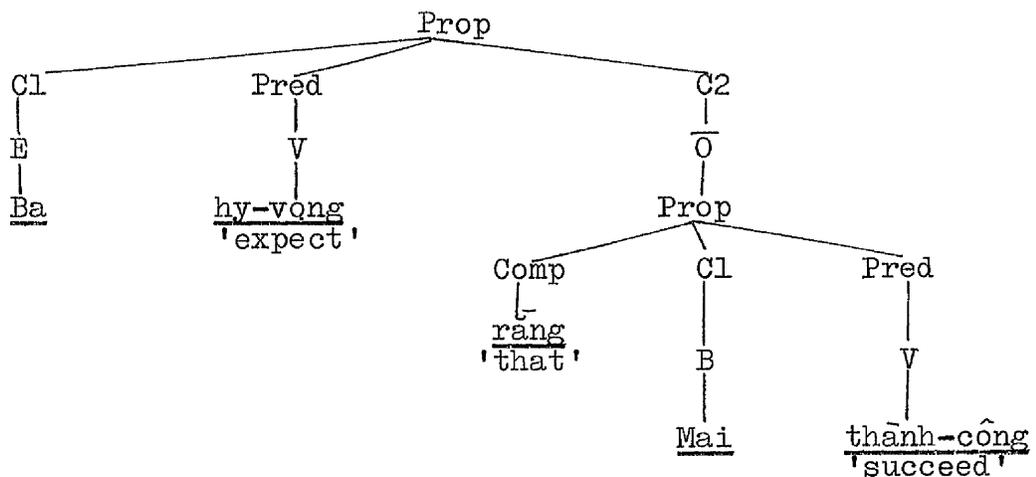


Apply the Complementiser Placement Transformational Rule.

The segment Comp is inserted to the left of the embedded Prop, adjoined to that embedded Prop-node.



Apply subject-fronting (OBL) to the embedded Prop first then the matrix Prop.



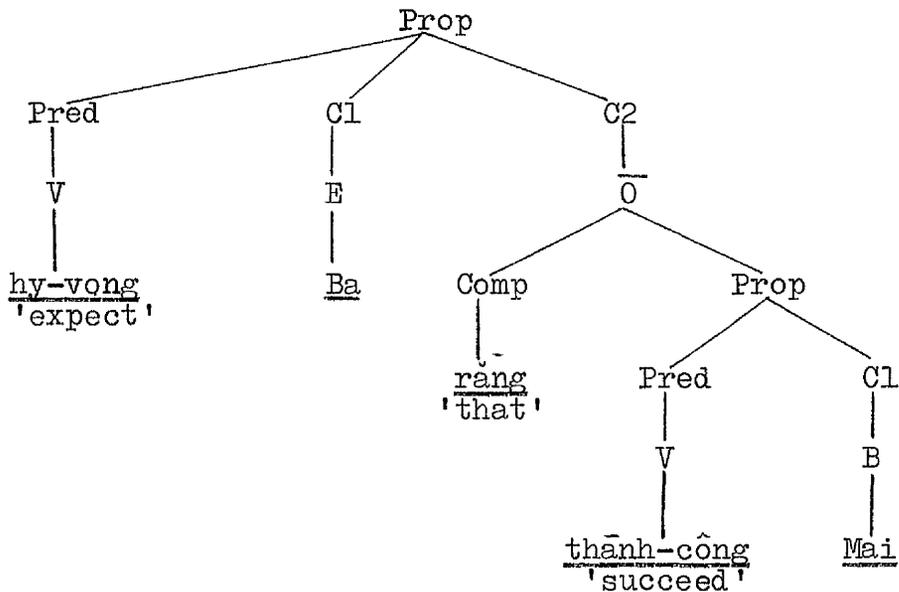
The Base-Rule hypothesis: In this study, the existence of complementiser is marked in the lexicon as an idiosyncratic syntactic feature of the verb, e.g.

Hy-vong (rang) 'hope (that)': + [— E+ \bar{O}]

For this reason, the complementiser is included in the Base Rules.

BR6: C \longrightarrow (Comp) + Prop (where C = \bar{O})

Sentence (275e) may be diagrammed as follows:



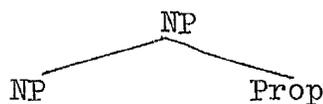
Apply TR8: Subject-fronting to the embedded Prop first, then the matrix Prop.

10.3.4. Relative Constructions.

Relative Constructions are not required by the syntactic and semantic features of the verbs. They may occur as modifiers of any NP in the sentence, regardless of the semantic function of the NP. Relativisation in Vietnamese is handled in the Base by recursive Props following NPs.

BR 3 : NP \longrightarrow NP + Prop

The tree format of this Base Rule is:



This tree format is conventionally called the Relative Construction in this thesis.

Vietnamese has only one relative pronoun, i.e. m̄a 'who, which, whom, where, that' which is often absent in surface structure.

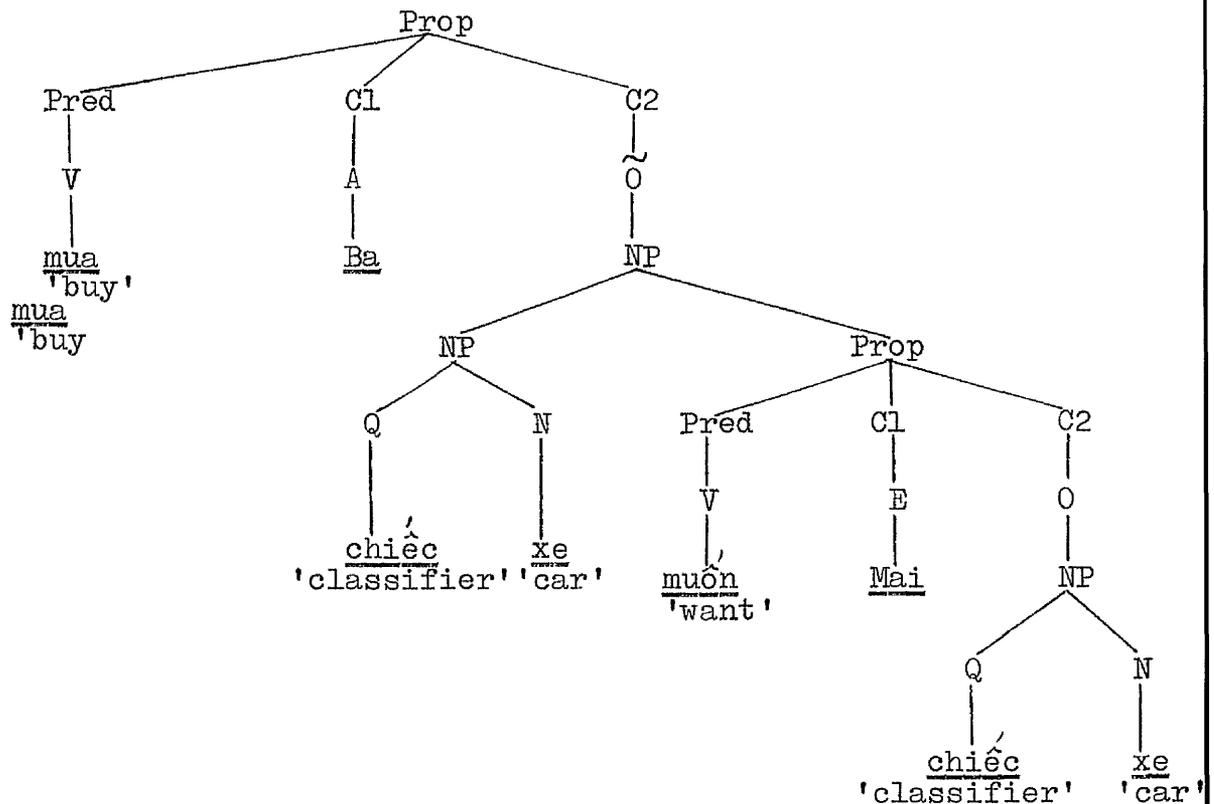
- (281) Ba mua chiếc xe m̄a Mai muốn.
 Ba buy classifier car that Mai want.
 'Ba bought the car that Mai wanted!

The Case-frame of mua 'buy' in the above sentence is:

+ [— A + \tilde{O}]

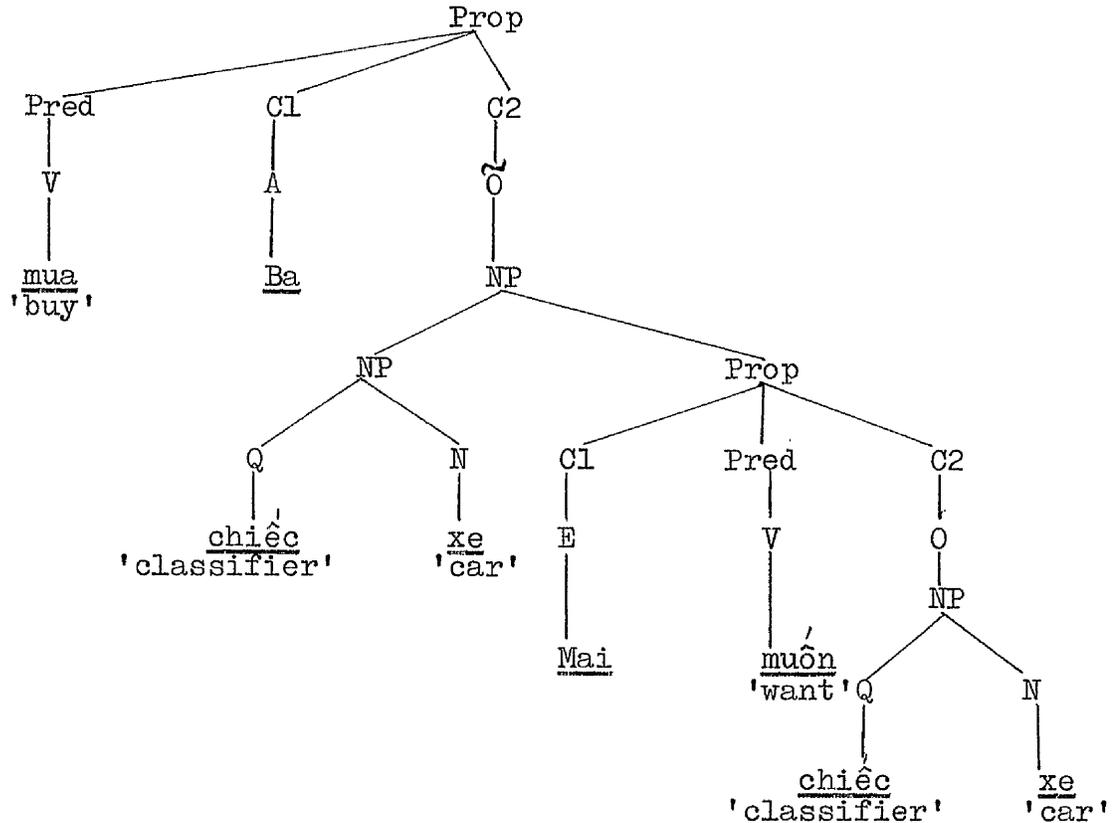
where \tilde{O} indicates the O Case in which a relative construction has been embedded.

Sentence (281) may be represented as follows:



Apply TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL) to the embedded Prop,

the result is:



This Phrase-Marker shows that in the relative construction, the NP dominated by O in the embedded Prop is identical with the NP which is the left sister of the embedded Prop.²⁷

In order to obtain the surface structure of sentence (281), we have to apply the TR12 (OBL) Relative Construction Transformation (i.e. Relative Clause Transformation in Jacobs & Rosenbaum, 1968: 200).

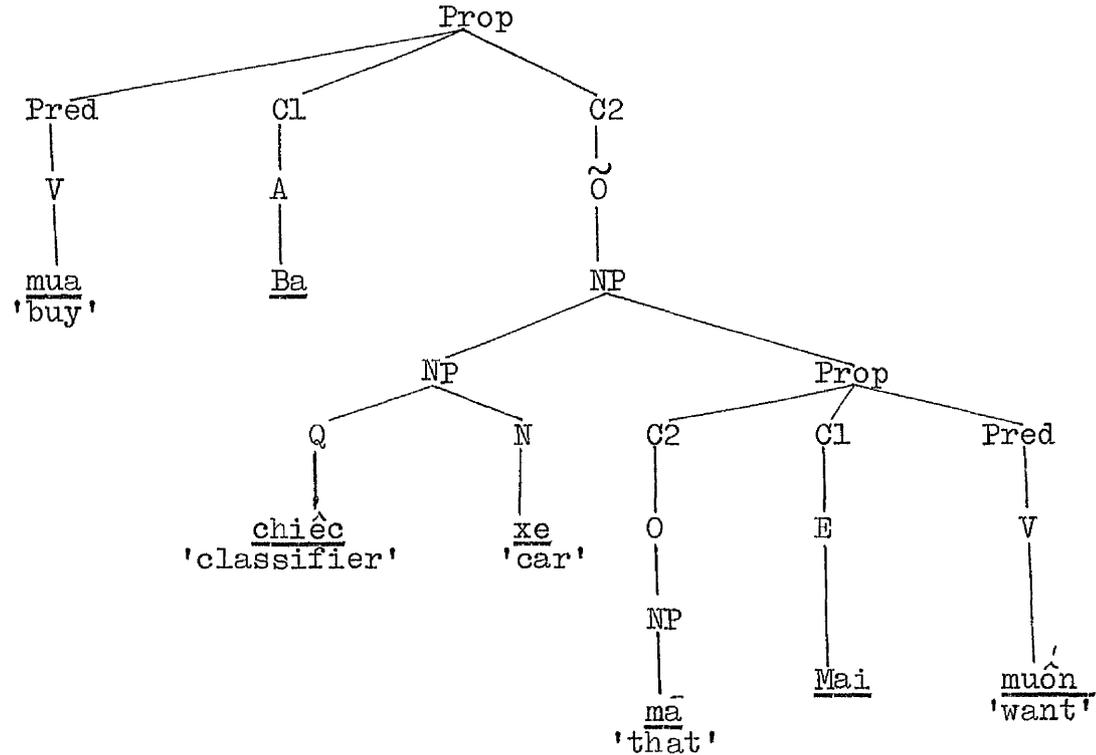
TR12 has two functions:

- (i) It moves the NP inside the embedded Prop (which is coreferential with the left sister NP of the embedded Prop) to the front of the embedded Prop.

27. A is left sister of B if both A and B are immediately dominated by the same node and if there is no node in between them.

(ii) It replaces the lexical items attached to that NP by the relative pronoun mā.

The following Phrase-marker illustrates:

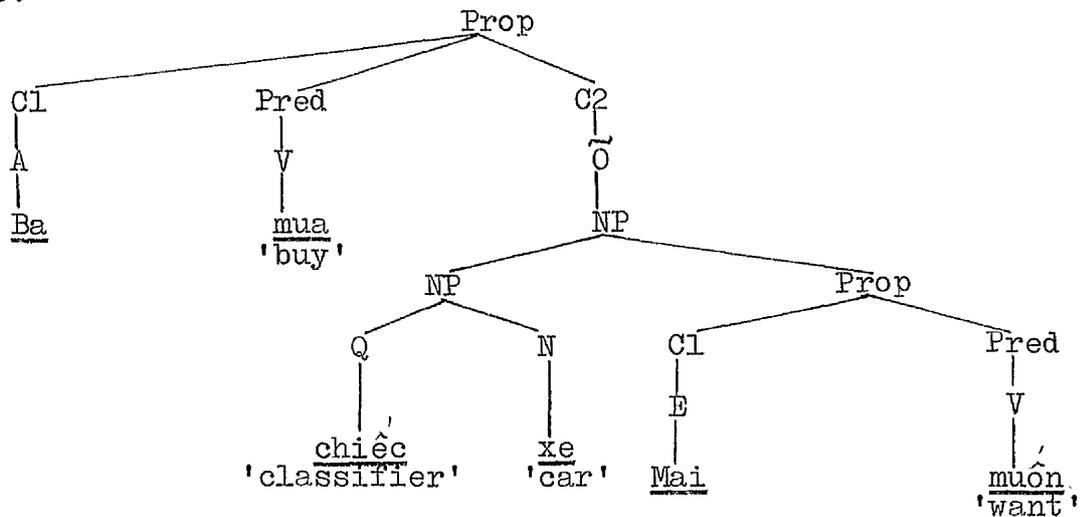


Apply TRS Subject-fronting to the matrix Prop.

Mā is optionally deleted, e.g. the Phrase-Marker of sentence: Ba mua chiếc xe (____) Mai muốn

<u>Ba</u>	mua	chiếc	xe (____)	Mai	muốn
A					
Ba	buy	classifier	car	Mai	want
<u>Ba</u>	bought	the	car <u>that</u>	Mai	wanted!

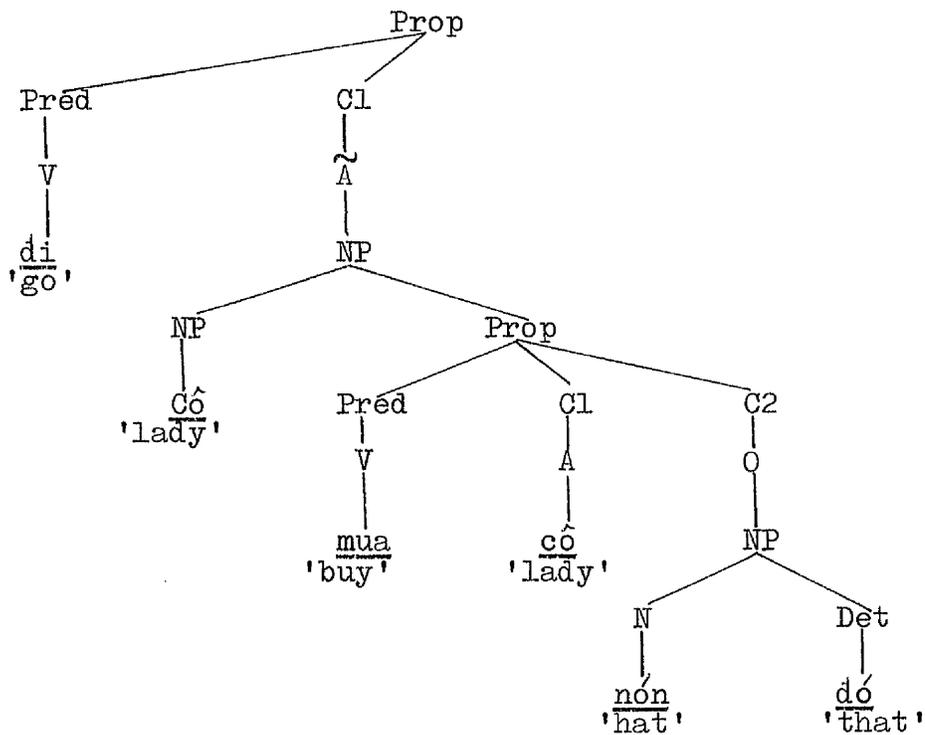
is:



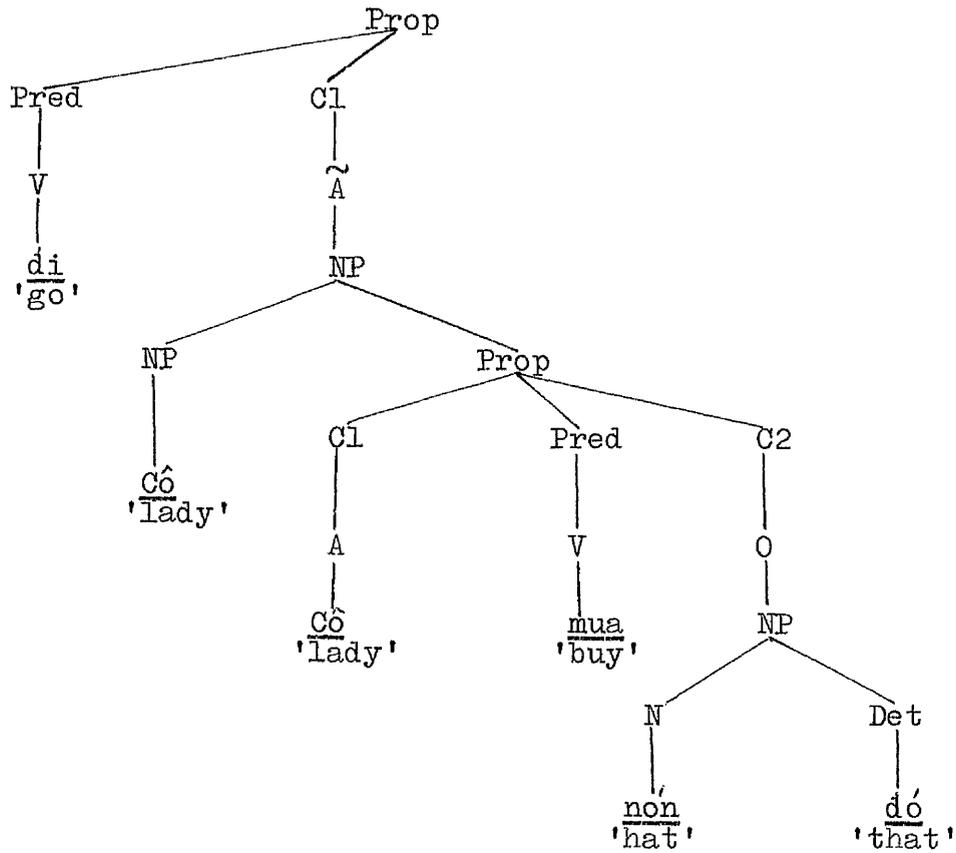
The relative pronoun mā is usually absent in surface structure and unlike English, in subject as well as object position.

(282) C^h (mā) mua n^h d^h di.
 Lady that buy hat that go
 'The lady who bought that hat left!'

This sentence may be represented as follows:

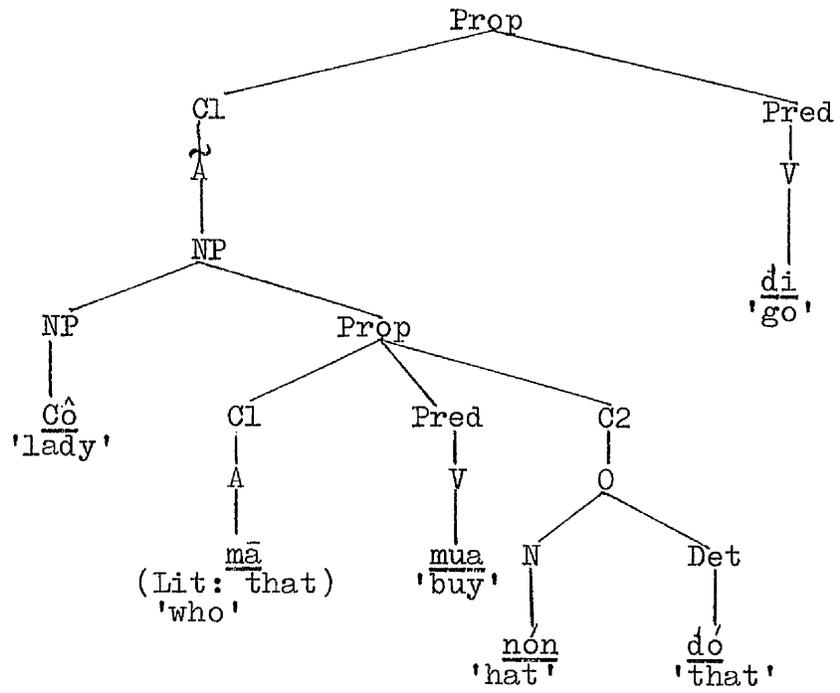


Apply TR8 (OBL) to the embedded Prop.



Apply TR12: Relative Construction. TR12 will replace cô (dominated by A in the embedded Prop) by the relative pronoun mã.

Apply TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL)



CHAPTER 11.

Deep-Case Relationships in Vietnamese.Part I: Causal Cases.

In terms of participation in the activity, the Causative, Authoritative, Agentive, Force and Instrumental have one feature in common, i.e. Cause. They are directly or indirectly responsible for the activity (except Force).

11.1 Causative (Ca)

11.1.1 Definition: Causative is the Case designating a 'human' entity who is a causer of an action, event or state.

11.1.2 Identification: The Causative Case only occurs in Causative constructions (see 5.2) with Causative verbs.

Coercive Causative is expressed by such Causative verbs as ép, ép buộc 'force', bắt, bắt buộc 'oblige, compel' and thuyết-phục 'persuade'

(283) Ba ép Hai đi .
Ca
'Ba forced Hai to go!

Non-Coercive Causative is expressed by such Causative verbs as đề 'let', lãm 'make, cause!'

(284) Ba lãm Hai đi .
Ca
'Ba caused Hai to go!

11.1.3. Surface Realisation: The Causative Case is always realised as the subject in a Causative construction (see 5.2.4.3 and 10.3.2.2).

11.2. Authoritative (Au).

11.2.1. Definition: Authoritative is the Case designating a 'human' entity who permits, orders or forbids somebody to do something.

11.2.2. Identification: The Authoritative Case only occurs in complex sentences with Authoritative verbs, e.g. ra lệnh, ra lệnh, 'order, command', cho phép 'allow, permit', cấm 'forbid'.

Difference between Authoritative and Causative

The notion Authority is associated with Authoritative Case.

The notion Causality is associated with Causative Case.

Authority is different from causality, since if one is permitted to perform a certain action, it does not necessarily follow that the action is performed. In other terms, in a situation where authority is exercised, the person under authority has a choice of action; but in a situation of causality, no choice is possible for the 'Causee'. (Leech, 1969: 205). For example, if a speaker says:

(285) Ông Hai cho phép sinh-viên hút thuốc trong lớp
 Au
 Mr.Hai allow student smoke in class
 'Mr.Hai allowed the students to smoke in the classroom!

A hearer does not know whether smoking takes place or not, because there is always a possibility that no one takes advantage of the permission.

11.2.3 Surface Realisation: The Authoritative Case is always realised as the subject of a complex sentence.

11.3. Agentive (A)

11.3.1 Definition: The Agentive Case is 'typically animate' but not always manifested by animate nouns.²⁸ An Agentive is an immediate actor, doer, performer, manipulator or initiator of an action.

The inherent basic sense of the verb sometimes requires that the Agentive must be a 'human' entity, e.g.

(286)a.	<u>Lee</u>	ám-sát	<u>Tông-Thông</u>	<u>Kennedy</u> .
	^A		^E	
	[+Human]	assassinate	President	Kennedy.
	'Lee	assassinated	<u>President</u>	<u>Kennedy!</u>

b. *	Cop	ám-sát	Tông-Thông	Kennedy .
[-Human]			
	*('The	assassinated	President	Kennedy!)
	tiger			

Action verbs specify what Agentive can perform willfully and voluntarily (though in some cases not necessarily).

11.3.2 Identification

Difference between Agentive and Authoritative

The Agentive directly carries out the action whereas the Authoritative does not.

28. Like Fillmore (1968:24), I am aware that the Agentives are sometimes manifested by 'inanimate' nouns like người máy 'robot' or 'human institution' nouns like chính-phủ 'government'

Syntactic Tests for Characterising Agentive.

Agentive is the Case required by all Action verbs. One can distinguish the Agentive from other Cases by applying the 'lām gī' Test and Imperative Test.

11.3.2.1 'lām gī' Test ('Do what' Test)

In order to test whether an NP functions as an Agentive Case or not, I replace all elements that come after the NP to be identified by lām gī 'do what'. If the question of the form:

NP + lām gī ?
'do what'

can be answered by the original sentence, the NP functions as an Agentive Case. For example:

(287) Ba dánh Hai.
 'Ba hit Hai!

Question: Ba lām gī ?
 Ba do what
 'What did Ba do?'

Answer: - Ba dánh Hai 'Ba hit Hai!

Ba in (287) functions as an Agentive Case. Contrast this with:

(288) Ba giông Mai.
 'Ba resembles Mai!

Question: Ba lām gī ?
 Ba do what
 'What did Ba do?'

This question cannot be answered by the original sentence (i.e. sentence 288). Ba in (288) does not function as an Agentive Case.

However, the test with lãm gi 'do what' is not foolproof. Such verbs as ổ 'stay', ngôi 'sit', and nằm 'lie' do not express action and, therefore, do not permit Agentive, but the following sentences are meaningful.

Question: Ba lãm gi ?

'What did Ba do?'

Answers: (289) a. Ba ổ đó tới 12 giờ trưa.

Ba stay there until 12 hour noon

Ba stayed there until noon'.

b. Ba nằm trên giường.

Ba lie on bed

'Ba lay on the bed'.

11.3.2.2. Imperative Test

In Vietnamese, one may use one of the two following sentences to order Ba to kill the rat.

(290) a. Giết con chuột'.

'Kill the rat!'

b. Mày giết con chuột'.

second singular
person (inferior)

'You kill the rat!'

Now, consider: Bột D.D.T. giết con chuột.
 Powder D.D.T. kill the rat.
 'D.D.T. killed the rat.'

Giết 'kill' in this sentence is also an Action verb, but one cannot order D.D.T. to kill the rat.

Since DDT cannot take order or instruction, it cannot be a performer of an action. It does not function as an Agentive Case.

Inanimate physical objects²⁹ and abstract ideas cannot perform any action. They have neither energy nor will. However, they appear as agents when they are personified in metaphorical language as in fairy tales, nursery rhymes and imaginative literature.

(291)a. Cái nết đánh chết cái đẹp.
 classifier virtue hit die classifier beauty
 'Good manners are more desirable than beauty'.

b. Rồi cái đĩa chạy trốn với cái muỗng.
 Then classifier plate run hide with classifier spoon
 'Then the plate ran away with the spoon!'

29. Exception: (i) Inanimate natural geographical celestial - atmospheric entities, e.g. mặt trời 'sun', gió 'wind'; (ii) Meteorological phenomena e.g. mưa 'rain', bão 'storm', lụt 'flood', động đất 'earthquake'; (iii) Inanimate natural geographical entities relating to earth, e.g. biển 'sea', dại-dương 'ocean', thác 'waterfall', núi lửa 'volcano'. These things have a force of their own which enables them to 'perform' certain actions.

Like the 'lãm gi' Test, the Imperative Test is not foolproof. Such Process and State verbs as thường 'love', kinh trọng 'respect', vui 'happy', thành thật 'honest', rông lượng 'generous' do not express action but are used in imperative.

(292) Thuồng quē-huông minh!
 'Love our country!'

The above sentence is in imperative mood, but it does not characterise Agentive.

11.3.3. Surface Realisation

11.3.3.1. In an active simple sentence, the Agentive Case occurs before the Action verb as subject.

	S	V	O
(293)	<u>Ba</u> A	giết [']	<u>con chuột</u> . E
	'Ba	killed	<u>the rat</u> '.

11.3.3.2. In a passive sentence, the Agentive is preceded by do 'by'

(294)	Con	chuột	do <u>Ba</u> A	giết ['] .
	'The	rat	was killed	by <u>Ba</u> '.

11.3.3.3. In submissive constructions, the Agentive - if it occurs - follows bi or được.

(295)	Con	chuột	bị	<u>Ba</u> A	giết ['] .
	'The	rat	was (non- beneficial)	killed	by <u>Ba</u> '.

11.3.3.4. In object-topicalised sentences, the Agentive - if it occurs - follows the topicalised object.

	O	S	V	
(296)	<u>Con chuôt đó</u>	<u>Ba</u>	giết	rồi.
	E	A		
	classifier rat	that	kill	already.
	'That rat	<u>Ba</u>	has	killed!

11.3.4. Collective Agentive (Coll. A)

(297)	<u>Tòa Bạch-ôc</u>	tuyên-bố	rằng	Mỹ	sẽ
	Coll.A.				
	White building	declare	that	America	will

ung-hộ	Nam	Đại-Hân.
support	South	Korea.

'The White House declared that the United States would support South Korea!

Tòa Bạch-Ôc 'The White House' does not refer to a building but to a political institution (i.e. an institution of human beings).

According to the context³⁰, such nouns as quốc-hội 'Parliament', nhà thương (colloquial Vietnamese) or bệnh-viện, bệnh-viện, y-viện (Sino-Vietnamese) 'hospital', tòa án 'court of Justice', Bộ Giáo-Dục 'Ministry of Education', Bộ Lao-Động 'Ministry of Labour', Trung-Tâm Học-Liêu 'Instructional materials Centre', Nha Văn-Hóa 'Directorate of Cultural Affairs', Phủ

30. By context I mean, for example, what question(s) preceded, what is the topic of the conversation or discourse, and what presuppositions are involved.

Thủ-Tướng 'Prime-Minister's Office' can be regarded as governmental institutions, i.e. institutions of human beings or Collective Agentive.

11.3.5. Syntactic Position of Agentive

It is not the case that surface sentence-subjects, for example, always play a particular Semantic Role such as 'Agentive'. Consider the grammatical subjects in the following sentences.

- (298) a. Ba chạy .
 A
 'Ba ran!
- b. Ba cao.
 O
 'Ba is tall!
- c. Ba trúng số .
 B O
 'Ba won the lottery!
- d. Ba buồn.
 E
 'Ba is sad!
- e. Ba ép Hai đi .
 Ca O
 'Ba forced Hai to go!
- f. Ba cho phép Hai đi .
 Au O
 'Ba allowed Hai to go!

From the examples illustrated above, it is obvious that surface subjects do not have a constant semantic

function. But like English, in Vietnamese whenever there is an Agentive in a simple active sentence, it is automatically the subject of the sentence.

11.3.6. Deletion of Agentive

Agentive is a nuclear Case which is required by Action verbs. However, it may or may not be present in surface structure. Following are six cases where the Agentive is not present in surface structure (but must be present in deep structure (see Deletion in Chapter 2)) First, in object-topicalised sentences.

(299) a. $\begin{array}{ccc} S & V & O \\ \text{Tôi} & \text{bán} & \text{nhà này} \\ A & & O \\ \text{'I'm} & \text{selling} & \text{this house!} \end{array}$

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} O & S & V \\ \text{Nhà này} & \text{tôi} & \text{bán.} \\ O & A & \\ \text{'This house} & \text{I'm} & \text{selling!} \end{array}$

c. $\begin{array}{ccc} O & (S) & V \\ \text{Nhà này} & () & \text{bán} \\ O & A & \\ \text{'This house} & & \text{is for sale!} \end{array}$

Second, in imperative sentences.

(300) $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Giết} & \text{con} & \text{chuột!} \\ \text{'Kill} & \text{the} & \text{rat!} \end{array}$

Third, in informal conversation.

Ba (301)a. () Đi đâu đó ?
 (You) go where there
 'Where are (you) going?'

Hai: b. () Đi chợ.
 A
 (I) go market.
 '(I) m going to market!

Fourth, the Agentives are usually not present on posters and in legal or administrative articles and documents. These deleted Agentives stand for the constitutional or administrative authority, or a public institution or a private enterprise.

(302) Nay () thiết-lập tòa Đại-sứ Việt-Nam tại Luân-Đôn.
 A F L
 Now establish Embassy Viet-Nam at London.
 'Now (We) establish the Vietnamese Embassy in London!

Fifth, in submissive constructions, Vietnamese submissive constructions usually have no surface Agentive. This is the case when the agent is irrelevant or unknown, as in:

(303) Hai bi () đánh
 E A
 Hai undergo (non-beneficial) hit.
 'Hai was hit '(by)
 A

Sixth, in poems, proverbs and folk songs.

Con trai(304) Hôm qua () tát mức dẫu lāng,
A

() Bỏ quên cái áo trên cánh hoa sen.
E

Em được thí cho Anh xin,

Hay là Em gửi lām tin trong nhā?
(Ca-dao).

'The boy: Yesterday (I) was flooding fields for rice,
(I) left my shirt on a lotus.
You took it? Please send it to me,
Or you want to keep it as a trophy?'

(Folk song)

11.3.7. Agentive and the notion 'Volition'.

'Volition' is often used as a criterion to distinguish Agentive from other Cases (Lee, 1969; Liles, 1975).

(305) Ba lắng nghe tiếng động.
A O
'Ba listened to the noise!

(306) Ba nghe tiếng động.
E O
'Ba heard the noise!

'Listening' is what one can do volitionally but not 'hearing'. Thus, Ba in (305) is an Agentive but Ba in (306) is an Experiencer.

In Vietnamese, a speaker can describe an intentional or volitional action of an agent in several different ways. For example, he can use:

(312) Ba cắ¹ ngón tay anh một cách giận-dữ.
 A
 'Ba cut his finger in a furious manner!

- sentences containing verbs like ép 'force', bắt-buộc 'oblige', cố-găng 'try', khởi sự, bắt đầu 'begin!

(313) Ba cố-găng cắ¹ ngón tay anh.
 A
 'Ba tried to cut his finger!

In order to state clearly that the action is accidental, the speaker must use, for instance, such manner expressions as:

một cách vô-tình 'in an inadvertent manner!

một cách lơ-dễnh² 'in a neglectful manner!

một cách sò y¹ 'in a careless manner!

Now, consider: (314) Ba cắ¹ ngón tay anh.
 A O
 'Ba cut his finger!

Different Vietnamese speakers interpret this sentence in different ways. Some say that the action is non-volitional because one does not normally perform an action like cutting one's finger. Thus, Ba is not an agent. Others argue that sentence (314) is ambiguous³¹. Ba may cut his finger volitionally or non-volitionally.

31. A number of tests have been proposed for distinguishing between ambiguity and vagueness. Consider Lakoff's (1970) test.
 (i) Mary likes visiting relatives.
 (ii) Harry kicked Sam.
 Sentence (i) is ambiguous, since it means either that Mary likes to visit relatives or that she likes relatives who are visiting. Sentence (ii) is vague because the speaker did not mention which foot Harry used.

The problem now, is: 'Should the NP be specified as an Agentive if there is non-volitional involvement?'

For example, in (315) Ba cắt ngón tay anh một cách vô tình.
 'Ba cut his finger in an inadvertent manner!
 or 'Ba inadvertently cut his finger!

Should Ba be specified as an Agentive or an Experiencer?

It seems to me that by using the auxiliaries phải 'must', dám 'dare', verbs dùng 'use', lấy 'take', manner expressions etc., one simply brings out the volition or non-volition of the participant, and it does not make an Action verb a Process or a State verb, even conceptually.

In sentence (314), whether the action performed is volitional or non-volitional, there is no difference in the way it is performed. In (315) it is obvious that Ba is engaged in the activity of cutting his finger, though not willfully. Thus, Ba must be specified as an Agentive.

11.4. Force

11.4.1 Definition: The Force Case refers to the 'inanimate' unintentional performer or non-responsible causer of an event. It is a causer which is not subject to anybody's control. It never co-occurs with Agentive.

11.4.2 Identification: For most educated Vietnamese people, atmospheric phenomena occur without Agentive participants. They are identified as Force when they occur with Action verbs.

Difference between Force and Agentive.

Consider (316) a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}} \quad \text{m}^2 \quad \frac{\text{c}^2}{\text{O}}$.
 'Ba opened the door'.

b. $\frac{\text{Gi}^1}{\text{Force}} \quad \text{m}^1 \quad \frac{\text{c}^2}{\text{O}}$.
 'The wind opened the door'.

To distinguish Force from Agentive, I shall use three tests: Coordination Test, Imperative Test and Instrumental Test.

11.4.2.1. Coordination Test: Force and Agentive are different Cases since they cannot be conjoined.

(317) * $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}} \quad \text{v}^{\bar{a}} \quad \frac{\text{gi}^1}{\text{Force}} \quad \text{m}^1 \quad \frac{\text{c}^1}{\text{O}}$.
 *('Ba and the wind opened the door.')

11.4.2.2. Imperative Test: One can order Ba (but not gi¹ 'the wind') to open the door.

(318) $\text{M}^1 \quad \text{c}^2$!
 'Open the door!'

11.4.2.3. Instrumental Test: An Agentive can co-occur with an Instrumental Case whereas a Force Case cannot.

(319) a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}} \quad \text{m}^1 \quad \frac{\text{c}^2}{\text{O}} \quad \frac{\text{b}^{\bar{a}} \text{g}^{\bar{a}}}{\text{I}}$.
 Ba opened the door with a stick!

b. * $\frac{\text{Gi}^1}{\text{Force}} \quad \text{m}^1 \quad \frac{\text{c}^2}{\text{O}} \quad \frac{\text{b}^{\bar{a}} \text{g}^{\bar{a}}}{\text{I}}$.
 *('The wind opened the door with a stick'.)

The above tests prove that Force and Agentive

are different Cases.

11.4.3 Surface Realisation: In an active simple sentence, Force is always realised as subject.

11.4.4. Atmospheric phenomena

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Noun</u>	or	<u>Classifier + Noun</u>
<u>Bão</u> 'storm'	<u>Bão</u> 'the storm'		<u>Cón</u> <u>bão</u> 'the storm'
<u>Mưa</u> 'rain'	<u>Mưa</u> 'the rain'		<u>Cón</u> <u>mưa</u> 'the rain'
<u>Gió</u> 'wind'	<u>Gió</u> 'the wind'		<u>Cón</u> <u>gió</u> 'the wind'

Whenever trời (Lit: God) is used with the atmospheric phenomena verbs, it functions as Force.

<u>Trời</u>	bão .	<u>Trời</u>	mưa .	<u>Trời</u>	gió .
Force		Force		Force	
God	storm	God	rain	God	wind
'It	storms!	'It	rains!	'It's	windy!

11.5. Instrumental (I)

11.5.1 Definition: The Case denoting

- (1) the thing which is used by the agent to perform the action. It is the unwitting, generally 'inanimate' participant in the activity described by the verb. It is called the Instrumental Tool (I Tool) in this thesis.

(321)	<u>Ba</u>	dánh	<u>con chó</u>	<u>bằng</u> <u>gậy</u> .
	A		E	I Tool
	'Ba	hit	the dog	with a stick!

11.5.2. Identification

(1) I Tool, I Mo, I Ma and I Me occur in the grammatical construction of the following form:

NP1-V-NP2-bằng (Lit: by) 'with' - NP3

Conditions: NP1 and NP2 cannot be identical to NP3

NP1 functions as an Agentive.

If V is a Motion verb, NP3 functions as an I Mo

(Example 322).

If V is a Factitive verb, NP3 functions as an I Ma

(Example 323).

If V is an Action verb (but not a Factitive or a Motion verb), NP3 functions as an I Tool (Example 321).

If V is an Action verb (but not a Motion verb), NP3 functions as an I Me (Example 324).

(2) I Tool and I Ma also occur in the grammatical construction of the following form:

NP1 - dũng 'use' - NP3 - (để¹ 'in order to')-V-NP2
^{or}
lây 'take, pick up'

Conditions: NP1 and NP2 cannot be identical to NP3

NP1 functions as an Agentive.

If V is a Factitive verb, NP3 functions as an I Ma.

If V is an Action verb (but not a Factitive or a Motion verb)

NP3 functions as an I Tool.

Examples:

(327) a. Ba l¹ây gây đánh con chó .
 A I Tool E
 'Ba took a stick to hit the dog!

b. Ba lấY trẻ đan rô .
 A IMA F
 'Ba took bamboo to weave baskets!

(3) The Instrumental denoting the stimulus for the psychological experience is selected by such verbs as giống 'resemble', khác 'differ' and tuồng-tô/tuởng-tử 'be similar to'. It occurs in the grammatical construction of the following form:

NP1	V	NP2
	<u>giống</u> 'resemble'	
	or <u>khác</u> 'differ'	
	or <u>tuồng-tô</u> 'be similar to'	

NP1 functions as an Instrumental Psychological Stimulus.

NP2 functions as an Objective.

(4) The Instrumental denoting the stimulus or immediate physical cause of an event is selected by such verbs as mua 'buy', bán 'sell', gây ra, lâm 'cause'.

(328)	<u>Tai nan đó</u>	gây ra	<u>cuộc biểu-tình.</u>
	I Phys.Stimulus		O
	' <u>That accident</u>	caused	<u>the demonstration!</u>

11.5.3. Surface Realisation: The Instrumental may occur

(1) in the subject position of an active simple sentence before such verbs as giống 'resemble', khác 'differ', tuồng-tô 'be similar to' and gây ra, lâm 'cause'.

(2) in the object position of an active simple sentence after another NP , with or without being preceded by preposition bằ̃ng 'with'.

(329) a. Ba đánh con chó bằ̃ng gậy .
 A E I Tool
 'Ba hit the dog with a stick!'

b. Ba bán Mai chiếc xe giá 500 đồng .
 A E O I Phys. Stimulus
 'Ba sold Mai the car for 500 piastres!'

(3) in the object position of a complex sentence, after verb dùng 'use' or lắ̃y 'take, pick up!'

11.5.4. Instrumental Tool (I Tool)

11.5.4.1 Instrumental Tool and Agentive.

The Instrumental Tool and Agentive Cases are distinguished from each other syntactically and semantically.

(1) Syntactic differences.

- In an active sentence, A always occurs in the subject position, while I Tool always occurs in the object position.
- A is not preceded by any preposition, while I Tool is preceded by the preposition bằ̃ng 'with' when it occurs in an active simple sentence.

(2) Semantic differences.

- The NP specified as I Tool is normally 'inanimate' whereas A is 'animate!'

- I Tool and A cannot be coordinated.

(330) * Ba vã gậy đánh con chó .
 A I Tool E
 * ('Ba and a stick hit the dog!)

- An Agent can cause a tool to cause something to happen while a tool cannot cause something to happen by itself.

11.5.4.2. Body parts and Weapons.

Body parts (e.g. tay 'hand', ngón tay 'finger', cánh tay 'arm', môi 'lip', chân 'foot') and weapons (e.g. bom 'bomb', lựu đạn 'grenade', hỏa-tiên 'rocket', min 'dynamite') can function as an I Tool.

(331) Ho giết linh Mỹ bằng min.
 A E I Tool
 They kill soldier American by dynamite.
 'They killed American soldiers with dynamite!'

(332) Two I Tool Cases can be co-ordinated.

Ho giết linh Mỹ bằng min và hỏa tiển.
 A E I Tool
 'They killed American soldiers with dynamite and rockets!'

For Vietnamese speakers, parts of the body are 'inanimate'. An inanimate object cannot perform an action by means of its own energy, it must be at the service of an agent.

(333) Mai gãi lưng bằng móng tay.
 A O I Tool
 Mai scratch back by nail hand
 'Mai scratched her back with her fingernails!'

11.5.4.3. Atmospheric Phenomena are God's Instruments.

Trời (South Vietnamese)
Giới (North Vietnamese) { (Lit: God, Heaven, Lord).
Ông Trời/Ông Giới

Being influenced deeply by Buddhism³²,
 uneducated Vietnamese people believe that there is an
 invisible world around them. In this world, there are
 a God, many spirits, ghosts, angels and devils³³. For
 example, Tản-Viên is a spirit who controls the mountains;
Hà-Bà is a devil who makes people drown and sampans sink

32. Close to some 80% of the people of Vietnam identify themselves as adherents of Buddhism in some form. Because of the war, about 75% of the population of Vietnam is illiterate.

33. God is someone who is not a part of the world and who can do what he wants with it.
A ghost is soul of dead person in Hades (i.e. lower world) etc., or dead person appearing to the living.
A spirit is someone thought of as being inferior to God.
An angel is a good spirit.
A devil is a bad spirit.

in large lakes and rivers; Tiên-Dông and Ngoc-Nũ are boy and girl angels.

God is the creator of universe. He judges human beings' deeds and controls all angels, spirits, devils and ghosts. All atmospheric and climatic phenomena are considered as God's Instrumental Tools. For example, whenever an outbreak of fire is followed by heavy rain, people say:

(334)	<u>Tr</u> ĩ	dũng	<u>m</u> ũa	dập	tát	ngọn	lũa.
	A		I				
	God	use	rain	to	extinguish	the	flame.
	'God	used	<u>rain</u>	to	extinguish	the	flame!

About 75% of the population of Vietnam consists of farmers and their families, most of whom are actively engaged in the cultivation of rice (Unesco Report, 1974).

It is said that (Kham, 1971) in the old days, whenever the country was dry for a long period, peasants could not grow rice plants and many people died because of famine, the Emperor and his court officials organised religious ceremonies to pray to God for rain.

Since water is an absolutely necessary pre-requisite to rice cultivation in irrigated fields, it is always a subject of deep concern for Vietnamese people. Their wish of rainfall is evidenced by the following pathetic folk song:

However, for preciseness, a speaker may say:

(339)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>bũa</u>	<u>củi</u>	<u>bằng</u>	<u>dao</u>	<u>rửa</u> .
	A		O		I	Tool.
	Ba	split	wood	by		cleaver.
	'Ba	<u>split</u>	<u>wood</u>	<u>with</u>		<u>a cleaver!</u>

Following are some types of Action and Sense verbs with their particular associated objects.

'Cutting' verbs: Associated with cắt (vải) 'cut (the cloth)' is cái kéo 'the scissors'; with chặt (thịt) 'cut (meat)' is dao phay 'a kitchen knife' or 'a butcher's knife', with bũa/bộ củi 'split (wood)', dao rửa 'a cleaver'; with mổ 'dissect, operate on', dao mổ 'a scalpel'; with dốn(cây) 'cut (a tree) down or fell (a tree)', cái rựa 'an ax'; with xẻ (bánh) 'slice (cake)', dao bần 'a dining-table knife!

Cultivation verbs: Associated with cuốc 'dig out' is cái cuốc 'a pick'; with tuổi 'water', binh tuổi 'a watering can' or vòi nước 'a hose' (or other suitable water carrier) and nước 'water'; with hón 'fertilize', đỗ bón 'fertilizer' or phân bón 'manure'; with nhô 'pull, uproot', bàn tay (vả cánh tay) 'the hands (and the arm)'; with tát (ao) 'irrigate, bail out (a pond)', cái gầu³⁴ 'a scoop or bailer'; with cày 'plow', cái cày 'a plow', luối cày 'a

34. There are two types of scoop: gầu dai is a bucket with long ropes operated by two persons; gầu sòng is a bucket with a long handle, hung from tripod and operated by one person.

ploughshare'; with bũa 'harrow', cái bũa 'a harrow'; with cào 'rake', cái cào 'a rake'; with cấy 'transplant', ma 'rice seedlings'; with cắt cỏ 'cut the grass' or 'mow', lưỡi liềm 'a sickle' or máy cắt cỏ 'a lawn mower'!

'Sewing' verbs. Associated with may (South Vietnamese) or khâu (North Vietnamese) 'sew', mạng 'darn', thêu 'embroider', dõm 'sew on', vá 'mend, patch' are kim may 'sewing-needle' and chỉ 'thread'!

Carpentry verbs: Associated with của 'saw' is cái của 'a saw'; with khoan 'drill' is cái khoan 'a drill'; with bào 'plane', cái bào 'a plane', with dùi 'pierce', cái dùi 'an awl', with vặn (vit)³⁵ 'screw', đỡ vặn vít 'a screwdriver', with đũa 'file', cái đũa 'a file'; with đục 'chisel', cái đục 'a chisel'; with xẻng 'shovel', cái xẻng 'a shovel'.

Motion verbs: Associated with chạy 'run', nhảy 'jump', đi bộ 'walk', trượt tuyết 'ski, skate', khiêu-vũ 'dance', is chân or chủn 'the legs'.

35. Vit is a French-loan word (i.e. vis 'screw').

Bodily touching verbs: Associated with vuốt, vuốt ve 'stroke, caress', nắm 'clutch', túm lấy 'grasp', (cầm) đỡ 'handle', (cầm) giữ 'hold', vẫy 'wave', ôm 'hug', mơ mẫm, dỡ dẫm, quỏ/quỏ 'grope (for)', kéo 'pull', lay, lắc 'shake' is tay, bàn tay 'the hand' or cánh tay 'the arm' or both; with vỗ tay 'clap', xoa 'pat', tát 'slap' is lồng bàn tay, 'the flat of the hand'; with đấm 'jab, punch' is nắm tay 'the fist' or 'the knuckles of the hand'; with thích, thui 'elbow', cùi chỏ or khủy tay 'the elbow'; with bò 'crawl', bàn tay vā đầu gối 'hands and knees'.

Sense verbs: Five body parts: mắt 'eye', tai 'ear', mũi 'nose', tay 'hand' and lưỡi 'tongue' are used in perceiving the real world. They are usually incorporated into the sense verbs.

Sense verbs in Vietnamese are: thấy 'see', đom, ngó, coi (South Vietnamese), trông, nhìn, xem (North Vietnamese) 'look (at)', ngắm 'contemplate', quan sát 'observe, watch', nghe 'hear', lắng nghe 'listen to', sờ, rỏ, mó 'touch', nếm 'taste', ngửi, hửi 'smell'.

Miscellaneous: Associated with ủi 'iron', bàn ủi 'an iron', with cạo 'shave', dao cạo 'a razor'; with nút 'suck', môi 'the lips'; with chớp mắt 'wink', mi mắt 'the eyelids'; with liếm 'lick', lưỡi 'tongue'; with quỳ 'kneel', đầu gối 'the knees'; with viết, bàn tay 'the hands'; with khóa 'lock', chìa khóa

'a key'; with mô 'peck', cái mô 'a beak, a bill'; with gặm, nhấm 'gnaw', cắn 'bite', răng 'the teeth'; with bắn 'shoot', súng 'a pistol'; with xếp 'fold', uốn cong 'bend', bàn tay 'the hands!'

Before this section (11.5.4.) is concluded, one point needs to be considered. For a number of Vietnamese speakers, the following sentences are synonymous.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|------|----------------|-------------|------------------|
| (340) | <u>Ba</u> | danh | <u>con chó</u> | <u>bằng</u> | <u>gậy</u> . |
| | A | | E | I | Tool |
| | 'Ba | hit | the dog | with | a stick! |
| | | | | | |
| (341) | <u>Ba</u> | lấy | <u>gậy</u> | <u>danh</u> | <u>con chó</u> . |
| | A | | I Tool | Purposive | |
| | 'Ba | took | a stick | to hit | the dog! |

However, it seems to me that sentence (340) is not synonymous with sentence (341). The reasons are as follows:

1. The Case-frame of danh 'hit' in sentence (340) is:

+ [——— A+E+I Tool]

The Case-frame of lấy 'take' in sentence (341) is:

+ [——— A+I Tool + Purposive]

The difference between two Case-frames proves that sentences (340) and (341) have different underlying structures.

2. Sentence (340) implies that the dog has been hit with a stick (the action has already happened).

Sentence (341) implies that Ba has taken a stick but possibly he has not performed his actual action of hitting the dog yet.

3. Sentence (341) can have a continuation like (342), but sentence (340) cannot be continued like (343).

- (342) Ba lấy gây đánh con chó
'Ba took a stick to hit the dog
những con chó tránh đòn.
but the dog dodged (the blow).'
- (343) * Ba đánh con chó bằng gây những con chó tránh đòn.
* ('Ba hit the dog with a stick but the dog dodged (the
blow)')

11.5.5. Instrumental Mode (I Mo).

The I Mo is selected by Motion verbs such as đi 'go', về 'return' and đến 'come to'.

- (344) Ba đi Huế bằng xe đồ.
A G I Mo
Ba go Huế by coach
'Ba went to Huế by coach.'

(Here, the preposition bằng 'by' expresses the meaning 'by means of').

Vietnamese speakers do not say:

- (345) a. * Ba dùng xe đồ đi Huế.
'Ba used a coach to go to Huế'.
b. * Ba lấy xe đồ đi Huế.
'Ba took a coach to go to Huế'.

In daily conversation, bằng is omitted if the Goal Case is unspecified.

- (346) Ba đi xe đồ.
A I Mo
Ba go coach
'Ba went by coach.'

If the Goal case is manifested in surface structure by a prepositional phrase, bằng may or may not be present in surface structure.

(347)a. Ba đi xe dō tới Huế.
 A I Mo G
 Ba go coach to Huế!
 'Ba went by coach to Huế!

b. Ba đi băng xe dō tới Huế.
 A I Mo G
 Ba go by coach to Huế!
 'Ba went by coach to Huế!

There are such expressions as:

Tôi đi xe xích-lô³⁶. 'I went by pedicab!
 Tôi đi xe buýt. 'I went by bus!
 Tôi đi xe tắc-xi. 'I went by taxi!
 Tôi đi xe hơi. (South Vietnamese) 'I went by car!
 Tôi đi xe ô-tô. (North Vietnamese) 'I went by car!
 Tôi đi xe mô-tô. 'I went by motor-bike!
 Tôi đi xe vét-pa. 'I went by Vespa!
 Tôi đi xe lam-brêt-ta. 'I went by Lambretta!

The I Mo cannot be conjoined with the I Tool.

Two separate activities indicated by two I Mo Cases can be conjoined.

(348) Ba đi Huế băng xe dō và tàu.
 A G I Mo I Mo
 Ba went to Huế by coach and boat!

36. Names of products of western material culture are very often transliterations from French. For example:

<u>Vietnamese</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>
xe xích-lô	cyclo-pousse	pedicab
xe buýt	bus	bus
xe tắc-xi	taxi	taxi
xe ô-tô	automobile	car
xe mô-tô	motocyclette	motor-cycle or motor-bike
xe vét-pa	Vespa	motor-scooter
xe lam-brêt-ta	Lambretta	motor scooter
xe tăng	tank	tank
xe mô-bi-lét	mobilette	junior-size motorcycle

This sentence means: 'Ba went to Huế by coach but for some reason, e.g. some parts of the road to Huế were destroyed by bombs or the coach broke down unexpectedly, he had to continue his journey by boat!

11.5.6. Instrumental Method (I Me)

The I Me Case indicates the method, the way or the technique an agent uses in order to make, to create or to perform something.

(349)	S	V	01	02
	<u>Mai</u>	đan	<u>áo</u> <u>lanh</u>	<u>bằng</u> <u>tay</u> .
	A		F	I Me
	Mai	knit	sweater	by hand
	' <u>Mai</u>	knitted	<u>the sweater</u>	<u>by hand!</u>

(350)	S	V	01	02
	<u>Mai</u>	đan	<u>áo</u> <u>lanh</u>	<u>bằng</u> <u>máy</u> .
	A		F	I Me
	' <u>Mai</u>	knitted	<u>the sweater</u>	<u>by machine!</u>

Bằng tay 'by hand' and bằng máy 'by machine' denote the method by which the sweater was made.

Difference between I Me and I Tool

The I Me and I Tool can occur with most Action verbs. However, the I Me Case cannot occur in the grammatical construction of the following form:

NP1 - dùng 'use' - NP3 - (để 'in order to')-V-NP2
 or
lấy 'take, pick up'

(351) Ba lấy gậy danh con chó
 A I Tool Purposeive
 'Ba took a stick to hit the dog!'

(352) * Ba lấy tay đan áo lenh.
 *('Ba took his hands to knit the sweater!)

11.5.7. Instrumental Material (I Ma).

11.5.7.1 Difference between I Ma and I Tool.

The main difference between I Ma and I Tool is that in their involvement in the activity, the I Tool does not get changed but the I Ma gets used up or changed in some way. (Le-Kawatana, 1970).

The occurrence of I Tool and I Ma depends on the type of activity denoted by the verb. Unlike I Tool, I Ma does not occur with Destruction verbs such as danh 'hit' dâm 'stab', giết 'kill', bắn 'shoot!'

Both I Tool and I Ma can occur with Factitive verbs, e.g. lâm, dông 'make', tao 'create', xây, cát 'build, erect', lốp 'cover!'

(353) Mai lâm bánh bằng bột gạo.
 A F I Ma
 Mai make cake by flour rice.
 'Mai made cake with rice flour!'

(354) Mai lâm bánh bằng bếp than.
 A F I Tool
 Mai make cake by oven charcoal.
 'Mai made cake with a charcoal oven!'

I Ma and I Tool can be coordinated.

(355) Mai lâm bánh bằng bột gạo và bếp than.
 A F I Ma I Tool
 'Mai made cake with rice flour and a charcoal oven!'

However, the conjoined Cases (i.e. I Ma and I Tool) in sentence (355) do not "have their source in an adnominal comitative" (Anderson, 1977: 41). By this, I mean the two activities of using bột gạo 'rice flour' and bếp than 'charcoal oven' in order to make cake do not happen at the same time. They are two separate activities.

From the evidence above, it is possible to say that the I Tool can occur with any Action verb but the I Ma generally occurs with Factitive verbs only.

Both I Tool and I Ma can be topicalised.

Instrumental Tool

- (356). a. Tôi dùng dao này cắt thịt.
 A I Tool Purposive
 'I used this knife to cut meat!
- b. Dao này, tôi dùng cắt thịt.
 I Tool A Purposive
 'This knife, I used to cut meat!
- c. Dao này dùng cắt thịt.
 I Tool Purposive
 This knife use cut meat.
 'This knife is used to cut meat!

Instrumental Material

- (357). a. Tôi dùng bột này lăn bánh.
 A IMa Purposive
 'I used this flour to make cake!
- b. Bột này, tôi dùng lăn bánh.
 I Ma A Purposive
 'This flour, I used to make cake!
- c. Bột này dùng lăn bánh.
 I Ma Purposive
 'This flour is used to make cake!

However, in normal situations, the Instrumental Tool is dependent on the Agentive; if the Agentive is not specified,

the Instrumental Tool does not occur.

(358) a. Ba đánh con chó bằng gậy.
 A E I Tool
 'Ba hit the dog with a stick!

b. * Con chó đánh bằng gậy.
 *('The dog hit with a stick')

The Instrumental Material can occur without the Agentive in surface structure.

(359) a. Ba lợp nhà bằng tranh.
 A F I Ma
 Ba cover house by thatch
 'Ba covered the house with thatch!

b. Nhà lợp bằng tranh.
 F I Ma
 House cover by thatch.
 'The house was covered with thatch.'

(360) a. Ba làm giường bằng cây.
 A F I Ma
 'Ba made the bed with wood!

b. Giường làm bằng cây.
 F I Ma
 'The bed was made of wood!'

11.5.7.2. Difference between I Ma and I Me.

Both the I Ma and I Me Cases are selected by Factitive verbs.

(361) a. Mai đan áo lạnh bằng tay.
 A F I Me
 'Mai knitted the sweater by hand!

b. Mai đan áo lạnh bằng len Pháp.
 A F I Ma
 'Mai knitted the sweater out of French wool!'

However, the I Me Case can occur with most Action verbs, while the I Ma cannot. The difference between I Ma and I Me then, is that the I Ma Case does not occur with verbs that take an Agentive and an Objective.

(362) a. Mai giấ̄t áo lạnh bằng tay.
 A O I Me
 'Mai washed the sweater by hand!'

b. * Mai giấ̄t áo lạnh bằng len Pháp.
 A O I Ma
 * ('Mai washed the sweater out of French wool')

Following are some other examples with the I Ma Case in Vietnamese.

(363) a. Ba đúc chuông bằng đồng.
 A F I Ma
 Ba cast bell by copper.
 'Ba cast a bell in copper!'

b. Ba tạc tượng bằng đất sét trắng.
 A F I Ma
 Ba carve statue by clay white
 'Ba carved a statue of white clay (or Kaolin)'

c. Ba đan rổ bằng tre.
 A F I Ma
 Ba weave basket by bamboo.
 'Ba wove baskets of bamboo!'

Three substantial materials: đồng 'copper', đất sét trắng 'white clay' and tre 'bamboo' are used to make the bell, the statue and the baskets. They function as an I Ma Case.

PART II: Non-Causal Cases

Non-Causal Cases that participate in the activity are: Experiencer (E), Benefactive (B), Objective (O), Factitive (F), and Comitative (Com).

11.6. Experiencer (E)11.6.1 Definition: Experiencer is

- (1) the Case of the human beings who are inwardly affected by an event of sensation, emotion, perception or cognition.
- (2) the Case of the 'animate' entities (i.e. human beings and animals) that undergo the destructive or unpleasant effect of an activity, process or state identified by the verb.

11.6.2. Identification.

The Experiencer Case is selected by Experiential verbs, Action verbs (e.g. Destruction verbs, Unfavourable Action verbs), Process verbs describing failure, disappearance, misfortunes or the change in location of an 'animate' entity, and unfavourable Submissive verbs (e.g. bị, phải¹ 'undergo an unhappy experience').

The Experiencer Case can be identified by the following tests:

1. Imperative Test
2. 'Lãm gī di' Test
3. 'Ai' Test

1. Imperative Test: The Experiencer Case does not occur in the imperative.

(364) * Chết!
*('Die!')

However, one can say:

(365) a. Giết con chuột!
'Kill the rat!'
b. Thương quê-hương mình!
'Love our country!'

Examples (365 a & b) show that the Imperative test does not make a distinction between A and E.

(see 4.2.4.2).

2. 'Lăm gì ai' Test ('Do what who' Test)

 lăm gì ai ?
A

 do what who
A

'What did do to (NP) +[Animate]?'
A

An NP that can replace the question word ai 'who' is dominated by the Experiencer, e.g.

Question: (366) a. Ba lăm gì Hai ?
A E
'What did Ba do to Hai ?'

Answer: b. Ba đánh Hai.
A E
'Ba hit Hai!'

An Experiencer can be an animal, e.g.

Question: (367) a. Ba lăm gì con chó?
A B
'What did Ba do what the dog
'What did Ba do to the dog?'

Answer: b. Ba đánh con chó.
 A E
 'Ba hit the dog!

3. 'Ai' ('Who') Test.

a. Ai + Experiential V ?
 'Who'

b. Ai/Con gi + { Unfavourable Process }
 V
 'Who/What animal' { Unfavourable Submissive } ?
 V

a. A 'human' NP that can replace the question word ai 'who' in (3a) is in the Experiencer Case.

(368) a. Ba buồn .
 E
 'Ba is sad!

b. Ba biết Dai-sô.
 E O
 'Ba knows Algebra!

b. An 'animate' NP that can replace the question word ai 'who' or con gi 'what animal' in (3b) is in the Experiencer Case.

Question:(369) a. Con gi chết?
 'What animal died?'

Answer: b. Con chó chết.
 E
 'The dog died!

Question: (370)a. Ai bi tai-nan?
 who undergo (non- accident
 beneficial)
 'Who got an accident?'

Answer: b. Ba bi tai-nan .
 E O
 'Ba got an accident!

11.6.3. Surface Realisation: The Experiencer does not select any preposition. It is realised in the surface structure with no overt marker. It may be subject or object in surface structure of a sentence.

11.6.4. Uses of the Experiencer and Experiential verbs.

With the Experiential verbs, the Experiencer Case best represents the notion of passivity on the part of a 'human' noun or pronoun. It is the semantic function of the human being inwardly affected by a psychological event or characterises by a mental state. For example, if I say:

(371) Tôi buồn.
 I sad.
 'I am sad!

I am not claiming that I am the agent of sadness, nor even that I am the patient, but that I am experiencing it.

Similarly, Ba, in:

(372) a. Ba sung sướng .
 Ba happy
 'Ba is happy'.

 b. Ba đói .
 Ba hungry
 'Ba is hungry'.

is the Experiencer of happiness and hunger.

Experiential verbs include Emotion verbs, Sensation verbs, Perception verbs, Sentiment verbs, Volition verbs, Intention verbs, Belief verbs, Knowledge verbs and Memory verbs.

11.6.4.1 Emotion verbs denote the emotions of the animate being. An emotion is something that is felt.

Some Emotion verbs in Vietnamese are: buồn 'sad', sung sướng 'happy', khó 'unhappy', khô số 'miserable', vui, vui vẻ, vui mừng 'joyful, gay', đẽ chịu 'pleasant', khó chịu 'unpleasant', hài lòng 'pleased', bất mãn 'displeased', thỏa mãn 'satisfied', thất vọng 'disappointed', kinh ngạc, ngạc nhiên 'surprised, amazed', thẹn, mắc cỡ 'shy', ngượng 'embarrassed', xấu hổ 'ashamed', kiêu, hãnh diện 'proud'.

11.6.4.2. Sensation verbs: e.g. mệt 'tired', khát 'thirsty', đói 'hungry'.

(373) a. Ba mệt .
 E
 Ba tired
 'Ba is tired'.

b. Ba khát nước .
 E O
 Ba thirsty water
 'Ba is thirsty for water'.

Ba is tired and thirsty because he feels restless in his body and dry at his throat. He is an experiencer who experiences these internal sensations.

11.6.4.3. Perception verbs

Voluntary Perception verbs: e.g. trông, ngó, nhìn, dòm 'look (at)', ngắm 'view, contemplate, behold', quan sát 'observe', xem, coi 'watch', lắng nghe 'listen to', nếm 'taste'. These verbs are also called Active Perception

verbs since the perceiver must actively direct his attention towards some object.

Involuntary Perception verbs: e.g. thấy 'perceive, see', nghe 'hear', ngửi 'smell', cảm thấy 'feel! These verbs are also called verbs of Inert Perception (Leech, 1971: 20) since the receiver is merely passively receptive.

	<u>Inert</u>		<u>Active</u>
(374)	<u>Ba</u> ' <u>Ba</u>	<u>nghe</u> <u>tiếng chó</u> <u>sủa</u> . <u>heard the dogs' barking</u> '	(376) <u>Ba</u> ' <u>Ba</u>
			<u>lắng nghe</u> <u>tiếng chó</u> <u>sủa</u> . <u>listened to the dogs' barking</u> '
(375)	<u>Ba</u> ' <u>Ba</u>	<u>thấy</u> <u>Thu</u> . <u>saw Thu</u> '	(377) <u>Ba</u> ' <u>Ba</u>
			<u>ngó</u> <u>Thu</u> . <u>looked at Thu</u> '

In (374), the content is the dogs' barking. Ba, in this instance, is not really an agent, since he apparently did nothing to activate the hearing. Thus, Ba is best treated as the affected constituent or experiencer.

In (375), Thu is not affected by the seeing. Rather, she is the content of what was seen. Again, Ba is an experiencer whereas Thu is called an object. This sentence might be roughly paraphrased as:

'Thu became visible with respect to the experience of Ba' (Chafe, 1970: 145).

In (376) and (377), Ba does fulfill the active role of an agent, while being at the same time an affected constituent. Thus, the semantic relations in the structure of sentences (376) and (377) are multiple with Ba being both an agent and an experiencer. However, in this thesis, I do not deal with Coreferential Cases. Since lắng nghe 'listen' to' and ngó 'look (at)' are Action verbs, the

- (380) a. Ba ngửi mùi bông huê.
 E O
 Ba smell odour flower lili
 'Ba smells the odour of lilies!
- b. Ba ngửi thấy mùi bông huê.
 E O
 Ba smell see odour flower lili
 'Ba smells the odour of lilies!

Note that the Vietnamese verb nếm 'taste' is always transitive, and is used with the meaning 'to act in order to acquire the sensation'. A speaker can say two ways:

- (381) Tôi nếm/dang nếm canh.
 A O
 I taste/in the
 process of taste soup
 'I taste/am tasting the soup!

Verb ngửi 'smell' has two senses.

- To acquire the sensation, e.g.

- (382) Tôi ngửi thấy mùi bông huê.
 E O
 'I smell the odour of lilies!

- To act in order to acquire the sensation

- (383) Tôi dang ngửi mùi bông huê.
 A O
 'I am smelling the odour of lilies!

Verb cảm thấy 'feel' has two senses.

- To acquire the sensation.

- (384) Tôi cảm thấy đễ chịu.
 E
 I feel see pleasant
 'I feel pleasant!

- To believe instinctively

- (385) Tôi cảm thấy tôi không thể sống ở Gia-nã Đại.
 E I feel see I cannot live in Canada.
 'I feel that I cannot live in Canada!

11.6.4.4. Sentiment Verbs.

- (386) a. Ba yêu Mai .
 E O
 Ba love Mai.
 'Ba loves Mai!

- b. Ba nhớ Mai .
 E O
 Ba miss Mai
 'Ba misses Mai!

Ba in sentences (386) is not a performer of an action, not someone who does something. Rather he is one who is mentally disposed in loving and missing Mai, with respect to his mental experience. Since Ba undergoes some psychological events, he functions as an Experiencer.

It has been said that the mind works all the time - even when we sleep (e.g. we have dreams, nightmares). When Ba loves, misses, hates or fears somebody, he recognises these feelings through his experience. The person he loves, misses, hates or fears is only an 'Object' in his mind but it does affect his body, action and thought, and since he cannot remove the 'Object' out of his mind, he may feel happy, joyful or sad, or ill or miserable. He is indeed an animate referent who is psychologically affected by the sentiment coming out from his heart.

This sentiment creates mental events or psychological activities.

Vietnamese people believe that all human beings have passions. Thất tình 'the seven passions' are: hỉ 'joy', nộ 'anger', ái 'sorrow', cụ 'fear' ái 'love', ố 'hate' and dục 'lust'.³⁷

Some common sentiment verbs in Vietnamese are: mến, quí mến 'esteem', thích 'like, be fond of', ưa thích 'enjoy', thường, yêu 'love', mê 'love immensely', nhớ 'miss', tưởng đến, nghĩ đến 'think of', tưởng nhớ 'think of', thường nhớ 'mourn for (dead person)', ghét 'hate', sợ 'fear, be afraid of', ghê sợ 'dread', kinh sợ 'be frightened', lo, lo sợ 'worry' khinh, khinh bỉ, khinh khi 'despise', khinh rẻ, khinh miệt 'scorn', giận 'angry', phục, thán phục 'admire', kính, kính trọng, kính nể 'respect', ái mộ, suy tôn 'adore', hối hận 'repent', tiếc 'regret'.

Sentiment verbs in Vietnamese can occur with dang.

(387)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>dang</u>	<u>thường</u>	<u>Mai</u>	say đắm.
	<u>E</u>			<u>O</u>	
	Ba	in the process of love		Mai	crazily.
*	(<u>Ba</u>	<u>is loving</u>		<u>Mai</u>	crazily!).

In poems, folk songs and proverbs, the Experiencer is usually not present in surface structure of the sentence.

37. These are Sino-Vietnamese words.

Người chồng (388) Anh đi, Anh nhỏ quê nhà.

(Anh) Nhớ canh rau muống (Anh) nhỏ cà dầm tương.

(Anh) Nhớ ai dãi nắng dầm sương.

(Anh) Nhớ ai tát nước bên đường hôm nao.
(Ca-đao).

'The husband: As I am going, I remember home.

(I) miss mustard-green soup, (I) miss eggplant dipped
in soy sauce.

(I) miss the ones who endured the sunshine and dew.

(I) miss the ones who irrigated the fields alongside the
path' (Folk song)³⁸.

11.6.4.5. Volition verbs, e.g. muôn 'want', ước, ước ao 'wish',
thèm 'crave'.

(389) Ba muôn cái áo đó.
Ba want classifier shirt that
'Ba wanted that shirt!'

11.6.4.6. Intention verbs, e.g. định, đự, đự định 'plan', quyết,
nhất-quyết, quả-quyết 'resolute!'

(390) Ba đự-định mua nhà.
Ba plan buy house.
'Ba planned to buy a house!'

38. English translation from Liêm (1970)

11.6.4.7. Belief or conviction verbs, e.g. ngĩ, tuõng, cho
'think', tin, tin-tuõng 'believe', ngĩ, ngĩ-ngõ 'doubt',
hy-vong 'hope, expect'.

(391) Tôi tin Trời.
E O
I believe God
'I believe in God!

11.6.4.8. Knowledge verbs, e.g. biết 'know', hiếu 'understand!'

A Vietnamese speaker uses the verb biết to express his confidence.

(392) Tôi biết lã ông Bà có bốn trai.
E O
I know that Mr. Bà have four boy.
'I know that Mr. Bà has got four sons!

Biết 'know' in (392) is usually translated by 'to know (a fact, the truth)!'.

(393) Tôi biết ông Bang . Ông ấy lã thầy tôi.
E O
I know Mr. Bang . Mr.that he teacher I
'I know Mr. Bang , He is my teacher!

Biết 'know' in (393) is usually translated by 'to know (a person)!' or quen biết 'to be acquainted with!'

(394) Tôi biết Đai-sô .
E O
I know Algebra
'I know Algebra!

Biết 'know' in (394) can be interpreted as 'to gather knowledge through the process of actual learning!'

11.6.4.9. Memory verbs, e.g. nhận ra 'recognise', nhớ 'remember',
quên, quên mất 'forget'

(395) Mai quên Kịch 'Le Cid'.
E O
Mai forget play 'Le Cid'
'Mai forgot the play 'Le Cid!'

11.6.5. Other uses of the Experiencer with Action, Process and Submissive verbs.

The Experiencer is also the Case of the recipient of misfortunes i.e. the undergoer or sufferer of an activity or event described by the verb.

A characteristic of the 'undergoer' situation is its tendency to imply that the contained event is unpleasant to the undergoer, so that, more specifically than 'happen to', the event might be said to 'mishappen to' or 'befall' the undergoer.

11.6.5.1. Action verbs.

Destruction verbs, e.g. dầu dộc 'poison', pháo-kích 'shell', giết 'kill', bắn 'shoot', dánh 'hit', đâm 'stab', ám-sát 'assassinate', nhốt, giam 'imprison', đuôi 'dismiss', phạt 'punish'.

In a simple active sentence, the Destruction verb relates two noun phrases which represent entities in an Agentive - Experiencer relationship.

(396)	<u>Hai</u>	giết	<u>Ba</u>
	A		E
	Hai	kill	Ba
	'Hai	killed	Ba!

Since Vietnamese is not an inflectional language, the syntactic order is a crucial indicator of Case-relations. Whenever the syntactic order is reversed with no additional syntactic signal, the Case-relations are reversed and the meaning of the sentence is also reversed.

- (397) Ba giết Hai .
 A E
 'Ba killed Hai!

The Vietnamese Destruction verb giết 'kill' denotes an accidental and usually unlawful action. The noun phrase functioning as an Experiencer Case of giết can be [+ Human].

- (398) Ba giết con chuột .
 A E
 'Ba killed the rat!

Verb ám-sát 'assassinate' always denotes a deliberate but usually unlawful action. The noun phrase functioning as an Experiencer Case of ám-sát is always [+ Human].

- (399) Lee Oswald ám-sát Tông-Thông Kennedy .
 A E
 'Lee Oswald assassinated President Kennedy!

Unfavourable Action verbs, e.g. hãm-ha 'persecute, ill-treat', chỉ-trích 'criticise', buộc tội 'accuse', mắng, rầy 'scold, reprimand', chửi 'curse', đổ lỗi 'blame', nhạo-báng 'ridicule', nói xấu 'malign!

- (400) Ba chửi Hai .
 A E
 'Ba cursed Hai!

11.6.5.2. Process verbs

The Experiencer Case is required by Process verbs describing misfortunes, failure, disappearance, loss or damage, e.g. mất 'lose, die', chết, qua đời 'die, pass away', thất thủ 'be lost of military position', chìm 'sink', ngã, té, rớt 'fall!

11.7. Benefactive (B)

11.7.1. Definition: Benefactive is a semantic label given to the Case which indicates the Beneficiary of an action or a process (Platt, 1971: 47). By Beneficiary, it is meant the human beings (or human institutions like school, nation, etc.) that are perceived as intended to benefit from the action or the process identified by the verb.

11.7.2. Identification: The Benefactive Case can be identified by the following tests:

1. 'Tặng ai' Test ('Offer who' Test). The test has the syntactic structure of the following form:

NP1 + Benefactive V + Ai 'who' + NP2 ? e.g.

Question(405)a. Ba tặng ai một bó bông?
Ba offer who a bouquet of flowers
'Whom did Ba offer a bouquet of flowers?'

A 'human' NP that can replace the question word ai

'who' in the above question is in the Benefactive Case. e.g.

Answer: b. Ba tặng Mai một bó bông.
A B O
'Ba offered Mai a bouquet of flowers!'

2. 'Giùm ai' Test (Lit. 'For who') Test. The test has the syntactic structure of the following form:

NP1 + V + (NP2) + { giùm } ai ?
 { cho } 'who'
 { giúp }
 'for'

Condition: V is an Action verb but not a Benefactive verb.

For example, Question: (406)a. Ba mua xe đó giùm ai ?
 Ba buy car that for who
 'Ba bought
 that car for whom?'

A. 'human' NP that can replace ai 'who' in the above question is in the Benefactive Case.

Answer: b. Ba mua xe đó giùm Mai.
 A O B
 'Ba bought that car for Mai!'

3. Ai 'who' Test.

Ai + { Favourable Process verb } ?
 'Who' + { Favourable Submissive verb }

A 'human' NP that can replace ai 'who' in the following question is in the Benefactive Case.

Question: (407) a. Ai trúng số ?
 'Who' won the lottery?'

Answer: b. Ba trúng số.
 B O
 'Ba won the lottery!'

11.7.3. Surface Realisation

(1) With Benefactive verbs and other Action verbs (e.g. viết 'write', gởi, gửi 'send'), the Benefactive Case may be realised in surface structure as the first object or the second object with or without the Benefactive preposition (see 11.7.4.1-2).

(2) With Favourable Process verbs and the Favourable Submissive verb được 'undergo a happy experience', the Benefactive Case is always realised as the subject of a sentence.

11.7.4. Uses of the Benefactive.11.7.4.1. Benefactive verbs.

Benefactive verbs relate entities in an event concerned with possession or transfer of property.

Tặng (South Vietnamese) 'offer'

Biếu (North Vietnamese)

Tặng is an inherently Benefactive verb. It implies in its lexical meaning the intention that somebody should have something. We cannot offer without giving something to somebody.

Tặng also implies a spontaneous action which is not in direct contractual settlement of any obligation (although it may, of course, be indirectly motivated by some good deed that the recipient has at some time performed.)

(408)	<u>Ba</u>	tặng	<u>Mai</u>	<u>hoa</u>	<u>hông</u> .
	A		B	O	
	Ba	offer	Mai	flower	rose
	'Ba	offered	<u>Mai</u>	<u>roses!</u>	

Ba the giver or Benefactor who functions as an A.

Mai the receiver who functions as a Benefactive.

Hoa hông 'roses': the present which functions as an O.

The present may be an 'inanimate' (e.g. hoa hông 'roses')

or an 'animate' entity, as in:

(409)	<u>Ba</u>	tặng	<u>Mai</u>	<u>một con</u>	<u>công</u> .
	A		B	O	
	Ba	offer	Mai	one classifier	peacock
	'Ba	offered	<u>Mai</u>	<u>a peacock!</u>	

Cho 'give' is a Benefactive verb.

(410) Ba cho Mai hoa hồng.
 A B O
 Ba give Mai flower rose.
 'Ba gave Mai roses!

The agent Ba in (410) is thought of as handing the physical object (i.e. roses) to Mai. However, a physical object may be given without any actual handing from one person to another, as in:

(411) Ba cho Mai hai mẫu đất.
 A B O
 Ba give Mai two hectare land.
 'Ba gave Mai two hectares of land!

Giúp, Giũm (South Vietnamese) } 'help'
Hộ (North Vietnamese) }

(412) Ba giúp Mai một số tiền.
 A B O
 Ba help Mai one number money.
 'Ba helped Mai with an amount of money!

The above examples have shown that the Benefactive Case is always realised in surface structure as the first object of the Benefactive verbs. Some other Benefactive verbs in Vietnamese are:

Cấp, 'grant', cung cấp, 'supply', tró cấp 'subsidize', tró, viên trợ 'aid, assist', thưởng 'reward', dâng 'present something to somebody in a very respectful manner', bồi thường 'compensate, pay damages!

11.7.4.2. Action verbs and Benefactive Prepositions.

Benefactive Preposition Cho 'for'.

Cho 'give' is a Benefactive verb when it is the only verb in a sentence. When there is another Benefactive verb or another Action verb in the sentence, cho becomes

a Benefactive preposition which functions like the English preposition for.

Benefactive verb Tặng 'offer'.

(413) a. Ba tặng Mai hoa hồng.
 A B O
 'Ba offered Mai roses!

b. Ba tặng cho Mai hoa hồng.
 A B O
 Ba offer for Mai flower rose
 'Ba offered Mai roses!

c. Ba tặng hoa hồng cho Mai.
 A O B
 Ba offer flower rose for Mai.
 *('Ba offered roses for Mai!)

Action verb Mua 'buy'

(414) Ba mua xe đó cho Mai.
 A O B
 'Ba bought that car for Mai!

(415) Ba mua cho Mai xe đó.
 A B O
 'Ba bought for Mai that car!

(416) Ba mua Mai xe đó.
 A B O
 'Ba bought Mai that car!

The Benefactive Movement Transformational Rule transforms the first type of syntactic structure (i.e. Example 414) into the second and the third type of syntactic structure (i.e. Examples 415 & 416) rather than vice versa (see Chapter 8). Vietnamese speakers do not say:

- (417) * Ba cho hoa hồng cho Mai^{39.}
 A O B
 Ba give flower rose for Mai
 *(' Ba gave roses for Mai!)

The Benefactive Case of the type illustrated in examples (414)-(416) is dependent on the presence of an Agentive Case in the sentence, i.e. the Benefactive cannot occur unless the Agentive also occurs.

Benefactive Preposition Giúp/giùm (South Vietnamese) 'for'
Hồ (North Vietnamese)

Like cho, giúp becomes a Benefactive preposition when it follows other Action verbs.

39. (a) Note that in the following sentences, cho is neither a Benefactive verb nor a Benefactive preposition.

- (i) Nước sôi rồi cho trà vào ấm.
 'When water is boiled, put tea into the kettle!
- (ii) 6 trừ cho 17.
 '6 minus from 17.
- (iii) Giải-nghĩa thêm cho rõ.
 'Explain more in order to be clear!
- (iv) Nhà cho mượn.
 'House for rent!

(b) Cho becomes an empty word (i.e. has no meaning) when it follows the Destruction verbs, e.g. dành cho 'give', mắng cho 'scold', dá cho 'kick', tất cho 'slap', dấm cho 'punch', chửi cho 'injuriate', rủa cho 'curse', dâm cho 'stab'.

<u>Ba</u>	<u>dấm cho</u>	<u>Hai</u>	<u>một dấm.</u>
A		E	F
Ba	punch	Hai	a punch.
<u>Ba</u>	<u>gave</u>	<u>Hai</u>	<u>a punch!</u>

(430) Nhã đẹp.
 [-Animate]
 0
 House beautiful.
 'The house is beautiful!

(2) The Case of an NP which may be affected or unaffected by the action identified by the verb.

(431) Ba cho Mai một bó bông .
 A B 0
 'Ba gave Mai a bouquet of flowers!

(432) Ba cho Mai một mẫu đất .
 A B 0
 'Ba gave Mai one hectare of land!

In (431) một bó bông 'a bouquet of flowers' may be physically handed to Mai when it is given. But in (432) một mẫu đất 'one hectare of land' is hardly handed when it is given. In fact, it is in no way affected.

(3) The Case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself. (Fillmore, 1968a: 25) 42.

(433) a. Ba hút thuốc .
 A 0
 Ba smoke cigarette
 'Ba smokes cigarette!

b. Ba rộng lượng .
 0
 Ba generous
 'Ba is generous!

42. Stockwell et al (1968: 9) call 'Objective' the 'Neutral' Case and note that it is "The Case associated most closely with the verb itself, and least interpretable independently of the verb!"

- (4) The 'inanimate' entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration.
(Fillmore, 1969a: 116).

(434) $\frac{Xe}{O}$ chạy.
car run
*('The car runs!)

- (5) The 'inanimate' entity which is understood as undergoing some kind of change of state. For example, verbs $\frac{gãy}{gãy}$, $\frac{bẻ}{bẻ}$, $\frac{vỡ}{vỡ}$ 'break, shatter, snap', $\frac{uốn}{uốn}$ 'bend' $\frac{xếp}{xếp}$ 'fold', $\frac{nứt}{nứt}$ 'crack' require the Objective Case.

(435) $\frac{Ly}{O}$ $\frac{bẻ}{bẻ}$.
'The drinking
glass broke!

- (6) The content of the experience.

(436) $\frac{Ba}{E}$ $\frac{thấy}{thấy}$ $\frac{Mai}{O}$.
'Ba saw Mai!

- (7) Sentences embedded in Objectives can serve to identify, for example, the content of a psychological event, as with verbs of judging or imagining (Fillmore, 1971: 42).

(437) $\frac{Ba}{E}$ hy vọng rằng $\frac{Mai sẽ thành-công}{O}$.
'Ba hopes that Mai will succeed!

11.8.2. Identification.

The Objective is selected by most State verbs. It also co-occurs with other types of verbs. For example:

- with Perception verbs, the Objective specifies the content of the experience.
- with Benefactive verbs, the Objective specifies the thing possessed, or the thing which is transferred.
- with Process verbs, the Objective specifies the entity which changes its state, such as one of growing, transforming or breaking.
- with Locative and Motion verbs, the Objective specifies the object in a location or undergoing change of location.

The O Case can be identified by the following tests:

1. Ai 'who/cai gi 'what' + State verb? (e.g. Quality, measure, colour)
2. Cai gi 'what' + { Action } Verb ?
(Process)
3. NP + Experiential V + ai 'who'/'cai gi 'what'?
4. NP + Action V + (NP) + cai gi 'what'?

An NP that can replace ai 'who'/'cai gi 'what' in subject position in (1) and (2), or

An NP that can replace who/what in object position in (3) and (4) is dominated by the O.

Examples :

(438) a.	Mai	dep	'Mai	is beautiful'
b.	Nhā	dep	'The house	is beautiful'

(1') Ai / Cai gi dep ?
 Who / What beautiful.
 'Who/What is beautiful?'

- Mai/Nhā dep.
 'Mai/The house is beautiful!'

- (439) a. Xe chạy. *('The car ran!)
 b. Ly bể. 'The drinking glass broke!

(2') Cái gi chạy/bể ?
 *('What ran/broke?')

- Xe chạy. *('The car ran!)
 0

- Ly bể. 'The drinking glass broke!
 0

(440) Ba thích Mai / cái áo đó.
 'Ba likes Mai / that shirt!

(3') Ba thích ai / cái gì ?
 Ba like who / what
 'Whom / what does Ba like ?'

- Ba thích Mai / cái áo đó.
 0 0

'Ba likes Mai / that shirt!

(441) Ba cho (Mai) một mẫu đất.
Ba gave (Mai) one hectare of land!

(4') Ba cho cái gì ?
 Ba give what
 'What did Ba give ?' - Ba cho một mẫu đất.

0
 'Ba gave one hectare of land!'

Ba cho Mai cái gì ?
 Ba give Mai what
 'What did Ba give Mai?'

- Ba cho Mai một mẫu đất.
 'Ba gave Mai one hectare of land!'
 0

11.8.3. Surface Realisation.

The Objective Case does not select any preposition. When it occurs by itself, it becomes the

subject.

If it co-occurs with other Cases, it is realised as the object.

11.8.4. Uses of the Objective.

11.8.4.1. Action verbs.

(1) 'Putting-on' verbs in Vietnamese.

In English, one can say:

Princess Margaret wore a velvet dress and a black hat.
 A O O

using the same verb wear; whereas in Vietnamese, different 'putting-on' verbs select different kinds of nouns. For example, the verb đeo 'wear' selects such nouns as bông tai (South Vietnamese) or hoa tai (North Vietnamese) 'earrings', vòng cổ, kiềng 'necklace', vòng tay, xuyến 'bracelet', nhẫn, cà-rá 'ring', kiến, kinh, gọng 'spectacles' and đồng hồ 'wristwatch'.

(442)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>đeo</u>	<u>nhẫn</u>	<u>cưới</u> .
	A		O	
	Mai	wear	ring	marry
	'Mai	wore	a wedding-ring!	

The verb mang 'wear' selects such nouns as giày/giầy 'shoes', guộc 'wooden shoes', đép 'slippers!'

(443)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>mang</u>	<u>giày ống</u> .
	A		O
	Mai	wear	shoe tube
	'Mai	wore	boots!

The verb mặc or bân 'wear' selects such nouns as áo 'blouse, shirt, dress', áo lanh, áo ấm 'sweater', áo dầm, váy 'skirt' and quần 'trousers'.

Note that, in:

(450) Xe tôi uống xăng nhiều lắm.
 'My car drinks a lot of gasoline!

uống 'drink' is used figuratively.

Verb hút 'smoke' is assumed to occur with any form of burning tobacco.

(451) Mai hút thuốc Dunhill.
 A O
 Mai smoke cigarette Dunhill
 'Mai smoked Dunhill cigarette!'

(5) Transference verbs.

(a) 'Permanent' Transference verbs, e.g. cho 'give', tặng, biếu 'offer', thưởng 'reward'. These verbs are also called Benefactive verbs.

(452) Ba cho Mai một bó bông.
 A B O
 'Ba gave Mai a bouquet of flowers!'

(b) 'Temporary' Transference verbs, e.g. muốn 'borrow', cầm 'pawn!'

(453) Mai muốn một cuốn sách.
 A O
 Mai borrow one classifier book
 'Mai borrowed a book!'

(c) 'Illegal' Transference verbs e.g. cuộc 'rob', ăn cắp 'steal!'

(454) Hai ăn cắp một cuốn sách.
 A O
 'Hai stole a book!'

(d) Economy verbs, e.g. mua 'buy', bán 'sell', xuất-cảng 'export', nhập-cảng 'import!'

(455) Ba bán chiếc xe.
 A O
 Ba sell classifier car
 'Ba sold a car!'

(456) Ba ban Mai chiếc xe giá 500 đồng.
 'Ba sold Mai the car for 500 piastres!

In a sales transaction or transfer of property, there are actually two benefactors, the seller as receiver of payment for goods and the buyer as receiver of merchandise. Thus, in sentence (456), Ba functions as an Agentive and a Benefactive at the same time.

According to Huddleston (1976: 238) sentence (456) contains two Objectives in the same predication, and neither the Benefactives (i.e. Ba and Mai) nor the Objectives (i.e. the car and 500 piastres) are conjoined.

In the present Case Grammar model, the car and 500 piastres are not considered as two Objectives because this consideration is inconsistent with Assumption 9 (see 7.9) that no Case may appear more than once in a simple sentence unless it is conjoined.

In this thesis, sentence (456) is analysed as follows:

Ba functions as an A.

Chiếc xe 'the car' functions as an O.

Mai functions as a B.

giá 500 đồng 'for 500 piastres' functions as an I.

(since it is the stimulus of the cost to the buyer).

(6) Communication verbs.

- (a) 'Asking' verbs, e.g. hỏi 'ask', đòi hỏi 'require', yêu cầu 'request'.
- (b) 'Informing' verbs, e.g. nói 'say', tả 'describe', giảng, giải thích 'explain', báo 'inform', báo 'tell', trả lời 'answer'.

Communication verbs conceptually require three Cases, namely, the Agentive (i.e. the speaker), the Experiencer (i.e. the hearer) and the Objective (i.e. what is said, informed or judged.)

(457)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>báo</u>	<u>Mai</u>	<u>rằng</u>	<u>Hai</u>	<u>binh</u>
	A		E		O	
	Ba	tell	Mai	that	Hai	ill
	'Ba	<u>told</u>	<u>Mai</u>	that	<u>Hai</u>	<u>was ill!</u>

(7) Motion verbs. In Vietnamese, there are some Motion verbs which specify the change of location of an object. The Objective Case represents the object which changes its location, and the Locative or Goal Case indicates the place of the change or the goal of the motion. Included among these Motion verbs are chạy 'run'; bay 'fly', tới 'come!'

(458)	<u>Chiếc</u>	<u>xe</u>	<u>chạy</u>	<u>trên</u>	<u>đường</u>	<u>Cường-Đé</u>
		O			L	
	Classifier	car	run	on	street	Cường-Đé
	*('The	<u>car</u>	<u>ran</u>	<u>on</u>	<u>Cường-Đé</u>	<u>street!</u>)

(459)	<u>Chiếc</u>	<u>xe</u>	<u>chạy</u>	<u>tới</u>	<u>đường</u>	<u>Cường-Đé</u>
		O			G	
	*('The	<u>car</u>	<u>ran</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>Cường-Đé</u>	<u>street!</u>)

Chiếc-xe 'the car' must be the grammatical subject of both sentences, but since a car cannot run by itself, it must be the recipient of the action directed by the driver.

what' Test and the Imperative Test.

1. Lãm gī Test ('Do what' Test). (see 11.3.2.1).

- (468) a. Ba lãm gī?
 Ba do what
 'What did Ba do?'
- b. - Ba chạy trên đường Cường-Đê.
 'Ba ran on Cường-Đê street!

Ba in (467b) functions as an Agentive Case.

Vietnamese speakers do not say:

- (469) * Chiếc xe lãm gī?
 The car do what
 ('What did the car do?')

but

- (470) a. Cái gī chạy trên đường Cường-Đê?
 * ('What ran on Cường-Đê street?')
- b. - Chiếc xe chạy trên đường Cường-Đê
 * ('The car ran on Cường-Đê Street!')

Chiếc xe 'the car' in (467a) does not function as an Agentive Case but an Objective Case.

2. Imperative Test (see 11.3.2.2.) One can order Ba to run but not chiếc xe 'the car!'

Ba in (467b) functions as an A but not chiếc xe in (467a).

11.8.5.2. Objective and Experiencer.

- (471) Phim "Bonjour Tristesse" buồn.
 Film "Bonjour Tristesse" sad.
 'Film "Bonjour Tristesse" is sad!
- (472) Mai buồn.
 Mai sad.
 'Mai is sad!

In surface structure, the film and Mai are the subjects of their respective sentences. But the semantic relationship between the film and sad in (471) is quite

different from the relation between Mai and sad in (472). Sentence (472) could be paraphrased with (473) Mai feels sad.

while obviously it is not possible to paraphrase (471) with the corresponding sentence (474) * Film "Bonjour Tristesse" feels sad.

Clearly, the Semantic Roles of Mai and the film in (471 and 472) are quite distinct. Mai is the one who feels sadness. She functions as an Experiencer, while the film is an object which causes sadness to be felt. It functions as an Objective.

A confirmation of this difference comes from the fact that Mai and Film "Bonjour Tristesse" cannot be conjoined or compared if the verb is buôn 'sad'. One cannot say:

(475) * Mai vã phim "Bonjour Tristesse" buôn.
* ('Mai and film "Bonjour Tristesse" are sad')

(476) * Mai buôn hơn phim "Bonjour Tristesse"
* ('Mai is sadder than film "Bonjour Tristesse"')

since conjunction and comparison generally "require that the things which are conjoined or compared have the same Semantic Role with respect to the predicator." (Parisi and Antinucci, 1976: 17). Thus, while (475 & 476) are not acceptable, (477) and (478) are:

(477) Mai vã Ba buôn.
 E E
 'Mai and Ba are sad!'

Thus, one major difference between Factitive and Objective is that the former is 'effected' while the latter is 'affected!' (i.e. F contains an 'effective' (or causative) feature, O contains an 'affective' feature. i.e. the affected participant does not cause the happening, the process or the state denoted by the verb but is directly involved in some other way.)

2. To distinguish F from O, one can ask:

NP1 lām gī NP2 ?
 NP1 do what NP2

'What did NP1 do to NP2 ?' (Fillmore 1968a: 4)

Condition: NP1 is different from NP2.

A sentence containing an F cannot answer the above question, but a sentence containing an O can.

(481) Ba đục cây.
 A O
 'Ba bored the wood!

(482) Ba đục một lỗ.
 A F
 'Ba bored a hole!

In (481) Cây 'the wood' was the wood before the action of boring. It functions as an Objective. In (482) một lỗ 'a hole' functions as a Factitive. It was not a hole before the boring.

(483) a. * Ba lām gī một lỗ ?
 Ba do what one hole
 *('What did Ba do to a hole?')
 b. * - Ba đục . * ('Ba bored!')

(484) a. Ba lām gī cây ?
 Ba do what wood
 'What did Ba do to the wood?'
 b. - Ba đục . 'Ba bored!

3. F is always selected by Creation or Factitive verbs (e.g. vẽ 'draw', viết 'write', xây, cất 'build', lām, đóng 'make'). An NP that fills the object position following one of these verbs is in the Factitive Case. (See Section 11.9.4.1.)

4. O and F cannot be conjoined.

(485) * Ba_A đục cây_O vā một_F lỗ.
 *('Ba bored the wood and a hole!)

11.9.3. Surface Realisation.

(1) Unlike O, F does not occur by itself.

(486) a. Xe_O chạy.
 *('The car runs!)

b. * Một_F lỗ đục.
 * (A hole bored!)

(2) F does not select any preposition when it occurs with Factitive verbs. It is realised as the first object of the Factitive verbs.

(487) Ba_A cất nhā_F.
 'Ba built a house!

(3) F is realised in the surface structure with the Factitive preposition ra (lām) 'into' when it occurs with Process and Action verbs (except the class of Action verbs called Factitive verbs and verbs which take cognate objects) (see 11.9.4.3.)

(4) When F co-occurs with an Agentive and an Instrumental Material, it follows the verb and precedes the Instrumental Ma.

(488) Ba cấ*t* nhà đ*ó* bằ*ng* tre.
 A F I Ma
 'Ba built that house with bamboo!

If the Agentive and Instrumental Material are not specified, a Time or Locative Case has to occur.

(489) a. Nhà đ*ó* cấ*t* nă*m* ngoạ*i*.
 F Time
 'That house was built last year!

b. Nhà đ*ó* cấ*t* trê*n* Đ*à*-L*at*.
 F L
 'That house was built in Đ*à*-L*at*!

11.9.4. Uses of the Factitive.

11.9.4.1. Action verbs.

(1) Factitive or Creation verbs. Some Factitive verbs in Vietnamese are: vẽ 'draw', viết 'write', xây cấ*t* 'build', lă*m*, đ*ó*ng** 'make', rê*n* 'forge', chê *tạo* 'manufacture'.

(490) Ba vễ*ẽ* mô*t* vông trồ*n*.
 A F
 Ba draw one circle.
 'Ba drew a circle!

Suppose Ba is drawing a circle now. If he stops in the next moment, it may not be true that he did draw a circle. The verb vễ*ẽ* 'draw' has a terminal point which is expressed by the Factitive Case mô*t* vông trồ*n* 'a circle!'

(491) Ba rê*n* đ*ao*.
 A F
 Ba forge knife.
 'Ba is forging a knife! (i.e. Ba is making a knife out of raw steel.)

(2) Other Action verbs e.g. sổn 'paint', dào 'dig(out/up)'

(492) a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ dào $\frac{\text{đất}}{\text{O}}$.
'Ba dug the ground!

b. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ dào $\frac{\text{ao}}{\text{F}}$.
'Ba dug a pond!

In (492b) ao 'a pond' is the result of Ba's action, something 'created', while đất 'the ground' in (492a) is pre-existent, something to which an action can happen.

(3) Action verbs and Factitive Case prepositions

Such verbs as cát 'cut', chặt 'chop', xé 'tear', xé, chẻ 'slice', bẻ 'break', phân, chia, phân chia 'divide', distribute' may occur without the Factitive Case.

(493) $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ xé $\frac{\text{bánh}}{\text{O}}$.
Ba slice cake
'Ba sliced the cake!

They may also occur with the Factitive. In this case, the Factitive preposition ra 'into' is used.

(494) $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ xé $\frac{\text{bánh}}{\text{O}}$ ra $\frac{\text{bốn}}{\text{F}}$ miếng .
'Ba sliced the cake into four pieces!

The Instrumental Tool can follow the Factitive.

(495) $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ xé $\frac{\text{bánh}}{\text{O}}$ ra $\frac{\text{bốn}}{\text{F}}$ miếng bằng dao bàn
Ba sliced the cake into four pieces with a table knife!

11.9.4.2. Process verbs.

(1) Verbs $\frac{\text{bẻ}}{\sim}$, $\frac{\text{gãy}}{\sim}$ (South Vietnamese) { 'break'
 $\frac{\text{vỡ}}{\sim}$, $\frac{\text{gãy}}{\sim}$ (North Vietnamese) }

(496) Cái dēn dầu bẽ ra ba miếng.
 Classifier lamp oil break into three piece.
 'The oil lamp broke into three pieces!'

(2) Transformation verbs, e.g. hóa, thành, hóa thành, biến thành 'become, transform into, turn into, be changed into another form', trở thành 'reach a biological or social stage in one's life!'

(497) a. Cá hóa long.
 O F
 'The fish turned into a dragon!'

b. Con nông nọc biến thành con cóc.
 O F
 'The tadpole changed into a frog!'

11.9.4.3. Factitives are Cognate Objects.

Cognate objects: "Traditional Grammars call objects like song, sleep, breath "cognates" because the noun in the so-called direct object position is morphologically related to the verb".
 (Baron, 1971: 71).

Following are some Vietnamese verbs with their cognate objects.

Cười 'laugh, smile'
Một cái cười
 One classifier laugh/smile
 'a laugh, a smile'

Ngủ 'sleep!
Một giác ngủ
 One classifier sleep
 'a sleep'

Hôn 'kiss'
Một cái hôn 'a kiss'

Mơ 'dream'
Một giấc mơ 'a dream!'

Chết 'die'
Một cái chết 'a death'

Thở 'breathe!
Một hơi thở
 One classifier breathe
 'a breath!'

In Vietnamese, verb hō 'sing folk songs without music' implies câu hō 'folk songs', verb ngâm 'hum, recite (a poem)' implies bāi thō 'a poem', and verb hát 'sing' implies bāi hát 'a song!'

(502) Ba hát một bāi hát.
 A O
 Ba sing one classifier sing
 'Ba sang a song!'

11.10. Comitative (Com)

11.10.1. Definition: Comitative is the Case of accompaniment. It accompanies another Case (i.e. a Causal or non-Causal Case) in the activity described by the verb.

The Comitative Case can be filled by NPs which are 'animate' or 'inanimate!'

(503) a. Ba theo Mai.
 A Com
 Ba accompany Mai
 'Ba accompanied Mai!'

b. Ba đi bộ với Mai.
 A Com
 Ba walk with Mai
 'Ba walked with Mai.'

c. Ba ăn cơm với cā-ri.
 A O Com
 Ba eat cooked rice with curry
 'Ba ate rice with curry!'

11.10.2. Identification

1. Comitative Case is required by Comitative verbs (see Section 11.10.4.1. below).
2. Comitative Case selects preposition với 'with' when it occurs with other classes of Action verbs (Examples 503 b & c)

3. The tests for the Comitative seem to be the following:

(i) (NP) + Com. V + ai (Lit: who) 'whom'?

A

(ii) (NP) + V + (NP) + { với ai 'with whom' }?
 A [+ Action] or { với cái gì 'with what' } ?

An NP that can replace ai 'who' in (i) or với ai / với cái gì (Lit: with who/what) 'with whom'/'with what' in (ii) is in the Comitative Case.

(504) a. Question: Ba theo ai ?
 Ba accompany who
 'Whom did Ba accompany?'

b. Answer:- Ba theo Mai.
 A Com
 'Ba accompanied Mai!'

(505) a. Question: Ba ăn cơm với cái gì ?
 Ba eat cooked rice with what
 'What did Ba eat rice with?'

b. Answer:- Ba ăn cơm với cà-ri.
 A O Com
 'Ba ate rice with curry!'

11.10.3. Surface Realisation: The Comitative Case is realised in the surface structure with the preposition với 'with' or as the object of the Comitative verbs without preposition.

11.10.4. Uses of the Comitative

11.10.4.1. Comitative Verbs: All Comitative verbs imply the physical motion of - at least - two animate referents, e.g.

X and Y.

Theo 'accompany' implies that X and Y go together at the same time.

If a speaker wants to emphasise that when X theo Y, X walks behind Y, he will use the adverb sau 'after, behind, in back of!

(506) Ba theo _____ sau Mai.
 A Com
 Ba accompany after Mai
 'Ba went behind Mai!

or 'Ba followed Mai!

The Comitative Case can be topicalised.

(507) a. Ba theo cô Mai đó mỗi ngày
 A Com
 'Ba accompanies that Miss Mai every day!

b. Cô Mai đó, Ba theo mỗi ngày.
 Com A
 'That Miss Mai, Ba accompanies every day!

Comitative usually occurs with the Goal Case.

(508) Ba theo Mai tới chợ.
 A Com G
 'Ba accompanied Mai to the market!⁴⁵

Theo can be replaced by đi theo (Lit: go accompany)

'follow' or đi cùng (Lit: go together) 'follow'.

(509) Chàng đi, cho thiệp đi cùng,
 Nắng mưa thiệp chịu, lạnh lùng thiệp cam (ca-dao).

45. Notice that theo is not a Comitative verb in these sentences

- a. Bạn làm bao tờ theo mẫu này.
 'You make envelopes according to this model!
- b. Theo Ba thì Mai đã đi Huế.
 'According to Ba Mai has gone to Huế!
- c. Mai theo gương dì Loan.
 'Mai imitated aunt Loan's examples!

'Honey, let me follow you wherever you go,
I shall consent to endure the sunshine, the rain or
the cold' (Popular song).

(Lit: Honey, let submissive wife go together,
sunshine rain submissive wife consent, cold
submissive wife endure).

Dắt, dẫn 'lead', dẫn đầu 'precede'

<u>Dẫn</u> (510)	<u>Me</u>	<u>tôi</u>	<u>dẫn</u>	<u>tôi</u>	<u>tôi</u>	<u>trường</u> .
	A			Com	G	
	Mother	I	lead	I	to	school.
	' <u>My</u>	<u>mother</u>	led	<u>me</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>school!</u>

<u>Dắt</u> (511)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>dắt</u>	<u>con trâu</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>dông</u> .
	A		Com	G	
	Ba	lead	classifier	buffalo	out field
	' <u>Ba</u>	led	<u>a buffalo</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>the field!</u>

<u>Dẫn đầu</u>	'precede, go before, go in front of',				
(512)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>dẫn đầu</u>	<u>đoàn</u>	<u>tân</u>	<u>binh</u> .
	A		Com		
	' <u>Ba</u>	preceded	<u>the</u>	<u>rest!</u>	

Rượt 'chase', đuổi 'pursue'. These verbs imply that
X follows Y at fast rate (e.g. run, leap) with
the intention of trying to catch Y.

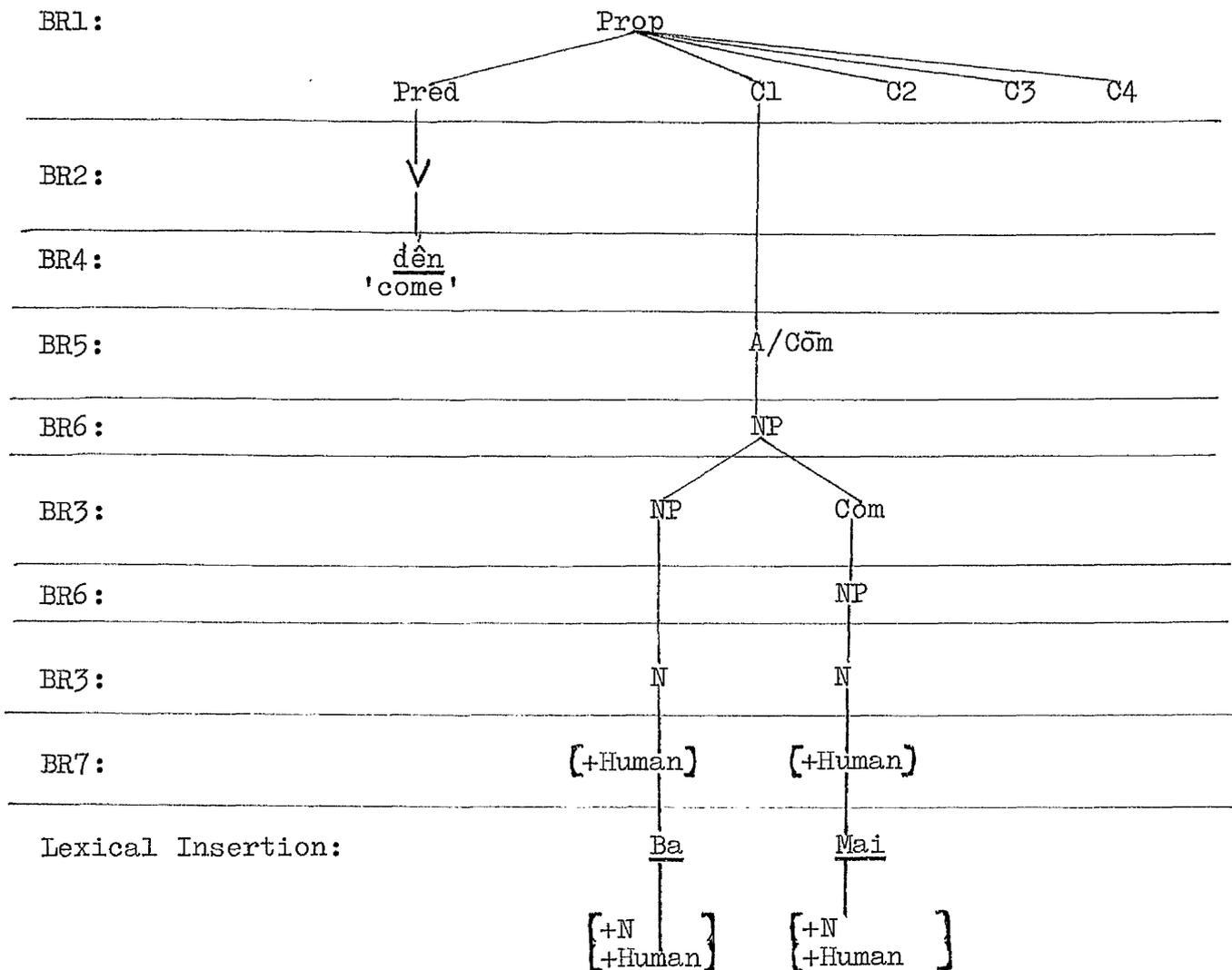
(513)	<u>Ba</u>	<u>rượt</u>	<u>Hai</u> ,
	A		Com
	Ba	chase	Hai.
	<u>Ba</u>	chased	<u>Hai</u> .

The Case-frame of đến 'come' in sentence (514) is:

+ [——— A/C $\bar{o}m$]

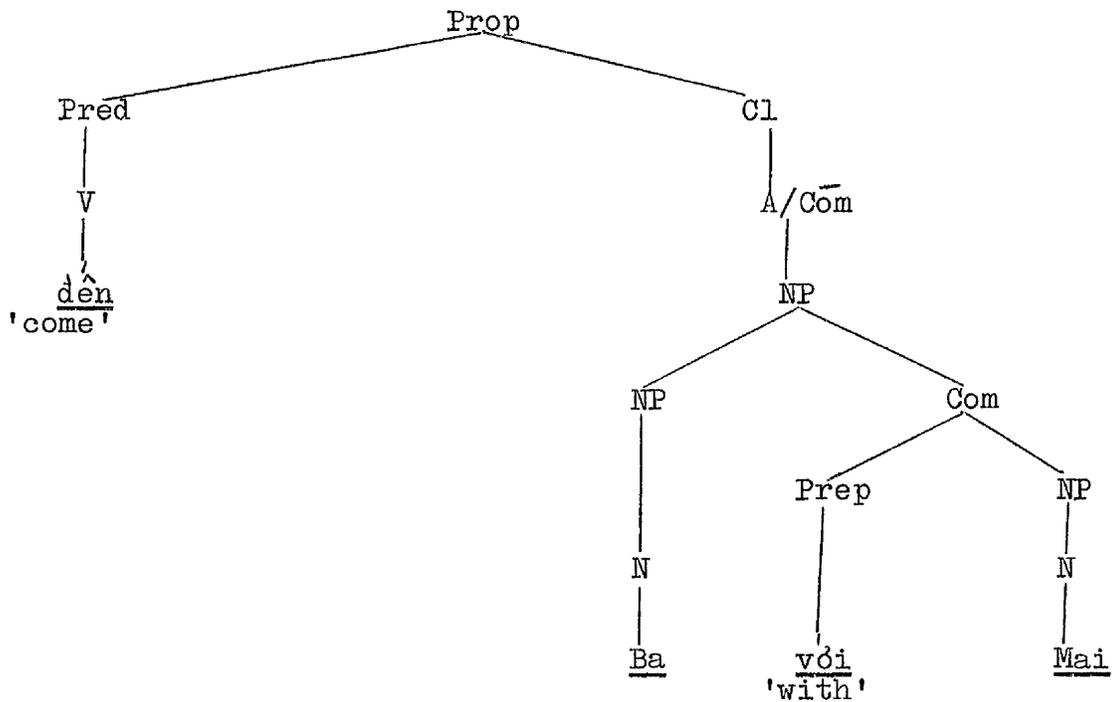
This Case-frame indicates that the Com co-occurs with A and is dominated by A.

The deep structure of sentence (514) is:



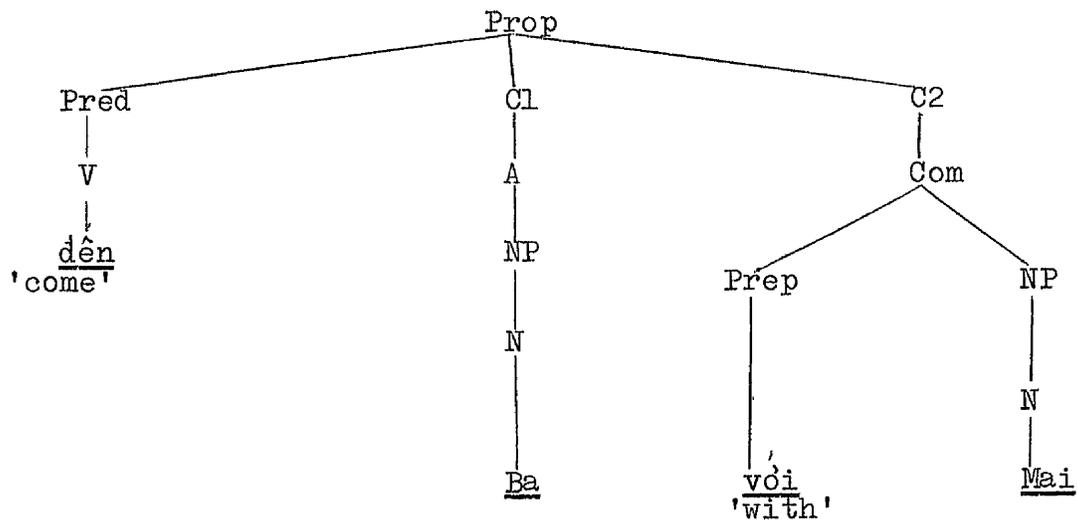
Apply Transformational Rules (TR).

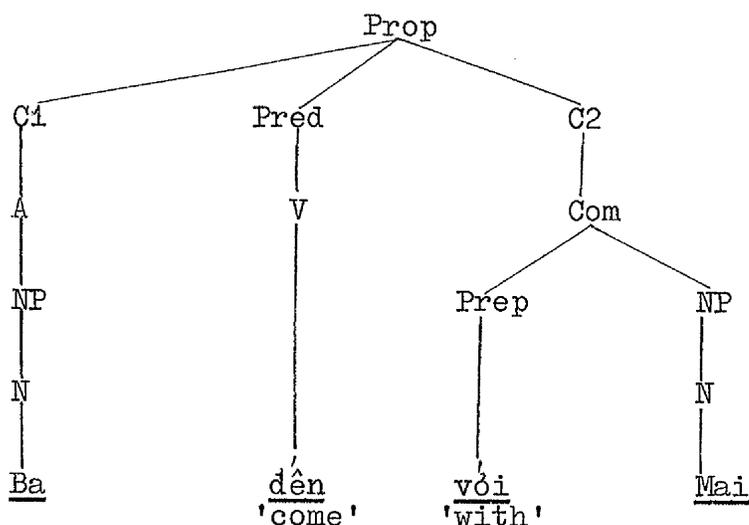
1. TR1: Preposition Attachment (OBL)



In order to get to the surface structure of sentence (514), a new TR is posited, i.e. Case-Promoting.

2. TR2: Case-Promoting (OBL): The function of this TR is to detach the Com-node embedded inside a Case, (for example A), out of that Case. The Com-node is, then, dominated by a C-node which is a constituent of the Prop.



3. Apply TR§: Subject-fronting (OBL)

Non-Causal Cases that are non-participants in the activity are: Essive (Ess), Locative (L), Source (So), Goal (G) and Path (Pa).

11.11. Essive (Ess)

11.11.1. Definition: Essive is the Case of the NP subject of the copula lã 'be'. It is (a) the Case of an 'animate' or 'inanimate' entity which belongs to or is included in a generic class.

(b) the Case of an NP representing a being, an animal or an object when identifying it or distinguishing it from other beings, animals or objects.

11.11.2. Identification and Surface Realisation

Sentences with the copula lã are usually called

equational⁴⁶. lā is like the English copula be when it is in Present Tense and links two nouns. However, unlike the English 'be', lā is not used with place indications. For example:

(516) English: I am in England.
Vietnamese: *('Tôⁱ lā trong nướ^c Anh!)

Vietnamese speakers say

(517) Tôⁱ ởⁱ trong nướ^c Anh.
 I live in country England.
 'I live in England!
 or 'I am in England!

The syntactic structure of lā - sentences under discussion may be represented as:

$$A = B$$

Where both A and B are nouns. The above formula can be rewritten as: N1 = N2

Where N1 is N_s subject and N2 is N_c complement.

Since lā has no explicit meaning, in this thesis I shall consider the lā-phrase (i.e. lā + N2) a Predicator in deep structure of a sentence (see 7.1).

(518) Bác sĩ Mai lā đàn bà .
 Ess
 Doctor Mai be woman
 'Doctor Mai is a woman!

46. H^oa (1974:75) calls lā an equational verb: "The Vietnamese verb lā 'to be so-and-so' usually identifies the surface NP-subject of a sentence with its surface NP-complement. Since it equates two referents and functions like the sign '=' between two members of an equation, it has been called an equational verb."

The semantic relationship between N1 and N2 can be of three kinds:

- (i) The referent of N1 is a member of the class N2.
- (ii) The referents of N1 (or the class N1) are included in the class N2.
- (iii) Both N1 and N2 have the same referent, i.e. they are equivalent.

11.11.3. Classification or Class-membership Relationship: The referent of N1 is a member of the class N2.

N1 refers to a specific individual.

(518) Bác-sĩ Mai lā dān bā.
 Ess
 'Doctor Mai is a woman!'

In saying sentence (518), one is actually classifying Doctor Mai as belonging to a particular class of entities, namely, women. Everything that is true of women is thus true of Doctor Mai, but not everything true of Dr. Mai is true of all women.

This difference is precisely the essential one between the Classification and the Identification Relationship considered in 11.11.5.

Sentence (518) can be paraphrased as:

'Doctor Mai { is in
 belongs to
 is a member of } the class of women!

Sentence (518) can be called a classifier sentence. N2 is said to be a classifier of N1 and the syntactic relationship holding between the classificand N1 and its classifier N2 is called classifier relationship. For example, Doctor Mai in (518) is an individual who

functions as a membership of the class of women.

Sentence (518) is non-reversible because N1 refers to a specific individual whereas N2 does not.

* Đān bā lā Bāc-sĩ Mai .
*('A woman is Doctor Mai').

11.11.4. Class-Inclusion Relationship: The referents of N1 (or the class N1) are included in the class N2. Note that neither N1 nor N2 refers to a specific individual.

(519) Chó lā thú vật.
 Ess
 Dog be animal.
 'Dogs are animals!'

This sentence can be paraphrased as follows:

- (i) All dogs are animals.
- (ii) A dog is an animal.
- (iii) Every dog is an animal.
- (iv) Anything that is a dog is an animal.
- (v) If something is a dog, it is an animal.
- (vi) The class of dogs is included in the class of animals.

Like class-membership relationship, for the class-inclusion relationship there is a realisation in only one direction.

One cannot say: * Thú vật lā chó.
 *('Animals are dogs!')

since the class of animals is not included in the class of dogs.

11.11.5. Identification Relationship

Identificational configurations consist of two different designations for the same referent. The meanings of the two designations are different, but the reference is

the same. For example:

(520) Kỹ-sử Phước lā chủ tôi .
 Ess
 Engineer Phước be uncle I.
 'Engineer Phước is my uncle!

consists of two different designations for the same person, who is both engineer Phước and my uncle. I could also say:

(521) Chủ tôi lā Kỹ-sử Phước .
 Ess
 'My uncle is engineer Phước!

The order of two expressions (i.e. chủ tôi and Kỹ-sử Phước) will depend entirely on what is presumed to be old or new information. If an audience presumably knows engineer Phước, then I can properly identify him as my uncle; vice versa, if they have heard about my uncle, I can identify him specifically as engineer Phước.

11.11.6. Lā in Metaphorical Sentences.

Vietnamese has many figurative meanings which depend on supplementary features of meaning associated with the names of animals.

Vietnamese speakers often compare a person's character with that of an animal. For example, in the statement:

(522) Ba lā con rắn độc.
 Ess
 Ba be classifier snake poisonous.
 'Ba is a poisonous snake!

one understands that Ba's behaviour is characterised by tricks, secret harmful actions toward various people.

Similarly, in (523) Ba lā con dê.
 Ess
 Ba be classifier goat.
 'Ba is a goat!

one understands that Ba's behaviour is characterised

by amorous advances towards various women.

The following examples are considered metaphorical, idiomatic or jocular according to their paraphrases.

(524) Thê-giới lā sân-khâu .
World be stage
'The world is a stage!

(i.e. The world is like (in some respect) a stage)

(525) Một tấc đất lā một tấc vãng.
One decimetre
 earth be one decimetre gold
'Every inch of
 earth is an inch of gold!

(i.e. Every inch of earth is as precious as an inch of gold)

(526) Bằng cấp lā đống vãng .
Degree be pile gold.
'A degree is a pile of gold!

(i.e. - Having a degree is like having a pile of gold.
or - Having a degree is equivalent to having a pile of gold).

(527) Ba lā Fidel Castro.
Ba be Fidel Castro.
'Ba is a Fidel Castro!

(i.e. - Ba is physically like Fidel Castro.
or - Ba is a politician of the type of Fidel Castro.).

(528) Hạnh-phúc lā thiên-đường .
Happiness be paradise
'Happiness is a paradise!

(i.e. - Being happy means living in a paradise.
or - Being happy is the same as living in a paradise).

(529) Hôn-nhân lã lố̃i-lã̃m .
 Marriage be mistake.
 'Marriage is a mistake!

(i.e. To marry means to make a mistake).

(530) Amin lã một vãn đẽ̃.
 Amin be one problem.
 'Amin is a problem!

(i.e. How Amin behaves is a problem).

(531) Ba-Lê lã Pháp.
 Paris be France.
 'Paris is France!

(i.e. Everything which is typically French can be found in Paris).

(532) Cây viết lã một vũ-Khí.
 Classifier write be one weapon.
 'A pen is a weapon!

(i.e. A pen serves as a weapon).

Note that Lã is also a complementiser. It is like rã̃ng 'that' used after such verbs as nói 'say', biết 'know', ngĩ, tưởng 'think', hũa 'promise!

(533) Ba biết lã Mai buõn
 E O
 Ba know that Mai sad.
 'Ba knew that Mai was sad! (see 11.6.4.)

11.12. Locative (L).

11.12.1. Definition: Locative is the Case which indicates the location or spatial orientation of the state, process or action identified by the verb.

11.12.2. Identification: An NP that can answer the question word dâu or ở đâu 'where' is dominated by the Locative Case.

11.12.3. Surface Realisation: In normal situations, the Locative is realised in surface structure as the object.

The Locative Case is realised in surface structure by a place name or a noun preceded by a Locative preposition or a Locative relator noun (see 11.12.4).

11.12.4 Uses of the Locative

11.12.4. 1. Place names e.g. Săigôn, Việtnam, Asia.

Săigôn and Việtnam share one fundamental characteristic i.e. 'being a part of the world'.

Săigôn means 'the town called 'Saigon'

or 'part of the world which is called 'Saigon'.

Việtnam means 'the country called 'Vietnam'

or 'part of the world which is called 'Vietnam'

Asia means 'part of the earth called 'Asia'

11.12.4. 2. Locative Preposition: tai 'in, at'

Tai 'in, at' indicates a situation, a position or a place without being thought of in terms of length, width, or height⁴⁷. It is used before names of continents,

47. These notions have been borrowed from Leech's Towards a Semantic Description of English (1969: 159-201). Seeking to account for the meaning and interrelations of various spatial notions, Leech postulates following basic units: 'place', 'dimensionality' (embracing the features 1 DIM (i.e. one dimension), 2DIM, 3DIM), 'proximity', 'side of', 'vertical'/'horizontal', 'distance', 'plus'/'minus', 'diagonal', 'north'/'south', 'west'/'east', 'orientation', 'movement', 'types of locomotion', 'posture'.

- Enclosure within an area.

(557) Ba chạy trong công viên.
 A L
 Ba run in public park.
 'Ba ran in the public park!

- Inland, islands, towns, villages.

(558) Ba làm việc trong đảo Côn-són.
 A L
 Ba work in island Côn-són.
 'Ba worked in Côn-són island!

- South territory of Việtnam - All areas in South territory of Việtnam are considered as the interior places as opposed to those in the North, the exterior places. Interior places are used with the Locative relator noun trong, whereas exterior places are used with the Locative relator noun ngoài.

(559) Ba làm việc trong Nam.
 A L
 Ba work in South.
 'Ba worked in South Việtnam!

The term trong Nam 'in south' inherits from the old name Đàng Trong 'Interior place' when South Việtnam was ruled by Chúa Nguyễn 'Lord Nguyễn' (see Appendix 3).

- Abstract location.

(560) Ba đọc câu ấy trong cuốn "Les Pensées"
 A O L
 Ba read sentence that in classifier "Les Pensées"
 'Ba read that sentence in the book "Les Pensées"'

- Abstract domain in the heart.

In literary work and in colloquial speech, the heart is regarded as a particular location of all kinds of love 'tình yêu, tình thương' e.g. sexual love, maternal love, paternal love, fraternal love, patriotic love.

Ngoài indicates:

- Outside an enclosed space or volume.

(561) Ba ngồi ngoài phòng.
 O L
 Ba sit outside room.
 'Ba was sitting outside the room!

- North territory of Việt-nam.

(562) Ba làm việc ngoài Bắc.
 A L
 Ba work exterior North.
 'Ba worked in North Việt-nam!

The term ngoài Bắc is inherited from the old name Đàng Ngoài (Lit: Exterior place) when the North was ruled by Chúa-Trình 'Lord Trịnh' (see Appendix 3).

- Coastal towns e.g. Nha-Trang, Vũng-Tầu (see Appendix 3). For Vietnamese people, the seas are situated outside the main land.

(563) Ba làm việc ngoài Nha-Trang.
 A L
 Ba work outside Nha-Trang.
 'Ba worked in Nha-Trang!

- the open air.

(564) Ba hát ngoài ruộng.
 A L
 Ba sing outside ricefield.
 'Ba sang in the ricefield!

Overlap between trên, dưới, trong, ngoài.

Vietnamese speakers often use trên, dưới, trong, ngoài with the same noun. But in such cases, the meaning will be slightly different.

- (4) Trước 'anterior, before, in front of, the front'
Sau 'posterior, after, behind, the back part, rear!
Ngang 'across, opposite!
Giữa 'between, the middle'

- (571) a. Hoa chơi trước nhà.
 A L
 Hoa play in front of house.
 'Hoa was playing in front of her house!
- b. Ba cất nhà ngang bưu-diện.
 A F L
 Ba build house opposite post-office.
 'Ba built a house opposite the post-office!

- (5) Quanh 'around, surrounding!

- (572) Cảnh-sát đứng gác quanh chợ Saigôn.
 A L
 Police stand guard around market Saigôn.
 'The Police were standing on guard around Saigôn market!

11.12.4.4. 'Optional' and 'Obligatory' Locative

Fillmore suggests a distinction between the highly restricting Locative and the weakly restricting Locative.

"...the distinction between "optional" and "obligatory" locative expressions, as exemplified in Hall's 48 examples (i) and (ii), seem to point to the difference between elements which are "inside the VP" and elements which are "outside the VP".

(i) John keeps his car in the garage.

(ii) John washes his car in the garage.

In our terms this would be equivalent either to determining whether there is a difference between an L as a constituent of P and an L as a constituent of M, or whether there can be two L elements within P, distinguished in terms of degree of selectivity of verbs. The highly restricting L selects verbs like keep, put and leave... The weakly restricting L selects verbs like polish, wash and build."

(1968a: 26, fn 34).

Following Fillmore, Platt (1971: 30-33) also discusses different Locatives. He calls "the highly restricting Locative", "the inner Locative", and "the weakly restricting Locative", "the outer Locative".

Inner Locative in Vietnamese: Such verbs as giữ 'keep', chứa, đựng (Lit: contain, hold, store) 'put in', 'keep', sống, cư ngụ, ở 'be in/at, live in/at, reside in' always require the accompaniment of Inner Locatives. Like English, a Vietnamese inner Locative is obligatory.

(573) a. Mai đựng trà trong bình này.
 A O L
 Mai contain tea in jar this.
 'Mai kept tea in this jar!

Vietnamese speakers do not say:

b. * Mai đựng trà.
 *('Mai kept tea!)

Outer Locative in Vietnamese:

Some verbs optionally require the accompaniment of the Locative. For example, verbs ủi 'iron', nấu 'cook', rửa 'wash', ăn 'eat', uống 'drink', làm việc 'work', lau, chùi 'polish', trồng 'grow', đào 'dig':

(574) Họ đào giếng trong đảo Côn-sôn.
 A F L
 They dig wells in island Côn-sôn.
 'They dug wells in Côn-sôn island!

The Outer Locative Case trong đảo Côn-sôn can change its syntactic position i.e. it can stand initially in the sentence to emphasise a Locative topic.

(575) Trong đảo Côn-sòn , họ đào giếng.
 L A F
 'In Côn-sòn island , they dug wells!

11.12.5. Directional Case. The Directional Case indicates 'dynamic' spatial relations. It is used in this thesis as a general term to cover the Goal, Source and Path Cases. Following Bennett (1970), I recognise four different deep Case-relationships: Locative, Source, Goal and Path⁴⁹.

11.12.5.1. Directional verbs.

Lên 'ascend, go up (to)'

Xuống 'descend, go down (to)'

Ra 'exit, go out (of) (to)'

Vào, Vào 'enter, go in (to)'

Về 'return (to)'

Lại, tới, đến 'come to, arrive at'

Qua, sang 'go over, pass over, go across (to), cross'

49. Fillmore does not make a distinction between Locative and Directional Case. He says:

"The list of Cases includes L, but nothing corresponding to what might be called directional. There is a certain amount of evidence, as was mentioned above, that locational and directional elements do not contrast but are superficial differences determined either by the constituent structure or by the character of the associated verb" (1968a: 25)

Elsewhere he writes (1968a: 12)

"Inside a VP the difference between the locative and directional senses is entirely dependent on the associated verb; outside the VP the sense is always locative!"

Fillmore (1971), following Bennett (1970), makes a distinction between Locative and Directional Case.

(1) Lên 'ascend, go up (to)'

The verb lên always deals with upward movement, so that it contains a feature 'movement up' which may be represented by an arrow like this (↑)

(576)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>lên</u>	<u>lâu</u>	<u>tứ.</u>
	A		G	
	Mai	ascend	upper floor	four.
	'Mai	<u>went up</u>	<u>to the fourth floor!</u>	

Lên is used for the movement from the lowlands (e.g. Cà-Mau) to the highlands (e.g. Đà-Lat).

(577)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>lên</u>	<u>Đà-Lat.</u>
	A		G
	Mai	ascend	Đà-Lat.
	'Mai	<u>went up</u>	<u>to Đà-Lat!</u>

Lên also conveys a psychological rather than geographical connotation. For example, a fisherman in a village says:

(578)	<u>Tôi</u>	<u>lên</u>	<u>nhà Ông Quận-Trưởng.</u>
	A		G
	I	ascend	house Mr. District Chief.
	'I	<u>went up</u>	<u>the District Chief's house!</u>
or	'I	<u>went (up)</u>	<u>to the District Chief's house!</u>

(Liêm, 1975: 27).

The reason is that for villagers, the District Chief's house is an important place, one must go up to it.

(2) Xuống 'descend, go down (to)'

The verb xuống always deals with downward movement, so that it contains a feature 'movement down' which may be represented by an arrow like this (↓)

(579)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>xuống</u>	<u>lâu</u>	<u>hai.</u>
	A		G	
	Mai	descend	upper floor	two.
	'Mai	<u>went down</u>	<u>to the second floor!</u>	

Xuống is the opposite of lên. It is used for the movement from the highlands to the lowlands.

- (588) Mai tới trường
 A G
 Mai come to school.
 'Mai came to school!'

(7) Qua, sang 'go over, pass over, go across (to), cross'
 These verbs always deal with 'transversing' or 'across'
 movement, so that it contains a feature 'movement across'
 which may be represented like this: ($\square \longrightarrow \square$)

- (589) Chiếc xuồng qua sông.
 O Pa.
 classifier sampan cross river.
 'The sampan has crossed the river!'

Notice that Vietnamese speakers use four
 directional verbs vô/vào, ra, lên, xuống in a 'characteristic'
 way (Hòa, 1974: 284). For instance, if a speaker wants to go
 from a relatively confined and dark area (e.g. his living room)
 to a relatively more spacious and more brightly-lit area
 (e.g. the street, the garden), he says:

- (590) Tôi muốn ra ngoài vườn.
 E G
 I want go out out garden.
 I want to go out to the garden!

since the garden is a wider area than the living room.
 But if a speaker wants to go in the garden while he is on
 the street, he should say:

- (591) Tôi muốn vô trong vườn
 E G
 I want enter in garden.
 'I want to go into the garden!

Thus, ngoài vườn (Lit: out garden) and trong vườn (Lit:
 in garden) indicate the same place.

11.13.3. Distinction between Directional verbs and Goal Prepositions(1) Vô 'go in (to), enter' (Directional verb).Vô 'in (through), into' (Goal preposition).

(595) Mai vô thư-viện. Dir. V: Directional verb
 A. Dir.V. G G. Prep: Goal
 Preposition

Mai enter library
 'Mai went into the library!

(596) Mai mở cửa vô thư viện.
 A V O Dir.V G
 Mai open door enter library
 'Mai opened the door entering the library!
 or
 'Mai opened the door and entered the library!

(597) Mai thọc tay vô cửa-sổ.
 A V O G.Prep G
 Mai thrust hand enter window
 'Mai thrust her hand in through the window!

If vô in (597) is analysed as vô in (596), the sentence becomes anomalous.

* ('Mai thrust her hand entering the window')

* ('Mai thrust her hand and entered the window')

(2) Tới 'come to' (Directional verb)Tới 'to' (Goal preposition)

(598) a. Mai tới Luân -Đôn.
 A Dir.V G
 Mai come to London
 'Mai came to London!

b. Mai lái xe tới Luân -Đôn.
 A V O G.Prep G
 Mai drive car to London
 'Mai drove her car to London!

- (3) Về 'go back (to), return' (Directional verb).
Về 'back, to' (Goal preposition).

- (599) a. Mai về Việt Nam.
 A Dir.V G
 Mai return Việt Nam.
 'Mai returned to Việt Nam!
- b. Mai gửi quà về Việt Nam.
 A V O G.Prep G
 Mai send gift return Việt Nam.
 'Mai sent a gift back to Việt Nam!

11.13.4. Motion verb đi 'go!

Đi can become a Goal preposition. Consider:

- (600) a. Mai đi Huế.
 A V G
 Mai go Huế.
 'Mai went to Huế!
- b. Mai đi ra Hà-Nội.
 A V G.Prep G
 Mai go out Hà-Nội.
 'Mai went to Hà-Nội!
- c. Mai gửi sách đi Úc.
 A V O G.Prep G
 Mai send book go Australia.
 'Mai sent the books to Australia!

However, đi cannot occur with Directional verbs and other Motion verbs.

- (601) a. Mai về Việt Nam.
 A Dir.V G
 'Mai returned to Việt Nam!
- b. * Mai về đi Việt Nam.
 A Dir.V Motion G
 V G
 * ('Mai returned go Việt Nam!)

- (602) a. Mai chay vô trường.
 A Motion V G.Prep G
 Mai run into school.
 'Mai ran into the school!
- b. * Mai chay đi trường.
 A Motion V Motion V G
 * (' Mai ran go school').

According to the semantic property of the verb, each verb can occur with three, four or several Goal prepositions. For example, the following verbs can occur with six Goal prepositions.

Bay 'fly'⁵², chay 'run', bơi 'swim', bò 'crawl', mang, dem 'bring', đưa 'hand', khiêng 'carry!

- (603) a. Ba bay đi Hà-Nội.
 A G
 Ba fly to Hà-Nội.
 'Ba flew to Hà-Nội!
- b. Ba bay tới Saigôn.
 A G
 Ba fly to Saigôn.
 'Ba flew to Saigôn!
- c. Ba bay ra Huế!
 A G
 Ba fly out .Huế!
 'Ba flew(north) to Huế!
- d. Ba bay vô Nha-Trang.
 A G
 Ba fly into Nha-Trang.
 'Ba flew(south) to Nha-Trang!
- e. Ba bay lên Đã-Lạt.
 A G
 Ba fly up Đã-Lạt.
 'Ba flew(up) to Đã-Lạt!
- f. Ba bay xuống Cà-Mau.
 A G
 Ba fly down Cà-Mau.
 'Ba flew (down) to Cà-Mau! (Hoà, 1972:404)

52. Notice that verb bay 'fly' involves the forelimbs of bats or birds and cannot be applied to persons, except with an additional component of 'vehicular movement'!

Some verbs are restricted with regard to possible direction. According to Hòa (1972:404), those verbs which are so restricted occur only with directional adverbs. For example, the following verbs can only occur with the directional adverb ra 'out':

Mở ra 'open', nhô ra 'pull out', cởi ra 'untie';
khám-phá ra 'discover or uncover' phát-minh ra 'invent';

- (604) Ba mở cửa ra.
 Ba open door out.
 'Ba opened the door!

However, Hòa's observation is not quite true. Verbs thọc 'thrust', áp 'press against' only occur with vô 'in, into, onto' which is a Goal preposition.

- (605) a. Mai áp mặt vô cửa sô.
 A O G
 Mai press against face into window.
 'Mai pressed her face onto the window glass!
- b. Mai thọc tay vô cửa sô.
 A O G
 'Mai thrust her hand in through the window!

One cannot say:

- (606) c. * Mai áp mặt vô.
 * ('Mai pressed her face onto!)
- d. * Mai thọc tay vô.
 * ('Mai thrust her hand in through!)

When vô 'in', ra 'out', đi 'to', lại 'back' combine with pairs of reduplicative Action verbs, they are not Goal prepositions but directional adverbs. Their combination has a general meaning of 'again and again', 'over and over', 'back and forth'!

- (607) a. Mai viết đi viết lại lá thở.
 A write to write back letter.
 'Mai wrote the letter again and again!'
- b. Mai học đi học lại bài Sử.
 A study to study back lesson History
 'Mai studied the History lesson over and over!'
- c. Mai đi đi lại lại trong phòng.
 A go to return back in room.
 'Mai went back and forth in the room!'
- d. Mai chạy vô chạy ra.
 A run in run out.
 'Mai ran in and out!'
- e. Mai bơi vô bơi ra.
 A swim in swim out.
 'Mai swam in and out!'

Locative relator nouns can co-occur with Goal prepositions and Directional adverbs.

- (608) Ba trèo lên tận trên ngọn cây.
 N V Adv. G.Prep L.relator NP.
 noun
 A G.
 Ba climb up till on top tree.
 'Ba climbed all the way up to the treetop!
 (Hòa, 1966: 411).

11.13.5. Identification: An NP that can answer a question containing: a Goal preposition + { dâu 'where' } ?
 or { gi 'what' } ?

is dominated by the Goal Case.

For example (609) Mai lên lầu tứ.
 'Mai went up to the fourth floor!'

Question: Mai lên tận dâu ?
 G.Prep.
 Mai ascend all the way up to where
 'Where did Mai go up to?'

Answer: - Lầu tứ 'The fourth floor!'
 G

- (610) Mai dịch lá thỏ ra tiếng Anh.
 A O
 Mai translate the letter into sound England.
 'Mai translated the letter into English!

Question: Mai dịch lá thỏ ra tiếng gì?
 G.Prep
 Mai translate the letter into sound what.
 'Into which language did Mai translate the letter?'

Answer: - Tiếng Anh 'English!
 G

11.13.6. Surface Realisation.

The Goal Case is realised in the surface structure as the object with or without a Goal preposition.

- 11.13.7. Goal verbs e.g. đổ² 'pour', bỏ¹, đề¹ 'put (in)', đút 'insert', nhúng 'soak', thọc, 'put into!

A Goal verb obligatorily requires the accompaniment of a Goal Case.

One cannot say:

- (611) a. * Mai đổ gạo,
 A O
 * ('Mai poured rice!)

but b. Mai đổ gạo vào nồi.
 A O G
 Mai pour rice into saucepan.
 'Mai poured rice into the saucepan!'

One cannot say:

- (612) a. * Mai bỏ đường.
 A O
 * ('Mai put sugar!)

(618)	<u>Chiếc</u>	<u>tàu</u>	ra	<u>khỏi</u>	<u>bờ</u>
		0		So	
	Classifier	boat	go out	away from	shore.
	'The	boat	went away	from	shore!

11.14.3. Identification

(1) The Source Case is selected by Source verbs, e.g. rời, lìa 'leave', bắt nguồn 'originate', e.g.

(619)	<u>Mai</u>	<u>rời</u>	<u>Việt Nam.</u>
	A		So
	Mai	leave	Việt Nam.
	' <u>Mai</u>	left	<u>Việt Nam!</u>

(2) An NP that can answer a question containing a source preposition + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{đâu} \text{ 'where' } \\ \text{gi} \text{ 'what' } \end{array} \right\}$?
or $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{đâu} \text{ 'where' } \\ \text{gi} \text{ 'what' } \end{array} \right\}$?

is dominated by the Source Case. For example:

<u>Question:</u>	Mai	<u>rời</u>	<u>khỏi</u>	<u>đâu</u> ?
			So.Prep.	
	Mai	leave	away from	where
	' <u>Where</u>	did	Mai	leave?'

Answer: - Việt Nam.
So

<u>Question:</u>	Mai	dịch	lá	thờ	<u>từ</u>	<u>tiếng</u>	<u>gi</u> ?
	Mai	translate	letter	from	sound	what	
	' <u>From which language</u> did Mai translate the letter?'						

Answer: - Tiếng Anh.
So
Sound England
'English'.

11.14.4. Surface Realisation

The Source Case is realised in the surface structure as the object with or without a Source preposition.

11.14.5. Source and Goal

Source and Goal are specified as two place nouns.

(620)	<u>Mai</u>	đi bộ	<u>từ nhà</u>	<u>tới trường</u>
	A		So	G
	Mai	walk	from house	to school.
	' <u>Mai</u>	walked	<u>from home</u>	<u>to school!</u>

Source and Goal are realised in the surface structure without prepositions.

(621)	<u>Con chuột</u>	chạy rồi	biến mất	<u>trong hang</u> .
	A			L.relator G
			noun	
	Classifier	rat	run then disappear	into hole.
	' <u>The rat</u>	ran then disappeared	<u>into his hole!</u>	
or	' <u>The rat</u>	ran and disappeared	<u>into his hole!</u>	

The rat disappeared from a viewing point outside the hole, but that in the hole he might be visible. Thus, the hole is the Goal of his journey (Gruber, 1976: 118)

(622)	<u>Con chuột</u>	chạy rồi	biến mất	<u>ngoài hang</u> .
	A			L.Relator So
			noun	
	Classifier	rat	run then disappear	outside hole.
	' <u>The rat</u>	ran then disappeared	<u>outside his hole!</u>	
or	' <u>The rat</u>	ran and disappeared	<u>outside his hole!</u>	

The rat disappeared from a viewing point inside the hole, so that he was no longer visible in his hole. The hole is the Source of his journey.

Now, consider:

(623)	<u>Dãy núi</u>	chạy	<u>từ Đă-Lạt</u>	<u>tới Nha-Trang</u> .
	O		So	G
	Chain	mountain	run from Đă-Lạt	to Nha-Trang.
	' <u>The chain of mountains</u>	runs	<u>from Đă-Lạt</u>	<u>to Nha-Trang.</u>

11.15. Path (Pa)

11.15.1. Definition: The Path Case can be defined as the route taken of a movement, i.e. the movement is directed past somewhere, through somewhere to the destination.

11.15.2. Path Prepositions

Qua 'cross, go across, pass over' is a Directional verb. When qua occurs with other Motion verbs, it becomes a Path preposition which means 'across, through, over, past!'

(628) a. Mai di qua cầu.
 A Pa
 Mai go across bridge.
 'Mai went across over the bridge!

b. Mai băng qua cánh đồng.
 A Pa
 Mai traverse through classifier field.
 'Mai crossed through the field!

Doc (theo) 'along', ngang 'past' and ngã 'via' are also Path prepositions.

(629) Mai di doc theo đường Hùng-Đạo tới bưu-diện.
 A Pa G
 Mai go along street Hùng-Đạo to post-office.
 'Mai went along Hùng-Đạo street to the post-office!

11.15.3. Identification

(1) The Path Case is selected by the Directional verb qua 'cross, go across, pass over!'

(2) An NP that can answer the question containing verb qua + dâu 'where' ?

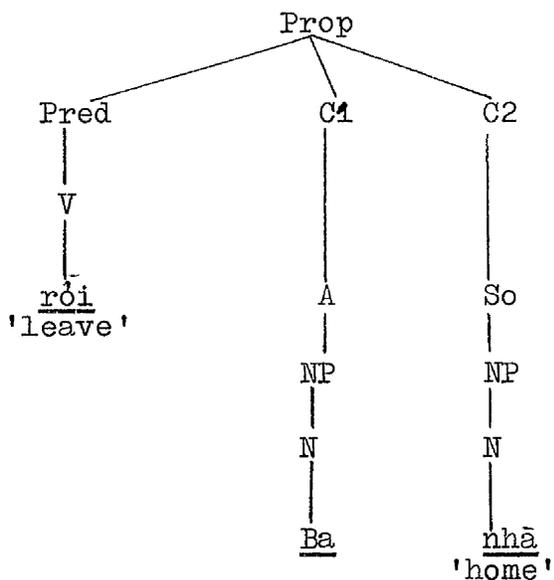
or a Path preposition + dâu 'where'?

or a Motion verb + từ đâu + tới đâu ?
 'from where' 'to where'

is dominated by the Path Case. For example:

11.15.5. Semantic Representation of Source, Goal, Path and Locative

For example: (632) Ba rđi nhā .
 A SO
 Ba leave home
 'Ba left home!'



When Source, Goal and Path are not chosen as the first object of the sentence in surface structure, they will be associated with Source, Goal and Path prepositions. Two Cases i.e. Source and Goal are usually embedded inside Path. The Base Rules (BR) are expanded as follows:

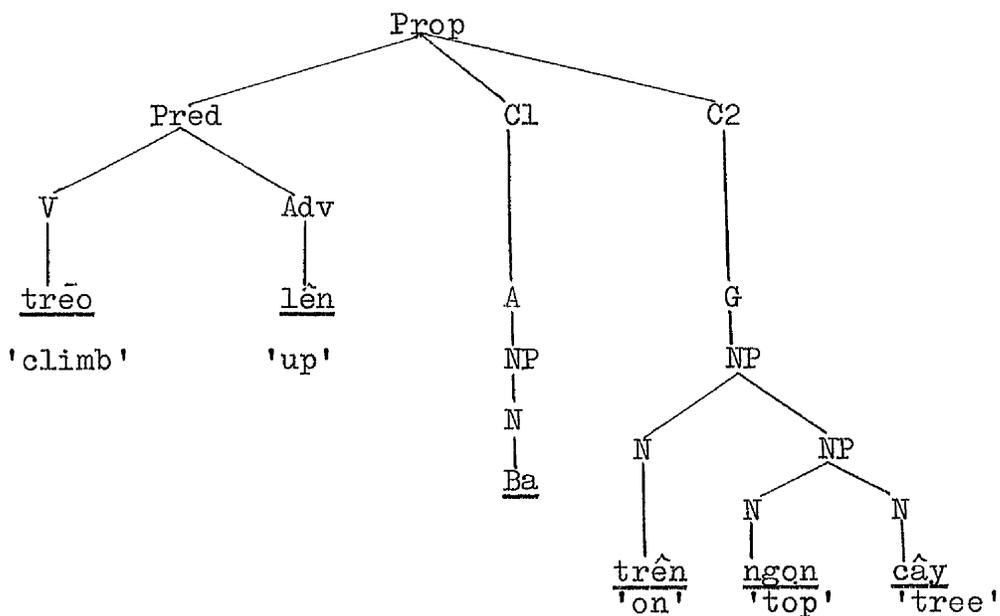
BR3: NP → N + NP

BR6: C → C + C

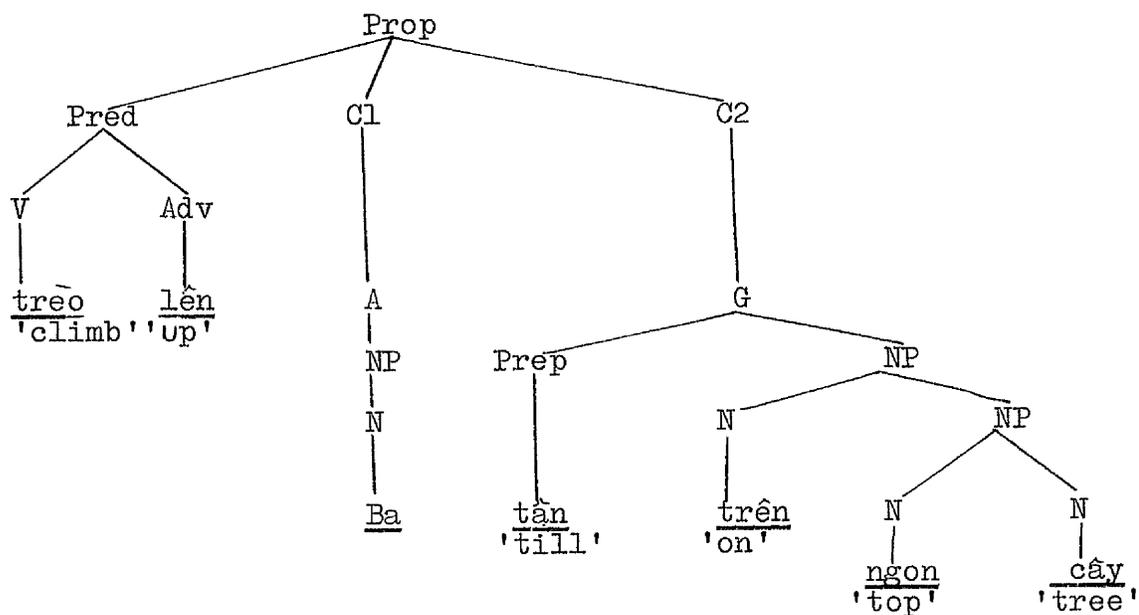
For example:

(633)	<u>Ba</u>	trēo	lên	tận	trên	ngọn	cây .
	N	V	Adv	G.Prep.	L.relator	N	N
	A				G		
	Ba	climb	up	till	on	top	tree
	'Ba	climbed	<u>all the way</u>		up	<u>to the treetop!</u>	

This sentence may be represented as follows:



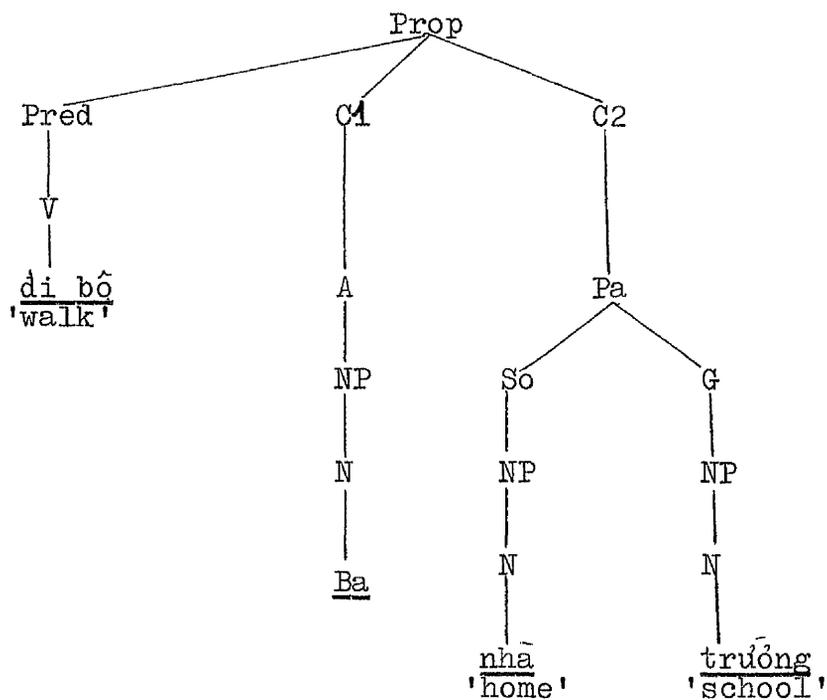
Apply TR1: Preposition Attachment (OBL).



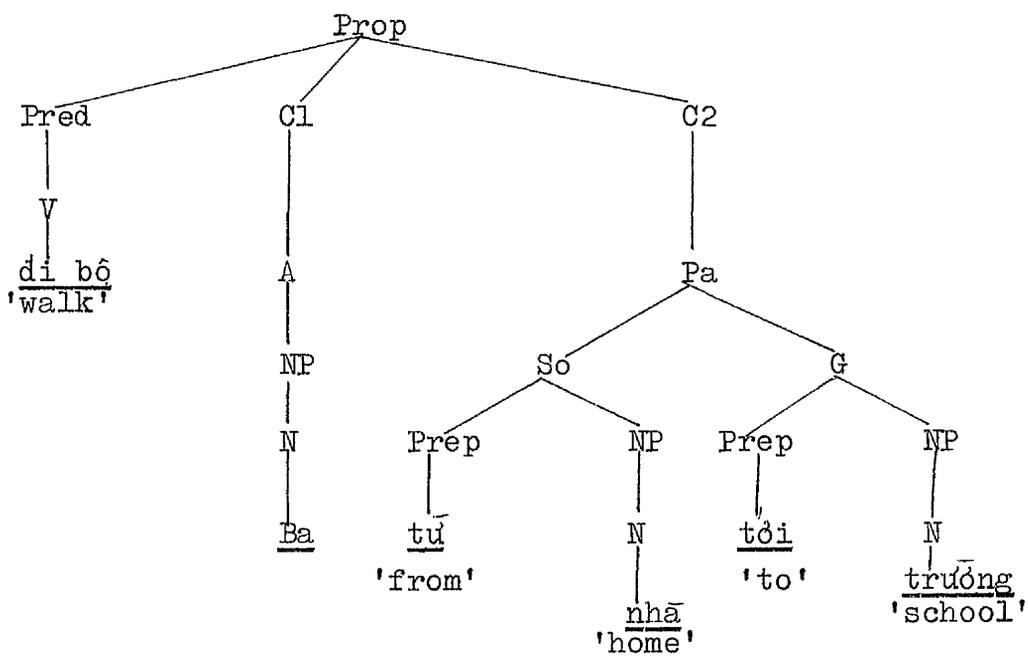
Apply TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL).

(634) Ba di bộ từ nhà tới trường.
 A So G
 Pa
 'Ba walked from home to school!'

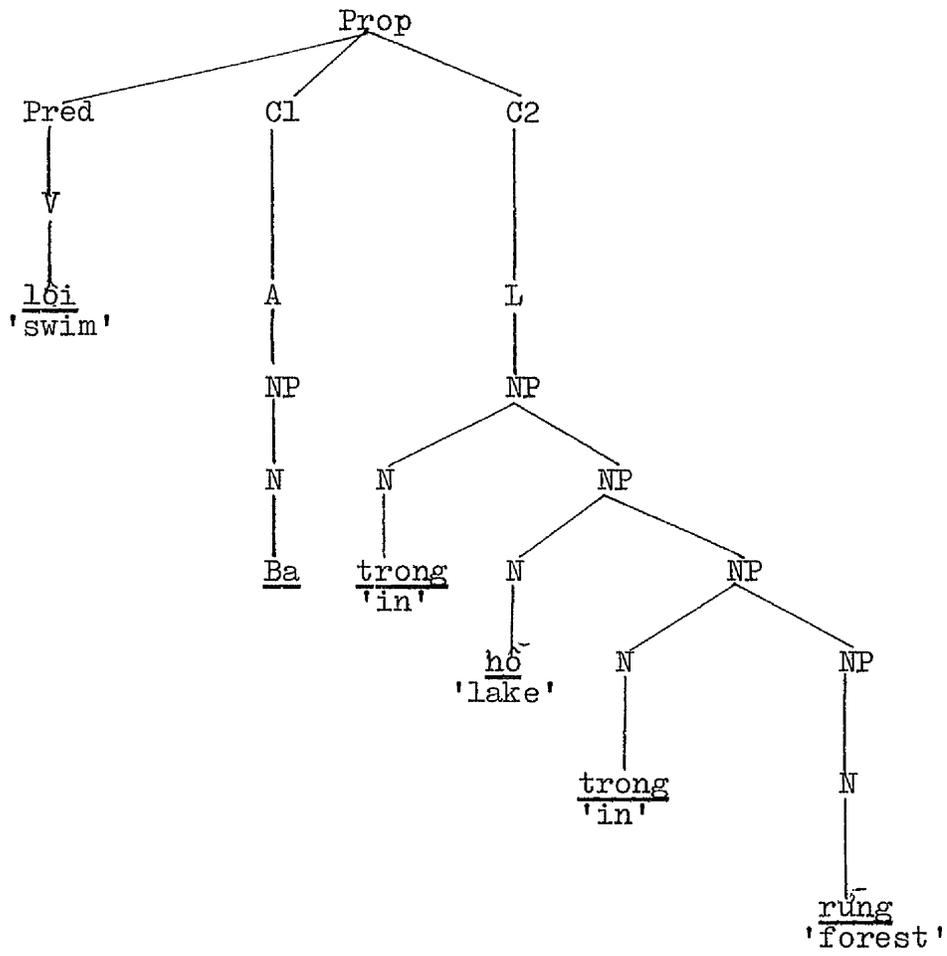
This sentence may be represented as follows:



Apply TR1: Preposition Attachment (OBL).



Apply TR2: Subject-fronting (OBL)



CHAPTER 12.Review and Conclusion.

This chapter, by way of summary and conclusion, reviews the overall study of a Vietnamese Case Grammar. The first section summarises the main points discussed in the foregoing chapters. The second section presents a consideration of the relative strengths and weaknesses of Fillmore's Case Grammar as applied to Vietnamese. The third section sums up some proposals which have been made concerning the form and content of a Vietnamese Case Grammar. The fourth section presents some problems which have arisen in the analysis of the Cases in Vietnamese. Finally, areas of future research on a Vietnamese Case Grammar will be outlined in the fifth section.

12.1. Summary.

The study of a Vietnamese Case Grammar in this thesis is carried on within the modified framework of Fillmore's Case Grammar and Generative Semantics. Thus, Semantics rather than Syntax is considered to be central. The verb is postulated as the semantic core and therefore determines the basic structure of Vietnamese sentences.

Following Chafe (1970) verbs are classified as States, Processes and Actions. Although this classification is semantically based, there are some

syntactic correlates in Vietnamese which aid in distinguishing these verb types. A verb which is neither a State nor a Process verb may be specified as an Action verb. An Action verb may be further specified as, e.g., a Factitive or Benefactive verb.

A description of the semantic structure of Vietnamese sentences in terms of the theory of Transformational Generative Grammar is presented in Chapters 8,9 and 10. A set of Base Rules is postulated. A set of major syntactic processes in the form of Transformational Rules then operates on the strings produced by the Base - or rather on the branching trees underlying them - mapping them into correct syntactic arrangements in surface structure by means of the fronting, raising, deletion, etc., of elements.

Standard Saigon Vietnamese spoken by educated Saigonese is the dialect used as the norm for the description of the Cases in this thesis. However, the syntactic and semantic parts of the description are not affected by the choice of dialect.

12.2. Strengths and Weaknesses of Fillmore's Case Grammar as applied to Vietnamese.

Strengths:

- 12.2.1. Fillmore proposes that the notions and relations of 'subject' and 'object' are not relevant at the level of deep structure (as defined by Fillmore). They are more appropriate to surface structures. This proposal appears to be correct.

- In the analysis of Vietnamese Cases, it is noted that
- A single deep Case may be represented in surface structure in more than one way (e.g. the single Case may be realised in surface structure as subject or object).
 - Different Cases may be represented in the same way in surface structure.

(i) A single deep Case is realised in surface structure in different syntactic positions.

In the following examples, the Cases A, O and B retain their Semantic Role character while participating in various types of surface structures.

	S	V	O1	O2
(637) a.	<u>Ba</u> A	mua	<u>xe d'ó</u> O	<u>cho Mai</u> B
	' <u>Ba</u>	bought	<u>that car</u>	<u>for Mai!</u>

	S	V	O1	O2
b.	<u>Ba</u> A	mua	<u>Mai</u> B	<u>xe d'ó</u> O
	' <u>Ba</u>	bought	<u>Mai</u>	<u>that car!</u>

	O1	S	V	O2
(<u>Topicalisation</u>) c.	<u>Xe d'ó</u> O	, <u>Ba</u> A	mua	<u>cho Mai</u> B
	' <u>That car</u> ,	<u>Ba</u>	bought	<u>for Mai!</u>

(ii) Different Cases are realised in the same syntactic position.

Subject position: The surface subject position can be filled by a variety of Cases. Following are some examples with active simple sentences (A simple sentence contains one verb only).

- (638) a. S V O1
 Ba m¹ c¹_ua.
 A o o
 'Ba opened the door!
- b. S V O1
 Gi¹ m¹ c¹_ua.
 Force o o
 'The wind opened the door!
- c. S V
 C¹ m¹ .
 o o
 'The door opened!
- d. S V
 Ba bu¹ôn .
 E o
 'Ba was sad!
- e. S V O1
 Ba tr¹úng s¹ô .
 B o o
 'Ba won the lottery!

Object position:

- (639) a. S V O1
 Ba đ¹ào đ¹ất .
 A o o
 'Ba dug the ground!
- b. S V O1
 Ba đ¹ào ao.
 A o F
 'Ba dug a pond!
- c. S V O1
 Ba gi¹ết Hai.
 A o E
 'Ba killed Hai!
- d. S V O1
 Ba gi¹úp Hai.
 A o B
 'Ba helped Hai!

- e. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ đi $\frac{\text{tác-xi}}{\text{I}}$.
'Ba went by taxi!
- f. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ tới $\frac{\text{Huê}}{\text{G}}$.
'Ba came to Huê!
- g. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ rời $\frac{\text{Huê}}{\text{So}}$.
 $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ left Huê.
- h. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ qua $\frac{\text{cầu}}{\text{Pa}}$.
'Ba crossed the bridge!

12.2.2. Fillmore's original contention that Case-frames "impose a classification on the verbs of the language" (1968a:21) seems to be a valid one.

In Vietnamese, a special class of verbs which is semantically classified as 'Factitive verbs' (e.g. xây, cất 'build', lăm, đóng 'make', rèn 'forge', chế-tạo 'manufacture') has the following Case-frame.

+ [—A + F + (I)]

12.2.3. Case Grammar is capable of explaining that two sentences using the same verb and having the same syntactic pattern may be understood differently by Vietnamese speakers due to deep Case distinctions.

(640) a. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ đào $\frac{\text{đất}}{\text{O}}$.
'Ba dug the ground!

b. $\frac{\text{Ba}}{\text{A}}$ đào $\frac{\text{ao}}{\text{F}}$.
'Ba dug a pond!

Vietnamese speakers understand that in (640b), Ba did not dig a pond, he dug the ground and the result was a pond.

Weaknesses: The Case Grammar hypothesis seems to me to be the most intuitively satisfying manner of accounting for the facts found in the Vietnamese data. However, this is not to say that Case Grammar is capable of answering or explaining all the inconsistencies inherent in a natural language⁵³. No Grammar will be able to make that claim for many years to come.

12.2.4. Problem with Fillmore's first Assumption (i.e. No Case-relationship occurs more than once in a simple sentence).

The Locative Case in Vietnamese appears to go against this assumption.

<u>Ba</u>	lội	<u>trong hồ</u>	<u>trong rừng</u> .
A		L	L
'Ba	swam	<u>in a lake</u>	<u>in the forest!</u>

(See Example 636).

This sentence cannot be interpreted as a conjoined sentence. If the two occurrences of L in sentence (636) are not interpreted as one embedded within the other, the sentence would be unacceptable. (See 11.15.5).

12.2.5. Problem with Fillmore's third Assumption (i.e. NPs belonging to the same Case may be conjoined to form a compound

53. The term a natural language is used to refer to any language which is or has been used by human beings as their primary means of communication, in contrast to a formal language, which is an abstract system drawn up for a specific purpose (e.g. by a logician).

which fills a single deep Case in a simple sentence).
(see 2.2.7)

Some Cases in Vietnamese (e.g. I, F) appear to go against this assumption.

(641) Ba xây nhà và cầu.
A F F
'Ba built a house and a bridge!

Two F Cases in (641) are conjoined, but (641) is not a simple sentence. It describes two separate actions using the same verb xây 'build!'

12.2.6. Problem with Fillmore's Case Definitions.

There are a large number of arguments in Vietnamese which do not clearly fit the definitions given in Fillmore's Case Grammar. For example:

Agentive (A) (1968a: 24): The Case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb.

Consider: (642) a. Ba nấu cơm.
A O
'Ba cooked rice!

b. Con bò nấu cơm.
'The cow cooked rice!

Sentence (642b) is syntactically all right. It also sounds all right but it has an odd meaning. An object may be judged odd simply because it reports a very unlikely state or event in the world of experience. The cow obviously can kick things with her feet, can hold and release things with her mouth and can feed the calves with her breasts, but she cannot cook.

Sentence (642b) is syntactically acceptable but semantically odd. Thus, animateness is not a sufficient specification for the agent of nấu 'cook'. The agent performing the action of cooking must be further specified as 'human'.

12.2.7. Problem of embedded sentences.

Fillmore's Case Grammar seems to be able to correlate the observable syntactic facts with a deep structure more semantic than the one proposed by Chomsky. However, the model has not been developed far enough to accomplish the goal of explaining adequately the syntactic-semantic relationships existing between the verb and the rest of the sentence in which it occurs. For example, Fillmore's theory for embedded sentences is inadequate to account for different types of embedded sentences in Vietnamese.

12.3. Proposals concerning a Vietnamese Case Grammar Model.

This section summarises some proposals which have been made concerning the form and content of a Vietnamese Case Grammar (see Chapter 7).

12.3.1. To remedy the weakness of Fillmore's first assumption, the following assumption has been made:

No Case-relationship occurs more than once in a simple sentence (Except with L and Coordination)

12.3.3. To deal with complex sentences, I have proposed a number of syntactic tests to examine whether or not the verb of the matrix sentence can be separated from the verb of the embedded sentence by an NP.

The result of the tests indicates that there are two types of embedded sentences: the first type is embedded within a Predicator (i.e. the verb of the matrix sentence in surface structure), and the second type is embedded within an \bar{O} (of the embedded sentence).

The tests also show that Coercive Causative verbs and verbs denoting intention (e.g. toan 'intend'), effort, (e.g. cô, cô gắng 'try'), require the first type of embedded sentences. Non-Coercive Causative verbs and verbs denoting belief (e.g. hy-vong 'expect'), communication (e.g. nói 'say', xác-nhân 'confirm') require the second type of embedded sentences.

The first type of embedded sentences never take complementisers whereas the second one optionally does.

12.4. Problems with the Vietnamese Case Grammar Model developed in this Thesis.

In analysing the Cases in Vietnamese, a few problems have been arisen. They are listed below.

12.4.1. Problem with the Semantic Properties of verbs

It is claimed that in this study, the verb is considered to be central. Once a type of verb is selected, a definite Semantic Role is automatically assigned to

Discussing Case Inventory, Nilsen (1973: 9) says:

"The question of how many Cases should be established and on what criteria is a difficult one and none of the proposals made so far has been completely satisfactory."

In the present Case Grammar model, the Case Experiencer is assigned to the underlined NPs in the following examples:

(646) a. Ba thấy Mai.
 E
 'Ba saw Mai!

b. Ba thường Mai.
 E
 'Ba loved Mai!

c. Ba bị dâm.
 E
 'Ba was stabbed!

According to my intuitive judgments as a native speaker of Vietnamese, Ba in (646a) is an experiencer of a visual perception; Ba in (646b) is an experiencer of a sentimental feeling, but Ba in (646c) is an undergoer or sufferer of a stabbing action. It seems that the Case-label Patient is needed in order to describe the semantic function of Ba in (646c).

It may be true to claim that the more Cases added to the Case system, the more specific the Case model becomes, but at the same time the more difficulties arise in making decisions on Case-membership and the insight that the Cases have much in common is lost. This is a dilemma which all Case grammarians encounter.

The assignment of the Case-label Experiencer to the NP Ba in (646c) does not reflect very correctly the

intuitive knowledge of Vietnamese speakers. More research on Case Inventory in Vietnamese is needed.

12.4.3. Case Identification.

Throughout the thesis, an attempt has been made to identify Cases on the basis of syntactic distinctions. But in most circumstances, syntactic evidence is unreliable as a means of determining Cases. For example, the syntactic structures of sentences containing E and O are strikingly similar. Consider:

	S	V	
(660) a.	<u>Ba</u>	buồn .	
	E		
	'Ba	was sad!	

	S	V	
b.	<u>Chuyện</u>	buồn .	
	O		
	'The story	was sad!	

	S	V	O1
c.	<u>Ba</u>	đánh	<u>Hai</u> .
	A		E
	'Ba	hit	<u>Hai!</u>

	S	V	O
d.	<u>Ba</u>	đánh	<u>cánh cửa</u> .
	A		O
	'Ba	hit	<u>the door!</u>

There is no syntactic evidence to prove the different way of behaving of E and O in surface structure. The distinction between E and O, therefore, is motivated by semantic consideration only.

For example, E is required by Experiential, Destructive Action, Unfavourable Processes and Unfavourable Submissive verbs. O is required by all classes of verbs.

The E can be only filled by NPs which are 'animate'; whereas, the O - in most cases - can be only filled by NPs which are 'inanimate'.

12.5. Areas of Future Research on Vietnamese Case Grammar.

The number of examples used in illustration throughout the thesis is quite large, but surely I have not presented all types of Vietnamese sentences. Further research on the following areas should be carried out.

- Case inventory.
- Syntactic and Semantic Tests to identify Cases.
- Interrogative sentences.
- Negative sentences.
- Imperatives.
- Complex sentences of the causal and conditional types e.g.

<u>Vi</u>	tr ^ĩ oi m ^ũ a ,	<u>n^ẽn</u>	Ba	kh ^o ng d ^a banh đ ^u oc.
' <u>Because</u>	it rained,	<u>therefore</u>	Ba	could not play football!

<u>N^êu</u>	t ^o i gi ^ã u	<u>th^ĩ</u>	t ^o i	s ^ẽ	c ^á t	m ^ộ t l ^â u đ ^ã i .
' <u>If</u>	I were rich	<u>then</u>	I	would	build	a castle!

- Possessives .
- Adverbial Phrases .
- Reciprocals .
- Vagueness and Ambiguity.

Although it is hoped that the analyses of Vietnamese Cases I have provided are 'correct' in accord with the linguistic and semantic intuitions of Vietnamese native speakers, I do not believe that my descriptions and

arguments on Case matters are completely accurate in all instances. The reason is that the area of Coreferential Cases is excluded. This area must be included in future research.

It is said that Nobel prizes are won in science for challenging and upsetting old truths and discovering new ones. The future researcher may use this thesis as a model to probe more deeply into Vietnamese Case Grammar. He may also reject all linguistic contribution made in this study and introduce a new theory of Case to Vietnamese. A revolution in Linguistics against a Vietnamese Grammar in the French mould is greatly needed.

Appendix II. 1. Section 1:

Case Inventory: There are at least fifteen Cases in Vietnamese.

Causal Cases:

1. Causative (Ca) : The Case designating a 'human' entity who is a causer of an action, event or state (11.1).

Ba ép Hai đi.
Ca
'Ba forced Hai to go!

2. Authoritative (Au): The Case designating a 'human' entity who permits, orders or forbids somebody to do something. (11.2).

Ba cho phép Hai đi.
Au
'Ba allowed Hai to go!

3. Agentive (A): The Agentive Case is 'typically animate' but not always manifested by animate nouns. An Agentive is an immediate actor, doer, performer, manipulator or initiator of an action. The inherent basic sense of the verb sometimes requires that the Agentive must be a 'human' entity. (11.3).

Lee ám-sát Tông-Thống Kennedy.
A E
[+Human]
'Lee assassinated President Kennedy!

4. Force: The Force Case refers to the 'inanimate' unintentional performer or non-responsible causer of an event. It is a causer which is not subject to anybody's control. (11.4).

(6) the stimulus or immediate physical cause of an event (i.e. Instrumental Physical Stimulus (I Phys. Stimulus)). (Fillmore, 1969a: 116).

<u>Ba</u>	bán	<u>Mai</u>	chiếc xe	giá 500 đồng.
A		E	O	I Phys. Stimulus.
' <u>Ba</u>	sold	<u>Mai</u>	the car	for 500 piastres!

Non-Causal Cases

6. Experiencer (E). Experiencer is:

(1) the Case of the human beings who are inwardly affected by an event of sensation, emotion, perception or cognition.

(2) the Case of the 'animate' entities (i.e. human beings and animals) that undergo the destructive or unpleasant effect of an activity, process or state identified by the verb. (11.6).

<u>Ba</u>	buôn.
E	
' <u>Ba</u>	was sad!

<u>Ba</u>	dánh	<u>con chó</u> .
A		E
' <u>Ba</u>	hit	the dog!

7. Benefactive (B): Benefactive is a semantic label given to the Case which indicates the Beneficiary of an action or a process. (Platt, 1971: 47). By Beneficiary, it is meant the human beings (or human institutions like school, nation, etc.,) that are perceived as intended to benefit from the action or the process identified by the verb (11.7).

<u>Ba</u>	tặng	<u>Mai</u>	hoa hồng.
A		B	O
' <u>Ba</u>	offered	<u>Mai</u>	roses!

8. Objective (0). The Objective in Vietnamese can be defined as follows:

(1) The Case may be represented by an 'animate' or an 'inanimate' entity.

Mai dep.
 (+Animate)
 O
 'Mai is beautiful!

Nhã dep.
 (-Animate)
 O
 'The house is beautiful!

(2) The Case of an NP which may be affected or unaffected by the action identified by the verb.

Ba cho Mai một bó bẽng.
 A B O
 'Ba gave Mai a bouquet of flowers!

Ba cho Mai một mẫu đất.
 A B O
 'Ba gave Mai one hectare of land!

(3) The Case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself. (Fillmore, 1968a: 25).

Ba rộng-lượng.
 O
 'Ba is generous!

(4) The 'inanimate' entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration (Fillmore, 1969a: 116).

Xe chạy.
 O
 *('The car ran!)

11. Essive (Ess). Essive is:

(a) the Case of an 'animate' or 'inanimate' entity which belongs to or is included in a generic class.

(b) the Case of an NP representing a being, an animal or an object when identifying it or distinguishing it from other beings, animals or objects. (11.11)

Bác-sĩ Mai là dân bà.
Ess
'Doctor Mai is a woman!

Kỹ-sĩ Phước là chú tôi.
Ess
'Engineer Phước is my uncle!

12. Locative (L): The Case which indicates the location or spatial orientation of the state, process or action identified by the verb. (11.12).

Mai làm-việc tại Pháp.
A L
'Mai worked in France!

13. Goal (G): The Goal Case indicates the point towards which something is directed or the location towards which the action or process identified by the verb has occurred, or the later state of an entity. (11.13).

Ba đi vào thư-viện.
A G
'Ba went into the library!

14. Source (So): The Source Case denotes the starting point of the change of position described by the sentence or the location from which action has begun, or the earlier state of an entity. (11.14.).

Chiếc tàu ra khỏi bờ.
O So
'The boat went away from shore!

BR6: C \longrightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{C} + \text{C} \\ (\text{Comp}) + \text{Prop} \\ (\text{Conj.} + \text{C})^n, n \geq 2 \end{array} \right\}$

BR7: Selection Restrictions-Semantic features of
Nouns. Lexical Insertion.

Lexical Entries for verbs.

Ám-sát
'Assassinate' : + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{--- A} \quad +\text{E} \quad +(\text{ITool}) \quad +(\text{L}) \\ [+Human] [+Human] [-Animate] [-Animate] \end{array} \right]$

Category feature: + V
Inherent features: + Action (Destruction)
Rule features: - Adverb
 - Propositional complement
 - Predicator complement
 - Passive

Biết
'know' : + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{--- E} \quad +(\text{O}) \quad \bar{\text{O}} \\ [+Human] \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{Human} \\ \pm \text{Animate} \end{array} \right] \quad \bar{\text{O}} \end{array} \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{V} \\ + \text{Process (Knowledge)} \\ - \text{Adverb} \\ + \text{Propositional complement} \\ \pm \text{Complementiser} \\ - \text{Predicator complement} \\ - \text{Passive} \end{array} \right]$

Thở¹ (vào 'in' or ra 'out') :+ [A]
 'Breathe' [+ Animate]

+ V
+ Action
± Adverb vào 'in' or ra 'out'
- Propositional complement.
- Predicator complement
- Passive

I.3. Section 3:

Transformational Rules (TR).

1. TR1 : Preposition Attachment (OBL): This TR attaches a preposition to a Case according to the preposition selection choice rule (8.2).
2. TR2 : Case-Promoting (OBL): The function of this TR is to detach the Com-node embedded inside a Case (for example A), out of that Case (e.g. out of A). The Com node is then, dominated by a C-node which is a constituent of the Proposition.(11.10.4.2)
 (11.10.4.2).
3. TR3 : Benefactive Movement (OPT): This TR has the function of reversing the order of two Cases: O and B. Then, the preposition attached to the B is optionally deleted (8.2).

Thủ-tướng¹ mua xe đó cho phu-nhân.
 A O B
 'The Prime Minister bought that car for his wife!'

Thủ-tướng² mua cho phu-nhân xe đó.
 A B O
 'The Prime Minister bought for his wife that car!'

<u>Thủ-tướng</u> A	mua	<u>phu-nhân</u> B	<u>xe đó</u> . O
'The Prime Minister	bought	<u>his wife</u>	<u>that car!</u>

4. TR4: Predicator-Raising (OPT) (10.3).

This TR has the function of taking the Predicator of the embedded Proposition, lifting it into the matrix Proposition and attaching it to the Predicator of the matrix Proposition, thus producing a kind of compound Predicator.

Predicator-Raising is equivalent to McCawley's rule for Predicate-Raising in English. (5.1).

5. TR5: Conjunction Reduction Transformation (OPT)

When two or more than two Propositions are conjoined, identical types of constituents (e.g. two Agentive constituents) having the same syntactic function in surface structure (e.g. two subjects) can be conjoined to form a compound constituent. (9.5.).

6. TR6: Identical Conjunct Reduction Transformation (9.5.)

This TR has the function of reducing the identical constituents in a compound constituent to a single constituent.

This rule obligatorily applies to a deep Case compound constituent but optionally applies to a Predicator compound constituent.

7. TR7: Preposition Deletion (OBL).
 When two conjoined Cases select the same preposition,
 (i) the preposition preceding the first Case is
 obligatorily retained.
 (ii) the preposition preceding the second Case is
 obligatorily deleted (9.5.)
8. TR8: Subject-fronting (OBL). This TR moves one Case
 to the front of the Predicator according to the
 subject choice rule. (8.2.)
9. TR9: Case-Deletion (OBL) (10.3.)
 A nuclear Case is deleted in deep structure of a
 sentence when it dominates an unspecified NP
 (i.e. no lexical item is attached to the NP).
10. TR10: Case-Raising (OPT) (e.g. Agentive-Raising). (10.3.).
 This TR provides for an optional derivation in which
 the Case - which is chosen as subject of the embedded
 Proposition - is raised to become a constituent of the
 matrix Proposition.
 The raised Case will be realised as the first object (or
 direct object in Traditional Grammar) of the matrix verb
 in surface structure.
 Case-Raising is equivalent to Postal's rule for subject-
 raising in English.
11. TR11: Equi-NP Deletion (OBL). (10.3.).
 This TR deletes the NP of an embedded Proposition
 if it is coreferential with an NP of the matrix
 Proposition.

12. TR12: Relative Construction Transformation (OBL). This rule
 (i) moves the NP inside the embedded Prop (which is coreferential with the left sister NP of the embedded Prop) to the front of the embedded Prop.
 (ii) Replaces the lexical items attached to that NP by the relative pronoun mã 'that, which'
13. TR13: Topic-fronting (OPT). This TR moves the Case which is chosen as the topic of the sentence to the front of the Case that is chosen as the subject of the sentence (according to the subject choice rule). (8.2.)

S	V	O1	O2
<u>Thủ-tướng</u> A	mua	<u>xe đó</u> O	<u>cho phu-nhân.</u> B
<u>The Prime Minister</u>	bought	<u>that car</u>	<u>for his wife!</u>

O1	S	V	O2
<u>Xe đó</u> O	<u>Thủ-tướng</u> A	mua	<u>cho phu-nhân.</u> B
<u>'That car,</u>	<u>the Prime Minister</u>	bought	<u>for his wife!</u>

14. TR14: Passivisation (OPT). This TR
 (i) moves the Case which is already chosen as the first object of the sentence (according to the first-object-choice rule) to the front of the Case which is chosen as the subject of the sentence.
 (ii) attaches preposition do 'by' to the Case which is chosen as subject. (8.2.).

O1	S	V	O2
Xe đó car that	do Thủ-tướng by Prime Minister	mua buy	cho phu-nhân. for wife.
'That car was bought by the Prime Minister for his wife!			

APPENDIX IINotes on Some Linguistic Terms used in This Thesis

The aim of this appendix is to offer an aid to the understanding of the preceding chapters.

Adjectives and state verbs: Adjectives and verbs in

Vietnamese have a lot of characteristics in common. Ly¹ (1968:51) classifies adjectives as members of the set called B' since B is the class of verbs.

In this thesis I treat adjectives as State verbs. Semantically, there are three main verb-types in Vietnamese: Action, Process and State (see 4.2.)

Consider the following assumption and tests:

Assumption: A verb in Vietnamese is any word that may precede the interrogative word không to form a question, with proper intonation.

Suppose there are three words đi 'go', trúng 'win' and buồn 'sad'. All of them may precede the interrogative word không to form questions, with proper intonation. They are verbs.

Ba	<u>đi</u>	<u>không</u> ?
Ba	go	interrogative word
' <u>Did</u>	Ba	<u>go</u> ?

Ba	<u>trúng</u>	<u>không</u> ?
Ba	win	interrogative word
' <u>Did</u>	Ba	<u>win</u> ?'

Ba buôn không ?
 Ba sad interrogative word
 'Was Ba sad?'

Action, Process and State verbs can occur
 in the syntactic construction of the form SVO.

	S	V	O
<u>Action verb</u> :	Ba	<u>đi</u>	Huế.
	Ba	go	Huế
	'Ba	<u>went</u>	to Huế!
<u>Process verb</u> :	Ba	<u>trúng</u>	số.
	Ba	win	lottery
	'Ba	<u>won</u>	the lottery!
<u>State verb</u> :	Ba	<u>buôn</u>	gia-dình.
	Ba	sad	family
	'Ba	<u>was sad</u>	about the family!

State verbs have all the commutation characteristics of Action and Process verbs plus additional characteristics of their own. For example, only State verbs may be preceded by such words as rất 'very', hỏi 'a little' and khá 'rather'.

Ba rất buôn gia-dình.
 Ba very sad family
 'Ba was very sad about the family!

One cannot say: * Ba rất đi Huế.
 * ('Ba very went to Huế!)

* Ba rất trúng số.
 * ('Ba very won the lottery)

Adverb: A lexical category which is the syntactic attribute of a verb.

Ba thở vào
 V Adv
 Ba breathe in
 'Ba inhales!

Classifier: Classifiers are either descriptive of relationships, shape and form or expressing content.

1. Classifiers descriptive of relationships for nouns denoting human beings.

Ông 'Mr., respected gentleman' e.g. Ông bác sĩ 'the doctor'; Bà 'Mrs., respected married woman' e.g. Bà chủ nhà 'the landlady'

2. Classifiers descriptive of form and shape.

cây (Lit: tree, plant) e.g. một cây viết 'a pen'
chiếc (Lit: individual item) e.g. một chiếc
lá 'a leaf'

3. Classifiers expressing unit of measurement.

đồng bạc 'piastre' e.g. một đồng bạc đường
'a piastre worth of sugar'
mẫu 'hectare' e.g. một mẫu khoai tây
'a hectare of potatoes'

Competence: The native speaker's unconscious knowledge of his language. This knowledge would be reliably revealed in the native speaker's judgments about the grammaticality of sentences and in the sentences uttered by native speakers if they were not subject to limitations of memory, lapses of attention, imperfect understanding of the physical world, and so on.

Conjunction: A word that joins words, phrases of the same category or sentences together.

Deep structure: In this thesis, the term deep structure is used to indicate the structure resulting from the insertion of lexical items into the terminal string generated by the Base Rules. Following the generative semanticists, I assume that the semantic representation of any sentence is the deep structure of that sentence.

Embedded Sentence:

Lan thấy	Tèo	dang	chăn vịt.
'Lan saw	Tèo	driving	ducks!

According to Palmer (1974:11), this sentence may be considered as a single sentence since it begins with a capital letter and ends with a terminal punctuation mark.

The above sentence may also be considered to contain two sentences, one of them, Tèo dang chăn vịt 'Tèo was driving ducks' being both a sentence in its own right and also part of the sentence Lan thấy Tèo dang chăn vịt. Traditional grammarians call Tèo dang chăn vịt a subordinate clause

whereas some modern grammarians call it, an embedded sentence, and the sentence into which it is embedded, the 'matrix' sentence.

Metaphor:

Traditionally, metaphor has been defined as "An implied analogy which imaginatively identifies one object with another and ascribes to the first one or more qualities of the second," So, when I use the sentence:

John is a rat

to mean John is a nasty person, I am using metaphor - that is, I am ascribing to John some of the qualities of a rat. In contrast to metaphor is simile, which has traditionally been defined as "A figure of speech in which a similarity between two objects is directly expressed "rather than just implied.

John is like a rat

Personification: The verb to murder usually

appears with a human subject and a human object as in

Fred murdered Bill.

Anytime to murder appears in a subject-verb-object string, it projects the feature [+ Human] onto the words standing in the subject and object positions even if they are not human.

So, in:

Silence murdered sleep.

the verb murdered projects [+ Human] onto silence and sleep, thereby producing a kind of metaphor called personification. (Knapp 1976: 62-63)

Performance (linguistic): "The use a person makes of his intrinsic linguistic knowledge or competence in interpreting or in composing utterances or texts." (Leech, 1969: 252).

Pluralizer: Pluralizers in Vietnamese are các and những. Các is more general, involving all of a given set of entities. It is also indefinite, while những implies the notion of definiteness and suggests that only certain of the total possible number are referred to.

Preposition: The word that occurs in exocentric construction with an NP.

Ba	đi	<u>tới</u>	<u>trường</u>
		Prep.	N
Ba	go	to	school.
'Ba	went	<u>to</u>	<u>school!</u>

Quantifier: "Quantifier is a cover term for restrictive modifiers of noun, such as numerals, plurals and classifiers." (Clark, 1975: 23).

Sentence: "The basic unit of syntactic analysis; in this study, the maximum domain of grammatical relations which can be defined in terms of syntactic structure".
(Clark, 1975: 22).

Sino-Vietnamese words: are words borrowed from Chinese.
They behave differently from pure Vietnamese words.

Surface structure: Chomsky's term for the structure resulting from the application of all pertinent transformations to a deep structure. The surface structure is the basis for the phonological interpretation of the sentence.

Time

Time Expressions

Time expressions for Present time. Hiện tại, hiện nay, hiện giờ 'now', bây giờ 'at present', lúc này 'this moment', ngay lúc này 'right now', hồi này 'this present period', ngày nay 'nowadays' tuần này 'this week', tháng này 'this month', năm nay 'this year', thế kỷ này 'this century! etc.,

Time expressions for future time

Lát nữa 'a moment later', mai sau, sau này 'in the future', mai, ngày mai 'tomorrow', sáng mai 'tomorrow morning', trưa mai 'tomorrow afternoon', chiều mai 'tomorrow late afternoon';

đêm mai 'tomorrow night', tuần sau, tuần tới 'next week,'
tháng sau, tháng tới 'next month', năm sau, năm tới 'next
 year', hai tuần nữa 'two weeks from now', etc.,

Time expressions for past time:

Khi nãy, hồi nãy, Lúc nãy 'last moment or last
 time', hôm qua 'yesterday', sáng hôm qua 'yesterday morning';
trưa hôm qua 'yesterday afternoon', tối hôm qua 'yesterday
 evening', hôm kia 'three days ago! etc.,

Names of the week:

Thứ hai (Lit: rank two) 'Monday', Thứ ba (Lit: rank three)
 'Tuesday', Thứ tư (Lit: rank four) 'Wednesday', Thứ năm
 (Lit: rank five) 'Thursday', Thứ sáu (Lit: rank six) 'Friday',
Thứ bảy (Lit: rank seven) 'Saturday', Chủ nhật, Chúa
nhật (Lit: God day) 'Sunday!'

Names of the months:

Tháng giêng 'January', tháng hai (Lit: month two) 'February',
tháng ba 'March' (Lit: month three), tháng tư (Lit:
 month four) 'April', tháng năm (Lit: month five) 'May',
tháng sáu (Lit: month six) 'June', tháng bảy (Lit: month
 seven) 'July', tháng tám (Lit: month eight) 'August', tháng chín
 (Lit: month nine) 'September', tháng mười (Lit: month ten)
 'October', tháng mười một (Lit: month eleven) 'November',
tháng chạp, tháng mười hai (Lit: month twelve) 'December',

Time Relationship Particles:

Chưa 'not yet', đã 'earlier time-relationship'

Đang (đồng) 'overlapping time-relationship, in the process of'

Mỗi 'immediate earlier time-relationship'

Sắp 'immediate later time-relationship'

Sẽ 'later time-relationship'

Vừa 'immediate earlier time-relationship'

Đã-dang 'earlier overlapping time-relationship'

Đã ³sắp '(Past) later time-relationship'

Sa ¹Đã ²sắp 'immediate later time-relationship'

Sẽ dang 'later overlapping time-relationship'

Vừa mỗi 'immediate earlier time-relationship'

Utterance: "Utterances are commonly discussed by

philosophers of language nowadays within the framework of the theory of speech-acts initiated by Austin (1962). An utterance is any stretch of talk, by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of that person (Harris, 1951:14) It follows from the definition that an utterance may be of any length: it may consist of a single word, a single phrase or a single sentence; it may consist of a sequence of sentences; it may also consist of one or more grammatically incomplete sentence-fragments; and it may have one sentence or sentence-fragment parenthetically included within another. In short, there is no simple relation of correspondence between utterances and sentences." (Lyons, 1977: 26-27).

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF VIETNAMESE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL TERMS

Buddhism 'Phật-Giáo': The predominant religion in Việtnám.

Buddhism was introduced into Việtnám simultaneously via sea from India (Theravada Buddhism), and overland from China (Mahayana Buddhism). The discipline of the religion is mixed with mysticism, animism, polytheism and tantrism (rituals derived from Hinduism).

Cả-Mau Peninsula: An area at the southern tip of South Việtnám. It is bordered on the west by the Gulf of Thailand and on the east by the South China sea.

Chúa: 'Lord or Prince': An hereditary title used during the later part of the Lê Dynasty (1428-1788). Chúa Trịnh 'Lord Trịnh', Chúa Nguyễn 'Lord Nguyễn' and their families were at war with each other. They, then, partitioned Việtnám into two realms. Chúa Trịnh and his family ruled the north of the 18th parallel, the Nguyễn family ruled the south. This division lasted almost two centuries and a half (1558-1786). Vietnamese people at that time called the north of the 18th parallel, Đàng Ngoài 'the exterior part of Việtnám', and the south of the 18th parallel, Đàng Trong 'the interior part of Việtnám'.

Côn-Són Island: 'Đảo Côn-Són'. A group of 14 islands off the southeastern coast of Việt-nam. It is located in the south China sea, 218 miles from Sāigôn. The island is known for its harsh prisons, used especially for political prisoners since the time of French Colonization.

Đã-Lat: A mountain resort city in the central highlands. It was founded in 1912 upon the recommendation of Dr. Alexander Yersin, a famous French Scientist. Đã-Lat now occupies an area of 60 square miles. It is located 190 miles northeast of Sāigôn.

Đã-Năng: It is located in central Việt-nam, 600 miles north of Sāigôn. Đã-Năng is an important centre of commerce because of its transportation and shipping facilities.

Điện-Biên-Phủ: The site of a decisive battle in early 1954 in which the Việt-Minh defeated the French. Điện-Biên-Phủ is located in Lai-Châu province, 10 miles from the Lào border. The French concentrated a force of 12 battalions at Điện-Biên-Phủ, one third of whom were Vietnamese. The Việt-Minh force, under the leadership of General Võ-Nguyên-Giúp, consisted of 40,000 men. The battle started on the night of March 13, 1954 and continued until the garrison fell to the Việt-Minh on May 7, 1954. It is generally agreed that the battle of Điện-Biên-Phủ provided the final crushing blow that forced the French to abandon their

efforts to maintain control of Indochina (i.e. Laos, Cambodia and Việtnam).

Folk Songs: 'Ca-dao' are a vital part of the oral literature of Việtnam. These short songs reflect the soul of the common people of a given period.

Geneva Agreement or Geneva Accords: 'Hiệp-Định Genève', was signed on July 21, 1954. Geneva Conference was held in Geneva from April 26, 1954 to July 21, 1954.

The aim of the Conference was to negotiate the end of the nine-year Indochina War between the French and the Việt-Minh.

Hà-Nôi: The capital of Việtnam today. It is situated at the confluence of the Red River and the Đuông river. It covers an area of 223 square miles.

Hà-Nôi is particularly well-known for its scenic spots (e.g. botanical gardens, Hoãn-Kiêm and Hồ-Tây lakes), its points of historical and cultural interest (e.g. Văn-Miếu pagoda, one pillar pagoda, etc.) and its institutions of higher learning.

Huế: The imperial capital during the Nguyễn Dynasty (1802-1954), and the principal city in central Việtnam. It is situated 670 miles north of Sàigon. In the middle of the city of Huế, there

are two large islands: Giả-Viên island and Hên island. The large main market (Chợ Đông-Ba) and the picturesque six-span Trăng-Tiền Bridge are well-known throughout Vietnam. Huế is known as a cultural centre of Vietnam and exerts a significant amount of political influence, especially among the Buddhists.

Nha-Trang: A seaside resort town in central Vietnam.

It is located 278 miles north of Sāigon.

Nha-Trang was once a part of the Kingdom of Champa (Chiêm-Thôn or Campa-pura).

Vestiges of the Chăm culture are still to be seen in and around the town.

Sāigōn: The capital city and major port of the Republic of Vietnam from 1954 to 1975. It is located 45 miles from the sea on the Sāigōn River and is a major southeast Asian seaport. The origins of the city and the name Sāigōn are obscure. Most agree that the original settlement was made by Cambodians. The name seems to be of both Chinese and Cambodian influence. The name Sāigōn was first used in 1861 when the French established themselves there in preparation for the conquest of all of south Vietnam. Adjacent to Sāigon is the predominantly Chinese community of Chợ-Lớn. The city of Sāigōn covers an area of 27 square miles.

Việt-Minh: 'Vietnamese Communist': league for the Independence of Việtnám. Formed in May, 1941, by Hồ-Chí-Minh, the Việt-Minh developed a broad nationalist, liberation program with an extensive political organisation during World War II. When the French tried to reassert themselves in Indochina, the Việt-Minh carried on the prolonged French Indochina War which ended in 1954 with the Geneva Agreement.

Việt-Nam: Lying between $8^{\circ} 33'$ and $23^{\circ} 22'$ north latitude, Việtnám is bounded on the west by Cambodia and Laos, on the south by the Gulf of Thailand, on the east by the Pacific Ocean, and on the north by China.

Vietnamese language: Vietnamese is a tonal, monosyllabic language that is placed in the Việt-Mường group of the Mon-Khmer family of languages - which in turn is part of the Austroasiatic language superfamily. There are three principal spoken dialects : northern, central and southern Vietnamese. These dialects vary primarily in pronunciation, but there are slight differences in vocabulary. Vietnamese was first written in Chinese characters (Chữ Nho). Later, probably around the 13th century, the Vietnamese devised their own writing system called chữ nôm, which borrowed from Chinese but was not intelligible to the Chinese. In the 17th century, a romanized script was developed by Catholic

Missionaries and was called quốc-ngữ, or the national script. This was set forth in a Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary by the famous Father Alexandre de Rhodes. This script is now used exclusively throughout all of Việt-nam, the other forms (i.e. Chữ nho and chữ nôm) having fallen into disuse.

Some notes on Vietnamese orthography.

Vietnamese Alphabet

The Vietnamese alphabetical order is as follows:

A	C	E	Gi	Kh	Ng	ô	Q	Th	V
Ă	Ch	Ê	H	L	Ngh	ô	R	Tr	X
Â	D	G	I	M	Nh		S	U	Y
B	Đ	Gh	K	N	O	ph	T	Ư	

Vietnamese Tones:

Hã-Nôi dialect has six tones whereas Săigôn dialect has only five. This is due to the fact that the two tones hỏi /' / and Ngã /~/, which are two separate and meaningful tones in Hã-Nôi dialect, merge into one tone in Săigôn dialect.

Different tones of the same word give different lexical meaning. All tone markers are put over the main vowel sound of the words.

1. Sắc 'High rising tone' /' /
2. Huyền 'Low falling tone' /~/
3. Ngang 'Low rising tone' / /

4. Hỏi 'mid rising tone' (short) /[?]/
5. Ngã 'mid rising tone' (long) /~/, except
6. Nặng 'Low level tone' /./, which is always put
beneath the main vowel and indicated by a dot.

Examples (from Hã-Nôi dialect)

1. Mạ [mạ] 'mother'
2. Mả [mả] 'but'
3. Ma [ma] 'ghost'
4. Mả [mả] 'tomb'
5. Mả [mả] 'horse'
6. Mạ [mạ] 'young rice plant'

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