COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

by

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My interest in the Vietnamese language stems from a five-and-one-half-year residence in Viet-Nam, two-and-one-half in Saigon and three in Hue. During this time, Vietnamese people of all ages and walks of life warmly shared with me their language and culture, their food and their homes, their love, their laughter, their hurt. Out of this very personal experience and a happy attachment to linguistic research, this dry and impersonal treatise was conceived.

When the work was first undertaken, it was my intention to confine my investigation to the functions of the Vietnamese coverb cho, which seem to be several and complex. However, it was necessary first to look at the problems of coverbs in general, and these investigations made it clear that the problems of coverbs needed broad interpretation before specific problems of cho could be examined with any understanding. Thus, this work is intended to be that broad interpretation.

The work is presented here exactly as it was presented to the Graduate Division of the University of Hawaii in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Linguistics in May 1975. None of the questionable interpretations of data or the many little problems needing clarification have been clarified. None of the theoretical claims have been adjusted to accord with my more recent thinking. In short, all the niggling little inadequacies of a hastily "completed" work remain as they were.

Many of the sentences used for analysis and as examples were taken from letters received from Vietnamese friends. Needless to say, names have been changed to protect the identity of the correspondent. In Honolulu, I was given direct assistance by Vietnamese friends. I want especially to express my gratitude to Professor Nguyen Dang Liem, my friend, my teacher, and my colleague in the investigation of Vietnamese syntax. Professor Liem gave many hours so that we could examine and analyse Vietnamese sentences together. He also read through several
drafts of the work, making helpful comments. Finally, he was instrumental in the publishing of the work. Also very helpful to me in determining the grammaticality of sentences were Mrs Diep Nguyen Dang Liem, Mrs Huong Crumpton, and my dear friend Mrs Ton-nu Kim-Chi, who willingly spent much time helping me and who so often was quick to see and follow the line of my inquiry.

In analysing Khmer sentences, I was extremely fortunate in having the help of Madame Saveros Pou (Lewitz), whose skill as a linguist gives her an excellent perspective on her native language, Khmer. Madame Pou, of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique of Paris, was in Honolulu for two months in the spring of 1974 doing research work. During that period, she gave generously of her limited time to discuss Khmer problems with me. In the summer of 1972, during a brief visit to Southern Illinois University, I was also given help in Khmer by Mr Thach Sarun of the Center for Vietnamese Studies.

It would be impossible to count the hours or assess the skilled assistance and personal encouragement given to me by my dear friend and graduate colleague at the University of Hawaii, Dr Pranee Kullavanimaya, who was on leave from Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. We spent many hours together analysing Thai sentences and discussing general syntactic theory. Without her friendship and assistance, there would be a big hole where the Thai section now is, as well as many smaller holes throughout the work.

Professor Li Ying-Che, of the University of Hawaii, read through and commented on the theoretical sections and the Chinese chapter. Professor Andrew Pawley, also of the University of Hawaii, gave me valuable criticism on the historical section, resulting in several changes.

Finally, but certainly foremost, had it not been for my friend and mentor, Professor Stanley Starosta, it is questionable whether this project would ever have gotten off the ground. And that would have been sad, for I have thoroughly enjoyed every bit of this investigation, even the trying frustrations, the overturning of premature convictions, and the arguments with Professor Starosta over theory, most of which I lost. Professor Starosta seemed always available for discussion. His insights into syntactic theory, his pioneering efforts in the Lexicase grammatical model, and his deep interest in natural languages, especially those of Southeast Asia, have been invaluable to me in my researches. He read all the many drafts of the work and proved himself many times over to be a person of excellent patience and humour.

Mrs Satoko Lincoln, with care and intelligent criticism, typed the final copy.
It would be a mistake to overlook two people who were instrumental in my getting into linguistics in the first place: Professor Herbert Paper, of the University of Michigan, who introduced me to the exciting possibilities of linguistics, and Professor Laurence C. Thompson, of the University of Hawaii, who was responsible for my studying linguistics at the University of Hawaii and who guided me through my first years there.

Marybeth Clark
Honolulu
January 1976
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 GOALS

In the Vietnamese language, there is a set of words which can occur as main verbs in a sentence but can also, in other sentences, occur in exocentric construction with a noun phrase, seeming to have a prepositional function in the construction. When these words occur in their prepositional function, they are called "coverbs" in this study.

The principal purposes of this study are as follows.
1. To describe and illustrate the behaviour of coverbs in Vietnamese.
2. To determine the syntactic role of coverbs and their role in the classification of verbs in Vietnamese. In considering this problem, I will assume that a grammar that captures all syntactic generalisations will have to establish certain syntactic categories which may be labelled by such traditional terms as verb, preposition, and noun; and that these categories will be comparable across languages. Further, as "preposition" is defined in this study, it functions as a case marker.

The first question concerning coverbs is whether they should be categorised as verbs or prepositions. If they are verbs, it must be determined whether they are main verbs, embedded verbs, or verbs in series in a simple sentence, and whether a verb can function like a case marker and still be a verb. If they are prepositions, it must be determined whether the corresponding verb and preposition are a single lexical item which can be marked both [+V] and [+P] in the lexical entry, two separate unrelated lexical items, or two lexical items related by derivation.

3. To determine how the syntactic role of coverbs can be stated in the grammar in a way that is both explicit and intuitively satisfying. To this end, to apply a case grammar framework which can
   a. adequately describe the behaviour of coverbs;
   b. demonstrate the syntactic relationships between verbs,
prepositions, and nouns;
c. yield a satisfying classification of verbs according to their occurrence with coverbs;
d. show the relation between coverbs and their corresponding verbs; and
e. predict the grammaticality of coverb sentences.

4. To make a cursory investigation into coverb phenomena in other Southeast Asian languages to see how such a comparison can give support to, or reveal weaknesses in, the proposed solution for Vietnamese, and to suggest directions for further comparative investigations.

A brief look at Chinese coverbs will illustrate their behaviour (Sec. 4.1) and various solutions to the coverb problem given in analyses of Chinese coverbs (Sec. 4.3).

Previous solutions for Vietnamese coverbs will be given in Sec. 5.2. It will be hypothesised in this study that coverbs are prepositions (as defined in Sec. 3.1) which are related by derivation to their corresponding verbs (Sec. 5.3). General theoretical claims will be made regarding the relationship between verbs and prepositions and regarding the verbal characteristics of prepositions (Secs. 2.2.2, 3.1, and 5.3). In this regard, it will be claimed that the derivation of coverbs from verbs is a stage in a general historical process in which certain kinds of verbs become prepositions (Chap. VII). Further claims will be made regarding the nature of derivation and derivation rules (Sec. 2.2.3).

The solution proposed in this study makes use of "lexicase", the theoretical model described in Chapters II and III. This model attempts to account for the facts within the framework of a case grammar in which relationships between sentences are shown by features on lexical items and whose generalisations are stated in the form of lexical derivation and redundancy rules which operate on these features. The model is tested for its ability to account for the coverb phenomenon (Sec. 3.2.2, Sec. 5.3, Sec. 5.4, and Chapter VI).

The Southeast Asian languages Khmer and Thai will be shown to share with Vietnamese the coverb phenomenon (Sec. 6.2). One intention here is to suggest the possibility of coverbs in Southeast Asia being an areal feature, that is, a characteristic spread through languages of the area by language contact (Sec. 6.1).

Pertinent literature on the topic of coverbs is referenced throughout the text, especially in Chap. IV and Secs. 5.2 and 7.3.
1.2 THE LANGUAGES

Vietnamese is generally believed to be a member of the Austroasiatic language family (see, for example, Haudricourt 1953 and 1966). It is closely related to Muong, a language spoken in mountain areas of parts of northern Viet-Nam (Thompson 1967). Vietnamese is spoken by approximately 24 million people in the country of Viet-Nam, along the eastern and southern coastal area of the Indochinese peninsula. There are three major dialect areas: North, North-Central, and South (including South-Central), though dialect differences are not great. The dialect used in this study is generally the Southern dialect, although it is assumed that the problem under discussion does not exhibit significant dialect difference.

Khmer (Cambodian), the official language of the Kingdom of Cambodia, is a member of the Mon-Khmer language group of the Austroasiatic languages. It is spoken by almost six million people in Cambodia and in parts of northeastern Thailand and southern Viet-Nam (Huffman 1970: ix).

Thai (Siamese) is a Tai language. It is generally supposed that the Tai languages are related to the Kam-Sui languages. Whether the Kam-Tai group belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family is uncertain. The works of Paul Benedict (e.g. 1966) place it in a group he calls Thai-Kadai, which, with Austronesian, belongs in a larger group, Austro-Thai. Thai, the official language of the Kingdom of Thailand, is spoken by approximately twenty million people in the country of Thailand.

Mandarin Chinese is the Chinese language used in this study. The Chinese languages belong to the Sino-Tibetan language family. "Mandarin Chinese is, indeed, a notion difficult to define, as it represents a group of dialects, of which the most prominent is Pekinese" (Liang 1971:4). It is the official language in both mainland China and Taiwan and is spoken by some 500 million people in China and elsewhere.

1.3 TRANSCRIPTIONS USED IN THIS STUDY

1.3.1 VIETNAMESE ORTHOGRAPHY

Standard Vietnamese orthography is used in the Vietnamese examples. Below is given approximate pronunciation of the written alphabet (information taken largely from Nguyen D-H 1966: ix-xiv). Unless otherwise noted, characterisations are Southern pronunciation. Northern and Central pronunciations are indicated by No and Cen respectively.
Hyphenated words in Vietnamese sentences are either Sino-Vietnamese compounds, e.g. ky-niem 'souvenir' and phi-truong 'airport', or what are glossed for the sake of convenience as syntactic units. The latter group includes ong-ay ('grandfather, Sir, Mr' + 'that') = 'he (respectful)', co-ay ('paternal aunt, Miss, female teacher' + 'that') = 'she',
and bao-gi joven ('how much' + 'hour') = 'when'.

1.3.2 KHMER, THAI, AND MANDARIN TRANSCRIPTIONS

The Khmer and Thai writing systems use Indic scripts. The romanised transcription used here for Khmer follows fairly closely (minus dia­
critics on vowels) that of Franklin Huffman in his Modern Spoken Cam­
bodian (1970). The system of transcription used for Thai is that used
by Praneet Kullavanijaya in her dissertation, Transitive Verbs in Thai
(1974).

There exist several widely-used romanisations of Chinese written
characters. The one used here is the one which is widely used on the
Chinese mainland (DeFrancis 1963:xviii) and called pInyIn. (DeFrancis
1963:461-6 gives a comparative transcription table for pInyIn and the
Yale and Wade-Giles romanisations.)

1.4 SOURCES FOR LANGUAGE DATA

1.4.1 SOURCES FOR VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE

The Vietnamese dialect used in this study is generally the Southern
dialect, although sentences from Northern and Central speakers are also
used. As stated in Sec. 1.2 above, dialect differences in Vietnamese
seem not to be syntactically significant.

My five-and-a-half year's residence in Viet-Nam - two and one half
in Saigon and three in Hue - and extensive association with Vietnamese
speakers provided a sound basis for a speaking knowledge of the Viet­
namese language. Specific data for this study was drawn from my own
observations; from references listed in the bibliography and cited in the
text of this work, especially the works of Nguyễn-Dương Liêm, Nguyễn
Diệp Hoa, and Laurence C. Thompson; from letters from Vietnamese
friends; and from direct assistance from individuals, principally
Mr Nguyễn-Dương Liêm and Mrs Diệp Nguyễn-Dương-Liêm, both native speakers
of Saigon dialect, Ms Tôn-nử Kim-Chi, a native speaker of Hue dialect,
and Mrs Hương Crumpton, a Hue dialect speaker.

Extensive use was made of Nguyễn Diệp Hoa's Vietnamese-English Dic­
tionary (1966), for sentences and grammatical information as well as for
glosses.

1.4.2 SOURCES FOR KHMER LANGUAGE

The primary source for Khmer sentences was Franklin Huffman's teach­
ing manual of modern spoken Cambodian (1970), which was also very useful
for grammatical analysis. Also used were Madeline Ehrman's grammatical
sketch of Cambodian (1972); Huffman's comparison of Thai and Cambodian syntax (1973); and, to a lesser extent, Judith Jacob's *Introduction to Cambodian* (1968).

Personal assistance in analysis of sentences came from Madame Saveros Pou (Lewitz) of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique of Paris, a professional linguist and a native speaker of Phnom Penh Khmer, who was in Honolulu for two months doing research work. Data was also obtained from Mr Thach Sarun of the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University during the summer of 1972.

1.4.3 SOURCES FOR THAI LANGUAGE

The Thai dialect used in this study is that of central Thailand, officially considered to be the national language of Thailand (Kullavanijaya 1974:15).


By far the greatest amount of data and grammatical analysis came from consultation with Dr Praneet Kullavaniyaya, a professional linguist on leave from Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok and a native speaker of Bangkok Thai.

1.4.4 SOURCES FOR MANDARIN CHINESE

No separate analysis of Mandarin Chinese coverbs is attempted here; simply a description of coverbs and an exposition of other analyses are set forth.

Most of the data came from the sources discussed in Sec. 4.3, Analyses of Chinese coverbs. Also helpful was John DeFrancis' *Beginning Chinese* (1963). Some sentences were taken from Charles Hockett and Chaoying Fang, *Spoken Chinese* (1945).
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This study will assume to be correct Fillmore's claim that there is a finite and universal set of relationships holding between a predicate and its associated nominals such that every nominal constituent of a sentence is related in a particular way to the predicate: "for the predicates provided in natural languages, the roles that their arguments play are taken from an inventory of role types fixed by grammatical theory" (Fillmore 1971a:376). These relationships he calls case relationships. He states (1968:27) that lexical entries for verbs contain 'frame features' which "will indicate the set of case frames into which the given verbs may be inserted. These frames have the effect of imposing a classification of the verbs in the language."

He listed (1968:24-5) the following cases as probably necessary:
Agentive: "the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb;"
Instrumental: "the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb;"
Dative: "the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb;"
Factitive: "the case of the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as part of the meaning of the verb;"
Locative: "the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb;"
Objective: "the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything represented by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself...The term is not to be confused with the notion of direct object, nor with the name of the surface case synonymous with accusative."

Except for Factitive, these cases are discussed in detail in Sec. 3.2.1, Vietnamese Case Relations. Also considered relevant and discussed in
Sec. 3.2.1 are other cases which Fillmore has suggested in other works and lectures: Benefactive, Comitative, Time, Source, Goal, Direction, and Extent. Other possible cases, such as Manner, Purpose, etc., are not investigated in this study.

Case relationships, hereafter referred to as case relations (CR), may be realised overtly in a variety of ways. The ways include 1) affixation or suppletion of the noun or pronoun, 2) addition of prepositions or postpositions, 3) sequential ordering, and 4) marking on verbs (Fillmore 1968:32). It is normal for a single case relation to be realised in different ways, and for a single realisation to be associated with different CRs; that is, for instance, CRs may be neutralised, as in subjectivisation, which "results in a neutralization of underlying case distinctions to a single form, usually called the 'nominative'" (Fillmore 1968:49). Although Fillmore uses the term "case form" to refer only to case markers of types 1 and 2 above, I will consider a case form (CF) to be a feature which characterises a syntactically significant set of one or more case markers in a given language, and CF features to be drawn from a finite universal set.

Fillmore states that verbs are distinguished from each other not only by specification of case frames but also by "transformational properties". He gives the following examples (1968:28-9):

"(a) the choice of a particular NP to become the surface subject, or the surface object, wherever these choices are not determined by a general rule;

(b) the choice of prepositions to go with each case element, where these are determined by idiosyncratic properties of the verb rather than by general rule; and

(c) other special transformational features, such as, for verbs taking complements, the choice of specific complementizers..."

2.2 LEXICASE

2.2.1 THE MODEL

The syntactic model used in this study to describe and explain the facts of Vietnamese coverbs is one called "lexicase", a framework which has been developed by Stanley Starosta and Harvey Taylor, applied by Taylor in his dissertation on case in Japanese (Taylor 1971), and refined by Paul Li (1973) and Pranee Kullavannijaya (1974).

The lexicase model consists of a language-specific base component composed of Phrase Structure (PS) rules, a lexicon, and a phonological component. The lexicon consists of lexical entries which are specified for grammatical category features, case form features (where appropriate), idiosyncratic syntactic features, semantic features, and phonological representation; and lexical subcategorisation rules, redundancy
rules, and derivation rules, which operate on lexical entry matrices to produce lexical items. Case frame and all other syntactic features are specified for lexical items by redundancy rules which operate directly or indirectly on semantic features. The lexical items are inserted into the trees generated by the phrase structure rules giving syntactic representations which provide the phonological component with "all the syntactic and lexical information necessary for it to produce from them the appropriate phonological representations" (Taylor 1971:10-11).

At the present state of linguistic theory, language universals are far from being fully determined. However, it is expected that, in time, we will be able to write grammars which state only those features and rules which are language specific, leaving out those which are specified in the universal grammar and are therefore redundantly specified in particular grammars. I assume that the concepts of case relation and case form and the categories, features, and many of the rules pertaining to case belong to a universal grammar.

Acceptability or nonacceptability of sentences on the basis of situational context, presupposition, and one's belief or knowledge about the real world is considered to be outside the realm of the lexicase model, that is, outside the realm of syntax. Only those semantic properties which affect grammatical relationships are considered to be syntactically relevant: "This model treats as 'grammatical' or syntactic only those language generalizations which can be described as the direct consequence of relationships obtaining between lexical categories" (Taylor 1971:9).

2.2.2 PROPERTIES OF CASE FRAMES

The lexical item matrices of verbs contain grammatically relevant selectional features, which include the set of case frames into which a given verb may be inserted. A lexicase model case frame differs substantially from a Fillmore case frame in several ways:

1) Instead of a single case frame feature such as +[O(I)(A)] for the verb open (Fillmore 1968:27), lexicase has a separate feature for each sister case relation, as shown in the following case frame.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{open} \\
+_{__}[+OBJ] \\
+_{__}[+INS] \\
+_{__}[+AGT]
\end{align*}
\]

This type of formulation permits separate manipulation in terms of co-occurrence restrictions; for example, separate statements can be made regarding the different case forms with which Instrumental and Agentive
can occur. It also permits ordering restrictions to be stated in the redundancy rules, which allows the universal rules to generate strings in any order and language-specific rules to exclude bad orders, showing that case configurations are universal but word order is language-specific. This eliminates the need for establishing an artificial underlying word order and unmotivated scrambling transformations. Finally, such a formulation captures important generalisations. Generalisations include a) prediction of the occurrence of one case in terms of the presence of others so that only unpredictable ones must be listed in the lexicon; b) statement in derivational rules of those parts of the case frame that get altered, with assumption that the rest are unchanged; and c) ordering of topicalisation and subjectivisation without transformations.

2) Not only does a lexicase case frame indicate the possible and required case relations contracted by each verb, it also indicates the case forms with which they may occur. For example, if the Agentive of the verb *open* can occur in the Nominative (*NM*) case form or with the I case marker *by*, these possibilities are indicated in the case frame:

\[+\_([+_{NM},+_{I}],+_{AGT})].\]

3) Case frames are in the form of selectional features, and apply not to relational "categories" but to features on heads of sister constituents; that is, case relations and case forms are marked on heads of NP and PP constituents. (See Taylor 1971, especially p. 26; cf. Fillmore 1968:27ff.)

Since prepositions or postpositions realise case forms (*CF*), they are marked with a single *CF* feature and, like verbs, with a frame indicating the case forms and relations of the nouns with which they occur. See Secs. 3.1 and 3.2.2 for fuller discussion of prepositions and case forms and for case frames of Vietnamese prepositions. For verb case frames in Vietnamese, see Sec. 3.3.

With case features and semantic features marked on lexical items and the relations between lexical items shown by derivation and subcategorisation rules, the surface structure alone contains 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 framework eliminates the necessity for a distinct deep structure and a transformational component, thus radically simplifying the grammar. Furthermore, if each lexical item is specified only for those features which are inherent in the item and for those which state precisely the immediate syntactic cooccurrence restrictions for that item, and if the rules operate only on those features, the
power of the grammar is significantly reduced from that of a transformational grammar. It has been found unnecessary to resort to transformations to handle the distinctions called "transformational properties" by Fillmore and listed above in Sec. 2.1. Instead, cooccurrence restrictions stated as features in the lexical matrix of a verb can specify what case relations a particular verb can take in its grammatical subject, whether it takes an object case relationship, what complement types and complementisers it allows, and what idiosyncratic case realisations are demanded by a particular verb. General rules are in the form of lexical derivation rules (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), subcategorisation rules (SR: a rule which subcategorises lexical items, defining the possible classes and subclasses of lexical items), and redundancy rules (RR: a rule which predicts the presence of one feature on the basis of another feature). For examples of SRs and RRs, see Sec. 3.3.4.1.

2.2.3 PROPERTIES OF DERIVATION RULES

A particular type of redundancy rule is the lexical derivation rule (DR), by means of which lexical items are added to the lexicon. A given DR will apply to a class of lexical items identified by certain shared features to produce new members of another class of lexical items. The output items are marked as being derived ([+DERV]); they carry over certain features of the input items and add or delete certain other features.

For example, if it should be found in English that any noun can function as a verb, a lexical DR such as

\[
\text{DR. } \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+N] } \\
\alpha \Gamma_i
\end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+V] } \\
\text{+DERV} \\
\alpha \Gamma_i
\end{array}
\]

can capture that generalisation. Examples of such derived items might be 'put it in a BOX for me': 'BOX it for me', 'he likes to lie in the SUN': 'he likes to SUN', etc. (This over-simplified rule fails to account for the fact that the derived verbs box and sun, for instance, have quite different grammatical properties.) If a certain class of verbs in English corresponds to a semantically related class of nouns (e.g. act: actor, teach: teacher, etc.), then in the grammar there must be a rule to state this fact. If such a class is defined by the feature [+activity], the following DR can be postulated:
DR. 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
{+[+V+activity]} \\
{+actor} \\
{aF_i}
\end{array} 
\quad \Rightarrow 
\begin{array}{c}
{+[+N+DERV]} \\
{+actor} \\
{aF_i}
\end{array}
\]

There must be included in the output of the rule some feature which will allow the derived lexical item to undergo any necessary morphophonemic rule; thus, the feature [actor] here, in addition to having a semantic function, can be used to condition the morphophonemic rule that adds -er/-or to the phonological representation of the nouns derived by this rule (cf. P. Li 1973:279).

Conventions concerning DRs are: Features which appear on both sides of a fletched arrow (\(\Rightarrow\)) are those which are carried over to the new item; features which are specified on the left-hand side of the arrow but not on the right are those which are absent in the new item; features which appear on the right-hand side but not on the left are those which are added to the new item. All other features not mentioned by the rule are carried over and indicated by the symbols \(aF_i, SF_1\), etc. (See remarks below regarding predictability.) DRs state generalisations about lexical relations and apply to classes of lexical items, not to individual lexical items.

P. Li (1973:234) gives the following characteristics as being typical of derivation:

1. An item changes syntactic class.
2. A derivational affix can be carried over from one part of speech to another.
3. The form, meaning, and semantic properties of derived items are often not completely predictable.
4. A derived form may be subject to further derivation or inflection.
5. The new class already contains some un derives d members.

Regarding the predictability of derived items, Starosta (1971b:204) adds, "regularly derived words may undergo secondary shifts in meaning which requires them to be separately listed in the lexicon." This characteristic of derived items raises problems regarding the actual nature of DRs and the synchronic/diachronic productivity of derivation. For one aspect of this productivity, see Sec. 7.4, Conditions for the Derivation of P from V.

For a fuller discussion of derivation relations and rules, see P. Li 1973:234-7, Starosta 1971a:204-5, and Starosta 1971c:176-84.

For a derivation rule used in this study, see Secs. 5.3.3 and 5.4.
CHAPTER III
CASE IN VIETNAMESE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The case grammar presented here does not pretend to be a full grammar of Vietnamese. It is merely an outline grammar to serve as background for the problems discussed in this study. Many details of Vietnamese grammar and many problems of current theory are omitted as being beyond the scope of this work.

3.1 PHRASE STRUCTURE

The following PS rules are a minimal representation of Vietnamese sentence order and constituency. PS rules in the lexicase model are language-particular representations of surface structure.

\[
S \rightarrow \left( \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{Adv} \\ S \end{array} \right) \right)^n \\
V \rightarrow \left( \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{Adv} \\ S \end{array} \right) \right)^n \\
\text{FP}
\]

\[
\text{PP} \rightarrow \text{P} \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ S \end{array} \right)
\]

\[
\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{(Qu)} \text{ N} \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ V \end{array} \right) \text{(Rel) S} \text{(Det)}
\]

Parentheses indicate optionality of occurrence; braces indicate obligatory choice of one of the elements within the braces. Explanations of terms follow.

S 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.

NP Noun Phrase: an endocentric construction of which a noun is the head.
**PP** Prepositional Phrase: an exocentric construction composed of a P and an NP or a P and an S. The case form of the construction is marked by the P; the case relation of the PP as a whole is the one marked on the head noun of the NP. Case relations in P*S (if any) are not considered here.

**Adv** Adverb: a lexical category which is the syntactic attribute of a verb, a non-obligatory sister element of the verb.

**V** Verb: the lexical head of a sentence, classified by its attributes (non-obligatory sisters).

**FP** Final Particle: is used here as a cover term, not a grammatical category, for the Negatives khong 'not' and chưa 'not yet' which serve as question markers; for the imperative marker; and for final particles such as nhé 'OK?', à 'oh!', and ạ (polite particle). The final particles (distinguished from FP) can cooccur with the question markers and with the imperative marker.

**P** Preposition: the word that occurs in exocentric construction with an NP, forming a PP, and which marks the case form of the PP. By this definition of P, particles which modify the direction or positional relationship of the verb but do not form a construction with an immediately following NP are not Ps. (For example, in nó chạy lên (he, run, upward) 'He ran up', lên is an adverb (Adv), not a P.) As shown here, P is a category of the base, and therefore substantially different from the P of Fillmore and others who derive Ps transformationally. For further discussion of P, see Sec. 3.2.2.0. For discussion of the distinction between Ps and Vs, see Sec. 5.3.3.

**Qu** Quantifier: is a cover term for restrictive modifiers of N, such as Numerals (Nu), Plurals (Pl), and Classifiers (Cl). (Descriptive modifiers follow N.) (Cl occurs obligatorily when a noun takes Nu; its selection is determined by the semantic class of the noun with which it occurs.)

**N** Noun: the lexical head of an NP, which is marked for a case relation and has an external referent.

**Rel** Relative Pronoun

**Det** Determiner

### 3.2 VIETNAMESE CASE RELATIONS AND CASE FORMS

#### 3.2.0 INTRODUCTION

Following Starosta's 1973 presentation of case relations and case forms in Sora, in the following sections I will present: first, a brief
discussion of each case relation and the case forms in which it can be realised; then, each form with its case markers and the case relations it can realise, with examples; a chart summarising the cooccurrence of case relations and case forms; and, finally, going beyond Starosta's presentation for Sora, a rough classification of Vietnamese verbs based on their case frames.

3.2.1 CASE RELATIONS

3.2.1.0 Introduction

Following Fillmore, Tran and Liem have both given the same case relations for Vietnamese:

- Agentive
- Objective
- Dative
- Instrumental
- Benefactive
- Comitative
- Locative
- Directional
- Source
- Goal
- Extent
- Time

(Tran 1971:6-10; Liem 1973a:2-3)

These cases seem to be adequate to handle the problems of coverbs, and I recognise the same case relations with these exceptions: I will consider Locative to be a case relation which can be realised by one of a set of sub-CFs: Location (which is Tran's and Liem's Locative), Source, Goal (their Directional), and Terminus (their Goal). These sub-CFs will be shown (Sec. 3.2.2.4) to behave as a set in realising Locative and Time case relations. Furthermore, "the existence of unique ('surface') case-realization forms (case markers) is not sufficient justification by itself for positing a 'new' case relationship" (Taylor 1971:31; also see pp. 31-2, 34-7). Besides the sub-CF Terminus (cf. Taylor 1971:34,399), I have posited a feature [+path] (cf. Fillmore 1971b:259; Stratton 1971), which is a feature marked on Goal by subcategorisation rules (see Sec. 3.3.4.1). Direction is also a feature implied by the same sub-categorisation rules which, with redundancy rules, give the following tree of locative semantic features:

```
  [+loc]
     [+dir]   [-dir]
       [+gol] [-gol] [+lnn]
         [+ter] [-ter] [+src]
             [+path]
```

CHART III-1 Locative Feature Tree
Fillmore (1968:25) also suggests that the distinction between these locative cases is not a major one: "There is a certain amount of evidence...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." However, as Fillmore himself indicates (1968:26, fn.34) and as will be seen below (Secs. 3.3.2, 3.3.5.2.1-3, and 3.3.5.4-6), location and direction do contrast sufficiently to subcategorise verbs within larger classes. The subcase analysis adopted here allows for the necessary subcategorisation of verbs while at the same time capturing the complementary relation between location and direction noted by Fillmore.

Tran and Liem give as the realisation of Extent the "preposition" được, as in

(3.1) tôi ngủ được hai giờ

'I slept for two hours.'

However, I consider được here to be not a preposition but rather the verb 'get' and the subject and verb tôi ngủ to be a subordinate clause. Such structures are not uncommon for Vietnamese sentences. In fact, Liem (personal communication) now suggests this structure for all such occurrences of được. The structure of (3.1) is given here:

Extant in time and space can be shown by the use of sub-CFs Source ... Goal/Terminal, as in (3.2).

(3.2) tôi làm việc từ hai giờ đến năm giờ

'I worked from two o'clock to five o'clock.'

In fact, unless otherwise specified, Extent is implied by a feature of direction on verbs and prepositions, and does not exhibit syntactic behaviour. Therefore, there is no valid reason for positing a case or sub-CF of Extent. It may ultimately prove to be necessary, but so far I have found no evidence for that conclusion.
The case relations given here are posited on purely syntactic evidence in Vietnamese, primarily evidence of the way CRs classify and subclassify predicates.

CR labels are represented in full capital letters, in full form when used in prose, in three-letter abbreviated form when used as features of lexical items, e.g. DATIVE, [+DAT].

Most CFs are customarily labelled by the first letter (in upper case) of the label of the case relation most closely associated with the CF, whether in prose or as features, e.g. D, [+D]. The Nominative CF is represented by NM; Accusative is represented by AC. In prose, sub-CFs are labelled by having the first letter capitalised, e.g. Goal. As features, sub-CFs are labelled by three-letter abbreviations (all lower case), e.g. Goal: [+goal], Location: [+lcn].

3.2.1.1 AGENTIVE

The AGENTIVE case is the instigator of the event described by the verb, and as such is the normal unmarked subject of transitive verbs in accusative languages (cf. Starosta 1973b:4,7). OBJECTIVE occurs obligatorily with AGENTIVE unless marked otherwise in the lexical entry of a verb; INSTRUMENTAL occurs optionally.

AGENTIVE can be realised only in the NM case form in Vietnamese.

3.2.1.2 OBJECTIVE

The OBJECTIVE case is the basic indispensable argument with every verb - "the entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration" (Fillmore 1971a:376). It is considered by Fillmore to be the most neutral case. The UCLA English Syntax Project does, in fact, call this the NEUTRAL case and notes that it is "the case associated most closely with the verb itself, and least interpretable independently of the verb" (Stockwell et al. 1968:9). As Taylor (1971:19) states, it is "a sort of 'basic' case relationship by virtue of its occurrence with all predicate types." It occurs obligatorily with all AGENTIVE-subject verbs and optionally with all DATIVE-subject verbs. With all other verbs, it occurs as grammatical subject, an aspect of Lexicase grammar which is significantly different from usual Fillmorean practice, which considers OBJECTIVE to be inanimate and - notwithstanding the Fillmore definition cited above - does not assign the OBJECTIVE case to subjects of intransitive verbs of action.

OBJECTIVE is realised most frequently in the AC or NM case forms, but can also occur in the L case form.
3.2.1.3 DATIVE

The DATIVE case is the experiencer or recipient of the event described by the verb, usually the goal of the action described by the verb. It occurs as grammatical subject with a set of verbs which have optional OBJECTIVE and the feature [+psych] in their lexical entries, and with a subset of stative verbs which take optional OBJECTIVE.

DATIVE is realised as D, AC, L, or NM.

3.2.1.4 LOCATIVE

The LOCATIVE case relation is the orientation in (abstract) space of the state or event described by the verb. As such, it can occur, with certain sub-CF restrictions, with every verb type. LOCATIVE also subclassifies AGENTIVE-subject and OBJECTIVE-subject verbs into LOCATIVE and non-LOCATIVE. The LOCATIVE subclassification of verbs is discussed fully in Sec. 3.3.4.1.

LOCATIVE is realised in the L and AC case forms. In the sentence

(3.3) phòng này lạnh
room this be cold
'This room is cold.'

Liem considers phòng to be LOCATIVE and in the NM case form. I consider (3.3) to have two readings. In one reading, (3.3) is equivalent to

(3.4) ở phòng này lạnh
in room this be cold
'It's cold in this room.'

a type of subjectless LOCATIVE-atmospheric (see Platt 1971:38) sentence which is beyond the scope of this study. By this reading, phòng in (3.3) is [+AC, +LOC], i.e. not a Nominative LOCATIVE. In the second reading, phòng is treated as an object rather than a location and lạnh as an attribute of this object, so that phòng is in the NM case form but is OBJECTIVE instead of LOCATIVE.

3.2.1.5 INSTRUMENTAL

The INSTRUMENTAL case is that means by which the event described by the verb is accomplished or the substance with which the OBJECTIVE of the verb is made, that which is necessary to the performance of an action without being directly affected by it. INSTRUMENTAL may occur with all [+voluntary] verbs except those which are marked [–[+INS]] in their lexical entries. INSTRUMENTAL may be the grammatical subject of AGENTIVE verbs when AGENTIVE is not present.
INSTRUMENTAL may be realised in the I, AC, and NM case forms, and, when preposed to the grammatical subject, may occur as C.

3.2.1.6 COMITATIVE

The COMITATIVE case relation expresses parallel association between two NPs, usually in the activity described by the verb. It can occur with all [+voluntary] verb types.

COMITATIVE is realised only in the C case form.

3.2.1.7 BENEFATIVE

The BENEFATIVE case identifies the noun designating the entity on behalf of which or in place of which the action of the verb is performed. It can occur with all [+voluntary] verb types.

BENEFATIVE may be realised in the B case form, but occurs more frequently in the D case form.

3.2.1.8 TIME

The TIME case relation identifies the orientation in time of the state or event described by the verb. It can occur with all verb types.

TIME does not have a case form particularly associated with it. It is realised in the L and AC case forms, in both of which it is frequently preposed to the grammatical subject. Every TIME phrase must contain a noun lexically marked [+time].

3.2.2 CASE FORMS

3.2.2.0 Characteristics of Case Forms

As defined in Sec. 2.1 for this study, a case form (CF) is a feature which characterises a syntactically significant set of one or more case markers, which are overt realisations of case relations (CR). Case markers in Vietnamese are word order and prepositions. A CF is a feature of nouns and prepositions: An NP gets its CF and CR from the head N, and a PP gets its CF from the P and its CR from the head N of the NP.

Every P is marked in its lexical entry with a single case form and with a case frame indicating the case forms and case relations it can take in the head N of the NP which occurs with that P. It is assumed here that, for Vietnamese, the case relation of that N always occurs in the Accusative case form. That is, [+NM] and [+AC] are the only case forms possible for nouns in Vietnamese and the rule

$$RR. \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[+P] \\
[+V]
\end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [-[-[+NM]]]$$
accounts for the fact that, in Vietnamese, no noun following the verb or a preposition can be in the Nominative case form. Therefore, it is unnecessary to mark the case form for case relations in individual P case frames. One class of Ps, like some Vs, can occur in construction with an embedded sentence containing a non-finite verb. This type of occurrence is not discussed in this study.

In the sections below, for those case forms which have P case markers, the case frame of the P is given, as well as an approximate English gloss. The D case marker and most of the L case markers are coverbs, and these are discussed in detail in succeeding chapters. In this chapter, for the sake of simplicity, they are treated as ordinary prepositions.

3.2.2.1 The Nominative Case Form: [+NM]

The Nominative case form marks the grammatical subject of the sentence. Nominative occurs immediately preceding the verb and never takes a preposition. The Nominative case form realises AGENTIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, and OBJECTIVE case relations. In Vietnamese, DATIVE and OBJECTIVE can be subject only of DATIVE-subject and OBJECTIVE-subject verbs, respectively (see Clark 1971a regarding "passive" in Vietnamese). Therefore, there is a subject choice hierarchy only between AGENTIVE and INSTRUMENTAL; that is, with AGENTIVE-subject verbs, if AGENTIVE is present in a sentence, it will be subject; if it is not present and INSTRUMENTAL is present, INSTRUMENTAL will be subject. Examples of these CRs in the NM case form are given here.

$$\text{[+NM,+AGT]}$$

(3.5) tôi cắt thịt bằng dao này

\[+\text{NM} \quad +\text{AGT} \quad +\text{AC} \quad [+\text{I}] \quad [+\text{AC}] \quad +\text{OBJ} \quad +\text{INS}\]

'I cut meat by knife this'

$$\text{[+NM,+INS]}$$

(3.6) dao này cắt thịt

\[+\text{NM} \quad +\text{INS} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{OBJ}\]

'This knife cuts meat.'
3.2.2.2 The Accusative Case Form: [+AC]

The Accusative case form occurs postverbally and without a P. Since all non-NM nouns are AC, AC can realise all case relations except AGENTIVE. When an AC NP is not part of a PP, it can realise all CR except COMITATIVE, so that there is a rule [+V] + [- ][+AC,+COM]]. DATIVE, BENEFAC TIVE, and INSTRUMENTAL occur without a preceding P only when they immediately follow the verb. Examples of these cases realised as AC are given below.

[+AC,+OBJ]

The AC case form is most closely associated with OBJECTIVE, which is not usually preceded by a P. OBJECTIVE either follows the verb immediately, as in (3.9) and (3.10),

(3.9) nó làm việc này
3p do work this
[+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+OBJ]

'I does this work.'

(3.10) tôi hiểu nó
I understand 3p
[+NM] [+DAT] [+AC] [+OBJ]

'I understand him.'

or follows another NP or PP which follows the verb:
(3.11) Tôi cho nó hai cuốn sách
I give 3p two Cl book


'I gave him two books.'

OBJECTIVE can also be topicalised:

(3.12) nhà này tôi bán
house this I sell


'This house I'm selling.'

[+AC,+DAT]

The DATIVE can occur as [+AC] without a P when it immediately follows the verb, as in (3.13), not when the OBJECTIVE comes between it and the verb.

(3.13) nó gởi tôi một bức thư
3p send I one Cl letter


'He sent me a letter.'

It obligatorily occurs without a P with the verb cho 'give', which it immediately follows, as in (3.11) above and (3.14).

(3.14) tao cho may may cài tất bày gió (Truong & Nguyen (familiar) (fam)
I give you several Cl slap now 1963:267)


'I'm going to give you some slaps right now.'

[+AC,+BEN]

(3.15) mua tôi cái áo
buy I Cl dress


'Buy me a dress.'

[+AC,+LOC]

LOCATIVE can occur as [+AC] without a P, immediately following a class of OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs (OBJECTIVE-subject verbs which have LOCATIVE in their lexical entries).
(3.16) nó đi Sài Gòn rồi
he go already

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] \quad [+OBJ] \quad [+LOC] \]

'He went to Saigon already.'

AGENTIVE-subject verbs with inherent locatives can take their LOCATIVES without Ps when the LOCATIVE noun is a relator noun. (See Sec. 3.2.3 for locative relator nouns and Sec. 3.3.5.2 for AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs.) (3.17) has a locative relator noun.

(3.17) nó để cái but trên bàn
he put Cl pen top table

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AGT] \quad [+AC] \quad [+OBJ] \quad [+LOC] \quad [+relation] \]

'I put the pen on the table.'

\ [+AC, +TIM] \]

TIME is distinguished from LOCATIVE by the fact that every TIME phrase must contain a noun lexically marked [+time]. [+AC, +TIM] can occur with every verb type.

(3.18) tôi mua gạo hôm qua
I buy rice day past

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] \quad [+AGT] \quad [+OBJ] \quad [+TIM] \quad [+time] \]

'I bought rice yesterday.'

(3.19) ngày thứ hai tôi mua gạo
day second I buy rice

\[ [+AC] \quad [+NM] \quad [+AGT] \quad [+OBJ] \quad [+TIME] \quad [+time] \]

'I'll buy rice on Monday.'

\ [+AC, +INS] \]

INSTRUMENTAL occurs as [+AC] with only a small class of OBJECTIVE-subject verbs.

(3.20) nó sẽ đi xe đón
he Put go vehicle ferry

\[ [+NM] \quad [+COBJ] \quad [+AC] \quad [+INS] \]

'He'll go by bus.'
The [+D] Case Form

Case marker: cho 'to, for'

\[ [+P, +D, [+DAT, +BEN]] \]

The D case form realises DATIVE and BENFACTIVE. The case marker cho is discussed in detail in Sec. 5.4.

[DATIVE, +DAT]

DATIVE as [+D] occurs with AGENTIVE-subject verbs which have Goal DATIVE in their lexical entries (AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Goal verbs). It either precedes or follows the OBJECTIVE. When DATIVE immediately follows the verb, the case marker is optional.

\[(3.21) \quad \text{He sent (to) me a letter.}\]

With AGENTIVE-DATIVE verbs, the sentences with the D case marker are ambiguous since the noun could also be [+BEN].

\[(3.22) \quad \text{He sent letters to me. (or 'He sent letters (to somebody else) for me.')}\]

[DATIVE, +BEN]

As stated above, when [+D, +BEN] occurs with AGENTIVE-DATIVE-GOAL verbs, the sentence is ambiguous since the noun, e.g. tői in (3.23), could also be DATIVE.

\[(3.23) \quad \text{He sold that fruit for me. (or 'He sold that fruit to me.')}\]

The ambiguity is removed if a DATIVE cooccurs with the BENEFACTIVE, as in (3.24).
3.2.4 The [+L] Case Form

The L sub-CFs are a group of syntactically distinguished prepositions. They realise LOCATIVE, TIME, and, for two sub-CFs, DATIVE and OBJECTIVE. Of the four sub-CF LS so far posited, the Location sub-CF is [-direction]. The [+direction] sub-CFs are Source, Goal, and Terminus. (See Sec. 3.3.4.1 for SRs and RR for subclasses of [+locative].) The sub-CFs are given here with examples.

3.2.2.4.1 The Location Sub-CF: [+loc]

Case markers: ́/ 'in, at'

The Location sub-CF marks the place in space in which the event of the verb occurs and, as such, occurs with all verb types. The Location
sub-CF does not occur with the CR TIME in Vietnamese. Location in time can be indicated by the use of the relator noun trong 'inside' (see Sec. 3.2.3).

\[[+L,+lcn,+LOC]\]

\[3.28\] ông-ýy dạy toàn tài trường dó
he teach math in school that
\[\begin{array}{ll}
 [+NM] & [+AC] [+L] [+AC] \\
 [+AGT] & [+OBJ] [+lcn] [+LOC] \\
\end{array}\]

'He teaches mathematics in that school.'

\[3.29\] nó dùng ông đường Lê-Loi
he stand in street
\[\begin{array}{ll}
 [+NM] & [+L] [+AC] \\
 [+OBJ] & [+lcn] [+LOC] \\
\end{array}\]

'He's standing in Le-Loi Street.'

\[3.30\] ông sô chung tôi làm việc nhiều
in office Pl I do work much
\[\begin{array}{ll}
 [+NM] & [+AC] \\
 [+lcn] & [+LOC] \\
\end{array}\]

'We work hard in the office.'

\[3.31\] ông lang dó tôi thường nghe chuông
in village that I usual hear bell
\[\begin{array}{ll}
 [+L] & [+AC] \\
 [+lcn] & [+DAT] [+NM] \\
\end{array}\]

'In that village, I usually hear bells.'

The case marker ở and a LOCATIVE noun can occur preceding a verb of direction, as in \[3.32\], where Liem (1973a:11) gives three possible analyses, as shown. (I have interpreted Liem's analysis in terms of the formalisation used in this study.)

\[3.32\] ông-ýy ở Mỹ qua
he stay America come over
\[\begin{array}{ll}
 (1) & [+NM] [+L] [+V] \\
 (2) & [+L] [+lcn] [+V] \\
 (3) & [+V] [+AC] [+lcn] [+V] \\
\end{array}\]

'He came over from America.'
If \( \sigma \) in (3.32) is a verb, as in solution (3), then one would expect a different translation since the analysis of verbs in series suggests sequential action. If \( \sigma \) is in fact a P, as in solutions (1) and (2), then it shares with the [-gol] Source P the ability to occur before a [+gol] OBJECTIVE-subject verb (see the following section on the Source sub-CF), which is the only instance in Vietnamese of PP occurring after NM and before V. Since [+src] implies [+dir], the [-dir] Location P cannot be a [+src] case marker, as in solution (1). Further, Liem now feels (personal communication) that \( \sigma \) is always [+lcn], never [+src]. Therefore, his solution (2) for (3.32) is the correct one.

3.2.2.4.2 The Source Sub-CF: [+src]

Case markers: từ 'from' khổl 'out of'

The [+extent] Source sub-CF marks the locus in space or time from which the action of the verb is directed. The P từ frequently occurs preceding Goal or Terminus, expressing specific Extent in space or time. The [-extent] Source P khổl cannot occur expressing Extent and cannot occur with TIME. It is very specific in its use: It marks the interior space out of which the action of the verb is directed. The [-gol] Ps are marked [+src] by a redundancy rule (see Sec. 3.3.4.1 below).

[+L,+src,+ext,+LOC]

When realising LOCATIVE, the Source P từ occurs with verbs of direction, as in (3.33) and (3.34), and with certain motion verbs, as in (3.35), where it precedes the [+gol] P.

(3.33) tôi gởi nó một bua-ânh từ Bangkok

'I sent him a postcard from Bangkok.'

(3.34) từ Bangkok, tôi đi Chiêng-Mai

'From Bangkok I went to Chiêng-Mai.'
(3.35) nó i lái xe từ Sài Gòn lên Đà lạt
\[ he \ drive \ vehicle \ from \ up \ to; \]
\[ [+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+SRC] [+LOC] [+GOAL] [+LOC] \]

'He drove the car from Saigon to Dalat.'

As shown in (3.34), (3.36), and (3.37), the Source П предусед OBJECTIVE-subject Goal verbs.

(3.36) tôi từ Băng Kô dì Chiëng-Mai
\[ I \ from \ go; \]
\[ [+NM] [+OBJ] [+SRC] [+LOC] [+GOAL] [+LOC] \]

'I went to Chien-Mai from Bungkok.'

(3.37) nó từ Sài Gòn lên
\[ he \ from \ go \ up; \]
\[ [+NM] [+OBJ] [+SRC] [+LOC] [+GOAL] \]

'He came up (here) from Saigon.'

[+L,+SRC,-EXT,+LOC]

As may be expected from the specificity of its interpretation, the П khối is more limited in its use than the П тừ. It most frequently occurs with Source verbs, as in (3.38), and with the adverb ra 'out'. It can also occur with Goal verbs such as ra 'go out' and dì 'go', as in (3.39).

(3.38) chi-áy nhỏ cây (ra) khối câu
\[ she \ pull \ out \ plant \ out \ out \ of \ pot; \]
\[ [+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+ADV] [+L] [+SRC] [+LOC] \]

'She pulled the plant out of the pot.'

(3.39) dì khối Nha-Trang chông ba cây só
\[ go \ out \ of \ approx. \ three \ kilometer; \]
\[ [+L] [+SRC] [+LOC] [+GOAL] \]

'Go about three kilometers beyond Nha-Trang.'

(Nguyen D-H 1966:223)
When realising TIME, [+src] can occur with all verbs which allow extent of time.

(3.40) Tôi sẽ làm việc từ 8 giờ sáng
   I will do work from hour morning
   [+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+AC]
   [+src] [+ext] [+TIM]
   'I'll work from 8 a.m.'

(3.41) Từ ngày đó tôi hiểu nó
   from day that I understand he
   [+L] [+AC] [+NM] [+AC]
   [+src] [+TIM] [+DAT] [+OBJ]
   'Since that day, I understand him.'

As with Source LOCATIVES and Goal verbs, Source TIME phrases precede Goal TIME phrases.

(3.42) Nó ngủ từ 3 giờ đến 5 giờ
   he sleep from hour until hour
   [+NM] [+L] [+AC] [+L] [+AC]
   [+OBJ] [+src] [+TIM] [+ter] [+TIM]
   'He slept from 3 o'clock to 5 o'clock.'

3.2.2.4.3 The Goal Sub-CF: [+gol]

Case markers: qua/sang 'across (to); lại 'back to'
   [+P] [về 'back to')
   [+L] ra 'out (to)'
   [+gol] [vào/vào 'into, onto'
   [+LOC] lên 'up (to)'
   [+TIM] xuống 'down (to)'

The Goal sub-CF marks the path or goal toward which the action of the verb is directed; that is, the noun associated with a Goal sub-CF names the path or intended terminal point of the action of the verb, never the point of origin. Through subcategorisation and redundancy rules, these Ps can mark either [+terminus] or [+path] on their LOCATIVE nouns. (Ref. Chart III-1 in Sec. 3.2.1.0 above and Sec. 3.3.4.1 below.)

[+L,+gol,+LOC]

The Goal sub-CF realises LOCATIVE for AGENTIVE- and OBJECTIVE-subject verbs which have obligatory or optional LOCATIVES in their lexical entries.
(3.43) nó viết một câu vào tờ giấy đó
he write one line onto Cl paper that

'+NM +AGT [+AC] [+L] +LOC]

"He wrote a line on that paper."

(3.44) nó gửi thư qua tôi
he send letter across I

'+NM +AGT [+AC] [+L] +gol] +LOC]

"He sent a letter to/through me."

Qua in (3.44) can be interpreted as [+ter] or [+path].

(3.45) nó đi lên Đà lạt
he go up to

'+NM +OBJ [+AC] [+gol] [+LOC]

"He went up to Dalat."

(+L,+gol,+TIM)

TIME can occur as [+gol] with most verb types.

(3.46) tôi mua gạo vào ngày thứ hai
I buy rice into day second

'+NM [+AGT] [Past] [+AC] [+L] +gol] [+AC]

'(I'll buy / I bought) rice on Monday.'

(See Sec. 3.3.5.2 regarding discussion of vao's [+entering] feature allowing [+surface] or [+enclosed]. Vao could be glossed in (3.46) as 'within'.)

(3.47) qua đầu năm tôi trở về nhà
across head year I return home

'+L +gol] [+AC] [+NM] +AC]

"After the beginning of the year, I'll return home."

(+L,+gol,+DAT)

The Goal Ps can occur with the DATIVE of some verbs.

(3.48) nó gửi hai bức thư về tôi
he send two letter to I

'+NM +AGT] [+AC] [+L] +gol] +AC]

"He sent two letters to me."
[+L,+gol,+OBJ]

Some of the Goal case markers can occur with what is analysed provisionally as the OBJECTIVE of a class of [+information] verbs.

\[ (3.49) \text{ tôi hiểu về việc đó} \]

\[ +L ]

\[ +gol ]

\[ +AC ]

\[ +OBJ ]

'I understand about that.'

(See Liem 1969:98-9 regarding this use of [+L] case markers.)

\[ 3.2.2.4.4 The Terminus Sub-CF: [+ter] \]

Case markers: đến tôi 'to, until, at'

\[ +P \]

\[ +L \]

\[ +ter \]

\[ +__[(+LOC,+TIM,+DAT,+OBJ)] \]

The terminus sub-CF marks the terminal point of the action of the verb, the achieved end. It has many of the same characteristics as the Goal sub-CF, although the Terminus sub-CF cannot mark [+path] on its LOCATIVE nouns.

\[ [+L,+ter,+LOC] \]

The Terminus sub-CF realises LOCATIVE for AGENTIVE- and OBJECTIVE-subject verbs which have obligatory or optional LOCATIVE in their lexical entries.

\[ (3.50) \text{ họ đón nhà đến khu đại-học} \]

\[ +NM \]

\[ +AGT \]

\[ +OBJ \]

\[ +ter \]

\[ +LOC \]

'They moved to the university compound.'

\[ (3.51) \text{ nó chạy đến trường} \]

\[ +NM \]

\[ +OBJ \]

\[ +ter \]

\[ +LOC \]

'He ran to the school.'

Terminus is frequently preceded by Source to indicate the boundaries of extent in time or space.

\[ (3.52) \text{ nó chạy từ đường Lê-Quang qua cầu này đến} \]

\[ +NM \]

\[ +OBJ \]

\[ +src \]

\[ +AC \]

\[ +ter \]

\[ +LOC \]

\[ +gol \]

\[ +AC \]

\[ +LOC \]

\[ +L \]

He run from street across bridge this to
He ran from Le-Loi Street across the bridge to the market.

TIME can occur as [+ter] with all major verb types.

By that time, he'll understand already.

'I worked until the end of the month.'

He sat quietly from 2 o'clock to 3 o'clock.

Give her my regards, my child.'
COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

(3.57) tôi nhớ đến cô ấy nhiều
I recall to she much
[+NM] [+L] [+AC]

'I think about her a lot.'

Liem (1969:98-9) states that these direction markers are used to "mark the great distance or social difference between the speaker and the person spoken to, thus expressing the speaker's respect and humility."

3.2.2.5 The [+I] Case Form

Case marker: bằng 'by'

The I case form realises only INSTRUMENTAL.

[+I, +INS]

(3.58) tôi cắt thịt bằng dao này
I cut meat by knife this
[+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+I] [+AC] [+INS]

'I'll cut the meat with this knife.'

(3.59) nó đi My-Tho bằng xe đạp
he go by bus
[+NM] [+OBJ] [+AC] [+LOC] [+I] [+AC] [+INS]

'He went to My-Tho by bus.'

In some instances, INSTRUMENTAL as [+I] can be preposed.

(3.60) bằng máy-bay chúng ta có thể đi lên được by airplane Pl we able go fast possible
[+I] [+AC] [+INS] [+NM] [+OBJ]

'We were able to travel fast by air.' (Liem 1969:158)

3.2.2.6 The [+C] Case Form

Case marker: với 'with'

The C case form realises COMITATIVE and INSTRUMENTAL. There are many problems with the C case form in Vietnamese, problems involving N-N
relationships, reciprocal nouns, and [+C,+COM] predicates. These problems will not be handled in this study.

[C,+COM]

(3.61) Tôi làm việc với ông ấy
I do work with he

\[+NM \quad [+AC \quad [+C \quad [+AC \quad [+COM \]

'I work with him.'

(3.62) Em nó đi với nó' 
young sib he go with he

\[+NM \quad [+C \quad [+AC \quad [+COM \]

'His brother went with him.'

(3.63) Ai cùng nói-chuyên với nó' 
who also converse with he

\[+NM \quad [+C \quad [+AC \quad [+COM \]

'Eeveryone talks with him.'

The COMITATIVE can be preposed, as in (3.64).

(3.64) Với nó, ai cùng thích nói-chuyên (Liem 1969:158) with he who also like converse

'We like him, everyone likes to talk.'

[C,+INS]

The C case form can realise INSTRUMENTAL when INSTRUMENTAL is topicalised.

(3.65) Với tiền ấy tôi đã mua hai đĩa hát
with money that I Past buy two disk sing

\[+C \quad [+AC \quad [+NM \quad [+INS \quad [+AGT \quad [+AC \quad [+OBJ \]

'With that money, I bought two records.'

3.2.2.7 The [+B] Case Form

Case markers: gíum / hơ 'for, on behalf of'

\[+P \quad [+B \quad [+[+BEN] \]

The B case form realises only the BENEFACTIVE case relation. All the [+D,+BEN] sentences in Sec. 3.2.2.3 above may, instead, be [+B,+BEN], in
which case they are all unambiguously BENEFACTIVE.

\([+B, +BEN]\)

(3.66) **nó bán trái dứa giúp tôi**

He sold fruit for I

\([+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+B] [+AC] [+BEN]\)

'He sold that fruit for me.'

(3.67) **em chạy mâu giúp tôi**

Young sir run fast for I

\([+NM] [+OBJ] [+B] [+AC] [+BEN]\)

'Please run fast for me.'

(3.68) **nó đưa trái cho cô ấy giúp tôi**

He handed fruit to she for I

\([+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+D] [+AC] [+DAT] [+B] [+AC] [+BEN]\)

'He handed the fruit to her for me.'

(3.69) **anh viết hô tôi đi** (Nguyen D-H 1966:194)

Elder write for I go bro.

\([+NM] [+AGT] [+B] [+AC] [+BEN]\)

'Please write it for me.'

### 3.2.3 LOCATIVE RELATOR NOUNS

There is a set of locative-type words which, for the moment, I will call trong-class words. They occur in LOCATIVE or TIME phrases, following verbs or prepositions and preceding nouns, as in the example sentences given below. The set includes the following words, with approximate meanings:

- **trong** inside
- **ngoài** outside
- **tren** above, top
- **duôi** beneath, bottom
- **trước** before, front
- **sau** after, behind
- **giữa** between, the middle
- **quanh** surrounding
- **ngang** across
quảng, khoảng space, interval
tận all the way, extreme point
dáng side, direction
bên side

(3.70) Út bỏ kẹo (ở) trong hộp
put candy in inside box
'Út put the candy away in the box.'

(3.71) Lan ngồi trên xe đi Nha-Trang
sit top vehicle go
'Lan was (sitting) on the Nha-Trang bus.'

(3.72) nó thọc tay (vào) dưới gường tìm hộp nữ-trang
3p thrust hand into under bed seek box jewellery
'He stuck his arm under the bed looking for the box of jewellery.'

(3.73) Huế bị (họ) pháo-kích bên tỉnh-duong
suffer they shell side province headquarters
'Hue suffered shelling (they shelled) at the Province head­quarters.'

(3.74) Lan đi trong tháng năm
go inside month five
'Orchid is going in May.'

Thompson (1965a:200-2) includes all of these words but quảng, tận,
dáng, and bên in a list of what he calls "relator nouns", nouns which
"express position (in space or time) or some vaguer dimension in relation
to something else" (p. 200), which "clarify relative position"
(p. 316), and which he considers to be head nouns in a phrase (p. 318).

Cadiere (1958:121) includes some trong-class words in a list of words
he calls prepositions. He also includes the noun nơi 'place, location'.
He gives an example with nơi from Vĩnh, a North Central dialect, (3.75),
which is not an acceptable use of nơi for those Southern speakers
questioned.

(3.75) ...ở nơi nhà trường (Cadiere 1958:122)
be in place house school
'live at school'

Liem (1969:154-5) analyses trong-class words as Location Prepositions,
which are the initial nucleus of a Location-Direction Relator Axis
Phrase. He calls what I have called prepositions in Sec. 3.2.2.4 above
(i.e. vô in (3.76l) Defective Verbs and includes them in the Predicate
instead of in the locative phrase, as in (3.76) (vertical lines indicate phrase boundaries).

(3.76) nọ / đi vào trong nhà  (Liem 1969:154)
he go enter in house
Sbj IntrV Defect.V LPrep Rel.Axis Hd
"He went into the house."

In his 1973 paper, Liem refers to the trong-class words as a special class of nouns which occur in the [+NM, +LOC] slot, but gives no examples.

Ha (1970:30-1) keeps the constraint of a single P for each PP by considering trong-class words to have the "basically nominal" nature described by Thompson and considering them to be nouns modified by other nouns (the following noun) when they occur after a Direction preposition. However, when they occur immediately after a directional verb, she proposes that they undergo a "co-prep" derivation rule and become L-prepositions. She gives the examples (3.77) and (3.78).

(3.77) tôi đi vào trong nhà
I go enter inside house (Ha 1970:31)
\[[+V][+P][+N][+N]\]
'I went into/inside the house.'

(3.78) tôi vào trong nhà (Ha 1970:31)
I enter inside house
\[[+V][+P][+loc][+loc]\]
'I went inside the house.'

However, it seems wrong and unnecessary to say that trong in (3.77) is different grammatically from trong in (3.78). Further, vào in (3.77) is a P, according to Ha and according to my definition of P in Sec. 3.1 above. (Also, see Sec. 3.2.2.4.3 for more "vào-class" words as [+L,+gol] Ps.) If the trong-class words are also analysed as Ps, the cooccurrence of a vào-class word and trong-class word (as in (3.77)) would violate a proposed universal constraint against P--P in a grammar. As defined in Sec. 3.1 in this study, P is one of the obligatory elements of a PP and marks the case form of the PP. A PP cannot have more than one case form. In marking the case form of the PP, the P functions in satisfying the requirements of verbs, whose case frames specify case form and case relation cooccurrences. The definition of P as a case marker disallows P--P.

It would be possible instead to consider the vào-class words to be
adverbs, e.g. lên in (3.79), instead of a P, could be a postverbal adverb emphasising the direction on the verb trèo, thus allowing the trong-class word tần to be analysed as a P.

(3.79) ...

\[ \text{climb up to extreme point peak tree} \]
\[ \text{(Nguyen D-H 1966:411)} \]

'climb all the way up to the treetop'

However, if all trong-class words are claimed to be Ps, then both tần and tren in (3.79) would be P and again the P\(^P\) constraint is violated.

If we consider Thompson's analysis of trong-class words to be correct - that these words are head nouns "clarifying relative position", these restrictions can be accounted for. That is, as shown in the PS rules in Sec. 3.1 and by ngọn cây in (3.79) itself, there is no N\(^N\)N constraint. In fact, there is no grammatical limit on the number of nouns occurring together. The structure of (3.79), with tần and tren as nouns, would be as follows:

![Syntax Tree for (3.79)]

Furthermore, if both trong-class words and văo-class words are called Ps, the distinction would be lost between noun-type Ps (trong-class), which can follow văo-class Ps, and real Ps (văo-class), which cannot.

Following Thompson, I shall call trong-class words "relator nouns" (Nr) and consider their feature matrices to have the following features:

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
+N \\
+\text{place} \\
+\text{relation} \\
+[[+N]] \\
+__[+\text{Det}]\
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Nrs are different from other [+place] nouns, such as đây 'here', nhà 'house', Sài-gôn, and Nha-Trang, in that they are bound; that is, they require either a noun or a determiner following. In (3.71), repeated here,
(3.71) Lan ngồi trên xe đi Nha-Trang

sit top vehicle go

\[ \text{[+N]} \quad \text{[+N]} \quad \text{[+place]} \quad \text{[+place]} \]

'Lan was (sitting) on the Nha-Trang bus.'

both trên and Nha-Trang are [+place] nouns but trên must be followed by another noun or a determiner.

The Nr bên is not as clearly a relator noun as the others. Thompson states (1965:200) that relator nouns never occur as heads of numerical phrases; bên does, as in cả hai bên ("all, two, side") 'both sides', but bên also functions as Nr, as in (3.73), repeated here, where an Nr is needed, in the absence of a [+L] P (such as 'in'), to fulfill the requirements on tính-duong as the inalienable LOCATIVE of Huế.

(3.73) Huế bị pháo-kích bên tính-duong

suffer shell side prov. hdqtrs

\[ \text{[+NM]} \quad \text{[+OBJ]} \quad \text{[+AC]} \quad \text{[+LOC]} \quad \text{[+rel]} \]

'Hue suffered shelling at the Province Headquarters.'

Another argument in support of trong-class words being nouns instead of prepositions is their ability to take determiners which cannot themselves act as full NPs elsewhere, as này in (3.80) and kia in (3.81) (overleaf).

(3.80)

\[ S \quad \text{[+V]} \quad \text{[+NP]} \quad \text{[+NP]} \quad \text{[+NP]} \quad \text{[+NP]} \]

\[ \text{[+AC]} \quad \text{[+TIM]} \quad \text{[+DET]} \quad \text{[+AGT]} \quad \text{[+OBJ]} \]

'Late ly he has sold many things. '

Starosta (1971b:195-200) discusses relator nouns in Sora, an Austro-asianic language of the Munda family of India. He calls them Noun Auxiliaries in that work and states that they are bound nouns used to mark case, that they "act as heads of Noun Phrases when this is necessary to satisfy the selectional requirements of a verb" (p. 195). He discusses the DATIVE noun auxiliary in detail, showing the selectional restrictions of animate and inanimate with DATIVE and OBJECT. In his
1973 paper on Sora (1973b), he gives three noun auxiliaries for LOCATIVE and four for TIME.

(3.81)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Thu-Văn} & \quad \text{sit} \\
\text{nghí} & \\
\text{dàng} & \quad \text{side} \\
\text{kia} & \quad \text{there}
\end{align*}
\]

'Thu-Van is sitting over there.'

In Vietnamese, too, Nrs, as well as fulfilling a function of specifying spatial orientation, are necessary in some instances to satisfy the selectional requirements of a verb. This is shown in Secs. 3.3.5.2 (AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs) and 3.3.5.4 (OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verbs). The classification as a noun of trong in (3.77) and (3.78) above, both from Ha 1970:31 and reanalysed here,

(3.77) tôi đi vào trong nhà

I go into inside house

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+NM} & \\
\text{+OBJ} & \\
\text{+L} & \\
\text{+gol} & \\
\text{+AC} & \\
\text{+LOC} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I went into the house.'

(3.78) tôi vào trong nhà

I enter inside house

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+NM} & \\
\text{+OBJ} & \\
\text{+AC} & \\
\text{+LOC} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I went inside the house.'

is consistent with the requirements of verb case frames. That is, the verb đi can take [+L,+LOC], whereas the verb vào, in (3.78), must take [+AC,+LOC], a requirement which would not be met if trong were a P.

Finally, an Nr occupies the position of the head noun in an NP, i.e. the first noun. This argument carries more weight when one looks at Chinese, which has prepositions but whose head noun is final in the NP, so that there is no chance of confusion between head nouns and Ps. Chinese has a set of Nrs (called "localisers" by Chao (1968), Chu (1972), and Tang (1972), and "place words" by DeFrancis (1963)), and they occur in phrase-final head-noun position. Furthermore, Chu (1972:86-92,103),
in a discussion of locative marking on locative phrases, gives evidence that in what he suggests is Late Archaic Chinese there was a genitive marker between the Nr and its modifying noun - the same construction as the genitive construction in Modern Mandarin: Possessor - Genitive Marker - Possessed (Head Noun). Later, the genitive marker dropped out of usage with Nrs (as with other inalienably possessed heads), and Modern Mandarin has Noun - Nr, with the Nr occupying the position of head noun.

Most locative Nrs in Vietnamese, like the locative coverbs discussed in Chapter V (see Sec. 5.1.3), can occur as adverbs following verbs of location or direction, but this aspect of Nrs will not be investigated in this work. For example, see Jones & Thong 1960:139-42.

3.2.4 SUMMARY OF CR AND CF COOCCURRENCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CF:</th>
<th>Case Markers:</th>
<th>CR:</th>
<th>AGT</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>INS</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>BEN</th>
<th>TIM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>P: cho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llcn</td>
<td>P: ơ/tại</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>src,+ext</td>
<td>P: ừ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>src,-ext</td>
<td>P: khô</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gol</td>
<td>P: qua,...</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter</td>
<td>P: đến/đó</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>P: bằng</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>P: với</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>P: güm/hồ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART III-2 CR and CF Cooccurrences

These cooccurrences have restrictions related to verb classes. For example, OBJ and DAT can occur as NM only with OBJECTIVE-subject and DATIVE-subject verbs, respectively. INS, for the present analysis, can occur as NM only with AGENTIVE-subject verbs. BEN can occur as AC only with certain AGENTIVE-subject verbs, and INS can occur as AC only with OBJECTIVE-subject verbs of locomotion. LOC occurs as AC only with a particular set of OBJECTIVE-subject verbs and with locative AGENTIVE-subject verbs if the LOCATIVE noun is [+place,+relation] (see the preceding section on relator nouns).
The following sections set forth various verb classes and their co-occurrence restrictions with respect to CRs and CFs.

3.3 CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

3.3.0 INTRODUCTION

As stated in the preceding section, cooccurrence restrictions for case forms (CF) and case relations (CR) are directly related to verb classes. In this section, an attempt is made to elucidate those verb classes which appear to be relevant to a discussion of Vietnamese co-verbs.

3.3.1 BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION

Verbs may be defined according to the cases with which they can or must occur. As noted in Sec. 2.1, Fillmore (1968:27) states that the case frames of verbs "have the effect of imposing a classification of the verbs in the language". They may also be defined in terms of inherent semantic features. Ramos (1973:110) states that the array of cases is not sufficient in itself to subclassify verbs. She considers the verb to be central and the semantic and selectional features of the verb to predict the types of cases that may occur with it. "Ultimately these semantic and selectional features subclassify the verbs."

The approach in this study has been to determine verb classes on the basis of the CRs and CFs with which they occur. This type of classification has been done previously by Taylor in his case grammar of Japanese (1971), by P. Li in his grammar of Rukai (1973), and by Kullavanijaya in her study of Thai verbs (1974). Taylor states, "The case-frame features assigned to lexical items...indicate both the case relationships and the case markers with which these items may occur; items which have any such features in common are members of the same subclass. It should be noted that such verb classification results in many verbs being members of a number of subclasses by virtue of the kinds of actants with which they may occur" (p. 26).

It has also been possible in this study to postulate semantic features which group the verbs into classes which coincide with the classes formed by the case cooccurrence restrictions. In fact, it seems reasonable to suppose that it is the semantic properties of verbs that ultimately determine their CR and CF cooccurrences, as claimed by Ramos. In the sections below, for each verb class, inherent semantic features are given in addition to the defining case frame of that class. The basis of the classification, however, is the cooccurrence of CRs and CFs.
The classification presented here is only a broad classification of certain verb classes and excludes many other classes of Vietnamese verbs. Only those classes and those distinctions within the classes which are relevant to the study of coverbs are presented. The semantic feature tree of verb classes in Sec. 3.3.6, for example, does not show that there are [+voluntary] verb classes not accounted for here.

3.3.2 [+voluntary] VERBS

In Vietnamese, and possibly in the verbs of all languages, there is a major division between those verbs which I will give the feature [+voluntary] and those which are [-voluntary]. That is, while all verb types (with minor exceptions) can take TIME and a non-Direction LOCALATIVE, only [+voluntary] verbs can take INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE, and BENEFACTIVE. Thus, we can have these redundancy rules:

RR 1

\[ [+V] \rightarrow [+([+LOC])]
\[ -([+TIM])] \]

RR 2

\[ [+V [+volun] ] \rightarrow [+([+INS])]
\[ +([+COM])] \]
\[ +([+BEN])] \]

RR 3

\[ [+V [-volun] ] \rightarrow [-[+INS]]
\[ -[+COM]] \]
\[ -[+BEN]] \]

Verbs which are [-voluntary] include copulative verbs, the existential-possessive verb, some classes of stative verbs, and some classes of non-stative DATIVE-subject verbs. This study is concerned with some of the classes of [+voluntary] verbs. The classes of [+voluntary] verbs not discussed in this study include some DATIVE-subject verbs and some statives.

3.3.3 SEMANTIC FEATURES AND CASE FRAMES

The classes of [+voluntary] verbs which are discussed in this section can be shown by a tree of semantic features. Below are given the case frame features assigned to verb lexical entries by the semantic features. Additional case frame features for individual verb classes are shown in Sec. 3.3.5.
CHART III-3 Verb Semantic Feature Tree

[+agentive] : \([+\text{NM},+\text{AGT}]_\_]\]

Cf. Ramos (1973:123). Taylor (1971) uses what he calls "pseudo-features", abbreviations for case frames. This case frame in Taylor has the pseudo-feature 'transitive' (p. 175). Since DATIVE-subject verbs are also transitive, [+agentive] seems a more appropriate term.

[-agentive] : \([+\text{NM},+\text{OBJ}]_\_]\]

Taylor (1971:175) uses the term 'intransitive'.

[+locative] : \([+_\text{LOC}]_\_]\]

Taylor (1971:175) uses the term 'movement'; however, my [+locative] verbs include location verbs, which are not movement verbs.

[-locative] : \([-_\text{dir},+\text{LOC}]_\_]\]

[+direction] : \([+_\text{locomotion}]_\]

Taylor (1971:175) uses the term 'locomotion'. My 'direction' includes his 'locomotion' and 'transfer'.

[-direction] : \([+\text{location}]

Taylor 1971 does not distinguish these [+location] classes.

[+dative
[+goal] : \([+_\text{DAT}]_\]

COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

\[ [+\text{dative}]_{-\text{goal}} : [+_{-}\{ [+\text{DAT}] \{ [+\text{OBJ},+\text{poss}] \} ] \]


\[-\text{goal} \] : [+source]

In Sec. 3.3.5, the subclasses are given with their case frames and with example verbs and sentences. In Sec. 3.3.6, the semantic tree is given again with verb-class labels and an example verb for each class.

3.3.4 INNER AND OUTER CASES

3.3.4.1 Inner LOCATIVE and Outer LOCATIVE

Fillmore (1968:26, fn. 34) suggests a distinction between an "inner" highly restricting LOCATIVE, often associated with directional expressions, which is "inside the VP" and an "outer" weakly restricting LOCATIVE (associated with non-directional locational expressions) which is "outside the VP". Teng (1972), in his dissertation, "A Semantic Study of Transitivity Relations in Chinese", develops the distinction between inner and outer LOCATIVE, noting that, whereas "the outer Locative occurs freely...with all Action verbs,...inner Locative divides all action verbs into Locative and non-Locative" (p. 60).

Platt (1971:30-3), following Fillmore, also discusses different LOCATIVES in terms of "distance". He posits three degrees of location for English, as follows:

"Inner Locative: The Agent, if any, is not usually located at the Location indicated.

Outer Locative: The Agent is usually located at the Location indicated.

Far Outer Locative: There need be no Agent; it is freely permutable, independently of the other Locatives, to clause beginning or final position" (p. 33).

He further specifies that an inner LOCATIVE is obligatory and/or directional. It has been found for Vietnamese that, in terms of verb classes, a distinction between Outer and Far Outer LOCATIVE is not relevant. Outer LOCATIVE can be selected for any verb by RR 1 above. It has also been found that, although inner LOCATIVES - whether obligatory or optional - are usually directional, they can also occur with location markers with certain verbs. A directional and a locational inner LOCATIVE are shown in (3.82) and (3.83), respectively. (3.84) gives an outer LOCATIVE.
(3.82) nòi liêng sợi giấy qua sông
3p throw Cl rope across river

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AC & +L & +AC \\
+AGT & +OBJ & +gol & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

"He threw the rope across the river."

(3.83) Lan bỏ kẹo ở trong hộp
put candy in inside box

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AC & +L & +AC \\
+AGT & +OBJ & +lcn & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

"Lan put the candy in the box."

(3.84) Lâm làm việc ở Sài Gòn
do work in

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AC & +L & +AC \\
+AGT & +OBJ & +lcn & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

"Lam works in Saigon."

Kullavanijaya (1974:56) makes a distinction for Thai between strict inner locative, which is required by a specified group of verbs, and non-strict inner locative, which is optional but is implied by the lexical content of some verbs.

Inner LOCATIVE is usually associated with the OBJECTIVE case relation, whether OBJECTIVE is in the AC case form (as in (3.82) and (3.83) above) or the NM case form, as in (3.85).

(3.85) Lâm ngồi vào xe đen
sit into car black

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
+NM & +L \\
+OBJ & +gol \\
\end{array}
\]

"Lam sat in the black car."

That is, inner LOCATIVE states the location, goal, or source of OBJECTIVE.

Inner LOCATIVE subclassifies [+voluntary] OBJECTIVE verbs and AGENTIVE verbs into locative and non-locative subcategories. Locative verbs have [+__([+LOC])] specified for their lexical entries by the semantic feature [+locative], and are further subclassified, according to the semantic feature tree in the preceding section, into Location, Source, and Goal verbs. Locative semantic features on locative Vs and [+L] Ps are related by the following subcategorisation and redundancy rules:
In Vietnamese, the distinction between [+gol] 'toward' and [+path] 'along, via' is not overtly marked by any difference in case marker. This is frequently true of the distinction between [+gol] 'toward' and [+ter] 'to, reaching', although [+ter] can be made explicit by the use of the [+ter] sub-CF. This feature tree shows the close relationship between Goal and Terminus. It also shows the primary dichotomy between Location and Direction and the secondary dichotomy between Goal and Source.

3.3.4.2 DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE

The DATIVE and BENEFATIVE cases play roles somewhat similar to those played by inner and outer LOCATIVE, respectively. Whereas DATIVE and inner LOCATIVE subcategorise verbs in a rather strict sense, BENEFATIVE subcategorises verbs only very broadly and outer LOCATIVE can be said not to subcategorise verbs at all.

Fillmore (1968:26, fn. 34) states that outer LOCATIVE "is in some respects similar in its 'selectional' properties to what might be called the benefactive case B". However, he discusses this in terms of "dependency relations between cases" rather than in terms of what a particular verb allows in its case frame.

Teng (1972:59) includes DATIVE and inner LOCATIVE in a group of cases which he says define case frames. He includes BENEFATIVE and outer LOCATIVE in a group which he states is "dependent" on the first group - again, dependency relations between cases.
Platt (1971:47-51) discusses Benefactive as the "perceived benefici-
ciary of an action or state". His Benefactive includes my DATIVE, but
he makes a distinction between Factivive Benefactives with verbs like
build, make, cook, and bake, which occur with for in English (my BENE-
FACTIVE), as in

(3.86) Joe is building a house FOR FRED.

and Benefactives which imply change of ownership with verbs like give,
show, and donate, which occur with to in English (my Goal DATIVE), as in

(3.87) George showed a book TO MARY.

In both of these Benefactives, the beneficiary becomes an Alienable Pos-
sessor. Another Benefactive involving Alienable Possession is the pos-
sessive, which is Agentless, as in

(3.88) FRED has a car.

Platt considers all three of these Benefactives to be inner Benefactives
(p. 50). Benefactives not involving Alienable Possession, as in (3.89),
are outer Benefactives.

(3.89) I'll walk the dog FOR YOU.

My distinction between inner (DATIVE) and outer (BENEFATIVE) differs
from Platt and has to do with case frames of verbs in Vietnamese. DATIVE
is subject of the verb of possessi on có 'have', but my non-subject
DATIVE is more restricted than Platt's Agent inner Benefactive, being
available only to certain AGENTIVE verbs of direction and occurring only
with the verb/preposition cho 'to' and some [+L] prepositions, not the
[+B] prepositions. BENEFATIVE is available to many classes of verbs,
and may occur not only with cho but also with the prepositions giùm/họ
'for', with the same meaning.

An explicit classification of verbs on the basis of inner LOCATIVE
and DATIVE can be more clearly demonstrated in Chinese because of the
position of these case relations relative to the verb. Inner LOCATIVE
may occur before or after the verb; Outer LOCATIVE occurs only before
the verb. Goal DATIVE may occur before or after the verb; BENEFATIVE
occurs only before the verb. (See Secs. 4.1 and 4.3.8, and Hashimoto
(1971) make verb classifications on the basis of postverbal occurrences
of LOCATIVE and DATIVE.

The D case form in Chinese is gēl 'give; to, for'. Sentence (3.90),
taken from Hashimoto 1971:19, with the AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Goal verb song
'send, give', has both BENEFATIVE and DATIVE marked by the [+D] pre-
position; the proper interpretation depends on the ordering restriction
mentioned above.
(3.90) Zhang San げえ Li Si gons-le yī bēn shū げえ Wang Er
for give- one Cl book to Perf

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{+NM\} \\
\{+AGT\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+D\} \\
\{+AC\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+BEN\} \\
\{+OBJ\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+AC\} \\
\{+OBJ\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+D\} \\
\{+AC\}
\end{array}
\]

'Zhang San gave a book to Wang Er for Li Si.'

Since xíe 'write' is an AGENTIVE-DATIVE verb, (3.91), with the げえ phrase before the verb, is ambiguous.

(3.91) wǒ げえ nǐ xíe xīn (Liang 1971:15)
I give you write letter

a) 'I write a letter on your behalf.'
b) 'I write a letter to you.'

It may be disambiguated by replacing げえ with the P ᵗèrent 'on behalf of' for BENEFACTIVE, as in (3.92), or by having the げえ phrase follow the verb for DATIVE, as in (3.93).

(3.92) wǒ ᵗèrent nǐ xíe xīn (Liang 1971:15)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{+NM\} \\
\{+AGT\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+B\} \\
\{+AC\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+BEN\} \\
\{+OBJ\}
\end{array}
\]

(3.93) wǒ xíe xīn げえ nǐ (Liang 1971:15)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{+NM\} \\
\{+AGT\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+AC\} \\
\{+OBJ\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+D\} \\
\{+AC\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+DAT\}
\end{array}
\]

The verb mǎi 'buy' is not an AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Goal verb, so (3.94) is unambiguously BENEFACTIVE.

(3.94) tā げえ wǒ mǎi shū (Liang 1971:34)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{+NM\} \\
\{+AGT\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+D\} \\
\{+AC\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+BEN\} \\
\{+OBJ\}
\end{array}
\]

'He buys a book on my behalf.'

If the げえ phrase occurs after the verb mǎi, as in (3.95), げえ cannot be a P, but instead can only be a verb which, with mǎi, expresses sequential action.

(3.95) tā mǎi shū げえ wǒ (Liang 1971:35)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{+NM\} \\
\{+AGT\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+V\} \\
\{+AC\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+V\} \\
\{+OBJ\}
\end{array} \begin{array}{c}
\{+AC\} \\
\{+DAT\}
\end{array}
\]

'He buys books and gives them to me.'

The verb げえ, like Vietnamese cho, takes its DATIVE in the AC case form. Chao (1968:318) states, 'The verb げえ 'give' itself does not take げえ 'to'...It is, however, quite common to have two verbal expressions in
series using gēi in both expressions". He gives the following example:

(3.96)  gēi qiān gēi tā  
'give money to him'  

(Chao 1968:318)

He does not explain the contradiction between his first statement and his gloss of (3.96). Should (3.96) be translated 'give money, give (it) to him'?

Nguyen D-H (1973:2) compares DATIVE (indirect object) and BENEFACITIVE in Vietnamese. His underlying structures for the ambiguous sentence (3.97) might be construed as support for the inner-outer notion. The cho of his DATIVE phrase (structure 1) shares main-verb status with the other verb, whereas his BENEFATIVE (structure 2) is a separate embedded sentence which is attributed to the other verb and is therefore presumably optional and more "outer".

(3.97)  ông ấy bán nhà cho bà ấy  
'He sold a house to/for her.'  

(Nguyen 1973:1)

When cho marks BENEFATIVE, (3.97) can be disambiguated by using the [+B] P giumo or hō instead of cho, as mentioned above.
For a further distinction between DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE, Nguyen D-H (1973:3) points out that when the object of cho is "second person" and cho marks BENEFACTIVE, the object of cho can be omitted when the sentence is "in a causative frame". For example,

(3.98) ông ấy bán nhà cho bà
\textit{grand- that sell house give grandmother father 'He sells a house to/for you.'}

which is ambiguous, can be

(3.99) đê ông ấy bán nhà cho (Nguyen 1973:3)
\textit{let he sell house give 'Let him sell a house for you.'}

only when cho marks BENEFACTIVE: "The indirect object noun phrase can be deleted only...when it denotes the benefactive,...and not when it denotes the goal, the receiver, the recipient" (p. 3).

On the basis of the foregoing statements, it can be hypothesised that the distinction between DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE, like that between Inner and Outer LOCATIVE, belongs to the properties of a universal grammar, and that different languages show this distinction in different ways. One of the ways, shown for Vietnamese, Chinese, and English, is the optional use of distinct prepositions.

3.3.5 THE VERB CLASSES IN VIETNAMESE

3.3.5.1 AGENTIVE-DATIVE Verbs

As shown in the semantic feature tree in Sec. 3.3.3, there are two major classes of AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D) verbs: A-D-Goal verbs and A-D-Source verbs.

3.3.5.1.1 AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Goal Verbs

A-D-Goal verbs are those AGENTIVE verbs which can take a goal DATIVE, i.e. the animate goal or recipient of the action of the verb, in addition to their OBJECTIVE. These verbs are frequently called ditransitive verbs in other studies. In general, A-D-Goal verbs have the following semantic and case frame features (overleaf):
As shown in the feature matrix, DATIVE can occur in the AC case form only immediately following the verb. Most of these case frame features are predictable in terms of semantic features and are specified for lexical items by lexical redundancy rules on verbs. They are given here in the verb matrix to more clearly show the distinctions between the verb classes discussed here.

A-D-Goal verbs include the following:

- cho: give
- gởi/giữ: send
- đem: carry, take
- mang: carry
- khen: (of two or more persons) carry a heavy thing
- phát: distribute
- tin: inform, send news
- viết: write
- đưa: hand, take
- tặng: present, offer as a gift
- trao/giao: deliver, entrust
- trả/giả: pay, give back
- bán: sell
- dạy: teach
- kể: relate, narrate, cite
- báo: say, tell
- hỏi: ask
- trình: report
- báo cáo: report
- chuyển(-đạt): convey, transmit
- truyền: transmit, order
Some of the verbs, e.g. bán 'sell', dạy 'teach', and kẻ 'relate', cannot take inner LOCATIVES and cannot take their DATIVES in the L case form. Since an optional directional LOCATIVE is specified for A-D-Goal verbs by RR, verbs such as bán, dạy, and kẻ must have in their case frames the feature \([-\_[+dir,+LOC]]\). They must also have \([-\_[+L,+DAT]]\).

Example sentences with some of the A-D-Goal verbs follow.

The DATIVE of the verb cho always occurs next to the verb and in the AC case form, as in (3.100).

(3.100) mẹ cho con một cái bánh ngọt
mother give child one Cl cake sweet
\([+NM] [+AC] [+DAT] [+OBJ] \)
'I'll give you a sweet cake, my child.'

With other A-D-Goal verbs, DATIVE immediately following the verb can occur in either the D or the AC case form, as in (3.101), and sometimes the order difference corresponds to a change of meaning (Nguyen D-H 1973:14).

(3.101) Lan gửi (cho) tôi một món quà ngon
send to I one Cl gift taste good
\([+NM] [+D] [+AC] [+DAT] [+AC] [+OBJ] \)
'Lan sent me a tasty gift.'

(3.102) Lan gửi quà qua tôi
send gift across I to
\([+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+DAT] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] \)
'Lan sent a gift over to me.'

(3.103) Lan gửi quà sang Mỹ
send gift across America to
\([+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+DAT] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+AC] [+LOC] \)
'Lan sent a gift across to America.'

(3.104) Lan gửi quà sang Mỹ cho tôi
\([+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+DAT] [+L] [+AC] [+AC] [+AC] [+LOC] \)
'Lan sent a gift to America to me.'
(tôi in (3.104) can also be [+BEN]: 'Lan sent a gift to America (to somebody else) FOR me.')

An A-D-Goal verb can take a Source LOCATIVE, as in

\[ (3.105) \text{em có quí chi một buu-đinh tư Hoa-thịnh-dón} \]
\[ \text{young have send elder one postcard from Washington} \]
\[ [+NM] [+AC] [+DAT] [+OBJ] [+SRC] [+LOC] \]

'I sent you a postcard from Washington.'

\[ (3.106) \text{con dem cát dao nêy cho có ngoài hien di} \]
\[ \text{child carry Cl knife this to miss outside verandah Imper} \]
\[ [+NM] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+DAT] [+AC] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'Take this knife to the girl out on the verandah, my child.'

The LOCATIVE in (3.106) is not an inner LOCATIVE of the verb dem but is a LOCATIVE attribute of the DATIVE noun có.

\[ (3.107) \text{con sê...dem xac ba xuong giữa sông (Shum 1965:93)} \]
\[ \text{child Fut take body father down middle river} \]
\[ [+NM] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+L] [+GOL] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'I'll bring your body, father (as you ask, and throw it), into the middle of the river.'

\[ (3.108) \text{khi biết ngày đi tôi sẽ tin cho có rõ} \]
\[ \text{time know day go I Fut inform to miss clear} \]
\[ [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+L] [+NM] [+DAT] [+AC] \]

'When I know the day I'm going, I'll let you know exactly.'

\[ (3.109) \text{nò tin việc nêy về Sài-gòn (Nguyen-Dang Liem)} \]
\[ \text{3p inform matter this back to} \]
\[ [+NM] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+L] [+GOL] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'He sent the information about this matter back to Saigon.'

\[ (3.110) \text{ông-éy viết thư cho cô-éy} \]
\[ \text{he write letter to she} \]
\[ [+NM] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+DAT] [+AC] \]

'He wrote letters to her.'
(3.111) ông-áy viết thư về Sài Gòn
he write letter back to

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] \quad [+L] \quad [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \]

'He wrote letters back to Saigon.'

(3.112) em sẽ trả lời cho người đó trước
young Fut return word to person that first sib

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] [+D] [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \]

'I'll answer that person first.'

(3.113) ông-áy bán hai cái nhà cho tôi
he sell two Cl house to I

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] [+D] [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \]

'He sold two houses to me.'

(3.114) có Xuân dạy toán cho Huỳnh
miss teach math to

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] [+D] [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \]

'Miss Xuan teaches mathematics to Huỳnh.'

(3.115) ông Phong báo cáo tin-tức cho tôi
str report news to I

\[ [+NM] \quad [+AC] [+D] [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \]

'Mr Phong reported the news to me.'

Some of the A-D-Goal verbs allow optionality of OBJECTIVE, as shown in (3.116).

(3.116) ... báo cáo lên Tổng thống (Nguyen D-H 1972:407)
report up to national president

\[ [+L] \quad [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \]

'report to the President of the Republic'

(3.117) thi-sĩ Xuan chuyển đạt đến cô những lời khen thành- thật poet convey to miss Pl word praise sincere

\[ [+NM] \quad [+L] [+AC] [+AC] \quad [+DAT] \quad [+OBJ] \]

'The poet Xuan sends you words of sincere praise.'
3.3.5.1.2 AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Source Verbs

Some of the AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D) Source verbs are

- mua   buy
- nhận receive
- thu    collect
- tranh  take away
- lấy   take from
- ăn cấp steal
- cướp  rob
- mượn  borrow
- vay   borrow

These verbs are discussed in Nguyen D-H 1973 (9-13) as Verbs of Taking.

The source nouns of A-D-Source verbs in many languages are marked with [+L, +src] case markers; cf. English 'buy the book FROM her', Japanese (Taylor 1971:412), Khmer (Sec. 6.2.1.4 in this study), and Thai (Sec. 6.2.2.4). This is not possible in Vietnamese, i.e. (3.118) is ungrammatical.

(3.118) * tôi mua sách từ ông Lâm
  I buy book from sir
  'I bought books from Mr Lam.'

Source DATIVES in Vietnamese are commonly marked with a Genitive construction using the noun c"ua 'property, possession of' (Nguyen 1973:11), as in (3.119) and (3.120).

(3.119) tôi mua sách c"ua ông Lâm
  I buy book property sir
  'I bought books of Mr Lam.'

(3.120) ông thư-ký lấy cái quàt c"ua cô y-tá (Nguyen 1973:10)
  clerk take Cl fan property female nurse
  'The clerk took a fan from the nurse.'

(3.120) could also have the meaning 'the clerk took the nurse's fan', in which case (3.120) would have the structure shown in (3.121) in which the Genitive phrase c"ua cô y-tá modifies the noun quàt. However, for the first meaning given for (3.120), the structure of (3.120) is quite different from (3.121): C"ua cô y-tá does not modify the noun quàt but is a separate NP constituent from the NP of which quàt is the head, as is shown in (3.122), in which the Genitive phrase precedes the OBJECTIVE noun quàt.
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(3.121)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ông thư ký lấy cái quạt}\quad \text{cô y-tà}\quad \text{cái quạt}
\
\text{sir sec'y take thing fan property miss nurse}
\end{array}
\]

(3.122) ông thư ký lấy cùa cô y-tà cái quạt (Nguyen 1973:10)
'The clerk took a fan from the nurse.'

Also, the OBJECTIVE phrase, e.g. in (3.119), can be topicalised, leaving the Genitive phrase behind:

(3.123) cuốn sách này tôi mua cùa ông Lâm
'Ve can say that the structure of (3.120) with the meaning given in (3.120) is (3.124).

(3.124)

Cùa indirectly states a Genitive relationship between two nouns, the possessor (e.g. cô y-tà) and the possessee (e.g. cái quạt). Further, the possessor by definition always has a DATIVE case relation with the noun cùa. Relationships between nouns are outside the scope of the verb-noun case relationships discussed in this study. However, it can be stated that, because of coreferentiality between the Genitive noun cùa and the possessee (in the above examples, the OBJECTIVE noun), cùa has the same
case relation with the verb as the possessee, and the following partially specified case frame can be hypothesised for the mua-type A-D-Source verbs.

\[
\text{mua 'buy'}
\begin{align*}
+\text{source} \\
+[+\text{NM},+\text{AGT}] & \\
+[+\text{AC},+\text{OBJ}] \\
+[+\text{OBJ},+\text{poss}] & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The lexical entry for cua will have the feature [+possessive] and will be specified for an obligatory following DATIVE noun.

However, this does not account for all the A-D-Source verbs in Vietnamese. Nguyen (1973:15) states that with certain verbs cua is left out. He gives examples with the verbs mua 'borrow' and vay 'borrow', one of which follows.

\begin{quote}
(3.125) tôi mua anh cuốn sách này nhé (Nguyen 1973:15)
\vspace{1em}
I borrow elder Cl book this O.K.?
\vspace{1em}
\begin{align*}
+\text{NM} \\
+\text{AGT} \\
+\text{DAT} \\
+\text{OBJ} & \\
\end{align*}
\vspace{1em}
'May I borrow this book from you?'
\end{quote}

The case frames for mua-type subclass of A-D-Source verbs include the following features:

\[
\text{mua 'borrow'}
\begin{align*}
+\text{source} \\
+[+\text{NM},+\text{AGT}] & \\
+[+\text{AC},+\text{OBJ}] \\
+[+\text{OBJ},+\text{DAT}] & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Since the D case form in Vietnamese marks only DATIVES occurring with A-D-Goal verbs, the D case form occurring with A-D-Source verbs unambiguously marks BENEFACTIVE, as in (3.126).

\begin{quote}
(3.126) tôi mua sách cho ông Lâm
\vspace{1em}
I buy book for sir
\vspace{1em}
\begin{align*}
+\text{NM} \\
+\text{AGT} \\
+\text{OBJ} \\
+\text{D} & \\
+\text{AC} \\
+\text{BEN} & \\
\end{align*}

'I bought books for Mr Lam.'
\end{quote}

ông Lâm in (3.126) can be DATIVE if cho ông Lâm is considered to be a conjoined or subordinated sentence and cho an A-D verb: 'I bought books and gave them to Mr Lam' / 'I bought books to give to Mr Lam'. When a
noun precedes the OBJECTIVE of a non- 

mun -type A-D-Source verb and is
unmarked with a preposition, it also is unambiguously BENEFATIVE, as
tố in (3.127).

(3.127) cô -á 
mua tó sách
she buy I book

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+AC \\
+BEN \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array}
\]

\{ 'She bought me books.'
\{ 'She bought books for me.' \}

3.3.5.2 AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE Verbs

3.3.5.2.1 AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal Verbs

AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE (A-L) Goal verbs have the feature matrix:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{voluntary} \\
+\text{agentive} \\
+\text{locative} \\
+\text{direction} \\
-\text{dative} \\
+\text{goal} \\
+\text{goal} \\
+\text{goal} \\
+\text{goal} \\
+\text{[NM,AGT]} \\
+\text{[AC,OBJ]} \\
+\text{[AC,rel]} \\
+\text{LOC]}
\end{array}
\]

The LOCATIVE of A-L-Goal verbs must have either [+L] or a locative
relator noun (indicated by the feature [+relation] or [+rel]; see Sec.
3.2.3).

Following are some of the A-L-Goal verbs in Vietnamese:

dé put, place, leave
dặt place, put
thọc thrust, poke
án thrust, press
bọ cast, put
vút throw away, discard
liểng throw, cast, hurl
gốp contribute
dớ transfer, move
dơn move, arrange
dâu stop, part (vehicle)
lái drive (vehicle) (sentence (3.35) above,
Sec. 3.2.2.4.2)
chéo oar, row, paddle
Although the case frame indicates that LOCATIVE is generally optional for A-L verbs, some of these verbs, such as đế 'put' and thác 'thrust', have obligatory LOCATIVE - Kullavanijaya's strict inner locative (1974: 56; and Sec. 3.3.4.1 above).

The verbs áp 'press', treo 'hang', dán 'glue', vẽ 'draw', and viết 'write' can take their LOCATIVES only with the relator noun trên 'the top, the surface' or with the [+L,+gol] marker vào 'onto', as in (3.128) and (3.129).

(3.128) nó viết vai lôi | trên giấy | cho ông Hải
he write some word | top paper | for Mr
[+NM] [+AC] [+AC] [+D] [+AC] [+BEN]  

vào giấy
onto paper
[+L] [+AC] [+LOC]

'He wrote some words on paper for Mr Hải.'

(3.129) nàng áp mặt vào cửa sổ
she press face onto window
[+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+AC]  

vào giấy
onto paper
[+L] [+gol] [+AC] [+LOC]

'She pressed her face to the window.'

The [+gol] vào can also mean 'into', but in (3.128) and (3.129) it can mean only 'onto'; that is, because of the semantic properties of the verb áp, vào cửa sổ in (3.129) cannot mean 'into the window opening' but only 'onto the window glass/frame' (Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi, personal communication).

On the other hand, a verb such as thác 'thrust' usually takes the 'into' meaning of vào, as in (3.130).

(3.130) nó thác tay vào cửa sổ
he thrust hand into window
[+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+AC]  

'He thrust his hand in through the window.'
thộc does not occur with the relator noun trên; i.e. (3.131) is ungrammatical.

(3.131) * nó thông gậy trên đất / bùn

He thrust a stick on the ground/mud.

But thông can occur with other relator nouns, for example, trong 'the inside', as in (3.132).

(3.132) nó thông gậy trong bùn

He thrust a stick into the mud.

It appears that the P vào has two distinguishing properties related to the subcategorisation of verbs. We might say that vào has the feature [+entering] which, by the rules

1. [+entering] → [+surface]
2. [-surface] → [+enclosed]

gives vào the features [+enclosed,+surface]; that trên has the feature [+surface]; that trong has the features [-surface,+interior]; and that the rules

3. [+V,+P]
   [+enclosed] → [+___[+interior]]
4. [+V,+P]
   [+surface] → [+___[+surface]]

apply to verbs and prepositions. Further, in addition to the feature [+___([+L,+AC,+rel],+LOC])], verbs such as áp seem to have a semantic property which modifies that feature as follows: [+___([+L,+AC,+rel],+LOC,+surface)]. These features ensure that áp-class verbs will not occur with L case markers or locative relator nouns which do not have the feature [+surface], which is consistent with the facts of the language. See Sec. 6.2.2.1.1 for these rules in relation to Thái khaw 'into' and Sec. 6.2.2.1.3 regarding Thái nay 'inside'.

An interesting fact is that the A-L-[+surface] verb viết 'write' is also an AGENTIVE-DATIVE verb (see the preceding section) and it is one of the A-D verbs which take a directional LOCATIVE, as in (3.133).

(3.133) nó viết thông vào Sài Gòn

3p write letter into

He wrote a letter to Saigon.
Thus, to account for the syntactic behaviour of **viêt**, we might postulate that **viêt**'s feature matrix would include the following features 

\([+surf] = [+surface]) .

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+} & \text{([} +AC \text{]} , +DAT)) \\
\text{+} & \text{([} +L,+gol\text{]}, +surf, +LOC)) \\
\text{+} & \text{([} +L,+AC, +rel\text{]}, +surf, +LOC)) \\
\text{+} & \text{([} +L,+gol, -surf, +LOC]) \\
\text{-} & \text{[-surf] [+surf]} \\
\text{-} & \text{[+DAT] [+LOC]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Should both LOCATIVES occur in the same sentence, the \([+surf]\) LOCATIVE occurs before the \([-surf]\) LOCATIVE and either LOCATIVE before DATIVE.

Examples of some of the other A-L verbs in sentences are given here.

(3.134) nàng dê kẹo ᵃ ṙ trong hop she put candy in inside box

\[
\begin{align*}
+NM & \quad +AV \quad +L \quad +AC \\
+AGT & \quad +OBJ \quad +cn \quad +LOC
\end{align*}
\]

'She placed the candy in a box.'

(3.135) dê cả dưới gầm phần (Thompson 1965a:201)

put all below space wooden beneath camp bed

\[
\begin{align*}
+AC & \quad +AL \\
+OBJ & \quad +LOC \\
+rel
\end{align*}
\]

'Put (them) all (in the space) under the camp bed.'

(3.136) Hưng liêng sợi giày qua sông

throw Cl rope across river

\[
\begin{align*}
+NM & \quad +AV \quad +L \quad +AC \\
+AGT & \quad +OBJ \quad +gol \quad +LOC
\end{align*}
\]

'Hung threw the rope across the river.'

(3.137) xin cho chim gop nhac vê trời

please give bird donate music back to sky

\[
\begin{align*}
+NM & \quad +AV \quad +L \\
+DAT & \quad +OBJ \quad +gol \quad +LOC
\end{align*}
\]

'Please let the birds bring music back to the sky.'

(from Trịnh-Công-Sơn "Xin Cho Tôi" (song) 1966)
(3.138) họ đón nhà đến khu khác
they move house to area other

\[+\text{NM}] [+\text{AGT}] [+\text{AC}] [+\text{L}] [+\text{ter}] [+\text{LOC}]

'They moved to another area.'

(3.139) nó tìm được vàng ở dưới sông
they search obtain gold in below river

\[+\text{NM}] [+\text{AGT}] [+\text{AC}] [+\text{L}] [+\text{ter}] [+\text{LOC}]

'He found gold in the river.'

3.3.5.2.2 AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE-Source Verbs

Some of the A-L-Source verbs are:
- **bờ** remove
- **tẩy** erase, remove, take out
- **xóa** erase, cross out
- **nhỏ** pull up, extract

They have the following case frame (ext = extent; see remarks below regarding khởi).

\[
\begin{align*}
+\text{voluntary} \\
+\text{agentive} \\
+\text{locative} \\
+\text{direction} \\
-\text{dative} \\
-\text{goal} \\
+\{[+\text{NM}, +\text{AGT}] \}_1 \\
+\{[+\text{AC}, +\text{OBJ}] \}_2 \\
+\{[+\text{L}, +\text{rel}, -\text{ext}], +\text{LOC} \}_3
\end{align*}
\]

Frequently, the LOCATIVES of A-L-Source verbs are not marked overtly for Source, the only Source marking being on the verb itself, with the LOCATIVE marked only by a locative relator noun, as in (3.140) and (3.141).

(3.140) cô-ý xóa bài trên bảng đen
she erase lesson top blackboard

\[+\text{NM}] [+\text{V}] [+\text{AC}] [+\text{L}] [+\text{AC}] \\
+\text{AGT} [+\text{src}] [+\text{OBJ}] [+\text{LOC}]

'She erased the lesson from the blackboard.'
(3.141) chì-áy nhọ lúa ngoài đồng (Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi)

she pull up rice outside field

\ [+NM] [+AGT] [+V] [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+LOC]

{"She's uprooting the rice from the field.'}

{"She's out in the field uprooting rice.'}

As with A-D-Source verbs, the [+L,+src,+ext] P từ 'from' never occurs with A-L-Source verbs, i.e. (3.142) and (3.143) are ungrammatical.

(3.142) * cò-áy xóa bài từ bảng đen

she erase lesson from blackboard

(3.143) * chì-áy nhọ cây (ra) từ đất

she uproot plant out from earth

\ [+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+Adv] [+L] [+AC] [+src] [+ext] [+LOC]

"She pulled the plant out of the ground.'

However, as shown in the case frame, some A-L-Source verbs can occur with the [-extent] Source L case marker khi 'out of', as in (3.144).

(3.144) chì-áy nhọ cây (ra) khi đất

she uproot plant out of earth

\ [+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+Adv] [+L] [+AC] [+src] [+ext] [+LOC]

"She pulled the plant out of the ground.'

In (3.145), tren is commonly used whereas ra khi is "snobbish" (Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi).

(3.145) chì-áy tẩy rết nhọ tren áo

she remove stain top dress

\ [+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+LOC]

ra khi áo

out out of dress

[Adv] [+L] [+src] [+ext] [+AC] [+LOC]

"She removed the stain from her dress.'

3.3.5.2.3 AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE-Location Verbs

A-L-Location verbs include the following:
 COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

ān  
= eat
nâu  
= cook, boil
chiên  
= fry
giặt  
= wash (clothes)
rửa  
= wash (object, parts of body)
giội (đầu 'head')  
= wash (hair)
may  
= sew
ủi  
= iron, press
câu  
= fish
liêm  
= do, make
dọc  
= read
hoc  
= study
giữ  
= keep

Little investigation has been done on this class of verbs other than to identify it as a class on the basis of the verbs' ability to take optional inner locational LOCATIVES. The following case frame is proposed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+voluntary} \\
\text{+agentive} \\
\text{+locative} \\
\text{-direction} \\
\text{[+[NM,+AGT]]} \\
\text{++([+AC,+OBJ])} \\
\text{++([+[L,+lcn],+LOC])}
\end{align*}
\]

A-L-Location verbs take their LOCATIVES with a [+L,+lcn] P or a locative relator noun ([+rel]; see Sec. 3.2.3).

Many of these verbs, unlike most of the AGENTIVE verbs of direction, have optional OBJECTIVES. They might have the feature [+durative], a term suggested by Susan Fisher (personal communication) for this type of verb with optional OBJECTIVE. Keedong Lee (1974b) discusses a distinction between verbs of "activity" (or atelic verbs - [+durative]) and verbs of "accomplishment" (telic verbs) on the basis of the distinctive use of resultative aspect markers, thus providing another possible basis for class distinction. Nevertheless, it is supposed that most of these verbs require OBJECTIVE when they have inner LOCATIVE, as in (3.146), since the inner LOCATIVE is the location of the OBJECTIVE, not the AGENTIVE.

\[(3.146)\]  

\[\text{no ăn cháo (') trong chén lớn} \]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{3p eat gruel in inside bowl big} \\
[+[NM] \\
[+[AC] \\
[+[L] \\
[+[AC] \\
[+[L] \\
[+[lcn] \\
[+[AC] \\
[+[lcn] \\
[+[rel] \\
[+[rel] \\
\text{He eats his rice gruel in a large bowl.}\]
\]
Without the OBJECTIVE or a specifically understood OBJECTIVE, the inner LOCATIVE in (3.146) would become an outer LOCATIVE:

(3.148) nó ăn trong chén lớn
3p eat inside bowl big

'He's in a big bowl eating.'

The inner LOCATIVE precedes an outer LOCATIVE, as in (3.149).

(3.149) hai rửa chén trong chậu ngoài hiện
elder two wash bowl inside basin outside verandah

'Second Sister is washing dishes in a basin out on the verandah.'

Besides both inner and outer LOCATIVES, (3.150) has an included LOCATIVE; that is, dưới đất is a LOCATIVE attribute to the noun ván, as shown in the following structure.

(3.151)
COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

(3.152) Họ câu cá ngoài biển, trên sông, trong hồ và dưới ao
they fish fish outside sea top river inside lake and below pond

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AGT & +AC & +LOC \\
+OBJ & +LOC & +AC & +LOC \\
+AC & +LOC & +AC & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'They fish in the sea, in the river, in the lake, and in the pond.'

(3.153) Bác Hải làm nhà (σ) ngoài đồng
close make house in outside field

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AGT & +AC & +LOC \\
+OBJ & +AC & +LOC & +AC \\
+AC & +LOC & +AC & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'Old Hai is building a house in the field.'

We know that ngoài đồng in (3.153) is an inner LOCATIVE because (3.153)
can mean either that Old Hai is building the house himself or is having
it built by someone else.

(3.154) Lan giữ sách học (σ) trong tủ
keep book study in inside cabinet

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AGT & +AC & +LOC \\
+OBJ & +AC & +LOC & +AC \\
+AC & +LOC & +AC & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'Lan keeps her textbooks in the cabinet.'

3.3.5.3 AGENTIVE Verbs

The [-locative] AGENTIVE verbs have the case frame:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+voluntary & \\
+agentive & \\
-locative & \\
+ [NM, +AGT] & \\
+ [AC, +OBJ] & \\
\end{array}
\]

They include the following verbs:

săn hunt (predare)
chơi play
dánh hit
giết kill
cắn bite (of animal)
xẻ tear, tear up, rend
xẻ split up, cut (up)
dan knit, weave

Some of the AGENTIVE verbs, such as săn 'hunt' and chơi 'play', are
[+durative] verbs - they do not have obligatory OBJECTIVES.

Some examples follow.
They play basketball last week.'

(3.156) họ chệt vói ba người phòng họ (Nguyen V.K. assembly play with three person make allowance for 1964:1157)

They were playing three reserves.'

(3.157) họ ót dồng-bào mình they kill compatriot self

They kill their own countrymen.'

(3.158) chó dụ đó cán con tôi dog fierce that bite child I

'That fierce dog bit my child!'

3.3.5.4 OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal Verbs

The OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE (O-L) Goal verbs have the case frame:

```
[+voluntary]
-agentive
+locative
+direction
+goal
+[+NM,+OBJ]___
+___([+gol,+LOC])
```

They are subdivided into three groups, as follows:

1. Those verbs which can take their LOCATIVES in either the L or the AC case form: [+___([[+L,+AC],+LOC])].

2. Those verbs whose LOCATIVES must occur in the AC case form: [+___([[+AC,+LOC]), -___[[+L,+LOC]]].

3. Those verbs whose LOCATIVES must have either [+L] or a locative relator noun (see Sec. 3.2.3): [+___([[+L,+AC,+rel],+LOC])]. Keedong Lee (personal communication) points out that verbs in this group are Manner of Locomotion verbs.
Verbs of group (1) include the following verbs:

dì  go
ghé  stop by
treo  climb
ngồi  sit
nằm  lie

Following are examples of these verbs in sentences.

(3.159) Xuân đi (vào) Sài Gòn

to into

[+NM]  [+L]  [+AC]  [+Loc]

'Xuan went (down from north of Saigon) to Saigon.'

(3.160) cô-áy ghé nhà Hương một ngày chơi

she stop by house one day play

[+NM]  [+AC]  [+Loc]  [+Tim]

'She stopped by Huong's house for a day to visit.'

(3.161) họ ngồi (vào) xe

they sit into vehicle

[+NM]  [+L]  [+gol]  [+AC]  [+Loc]

'They're sitting in the car.'

Although ngồi 'sit' and nằm 'lie' can take a [+gol] preposition, they can also take a [+lcn] preposition, as in (3.162).

(3.162) Lan nằm ở trên giường

lie in top bed

[+NM]  [+L]  [+lcn]  [+AC]  [+Loc]

'Lan's lying on the bed.'

(3.163) ở Sài Gòn nó thường đi Chợ Lớn

in 3p usual go

[+L]  [+AC]  [+NM]  [+AC]  [+Loc]  [+Loc]

'In Saigon, he often goes to Cholon.'

Verbs of group (2), whose LOCATIVES must occur in the AC case form, might be called Direction of Locomotion verbs. (They are discussed in detail in Sec. 5.3.2 below.) They include the following verbs:
Examples of these verbs in sentences follow.

(3.164) Lăn sang Mỹ học

cross America study

' Lăn went to America to study.'

(3.165) đoàn hướng-dạo xuống tận miền nam

group guide go down extreme region south

point

'The Boy Scouts went all the way down south.'

(3.166) tôi sẽ đến phi-trường

I Fut arrive airport

'I'll come to the airport.'

In its lexical entry, đến is [+terminus], which is [+goal] by implication.

Verbs of group (3) include the following verbs:

bay fly
nhảy jump, dance
bước step
lọt swim, wade, wallow
chạy run

'thay run, flow

rọi fall (person)

rov fall (leaves, rain)

lạ-chê trickle, drip (tears)
nhê-hê hover, soar (bird, plane)
dâu perch (bird)
dấp approach, be pressed

Some of the O-L-Goal verbs, such as nhê-hê 'soar', dâu 'perch', and dấp 'approach', have corresponding A-L-Goal verbs (see Sec. 3.3.5.2.1 above). It is believed that the A-L verbs are derived from the O-L
verbs by transitivisation derivation (see Kullavanijaya 1974:166ff).

Following are examples of O-L-Goal group (3) verbs in sentences.

(3.167) con cò bay vào ruộng
Cl crane fly into field
[+NM] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC]

'The cranes flew into the field.'

(3.168) chim bay trên trời
bird fly top sky
[+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+LOC] [+rel]

'Birds are flying in the sky.'

(3.169) nó chạy vào cửa hàng xe đạp (Nguyen D-H 1966:527)
3p run into door store bicycle
[+NM] [+L] [+AC] [+gol] [+LOC]

'He ran into the bicycle shop.'

(3.170) sông này chảy ra biển
river this flow out sea
[+NM] [+L] [+AC] [+gol] [+LOC]

'This river flows into the sea.'

(3.171) mưa đang rơi ngoài nhà
rain Prog fall outside house
[+NM] [+AC] [+LOC] [+rel]

'It's raining outside.'

(3.172) nước mắt mẹ già lả-chã...tren xác con lạnh già
water eye mother old trickle top corpse child cold cold
[+NM] [+AC] [+LOC] [+rel]

'The tears of the mother trickle on the cold body of her son.'
(from Phạm Duy "Giót Mưa Trên Lá" in Mười Bài Tấm Ca (songs), 1965)
(3.173) mặt nàng áp vào kính (Nguyen V.K. 1964:669)
    face she press onto glass
    [+NM] [+L] [+AC] [+goal] [+LOC]

    'Her face was glued to the window.'

Compare (3.173) with (3.129) above, with áp as an A-L-Goal verb.

3.3.5.5 OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Source Verbs

O-L-Source verbs have the case frame:

This small set of verbs includes the following:
- rời leave, depart from, be detached from
- xuất leave, move (with corresponding A-L-Goal verb)
- tề be separated from
- ly-khai dissociate oneself from

Like the A-L-Source verbs discussed in Sec. 3.3.5.2.2, O-L-Source verbs frequently do not mark Source overtly. They do not occur with the [+L, +src, +ext] P từ 'from', but can, in some instances, occur with the [+L, +src, -ext] P khởi 'out of', as in (3.175).

(3.174) tôi sẽ rời bệnh viện ngày 26 tháng năm
    I go leave hospital day month five
    [+NM] [+OBJ] [+AC] [+AC] [+LOC] [+TIM]

    'I'll leave the hospital on May 26.'

(3.175) ...rời khởi giường (Nguyen V.K. 1964:896)
    leave out of bed
    [+L] [+AC] [+src] [+LOC] [+ext]

    'leave one's bed'
3.3.5.6 OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Location Verbs

There is a small class of [-direction] OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs whose LOCATIVES occur only in the AC case form. These verbs have the case frame:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[+voluntary}} & \\
\text{-agentive} & \\
\text{[+locative} & \\
\text{-direction} & \\
\text{[+[NM,+OBJ]\_} & \\
\text{+[AC,+LOC]]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

They include the following, with example sentences below:

- be in, reside in
- gần be near to
- xa be far from

(3.176) chị Lan ở Long-Xuyên

elder sis be in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[+NM]} & \\
\text{[+OBJ]} & \\
\text{[+AC]} & \\
\text{[+LOC]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Elder Sister Lan is in Long-Xuyen.'

(3.177) chị-áy xa nhà nhiều

she be far from house much

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[+NM]} & \\
\text{[+OBJ]} & \\
\text{[+AC]} & \\
\text{[+LOC]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'She's often far from home.'

(3.178) lòng tôi không lúc nào xa may chị cả

innards I not moment which be far Pl elder all

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[+NM]} & \\
\text{[+OBJ]} & \\
\text{[+AC]} & \\
\text{[+LOC]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'My heart is never at all far from you girls.'

There are problems concerning gần and xa, and in Sec. 8.5 below they are suggested as a topic for investigation.

3.3.5.7 OBJECTIVE Verbs

The non-Locative OBJECTIVE verbs have the case frame:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[+voluntary}} & \\
\text{-agentive} & \\
\text{-locative} & \\
\text{[+[NM,+OBJ]\_} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
The OBJECTIVE class includes such verbs as the following:

cháy  burn
chết  die
khóc  cry
ngủ  sleep

Following are some examples.

(3.179) ông-ôy  chét  hôm  qua
   he  die  day  past
   [+NM]  [+AC]  [+TIM]

   'He died yesterday.'

(3.180) nó  khóc  nhiều,  rồi  ngủ
   he  cry  much  already  sleep
   [+NM]  [+OBJ]

   'He cried a lot then went to sleep.'
CHART III-4 Semantic Tree of Ten [+voluntary] Verb Classes in Vietnamese
4.1 BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION

The term "coverb" was first used by teachers of Chinese language (see, for example, Hockett & Fang 1945, Spoken Chinese, and DeFrancis 1963, Beginning Chinese) to describe a verb which

1) occurs as a secondary verb preceding the main verb in a sentence,
2) is followed by a noun phrase with which it forms a constituent,
3) can be translated as a preposition in English.

DeFrancis (1963:83) gives this description: "Coverbs are transitive verbs which precede the main verb of the sentence. Some coverbs, such as  "be\text{ at}" (at'), are sometimes used as full verb; a few are never anything but coverbs. All can be translated as prepositions in English." 

(4.1) is an example,

\begin{equation}
(4.1) \text{ té zài Zhōngguó niàn shū} \quad \text{(Teng 1972:72)}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
\text{he} \text{ be in China} & \text{ read book} \\
\text{He's studying in China.}
\end{align*}

where zài is the coverb, zài Zhōngguó is the "coverb phrase", and niàn is the main verb.

Though the term "coverb" is used to some extent in linguistic studies of Chinese (Y-C Li 1971; Liang 1971; C. Li & Thompson 1973a,c, etc.), the term "preposition" is a more common one for such secondary verbs (Chao 1968, Ch'en 1972, A. Hashimoto 1971, Teng 1972, and C. Li & Thompson 1973a-c, etc.).

There are three coverbs in Mandarin Chinese which are directly relevant to a study of coverbs and the classification of verbs in Vietnamese. They are zài 'in, at', dào 'to', and gõi 'for, to'. It is these three coverbs which can also occur in phrases following the main verb instead of preceding it, in which case they are called "postverbs" by Y-C Li
(1971:3) and "complements" by Chao (1968:326,753). Below are examples of zài, dào, and gěi in both positions.

(4.2) niáo zài tiān-shang fēi (Liang 1971:89)
bird be in sky on top fly
'Birds fly in the sky.'

(4.3) tā zhù zài Táizhōng (Y-C Li 1971:3)
he live be in Taichung
'He lives in Taichung.'

(4.4) nǐ dào wǒmen jiā lái hāishì wǒ dào nǐmen jiā qù (Chao 1968:756)
you to we house come or I to youPl house go
'Will you come to our house or shall I come to yours?'

(4.5) tā zǒu dào jiā lǐ (Chao 1968:753)
he walk to house inside
'He went into the house.'

(4.6) wǒ gěi tā sòng xīn (Chao 1968:326)
I to he send letter
'I sent a letter for him.'

(4.7) wǒ sòng xīn gěi tā (Chao 1968:326)
I send letter to he
'I sent a letter to him.'

There is some justification in making a grammatical distinction between the occurrence of these coverbs before the main verb and the occurrence after. As noted above in Sec. 3.3.4.1 in the discussion on LOCATIVE, Teng (1972:59-61) makes a distinction between inner and outer LOCATIVE, stating that inner LOCATIVE subcategorises verbs whereas outer LOCATIVE occurs freely with most verbs. In Chinese, the locative preposition or coverb phrase occurring before the verb can be an inner or an outer LOCATIVE, whereas the phrase occurring after the verb is always an inner LOCATIVE (Teng 1972:17). According to Chao's translations of (4.6) and (4.7) above, gěi in (4.6), preceding the verb, marks BENEFACTIVE, which can be considered to be parallel to outer LOCATIVE in that it occurs with most verb types. In (4.7), where gěi follows the verb, it marks DATIVE, which subcategorises a certain class of AGENTIVE verbs; that is, DATIVE appears in their lexical entries. The coverb gěi was discussed in Sec. 3.3.4.2, DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE.

Teng (p.60) gives the following examples of LOCATIVE, in which (4.8) and (4.9) contain outer LOCATIVES, (4.10) is ungrammatical, and (4.11) contains an inner LOCATIVE with the verb xǐé 'write', which has an optional LOCATIVE in its lexical entry matrix.
The classification and analysis of these preposition-like verbs is difficult because some of them, including the three given above, can also occur as main verbs (see DeFrancis' description cited above). Examples of за́л, dao, and gēl used as main verbs are given here.

4.2 THE COVERB PROBLEM

As stated in Sec. 1.1, one of the problems with which this study is chiefly concerned is the determination of the syntactic role of coverbs, especially in Vietnamese.

Before one can accurately formulate statements regarding coverbs, it is necessary to determine the categorial nature of coverbs, the ways
they function syntactically, the relationship between coverbs and their corresponding verbs, and how they function in the classification of verbs.

Discussions about coverbs have explicitly or implicitly centered around the following question:

Is a sentence containing a coverb
1) a complex sentence with embedding, i.e. a) the coverb being the main, or higher, verb, or b) the coverb being an embedded verb;
2) a single matrix sentence containing a verb phrase series - that is, two verbs in series; or
3) a single-verb sentence containing a prepositional phrase in which the coverb is a preposition, or case marker?

In Chinese linguistics, the term "coverb" has been used to designate all words which occur in a preposition-like use, whether or not there exists for a particular word a use as main verb. In this study, I will restrict my attention to those "coverbs" which have corresponding verbs, and limit the use of the term "coverb" to these in their non-main-verb function.

Previous solutions for Vietnamese are given and evaluated in terms of these questions in Sec. 5.2 below. However, more work has been done specifically on coverbs in Chinese, so these solutions are discussed in the following section. This will provide a background and a framework within which to evaluate the analyses proposed for coverbs in Vietnamese.

4.3 ANALYSES OF CHINESE COVERBS

4.3.1 YUEN REN CHAO

Chao (1968:749-51) gives as the most important properties of prepositions: 1) they do not as a rule have aspects; 2) they do not usually function as centres of predicates; and 3) they do not usually omit their objects, "as an ordinary transitive verb normally does when the object is in the near context". Chao considers the coverbs preceding the main verb to be verbs functioning as prepositions, and that the prepositional phrase (the preposition plus its object) modifies the verb. In regard to the coverbs zài 'at' and dào 'to', the modification has the meaning 'time when' or 'place where' (pp. 336-8); with gēi 'for', the prepositional phrase means 'interest' or 'benefit' (p. 339). Such constructions he calls subordinate constructions, which have their centre in the second constituent, with the first verb as modifier, "translatable as a preposition" (p. 326).
When these coverbs occur after the main verb, they are verb-complement constructions (Chao 1968:326), in which the first verb is the centre of the construction and the second verb (also called preposition (p. 754)) and its object form a complement in a verb-verb series. The second verb (or preposition) is "often compounded enclitically" with the preceding verb (pp. 754, 317), as in (4.16), where げl 'to' is suffixed to the verb 送る 'send'.

(4.16) 送るげl た yī-fēn い
send to he one Cl present
'send-to him a gift'

However, when the second verb is separated from the main verb and the direct object immediately follows the main verb, as in (4.17), he says this is a "different matter" - a case of "two verbs, each with an object to itself" (p. 317).

(4.17) 送る yī-fēn い げl た
send one Cl present to he
'send a gift to him'

In either case, whether げl and its object immediately follow the main verb or follow the direct object, they constitute a complement to the main verb. Chao lists those verbs which obligatorily or optionally take げl with their indirect objects if the indirect object immediately follows the main verb, those which do or do not take げl "according to the direction to or from the indirect object" (p. 317), and those which never take げl with their indirect objects.

Regarding ざl and でo having the meaning of 'time when' or 'place where', he states that when they are the first verb they mean 'at, from, by', and when they are complements they mean '(up) to' (p. 337).

It is not clear from Chao's various discussions whether his analysis of coverbs following the verb would fit most readily into solution (2) (two verbs in series) or solution (3) (a single verb and a prepositional phrase) above. He considers such sentences to contain a verb-verb series, but he also refers to the second verb as a preposition and the second verb plus its object as a prepositional phrase ("K-O phrase", K = P). Although he discusses prepositions as distinct from verbs (see above), he does not make this distinction clear in his analysis of coverbs. Chao makes no observations regarding constituent structure of sentences with coverbs.

4.3.2 ANNE Y. HASHIMOTO

Hashimoto (1971:57-8) also makes the distinction between the occurrence of ざl preceding the verb and ざl following the verb. Since ざl
cannot be negated when it follows the verb, she states it is a preposition and that the "whole locative expression" is a prepositional phrase which is derived from the VP constituent - that is, the locative phrase is immediately dominated by VP.

When zài occurs in preverbal position as the sentence adverbial "Place", Place is a constituent immediately dominated by Sentence. In such a case zài is derived from an underlying sentence with zài as the locative verb. She postulates that when zài is the main verb of a sentence, it is always followed by a locative phrase in which the locative preposition zài, identical in form with the locative verb, occurs in the deep structure and is obligatorily deleted in the surface structure (p. 8). Her postulated deep structure of (4.18) is shown in the tree below.

(4.18) Zhang San zài xuéxiào-Il chi fān (Hashimoto 1971:57-8)
locate school-in eat rice
'Zhang San eats rice in school.'

Postulating a deep structure preposition which is homophonous with its verb and which never appears on the surface seems unnecessarily abstract, but, although Hashimoto does not refer to case grammar, it is consistent with the Fillmore 1968 model in which every case has an underlying preposition.

When zài or dào in preverbal position mark Time, they are prepositions in a PP which is dominated by Sentence (pp. 93, 145).

In postverbal position, zài is a locative preposition in a locative phrase "derived from" the VP (p. 57), as can be seen in the diagram of (4.18) above. Also shown is the fact that she considers the localiser (relator noun, according to my analysis) to be a unique category 'loc', dominated by the locative phrase but outside the PP.

The verb dào, occurring after another verb, can be reduced to the particle de, marking an Extent complement and taking a following Sentence.
(4.19) illustrates the structure of Extent.

\[ S_1 \]

\[ \text{NP}_1 \rightarrow \text{VP}_1 \]

\[ \text{Zhang San} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{jiù} \quad \text{dao} \quad \text{Zhang San} \quad \text{zuì - le} \]

\[ \text{drink liquor} \quad \text{drunk Perf} \]

'Zhang San drank liquor so much he got drunk.'

Hashimoto does not discuss postverbal dao in its full form and followed by an NP instead of an S.

Gëi is a preposition derived from the verb gëi 'to give' and marks the indirect object construction, which occurs postverbally and is an optional PP within VP (Hashimoto 1971:18-20). She posits a PP "governed" by the P gëi in the deep structure for all verbs taking the indirect object, and such verbs are marked [+NP,PP] in the lexicon. Hashimoto (pp. 18-19) disagrees with Chao that gëi is suffixed to some verbs, stating, "that gëi is a preposition and not part of a compound verb is apparent" from the indirect object construction, in which the direct object precedes the indirect object and in which "the preposition gëi is obligatorily before the indirect object".

When gëi occurs before the verb, it is the benefactive preposition "with the same phonetic shape but with a different meaning: 'for' instead of 'to'" (p. 19). She does not give the structure for a sentence containing the benefactive preposition.

In summary, when the preverbal coverb zài marks location, it is a verb in an embedded sentence directly dominated by the higher sentence (solution I b). All other occurrences of coverbs are as prepositions (solution 3), but the structure of their sentences differs from each other. When preverbal zài and dao mark TIME, they are Ps in a PP dominated by S. The structural attachment of the preverbal P gëi is not given. Postverbal locative P zài and indirect object P gëi are in PPs dominated by the VP. This distinction of VP and S domination is somewhat parallel to Fillmore's suggestion (1968:26) that "inner" phrases are dominated by the Proposition and "outer" phrases are dominated by Modality.
4.3.3 VING-CHE LI

Li, in his case grammar of Chinese (1971), defines a coverb as a verbal element which does not function as a main verb but "enters into construction with a noun phrase", which construction he calls a "coverb phrase" and states that it modifies the verb (p. 2). His definition of coverb includes only those coverbs which occur before the verb. Those which occur after the verb (zài 'in', dào 'to', gēi 'to') he calls postverbs, but states that the postverb phrase is "similar" to the coverb phrase, and, further, that he considers a phrase with zài or dào, "whether occurring as a coverb phrase or postverb phrase, as the same L phrase in the deep structure" (p. 29).

Li considers coverbs and postverbs to be case markers. He notes that the occurrence of the locative case markers zài and dào and the dative case marker gēi as postverbs depend on the kind of main verb. Verbs such as zōu 'walk', zuò 'sit', tāng 'lie', and fǎng 'put' take postverbal locatives. Locative "seems to associate with the motion verbs (intransitive locomotion verb class) in a more definite way than with other kinds of verbs... L co-occurs with them in the deep structure" (pp. 89-90). He states that the postverb gēi occurs with "a verb like sòng 'to give', which predicts the occurrence of D in the deep structure" (p. 43).

In accordance with the practice in Fillmore case grammar up until 1968, Li considers every case to have a case marker in the deep structure, which is deletable on the surface under certain conditions.

Thus, Li's analysis appears to be closest to solution (3) above: A sentence containing a coverb is a single-verb sentence containing a case-related phrase in which the coverb is the case marker.

4.3.4 CHARLES T.C. TANG

Tang, in his Case grammar in Mandarin Chinese (1972), like Li, considers what I am calling coverbs to be case markers derivable from Fillmorean case labels which expand as K + NP, where K is a case marker. He cites gēi 'to' as D (Dative) and zài 'at, in, on' as L (Locative). He does not list dào.

He specifies (p. 153) certain verbs as having in their case frames Dative: sòng 'send', or Locative: fǎng 'put', lái 'come', qù 'go'.

Tang observes that, by using this framework, we can have a simpler base by "eliminating such language-specific constituents as prepositions, coverbs, postverbs, localizers from the base rules" (p. 170).

Tang's solution most closely fits with solution (3) above: the coverbs are case markers (my "prepositions") in a single-verb sentence.
4.3.5 SHOU-HSIN TENG

Teng (1972) discusses transitivity relations in Chinese in terms of Chafe (1970), who considers the verb to be central and, by its internal semantic structure, to specify what semantic roles (i.e. case relations) will occur with it. Verbs are classified as to whether they are "state" ('he is TALL'), "action" ('he CRIED'), "process" ('he DIED'), or "process action" ('he broke a dish'). Action verbs require accompanying Agents; process and state verbs require accompanying Patients. Verbs are further subcategorised by Experiential, Benefactive, Locative, Goal (my DATIVE), etc.

Teng talks about inner and outer Locative in terms of inner Locative being specified by verb features and thus dividing "all action verbs into Locative and non-Locative" (p. 60). Examples of Locative verbs are xiě 'write', făng 'put', and guà 'hang'. Outer Locative occurs freely with all verbs. In Chinese, "pre-verbal locatives may be defined as outer Locative and post-verbal locatives as inner Locative... inner Locative may be pre-posed to the pre-verbal position [aic], outer Locative may not be post-posed" (pp. 17-18). In other words, when zài and dào phrases occur after the verb they are inner Locative. When gěi occurs after the verb, it is unambiguously Goal, as in (4.20).

\[ (4.20) \] wō xie - le yī - făng xìn gěi tā (Teng 1972:305)
I write Asp one Cl letter give 3p
'I wrote him a letter.'

(xiě is noted above as being a Locative verb; however, it can also take Goal.) "Goal may occur either pre-verbally or post-verbally, in many cases at least, but Benefactive occurs only pre-verbally" (p. 305). Therefore, (4.21) is ambiguous.

\[ (4.21) \] wō gěi tā xiě - le yī - făng xìn (Teng 1972:301)
I give he write Asp one Cl letter
'I wrote a letter to/for him.'

Teng considers outer Locative and Benefactive to be higher verbs, as in solution (1a) above. If gěi in (4.21) marks Benefactive, the sentence would have the following structure, in which gěi 'give' is a process action verb which takes an embedded sentence under a Patient node (Patient = "that which undergoes change of state", Goal = "a recipient" (p. 264)).
The embedded verb xiē 'write' is an action range verb (Range = the extent of the verb's scope of reference (p. 184)). Teng does not give an underlying structure for inner Locative or Goal, but he does state, "the relation Goal always introduces the preposition gēi, which will always be identical to the 'highest' verb in Benefactive sentences" (p. 78).

The structure of (4.22), which has an outer Locative, is also given.

(4.22) tā zài Zhōngguó nián shū (Teng 1972:72)
  he loc.v China read book
  'He is studying in China.'

It seems, then, for Teng, "outer" relations (some preverbal occurrences of coverbs) are higher verbs (solution (1a) above), and "inner" relations (postverbal occurrences of coverbs) are prepositional phrases, solution (3) above.

4.3.6 JAMES CHAO-PING LIANG

Liang's 1971 dissertation treats specifically of coverbs and the question raised in Sec. 4.2 above. Stating that all the coverbs were assuredly verbs at an earlier stage in the Chinese language (p. 29), he asks if a coverb is actually a verb in the modern language and, if so, whether it is the main verb. If it is not a verb, he asks what its syntactic function is. "In asking this set of questions, we are questioning the validity of postulating a grammatical category of preposition in Chinese" (p. 51). He concludes that none are prepositions, that all of the three Chinese coverbs that we are concerned with are finite
verbs except gēi in preverbal position, which is a "passive marker".

Although he states that "we are not concerned with the classification of verbs" (p. 89), he does note cooccurrence restrictions between these coverbs and certain kinds of verbs. In fact, he sets up (pp. 90-5) classes of verbs which can have a zài phrase preceding or following the verb and those which are restricted in respect to coverb position. Verbs which can have zài preceding or following without change of meaning belong to the static intransitive verb class - zuò 'sit', zhàn 'stand', shûl 'sleep', zhù 'live', etc. Zài means 'location of the action of the verb' when it precedes the verb and 'destination of the action of the verb' when it follows the verb with the motion intransitive verb class - fēi 'fly', zòu 'walk, go', pào 'run', etc., and the motion transitive verb class - fàng 'put', diū 'throw', bān 'move'. Zài cannot follow verbs of the static transitive verb class - kàn (shū) 'read', chī (fàn) 'eat', etc. (p. 92). Examples are given here with static intransitive verb zhù, (4.23), and the static transitive verb kàn, (4.24).

(4.23) wō zài Shànghǎi zhù (Liang 1971:88)
I be at live
wō zhù zài Shànghǎi
I live be at
'I live in Shanghai.'

(4.24) wō zài jiā kàn shū (Liang 1971:35)
I be at home read book
* wō kàn shū zài jiā
I read book be at home
'I read at home.'

He gives the following deep structure for "a V-V type of sentence containing a zài-phrase" (p. 97).

![Deep structure diagram]

When the identical NP is deleted, zài jiā becomes a second VP. His "presurface structure" (p. 99) implies a verb-verb series, but he states
(p. 102) that the zài-phrase is always subordinate to the other verb phrase. Zài in first position indicates location and in second position indicates "destination of the action of the other verb", similar to đạo (pp. 84-5).

Đạo in first position also indicates location of the action of the second verb. However, in first position đạo is the "main" verb instead of an embedded verb like zài (p. 188), although his structure and translation for (4.25) shows đạo to be the first verb in a verb-verb series, that is, the first of two main verbs.

(4.25) tā đạo túshūguān kàn shū (Liang 1971:181)
he arrive library read book
'He goes to the library and studies.'

In second position, đạo indicates destination of the action of the other verb (p. 178). Like Hashimoto, Liang considers đạo in second position to function as a marker for the "extent complement" of verbs (p. 179), as in (4.26) and (4.27).

(4.26) tā pǎo đạo xuéxiào (Liang 1971:182)
he run to school
'He runs to school.'

(4.27) tā pǎo đạo tā shàng-ql bú jiē xià-ql
he run until he upper air not connect lower air
'He runs until he's breathless.' (Liang 1971:183)

The objects of the đạo-phrase can be a time or place noun or a sentence (p. 183).
In first position, as a passive marker, gē occurs in both "the so-called benefit and the harm sentences" (p. 188), in which its meaning 'to give' has been "completely lost" (p. 159).

When in second position, gē indicates direction of the action of the other verb and "no longer has the lexical meaning of 'to give' but performs the function of marking out the indirect object to which the direction of the action of the verb...is focused" (p. 154). He lists (pp. 154-6) the types of verbs which must or may take gē as a direction marker. For at least some sentences he states that gē has "lost all of its verbal characteristics" (p. 157).

In his summary (pp. 188-9), Liang states that all three of the coverbs are finite verbs except preverbal gē. However, in his description and analyses, only preverbal dào is a finite verb. Despite contradictory terminology, statements, and structures, it is possible to discover what his solutions would be: solution (2) - verbs in series, for dào when it occurs before another verb; and solution (1b) - embedded verb, for zā: before another verb and all three coverbs when they occur after the other verb. The categorial status of preverbal gē is not stated; its designation as a "passive marker" puts it outside the solutions suggested here.

In discussing the status of preposition in "classificatory grammars", Liang quotes from Li Jīn-xì, Guó-yū wén-ɡā (A Grammar of Chinese), Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1965, p. 197, that a preposition is "a word which we use to introduce a noun or a pronoun to a verb or an adjective for the purpose of expressing various relations [of the verb or the adjective] such as time, place, means, and cause" (p. 30). This notion coincides closely with the notions of modern case grammar, but Liang says it is "much too broad and general to be an adequate criterion for classification" (p. 32).

4.3.7 CHARLES N. LI AND SANDRA A. THOMPSON

Li and Thompson (1973c:1) state, "The term 'co-verb' refers to a closed class of morphemes in Mandarin, most of which can be translated into English by means of prepositions... The co-verb typically introduces a noun." Since "many co-verbs are homophonous with verbs" (p. 10), there is "rather wide disagreement about whether [they] should be regarded as verbs or as prepositions" (p. 1), and they state that the use of the term "co-verb" "has enabled many teachers of Mandarin to avoid making a decision about whether to call these words verbs or prepositions in presenting them to students" (p. 2).

Li and Thompson (1973a:4; 1973b:15; 1973c:10-18) claim that coverbs are not verbs but case-marking prepositions which introduce "phrases
which could be labeled with such case names as Benefactive, Locative, Instrumental, etc." (1973a:4). In their 1973c paper, they give several arguments to support their analysis. The first argument compares coverb sentences with serial verb sentences, stating that, if coverbs were verbs, coverb sentences would express two separate actions, as is the case with serial verb sentences. Coverb sentences "always express one action modified by the co-verb phrase" (p. 14). For example, they state (p. 26, fn. 9) that the sentence

(4.28) wǒ gěi nǐ fānyī zhèi fēng xīn (Li & Thompson 1973c:26)
    I for you translate this Cl letter
    'I'll translate this letter for you.'

"cannot reasonably be derived from the two strings
wǒ gěi nǐ zhèi fēng xīn 'I give you this letter.'
wǒ fānyī zhèi fēng xīn 'I translate this letter.'"

Further, the object of the first verb in serial verb sentences cannot "become the head noun of a relative clause" (p. 15), but the object of the preposition in the coverb sentence can, as shown in (4.30), where zài is the coverb. ((4.29) and (4.30) are both from Li & Thompson 1973c:16.)

(4.29) wǒ zài nèi ge dìfāng chī fàn
    I at that Cl place eat rice
    'I eat at that place.'

(4.30) wǒ zài nàr chī fàn de nèi ge dìfāng...
    I at there eat rice Pose that Cl place
    'That place that I eat at...'

Pointing out that some coverbs do not have homophonous verbs, they state (1973c:17-18) that there exists in the grammar of Mandarin the independent class "preposition" and that it is not economical to have to refer to a language-particular word class "coverb".

Finally, they state (1973c:18) that "there are sentence-final phrases containing what most analysts would call a preposition, which can be viewed as transformed variants of co-verb sentences." They give as example:

(4.31) a) wǒ zhù zài Shànghǎi (Li & Thompson 1973c:18)
    I live at

b) wǒ zài Shànghǎi zhù
    I at live

'I live at Shanghai.'
Since (4.31) a) and b) are paraphrases, it seems reasonable to suppose that 用来 is a preposition in both sentences.

From the above statement, it appears that Li and Thompson do not recognise a distinction between preverbal and postverbal prepositional phrases. However, in their 1973b paper, they do give an example of a verb which allows the prepositional phrase to occur before it but not after it, as shown in (4.32) and (4.33).

(4.32) Zhāng-sān 用来 chuāng shāng shūjiāo (Li & Thompson 1973b:3)

'Zhang-san sleeps on the bed.'

(4.33) * Zhāng-sān shūjiāo 用来 chuāng shāng

They show that the verb shū 'sleep' allows the 用来 prepositional phrase to follow, as in (4.34),

(4.34) Zhāng-sān shū 用来 chuāng shāng (Li & Thompson 1973b:2)

'sleep at bed top'

and state that the only reason for the difference between the two verbs "appears to be the polysyllabicity of the verb shūjiāo" (p. 3). There is no discussion in any of the Li and Thompson papers regarding the types of cases that different verbs can take or regarding inner versus outer LOCATIVE and DATIVE versus BENEFACTIVE cases. In Sec. 4.1 above, it is stated that 用来 and dào occurring postverbally mark inner LOCATIVES only and occurring preverbally mark either inner or outer LOCATIVES, and that gēi occurring postverbally marks only DATIVE while preverbally it usually marks BENEFACTIVE. By this analysis, the verbs zhū 'live, reside' and shū 'sleep' in (4.31) and (4.34) above are OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs which take inner LOCATIVES which can occur postverbally, while the verb shūjiāo 'sleep-sleep' in (4.32) and (4.33) appears unable to take an inner LOCATIVE and (4.32) might be translated 'On the bed Zhang-san is sleeping'.

Although Li and Thompson agree with Liang that coverbs are historically derived from verbs and say that some of them are still homophonous with verbs which have similar meanings (1973c:3; also see discussion in Sec. 7.3.2 below), they definitely support solution (3) for all coverbs: Whether they occur preverbally or postverbally, they are synchronically case-marking prepositions, not verbs.

4.3.8 SUMMARY OF ANALYSES OF CHINESE COVERBS

In summary, there is general agreement that the postverbal coverbs are more closely related to the verb than the preverbal coverbs are.
In the descriptions just considered, this view is stated in terms of
1) constituency: Postverbal coverbs are elements under the VP while
preverbal coverbs are elements of an embedded sentence attached
to the higher S.

2) verb classes: Postverbal coverbs are restricted to certain verb
classes while preverbal coverbs can occur with most verb classes.

Implicit in this view is the concept of inner and outer phrases. Li,
Tang, and Teng discuss coverb phrases in terms of case relations, with
Teng explicitly stating that inner Locative (postverbal locatives) sub-
categorises verbs more strictly than outer Locative (preverbal locatives).
Liang makes the distinction between preverbal locatives, which are the
location of the action of the verb, and postverbal locatives, which are
the direction or destination of the action of the verb. It is generally
observed that postverbal gēl marks Dative (Indirect Object, Goal) while
preverbal gēl marks Benefactive (or "harm" - cf. Gradin 1970a regarding
Detrimental in Jeh), and that Dative is more restricted in the verbs with
which it can occur.

A general summary, in terms of the solutions suggested in Sec. 4.2
above, is illustrated in the following table. Noted for each analysis
are the preverbal and postverbal occurrences of coverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solutions:</th>
<th>Chao</th>
<th>Hashimoto</th>
<th>Li</th>
<th>Tang</th>
<th>Teng</th>
<th>Liang</th>
<th>Li &amp; Thompson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Complex sentence with embedding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a) Cvb: Higher V</td>
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<td>b) Cvb: Embedded V</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) Two Vs in series</td>
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<tr>
<td>3) Cvb: (case marker)</td>
<td>V Cvb</td>
<td>V Cvb V</td>
<td>V Cvb</td>
<td>V Cvb</td>
<td>V Cvb</td>
<td>V Cvb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P (case marker)</td>
<td>Cvb V</td>
<td>dao V</td>
<td>Cvb V</td>
<td>gēl V</td>
<td>Cvb V</td>
<td>Cvb V</td>
<td>Cvb V</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other &quot;marker&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>gēl V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART IV-1 Comparison of Chinese Solutions for Coverbs

All but Tang and Liang recognise P as a base category. Tang con-
siders the base element to be K (case) which is realised on the surface
in Chinese by case markers (he never states how his "case marker" dif-
fers from a P); he considers prepositions to be a language-specific
constituent. Liang suggests that P is not a valid category for Chinese
and that coverbs are V in the base and on the surface.
5.0 THE COVERB PROBLEM RESTATTED

As stated in Sec. 4.2 above, in Chinese linguistics, the term "coverb" has been used to describe all words which occur in a preposition-like use, whether or not there exists for a particular word a use as main verb. In this study, "coverb" will refer to words which occur in a prepositional function only when they also have a corresponding main-verb function. The term will not refer to the main-verb function.

As also stated above in Sec. 4.2, the coverb problem involves a determination of the syntactic role of coverbs - to determine the categorical nature of coverbs, the ways they function syntactically, and the relationship between coverbs and their corresponding verbs.

It was further stated that previous discussions about coverbs have mainly centered around this question:

Is a sentence containing a coverb
1) a complex sentence with embedding, i.e.
   a) the coverb being the main, or higher, verb,
   or
   b) the coverb being an embedded verb;
2) a single matrix sentence containing a verb phrase series - that is, two verbs in series; or
3) a single-verb sentence containing a prepositional phrase in which the coverb is the preposition?

Solutions for Chinese were discussed. It was found that there was general but not total agreement that Chinese coverbs are prepositions or at least perform a preposition-like function. All but Liang (1971) and Tang (1972) recognise preposition as a basic category. Most analyses indicate a classification of verbs on the basis of their occurrence with
certain coverbs, and most analyses implicitly or explicitly note the distinction between inner and outer LOCATIVE and between DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE on the basis of verb case frames. (See Sec. 3.3.4 for discussion of inner and outer cases.)

This chapter will present the Vietnamese coverbs, giving solutions proposed in previous analyses, and then presenting the analysis proposed in this study and relating it to solutions previously proposed.

5.1 LOCATIVE VERBS AS CASE MARKERS

5.1.0 INTRODUCTION

It turns out that all the coverbs definitely identified for Vietnamese can occur as [+L] case markers except cho 'give to/for', which will be discussed in Sec. 5.4. (See Sec. 3.2.2.4 above for exposition of [+L] case markers.) The following sections will give these locative verbs and show their various uses.

5.1.1 VIETNAMESE LOCATIVE COVERBS

Following is the list of common Vietnamese verbs which can occur as coverbs and which are "locative" in one sense or another:

- ∈ be in/at, reside in
- qua / sang go across (to), pass over/by
- lải come (back)
- về return (to)
- ra go out (to)
- vô / vào go in/into
- lên go up (to)
- xuống go down (to)
- đến / tôi arrive at

In many instances the members of the pairs qua and sang, vô and vào, and đến and tôi are completely interchangeable. Situations where there is a preferable or obligatory choice are largely stylistic or dialectal rather than grammatical and will not be considered pertinent factors in the grammatical analysis of coverbs.

The following examples are sentences which show the above verbs either as main verbs (marked beneath as v) or as coverbs (marked as Cvb). All occurrences, whether as verbs or coverbs, are underlined.

(5.1) tôi sẽ ∈ đến cuối năm
    I Fut be in there arrive end year
    v Cvb

'I'll be there until the end of the year.'
They just moved, they're not at the old house any more.'

'If you, sister, celebrate the New Year in Hue, I'll come to Hue.'

'At the beginning of November Miss Mai is going to teach at Gia-Long school.'

'In America there must be many very pretty things.'

'When are you going over to Miss Lan's to visit?'

'The boat has crossed the river already.'

'The barge girl is oaring the boat across the river.'

'Mr Phong sent the tools to Laos.'

'If you come here (a great distance), it will be lots of fun.'
(5.11) mùa thu sáp tôi anh-áy sang Mỹ học
season fall about arrive he across America study to
'He's going to America to study this coming fall.'

(5.12) con nhận quà Tết mà gửi sang Mỹ cho con
child receive gift New mother send across America give child
'studying Year Cvbd
'I received the New Year's gift you sent to America for me, Mother.'

lại
(5.13) anh lại đây chào nhé
elder come here play O.K.?
brother V
'Come on over here and talk to me, O.K.?'

lại does not seem to be as common as the other coverbs, either as a verb
or as a covert, although it occurs profusely in immediate association
with other verbs to modify them. (Cf. examples of these verbs as ad-
verbs in Sec. 5.1.3, especially sentence (5.47).)

(5.14) chị cứ cho người đứa giấy lại nhà tôi
elder con- give person take paper come house I
sister tinue Cvbd
'Go ahead and give that man the paper to bring to my house.'

(5.15) mang ghế lại đây
carry chair come here Cvbd
'Bring the chair here.'

về
(5.16) tôi sẽ về Sài Gòn ăn Tết vào khoảng 30 Tết
I Put return eat New go in interval Year Cvbd
'I'll return to Saigon to celebrate the New Year about the
30th.'

(5.17) báo-giờ chị về Mỹ-Tho, qua thăm em nhé
when elder return cross visit young O.K.?
sis V V
'sib
'When you return to My-Tho, come over and see me, O.K.?'

(5.18) tôi vừa đi thăm các đảo Hạ-Uy-Di về
I just go visit Pl island return V
'I've just returned from visiting the other islands of Hawai'i.'
(5.19) Tôi sẽ gửi một vật kỷ niệm về Sài Gòn
I'm going to send a souvenir back to Saigon.

(5.20) Tôi có gửi về chị một bức ảnh
I have sent you a postcard already.

(5.21) Cô Kim sẽ ra Huế ba bốn ngày
Miss Kim will go to Hue for three or four days.

(5.22) Em ra đi, mang theo nhiều kỷ niệm với
When I went away I carried with me many happy memories.

(5.23) Ông Phong có gửi thư ra Huế
Mr Phong sent a letter to Hue already.

(5.24) Tôi ngồi trên xe nhìn ra hai hàng thông bên bờ
I sat in the bus and looked out at the two rows of pine trees along the side of the road.

(5.25) Lan vào phòng học rồi
goes into the classroom already.

(5.26) Chị May vào Mỹ Tho tuần rồi
Elder Sister May went to My-Tho last week.

(5.27) Ông thư ký thọc tay vào túi áo
The clerk stuck his hand into his coat pocket.
(5.28) tôi sẽ trở-qua Bangkok vào giữa tháng 3
I'll return to Bangkok in the middle of March.'

lên
(5.29) Lan lên Đà Lạt nghỉ vài ngày
go up rest a few day
'Lan went to Dalat to rest for a few days.'

(5.30) ông-áy đem sách lên Sài Gòn
he bring book go up
'He brought books up to Saigon.'

xuống
(5.31) cho tôi xuống đây nhé
give I go down here O.K.?
'Please let me off (the bus) here.'

(5.32) nhiệt độ thay đổi từ 70° xuống 33°
temperature change from go down
'The temperature changed from 70° down to 33°.'

dến
(5.33) Xuân đến nhà bác hai giờ rồi
arrive house uncle two hour already
'Xuan arrived at her uncle's house two hours ago.'

(5.34) tôi đi bằng xe buýt ghé St. Louis Chicago rồi đến New-York
I went by bus stop by finish arrive
'I went by bus, stopped by St. Louis and Chicago, and finally arrived in New York.'

(5.35) tôi đến thăm thị sĩ Xuân và hai chúng tôi nhắc đến cô luôn
arrive visit poet and two Pl I recall arrive Miss often
'I went to see poet Xuan and the two of us spoke of you often.'

(5.36) họ đón nhà đến số 3 đường Gia-Long
they arrange house arrive number street
'They moved to No. 3 Gia-Long Street.'
5.1.2 OTHER POTENTIAL LOCATIVE COVERBS

The list above is undoubtedly not complete. There are other words which are potential or may be actual coverbs. Two of these are đi 'go' and theo 'follow'.

Đi is a regularly occurring OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE (O-L) verb of direction. It is listed in Sec. 3.3.5.4 above as being a member of the group of O-L-Goal verbs which can take their LOCATIVES in the AC case form, as in (5.38),

\[(5.38)\] ch\text|\text| Lan \text|\text| đi \text|\text| Saigon
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{elder} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{acz} \\
\text{L}
\end{array}
\]

'Elder Sister Lan went to Saigon.'

or in the L case form, as in (5.39).

\[(5.39)\] ch\text|\text| Lan \text|\text| đi \text|\text| vào \text|\text| Saigon
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{go} \\
\text{in} \\
\text{acz} \\
\text{L} \\
\text{L}
\end{array}
\]

'Elder Sister Lan went to Saigon (from north of Saigon).'

Đi can occur as a coverb - a [+L,+gol] case marker - with certain AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs of direction, as in (5.40).

\[(5.40)\] ông Phong \text|\text| gol \text|\text| dưng-cụ \text|\text| đi \text|\text| Lào (N. D. Liem)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sir} \\
\text{send tool} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{acz} \\
\text{L} \\
\text{gol} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Mr Phong sent the tools to Laos.'

However, đi cannot occur as a coverb with O-L verbs, i.e. (5.41) and (5.42) are ungrammatical.

\[(5.41)\] * Lan chạy \text|\text| đi \text|\text| vườn
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{run} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{garden} \\
\text{acz} \\
\text{L} \\
\text{gol}
\end{array}
\]

'Lan ran to the garden.'

(Lan chạy vào vườn 'Lan ran into the garden' is grammatical.)
In Chapter VII below, coverbs are discussed as being part of a historical process involving verbs and prepositions. It is believed that di is involved in this process and is not, at the present stage of the language, a full coverb. For this reason, di is not included in the above list of coverbs.

It is uncertain whether the verb theo 'follow' can be considered a locative verb. It appears to require an OBJECTIVE that is capable of locomotion, as in (5.43).

(5.43) có-ay theo chồng / xe
she follow husband vehicle
'She followed her husband / the car.'

It can occur with a locative noun such as đường 'road' only in a metaphorical sense; that is, (5.44) is grammatical but (5.45) is not.

(5.44) nó theo đường communism
he follow road communism
'He follows the Communist way.'

(5.45) * nó theo đường Lê-Lợi
'He followed Lê-Lợi Street.'

The problems of abstract LOCATIVES are beyond the scope of this study. Theo can occur as a coverb meaning 'following, according to', as in (5.46).

(5.46) tôi làm theo lời ông nói (Cadière 1958:132)
I do follow word Sir speak
'I'll do (it) according to what you say.'

The case relation of lời in (5.46) is open to question; perhaps it is INSTRUMENTAL or MANNER. It is unknown what case form theo marks. (Cf. Khmer taaam 'follow' as a [+L] coverb with INSTRUMENTAL.) Much more investigation is needed before the status of theo as coverb can be determined.
5.1.3 ADVERBIAL USES

All the words of direction in the above list and the direction word dl can also occur following main verbs to modify the main verbs in a way consistent with the semantic features on the direction word. Following are some examples, with the direction word underlined.

(5.47) ơi quá vã không gặp lai có trước khi ra dl
sory very because not meet come Miss before time go out go
back
'I'm very sorry because I didn't see you AGAIN before I went
AWAY.'

(5.48) chúng ta mau lớn, kéo bì chét (Thompson
1965a:232)
'Ved better hurry UP, or else we'll be dead!

(5.49) mời anh ghé vào chỗ khi do
invite elder stop by go in play time that
bro
'At that time please stop IN to visit.'

Such words can precede or follow an OBJECTIVE, as in (5.50) and (5.51).

(5.50) dem ru ng ra
carry wine go out
'Bring the wine OUT!'

(5.51) dem ra ba chái ru ng
3 bottle
'Bring OUT three bottles of wine.'

In this function, these words serve only to modify the main verb and can, in most instances, be omitted. They do not form a construction with a following NP. Furthermore, they can occur with a preposition which does occur in construction with a following NP, as in (5.52),

(5.52) chỉ Hai nhỏ cây (ra) khối đất
erder two pull up plant go out of earth
sis

'Second Sister is pulling the plants out of the ground.'

in which ra is optional. For these reasons, I do not consider these words in this function to be verbs or coverbs, but adverbs ([+Adv]). One difference between the use as coverb and the use as Adverb can be shown by a simple change of word order. In (5.53), lai 'come', with
constituent NP hô, is a coverb. In (5.54), lại is an adverb meaning 'hither'. (Both examples are from Jones and Thong 1960:160.)

(5.53) chúng nào ông đem lại hô  
  degree which Sir carry come they  
  [+AC]  [+NM]  [+L]  [+AC]  
  'When are you going to take (it) TO them?'

(5.54) chúng nào ông đem hô lại  
  [+AC]  [+NM]  [+AC][+Adv]  
  'When are you going to bring them OVER HERE?'

It may turn out that these adverbs play a role in cooccurrence restrictions with certain verbs, particularly AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs. It may be that some A-L verbs of direction require either a directional LOCATIVE or a directional Adverb. Certainly, further investigation should reveal the derivational relationship between these V-P-Adv functions. However, such investigation will not be undertaken in this study and no further analysis will be made other than to note the presence of these adverbs when they occur in sentences.

5.2 PREVIOUS SOLUTIONS FOR VIETNAMESE

5.2.0 INTRODUCTION

Little has been written specifically about coverbs in Vietnamese, but they are dealt with in some grammars and in a number of analyses of related phenomena. In the following sections are given summaries of analyses of Vietnamese coverbs by Laurence C. Thompson, Nguyen Dinh-Hoa, Nguyen-Dang Liem, Donna Ha, and Tran Trong Hai.

5.2.1 LAURENCE C. THOMPSON

Thompson, in A Vietnamese Grammar (1965a), calls occurrences of coverbs sequential phrases, about which he says, "...a number of high-frequency verbs appear with rather specialized meanings as second head in sequential phrases" (p. 231). By this, it seems that he considers such second verbs still to be verbs but with slight shifts in meaning from their use as main verbs. Following are some of his examples (from pp. 232-4), with the coverb underlined.

(5.55) việc này thuộc về ông Lâm  
  work this concern return Sir  
  'This matter concerns Mr Lam (intimately).'
M. CLARK

(5.56) việc này thuộc đến ông Lâm

arrive at

'This matter concerns Mr Lam (superficially).'

(5.57) anh ấy làm đến hai giờ rưỡi
elder that do arrive at two hour half
bro

'He worked up to two-thirty.'

(5.58) họ vẽ cành đào vào tờ giấy bùa

they draw branch peach go in sheet paper temple

'They draw a peach branch on a (paper) amulet.'

It appears that Thompson's solution fits solution 2 above: a coverb is the second verb in a verb series.

5.2.2 NGUYỄN ĐÌNH-HÒA

In his paper 'Vietnamese categories of result, direction, and orientation' (1972), Nguyen discusses coverbs as being the second verb in a verb series. Categories of direction are "manifested by means of co-verbs appearing after main verbs" (p. 395); there are verb sequences which "contain units which have been translated by such prepositions as to, toward, into" (p. 396). A good many of his examples and much of his discussion concern these "units" as postverbal directionals without following locative phrases, as in (5.59) and (5.60), with the "co-verb" underlined. (These are what I have called, in Sec. 5.1.3 above, direction adverbs, which modify the direction of the main verb.)

(5.59) kiếng chăn lên

stand on tiptoe foot up

'On your toes!'

(5.60) đem rượu ra
carry wine out

'Bring (out) the wine!'

He lists and describes each of the following "co-verbs of direction", which "all have a movement or a motion as core meaning" (p. 403).

di go; away, off, forth
dến/tới arrive, reach; toward (with destination)

He states that di and đến/tới express movement of the subject vis-à-vis a given location; the rest of the coverbs express direction of a movement in space (p. 403).

ra exit; out
vào enter; in
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lên  ascend; up
xuống  descend; down
sang qua  go/come over, across (over to); across
về  go/come back, return; back to
lại  come, return; back
đẩy  rise; up, upward

Đẩy never takes an object since "its basic meaning is that of an intransitive verb...although the movement is upward there is no change of place" (p. 408). His examples of đẩy show two uses: in (5.61) đẩy is used as what I have called adverb:

(5.61) vứt đẩy
    discard away
    'throw away'

In (5.62) đẩy occurs as a coverb with what I have analysed as an AGENTIVE-DATIVE/LOCATIVE verb, giữ 'send' (see discussion of đẩy in Sec. 5.1.2 above).

(5.62) ... giữ đẩy Nha-Trang
    send to
    'sent (it) to Nha-Trang'

Nguyen (1972:404) states that the main verb of a sentence with a coverb is "one of directional action which denotes a motion, gesture, behavioral act or process". He lists a number of verbs according to their possible cooccurrence with specific coverbs, stating that some verbs are restricted with regard to possible direction. A study of his list reveals that those verbs which are so restricted occur only with "co-verbs" functioning as adverbs. Following are those verbs from his list which can generally occur with any of the coverbs:

bò crawl
bay fly
bơi swim
chạy run
mang bring
dem bring
dựa hand
kh Grey carry
tung throw

Tung (an AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verb, according to my analysis) does not occur with đẩy 'away' or lại 'back'.

Nguyen discusses cho 'give' as a coverb occurring with the indirect object of a main verb of giving or distributing. He lists examples of verbs of giving, but his example sentences with cho as a coverb are
with "beneficiary" nouns (my BENEFACTIVE, not my DATIVE) with verbs which do not take indirect objects, as in (5.63).

\[
(5.63) \text{tôi vẽ hai bức tranh cho anh (Nguyen 1972:411)}
\]

\[I \text{ paint two CI picture for elder brother}
\]

'I'll do two paintings for you.'

In his 1973 discussion on the various classes of ditransitive verbs (Nguyen 1973), Nguyen also discusses cho with Verbs of Giving. Perhaps the best way to elucidate his analysis of coverbs in this paper would be to give the relevant points from the section on Verbs of Inserting.

He says (1973:16f), "There are several verbs in Vietnamese that accompany two NP's, one of which expresses location in a rather special way." The NP which expresses location in his example is one which is preceded by a verb which "has often been called a coverb of direction in the surface structure." He gives sentence (5.64).

\[
(5.64) \text{ông thủ-kỳ thơc tay vào túi áo (Nguyen 1973:17)}
\]

\[grand-secretary thrust hand enter pocket jacket father\]

'The clerk thrust his hand into his coat pocket.'

This sentence, in his analysis, is a "telescoped construction" because the noun tay 'hand' is both the object of the main verb thơc 'thrust' and the subject of the embedded verb vào 'enter'.

He gives two alternative deep structures for (5.64), the first being:

\[
\text{(Nguyen 1973:17)}
\]

Presumably, a transformation or convention deletes the second tay under identity conditions.

This analysis of (5.64) shows the phrase vào túi áo as syntactically a relative clause, and we might expect a sentence with such a structure to be glossed as 'the clerk thrust the hand which entered his coat pocket'. This fails to show the relationship between the NP túi áo 'coat pocket' and the verb thơc 'thrust'; that is, the verb thơc has a direct object 'the hand which entered the pocket', but no sister
Nguyen's alternative deep structure for (5.64) is a Fillmorean representation, indicating the case relation of each NP with the main verb of the Proposition by a case node, and representing vào as K - the case marker for an NP of Direction:

Thus, this alternative complies with solution (3): Sentence (5.64) is a single-verb sentence containing a case phrase - or preposition phrase - in which the coverb is a K - or preposition.

This last analysis, more clearly than the first analysis, states the relationship between the verb thúc and the NP túi áo. That is, it states clearly that the act of thrusting is directed toward the pocket, which is not true of the first analysis. Furthermore, it more truly characterises the ditransitivity of thúc and the types of sentences in which thúc can occur. Nguyen gives thúc as a Verb of Inserting, and, as stated earlier here, says that this class of verbs has a "special location" NP as one of its NPs. In fact, his class of Verbs of Inserting clearly belongs in my class of AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verbs (Sec. 3.3.5.2.1 above), which are verbs which, in addition to their OBJECTIVE nouns, have optional or obligatory LOCATIVE nouns in their case frames. Thúc is one of the AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs which has an obligatory LOCATIVE (see discussion in Sec. 5.3.1 below).

5.2.3 NGUYỄN ĐĂNG LIÊM

Although Liem does not give a structural analysis of coverbs as such, we can deduce from his statements which of the three solutions presented above are applicable.

In his Vietnamese Grammar (1969:153-4), coverbs are termed Defective Verbs (i.e. the second - not the main - verb of a sentence). When a locative Defective Verb occurs in an Active Intransitive sentence, it is constituent expressing the goal of the thrusting. Vào is the main verb of a relative clause, a solution which does not fit any of the solutions suggested in Sec. 5.0.
attached to the Predicate, which includes an Intransitive Verb stem plus the Defective Verb; the Predicate is followed by an L Relator Axis Phrase of Direction. He gives the following examples. I have inserted slash marks to indicate phrase boundaries according to Liem.

\[(5.65)\]  
\[\text{no} / \text{đi} / \text{vò} / \text{trong nhà} \]  
\[\text{Sbj} / \text{IntrV DefvV} / \text{Loc DirPhr Prep N Head} \]  
\[\text{'He went into the house.'} \]  
\[\text{Sbj} / \text{IntrV DefvV} / \text{Loc DirPhr Prep N Head} \]  
\[\text{He went down to the kitchen.'} \]  

When a locative Defective Verb occurs with a "Single Transitive" verb, instead of being attached to the Predicate, it is the initial and obligatory element of an L Relator Axis Phrase of Location (pp. 154-5). The only Defective Verb which can occur here is the Defective Verb ò, as in \[(5.66)\].

\[(5.66)\]  
\[\text{no} / \text{đi} \text{xuống} / \text{duôi nhà bếp} \]  
\[\text{descend under kitchen} \]  
\[\text{He went down to the kitchen.'} \]  

A verb such as gõi 'send' is a Double Transitive Verb when the Indirect Object immediately follows it and there is no Defective Verb, as in \[(5.67)\].

\[(5.67)\]  
\[\text{no} / \text{đi} / \text{tốl} / \text{hai bục thư} \]  
\[\text{Sbj DbTrV IndirObj DirObj} \]  
\[\text{'He sent me two letters.'} \]  

\[(5.67)\] can be transformed into \[(5.68)\], in which the verb gõi becomes a Single Transitive Verb with an Indirect Object Relator Axis Phrase which has the Defective Verb cho.

\[(5.68)\]  
\[\text{no} / \text{đi} / \text{hai bục thư} / \text{cho} / \text{tốl} \]  
\[\text{Sbj SgTrV DirObj DefvV NHd IO} \]  
\[\text{'He sent two letters to me.'} \]  

\[(5.68)\] can in turn be transformed into \[(5.69)\], with an L Relator Axis Phrase and the Defective Verb và.

\[(5.69)\]  
\[\text{no} / \text{đi} / \text{hai bục thư} / \text{cho} / \text{tốl} \]  
\[\text{Sbj SgTrV DirObj DefvV NHd IO} \]  
\[\text{'He sent two letters to me.'} \]  

\[(5.69)\] can in turn be transformed into \[(5.70)\], with an L Relator Axis Phrase and the Defective Verb và.
Liem does not say why a Double Transitive Verb becomes a Single Transitive Verb when it takes a Defective Verb as Direction or Indirect Object marker, but we can deduce that it is because he considers the presence of a Defective Verb to signal a verb series; that is, the noun head of a Locative or Indirect Object phrase is the Object of the Defective Verb so that we have V^NP^V^NP, with the first verb being the main verb of the sentence and the second verb being a secondary verb. This appears to be his analysis of (5.66), (5.68), and (5.69). In (5.65) we have V^V^P^NP. (For a full discussion of what Liem calls Location Prepositions and what I call relator nouns, see Sec. 3.2.3 above.) It thus appears that Liem's 1969 solution is solution (2): a single matrix sentence containing two verbs in series.

Although in 1969, Liem calls coverbs "Defective Verbs", his analysis states them to be markers of location, direction, or indirect object on following relator axis phrases. This satisfies the definition of P as a case marker on following nouns and paves the way for his 1973 statement that coverbs are Ps. In his 1973 description of case in Vietnamese, he does not single out coverbs for discussion but includes them in his list of case-marking prepositions (Liem 1973a:3-4). His examples of locative coverbs in sentences (p. 11) include one with an intransitive verb of direction and a LOCATIVE of direction, (5.70), one with a transitive verb and a LOCATIVE of direction, (5.71), and one with a transitive verb and a LOCATIVE of location, (5.72). The case markings are Liem's, but the terms "LOCATIVE of direction" and "LOCATIVE of location" are mine.

(5.70) ông ấy đi lên Sài gòn
he go up to

[+NM]           [+Di]  
[+OBJ]           [+DIR]

'He went up to Saigon.'

(5.71) ông ấy đem sách lên Sài gòn
he bring book up to

[+NM]  [+O]  [+Di]  
[+AGT]  [+OBJ]  [+DIR]

'He brought books up to Saigon.'
Thus, Liem's 1973 analysis complies with solution (3): coverbs are prepositions.

5.2.4 DONNA HA

Ha's case analysis of Vietnamese (1970:28) lists eight common direction verbs, including đi 'go' and excluding lạy 'come (back)' (which I have included in my list of direction verbs-coverbs). She proposes that when any of these verbs, except đi, occurs following đi, it is a preposition marking the Direction case, and that such verbs are marked in the lexicon with the feature 'co-prep' (p. 30). She sets up a rule that states this fact by operating on that feature to create a homophonous preposition. Her rule is given here, along with her lexical entry for qua and two sample sentences.

(5.73) Tôi qua Mỹ
I go across America
Tôi đi qua Mỹ
I go across over America
Both sentences: 'I am going over to America.'

She points out the fact that the location verb cioè also occurs as a preposition, though marking the Locative rather than the Direction case. She states that "the verb cioè is the only verb which takes an explicitly obligatory L case when used as a main verb" (p. 34). (Note that her "L", following Fillmore, is a case relation, not a case form.) She does not make clear whether she means by this that cioè is the only verb marking L or that cioè always requires an L case NP following while direction verbs do not have obligatory D case NPs. All her examples of direction verbs and her formulation of a direction verb sentence suggest that direction verbs also have obligatory NPs.

Since her co-prep rule applies only to verbs of direction, she finds it necessary to posit two lexical entries for cioè:
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\[ \begin{align*}
\sigma & \vdash V \\
& \vdash [+V] \\
& \vdash [+\text{A}_L] \\
& \vdash [+\text{dir}, +\text{goal}, +\text{source}] \\
& \vdash [\text{AF}_1] \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\sigma & \vdash +P \\
& \vdash [+\text{location}] \\
& \vdash [+V] \\
& \vdash [+\text{dir}] \\
& \vdash [\text{AF}_1] \\
\end{align*} \]

where the verb \( \sigma \) has A for Actor subject, and the preposition \( \sigma \) is prevented from cooccurring with a preceding verb of direction and preceding \( \sigma \) verb.

It is seen that Ha's solution for coverbs is solution (3): coverbs are prepositions marking case relations. Certain of them are derived from verbs.

5.2.5 \textsc{Tran Trọng Hải}

Tran's analysis (1972) is solution (3) above; that is, he considers a coverb to be a preposition that serves as a case marker in a prepositional phrase. Tran, like Ha, considers coverbs to be prepositions derived from verbs, but he also includes the location verb \( \sigma \). He, too, posits a rule feature, [+cvb], for the lexical entries of these verbs, and a coverb derivational rule. The form of the rule is as follows:

\[ \begin{align*}
\vdash V \\
& \vdash [+\text{cvb}] \\
& \vdash [+\text{dat}, +\text{loc}, +\text{dir}, +\text{goal}, +\text{source}] \\
& \vdash [\text{AF}_1] \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\vdash +P \\
& \vdash [+\text{DERV}] \\
& \vdash [+\text{D}, +\text{L}, +\text{Di}, +\text{GL}, +\text{SR}] \\
& \vdash [\text{AF}_1] \\
\end{align*} \]

(Tran 1972:8)

What this rule says is that a [+cvb] verb which has a certain subcase feature can serve as a model for a preposition with the case form corresponding to the subcase feature, and carry over any other semantic features, \( \text{AF}_1 \). For example, if a verb is marked [+cvb, +dir, +AF_1], there is a corresponding preposition marked [+DERV, +Di, +AF_1].

In this paper, Tran also discusses coverbs in Thai, Lao, and Chinese (although he fails to note the distinction in Chinese discussed in Sec. 4.1 above between coverbs that occur before the verb and those that occur after), and the derivational rule above is posited as universal.

Like Ha's rule, this is a rule which operates on an \( \text{ad hoc} \) rule feature and does not identify any characteristic syntactic or semantic property of these particular verbs that allows them to serve as
prepositions. The following section proposes an analysis of coverbs that attempts to overcome this weakness.

5.3 ANALYSIS PROPOSED IN THIS STUDY

5.3.0 INTRODUCTION

My solution for the coverb problem is solution (3): Coverbs are case-marking prepositions. In the following sections, I will attempt to justify this solution with regard to the locative coverbs listed above in Sec. 5.1.1, giving reasons for their classification as prepositions and demonstrating the relationship between the verbal and prepositional functions of these locative words.

5.3.1 LOCATIVE COVERBS AS PREPOSITIONS

Within the framework of the lexicase model and following Ha and Tran, I will treat coverbs as prepositions derived from verbs. Because, in any given sentence, a word functions as either a V or a P, and because Vs and Ps are subject to category-particular syntactic rules, I consider the preposition and the verb to be two separate lexical items, related by a derivational rule. That is, the coverb \( \hat{a} \) (which should be glossed 'in, at' instead of the verbal gloss 'be in/at' given in Sec. 5.1.1) is a preposition which is lexically separate but derivationally related to the verb \( \hat{a} \) 'be in/at'. The distinctions between Vs and Ps and the derivational relationship between the coverbs and their corresponding verbs is discussed fully in Sec. 5.3.3 below.

There already exists in Vietnamese a category P, a class of prepositions which have no corresponding verb function. Such Ps as \( \hat{t}ai \) 'in', \( \hat{t}u \) 'from', and \( \hat{v}oi \) 'with' can never occur as the main verb in a sentence. It is not necessary, therefore, to postulate a new category in Vietnamese in order to classify the coverbs as Ps; whereas, to posit a distinct category of "Coverb" or "Defective Verb" is not only unnecessary and uneconomical, but it suggests that these words are a class of verbs. 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 \( \hat{v}ao, \)

\[(5.74) \text{ Lan chạy \( \hat{v}ao \) vào \( \hat{v}un \)}
\[\text{run (go) into garden}
\[\text{ 'Lan ran into the garden.'}
\]
could be considered to have serial verbs and to mean 'Lan ran and entered
the garden'. However, (5.74) is not conceptualised by native speakers as having sequential actions. Vào could still be considered to be a verb if (5.74) is interpreted as simultaneous action: 'Lan ran, entering the garden'. However,

(5.75) Lan nhìn vào cửa sổ

look window

'Lan looked into the window.'

cannot be interpreted as 'Lan looked, entering the window'. Vào in (5.75) cannot be a verb. To say that vào in (5.74) is a verb and vào in (5.75) is something other than a verb is to make an inconsistent and ad hoc statement about the grammar of Vietnamese, since the two vào are grammatically identical. It might be claimed that vào in both (5.74) and (5.75) 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; Lan chạy vào and Lan nhìn cửa sổ are ungrammatical.

Again, (5.76) might be considered to have two separate actions;

(5.76) bác Hải mang đồ lên Đà Lạt

uncle carry thing (go) up to

'Old Hai took the things up to Dalat.'

'Old Hai carried the things and went up to Dalat.'

but (5.77) does not mean 'Old Hai sent the things and went up to Dalat.'

(5.77) bác Hải gói đồ lên Đà Lạt

uncle send thing (go) up to

'Old Hai sent the things to Dalat.'

If lên in (5.77) is claimed to be a subordinate verb, it could only be in an "Object-controlled" verb complement (see Kullavaniyaja 1974 on the structure of verb complements), and the following structure could be posited for (5.77),

\[
\text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{S} \\
\text{bac} \quad \text{Hai} \quad \text{goi} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{lên} \quad \text{Dalat} \\
\text{uncle} \quad \text{send} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{go up}
\]

in which the "Missing Complement Subject" (Kullavaniyaja 1974:250-6) of the embedded verb lên is coreferential with the object of the higher
verb gov. Such a structure is necessary for causative, purposive, or resultative complements (as, e.g. in mā cho chį Hai nau com 'Mother LET Second Sister COOK the rice').

However, if we use the same structure to explain (5.79), từ 'from' would also have to be shown as an underlying verb although it never occurs as a verb on the surface.

(5.79) bác Hải gord béc thọ Từ Đà lạt

'Uncle send letter from Dalat.'

Although lén has a corresponding verb function and tū does not, lén and tū are grammatically identical in (5.77) and (5.79). It would be circular and unnecessarily abstract to say that lén is a verb, not a P, because it has a corresponding verb function, and then have to treat tū and other underived Ps as verbs because they behave like the covers.

Furthermore, positing complex sentences with underlying verbs for coverb sentences is unnecessary because coverb sentences fit into surface structure patterns established independently on the basis of Ps which have no corresponding verb function. There exists a framework to explain coverbs and coverb sentences in a way that is consistent with these surface structure patterns and with the requirements of the verbs with which coverbs occur. This framework, which is demonstrated for Vietnamese in Chapter III above, states that a verb has a particular case frame which shows the case relations with which a verb may or must occur and the allowable case forms for these case relations. Prepositions, as defined and discussed in Secs. 3.1 and 3.2.2.0 above, - and the coverbs - are case markers which mark the case form of the case relation and therefore function in satisfying the requirements of verbs. If coverbs were verbs, there would be no way of economically stating such case frames without marking these verbs with case forms, a change in the theory which is unmotivated on any other grounds and which would make such verbs subject to two different sets of syntactic rules.

To illustrate the function of covers in satisfying the requirements of verbs, we can recall the discussion in Sec. 5.2.2 of Nguyen Dinh-Hoa's analysis of the following sentence.

(5.80) ông thư-ký thọc tay vào túi áo

'Grand-secretary thrust hand enter pocket jacket'

father

'The clerk stuck his hand into his coat pocket.'

(Nguyen D-H 1973:16)

In the discussion, it was stated that the verb thọc has an obligatory LOCATIVE. We can say that thọc has the following case frame,
COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

thởc 'thrust'

\[+\text{[+NM,+AGT]}\]
\[+\text{[+AC,+OBJ]}\]
\[+\text{[+L,+rel],+LOC]}\],

stating that it has an obligatory OBJECTIVE and an obligatory LOCATIVE and that the LOCATIVE must occur in the L case form or the AC case form with a locative relator noun. That is, (5.81) is ungrammatical.

(5.81) * ông thu-ký thởc tay túi áo

clerk thrust hand pocket

Thus, the coverb vào plays a vital role in (5.80) in satisfying the requirements of the verb thởc. If vào were a verb in (5.80), there would be no uniform and economical way of stating this role in the case frame of thởc.

As Ps, the locative coverbs of course play a role in subcategorisation of verbs. For example, OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verbs can be subcategorised according to whether they may not occur with [+L] Ps, must occur with [+L] Ps or relator nouns, or have free choice.

Finally, some of the locative coverbs can occur with OBJECTIVE and TIME phrases, where it is very difficult to consider them verbs, as, for example, in (5.82) and (5.83). ((5.82) is ungrammatical without the coverb.)

(5.82) tôi nghĩ đến cô-áy nhiều

I think to she much

(reaching)

\[+\text{NM}\]
\[+\text{DAT}\]
\[+\text{AC}\]
\[+\text{OBJ}\]

'I think of her a lot.'

(5.83) Lan đi vào tháng năm

go in month five

'Lan is going in May.'

If vào in (5.83) is a verb, it has no subject unless we wish to say that Lan is going into the fifth month. Likewise, in (5.84), đến ba giờ chiều is a relationship of time with the verb làm 'do'; đến is not a complement verb whose subject is the noun việc 'work' or a secondary verb whose subject is the noun Xuân.

(5.84) Xuân làm việc đến ba giờ chiều

do work to three hour evening

'do work to three hour evening

'Xuan worked until three o'clock in the afternoon.'
Don't here can only be a [+L] P marking the case form of the TIME case relation. It would not make sense to say that a coverb is a preposition when it occurs with TIME and a verb when it occurs with LOCATIVE.

Thus, the functions of coverbs comply with the definition of "P" and, as Ps, are a necessary part of the description and classification of verbs.

### 5.3.2 CASE FRAMES FOR LOCATIVE VERBS

Once it is shown that the coverbs are prepositions, it becomes necessary to explain the relationship between them and their corresponding verbs. To do this, we will first examine the characteristics of the verbs.

With a few exceptions, the Vs in the example sentences of Sec. 5.1.1, Vietnamese Locative Coverbs, are followed by nouns that are locative in one sense or another. In most instances the noun itself has the feature [+place] in its lexical entry, as Huế (place name), đây 'here', and phòng 'room' in (5.3), (5.13), and (5.25), respectively. The relevant parts of these sentences are repeated here:

(5.3) ...tôi sẽ ra Huế 'I'll come to HUE.'
(5.13) anh lải đây chói nhé 'Come on over HERE...'
(5.25) Lan vào phòng học... 'Lan went into the classROOM.'

Cô 'Miss' in (5.6) is not inherently a [+place] noun.

(5.6) bao giờ cô qua cô Lan chời 'When are you going over to MISS Lan's to visit?'

In this sentence it is a derived [+place] noun meaning 'Miss Lan's place', a feature which is required by the presence of the locative semantic property of the verb qua. In fact, all the verbs which have corresponding [+L] coverbs have a locative semantic property which causes them to have in their lexical entries the case frame feature [+LOC], stating that the verb must be followed by a noun which has a LOCATIVE case relation with the verb. All of them belong to the class of OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs. (See discussion of OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs in Secs. 3.3.5.4-6.)

We might ask whether or not LOCATIVE is really obligatory for these verbs. In the examples in Sec. 5.1.1, the verbs về 'return' and ra 'go out' in (5.18) and (5.22), respectively, are not followed by LOCATIVE case nouns.

(5.18) tôi vừa đi thăm các đảo Hỏa-Uy-Di về 'I've just visited the islands of Hawaii and returned.'
(5.22) em ra đi,... 'When I went away...'
The real world destinations of và and ra are perhaps understood in context of situation but not in grammatical context; that is, [+LOC] in the case frames of these verbs is optional: [+__(+LOC)].

This LOCATIVE is different from the outer [+__(+[LOC,-dir])] assignable to all verbs by a redundancy rule, since all of the [+locative] verbs under discussion except ơ 'be in' have the feature [+direction]. It is more of a problem to distinguish between ơ's inner LOCATIVE assigned by its [+locative] semantic feature and the outer LOCATIVE assignable to all verbs, since both can occur in one sentence, as in (5.85), and both are [-direction]. (See Sec. 3.3.4.1 above for discussion of inner and outer LOCATIVE.)

(5.85) ơ Saigon no Bay-Hien

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in} & \quad \text{he be in} \\
\text{[+L]} & \quad \text{[+AC]} & \quad \text{[+NM]} & \quad \text{[+V]} & \quad \text{[+AC]} & \quad \text{[+LOC]}
\end{align*}
\]

'In Saigon, he stays in Bay-Hien.'

The problem of distinction is resolved by the fact that the outer LOCATIVE always requires an L case marker or a locative relator noun, whereas the inner LOCATIVE does not allow an L case marker.

This fact of case form and case relation cooccurrence is directly relevant to the question of what it is that distinguishes verbs which have corresponding coverbs from verbs which do not. Not only ơ, but all of the verbs in question have inner LOCATIVES and must take their inner LOCATIVES in the AC case form. For example, (5.86) is grammatical and (5.87), with the P vào, is not.

(5.86) no Xuong nhà bếp

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he go down kitchen} & \\
\text{[+NM]} & \quad \text{[+AC]} & \quad \text{[+OBJ]} & \quad \text{[+LOC]}
\end{align*}
\]

'He went down to the kitchen.'

(5.87) * no Xuong vào nhà bếp

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{into} & \\
\text{[+NM]} & \quad \text{[+L]} & \quad \text{[+OBJ]} & \quad \text{[+AC]} & \quad \text{[+LOC]}
\end{align*}
\]

'He went down into the kitchen.'

These verbs can be said to have in their case frames the feature [-__[+L, +LOC]], or, to positively state the conditions under which a [+LOC] constituent may occur: [+__(+[AC, +LOC])]. In fact, the set of locative verbs which have corresponding prepositions is composed of the
OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Location verb \( \sigma \) and the subclass of OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verbs whose LOCATIVES must occur in the AC case form. (See Sec. 3.3.5.6 and Sec. 3.3.5.4, group 2 of O-L-Goal verbs.) These verbs are characterised by the features

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
+[-(\{AC,LOC\})] \\
-(+L,LOC)
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

As shown in Sec. 3.3.3, these verbs do not have AGENTIVE in their case frames although the direction verbs can take INSTRUMENTAL in the I case form. Their subjects are in the OBJECTIVE case. They all share the following case frame features, with the exception that \(+[\text{location}] \sigma \) cannot take INSTRUMENTAL.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
+V \\
+(NM,OBJ) \\
+([-I,INS]) \\
+(\{AC,LOC\}) \\
-(+L,LOC) \\
-(+AC,INS) \\
+\text{locative}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

The location verb \( \sigma \) 'be in/at' has the feature \( [-\text{dir}] \), which implies \( [+\text{lcu}] \) (see Sec. 3.3.4.1 for locative subcategorisation and redundancy rules). The verb \( \text{đến/đó} \) 'arrive at' has the feature \( [+\text{ter}] \), which implies \( [+\text{gol}] \) and \( [+\text{dir}] \). All the other members of this class share the feature \( [+\text{gol}] \), though each has additional semantic and phonological features distinguishing it from the others. They are qua/sang 'go across (to)', lề 'come (back to)', về 'return (to)', ra 'go out (to)', vào/vào 'go in (to)', lên 'go up (to)', and xuống 'go down (to)'. The glosses '(to)' indicate that the LOCATIVES of \( [+\text{gol}] \) verbs may be marked either \( [+\text{ter}] \) or \( [+\text{path}] \) by subcategorisation rules.

The verb \( \text{đi} \) 'go', as discussed above in Sec. 5.1.2, is an OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verb and, as a member of that class, shares with this set of OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs the feature \( [+\text{gol}] \). However, since \( \text{đi} \) freely occurs with \( [+L] \) prepositions, it can have \( [+\text{gol} \} \). Thus, \( \text{đi} \) does not have both of the characteristic case frame features of the verbs under discussion, and never occurs itself as a P with OBJECTIVE verbs. Other verbs of direction which share with \( \text{đi} \) the feature \( [+\text{gol}] \), and do not have corresponding prepositions, include ghé 'stop by', ngồi 'sit', and nằm 'lie'.

It is the presence of \( [+\text{gol}] \) that puts such verbs as \( \text{đi} \) and the locative verbs which have corresponding Ps in a single class of verbs, and the presence of \( [-\text{gol}] \) in these latter verbs that makes them a special class apart from verbs like \( \text{đi} \). Thus, it turns out
that a verb's ability to have a corresponding coverb in Vietnamese can be directly correlated with its case frame as a verb, and ultimately with the semantic properties that underlie the case frame.

5.3.3 COVERBS IN THE LEXICON

It was shown in the preceding section that the locative verbs which have corresponding prepositions constitute a particular class of verbs. It was found that a verb's ability to have a corresponding coverb is directly correlated with its case frame as a verb. The feature matrices of the coverbs look very much like the feature matrices of their corresponding verbs, with differences which are characteristic of the different syntactic functions of Ps and Vs.

The feature matrices of Ps, like those of Vs, include a case frame. Unlike Vs, which may have from one to several case frame features, Ps have only one case frame feature, a feature which states the case relation or relations which may occur with that P. This is, of course, because, in a sentence, a P must have one - and only one - cooccurring case relation; while a V may have none or many cooccurring case relations. These facts reflect a significant difference between Ps and Vs: A P forms an exocentric construction with an NP, the P and the NP both being obligatory to the PP construction; a V is the head of an endocentric construction (the sentence) of which it is the only obligatory element. In addition, a P is labelled with the one case form it marks. If [+ACR] and [+BCR] stand for case relations, [+A] is a case form, and [+S₁] and [+F_j] are distinctive semantic and phonological features, respectively, a minimal representation of a P feature matrix in Vietnamese will look like this:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+A \\
+_{[\{+ACR,+BCR\}]} \\
+S₁ \\
+F_j \\
\end{array}
\]

Because the coverbs are homophonous and synonymous with their corresponding verbs, in the mind of the speaker they are a special class of Ps, derived from verbs. This derivational relationship can be expressed in the form of a derivational rule (DR). As stated in Sec. 2.2.3 above, a DR relates a class of lexical items, identified by certain shared features, with members of another class of lexical items. Frequently, in DRs, only selected semantic features are carried over from one item to the other and the bulk of semantic features in the derived item are
unpredictable. (Very often in historical derivation, semantic shifts are such that the semantic properties of a derived item are completely unpredictable and in the synchronic grammar there may no longer be a derivational rule.) However, the relationship between the coverbs and their corresponding verbs is so close in Vietnamese that not only the entire set of phonological features (a change in stress features would be attributable to phonological rules pertaining to the change in syntactic function, not a feature of the lexical items) but also all the inherent semantic features of the source item are carried over to the derived item.

The DR which relates these coverbs to their corresponding verbs will be called the Coverb Derivational Rule. It is formulated as follows:

\[
\text{CDR.}\quad +V, +[AC,+LOC], -[L,+LOC], <+\text{direction}> \rightarrow +P, +\text{DERV}, +L, +[AC,+\{LOC,+TIM\}], <+\text{direction}> +[AC,+\{LOC,+TIM\}], <+\text{direction}> -\text{source} \]

where \( S_i \) represents distinctive semantic features and \( F_j \) distinctive phonological features. The feature \(+[AC,+\{LOC,+TIM\}]\) can actually be omitted from this rule since it can be specified for \(+L\) Ps by the redundancy rule

\[
\text{RR.}\quad +L, <+\text{dir}> \rightarrow +[AC,+\{LOC,+TIM\}],
\]

which would also apply to underived \(+L\) Ps, making a more general statement. The feature is stated redundantly in this study to more clearly show the case frame of the derived lexical items. In any case, the feature \(+AC\) is redundant since \(+AC\) is specified for the case relations of all Ps (Sec. 3.2.2.0).

The CDR claims that, for every lexical entry which is marked \(+[AC,+LOC]\), \([-[L,+LOC]]\), and \([-\text{source}]\), there is a homophonous and synonymous derived preposition with the case form L, requiring a following LOCATIVE or TIME noun, and having the same feature of direction as the verb lexical entry. The P case frame must show that only a \(+\text{direction}\) P can occur with a TIME noun; that is, in Vietnamese, the \([-\text{direction},+\text{location}] \) does not occur with TIME.

In other words, that set of OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs which cannot take their LOCATIVES with a preposition is the very set of locative-type
verbs which can occur as L prepositions with another verb. (See Secs. 3.3.5.4, OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verbs, and 5.3.2, Case Frames for Locative Verbs.) It is not hard to see why this should be so. Since these verbs are already semantically locative, their LOCATIVE adjuncts need no additional overt identification other than their especially close association with a semantically locative verb. They are free to occur in the most neutral non-subject case form, [+AC]. In this sense, then, these verbs already "mark" the [+LOC] case relation. It is not surprising that they should eventually also be used to "mark" [+LOC] constituents in sentences in which they are not the main verb.

To illustrate the operation of CDR, the derivation of two coverbs as partially specified lexical items is given, and some of the example sentences with coverbs, given above in Sec. 5.1.1, are repeated here with branching tree structures and case-related feature marking.

\[ \hat{\theta} \ 'be \ in/at' \]
\[
[V
+[NM,+OBJ]
+([+AC,+LOC])
- [+L,+LOC]
- [+INS]
direction
+S_i (other)
] \]

\[ \hat{\theta} \ 'in, \ at' \]
\[
[P
+DERV
+([AC,+LOC])
+L
direction
+S_i (other)
] \]

ra 'go out (to)'
\[
[V
+[NM,+OBJ]
+([+AC,+LOC])
- [+L,+LOC]
+([+I,+C]+INS]
direction
-source
+S_i (other)
] \]

ra 'out to'
\[
[P
+DERV
+([AC,+LOC,+TIM])
+L
direction
-source
+S_i (other)
] \]
At the beginning of November, I'm going to teach at Gia-Long School.'

The verb dạy can, by a general redundancy rule, take a [-direction] LOCATIVE. (See Sec. 3.3.2 for RRs for verbs.)

'The barge girl oared the boat across the river.'
"They moved to No. 3 Gia-Long Street."

"The temperature changed from 70° down to 33°."
'I'll return to Bangkok in the middle of March.'

The Coverb Derivation Rule will have to exclude such compound verbs with included direction words as tró-qua from having derived prepositions.

'I worked from 9 o'clock until noon.'
5.4 THE DATIVE COVERB IN THE LEXICON

In addition to the locative coverbs discussed in the preceding sections, there is one other verb in Vietnamese which has a corresponding coverb. That is the verb cho 'give (to)'. Sentence (5.88) shows cho as a verb.

(5.88) ông-ý vừa cho con gái chiéc xe Huế-Ky
he just give daughter Cl vehicle America

'+NM] [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ]

'He just gave his daughter an American car.'
(Nguyen D-H 1966:68)

Cho is a [+D] coverb which occurs with AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Goal verbs, as shown in (5.89) and (5.90). As discussed in Sec. 3.2.2.3 above, DATIVE can occur either before or after OBJECTIVE. If it occurs before OBJECTIVE, the case marker cho is optional, as in

(5.89) anh dua (cho) ch! áy cái dó
elder hand to elder that thing that
bro.

'+NM] [+AGT] [+[-[+DAT] [+D] [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ]
-[-[+OBJ]\+[AC] [+DAT]]

'Give her that thing, brother.'
(Tran 1971:7)

If DATIVE occurs after OBJECTIVE, cho is obligatory, as in

(5.90) töl sê tra' lói cho nguo! dó trước
I Fut pay back word to person that before

'+NM] [+AGT] [+[-[+DAT] [+D] [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ]
-[-[+OBJ]\+[AC] [+DAT]]

'I'll answer that person first.'

The verb cho is an AGENTIVE-DATIVE-Goal verb (see Sec. 3.3.5.1.1) but differs from other A-D-Goal verbs in Vietnamese in that its DATIVE must always occur immediately following the verb, as in (5.91) and (5.92), except when it is topicalised, as in (5.93), and must always be in the AC case form.

(5.91) họ cho al tiền
they give who money

'+NM] [+AC] [+AC] [+OBJ]

'Who did they give money to?'

(Liem 1969:48)
(5.92) cho tôi một gói thuốc
give I one package tobacco
[+AC] [+OBJ]

'Give me a pack of cigarettes.'

(5.93) ông ấy hỏi đã cho một vé
gentleman that they Past give one ticket
[+AC] [+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ]

'To that man they have given a ticket.' (Liem 1969:13)

Sentence (5.93) is acceptable only in a context of contrast with a preceding or following sentence, such as còn tôi phải mua (remain, I, must, buy) 'As for me, I had to buy mine.'

The DATIVE is optional, as in (5.94), where the recipient is unspecified.

(5.94) cho một gói thuốc
give one package tobacco
[+AC] [+OBJ]

'Give a pack of cigarettes.'

BENEFACTIVE can occur either in the B or the D case form. If a cho co-verb phrase occurs with the verb cho, it is unambiguously BENEFACTIVE since DATIVE with the verb cho must occur in the AC case form. This is shown in (5.95).

(5.95) cho một gói thuốc
give one package tobacco
[+AC] [+OBJ]

for I
[+B] [+BEN]

cho for
[+D]

'Give a pack of cigarettes (to somebody else) for me.'

The verb cho has the following lexical entry matrix:
Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese

cho 'give'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+V} \\
[+\text{NM}, +\text{AGT}] \\
[+\text{AC}, +\text{OBJ}] \\
([+\text{AC}, +\text{DAT}]) \\
[+D, +\text{DAT}] \\
[+\text{OBJ}][+\text{DAT}] \\
[+\text{INS}] \\
\text{+direction} \\
\text{-source}
\end{align*}
\]

Cho is the only AGENTIVE-DATIVE verb which has a corresponding preposition. It is also the only A-D-Goal verb which cannot take its DATIVE in the D case form. A derivation rule for P cho can be formulated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+V} \\
[+\text{AC}, +\text{DAT}] \\
[+D, +\text{DAT}] \\
\end{align*}
\rightarrow
\begin{align*}
\text{+P} \\
\text{+DERV} \\
\text{+L} \\
([+\text{AC}, [+\text{DAT}, +\text{REN}])] \\
\end{align*}
\]

which shows that the P cho can mark BENEFACTIVE as well as DATIVE.

To postulate a derivation rule for a single lexical entry, however, captures no generalisations (see Sec. 2.2.3) and adds to the complexity of the grammar since it would be possible, instead, to consider cho to be two separate lexical entries, a V and a P. Nevertheless, if the derivation rule for cho is compared with the Coverb Derivation Rule for locative coverbs, given in Sec. 5.3.3 and repeated here,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CDR.} \\
\text{+V} \\
[+\text{AC}, +\text{LOC}] \\
[+L, +\text{LOC}] \\
\text{+source} \\
\alpha S_i \\
\beta F_j \\
\end{align*}
\rightarrow
\begin{align*}
\text{+P} \\
\text{+DERV} \\
\text{+L} \\
([+\text{AC}, [+\text{LOC}, [+\text{TIM}]]) \\
\text{+source} \\
\alpha S_i \\
\beta F_j \\
\end{align*}
\]

significant parallels can be seen. Cho shares with the locative coverbs the feature [-source] and a feature regarding direction. The necessary condition for both rules is that the verb have an "inner" non-OBJECTIVE case relation and that that case relation occur only in the AC case form and never occur in the case form most closely associated with that case relation. In fact, it is this very condition which appears to be the
essential characteristic of coverbs. It is the obligatory AC case form
on inner non-OBJECTIVE case relations with certain verbs which sets them
apart from other verbs of the same class and paves the way for them to
have corresponding prepositions, which, by definition, require that
their sister constituents occur in the AC case form.

CDR can be modified as below to incorporate the DATIVE coverb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CDR.} & \\
\begin{pmatrix}
+V \\
+_{[+AC, \{+LOC\}}_{1+DAT} \\
-_{[\{+L,+LOC\}}_{1+D,+DAT} \\
\end{pmatrix} \\
\langle +\text{direction}\rangle \\
\text{source} \\
\beta \text{F}_j \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{pmatrix}
+P \\
+\text{DERV} \\
\{+L\} \\
{+D} \\
\end{pmatrix} \\
\langle +\text{direction}\rangle \\
\text{source} \\
\beta \text{F}_j \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{pmatrix}
+_{[+AC, \{+LOC, \langle +\text{TIM}\rangle\}}_{1+DAT, +\text{BEN}} \\
\end{pmatrix} \\
\langle +\text{direction}\rangle \\
\text{source} \\
\beta \text{F}_j \\
\end{align*}
\]
CHAPTER VI

COVERBS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES -
IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

6.1 THE AREAL HYPOTHESIS

The existence of coverbs—prepositions which have corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs—is not unique to the Vietnamese language in Southeast Asia. In fact, many languages of the area, without regard to genetic relationship, share not only the coverb phenomenon but other syntactic characteristics. Franklin Huffman begins his paper *Thai and Cambodian - A Case of Syntactic Borrowing?* (Huffman 1973) by saying, "No one who has a passing familiarity with Thai and Cambodian can fail to be struck by the remarkable similarity of syntactic structure between the two languages" (p. 488).

I believe that these similarities are due in large part to long and extensive language contact. There is evidence of much movement and population resettlement in the whole area. "...centuries of migrations, trade, and political relationships link the peoples of Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam with the southern provinces of China... This entire region, which might be termed greater mainland Southeast Asia, forms an integrated whole for the purposes of the study of racial and linguistic history, ethnic distribution, and cultural evolution" (Lebar, Hickey, Musgrave 1964:v; also see LHM 1964:187,189; and Cady 1964:14-20). Haas (1965:viii) states that "long contact among members of the various indigenous linguistic families has given rise to certain broad similarities characteristic of a linguistic area."

Emeneau (1956:16) defines "linguistic area" as "an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families." Haas (1969:83) prefers the term "diffusion
area" as reflecting cultural as well as linguistic diffusion, and observes, "Even among genetically unrelated languages striking structural resemblances are often found spread over wide geographical areas" (pp. 82-3).

Henderson (1965:401) states, "In the course of investigations extending over many years into the present phonological and grammatical structure of a variety of languages on the South East Asian mainland, my attention has...inescapably been drawn to a number of features which suggest themselves as characteristic of the area, or of sub-areas within the larger area." Huffman (1973:490, fn.7), in comparing the order of syntactic elements in Thai and Cambodian, states that "within the context of Southeast Asia as a linguistic area the order of syntactic elements is by no means random, but this fact implies mutual influence in the area and supports the conclusion that the syntactic similarities concerned are not coincidental."

Specific cross-language comparisons in phonological or grammatical structure have been made not only by Huffman (1973) but also by Cooke (1968), Henderson (1965), Honey and Simmonds (1963), Jones (1970), E. Lee (1974), Liem (1973b), and Nacaskul (1973). (Also see bibliography in Huffman 1973.)

The copverb phenomenon is one of the areal features of Southeast Asia, one of the features characteristic of the languages of the area, possibly as a result of language contact. This study will not be concerned with the probable direction of influence. For a discussion of direction of borrowing in Thai and Khmer, see Huffman 1973:28-37.

6.2 THE EVIDENCE

6.2.0 INTRODUCTION

The claim that copverbs are an areal feature is based on evidence found not only in Vietnamese but in various Tai languages (Thai (Siamese), Lao, Black Tai), in Mon-Khmer languages (principally Khmer, but also some occurrences of copverbs in the Mountain Mon-Khmer languages, Chrau (D.D. Thomas 1971 and personal communication, and D.M. Thomas 1969), Jeh (Gradin 1970a and personal communication, and D.M. Thomas 1969), and Sedang (Smith 1969 and personal communication)), and in Chinese (for Mandarin see Chapter IV above, for Taiwanese see Chen 1972). I have not yet made any investigations into Burmese or the Austronesian languages in the area. Much more investigation needs to be done on all the languages, but even this superficial comparison shows striking similarities, giving support to the hypothesis.
Speaking of Thai and Khmer, Huffman (1973:488) states that "many semantically equivalent forms, or words, seem to share identical ranges of syntactic occurrence." One of the types of forms he gives as example is what he calls "directional verbs". These are what I have called coverbs in Vietnamese and Chinese, and they function in much the same way in Khmer and Thai as they do in Vietnamese. In the following sections, a rather cursory review of the facts in each language - Khmer and Thai - is given. In Sec. 6.2.3, some comparison of all three languages - Vietnamese, Khmer, and Thai - is made. For explanation of orthography and sources for the languages, see Sections 1.3 and 1.4 above.

6.2.1 KHMER

6.2.1.1 Coverbs, Prepositions, and Relator Nouns

6.2.1.1.1 Khmer Coverbs

In Khmer, the national language of Cambodia, there are a number of words which can be analysed as coverbs. Huffman (1970:138-9) gives a list of "directional verbs", which "occur after primary verbs which are non-specific as to direction or goal, and specify the direction or general orientation of action initiated by the verb" (p. 138). (See Sec. 5.1.3 for discussion of Vietnamese coverbs as adverbs.) In 1973, he says, "Most members of the class occur also as primary verbs...when directional verbs are followed by a substantive object, they have a prepositional function" (1973:497). Following is his list, including glosses; I have designated what I believe to be the correct case form (CF) features for each coverb and added the meanings these words have when used as main verbs. Since most of the coverbs are marked [+L,+gol], the definition of the Goal sub-CF from Sec. 3.2.2.4.3 is repeated here: "The Goal Sub-CF marks the path or goal toward which the action of the verb is directed; that is, the noun associated with a Goal sub-CF names the path or intended terminal point of the action of the verb, never the point of origin." The feature marking of these [+gol] coverbs in example sentences gives only their lexical marking of Goal ([+gol]) and not the semantic interpretation as Path ([+path]) or Terminus ([+ter]) for particular sentences, as determined by sub-categorisation rules. (See Sec. 3.3.4.1 for subcategorisation and redundancy rules regarding Direction.)
PREPOSITION

niw  still, remaining at  [+L,+lcn]  be in/at

tiw  orientation away from speaker in space  [+L,+gol]  go to

mæk  orientation toward speaker in space  [+L,+gol]  come to

coul  in, into  [+L,+gol]  go in to

cən  out, out of  go out

laəŋ  up, upward  [+L,+gol]  go up to

coh  down, downward  [+L,+gol,-ter]  go down

taam  along, following  [+L,+gol,-ter]  follow

qaoy  on behalf of, for (familiar)  [+D]  give

cuun  on behalf of, for (formal)  [+D]  give (honorific)

Elsewhere (p. 408), he also gives as a directional verb

claaŋ  across  [+L,+gol,-ter]  go across

and on page 409 he gives as both a verb and a preposition

dal  to, until, reaching  [+L,+ter]  reach, arrive to  at

In a list of "attributive verbs", Ehrman (1972:77-8) includes taam, niw, dal, qaoy ('for, to; give'), cuun ('for, to; give'), and the following (all meanings given are hers):

huuh  more than  pass (cf. Vietnamese qua)

cwael  around  go around

wuaŋ  around  go around, encircle

com  exactly at  hit exactly, be on target

tuel  facing  support face to face

Speaking of these verbs and some others not within the scope of this study, she says that English prepositional phrases can be translated
into Khmer by "a verb phrase which is attributive to what precedes" (p. 77) and that these words can be verbs in such verb phrases.

Jacob (1968:137), in a list of "prenominal particles", includes taam 'following, by, along', niw 'at', and dal 'until, as far as, towards (of feelings)', and marks them as also occurring as verbs.

The word cañ 'out, go out' is included in Huffman's list of directional verbs since it can occur as a directional adverb, as in (6.1).

\[ \text{6.1} \quad \text{kot} \quad \text{tuul} \quad \text{samaa} \quad \text{cañ} \quad \text{tiw} \quad \text{srae} \quad \text{(S. Pou)} \]

\[ +\text{NM} \quad +\text{AGT} \quad +\text{OBJ} \quad +\text{Adv} \quad +\text{L} \quad +\text{gol} \quad +\text{AC} \]

'She carried (on her head) the stew out to the ricefields.'

However, cañ never occurs as a P; that is, tiw in (6.1) cannot be omitted. Thus, cañ is not a coverb. Furthermore, cañ as a verb cannot take its LOCATIVE in the AC case form, i.e. (6.2) is ungrammatical, whether with a Source LOCATIVE or a Goal LOCATIVE. Its LOCATIVE must be marked by a directional preposition, as in (6.3) and (6.4).

\[ \text{6.2} \quad * \quad \text{qom} \quad \text{cañ} \quad \text{olde} \quad \text{sib} \quad \text{go out} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{sræ} \quad \text{ricefield} \]

\[ +\text{NM} \quad +\text{OBJ} \quad +\text{L} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{gol} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{LOC} \]

'Aunt went out \{from the house.\}, to the field.'

\[ \text{6.3} \quad \text{qom} \quad \text{cañ} \quad \text{tiw} \quad \text{srae} \quad \text{(S. Pou)} \]

\[ +\text{NM} \quad +\text{OBJ} \quad +\text{L} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{gol} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{LOC} \]

'Aunt went out to the field.'

\[ \text{6.4} \quad \text{toap} \quad \text{cañ} \quad \text{pii} \quad \text{nëkoç} \quad \text{peel} \quad \text{prik} \quad \text{(S. Pou)} \]

\[ +\text{NM} \quad +\text{OBJ} \quad +\text{L} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{TIM} \]

'The army left the city in the morning.'

These facts are consistent with the coverb derivation hypothesis that an OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verb which can have a corresponding P must take its inner LOCATIVE in the AC case form. For these reasons, Khmer cañ is not included in the cross-language list of coverbs in Sec. 6.2.3.1 below.

The word coh 'down, go down' is limited in its occurrence as a coverb. Both as a V and as a P, it is [-ter], i.e. it can mean only
'through space' not 'toward/to a point'. Examples of coh as a [-ter] V, (6.5), and as a [-ter] P, (6.6), are given.

(6.5) * domray coh tuanlee (S. Pou)

\[ \text{elephant} \quad \text{go down} \quad \text{river} \]

\[ [+\text{NM}] \quad [+]([+\text{LOC}]) \quad [+\text{AC}] \]

'The elephant went down into the river (through the water).'

(6.6) * Məla tuul khoa-qaaw coh tuanlee (S. Pou)

\[ \text{head clothes down river} \]

\[ [+\text{NM}] \quad [+\text{AC}] \quad [+\text{L}] \quad [+\text{gol}] \quad [+\text{AC}] \]

'Malaa carried the clothes down in the river (through the water).'

When a LOCATIVE goal occurs with the verb coh, it must be marked with a [+gol] P, as in (6.7).

(6.7) * Məla coh tiw tuanlee (S. Pou)

\[ \text{go down to river} \]

\[ [+\text{NM}] \quad [+\text{L}] \quad [+\text{gol}] \quad [+\text{AC}] \]

'Malaa went down to the river.'

When a LOCATIVE goal occurs with another verb, coh may occur as a directional adverb while the LOCATIVE is marked with a [+gol] P, as in (6.8); coh cannot be the [+gol] P in this case.

(6.8) * Məla tuul khoa-qaaw coh tiw moat tuanlee (S. Pou)

\[ \text{head clothes down to edge river} \]

\[ [+\text{NM}] \quad [+\text{AC}] \quad [+\text{Adv}] \quad [+\text{L}] \quad [+\text{gol}] \quad [+\text{AC}] \]

'Malaa carried the clothes down to the riverbank.'

These facts, too, are consistent with the coverb derivation hypothesis. It remains only to assign features to the lexical entry matrix of V coh to allow it to take a [+AC] LOCATIVE which is semantically [-ter] (thus allowing it to become a [-ter] coverb) and a [+L, +ter] LOCATIVE, thus blocking it from becoming a [+ter] coverb.

The word clauq 'across, go across', like coh, is also a [-ter] V and P, and the same set of facts applies.

The word təm 'following, follow' does not follow the usual pattern of locative verbs and markers. (For discussion of similar problems with Vietnamese theo 'following, follow', see Sec. 5.1.2 above.) As a verb,
taam cannot take a LOCATIVE at all, unless a moving object can be considered a LOCATIVE, i.e. (6.9) is ungrammatical, (6.10) is grammatical.

\[(6.9)\] * koat taam plaw (tiw Kraceh)
3p follow road go to
'She followed the road to Kratie.'

\[(6.10)\] koat taam \{Sari\} (S. Pou)
3p follow \{laan\}
(auto)
'She followed \{Sari.\} the car.'

However, taam appears to occur as a [+L,+lcn] or a [+L,-ter] preposition, as in (6.11) and (6.12), respectively.

\[(6.11)\] chaa nuh kee tiw kap taam khaet (Huffman 1970:366)
wood that 3p go chop following province

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+L \\
+lcn \\
+LOC \\
\end{array}
\]
'They cut the wood in the provinces.'

\[(6.12)\] kiiom quhssa mook taam plaw nih nah (Huffman 1970:217)
I often come following road this very

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM \\
+OBJ \\
+L \\
-ter \\
+AC \\
+LOC \\
\end{array}
\]
'I've come along this road often.'

It may be that taam in (6.12) is an adverb rather than a P. The problems of taam will not be gone into in this study.

Besides occurring as an AGENTIVE-DATIVE verb 'give', cuun also occurs as an AGENTIVE verb meaning 'accompany, escort' (which perhaps requires an embedded sentence), as in (6.13).

\[(6.13)\] qaylaw kiiom cuun look tiw meel Woat-Pnum
now I escort Sir go see temple compound

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array}
\]
'Now I'll take you to see Wat Phnom.' (Huffman 1970:230)

It is presumed that cuun 'give' and cuun 'accompany' are two separate synchronically underived lexical items since neither can be predicted from the other.

As in Vietnamese, most of these words can occur as directional adverbs. (See Sec. 5.1.3 above for discussion of adverbial uses of Vietnamese OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs of direction.) Huffman (1973:497) states that when directional verbs occur in final position in the phrase, they
have an adverbial function. He gives the following example:

(6.14) \( \text{yook hap nih tiw} \)
\( \text{take box this go} \)
\(+AC\) \(+\text{Adv}\)

'Take this box away.'

Another example is (6.15).

(6.15) \( \text{tuuk nuh daek tnam mook pii Kampaon-Chaam} \)
\( \text{boat that carry tobacco hither from port} \)
\(+\text{NM}\) \(+AC\) \(+\text{Adv}\) \(+L\) \(+\text{Src}\) \(+\text{Loc}\)

'That boat is bringing tobacco from Kampong Cham.'

(Huffman 1970:183)

Examples of some of these words as VPs and as Ps in sentences have been given above. Examples of the remainder are given below, with the word in question underlined. Relevant categories and case features are postulated in line with those hypothesised for Vietnamese in Chapters III and V above.

(6.16) \( \text{salaa niw qae-naa} \)
\( \text{school be in where} \)
\(+\text{NM}\) \(+\text{Loc}\)

'Where is the school?'

(6.17) \( \text{look Sok twaa kaa niw kanlaen nin} \)
\( \text{Sir do work in place Det} \)
\(+\text{NM}\) \(+\text{AC}\) \(+\text{P}\) \(+\text{Loc}\)

'Mr Sok works at that place.'

(Ehman 1972:11)

(6.18) \( \text{niw psaa nih mian manuh craen nah} \)
\( \text{in market this have person much very} \)
\(+\text{P}\) \(+\text{Loc}\)
\(+\text{Chn}\)

'There are a lot of people at this market.'

(Huffman 1970:43)

Unlike Vietnamese \( \hat{o} \), Khmer \( \text{niw} \) can be used to mark the TIME case relation, as in (6.19).
(6.19) nîw tngay nih kõm tîw Kâmpàng-Câm (Jacob 1968:68)
in day this I go

+P [+AC] [+NM] [+V] [+AC]
+L [+OBJ] [+Gol] [+LOC]

'I'm going to Kampong Cham today.'

(6.20) yaog tîw srok Kmae khae kray (Ehrman: 1972:107)
we go country Khmer month behind

+[NM] [+V] [+AC] [+AC]
+[OBJ] [+Gol] [+LOC] [+TIM]

'We're going to Cambodia next month.'

(6.21) yoâk qaywan nih tîw bantup (Huffman 1970:138)
take thing this to room

+[AC] [+OBJ] [+P] [+AC]
+[Gol] [+LOC]

'Take these things to the room.'

(6.22) kee mòok kànlaø nih thee qay (Huffman 1970:229)
3p come place this do what

+[NM] [+V] [+AC] [+AC]
+[OBJ] [+Gol] [+LOC] [+OBJ]

'What have they come for?'

(6.23) yoâk qaywan nih mòok peâeh (Huffman 1970:140)
take thing this to house

+[AC] [+OBJ] [+P] [+AC]
+[Gol] [+LOC]

'Bring these things to the house.'

(6.24) kõm nin tîw som cbap-qaqnuñnaat couł wëø (Huffman 1970:230)
I Put go ask permit go in palace

+[NM] [+V] [+AC] [+V] [+AC]
+[OBJ] [+Gol] [+OBJ] [+Gol] [+LOC]

'I'll go ask for a permit to enter the palace.'

(6.25) kee yoâk damray tieñ couł tuanlee (Huffman 1970:366)
3p take elephant pull into river

+[NM] [+AC] [+P] [+AC]
+[AGT] [+OBJ] [+Gol] [+LOC]

'They use elephants to pull (the wood) into the river.'
(6.26) kaal-naa ŋam baay ruac, ycler .GPIO laaŋ pnum
when eat rice finish we go go up mountain

When we've finished eating, we'll go climb the mountain.'
(Huffman 1970:204)

(6.27) yook qeywan nuh laaŋ lea pteah
take thing that up to top house

'Take those things up to the house.'
(Huffman 1970:140)

(6.28) bael lool koo jtnl nin khaan santhakia muay tihat
if Sir cross street Put see hotel one further

'If you cross the street, you'll see another hotel.'
(Huffman 1970:132)

(6.29) Sarı bänkuun tuuk klaan stiŋ
send boat across stream

'Sarun sent the boat across the stream.'
(S. Pou)

(6.30) kopal dal Kampvang Caam qaatiit mun
ship arrive Kampong Cham last week before

'The ship arrived at Kampong Cham last week.'
(S. Pou)

(6.31) Sarun dae dal pteah Nael
walk reaching house

'Sarun walked to (as far as) Nael's house.'
(S. Pou)

(6.32) kñoŋ ignment luy koat
I give money 3p

'I'll give him some money.'
(Ehrman 1972:43)
6.33) **hoc sabuu haey-niŋ kensaŋ-cuut-kluan qaoy kñom phaŋ**

hand soap and towel to I as well

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+OBJ
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+OBJ
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'Please hand me the soap and a towel.'

(Huffman 1970:149)

As a [+D] preposition, qaoy can mark BENEFACTIVE as well as DATIVE.

6.34) **qawpuk tiŋ siwpbih qaoy kñom**

father buy book for I

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+OBJ
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+D
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'Father buys books for me.'

6.35) **kee cuun rugwoen Sarun**

S. Pou

3p give reward (honorific)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+[V] \\
+OBJ
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'They gave the reward to Sarun.'

6.36) **kñom nìn luŋ siwpbih nih cuun look**

I Fut sell book this to Sir

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+OBJ
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+D
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'I'll sell this book to you, Sir.'

6.37) **look baŋ twia cuun kñom phaŋ**

(Thach Sarun)

Sir open door for I as well

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+OBJ
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+D
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'Open the door for me, please, Sir.'

6.2.1.1.2 Khmer Prepositions

Khmer has some underived prepositions - words which never occur as main verbs. The two which are most relevant to this study are:

qae at, as for, with regard to  [+L,+lcn]

pīi from, since  [+L,+src]

Also there are taŋ-pīi 'from, ever since' (see Huffman 1970:122-3 for the distinction between pīi and taŋ-pīi), ruoc-pīi 'after', etc. Some sentences with these two prepositions follow. Verbs and coverbs from the above list, as well as the two prepositions, are underlined.
(6.38) **K**: khae̋ng nuh neaq khae̋ng pteəh thom muəy

at side that person perceive house big one

[+P] [+AC] [+NM] [+L] [+DAT] [+OBJ]

'On that side you see a large house.' (Jacob 1968:68)

(6.39) **K**: pləw-rateh-plən wiən mien...piii Pnum-Piən tiw Kampoot

at railroad again have from to

[+P] [+AC] [+LOC/OBJ?] [+P] [+AC] [+L] [+LOC] [+L] [+LOC]

'As for railroads, there's one from Phnom-Penh to Kampot.' (Huffman 1970:354)

(6.40) kee yook rateh-koo dok sraw pii srae məok pteəh

3p take cart-ox carry paddy from rice to house field

[+NM] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+L] [+AC] [+P] [+AC]

'They use ox-carts to haul the paddy from the rice fields to the house.' (Huffman 1970:342)

(6.41) yook qeywan nuh cən pii pteəh

take thing that out from house

[+AC] [+P] [+OBJ] [+Adv] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC]

'Take those things out of the house.'

(6.42) prateeh-Kampuccia baan qaekkaɾiəc pii cnam naa

country obtain independence from year which

[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+OBJ] [+L] [+TIM]

'When did Cambodia achieve independence?' (Huffman 1970:376)

6.2.1.1.3 Khmer Locative Relator Nouns

Ehrman (1972:78-9) gives the following list of words which she calls "locative nominals" and which can be translated as English prepositions. These locative nominals are what I (following Thompson) have called relator nouns (Nr) (see Sec. 3.2.3 above); they are treated as head nouns in the example sentences which follow. They are marked [+place, +relation] in their lexical entries.
knọŋ  interior  inside
kraw  outside  outside of
læø  top  on top of, over
(S. Pou: upper part)
kraom  bottom  under
(S. Pou: lower part)
muk  face, front  in front of
kraøy  back part  behind
kandaal  middle  in the middle, between
kbæ  area next to  next to
cweĩŋ  the left side  to the left of
sdam  the right side  to the right of

Huffman (1970:392-3) gives kandaal and the following words as "nouns which are translated as prepositions".

cenlah  space between  (between)
rəwiŋ  interval  (during)
khæŋ  side, direction  (in the matter of)
rəbæŋ  thing  (of (Possession))
camnaek  part  (as for)

(6.43) yook qeywan nhu coul knọŋ pteah  (Huffman 1970:140)
\[\begin{array}{ll}
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
+P \\
+L \\
+gol \\
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
+Nr \\
+AC \\
+LOC \\
\end{array}
\]
'Take those things into the house.'

(6.44) yook qeywan nhu læø læø pteah  (Huffman 1970:140)
\[\begin{array}{ll}
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
+P \\
+L \\
+gol \\
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
+Nr \\
+AC \\
+LOC \\
\end{array}
\]
'Take those things up to the house.'
6.2.1.2 OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE Verbs in Khmer

Besides the verbs of direction and location listed above which have corresponding coverbs, Khmer has other OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs which can or must take inner LOCATIVE phrases. (See Sec. 3.3.4.1 for discussion of LOCATIVE in the classification of verbs.) Some of them are:

- **菅** (go out, leave) (See discussion above and sentences (6.3) and (6.4).)
- **telap** (fall)
- **tralap** (return, turn)
- **dae** (walk (6.31) above)
- **ruat** (run)
- **hael(-tik)** (swim)
- **hou** (flow)
- **qandaet** (float)
- **crook** (take shelter)
- **chup** (stop)
- **choo** (stand)
- **qaqkuy** (sit)
- **kuq** (sit, stay, reside (of royalty or clergy))
- **deik** (lie down, sleep)
- **keeq** (recline, sleep)
- **that** (be placed, situated (6.46) above)

In general, the case frames of these verbs include the following features:
The O-L verbs in Khmer have not been subclassified here with respect to O-L-Goal, O-L-Source, and O-L-Location. Also, the O-L-Goal verbs have not been subclassified, as they have been for Vietnamese, with respect to which verbs have free choice of AC or L case form with their LOCATIVES and which are restricted to AC or to L case form. However, it is presumed that those verbs which have corresponding coverbs constitute the class of O-L verbs whose LOCATIVES must occur in the AC case form. The data so far investigated show this to be the case.

Following are examples of sentences with some of these verbs with LOCATIVE phrases.

(6.47) look gesture to top chair Imp I sit in top

kdåa-nie

'You have a chair; I'll sit on the platform.' (Huffman 1970:275)

(6.48) king reside in place this or

'Does the king reside here?'

(6.49) manuh person lie top bed that be ill what

'What's wrong with the person on that bed?'

(6.50) kñom walk to market

'I walk to the market.'

(6.51) youth run to school for quick

'The little boy ran quickly to school.'
M. CLARK

(6.52)  mook tiw crōk niw kraom daam-čhēh nuh sēn
come go take in under tree that PP

[+L] [+AC] [+LOC]

'Let's go take shelter under that tree.'  (Huffman 1970:115)

(6.53)  sâmnat gendāt kandaal tuânlee
flotsam float middle river

[+NM] [+OBJ] [+AC] [+LOC]

'Flotsam is floating in the middle of the river.'

(6.54)  tik pnēek hou piî pnēek wia
water eye flow from eye 3p(inferior)

[+NM] [+OBJ] [+L] [+AC] [+SRC] [+LOC]

'Tears flowed from his (the child's) eyes.'

(6.55)  ...tuânlee Meekōn... hou kat piî khan-că̆n tiw tboûn
river flow out from side north to south

[+NM] [+OBJ] [+L] [+AC] [+SRC] [+LOC] [+GOL] [+AC] [+LOC]

'The Mekong River flows (cutting) from north to south.'  
(Huffman 1970:354)

Note that the LOCATIVES without Ps here are all locative relator nouns. This fact is not reflected in the case frame above because of the other set of O-L verbs which require that their LOCATIVES occur in the AC case form but do not require Nrs; this is the same set of O-L verbs which have corresponding coverbs.

6.2.1.3 AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE Verbs in Khmer

Some of the AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE (A-L) verbs in Khmer are:

yōōk  take, bring (as in numerous sentences above)
dēk  transport, carry ((6.15) and (6.40) above)
tuûl  carry on the head ((6.1), (6.6), and (6.8) above)
reēk  carry on both ends of a shoulder pole
tiāñ  pull, drag along ((6.25) above)
lēēk  raise, lift up
bāndaēt  float
bēŋhou  cause to flow, direct the flow of
bēŋcǎn  expel, send out
The LOCATIVES of all A-L verbs must occur with either an L case marker or a relator noun. No subclassification has been made on the basis of cooccurrence restrictions. The case frames of these verbs include the following features:

\[
\begin{align*}
+[\text{NM}, \text{AGT}] & \\
+\text{[AC, OBJ]} & \\
+\text{[(L, AC, rel), LOC]} &
\end{align*}
\]

The verb yook 'take, bring', as well as many other A-L verbs, seems to require a verb, coverb, or adverb of direction after it, frequently tiw 'go away' or mook 'come hither', as in some of the example sentences cited above and in (6.56).

(6.56) cha a nuh kee yook mook pi i naa (Huffman 1970:366)
wood that 3p take hither from where
[AC] [NM] [AGT] [Adv] [L] [AC]

'Where do they get the wood you mentioned?'

In all the sentences found, the only clear example of an A-L verb whose LOCATIVE has neither a P nor an Nr is sentence (6.57), with daq 'put' (cf. Thai say 'put into').

(6.57) kat pkaa klah yook tiw daq thou (Huffman 1970:259)
cut flower some take go put vase
[AC] [OBJ] [AC]

'Cut some flowers and put them in a vase.'

Other sentences with daq have a P or Nr or both, as in

(6.58) daq qaywan nih niw kloon bentup pha aq (Huffman 1970:158)
put thing this in inside room as well
[AC] [OBJ] [L] [AC]

'Put these things in the room, please.'
The A-L verb caq must have knøg as its LOCATIVE noun, as in

(6.59) kñom caq mcul knøg sac (S. Pou)
     I insert needle inside flesh
     [+NM] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+LOC]

'I stuck a needle in her skin.'

caq cannot take an L case form: tiw means 'to' instead of 'into', could 'into' is too strong here, as to 'bore into'. When the OBJECTIVE of caq is tnam(-krun) '(fever) medicine', caq cannot take a LOCATIVE but usually takes a BENEFACTIVE, as in (6.60).

(6.60) kñom nin caq tnam-krun cuun look (Huffman 1970:291)
     I put inject medicine-fever for Sir
     [+NM] [+AC] [+D] [+AC] [+BEN]

'I'll give you an injection of fever-medicine.'

More example sentences with A-L verbs follow.

(6.61) tuuk nuh dák tnam mcook pil Kampuq-Caam
     boat that carry tobacco hither from
     [+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC]

'That boat is bringing tobacco from Kampong Cham.'

(Huffman 1970:183)

(6.62) koat reék tik căń tiw srae (S. Pou)
     3p pole water out to ricefield carry
     [+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+gol] [+AC] [+LOC]

'She carried the water to the ricefield.'

(6.63) kee yaçk damray tian căl tuanlee ruac bandaet
     3p take elephant pull into river then float
     [+NM] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+AC] [+LOC]

'taam tik tiw roon-qaa-chaa
     along water to saw-mill
     [+L] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC] [+LOC]

'They use elephants to pull (the wood) into the river, then float it by water to the saw-mills.'

(Huffman 1970:366)
(6.64) kee traw *baoghou* tik coul srae (Huffman 1970:340)

3p must Cause-flow water into ricefield

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AGT & +AC & +OBL & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'They have to irrigate the ricefield.'

It is interesting to note, in regard to (6.63) and (6.64), that the OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs qandaet 'float', hou 'flow' (see (6.53) and (6.54) above), and can 'go out' become AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs when they have the causative prefix, baN.

(6.65) baN. caN dam daam-pkaa-kolaap...niw knong suon older want plant rose bush in inside garden

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +OBL & +AC & +OBL & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'I want to plant rose bushes in the garden.' Huffman 1970:258)

(6.66) kee yook sraw-puuc mook *saap* knong tnaal 3p take rice seed hither sow inside seedbed

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+NM & +AGT & +AC & [+Adv] & +OBL & +AC & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'They take seed-rice and sow it in the nursery-plot.' (Huffman 1970:341)

(6.67) soum *sasei* piaq nih niw lao kdaa-khien please write word this in top blackboard

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+AC & +OBL & +L & +AC & +LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'Please write this word on the blackboard.' (Huffman 1970:30)

6.2.1.4 AGENTIVE-DATIVE Verbs in Khmer

Some of the AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D) verbs in Khmer are:

- qaoy give (informal)
- cuun give (formal) (Sentence (6.35) above)
- luq sell (sentence (6.36) above)
- hoc hand
- pnaa send
- sasei write (also an A-L [+surface] verb (see discussion of Vietnamese viẹt 'write', Sec. 3.3.5.2.1))
- baoghou teach
- prap tell, inform
- suα ask
A general case frame for A-D-Goal verbs includes the following features:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A-D-Goal} & : +[+NM, +AGT] \\
\text{case} & : +[+AC, +OBJ]
\end{align*}
\]

In modern spoken Khmer, the Accusative OBJECTIVE must occur immediately following the verb (unless the OBJECTIVE is quite long), and the DATIVE follows the OBJECTIVE (cf. Thai and see also Huffman 1973:496). Unlike Vietnamese and like Thai, this is true even when the DATIVE is in the AC case form, as it must be with the verb qaoy, as shown in (6.68).

(6.68) k Nom qaoy luy kosto

I give money 3p

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nom} & : +NM \\
\text{qaoy} & : +AGT \\
\text{luy} & : +AC \\
\text{kosto} & : +OBJ +DAT
\end{align*}
\]

'I'll give him some money.'

A-D verbs can be subclassified in terms of their DATIVE and case form cooccurrence restrictions. Only qaoy and cuun (which cannot occur with the D case form) and [+information] verbs such as prap 'inform' and sue 'ask' can occur with the AC case form, as shown in (6.68) and (6.69).

(6.69) kee baan prap qaoy piil peel prik

3p Compl. tell we from time morning

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kee} & : +NM \\
\text{baan} & : +AGT \\
\text{prap} & : +AC +L \\
\text{qaoy} & : +AC +DAT +SRC +TIM
\end{align*}
\]

'They told us this morning.'

The [+information] verbs can also occur with [+L, +gol] case markers.

(See Kullavanijaya 1974:218ff for discussion of [+info] verbs in Thai.)

(6.70) kruu ko gi prap tiw kee thaa...

teacher then tell to 3p say

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kruu} & : +NM \\
\text{ko gi} & : +AGT \\
\text{prap} & : +L +gol +AC +DAT
\end{align*}
\]

'and the teacher tells him (saying)....'

(6.71) kruu sue samnue tean laay tiw kounsa...h

teacher ask question Plural to student

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kruu} & : +NM \\
\text{sue} & : +AGT +AC \\
\text{samnue} & : +OBJ +L +gol +AC +DAT
\end{align*}
\]

'The teacher asked the students the questions.'
The verb qaoy may occur with the direction adverb moo k, as in

(6.72) look-kuu qaoy nu nih moo k kñom (Jacob 1968:141)
teacher give cake this hither I

[+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+AC] [+DAT]

'The teacher gave me this cake.'

The analysis of moo k in (6.72) as an adverb rather than a P is confirmed by S. Pou (personal communication), who states, in addition, that a more natural way to say this sentence is without moo k, unless it is an imperative sentence, in which case it must have a directional adverb.

Other A-D verbs (e.g. luæq 'sell') can occur only with the D case form (with optional occurrence of a directional adverb).

(6.73) kñom luæq slawphiw (tiw) qaoy Mala (S. Pou)
I sell book away to

[+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+D] [+AC] [+DAT]

'I sold the book to Malaa.'

Others (with seeming spatial direction, such as hoc 'hand' and pñae 'send') can occur with either [+D] (with optional directional adverb) or [+gol] case markers, as in (6.74), (6.75), and (6.76).

(6.74) hoc sabuu haey-niñ kensæn-cuut-kluan qaoy kñom phaæ
hand soap and towel to I as well

[+AC] [+OBj] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+DAT] [+AC]

'Please hand me the soap and a towel.' (Huffman 1970:149)

(6.75) sambot nih pñae tiw puaq-maaq kñom (Huffman 1970:309)
letter this send to friend I

[+AC] [+OBJ] [+L] [+AC] [+gol] [+DAT]

'This letter's going to my friend.'

(6.76) kñom sœseî tiw maq-aaq qaoy koat pñae praæ moo k
I write to ma-pa for 3p send money hither

[+NM] [+AGT] [+L] [+gol] [+OBJ] [+AC] [+DAT] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+Adv]

qaoy kñom
to I

[+D] [+AC] [+DAT]

'I'm writing to my parents to have them send me some money.'
The verb pñæ can take a LOCATIVE in place of its DATIVE.

(6.77) kñom caŋ pñæ sambot nih tiw srok-baraŋ (Huffman 1970:308)
'I want to send letter this to France.'

If a DATIVE of pñæ occurs in the AC or C case form, pñæ has a different meaning: 'entrust' instead of 'send', as in (6.78), and is likely a different verb from pñæ 'send'. (This can also be true of Vietnamese gửi 'send' when its DATIVE is in the AC case form (Nguyen D-H 1973:15).)

(6.78) Sarri pñæ praŋ (niŋ) look-kruu (S. Pou)
entrust money (with) teacher
'Sarri entrusted the money to the teacher.'

(This is the only instance I have found so far of Khmer DATIVE occurring in the AC case form, except with qaoy and [+information] verbs.)

The verb sasei 'write' occurs with [+gol] case markers, as in (6.76) above; when it occurs with a [+o] case marker, [+o] marks BENEFACTIVE rather than DATIVE.

(6.79) Mala sasei sambot qaoy puæq-maq (S. Pou)
write letter for friend
'Malaa wrote a letter (to somebody else) for her friend.'

Most A-O-Goal verbs can take their DATIVES with the [+ter] preposition dal 'reaching to', with a meaning of 'reaching clear to the end/ top - bypassing channels, achieving success in reaching'. With luæq 'sell', it means 'even (unexpected achievement)', as in

(6.80) Sarun luæq kaŋ dal Mala (S. Pou)
sell wheel reaching
'Sarun sold a bicycle even to Malaa.'

Unlike Vietnamese, whose A-D verbs do not occur with the Source L case form, Khmer Source sub-CF occurs with certain A-D verbs. These verbs, as distinguished from the A-D-Goal verbs above, are A-D-Source verbs. Some of them are
tiên  

   buy

tatău  

   receive, accept

kcøy  

   borrow

tiêm-tiê  

   wrest away, obtain by bargaining

and some uses of

baan  

   obtain, get

Some example sentences follow.

(6.81)  

   kee traw  

   tiên  

   kriêng-laan  

   pii  

   baarsteêh  

   (Huffman 1970:372)

3p  must  

   buy  

   auto parts  

   from  

   foreign countries

[+NM]  

   [+AC]  

   [+L]  

   [+AC]  

   [+OBJ]

'They have to import auto parts.'

(6.82)  

   kee traw  

   tátâu  

   kaa-yual-proom  

   pii  

   roêt-saphle  

3p  must  

   receive  

   approval  

   from  

   National Assembly

[+NM]  

   [+AC]  

   [+L]  

   [+AC]  

   [+OBJ]  

   [+src]  

   [+DAT]

'They must receive the approval of the National Assembly.'

(Huffman 1970:378)

(6.83)  

   koät  

   kcøy  

   makuu  

   pii  

   Sâri  

   (S. Pou)

3p  borrow  

   one pair  

   from

[+NM]  

   [+AC]  

   [+L]  

   [+AC]  

   [+AGT]  

   [+OBJ]  

   [+src]  

   [+DAT]

'She borrowed a pair from Sâri.'

(6.84)  

   preah-baat  

   Nêrootdam  

   Siihanuq...tiêm-tiê  

   king  

   obtain

[+NM]  

   [+AGT]

qaekkêrilac  

   ciêt  

   pii  

   praoteeh-baran...  

   independence  

   nation  

   from  

   France

[+AC]  

   [+L]  

   [+AC]  

   [+OBJ]  

   [+src]  

   [+DAT]

'King Norodom Sihanouk obtained national independence from France.'

(Huffman 1970:376)

(6.85)  

   koät  

   baan  

   satraa  

   pii  

   (ksae)  

   pii  

   mia  

   (koät)

3p  obtain  

   manuscript  

   two string  

   from  

   young  

   3p  

   sib  

   of  

   parent

[+NM]  

   [+AC]  

   [+L]  

   [+AC]  

   [+AGT]  

   [+OBJ]  

   [+src]  

   [+DAT]

'She got two manuscripts from her uncle.'

(S. Pou)
The A-D-Source verb ṭīn 'buy' can occur with the goal D case form when it marks BENEFACTIVE.

(6.86) qawpuṭ ṭīn siawphīw qaoy kñom
father buy book for I

father buys books for (on behalf of) me.'

6.2.2 THAI
6.2.2.1 Coverbs, Prepositions, and Relator Nouns
6.2.2.1.1 Thai Coverbs

"The use of co-verbs or derived prepositions is quite common in Thai" (Kullavanijaya 1974:83). The following list, drawn from the sources given in Sec. 1.4.3 above and from consultation with Pranee Kullavanijaya, includes those Thai coverbs which happen to roughly correspond in meaning and function to the coverbs found in both Vietnamese and Khmer. I have marked each coverb with case form (CF) features, and given the meaning of the corresponding verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREPOSITION</th>
<th>VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᴮʸᵘᵘ</td>
<td>be in/at, stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cᵃᵃᵏ</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵇᵃʸ</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃᵃᵃ</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kˡᵃᵖ</td>
<td>go back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰᵃᵃᵐ</td>
<td>go across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰʰʷ</td>
<td>go in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰʰⁿ</td>
<td>go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lᵒⁿ</td>
<td>go down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tᵃᵃᵐ</td>
<td>follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰʰⁿ</td>
<td>arrive at, reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵇᵃʸ</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kullavanijaya (1974:83) also gives wᵃᵃ 'saying; say' as a coverb. ᵇᵃᵃ as a preposition requires a quotation in the following noun slot. This "derived quote noun" has an OBJECTIVE case relation which occurs only with [+information] verbs. The P ᵇᵃᵃ marks the R (Range) case form on quote nouns. (See Kullavanijaya 1974:216,218.) This special OBJECTIVE case relation and the R case form are outside the range of this study, and ᵇᵃᵃ will not be included in the discussion of Thai coverbs.
Both Noss (1964:151) and Haas (1964:553) give examples of the AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE verb sây 'put in' (listed below in Sec. 6.2.2.3) used as a preposition, as in (6.87) and (6.88), with the meaning 'into, to, at'.

(6.87) ...phụt sây nàa (Haas 1964:553)

'speak into face
'say (it) right to one's face'

(6.88) ...yiq sây tón máay (Noss 1964:151)

'shoot into Cl tree
'shoot at a tree'

As noted for Khmer, most of the coverbs are [+gol] case markers. However, in Thai, many of the [+gol] coverbs cannot occur marking Terminus and so are marked [-ter] in the lexicon. The Goal sub-CF has been defined in Sec. 3.2.2.4.3 as marking "the path along which or goal toward which the action of the verb is directed; that is, the noun associated with a Goal sub-CF names the path or intended terminal point of the action of the verb, never the point of origin". The [-ter] coverbs are marked [+path] by subcategorisation and redundancy rules which give the following locative feature tree (from Sec. 3.3.4.1).

In example sentences, [+gol] coverbs which are semantically interpreted as either Path or Terminus for any given sentence are marked only with their lexical feature [+gol], except in cases of explanation. (Sentences designated by '(PK)' are given by Pranee Kullavanijaya.)

Like Khmer caăn 'go out' (Sec. 6.2.1.1.1 above), Thai ?ọok 'go out' cannot occur as a preposition and so is not included in the list of coverbs. Sentence (6.89), with ?ọok occurring as an adverb with the verb hàap, which requires a preposition with its Inner LOCATIVE, is grammatical; (6.90) is ungrammatical, since ?ọok cannot be P.

(6.89) Pùk hàap náam ?ọok pay nàa (PK)

'Pook carried the water out to the field.'
(6.90) * Pùk hàap náam ʔbok naa  
'Pook carried the water out to the field.'

The prepositions marked [-ter] in the list above cannot mark a 
LOCATIVE noun which is interpreted as a terminal goal, but must indicate 
movement through space toward a goal. This fact is shown in (6.91) and 
(6.92), using k hàam 'across' as an example; appropriate features are 
marked.

(6.91) Pùk hàap náam khâam saphaam lèaw (PK)  
carry water across bridge already  
[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+AC]  
+[path]  
'Pook carried the water across the bridge.'

(6.92) * Pùk hàap náam khâam faŋ nóon  
carry water across bank over there  
'Pook carried the water across to the other bank.'

These [-ter] words can occur as directional adverbs in sentences whose 
terminal goals are marked with prepositions, as in (6.93) and other 
sentences below.

(6.93) Pùk hàap náam khâam pay faŋ nóon (PK)  
carry water across to bank over there  
[+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+P] [+AC]  
+[L] [+Ac]  
+'Pook carried the water across to the other bank.'

The problems of taam 'following, follow' are much the same as those 
of Khmer taam (see discussion in Sec. 6.2.1.1.1 and discussion of Viet-
namese theo in Sec. 5.1.2). Taam can occur as a [+L,-ter] case marker 
if it occurs with a directional adverb, (6.94), or as a [+lcn] case 
marker, (6.95).

(6.94) ...wîŋ pay taam thanôñ  
run away along street  
[+Adv] [+P] [+AC]  
+[L] [+AC]  
[+path]  
'run along the street'

(6.95) ... wîŋ taam thanôñ (PK)  
[+L] [+AC]  
+[lcn] [+AC]  
[+LOC]  
'run in the area of the street'
However, as a verb it can take a mobile OBJECTIVE, (6.96), but no inner LOCATIVE unless the LOCATIVE is followed by a Goal verb, as in (6.97).

(6.96) Arunee taam rót nán (PK)
follow car that
[Puk]

'Arunee followed (that car / Pook).'

(6.97) Arunee taam mânâm pay con phóp thalee (PK)
follow river go until meet sea
[+V] [+AC] [+V]
[+LOC]

'Arunee followed the river until she came to the sea.'

These problems will not be investigated in this study.

Kullavanijaya (1974:51,66,85ff) analyses hay as a [+B] preposition rather than as a [+D] preposition. She does this on the bases of the inherent semantic benefactive marking on the word hay and her analysis of the case relations occurring with the verb hay. That is, she considers hay to be an AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D) verb (1974:128; also see Sec. 6.2.2.4 below) which must take its DATIVE in the C case form, as in

(6.98) chän hay metros són biết káp Puk måwanní
I give money ten baht with yesterday
[+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+C] [+DAT] [+AC] [+TIM]

'I gave ten baht to Pook yesterday.' (Kullavanijaya 1974:91)

When the recipient of the verb hay occurs in the AC case form, she considers that noun to have the BENEFACTIVE case relation, as shown in

(6.99) phóc hay metros Puk (Kullavanijaya 1974:51)
father give money
[+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+AC]
[+OBJ] [+BEN]

'Father gave Pook (some) money.'

Hay in (6.100) can be considered to be a [+B] preposition with the meaning given.

(6.100) khâu són khoọng hay Puk (PK)
send thing for
[+NM] [+AGT] [+P] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+B] [+BEN]

'She sent the things for (in place of) Pook.'
If Pûk is the recipient, as in (6.101), hãy may be an embedded verb.

(6.101) khâw sôn khâsôn hãy Pûk (PK)

\[3p \text{send, thing give}
\]
\[+\text{NM} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{V} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{BEN}\]

'She passed the things and gave them to Pook.'

DATIVE for A-D verbs can be marked with ka p, as in (6.102), not with hãy.

(6.102) khâw sôn khâsôn kâp Pûk (PK)

\[3p \text{send thing with}
\]
\[+\text{NM} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{P} \quad +\text{AC} \quad +\text{DAT}\]

'She sent the things to Pook.'

In other words, according to Kullavanijaya, A-D verbs may take their DATIVES in the C case form (1974:49). A few of them can occur with the embedded or coordinate verb hãy instead of having a DATIVE. Thus, in her analysis, hãy is not a [+D] preposition. She does state that the occurrence of hãy with sôn 'teach' is a problem because sôn is an A-D verb, and in sentences like (6.103) she feels that hãy is not an embedded verb meaning 'give'.

(6.103) Pûk sôn nang sûi hãy Aacin (PK)

\[teach\text{ book to, for}
\]
\[\text{('She teaches Aacin.') / ('She teaches in place of Aacin.')}\]

In this study, hãy will be considered to be a [+D] preposition, partly to parallel the analysis in Vietnamese and Khmer, but also because of the definition in this study of DATIVE case relation as the recipient or goal of the action of the verb and the analysis in this study of hãy being one of the A-D verbs which can take its DATIVE in the AC case form (see Sec. 6.2.2.4 below). That is, Pûk in (6.99) and in (6.101) when hãy is a sequential verb are considered to be marked [+AC,+DAT]. Pranee Kullavanijaya (personal communication) feels that recipient nouns of hãy have particular benefactive marking rather than the neutral marking of the recipient nouns of other A-D verbs. The claim made here is that, to account for this benefactive marking, hãy has an inherent semantic feature [+beneficial] which marks its [+AC,+DAT] nouns [+beneficiary] as well as [+goal]. When hãy in (6.101) is not considered to be a verb in sequence, it and hãy in (6.103) are analysed as [+D] prepositions which can mark the DATIVE ('to') case relation with a few A-D verbs, such as sôn and sôn, and mark the BENEFACTIVE ('for') case relation with most verbs.
Following are example sentences with the locative words from the list above. Relevant categories and case features are postulated, and occurrences of the above words are underlined.

(6.104) phôm yûu thîi thanôn Sûkhûmvt (Brown 1967:127)
I be in place at road
[+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC]
'I live on Sukhumvit Road.'

(6.105) welaâ nân kháw yâŋ yûu nay Kruôthêep (Noss 1964:97)
time that 3p still be in inside Bangkok
[+AC] [+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC]
'At that time, he was still in Bangkok.'

(6.106) kháw thâm ؙaan yûu thîi Kruôthêep (PK)
3p do work in place at Bangkok
[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC] [+lcn]
'He works in Bangkok.'

Thai is the only one of the three languages whose Source case marker has a corresponding main verb. Following are examples with càak 'from' as a verb, (6.107), and as a coverb, (6.108).

(6.107) Dâmô càak bân maa lâay pii lâmâw
leave home hither to several year already
[+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+TIM]
+gol
'She left home several years ago.' (Kullavanîjaya 1974:62)

(6.108) kháw thôn klâa càak naa (PK)
3p uproot seedling from field
[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC] [+src]
'She's uprooting the seedlings from the field.'

As in Vietnamese (Sec. 5.1.3) and Khmer (Sec. 6.2.1.1.1), the Goal words in the list above, except for klâp 'back to, go back', can occur as postverbal adverbs to designate direction of the action of the verb. Examples of this usage are included in the example sentences with these words.
(6.109) Đam ñ sân nóon pay ta]lät
order brother go market
[+NM] [+AC] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC]

'Dang told his brother to go to the market.'

(6.110) khâu sôn lük pay Ameerkaa (Brown 1967:185)
3p send child to
[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC]

'He sent his son to America.'

(6.111) khâu đaan pay bàn thük wan (PK)
3p walk to house every day
[+NM] [+P] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+T] [+TIM] [+LOC]

'She walks to the house every day.'

(6.112) khâu naw mängi pay (Brown 1967:185)
3p take book away
[+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+AC] [+OBJ]

'He took a book with him.'

(6.113) ...maw than mänäam (Noss 1964:150)
come way river
[+V] [+AC] [+LOC]

'came by way of the river'

(6.114) naw khäng maw thii bàn (PK)
take thing to place at house (hither)
[+AC] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC]
[+gol]

'Bring the things home.'

(6.115) chän naw burli maw (Brown 1967:185)
I take cigarette hither
[+NM] [+AC] [+Adv]

'I brought cigarettes with me.' (Cf. (6.112).)
6.116 phöm yàak klàp mìañ Thay lâaw (Panupong 1970:30)
I want return country already

\[ [+NM] [+OBJ] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'I'd like to go back to Thailand.'

6.117 khàw sôŋ khîcông klàp Krûngthîep (PK)
3p send thing back to Bangkok

\[ [+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+P] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'They sent their things back to Bangkok.'

6.118 khàw dàen klàp bàann thûk wan (PK)
3p walk back to house every day

\[ [+NM] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC] [+AC] [+Tim] \]

'She walks home every day.' (Cf. 6.111.)

6.119 khàw khàam thanôn pay bàann Pûk (PK)
3p cross street to house

\[ [+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+OBJ] [+P] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'She crossed the street to Pook's house.'

6.120 Wanthanaa wâay-nâm klàm khîcông (PK)
swim across canal

\[ [+NM] [+OBJ] [+V] [+AC] [+P] [+AC] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'Wanthanaa swam across the canal.'

For an example of khàam as an adverb, see sentence 6.93 above.

6.121 khwan kamlañ khàw bâann (Panupong 1970:121)
smoke Prog. enter house

\[ [+NM] [+OBJ] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC] \]

'The smoke's getting into the house.'

Unlike the situation in Vietnamese, the Thai P 'into' (khàw) cannot be glossed 'onto'. That is, Vietnamese vâo 'into, onto' has the feature [+entering] and thus, through subcategorisation and redundancy rules, can mark either [+surface] or [+enclosed] on the case form of LOCATIVE
nouns (see Sec. 3.3.5.2.1 above). On the other hand, Thai khâw has the features [+entering, -surface]; that is, it can be only [+enclosed] and so imposes the interpretation of [+interior] on its LOCATIVE noun. Compare (6.122), which is grammatical, with (6.123), which is not, unless it should mean 'pour water INTO (hollow) plants'.

(6.122) Arunee thee náam khâw cêmkan (PK)
pour water into vase

[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+L] +gol +enclosed [+AC] [+LOC]

'Arunee poured the water into the vase.'

(6.123) Arunee thee náam khâw tân máay (PK)
Cl plant

* [+surface]

'Arunee poured water on the plants.'

(6.124) daân khâw maa kây-kây nêy ná? (Noss 1964: 184; and PK)
walk entering hither close a little O.K.?
[+Adv] [+Adv]

'Walk right up close, will you?'

(6.125) khâw khîn hâokhooy nî lâmaw (PK)
go up tower this already

[+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC]

'He's already gone up this tower.'

(6.126) khâw ?aw khâaw khîn rooŋsîl (PK)
take rice up mill

[+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+AC] [+gol] [+LOC]

'They're taking the rice up (the stairs of) the mill.'

(6.127) khâw yîp naŋsît khîn maa (Noss 1964:184)
pick up book upward hither

[+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+Adv] [+OBJ]

'He lifted up the books.'
[6.128] khâw k̄nh 3p go down mountain

khâw [+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC]

'She went down the mountain.'

[6.129] khâw hōc phâa k̄nh 3p carry clothes down hill

khâw [+NM] [+AC] [+P] [+AC] [+LOC] [+gol]

'She carried the clothes down the hill.'

As discussed above, k̄nh is one of the [-ter] prepositions which can mark the Path of a Goal but not the Terminus of a Goal. In [6.130], k̄nh is a directional 'path' adverb and pâ is the P marking the Terminus of the verb hōc.

[6.130] khâw hōc phâa k̄nh pâ (thîi) măănââm 3p carry clothes down to place at river

khâw [+NM] [+AC] [+Adv] [+P] [+AC] [+gol] [+LOC]

'She carried the clothes down to the river.'

[6.131] Púk cà? mây thîn ?Ameerikaa con thîn wansûk Fut not arrive until reaching Friday

Púk [+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+P] [+AC] [+TIM] [+TER]

'Pook won't arrive in America until Friday.'

[6.132] ...?bôk pâ thîn klaâng măănââm 3p go out away reaching middle river

Pâ [+Adv] [+P] [+AC] [+TER] [+LOC]

'went out into the middle of the river'

As a [+L,+ter] preposition, thîn can mark not only LOCATIVE and TIME case relations but also DATIVE, as in [6.133], and what, for the time being, is analysed as OBJECTIVE, as in [6.134] (cf. Vietnamese, Sec. 3.2.2.4.4).
6.2.2.1.2 Thai Prepositions

The underived prepositions in common use in Thai which are of interest in this study are the following:

- **tàe** from, since [+L,+src]
- **kàa** to, toward [+D]
- **kàp (kà?)** with, in relation to [+C, +[+(COM,+DAT,+LOC)]]

As shown, kàp can occur with COMITATIVE, DATIVE, and sometimes a LOCATIVE (see (6.141) below); this LOCATIVE usage of kàp has not been explored in this study, and Kullavanijaya 1974 does not refer to it.

Examples of these prepositions in sentences follow, with the underived prepositions underlined as well as the verbs and coverbs from the list in the preceding section.

(6.135) **dalj khin tàe lăng pratuu** (Noss 1964:149)

*become rising from back door*

[+Adv] [+P] [+AC] [+L] [+LOC]

'There was a noise from behind the door.'

(6.136) **...?bök daen-thaaj tàe cháaw mìit** (Noss 1964:149)

*go out travel from morning dark*

[+P] [+L] [+AC] [+TIM] [+Src]

'started travelling in the early morning.'
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6.137  chuỗi cám  súcibát kẹm  khách nơy nà?
help distribute programme to guest little O.K.?

(+AC) (+P) (+AC) (+DAT)

'Will you please help distribute the programmes to our guests?'
(Panupong 1970:25; and PK)

6.138  Dạng bòk khwaamláp kẹp Pük
tell secret with

(+NM) (+AC) (+P) (+AC) (+DAT)

'Dang told his secret to Pook.'

Kẹp can, depending on the verb, mark either a Goal DATIVE, as in
(6.138), or a Source DATIVE, as in (6.139), which is ambiguous since sīf
'buy' allows Pük to also be COMITATIVE.

6.139  Dạng sīf sīa tua nịụ kẹp Pük
buy shirt Cl this with

(+NM) (+AC) (+P) (+AC) (+COM) (+DAT)

'Dang bought this shirt {from, with} Pook.'

6.140  pay kẹp phōm dīi kwàa
go with I good more

(+V) (+P) (+AC) (+COM)

'To go with me is better.'

6.141  khọọ ng nành tọọ ra ng kà? din
thing that must put with earth

(+AC) (+P) (+AC) (+LOC)

'Those things have to be set on the ground.'

6.2.2.1.3 Thai Locative Relator Nouns

A list of locative relator nouns (Nr), which Noss (1964:147) calls
nay-class prepositions, follows. (See Sec. 3.2.3 above for discussion
of Nr.)

nay  inside
nàok  outside
bon  top, surface, upper part
I add to Noss's list the following nouns, which frequently occur as relator nouns and the first four of which Noss considers to be caak-class prepositions (pp. 148-51).

thii  place at
thaan  direction, way
thaaw  vicinity
khaw  extent, point
bia  side, part
phaay  scope
toon  part

Panupong (1970:162-3) also lists some of these words as prepositions. Kullavaniyajaya (1974:88ff) refers to this type of noun as a "noun auxiliary" and says that such a noun is followed by another noun and is used to mark case - to "satisfy the selectional requirements of a verb for the locative case relation".

Nrs have the features [+place,+relation].

Some of the Nrs have cooccurrence restrictions with respect to coverbs. For example, nay has the feature [+interior]. This feature allows nay to occur as the LOCATIVE noun of an NP with a V or a P which requires or allows the feature [+interior] on its LOCATIVE noun. There are only two such [+L] Ps in Thai; they are yuu 'in' and khaw 'into'. For this reason, it is hypothesised here that when khaw occurs with nay it is a P, as in (6.142), although khaw could be interpreted as an adverb (cf. (6.143)).

(6.142)  khaw  kep  khoon  khaw  nay  linchak  (PK)

3p  keep  thing  into  inside  drawer
[+NM]  [+AC]  [+P]  [+L]  [+NR]  [+AC]  [+LOC]  [+interior]

'He put his things in the drawer.'

If khaw is omitted in (6.142), the sentence means 'he keeps his things in the drawer'.

lana  bottom, underneath, lower part
nia  above
tay  below
nua  front, face
laa  back
khana  side
klaa  middle
It is further hypothesised that Ps that do not have the feature [+____[+interior]] cannot occur with nay. The following rules can account for these cooccurrences. (See discussions of kháw in Sec. 6.2.2.1.1 and of Vietnamese vào 'into, onto' in Sec. 3.3.5.2.1 regarding the feature [+entering].)

1. [+entering] → [+surface]
2. [-surface] → [+enclosed]
3. [+enclosed] → [+____[+interior]]
4. [+goal] → [+terminus] (See Sec. 3.3.4.1 for rules regarding [+goal].)
5. [+terminus] → [____[+interior]]

The P kháw is a [+goal] P, but it has in its lexical entry the feature [+entering,-surface], which implies rule 3 and therefore blocks the application of part of rule 5 to kháw. The [+goal] P pay 'to', on the other hand, does not have the features [+entering] or [+enclosed] and rule 5 applies, so that the P pay cannot occur with the Nr nay. However, pay can occur as an adverb with nay, as in

(6.143) kháw kếp khá con kháw pay nay línchák (PK)
3p keep thing into away inside drawer
[+Adv][+Adv]

'He put his things away in the drawer.'

where kháw modifies the action of 'putting' and pay modifies the action of 'putting things into' and is not a P (PK, personal communication).

Thìi, on the other hand, has the feature [+locus] and no feature [+interior]. Pay occurs as a P with thìi, as in (6.144), where pay occurs obligatorily. (Also see (6.114) above, with maa as a P.)

(6.144) kháw kháàng lük bcon pay thìi Arunee (PK)
3p throw Cl ball to place at
[+NM] [+AGT] [+AC] [+P] [+L] [+gol] [+Nr] [+AC] [+LOC] [+locus]

'She threw the ball to Arunee.'

Thus, thìi can be the Goal of a directional verb; nay in general cannot (see remarks regarding the verb sày in Sec. 6.2.2.3 below). Thì nàa in (6.145) is an inner LOCATIVE of the verb wàan (see Sec. 3.3.4.1), nay nàa in (6.146) is an outer LOCATIVE.
(6.145) khāw wàan khâaw thēi naa (PK)

3p sow rice place at field

[+NM] [+AGT] [+OBJ] [+LOC]

'She's sowing rice in the field (planting the field).'

(6.146) khāw wàan khâaw nay naa (PK)

inside

'She's in the field sowing rice.'

The case form requirements for the LOCATIVES of AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE-Goal verbs in Thai will have to be refined:

\[ [+\_\_{[+[L, +\text{rel}, -\text{interior}],[+\text{LOC}]}} \]

However, Vietnamese trong 'inside', which has the feature [+interior], can be the LOCATIVE noun of some directional verbs (e.g. sentence (3.132) in Sec. 3.3.5.2.1), so that the rule will have to be different for the different languages or have to be further refined to account for the facts in each language and still make a general statement regarding inner LOCATIVES. The selectional restrictions for such occurrences are very complex and will not be further investigated in this study.

There are Nrs in many of the example sentences above: (6.104), (6.105), (6.106), (6.113), (6.114), (6.130), (6.132), (6.135).

6.2.2.2 OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE Verbs in Thai

Besides yūu 'be in' and the verbs of direction listed above which have corresponding coverbs, and besides ?òok 'go out' (discussion above and (6.132)), other OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE (O-L) verbs in Thai include:

- nān sit
- yīin stand
- phāk stay
- yūt stop
- còót be parked (also A-L verb)
- līaw turn
- dāan walk ((6.111), (6.118), (6.124) above)
- wīŋ run ((6.94) and (6.95) above)
- lān go, run (for vehicles)
- wāay-nāam swim ((6.120) above)
- bin fly
- hōklóm fall (down) (of persons)
- tòk fall (through space)
lây  
flow
lút  
come loose
lót  
go down from something (also A-L verb)

These verbs have the case frame

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\{+NM,OBJ\}} \\
&\text{\{+AC,LOC\}}
\end{align*}
\]

Example sentences follow.

(6.147)  dzie...sin nān yuú thī nān maa cāk Kunhthēep
child which sit at place that come from Bangkok
\[
[+NM] \\
[+OBJ] \\
[+AC] \\
[+LOC]
\]

'The boy...who is sitting over there is from Bangkok.'

probably stay house Cl Ord three
\[
[+NM] \\
[+OBJ] \\
[+AC] \\
[+LOC]
\]

'Danai's probably staying at the third house.'

(6.149) rōt cōt yā? khān thanōn (Panupong 1970:37)
oar parked much side street
\[
[+NM] \\
[+OBJ] \\
[+AC] \\
[+LOC]
\]

'A lot of cars are parked by the roadside.'

(6.150) dēk phaa-kan wīŋ khām thanōn pay (Noss 1964:135)
child act as a run across street away
group
\[
[+NM] \\
[+OBJ] \\
[+AC] \\
[+LOC]
\]

'The children all ran off across the street.'

(6.151) rīa kamlaŋ lām tāay saphaan (Panupong 1970:163)
boat Prog. run below bridge
\[
[+NM] \\
[+OBJ] \\
[+AC] \\
[+LOC]
\]

'The boat's passing under the bridge.'
(6.152) Wantanaa ｗａａｙ-ｎａａｍ ｎａｙ ｋｌｏｃ ｇ (PK)
wim inside canal

\[\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+OBJ
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+LOC
\end{array}\]

'Wantanaa's swimming in the canal.' Cf. (6.120)

(6.153), from Kullavanijaya (1974:29, and personal communication), has both an inner LOCATIVE, bon kraday, which immediately follows the verb, and an outer LOCATIVE, which follows the inner LOCATIVE.

(6.153) waanfi น้ อง ห่อกล่อม bon kraday thīi ta?lāat
yesterday sister fall top stairs place at market

\[\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+OBJ
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AC
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
+LOC \\
+LOC
\end{array}\]

'Yesterday, at the market, sister fell down on the steps.'

(6.154) pàak-kaa ｔॉक ｌｏｎ pay thīl phīn lāay hōn
pen fall down to place at floor many instance

\[\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+OBJ
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
+Adv \\
+L \\
+g01 \\
+LOC
\end{array}\]

'The pen has fallen on the floor many times.'

(6.155) māanām nī ｌāy ｌｏｎ thalee (PK)
river this flow down sea

\[\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+OBJ
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
+L \\
+g01 \\
+AC \\
+LOC
\end{array}\]

'This river flows down to the sea.'

The O-L verb lūt takes a Source LOCATIVE, as in (6.156).

(6.156) dinsōo lūt ｐａｙ ｃａａｋ ｍｉ＋ (Noss 1964:149)
pencil some loose away from hand

\[\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+OBJ
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
+Adv \\
+L \\
+src \\
+AC \\
+LOC
\end{array}\]

'The pencil slipped out of his hand.'

6.2.2.3 AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE Verbs in Thai

Some of the AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE (A-L) verbs in Thai are

?aw take, bring ((6.112), (6.114), (6.115), (6.126) above)
kèp keep, put away ((6.142), (6.143) above)
wāy keep
sày put into
taam add, put in
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waan  place, put ([6.141] above)
loit  let down (also O-L verb)
khwaan  hang
waan  sow ([6.145] and [6.146] above)
thee  pour ([6.122] above)
råat  pour over
cøøt  park (also O-L verb)
cæ  find
hàap  carry on both ends of a pole ([6.89-93] above)
hôop  carry in the arms ([6.129] and [6.130] above)
khwaan  throw ([6.144] above)
khian  write, draw
cøt  take note
tit  glue

and the A-L-Source verbs

thôøn  uproot ([6.108] above)
pîøøy  release
yøp  pick up ([6.127] above)

In general, A-L verbs have included in their case frames the following features:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
{[+[+NM,+AGT]_+\quad[+AC,+OBJ]}_+\quad[+[+L_+\{(+[AC,+rel],+LOC)\},+LOC]}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

which states that the LOCATIVE noun must occur with a [+L] preposition or a locative relator noun (Nr). There are some exceptions, however. The verb waan 'put' in sentence [6.141] above, repeated here, takes the preposition kæ with its LOCATIVE.

(6.141) khôøn nän tän waan kæ? din (Haas 1964:26)
thing that must put with earth

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
{[+AC]}_+[+OBJ]
+\quad[+C_+[+AC]+LOC}\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

'Those things have to be set on the ground.'

Two of these verbs, sày 'put into' and tøøm 'put in' have "strict" (i.e. obligatory) inner LOCATIVES (Kullavanijaya 1974:128) and can take a LOCATIVE constituent without either a preposition or an Nr; e.g.
Further, sày and tòam have the feature [++[interior]] and, unlike most other A-L verbs, can have the Nr nay as their LOCATIVE noun, as in (6.158). (See discussion regarding restrictions on Nrs in Sec. 6.2.2.1.3 above.)

(6.158) chän  sày  náam nay  khúat nán  (PK)
I put water inside bottle that

'I put water in that bottle.'

Two Nrs can occur together, and, in (6.159), thì is essential to mark the goal of the A-L verb caee. Without thì, the [+LOC] phrase is an outer LOCATIVE.

(6.159) thì nay  rót-mee  khon  caee  sataŋ  bōy  (Panupong 1970:105)
place inside bus  person  find  money  often

'People often find some money on the bus.'

As discussed above in Sec. 6.2.2.1.1, Thai khâw 'into' cannot have the meaning 'onto' (cf. Vietnamese vào 'into, onto'). To express this meaning for A-L verbs which have the feature [++[surface]], the Nr bon 'top, surface' is used, as in (6.160) and (6.161).

(6.160) khray  yàa  waan  Khœng  bon  tô?  sœng  tua  nán  ná?
who  don't  put  thing  top  table  two  Cl  that  O.K.?

(Panupong 1970:38)

'Don't anybody put anything on those two tables, please.'

(6.161) yàa  maa  khêan  bon  kradaan-dam  (Noss 1964:135)
don't  come  write  top  blackboard

'Don't write on this (our) blackboard.'
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A-L-Source verbs require a [+src] P.

(6.162) yàa plòoy nùu tua nàn cèak mit (PK)

‘Don’t release mouse CL that from hand’

6.2.2.4 AGENTIVE-DATIVE Verbs in Thai

Some of the AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D) verbs in Thai are

hây give ((6.98) and (6.99) above)
càak distribute ((6.137) above)
khâay sell
khîin return
sôñ send, hand ((6.100-102) above)
yîin hand
sôon teach ((6.103) above)
khîan write ((6.133) above)

(Also an AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE [+surface] verb
(see [6.161] above and discussion of Vietnamese viêt 'write', Sec. 3.3.5.2.1))

phût speak, say
bóok tell, command
làw tell, inform, narrate
thâam ask
sák question
bon complain
?ütat show

and the A-D-Source verbs

sìi buy ((6.139) above)
yîim borrow
yìp pick up

Thai can mark non-subject Goal DATIVE with one of two D case forms, one a verb (see discussion above regarding hây as D or B case form), and one an underived preposition, kàm. In addition, unlike either Khmer or Vietnamese, Thai frequently marks DATIVE with the C case form kàp, usually reduced in colloquial speech to kà (Kullavanijaya 1974:73). In general, the case frames for Thai A-D verbs include the following features.
Some of the verbs, such as ɣən 'hand', have obligatory DATIVES. The A-D verbs can be subclassified according to their DATIVE and case form cooccurrence restrictions. For example, the [+information] verbs, such as bôok 'tell' and thàam 'ask', can take their DATIVES only in the AC case form or with the [+C] case marker, kàp. (See Sec. 6.2.1.4 above for restrictions with Khmer [+info] verbs.) The two [+D] case markers appear to be in complimentary distribution, although further investigation may prove this to be untrue. Most of the verbs in the list above can occur with kàm 'to' but not with háy 'to'; conversely, ɣən 'hand' and sòŋ 'send' can occur with háy but not with kàm. An exception is sòon 'teach', which can occur with either háy or kàm (see discussion above, Sec. 6.2.2.1.1, regarding háy with sòon).

Unlike Khmer but like Vietnamese, most of the Thai A-D-Goal verbs can take their DATIVES in the AC case form. The DATIVE of the verb háy 'give' can occur not only in the AC case form but also in the D or C case forms. This is contrary to the coverb derivation hypothesis which would predict that háy, which can occur as a [+D] preposition, cannot take its DATIVE in the [+D] case form. For discussion of háy in this dilemma, see the discussion of Thai coverbs, Sec. 6.2.2.1.1 above, and the discussion of counterexamples to the hypothesis, Sec. 6.2.3.4 below.

In Thai, as in Khmer, the OBJECTIVE immediately follows the verb and the DATIVE follows the OBJECTIVE (Huffman 1973:496). Examples of some of the A-D verbs with DATIVES follow.

(6.163) Nît khāay wàm (kàp) pà
sell ring with aunt

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\end{array}
\]

'Nît sold a ring to Auntie.'

(6.164) Pùk khin ñàm sî+ lèm nán (kàp) khruu lāw
return book CL that with teacher already

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\end{array}
\]

'Pook returned that book to the teacher already.'

(Panupong 1970:12; and PK)

(Kullavanijaya 1974:49,50)
COVERBS AND CASE IN VIETNAMESE

(6.165) **khâw sôn** dinsơ hây lûuk (Brown 1967:185)  
3p hand pencil to offspring  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+OBJ \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'He passed his child a pencil.'

The verb sôn can take the [+L, +ter] case marker thîn with its DATIVE (as can khăn 'write', (6.133) above), as in (6.166).

(6.166) **Arunee că? sôn khôŋ thîn thâe** (PK)  
Fut send thing reaching 2p  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+OBJ \\
+L \\
+ter \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'Arunee will send the things to you.'

Of the above list of A-D-Goal verbs, only sôn can have a LOCATIVE in place of its DATIVE, as shown in (6.110) and (6.117) above and (6.167). (Cf. Vietnamese, most of whose A-D-Goal verbs can have a Goal LOCATIVE (Sec. 3.3.5.1.1).) The preposition thîn cannot occur with the LOCATIVE of sôn.

(6.167) **Arunee că? sôn khôŋ klàp Krûnthêep** (PK)  
Fut send thing back to Bangkok  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+OBJ \\
+L \\
+G01 \\
+LOC
\end{array}
\]

'Arunee will send the things back to Bangkok.'

(6.168) **yîn hây phânak-ŋa an** (Noss 1964:159)  
hand to clerk  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+D \\
+AC \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'Hand it to the clerk.'

(6.169) **kamlân că? sôn naŋsiŋ (kâm) dêk** (Panupong 1970:25; and PK)  
Prog Fut teach book to child  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+AC \\
+D \\
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'I was going to give the boy a lesson.'

(6.170) **kàp khruu Dâmng klâa làw** (Kullavaniwijaya 1974:30)  
with teacher dare tell  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+C \\
+AC \\
+NM \\
+OBJ \\
+DAT
\end{array}
\]

'Only to the teacher will Dang dare to tell (the story)'.

From the Vietnamese text, we can see the importance of case markers in Vietnamese sentence structure. The verbs have specific case markers that indicate the relationship between the subject and the object, and the addition of these markers can change the meaning of the sentence. For example, the verb sôn 'pass' in (6.165) takes the DATIVE case marker thîn, indicating that the object is a child, and in (6.166) it takes the LOCATIVE case marker thîn, indicating that the object is a thing. This shows the flexibility of case markers in Vietnamese grammar.
(6.171) panhāa  phūak nīi  nákrian  chāop  thāam  chān  (Panupong
problem  group  this  student  like  ask  I
[+AC  ]  [+NM  ]  [+AC  ]
[+OBJ  ]  [+DAT  ]  [+DAT  ]

'Pupils tend to ask me about these problems.'

question  what  aunt  again  FP
[+AC  ]  [+AC  ]
[+OBJ  ]  [+DAT  ]

'What are you questioning Auntie about this time?'

Like Khmer but unlike Vietnamese, Thai A-D-Source verbs occur with
the [+L, +src] case marker. As shown in (6.139) above with sīi 'buy',
and (6.173) here, they can also occur with the preposition kāp.

(6.173) chān  yāak  yīm  nān笋  Pāk  (PK)
I  want  borrow  book  with
{cāak  }
{from}

[+NM  ]  [+AC  ]  [+C,  +L,  +src,  +AC  ]
[+AGT  ]  [+OBJ  ]  [+DAT  ]

'I want to borrow a book from Pāk.'

(6.174) ylp  hīlp  nīi  cāak  chān  pay  (PK)
pick  up  box  this  from  I  away
[+AC  ]  [+L  ]  [+AC  ]  [+Adv]
[+OBJ  ]  [+src  ]  [+DAT  ]

'Take  this  box  from  me.'

The A-D-Source verb ylp can take a LOCATIVE in place of its DATIVE:

(6.175) Wanthanaa  ylp  mīit  cāak  tō?  (PK)
pick  up  knife  from  table
[+NM  ]  [+AC  ]  [+L  ]  [+AC  ]
[+AGT  ]  [+OBJ  ]  [+src  ]  [+LOC  ]

'Wantanaa picked the knife up from the table.'

6.2.3  COMPARISON OF THREE LANGUAGES

6.2.3.1  Cross-Language List of Coverbs

The preceding sections on Khmer and Thai give an overview of coverbs
in those two languages. In comparing coverbs in Khmer, Thai, and Viet-
namese, one can hardly fail to notice the parallel behaviour in gram-
matical function and semantic import. Following is a chart showing the
approximately parallel coverbs in the three languages. The glosses given are, of course, very general and do not specify particular emphases in the individual languages. Meanings of the corresponding verbs are also given. The sub-CF is given for each [+L] case marker. (Under-derived Ps are not included.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[+L]</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+lcn]</td>
<td>,-</td>
<td>n+tw</td>
<td>yuu</td>
<td>in, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+src]</td>
<td></td>
<td>caak</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>leave from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>(di)</td>
<td>t+tw</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>to (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td></td>
<td>mook</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td>to (hither)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>lai</td>
<td></td>
<td>back to</td>
<td>come (back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>kl+ap</td>
<td>back to</td>
<td>go back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>qua</td>
<td>claaŋ</td>
<td>khâam</td>
<td>go across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>vo/vâo</td>
<td>cou</td>
<td>khâw</td>
<td>go in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>out (to)</td>
<td>go out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>len</td>
<td>laŋ</td>
<td>khîn</td>
<td>up (to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol]</td>
<td>xuang</td>
<td>coh</td>
<td>lôn</td>
<td>down (to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+gol,-ter]</td>
<td>(theo)</td>
<td>taam</td>
<td>taam</td>
<td>following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ter]</td>
<td>dên/toi</td>
<td>dal</td>
<td>thêŋ</td>
<td>reaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+D]</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>qaoy/cuun</td>
<td>hay</td>
<td>to, for, on behalf of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHART VI-1 Cross-Language List of Coverbs**

Caak (cf. Thai above) as both verb and preposition occurs in literary Khmer (and Old Mon) (S. Pou, personal communication). It is interesting that klâp 'go back' occurs in Khmer, but only as a verb, not a P. Khmer cañ 'go out' and Thai ?iok 'go out' occur as verbs and adverbs but never as prepositions, as discussed above in Secs. 6.2.1.1.1 and 6.2.2.1.1, respectively.

Vietnamese dl is not included in the list of Vietnamese locative coverbs in Sec. 5.1.1 and is included here parenthetically because it occurs as a coverb only in very restricted circumstances, although it occurs regularly as an OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verb and freely as an adverb. Both Khmer tiw and Thai pay occur freely as coverbs. For instance, both sentences in (6.176) are grammatical.
The analogous sentence in Vietnamese, (6.177), is not grammatical.

(6.177) * tơi \{trở-łą\} di nhà

'I'm going back home.'

The behaviour of di is discussed in detail in Sec. 5.1.2.

Another Vietnamese coverb listed here but not included in the list in Sec. 5.1.1 is theo 'following, according to; follow'. The problematic status of theo is discussed in Sec. 5.1.2. It is not certain what case form P theo marks, and it is not certain whether P theo is synonymous with V theo.

Other than di and theo, all the words listed here for the three languages can be clearly identified as coverbs; that is, each word in the list occurs as a P and has a corresponding homophonous and synonymous V.

6.2.3.2 CR and L Sub-CF Cooccurrences

All but one of the coverbs in each language are [+L] case markers. It seems worthwhile to make a cross-language comparison of L sub-CF and case relation cooccurrences. In Sec. 3.2.4, Chart III-2 for Vietnamese case relation (CR) and case form (CF) cooccurrences shows the CR cooccurrences for the L sub-CFs. This part of the chart is repeated here, including the cooccurrences for Khmer and Thai, based on the evidence presented in Secs. 6.2.1 and 6.2.2.

It is interesting that the [-ter] property of most of the [+gol] case markers in Thai seems to prohibit them from marking TIME, DATIVE, or OBJECTIVE, and only those [+gol] case markers which can have a [+ter] interpretation and the case marker which is lexically marked [+ter] can mark TIME. (See sentence (6.107) above, where maa 'to (hither)' occurs with a [+TIM] noun.) A rule such as [-ter] + [-__+[+TIM]] will protect the [+gol,-ter] Ps from misoccurrences.
6.2.3.3 Comparison of Verb Classes and Case Frames

The verb classes of Khmer and Thai have been analysed in this study in such a way as to parallel the verb classes of Vietnamese, although only the AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D), the AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE (A-L), and the OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE (O-L) classes have been considered in Khmer and Thai since these are the classes relevant to a discussion of coverbs. Furthermore, the O-L verbs in these two languages have not been broken down as carefully into O-L-Goal, O-L-Source, and O-L-Location classes, as has been done in Secs. 3.3.5.4, 3.3.5.5, and 3.3.5.6 for Vietnamese.

Sec. 3.3.6 above gives a semantic tree of ten verb classes in Vietnamese. CHART VI-3 below gives the part of the tree with the pertinent classes of verbs, A-D, A-L, and O-L. For each class, the case frame that is generally applicable for each language is given. (Vtn = Vietnamese, Khm = Khmer, Th = Thai.) In the A-D class, the first frame given for each language is for A-D-Goal verbs, the second is for A-D-Source verbs. Meanings of verbs are given as examples for each class.

It will be noticed that the general case form (CF) and case relation (CR) cooccurrences are the same for all three languages in the A-L and O-L classes. This summary chart does not show the subclassification of verbs according to CF occurrence; i.e. it does not show which A-L and O-L verbs have free choice between the AC and L CFs and which are restricted to one or the other. For example, the O-L verbs which have corresponding prepositions take their LOCATIVES only in the AC case form, but this fact is not shown in this chart. For discussions of such subclassification, see the sections on verb classes in the individual languages.
Examples:
give, sell, send; buy, receive
put, throw, plant, hang; uproot
go, come, walk, swim, sit

CHART VI-3 Comparison of Verb Class Case Frames
The greatest variance between the languages is in the A-D verbs. In Vietnamese, many A-D-Goal verbs can have LOCATIVES in place of their DATIVES. In the list of A-D-Goal verbs in Thai, only sōŋ 'send' can have a LOCATIVE in place of its DATIVE; the same is true of pńāe 'send' in Khmer. Vietnamese and Khmer can mark Goal DATIVE with L case markers; Thai cannot use the L CF with Goal DATIVES, and is the only one of the three languages to mark DATIVE with the C CF. Thai and Khmer mark Source DATIVES with the L Source case marker; Vietnamese has a special possessive noun which occurs with Source DATIVES (see Sec. 3.3.5.1.2 above).

The A-D verbs for 'give' in Vietnamese and Khmer, cho and qaọy, respectively, take their DATIVES in the AC case form only (although this subclassification is not shown on Chart VI-3). This behaviour is consistent with the coverb derivation hypothesis for verbs which can have corresponding coverbs. Thai háy is not so nicely behaved in terms of the hypothesis; for discussion of this problem, see Sec. 6.2.2.4 above and Sec. 6.2.3.4 following.

6.2.3.4 Apparent Counterexamples to the Coverb Derivation Hypothesis

In the analysis proposed for coverbs in Vietnamese, the claim is made (in Sec. 5.3.2) that, in order for a verb to have a corresponding derived preposition marking the case form of a certain case relation, it must as a verb take that case relation only in the AC case form. "A verb's ability to occur as a coverb can be directly correlated with its case frame as a verb." It has been found in Vietnamese and further substantiated in Khmer and Thai that this restriction has to be modified to state that a coverb-potential verb cannot take a noun in the case form marked with the verb's own value. That is, a [+gol] verb, for example, can take its LOCATIVE with a [+ter] or [+src] P, as in (6.178) and (6.179),

\[
\text{(6.178) kao̱l naa baan yaáo tìw dal Kraceh (Huffman 1970:184)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Khmer} & \quad \text{time which able we go reaching} \\
\text{[+AC]} & \quad \text{[+NM]} \quad \text{[+V]} \quad \text{[+gol]} \quad \text{[+P]} \quad \text{[+AC]} \\
\text{[+TIM]} & \quad \text{[+OBJ]} \quad \text{[+LOC]}
\end{align*}
\]

'When will we get to Kratie?'

\[
\text{(6.179) Dāmŋ pāy rōtfa̱y čēak Kruŋthēep (Kullavanijaya 1974:47)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Thai} & \quad \text{go train from Bangkok} \\
\text{[+NM]} & \quad \text{[+V]} \quad \text{[+gol]} \quad \text{[+INS]} \quad \text{[+AC]} \quad \text{[+P]} \quad \text{[+AC]} \\
\text{[+OBJ]} & \quad \text{[+L]} \quad \text{[+LOC]} \quad \text{[+src]}
\end{align*}
\]

'Dang went (somewhere) by train from Bangkok.'
but it cannot take its LOCATIVE with a [+gol] P, as in

\[(6.180) \quad * \text{Kim lên vào phòng} \]

Viet.

\[\text{go up into room} \]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+V]} \\
\text{[+gol]} \\
\text{[+P]} \\
\text{[+L]} \\
\text{[+AC]} \\
\text{[+LOC]}
\end{array}\]

'Kim went up into the room.'

(To be grammatical, \((6.180)\) should be \text{Kim lên di ('go') vào phòng ('Kim went up and went into the room')} or \text{Kim lên và ('and') vào (V) phòng, the first being preferred.})

Also, see remarks in Sec. 6.2.1.1.1 regarding [-ter] coverbs.

In \((6.181)\), \text{pay}, which is [+gol], occurs with \text{khâu}, which is also [+gol], but \text{pay} here is a directional adverb modifying the action of \text{khâu}, since it is presumed that the relator noun \text{nay} cannot take [+gol] \text{pay} as a P (see discussion in Sec. 6.2.2.1.3 above).

\[(6.181) \quad \text{khun khao khâu pay nay thàm máy} \quad \text{(Panupong Thai Title ever enter away inside cave Neg 1970:139)}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+NM]} \\
\text{[+OBJ]} \\
\text{[+V]} \\
\text{[+gol]} \\
\text{[+Adv]} \\
\text{[+AC]} \\
\text{[+LOC]}
\end{array}\]

'Have you ever been in the cave?'

However, there are some contradictions to this thesis in Thai. As may have been noticed in \((6.176)\) in Sec. 6.2.3.1, the [+gol] verb \text{klap}, which has a corresponding [+gol] P ((6.117) in Sec. 6.2.2.1.1) does occur with a [+gol] P. (6.176) is repeated here.

\[(6.176) \quad \ldots \text{phôm klap pay bàn} \quad \text{(Huffman 1973:502)}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+NM]} \\
\text{[+OBJ]} \\
\text{[+V]} \\
\text{[+gol]} \\
\text{[+P]} \\
\text{[+L]} \\
\text{[+AC]} \\
\text{[+LOC]}
\end{array}\]

'I'm going back home.'

This is not seen, however, as refuting the entire coverb derivation hypothesis, but rather as a peculiarity of the verb \text{klap}. It is quite possible that \text{pay} in \((6.176)\) is an adverb, but it is also possible to consider that \text{klap} is a verb which is in the process of allowing a coverb occurrence and there is variation in usage. (See Sec. 7.1 below for further discussion of such a process.)

This latter view could be held regarding the problem of Thai \text{hài 'give'}, which is analysed in this study (Sec. 6.2.2.1.1 above) as occurring also as a [+D] P. As a verb, \text{hài} customarily takes its DATIVE in the AC or C case form. However, it can also take DATIVE in the D case form if the D case form is marked by the underived P \text{kâm 'to'}, as in \((6.182)\).
Thái

khāw ᵃy

naːŋsɨː sōŋ lem kām phōm

(Huffman 1973:15)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
hāy \quad +P \\
+\text{DERV} \\
+D \\
+\text{ben} \\
+\text{[+DAT,+BEN]} \\
+\text{[+NM,+AGT]}
\end{array}
\]

'He gave me two books.'

This is clearly a counterexample to the coverb derivation hypothesis and accounts for one of the reasons Kullavanijaya (1974:85ff; see Sec. 6.2.2.1.1 above) analyses ᵃy as a [+B] P instead of a [+D] P. It is possible to hypothesise that this irregularity is the result of variation during historical change — that ᵃy is in the process of allowing P occurrence and, in some dialects or styles of speech, ᵃy may occur as a [+D] P, and as a verb may not occur with kām. Some speakers even now do not accept kām with ᵃy. For further discussion of historical change and a hypothesis regarding verbs and coverbs, see Sec. 7.1 below.

However, there could be other factors involved. As mentioned above, a coverb-potential verb cannot occur with a P marked with the verb's own value. Given as example was the distinction between [+gol] and [+ter] features on Vs and [+L] Ps. A parallel distinction may exist for ᵃy and kām. ᵃy has a particular [+beneficial] semantic property, whereas kām does not (PK, personal communication). If we hypothesise the following feature matrices for kām and P ᵃy,

\[
\text{hāy 'to, for'} \quad \text{kām 'to'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+\text{DERV} \\
+D \\
+\text{ben} \\
+\text{[+DAT,+BEN]} \\
+\text{[+NM,+AGT]}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+P \\
+D \\
-\text{ben} \\
+\text{[+DAT]}
\end{array}
\]

then V ᵃy could have the matrix:

\[
\text{hāy 'give'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+V \\
+\text{dative} \\
+\text{beneficial} \\
+\text{[+NM,+AGT]}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{[+AC,+OBJ]} \\
+\text{[+AC,+OBJ]} \\
+\text{[+AC,+C,+D],+DAT]}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{[+D,+ben,+DAT]}
\end{array}
\]

Such an explanation would fit the facts as well as showing ᵃy's behaviour to be consistent with the coverb derivation hypothesis.
In general, the evidence from Khmer and Thai, even at this superficial level of investigation, strongly supports the coverb hypothesis as made for Vietnamese.
CHAPTER VII
THE HISTORICAL HYPOTHESIS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The widespread occurrence of the coverb phenomenon raises the question not only of its areal historical role but of its grammatical historical role and its role in the relationship between verbs and prepositions. The belief here that prepositions share significant grammatical features with verbs is reflected in the inclusion of case frames in their lexical feature matrices (Secs. 3.1 and 3.2.2.3-7) and is discussed in detail in Sec. 5.3.3. The question is whether these shared features are a universal characteristic, or whether they are coincidental, caused by category overlap or squish, or are the result of historical development.

Ross, in his paper "The Category Squish" Endstation Hauptwort" (1972), proposes that the distinction between the categories Verb, Adjective, and Noun is not discrete but "squishy", that there is a quasi-continuum which contains, besides V, A, N, and other categories, the category Preposition. I think this hypothesis is questionable. There could well be a hierarchical relationship between the categories, a relationship that could be shown by lexical features and lexical derivation rules. Also, it is certainly true that individual lexical items can appear to be squishy in terms of their inclusion in several categories. However, since in any given sentence, a word falls in one category or another, i.e. it is subject to given category-particular syntactic rules, a functional description of syntactic categories would have to say that each comprises a fixed discrete inventory. Thus, we must say that there is no such thing as "category overlap".

The claim here is that the sharing of features is a universal property of Vs and Ps (prepositions/postpositions), and the hypothesis
is that Vs and Ps share features not coincidentally but as the result of historical derivational relationships. Further, it is claimed that the occurrence of coverbs — prepositions which have corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs — represents in a language a stage in the process of a word changing over a period of time from V to P.

The similarities and distinctions between Vs and Ps are discussed in Sec. 5.3.3 above. The claim regarding the nature of coverbs is discussed at length below.

7.1 COVERBS AS A STAGE IN THE DERIVATION OF P FROM V

To describe what is meant by saying that coverbs represent a stage in the process of a word changing over a period of time from a V to a P, three broad stages can be postulated for the history of a single lexical item:

```
   I     V
              \->
   II    V     P
              \->
   III   --P
```

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. (For discussion of semantic shift in Ps with homophonous verbs, see Li & Thompson 1973c:7, and Lord 1973:280-6.) 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.

A coverb is a P at stage II, a P that coexists with an etymologically related verb. In this study, a coverb is defined as a P which retains the semantic features derived from the verb and thus shares semantic features with the coexistent verb. It is this homophonous and synonymous state between the P and the V that keeps the relationship alive in the mind of the speaker such that there exists a synchronic derivation rule relating the P and the V. (See Sec. 5.3.3 above for the Coverb Derivation Rule.)

Evidence supporting the hypothesis that coverbs are Ps derived from Vs is set forth in Sec. 7.3 below. First, we will take a look at modern Vietnamese prepositions to see if they can provide support for the hypothesis with regard to Vietnamese coverbs.
7.2 MODERN VIETNAMESE PREPOSITIONS

There is little evidence in modern Vietnamese that prepositions which do not now have corresponding verbs were verbs at an earlier stage of the language, other than the feeling among native speakers that they are verbs. What evidence I have found is presented here.

The following prepositions, discussed individually in Secs. 3.2.2.4-7, are considered to be synchronically underived prepositions.

- **tại** in [+L,+lcn]
- **từ** from [+L,+src,+ext]
- **khoảng** out of [+L,+src,-ext]
- **bằng** by [+I]
- **với** with [+C]
- **giữa/hỗ** for [+B]

The Location preposition **tại** 'at, in' is considered to be a loan from the Chinese coverb **zài** (See Dao D-A 1957:224, Ly-V-H 1962:452, and Sec. 4.1 above.)

The Source preposition **từ** 'from' may very likely be related to the restricted verb **từ** 'leave, abandon'. The verb **từ** is restricted in that it occurs only in Sino-Vietnamese compounds, as in (7.1). (Cf. Thai Source coverb **chák** 'leave; from'.)

(7.1) tôi **từ-giá** Huế vào 1965 (Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi)

*I take away in leave of
'I left Hue in 1965.'

The Source preposition **khoảng** 'out of' appears to have a corresponding verb **khoảng** 'avoid, escape; recover', whose general usage, however, seems to be restricted to occurrence with other verbs, as in (7.2) and (7.3), both from Nguyen D-H 1966:223, and (7.4) from Le & Le 1962:195.

(7.2) tôi **không khoảng nhớ** tôi anh ấy
*I not avoid remember to he
'I can't help remembering him.'

(7.3) anh **khỏng phải đi**
elder avoid must go bro.
'You don't have to go.'

(7.4) bà-áy **khỏng** bệnh chưa
she avoid be sick yet
'Has she recovered from her illness?'

Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi suggests that **khoảng** is used only as a preposition in the
South but is used as both a preposition and a verb in the North, and 
để in (7.4) can be interpreted as a noun 'illness', making khôl the only verb in sentence (7.4). Further, Nguyễn Đình-Hoa, a Northerner, 
gives (7.5) (1966:223).

(7.5) áṇh khôl hàn chưa
elder recover thoroughly yet 
bro.

'Have you completely recovered?'

It may be that khôl as the only verb in a sentence occurs only in this 
special use, meaning 'recover from illness'. khôl cannot occur as the 
only verb in a locative sentence; i.e. (7.6) is ungrammatical.

(7.6) * Sơn khôl vụm
avoid garden

(‘Son went out of the garden.’)
(‘Son avoided the garden.’)

It seems fair to hypothesise that V khôl was at one time a freely oc-
curring verb and that V khôl and P khôl were more closely related seman-
tically than they are now, and to suggest that at one time sentence (7.6) 
would have been a grammatically acceptable sentence.

One sentence, (7.7), with the [+C] preposition với 'with', creates a 
problem in that với does not mark a case relation with the verb in the 
usual sense since it does not mean 'return WITH us to Viet-Nam':

(7.7) chat sôm tro-iṣi Việt-Nam với chứng em
elder early return with Pl young 
sis.

‘Return to Viet-Nam soon to be with us.’

It may possibly be considered to be a conjoined verb or the main verb 
of a purposive complement: 'return and/to BE WITH us', although it could 
also express a comitative relationship between two NPs and mean 'return 
to Viet-Nam and us'.

The [+B] case markers giúm and hỏi 'for, help', are felt by many 
speakers to be verbs (e.g. these words are glossed as verbs in Nguyen 
D-H (1966)). (7.8) is an acceptable expression in which giúm appears 
to be a verb.

(7.8) giúm tộ̉i dl
help I go (Imper)

'Please help me / (Do it) for me.'

The expression might equally well be considered a prepositional phrase, 
except the imperative dl otherwise occurs only with verbs, presumably 
[+active] verbs. Also, giúm in (7.9) is considered by N-D Liem to be a
verb, but such use occurs only in money-lending situations and is used typically by money-lenders for particular BENEFACTIVE emphasis (Liem, personal communication).

(7.9) tôi giüm ông hai trăm
I help Sir two hundred
‘For YOU, I’ll loan 200.’ (Probably at 100% interest!)

The most substantial evidence for giüm having been a full-fledged verb is the fact that, according to Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi, in some rural areas of Central Viet-Nam giüm is often used for iăm 'do' or giúp 'help'.

Typical is the expression in (7.10), where giüm is a verb meaning 'do'.

(7.10) có việc giüm không
have work do not
‘Do you have work for me to do?’

For these speakers, (7.11) would be acceptable, although for most speakers in other dialects, it would not, or at least would be considered unsophisticated.

(7.11) ông ấy giüm tôi nhiều
he help I much
‘He helped me a lot.’

The preposition hỗ is a Northern word and is used as a verb in the North much more than giüm is used as a verb in the South. Thus, in the North, (7.12) with hỗ is acceptable.

(7.12) ông ấy hỗ tôi nhiều
he help I much
‘He helped me a lot.’

It seems likely that hỗ and giüm show different stages of change and that these stages coincide - very roughly - with geographical areas: In the North, these words can be used as both V and P; in some dialects of Central Viet-Nam, they are both V and P, and in other dialects V is not so acceptable; in the South, usage as V is unacceptable at least in polite use, while usage as P is common.

Like the coverbs, giüm can occur as an adverb, as in (7.13), where giüm modifies the verb giúp-dỗ.

(7.13) mong có giúp-dỗ giüm cho em
hope miss help for for young sib
‘I hope you’ll help me.’ (polite urging)

There seems to be no evidence that the P với 'with' is derived from a verb. However, it, too, can occur as an adverb, as in (7.14), where với
modifies the verb thám.

(7.14) chị nhọ viết thư thám em với nhẽ

er elder remember write letter visit young with O.K.? sib.

'Remember to write a letter to greet me, O.K.?'
Not 'greet me WITH a letter' or 'visit WITH me', i.e.
* thám với em. The adverb với here emphasises polite but
intimate urging (Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi, personal communication).

(See Lord 1973:279-80 for the Comitative preposition in some Kwa lan-
guages of West Africa, which derives from a Comitative verb and which
can occur as an adverb.)

Thus, the evidence at this point of the investigation is only sug-
gestive of modern synchronically underived prepositions in Vietnamese
having been verbs at an earlier stage of the language.

7.3 EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE HYPOTHESIS OF Ps DERIVING FROM Vs

7.3.0 INTRODUCTION

The derivational relationship between Vs and Ps hypothesised above
seems to be particularly true of directional words - directional prepo-
sitions derived from directional verbs or adverbs and directional adverbs
derived from directional verbs (see Sec. 5.1.3 above for discussion of
directional "coverbs" as adverbs in Vietnamese). Although in Indo-
European languages, there are few examples of Ps which historically
derive from verbs, Charles Li (1974) suggests that directional prepo-
sitions may have derived from directional verbs while locational prepo-
sitions were probably derived from nouns. (Also, see Emeneau 1956:9
and Maher 1973:49.) Roderick Jacobs (personal communication) has found in
Uto-Aztecan languages evidence for a derivational relationship between
directional adverbs and directional verbs; for a full discussion of this
derivation, showing a stage in which the words functioned variably as
verbs and adverbs, see Crapo 1970.

Although the evidence for historical derivation involving directional
words seems to be more common, there is also evidence in some languages
for non-directional prepositions having derived from verbs. For a claim
that the Japanese (locative) postposition ní is "a relic of an extinct
verb", see Sansom 1928:208,243. Claims are made by Givón (1974), Lord
(1973) and Westermann (1930) that, in some West African languages,
certain types of Ps - some directional and some not - can be shown to be
historically derived from Vs and that some of these Ps can be called
coverbs. For fuller discussion of these claims regarding coverbs in
West Africa, see Sec. 7.3.3 below.
In the following sections, some instances of change involving verbs, adverbs, and prepositions in Pacific languages, Chinese, and some West African languages are cited as evidence supporting the claim that there is a historical derivational relationship between Ps and Vs and that co-verbs represent a stage in the derivation of Ps from Vs.

7.3.1 VERBS, ADVERBS, AND PREPOSITIONS IN PACIFIC LANGUAGES

In a discussion of Proto-Oceanic grammar, Pawley (1974:32-6) makes a distinction between "true prepositions" and "prepositional verbs" ("certain disyllabic forms which connect a verb with its grammatical object" and which have verbal suffixes (p.32)). He reconstructs a number of prepositional verbs of which the following are of particular interest here:

*pani: reconstructible as an independent verb 'give'
   "In languages which reflect this form as a prepositional verb, its function is most often as a dative, indicating motion to an animate being, sometimes also to an object."

*tani: 'motion away from'

*su(id)i: "...indicates motion to or after a person, or connection of the sort translatable as 'according to, concerning, on behalf of'. As an independent verb it means 'to follow'.' (Cf. Vietnamese theo 'follow; according to'.)

Dempwolff (1938) associates Proto-Austronesian (PAN) *(t')akaj 'climb, mount' with corresponding modern words in Fijian and Sa'a meaning 'upward' (p.147); and PAN *mayi 'hitherward' with modern Indonesian, Malay, etc., mari 'come', which seems to be the reverse of V > P. Andrew Pawley (personal communication) states that some words which are purely adverbs in most Polynesian languages were verbs in Proto-Oceanic. He cites as examples the following Maori direction markers, and gives corresponding Proto-Oceanic words with their likely meanings (personal communication).

mai hither  *mai towards (possibly 'come')
 iho down    *nsipo descend
ake up       *nsaake ascend

This sort of development of directional words is also cited in a discussion of directional suffixes in Kusaiean, a Micronesian language, by K. Lee (1974a:41-2). He proposes that directional suffixes in Micronesian and Polynesian languages might have been verbs historically. He gives the following forms for Oceanic (from Grace 1969) and likely meanings.
*mai  come
*lako  go, walk
*nsake  upwards; climb, lift, rise, jut out
*nsipo  downwards

and suggests that at an earlier stage they might have been used as verbs only but later began to be used as directional suffixes. "When we observe some Micronesian and Polynesian languages with such an assumption, we can notice at least three different stages of development" (p.41), as follows.

**Tongan** - used as both directional suffixes and as verbs
- mai  to, towards speaker; give (to speaker)
- atu  to, towards listener; give (to listener)
- hake  up, upwards;  ascend, go up
- hifo  down, downwards;  descend, go down

**Samoan** - some used as both, some only as directional suffixes
- mai  towards speaker
- atu  away from speaker and towards listener
- a'e  up;  go up, climb
- ifo  down;  give in, surrender, bow, control, restrain

**Kusaiean** - Directional suffixes are never used as independent verbs.
- ma  to the speaker
- oht  to the listener
- lah  away
- acng  to (a certain point)
- ack  up
- yah  down
- elihk  to different directions
- eni  to one direction

The parallel between the occurrence in Oceanic languages of locative and dative directional words and the kind of locative and dative coverbs that occur in mainland Southeast Asian languages is obvious. It suggests that there might also be a parallel in historical development.

### 7.3.2 VERBS AND PREPOSITIONS IN MANDARIN CHINESE

 Discussions concerning historical development of prepositions in Mandarin Chinese have dealt little if any with directional adverbs. However, a number of statements have been advanced regarding prepositions. Suggestions have been made that all the prepositions of Chinese were verbs in an earlier stage of the language (e.g. see Liang 1971:51;
Li and Thompson 1973c:3; and C. Li 1974). Chao (1968:749) refers to the "transitional nature of Chinese prepositions, both in the classificatory and in the historical sense". He cites the example of two contemporary prepositions, 且 yú < jwō and 爲 yù < jju, which were used as main verbs in classical times (p.336). The direct object marker bā, which is "untranslatable as a preposition" but which is considered by some to be a preposition, is never a full verb in modern Chinese (Liang 1971:37). T'sou (1972:12) states that, in most dialects of Chinese, bā is "no longer a fully functional verb", but he gives examples from Ancient Chinese of its use as a verb meaning 'hold, grasp'. Li and Thompson (1973b:3) state that prior to the Tang dynasty (9th century A.D.) bā was a verb meaning 'to take hold of'. Examples of modern prepositions used as verbs in Archaic Chinese are given in Li and Thompson 1973c. An illustration is the Modern Chinese P công 'from' (as in (7.15)) used as a verb in the Fifth Century B.C., (7.16).

(7.15) nǐ děi công gè fāngmiàn kàn (Li & Thompson 1973c:7)

you must from every angle look

'You must look at it from every angle.'

(7.16) bǐ cāo ěr zhàng yī công zhǐ (Li & Thompson 1973c:4,

must use your stick to follow (it)  from lǐ jì)

'You must wield your stick to follow it.'

Công does not occur as a verb in Modern Chinese; (7.17) is ungrammatical.

(7.17) * nǐ děi công zhèr (Li & Thompson 1973c:8)

you must from there

C. Li (1974) and Li & Thompson (1973b and 1973c) make the claim that Chinese coverbs are prepositions derived from verbs which occurred regularly in serial verb constructions. They claim further that the category change involves a word-order change from Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) to SOV. That is, the first verb in a construction SVOV(O) "can develop into a case marker thus collapsing SVO complex sentences into simple SOV sentences" (Li & Thompson 1973b:15). They suggest (1973c:5, 20) that Mandarin prepositions are still in the process of changing from earlier verbs, and (p.5) that this explains the non-homogeneity in the class of prepositions. For example, some prepositions can still occur optionally with the verbal suffix -zhe. Further, they list (p.7) three types of prepositions representing three stages of change: 1. those matching verbs in sound and meaning, 2. those matching verbs in sound but not in meaning, 3. those with no matching verb. "The differences among these three types of [prepositions] with regard to how closely they match verbs is to be expected, given our hypothesis that some
[prepositions] have become less like verbs than others" (p.8). For an example of a preposition of type 3, see (7.15) above with cóng. (7.18) and (7.19), from Li & Thompson (1973c:7), illustrate type 2.

(7.18) wòmen àn tàdé yísi bàn ba! 
we according to his idea do Final Particle 
P
'Let's do it according to his ideas.'

(7.19) yòu-rén àn mén-líng
someone press doorbell
V
'Someone is ringing the doorbell.'

Examples of type 1 - true coverbs (as defined in this study) - may be found in the section on Chinese coverbs above, Sec. 4.1.

7.3.3 VERBS AND PREPOSITIONS IN WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Some of the Kwa languages of West Africa have coverbs, notably the words for 'be in/at; in, at' and 'give; to, for' (Ansre 1966 and Lord 1973). When used as prepositions these words are not conjugated, as Kwa verbs otherwise are. Lord (1973:271) notes that "Locative prepositions in Kwa are often homophonous with locative verbs, verbs of possession, and incomplete aspect markers. Evidence suggests that this homophony is not accidental, and that locative prepositions have developed historically from verbs in serial constructions". She shows differences in the prepositions which are similar to the differences in Chinese prepositions given by Li and Thompson (1973c) and noted above, and gives evidence from different languages showing the various stages of change. She attributes these differences to like cause: Prepositions have derived from verbs at differing rates of speed - differing rates between lexical items in the same language and differing rates between languages. She states (p.274) that the extent to which prepositions have lost their verbal characteristics "reflects the extent to which they have drifted from the serial pattern of other verbs". For example, she notes that the Ga verb yè 'be at' does not take the usual range of tense-aspect and negation markers. "It may be that yè was formerly fully verbal and is now going through a transition stage to a solely prepositional identity" (p.275).

Ansre (1966:30) quotes Westermann (1930:126f) as giving a list of words which Westermann claims are in the process of historical change from verbs into prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions.
7.3.4 CONCLUSION

It is apparent from the observations made by many different analysts regarding far-flung and unrelated languages which show similar types of lexical items and processes involved in the coverb phenomenon that such a phenomenon is not uncommon. Further, it is reasonable to hypothesise that Southeast Asian coverbs, like the coverbs of West Africa and China, represent a stage in the historical derivation of prepositions from verbs.

7.4 CONDITIONS FOR THE DERIVATION OF P FROM V

Given the hypothesis that coverbs are a universal and orderly process in the derivation of preposition from verb, we might hope to be able to predict what kind of verb may be subject to this process. Li and Thompson (1973c:9) state only that the "fluctuation between the verb and preposition forms is controlled by grammatical considerations...It is not quite so easy to determine which verbs at a given stage are eligible for the shift to V + P". They cite Talmy Givón (1974) as "offering significant discussions of semantic types of verbs which are most likely to undergo this process".

Lord (1973:293) asks, "Why do certain verbs, like Locatives, undergo this change of grammatical category?". She suggests that a verb becomes a preposition when it loses semantic dominance, which it does when it expresses such aspe-ctual case relationships with another verb as location, means, manner, recipience, and benefit: "Because location is generally considered to be less significant than other aspects of events, in the serial construction the Locative verb phrase is not as important as the other verb phrase semantically (the meaning of the sentence is clear and the location phrase doesn't need to be fully verbal). Accordingly, it loses status syntactically; i.e. it loses its verb properties, remaining as a mere function word".

Even if one were to accept the undefined notion of "semantic dominance", that function words are "mere", and that perception of semantic significance is the cause rather than the result of syntactic difference, such an analysis ignores the semantic properties of the main verb. For example, the put in

(7.20) She PUT the book ON THE TABLE.

has an inherent locative semantic property which requires it to have a LOCATIVE phrase in its case frame. That is, contrary to Lord's claim that the meaning of the sentence is clear without the location phrase, the sentence without the location phrase is, in the case of put, un-grammatical:
It seems necessary to go further than vague and subjective semantic criteria alone and determine what are the semantic-syntactic characteristics of verbs which undergo the $V \rightarrow P$ change.

First, it is true that every event has a presupposed location, and in this sense location is peripheral to the main event of a sentence and, theoretically, every verb can have a location phrase. This is what is called outer LOCATIVE (Fillmore 1968:26 fn 34; Platt 1971:30-3; Teng 1972:60; also see Sec. 3.3.4.1 above for discussion of the distinction between inner and outer LOCATIVE). However, Locative verbs (verbs with an inherent semantic locative property) have inner LOCATIVE phrases and are here divided into AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE and OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs. Sec. 3.3.4.2 above discusses a similar distinction between DATIVE (inner) and BENEFACTIVE (outer). Verbs with an inherent semantic dative property are termed AGENTIVE-DATIVE verbs here. These verb classes are established on the bases of case frames for verbs and case relation and case form cooccurrences. (See Secs. 3.3.5.1, 3.3.5.2, and 3.3.5.4-6 for examples of these verbs in Vietnamese). The claim is made here that only Locative verbs can become [+L] prepositions and that only Dative verbs can become [+D] prepositions.

Further, it is found in Vietnamese, Khmer, and Thai that verbs which have corresponding prepositions are only those Locative and Dative verbs whose LOCATIVE and DATIVE phrases, respectively, must occur in the AC case form, that is, without intervening Ps. It will be recalled from Sec. 5.3.2, Case Frames for Locative Verbs, that those OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE verbs which have corresponding prepositions have in their case frames the features $[+\__([+AC,+LOC])]$ and $[-\__[+L,+LOC]]$, stating that they cannot take a [+L] case marker with their LOCATIVE nouns. For example, the verb $xuông$ in (7.22) cannot take a $P$ in its LOCATIVE phrase; (7.23) is ungrammatical.

(7.22) cõ-áy $xuông$ nhà bếp
she go down house kitchen
$[+NM] [+V] [+AC] [+LOC]$

'She went down to the kitchen.'

(7.23) cõ-áy $xuông$ vào nhà bếp
she go down into kitchen
$[+NM] [+V] [+L] [+AC] [+LOC]$

'She went down into the kitchen.'
Xuông can itself occur as a P, as in (7.24).

(7.24) có-áy gởi đĩa xuông nhà-bếp
she send plate down to kitchen

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+P \\
+OBT \\
+LOC \\
\end{array}
\]

'She sent a plate down to the kitchen.'

There are the same characteristics for the A-D verb cho 'give', which has a corresponding P cho 'to, for'. As a verb, cho must take its DATIVE phrase in the AC case form: (7.25) is grammatical, (7.26) is not.

(7.25) có-áy cho nó một cái
she give 3p one thing

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+V \\
+DAT \\
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array}
\]

'She gave him one.'

(7.26) * có-áy cho nó một cái cho nó
she give one thing to 3p

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+V \\
+POS \\
+P \\
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array}
\]

'She gave one to him.'

Some speakers accept (7.26) if nó is [+BEN]; that is, 'She gave one (to somebody else) FOR him.' (7.27) shows cho as a P, with the DATIVE occurring either before or after the OBJECTIVE.

(7.27) a. có-áy gởi cho nó một cái
she send to 3p one thing

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+NM \\
+AGT \\
+V \\
+P \\
+AC \\
+OBJ \\
\end{array}
\]

b. có-áy gởi nó một cái cho nó

'She sent him one.'

Thus, it appears that a verb which has an especially close semantic relation to a particular case can occur 'directly', i.e. without a P - with that particular case relation, and can have a corresponding P marking that particular case relation with another verb. This phenomenon is what is called here the Coverb Derivation Hypothesis and has been discussed at length in Sec. 5.3.
CHAPTER VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.0 OBJECTIVES OF WORK

It was stated in the beginning section (Sec. 1.1) that the principal purposes of this study were to 1) describe and illustrate the behaviour of coverbs in Vietnamese, 2) determine the syntactic function of coverbs and their role in the classification of verbs in Vietnamese, 3) determine how this function can be characterised in the grammar in a way that is both explicit and intuitively satisfying, 4) make introductory investigation into coverb phenomena in other Southeast Asian languages to find evidence to support the hypothesis that coverbs are a Southeast Asian areal phenomenon, and 5) give evidence to support the hypothesis that coverbs represent a stage in a verb-to-preposition historical change.

In the following sections, the major findings of the study are summarised.

8.1 DESCRIPTION OF VIETNAMESE COVERBS

The description of coverbs shows in a general way how coverbs behave in simple sentences, that is, sentences with one verb.

With the exception of the [+D] coverb, all the Vietnamese coverbs discussed here function as [+L] case markers; of these, one marks Location and the others are Goal directional markers, one of these being [+terminus]. The [+D] coverb marks DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE case relations. All the [+L] coverbs mark LOCATIVE and the directional [+L] coverbs can also mark DATIVE and TIME. With certain verbs, some of the directional [+L] coverbs mark a case relation which, pending further investigation, is called OBJECTIVE.
It is also shown that the coverbs of direction can function as post-verbal adverbs.

8.2 THE COVERB AS PREPOSITION

8.2.1 IN THE LEXICON

It is claimed in this study that a coverb is a preposition - defined as the word that occurs in exocentric construction with a noun phrase, forming a prepositional phrase, and that marks the case form of the PP construction. Each P has features in its lexical entry which show the case form it marks and the case relation that occurs with it.

Coverbs constitute a special class of prepositions in that each has a corresponding homophonous and synonymous verb. It is claimed that this kind of preposition is related to its corresponding verb by a synchronic derivation rule which operates on certain features in the lexical entry of the verb. (These certain features are discussed further in Sec. 8.3 below.) Thus, each coverb has the additional feature [+DERV].

The solution proposed here works for the facts of the language and is consistent with the notions of case relation and case form, which are assumed to belong to a universal grammar. The fact that there is already in the language a class of synchronically underived prepositions whose case marking functions in the same way as the coverbs makes it natural for the coverbs to be members of the class of prepositions. The [+DERV] marking on each coverb states that the coverb is homophonous and synonymous with its corresponding verb and satisfies native intuition that the coverbs are closely related to the verbs.

8.2.2 IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

Verbs are classified according to their potential occurrence with various case relations. They are further subclassified by the case forms in which they take their respective case relations. As case markers, whose function is the realisation of case relations, prepositions play a large role in the classification of verbs. The occurrence of the [+D] coverb and the [+L] coverbs in the case frames of verbs makes it possible to distinguish three ditransitive classes, AGENTIVE-DATIVE (A-D) Goal, AGENTIVE-LOCATIVE (A-L) Goal, and A-L-Location, and one intransitive class, OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE (O-L) Goal. The [+D] preposition (a coverb) and the Goal [+L] prepositions (also coverbs) can occur with A-D-Goal verbs; only [+L] Ps can occur with A-L verbs. The Direction [+L] Ps occur with O-L-Goal verbs, although there is one subclass of O-L-Goal verbs which may not occur with [+L] Ps (see discussion below in Sec. 8.3).
CHART VIII-1 Cooccurrences of Coverbs and Verb Classes
Verbs are broadly classified by their ability to take BENEFACTIVE, which may be marked by the [+D] P. All verbs may occur with TIME, which may be marked by the Direction [+L] Ps, and an outer Location LOCATIVE, which may be marked by the [+L,+lcn] P (a coverb).

The cooccurrences of coverbs and verb classes are shown in Chart VIII-1. Not included in the chart is the small class of verbs which can mark with Direction [+L] coverbs what is provisionally analysed as OBJECTIVE case relation. (See examples in Secs. 3.2.2.4.3 and 3.2.2.4.4, and Chart VI-2 in Sec. 6.2.3.2.)

The verb classes are represented in a semantic feature tree (cf. Chart III-4 in Sec. 3.3.6) in full capital letters; semantic features are signified by lower case letters. Those case frames which are directly relevant to the coverbs discussed in this study are shown for the various verb classes. The case form features of the individual coverbs are given below the classes of the verbs with which the coverbs can occur and connected to the verb classes with dotted lines. Those coverbs which occur with the "outer" case relations - BENEFACTIVE, TIME, and outer LOCATIVE - are set at a lower level. No underived Ps or their case forms are shown. One underived [+L] P - the [+L,+src,+extent] P - occurs with Goal verbs; it also occurs marking TIME. The [+L,+src, -ext] P occurs with Locative Source verbs. There is one underived [+L,+lcn] P, and a [+B] P which marks BENEFACTIVE.

8.3 LEXICASE AND COVERBS

The lexicase grammar has been found to be a satisfactory framework within which to describe and explain coverbs in Vietnamese. The verbs and sentences fall naturally into classes which can be described by environments which are specified in terms of case relations and case forms. Lexical features make statements about lexical items, defining their class membership, and lexical rules make generalisations about classes of lexical items, providing explanatory adequacy in a straightforward way.

One of the principal strengths of the lexicase model is that it assumes a less abstract underlying structure. It brings the base structure as close as possible to the surface while still capturing crucial generalities of the syntactic structure. This provides not only a more straightforward and simpler grammar but a less powerful grammar than one which postulates underlying elements which necessitate different levels and transformational rules to bring the levels together. Being less powerful, it can make a stronger claim.
Another strength is the rigorous constraint that a rule not be allowed unless it operates on features that define a natural class. This is particularly relevant to the problem of coverb derivation.

Given the analysis of coverbs as prepositions, the problem is how to relate them to their corresponding verbs. Ha (1970) considers the Direction coverbs (my [+L,+gol] coverbs) to be prepositions derived from verbs. Tran (1972) considers all the coverbs to be derived prepositions. Both Ha and Tran posit derivation rules which operate on ad hoc features of the verbs to derive the corresponding prepositions. Ha's feature to allow a verb to undergo the rule is [+co-prep]; Tran's is [+cvb]. Until recently, I took a similar approach but have now abandoned it because rules like Ha's and Tran's operate on features which are merely a notational equivalent for having a separate lexical entry. Such a rule gives only the appearance of capturing a generality if no independently motivated property of these verbs can be found to condition it.

If, however, these verbs share some intrinsic property which makes them a natural class, then it is valid to have a rule which operates on that intrinsic property. Mentioned above in Sec. 8.2.2 is a subclass of O-L verbs which cannot take their LOCATIVES in the L case form. It happens that this very class corresponds to the class of [+L] coverbs, and the A-D verb which cannot take its DATIVE in the D case form corresponds to the [+D] coverb. Thus, a common feature defines these words as a natural class and allows a derivation rule which relates them.

One significant way in which the grammar in this study differs from many other generative grammars (cf. especially Fillmore 1968 and 1971b) is that it posits P as a basic category. This eliminates the necessity of transformational rules to introduce Ps into surface sentences. Perhaps more significant is the ability of the grammar to demonstrate the synchronic and historical relationships between Vs and Ps. A grammar which does not have P as a basic category cannot account for the facts of coverbs - their close relationship to their corresponding verbs and their probable historical derivation from verbs.

8.4 COVERBS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

A limited investigation of Khmer and Thai has shown that these languages also have coverbs and that there are many similarities in the nature and behaviour of coverbs in the three languages. A comparison shows that most of the verbs and prepositions share similar meanings, that, to some extent, the prepositions mark the same case relations, and that all but the Location coverb are directional in nature. It is
interesting to note that only in Thai does the Source preposition still have a corresponding verb (although the verb occurs only rarely), so must be considered a coverb. There are some differences between the languages in restrictions of occurrences and some apparent counterexamples in Khmer and Thai to the coverb derivation hypothesis in my solution for Vietnamese. Most of these counterexamples have been found to be consistent with the hypothesis, due to distinguishing sub-CF features in the coverbs concerned. A much more comprehensive investigation is needed to clarify remaining problems and bring out more facts.

Further investigation into historical data and language typology is needed before the hypotheses concerning areal spread and historical development can be fully substantiated. Already, however, evidence from other languages gives support to the hypothesis that coverbs are prepositions at a stage in the historical derivation of prepositions from verbs.

8.5 PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

There are some problems directly involving coverbs which have been only touched upon in this study and need much more investigation before a satisfactory analysis can be given. They include the following topics.

1. The derivational relationship between the verbs and prepositions and the use of these same words as adverbs modifying direction. (See Sec. 5.1.3 above.)

2. The nature and relationship of V and coverb cho when allowing following embedded verbs. The following sentences represent only two of several different structures.

   chí-áy cho tôi đi chơi
   she give I go play
   'She let me go play.'

   họ uóc cho nó vui
   they wish for 3p happy
   'They wish that he were cheerful.'

3. The case frame features of the Ps which allow following embedded verbs (P^S in the PS rules), as in

   tôi nghĩ đến anh đường làm việc này
   I think to elder Prog. do work this
   (reaching) bro.
   'I think about you doing this work.'

   (Thompson 1965a:232)
4. The case relation of the nouns which occur with a certain set of verbs which require Goal [+L] case markers, as in the following sentences. (Also see Secs. 3.2.2.4.3 and 3.2.2.4.4 above.)

\[ I \text{ remember to she much} \]

\[ \text{to in hide} \]

\[ \text{co-ay niieu} \]

\[ \text{I think about her a lot.'} \]

\[ \text{Lan baot toi ve viiec do roi} \]

\[ \text{tell I to? matter that already} \]

\[ \text{'Lan told me about that matter already.'} \]

It has been suggested here that this is some kind of OBJECTIVE.

5. The nature of ve in sentences such as the one above. Are ve 'back to' and ve 'concerning' two synchronically separate lexical entries, related by a historical derivation rule?

6. The nature of the V and P theo 'follow, following'. Is P theo a true coverb? What case form does it mark and what is the case relation of its cooccurring noun?

7. The relationship between the Source P khoi and the verb khoi 'avoid', which usually occurs with another verb, as in

\[ \text{anh khoi phai di} \]

\[ \text{elder avoid must go} \]

\[ \text{bro.} \]

\[ \text{'You don't have to go.'} \]

8. The classification of the words xa 'far' and gdn 'near', whether they are stative verbs, locative nouns, prepositions, a combination. Could they be [+lcn] coverbs? They have been tentatively analysed in this study as OBJECTIVE-LOCATIVE-Location verbs (Sec. 3.3.5.6), which appear to be stative.

9. The status of LOCATIVE phrases in existential sentences; for example,

\[ \text{so Saigon co nhieu xe-hoi} \]

\[ \text{in have much automobile} \]

\[ \text{'In Saigon there are lots of cars.'} \]

There are, indeed, many questions involving LOCATIVE and the L case forms. What is the status and scope of abstract LOCATIVE? How general is [+L] - i.e. how many case forms should be subsumed under L as sub-CFs?
If [+D] (in this study) is actually a Goal [+L] sub-CF, is it possible to say that all coverbs, wherever they are found in the world, are [+L] case markers?
APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Case Form</th>
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