DITRANSITIVE GOAL VERBS IN VIETNAMESE[1]

Marybeth CLARK

University of Hawaii

1. *Introduction.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

```
                              +agentive
                                  |
          ┌───────────────────────┴───────────────────────┐
      +locative                                        -locative
          |                                                 |
   ┌──────┴──────────────────┐                              |
+direction                -direction                        |
   |                          |                             |
┌──┴──────────┐           +location                         |
+goal      -goal              |                             |
  |           |               |                             |
┌─┴────────┐  |               |                             |
+dative  -dative  +source     |                             |
  |        |       |          |                             |
 cho      thọc    nhổ        dựng                          mua
'give'  'thrust (into)'  'extract'  'erect'               'buy'
```

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

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

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

2. *Case Relations and Verb Classes.*

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

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

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

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

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

2.1. *Agentive.*

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

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

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

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

(2) *chim*   *sẻ*   *làm*   *ổ*

     bird   sparrow   do   nest

     = *'The sparrows made a nest'.*

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

2.2. *Patient.*

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

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

2.3. *Dative.*

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

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

(3) *em   sẽ gởi một vật kỷ-niệm cho   chị*
     young sib will send one object souvenir to older sister
     = *'I'll send a souvenir to you, older sister'.*

(4) *Ông ấy bán nhà   cho tôi*
    Mr. that sell house to I
    = *'He sold a house to me'.*

(5) *em   sẽ gởi một vật kỷ-niệm   qua   chị*
     young sib will send one object souvenir across to sister
     = *'I'll send a souvenir over to you'.*

(6) *em   sẽ gởi   chị   một vật kỷ-niệm*
    young sib will send older sister one object souvenir
    = *'I'll send you a souvenir'.*

(7) *Ông ấy bán tôi một cái   nhà lớn*
    Mr. that sell I one thing house big
    = *'He sold me a big house'.*

2.4. *Locative.*

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

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

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

(9) *chim   sẻ   làm ổ   trên cành có nhiều lá*
bird sparrow do nest top branch have much leaf
'The sparrow built its nest on a branch with many leaves'.

(10) *người Cao-Đài tụ-tập ở miền Tây-Ninh*
person Cao-Dai gather in region Tay-Ninh
'The Cao-Dai people are concentrated in the Tay-Ninh region'.

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

(11) *con   mèo ở   dưới   cái bàn*[2]
animal cat be in underneath thing table
'The cat's under the table'.

(12) *bây-giờ chị   Lan ở Long-Xuyên*
now older sister Lan be in Long-Xuyên
'Lan is in Long-Xuyên now'.

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

(13) *em   sẽ gởi một vật   kỷ-niệm từ Băng-Cốc*
young sib will send one object souvenir from Bangkok
'I'll send a souvenir from Bangkok'.

(14) *chị ấy nhổ   cây ra khỏi đất*[3]
she extract plant out out of earth
'She pulled up the plant (out of the ground)'.

---

[2] Thompson, 1965: 201.

[3] Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

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

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

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

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

(17) *nó   lén   đút bức-thơ dưới   quyển sách*[4]
     3p stealthily insert letter underneath volume book
     'He sneaked the letter under the book'.

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

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

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

---

[4]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 593.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

       chợ   đó
       market that

    *'He ran from Duy-Tan Street across the bridge to the mar-
    ket'*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[5]Nguyễn-Đăng Liêm.

[6]Jones and Thong, 1960: 186.

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

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

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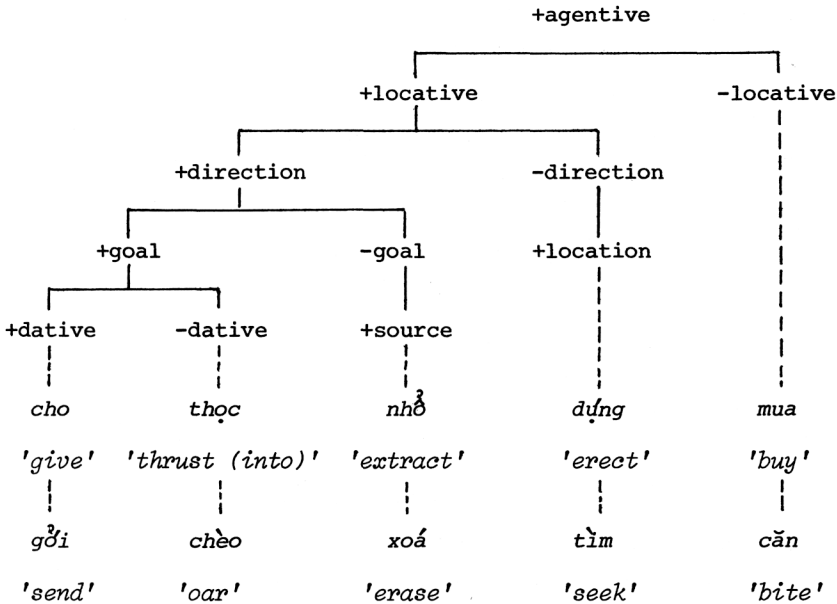   *'She's washing clothes in a basin out on the veranda'*.

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

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

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

2.6. *Classes of Agentive Verbs.*

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

```
                              +agentive
              ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
          +locative                              -locative
      ┌───────┴───────┐                              │
  +direction      -direction                         │
   ┌───┴───┐          │                              │
 +goal   -goal    +location                          │
 ┌─┴─┐     │          │                              │
+dative -dative  +source     │                       │
  │      │        │          │                       │
 cho    thọc     nhổ        dựng                    mua

'give' 'thrust (into)' 'extract'  'erect'           'buy'
  │      │         │          │                      │
 gởi    chèo      xoá        tìm                    cắn

'send'  'oar'    'erase'     'seek'                 'bite'
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

-direction: A [-direction] Locative verb has the inherent fea-
ture [+location], and can take an inner Location
Locative but not a Locative marked by a direc-
tional case form.

+goal: A Goal verb can take a directional Locative in a
case form allowed for directional Locative, or a
Goal Dative in a case form allowed for Goal Da-
tive.

-goal: A [+direction] verb which is [-goal] has the in-
herent feature [+source].

+dative: A Dative Goal verb can take a Dative; the [+goal]
feature insures that it is a Goal Dative and not a
Source Dative.

-dative: While a [-dative] Agentive Goal verb can take a
Goal Locative, it cannot take a Dative.

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

(28) *phụ-tùng   phải mua   của   ngoại-quốc*

    accessory must buy property foreign country

    'We have to buy the spare parts from foreign countries'.

(29) *tôi mướn   (của)   Lan một đôi dép*

    I borrow property Lan one pair sandal

    'I borrowed a pair of sandals from Lan'.

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

(28a)   **phụ-tùng phải mua từ ngoại-quốc.*

(29a)   **tôi mướn từ Lan một đôi dép / một đôi dép từ Lan.*

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

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

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

(30) cəmnaek kriəŋ-laan....trəw tiñ   pii   baarəteeh[7]
     as   for auto parts   must buy from foreign countries
     *As for auto parts, they have to buy them from foreign
     countries*.

(31) koət kcəy   məkuu   pii sərii[8]
     3p   borrow one pair from Sari
     She borrowed a pair from Sari.

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

(32) chăn yàak yɨɨm naŋsɨɨ càak pùk[9]
     I   want borrow book   from Pook
     I want to borrow a book from Pook.

(33) êkei anăn   cañ   pluh prăk mŏng kâo[10]
     man that   borrow ten money from I
     That man borrowed ten dollars from me.

Perhaps the locative character of Source Datives in langua-
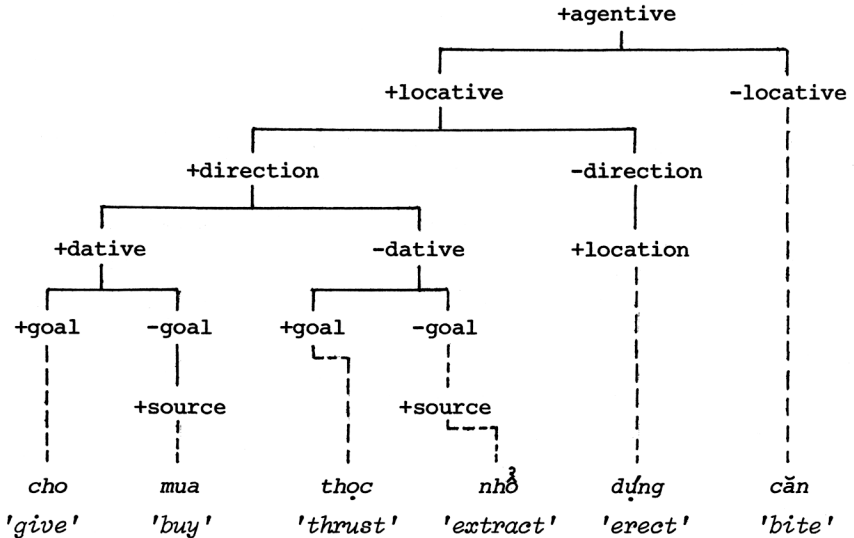ges other than Vietnamese would be reflected in the following

---

[7]Huffman, 1970: 372.

[8]Saveros Pou.

[9]Pranee Kullavanijaya.

[10]Kenny Boun-Ya and James Tharpe.

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

3. *Agentive Locative Goal Verbs.*

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

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

3.1. *Agentive Goal Dative Verbs.*

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

verbs and *send*-type verbs.

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

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

3.1.1. *Send-type Dative Verbs.*

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

tin	'inform'	*gởi*	'send'[11]
viết	'write, note down'	*ném*	'throw'
biên	'write down'	*quăng*	'throw'
cho	'give'	*liệng*	'throw'

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

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

---

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

(34) tôi sẽ tin địa-chỉ mới cho chị rõ
I will inform address new to older sister clear
'I'll let you know exactly the new address'.

(35) nó viết vài lời cho ông Hải
3p write several word to Mr. Hai
'He wrote some words to Mr. Hai'.

(35a) nó viết vài lời về ông Hải
3p write several word back to Mr. Hai
'He wrote some words back to Mr. Hai'.

(36) chị biên thư cho bọn em nhé
older sister write letter to group young sib O.K.?
'Please write us a letter, older sister!'

(37) ông ấy vừa cho con gái chiếc xe Huê-Kỳ[12]
he just give daughter object vehicle America
'He just gave his daughter an American car'.

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

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

(38) ông ấy vừa cho chiếc xe cho con gái
he just give car for daughter
'He just gave a car (to somebody) for his daughter'.

(39) tôi ném quyển từ-điển của tôi cho nó
I throw volume dictionary property I to 3p
'I tossed my dictionary to him'.

---

[12]Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966: 68.

(40) *quăng cái   đó lên cho tôi nhé*
    throw thing that up   to I O.K.?
    'Throw that up to me, will you?'

(41)   *em   liệng trái xoài cho tôi   đi*
    young sib throw fruit mango to I imperative
    'Throw me a mango, little sister!'

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

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

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

The following illustrate other ALG Dative verbs with Locatives:

(43) *nó tin   việc này về   Sàigòn*[13]
    3p inform matter this back to Saigon
    'He sent the information about this matter back to Saigon'.

(44) *cô ấy viết   thơ   vào Long-Xuyên*
    she write letter into Long-Xuyên
    'She sent a letter to Long-Xuyên'.

(45) *nó cho hàng-hoá đi Sàigòn*[13]
    3p give goods   to Saigon
    'He sent the goods to Saigon'.

---

[13]Nguyễn Đăng-Liêm.

(46) chị hai ném giấy đó vào lửa

sister two throw paper that into fire

'Second sister threw the paper into the fire'.

(47) tôi ném quyển từ-điển của tôi vào nó[14]

I throw volume dictionary property I into 3p

'I threw my dictionary at him'.

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

(48) nó ném kẻ-thù của nó xuống đất[15]

3p throw enemy property 3p down to earth

'He dashed his enemy to the ground'.

(49) người đánh cá quăng lưới xuống nước[16]

person hit fish throw net down to water

'The fisherman cast his net into the water'.

(50) cô ấy thình-lình quăng mình vào lửa

she sudden throw self into fire

'She suddenly threw herself into the fire'.

(51) Hùng liệng sợi dây qua sông

Hung throw fiber rope across river

'Hung threw the rope across the river'.

(52) chúng nó liệng đá xuống những người bao-vây[17]

plural 3p throw stone down to plural person besiege

'They threw down stones on the besiegers'.

3.1.2. *Carry-type Dative Verbs.*

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

---

[14]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 1109.

[15]Ibid., 706.

[16]Ibid., 857.

[17]Ibid., 601.

đưa	'hand, take, deliver'
đem	'take, carry'
mang	'carry, take'
khiêng	'carry (something heavy)'[18]
gánh	'carry on a shoulder-pole'

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[18]*Khuân* has the same meaning.

[19]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 980.

[20]Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

(57) em   gánh   nước cho chị   ở đầu xóm[21]

young sib pole-carry water to old sister in head hamlet

'Take the water to the woman at the end of the hamlet'.

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

(58) nó đứa lại   nhà tôi ba chục   cam[22]

3p hand to house I three ten   orange

'He brought thirty oranges to my house'.

(59) con sẽ....đem xác ba   xuống giữa sông[23]

child will take body father down to middle river

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

(60) người làm ruộng đem nước vô ruộng cách nào   ông[24]

person do field take water into field way which Mr.

'How do the farmers bring water into the rice field?'

(61) chị ấy mang   xuống   bếp   hai cân   gạo[25]

she   carry down to kitchen two weight rice

'She carried two kilos of rice down to the kitchen'.

(61a) chị ấy mang   gạo   xuống   bếp[25]

she   carry rice down to kitchen

'She carried rice down to the kitchen'.

(62) những người bị   thương được mang đi[26]

plural person suffer wounded get   carry away

'The wounded men were carried away'.

[21]Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

[22]Trần et al., 1960: 123.

[23]Shum, 1965: 93.

[24]Jones and Thong, 1960: 221.

[25]Lê-Văn-Lý, 1960: 259.

[26]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 649.

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

(63) *họ khiêng những người   bị   thương đi nhà-thương*
      they carry plural person suffer wounded to hospital
      'They carried the wounded to the hospital'.

(64) *họ cột lại thành bó và gánh   về   sân đập lúa*²⁷
      they tie up become sheaf & carry back-to court beat rice
      'They tie them up into bundles and carry them back to the
      threshing floor'.

3.2. *Carry-type Locative Verbs.*

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

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

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

---

²⁷Jones and Thong, 1960: 222.

²⁸Cf. sentence 20 above.

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

(65) ông ấy cầm tiền từ văn-phòng đến ngân-hàng

    he hold money from office   to   bank

    'He carried the money from the office to the bank'.

(66) người ta chở người và xe hơi qua sông bằng phà máy²⁹

    people carry person and car across river by ferry

    'They transport people and automobiles over the river by

    ferry'.

(67) ngày mai tôi phải chở bạn tôi vào nhà-thương

    tomorrow I must carry friend I into hospital

    'I have to take my friend to the hospital tomorrow'.

(68) chở   củi   về rừng³⁰

    transport firewood back to forest

    'To carry coals to Newcastle'.

(69) văn-phòng này họ dời đến Chợ-lớn

    office this they move to Cholon

    'This office they moved to Cholon'.

(70) văn-phong đã được dời từ Sàigòn đến Chợ-lớn³¹

    office (past) get move from Saigon to Cholon

    'The office has been transferred from Saigon to Cholon'.

(71) người ta dọn   đồ ăn lên bàn thờ³²

    people arrange thing eat up to table venerate

    'People place food on the altar'.

---

[29] Jones and Thong, 1960: 228.

[30] Proverb.

[31] Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 290.

[32] Jones and Thong, 1960: 187.

(72) *bị lôi-kéo vào tròng*[33]

    suffer pull into trap

    'Be lured into a trap'.

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

(73) *rồi anh này lôi-kéo người con gái này đi*

    then brother this drag person daughter this away

    'And then this young man dragged the daughter away'.

(74) *cô ấy bị lôi-cuốn vào vòng chính-trị*[34]

    she suffer pull into circle politics

    'She was drawn into politics'.

(75) *ba ấy lái xe từ Biên-Hòa lên Đàlạt*

    Mrs. that drive vehicle from Bien-Hoa up to Dalat

    'She drove the car from Bien-Hoa to Dalat'.

(76) *cô lái đò chèo thuyền qua sông*

    Miss steer ferry oar sampan across river

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

(77) *cô lái đò chèo thuyền vào bờ*

    Miss steer ferry oar sampan into bank

    'The barge girl is pulling the boat ashore'.

(78) *Nam chèo ghe ra khơi*[35]

    Nam row boat out to open sea

    'Nam rowed his boat off the shore'.

3.3. *Put-type Locative Verbs.*

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

---

[33]Lê Văn Hùng, 1955: 391.

[34]Ibid., 391.

[35]Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1972: 406.

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

These three groups are distinguished in part by their oc-
currence or nonoccurrence with Source Locatives. Some general
put-type verbs can take a Source Locative[36] while others can-
not. These latter have the inherent feature of [-source]. The
put-in-type verbs, on the whole, cannot take an extent Source
Locative---that is to say, they cannot occur with the extent
Source preposition từ 'from'. Some, however, can occur with the
[-extent] Source preposition khỏi 'out of'.[37] Such verbs have
the inherent feature of [-extent]. The *put-on*-type verbs occur
only with Goal Locatives.

3.3.1. *General Put-type Verbs.*

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

đễ   'put, place'[38]

đặt   'place, put'

bỏ   'put, throw away'

vứt   'discard'

ấn   'press, thrust'

giúi 'slip (into), push, thrust'

góp   'contribute, participate, collect'

đổ   'pour, spill'

tát   'bail, scoop (as with a bucket)'

---

[36]Cf. sentence 94 below, with vứt 'discard'.
[37]Cf. sentence 96.
[38]Cf. sentence 23 above.

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

(79)   nàng   để kẹo ở trong hộp
       young woman put candy in inside box
       'She placed the candy in a box'.

(80) *nó để cái   ghế vào một   xó   và ngòi xuống*
       3p put thing chair into one corner and sit down
       'The child put a chair in a corner and sat down'.

(81)   họ   đặt ống nước quanh tường
       they place pipe water around wall
       'They placed a water pipe all around the wall'.

(82) *Phong đặt một cái   hôn lên tay   người đẹp*
       Phong place one thing kiss up to hand person pretty
       'Phong kissed the hand of the pretty young woman'.

(83)   cha   mẹ   đặt   đâu con ngòi đấy[40]
       father mother place where child sit there
       'Whom the parents have selected, the daughter will marry'.

(84) *bỏ cái   thở   nầy vào thùng thở nào   gần nhứt[41]*
       put thing letter this into letter-box which near first
       'Drop this letter in the nearest mailbox'.

(85)   họ bỏ một đứa bé   mới sanh ngoài đường[42]
       they put one   child just born outside street
       'They abandoned a new-born infant in the street'.

---

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

[40]Proverb.

[41]After Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 106.

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

(86) nó   vứt   con búp-bê xuống   đất[43]
3p discard child doll   down to earth
'She threw the doll down on the floor'.

(87) ông thư-ký ấn   vào túi   áo   cả sấp tiền[44]
secretary thrust into pocket tunic all wad money
'The clerk shoved the whole wad of banknotes into his
    coat pocket'.

(88) nó   ấn   ngón   tay lên vết thương[45]
3p thrust finger hand up to   wound
'He pressed his finger on the wound'.

(89) Phong giúi một bài thơ vào tay nàng
Phong thrust one poem into hand she
'Phong thrust a poem into her hand'.

(90) Phong góp   mặt vào việc đó
Phong donate face into matter that
'Phong took a hand in that matter'.

(91) xin cho chim góp nhạc về   trời[46]
please give bird donate music back to sky
'Please let the birds bring music back to the sky'.

(92) chị phải đổ   gạo vào bao trước khi đi chợ
you must pour rice into bag before time go market
'You (older sister) have to pour the rice into a sack be-
fore you go to the market'.

(93) họ   tát nước ao nước mương vô ruộng bằng gàu[47]
they scoop water pond water ditch into field by bucket
'They scoop water from ponds and ditches into the rice
    field by means of buckets'.

[43]Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966: 563.

[44]Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1976: 19.

[45]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 45.

[46]From the song Xin Cho Tôi (1966) by Trịnh-Công-Sơn.

[47]Jones and Thong, 1960: 221.

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

(94) nó   vứt   giấy   từ   xe   đò[48]

   3p discard paper from   bus

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

3.3.2. *Put-in-type Verbs.*

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

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

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

---

[48]Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

[49]Cf. sentence 17 above.

(95) *Lan   đút   đầu   qua   cửa-sổ   và nhìn   vào   mặt   em*
Lan insert head across window and look into face young sib
'Lan put her head in the window and looked at her sister'.

(96) *Lan   đút   đầu   ra   khỏi   cửa-sổ*
Lan insert head out   out of   window
'Lan stuck her head out the window'.

(97) *Lan   đút   đầu   /   bức thơ   đó   từ cửa-sổ*
Lan insert head   /   letter   that   from window
'Lan put her head / the letter out the window'.

(98) *họ   xen   một   điều-khoản   vào   giao-kèo*[50]
they insert one   condition   into   contract
'They inserted a clause into the agreement'.

(99) *Lan nhét quần áo   vào va-li   rồi   đi*
Lan cram clothes   into valise and then go
'Lan stuffed her clothes into a suitcase and left'.

(100) *nó   thọc   tay   vào   cửa-sổ*
3p thrust hand   into   window
'He thrust his hand in through the window'.

(101) *nó   thọc   gậy   trong   bùn*
3p thrust stick   inside   mud
'He thrust a stick into the mud'.

(102) *tôi muốn   đăng   một   bài   vào   tờ   báo*
I   want publish one   text into sheet newspaper
'I want to publish an article in the newspaper'.

(103) *Lan nhúng   áo   vào   thuốc   nhuộm*
Lan dip tunic   into   drug   dye
'Lan dipped her blouse in the dye

rồi   lấy   ra phơi trên   dây
and then take out dry   top   line
and then took it out to dry on the line'.

---

(104) *Quý   lúc   nào   cũng nhúng tay vào việc quan-trọng*
Quy moment which also   dip hand into matter important
'Quy always has a hand in the important matters'.

(105) *tôi được họ   kể   trong số   ngững hội-viên*
I get they count inside number plural   member
'I am fortunate to be counted as a member by them'.

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

(106) *đứng   kể   tôi vào*[51]
don't count   I   in
'Don't count me in'.

(107) *nó   đâm dao-găm vào   tim kẻ-thù*[52]
3p stab dagger   into heart enemy
'He thrust a dagger into his enemy's heart'.

(108) *Phong đóng đinh vào   tường*
Phong drive nail into   wall
'Phong is driving nails into the wall'.

3.3.3. *Put-on-type Verbs.*

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

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

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

---

[51]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 515.

[52]Ibid., 323.

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

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

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

chĩa	'point (gun)'
xoay	'turn (on axis), direct'
chiếu	'shine, project'

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

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

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

---

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

(111) ông ấy chép vào sổ những việc đã xẩy ra[54]
      he   write onto record (pl.) matter (past) happen out
      'He recorded the things that had happened'.

(112) họ vẽ   cành đào vào   tờ   giấy bùa[55]
      they draw branch peach onto sheet paper amulet
      'They draw a peach branch on a (paper) amulet'.

(113) người ta cũng treo vào   cành đào
      people   also hang onto branch peach

                         một tờ   giấy bùa[56]
                         one sheet paper amulet
      'They also hang an amulet onto the peach branch'.

(114) nó dán mũi vào   cửa kính[57]
      3p stick nose onto window glass
      'She pressed her nose against the shop window'.

(115) tổng-thống gắn huy-chương
      president pin medal

                         vào ngực áo   người phi-công[58]
                         onto chest tunic person pilot
      'The President pinned the medal on the pilot's breast'.

(116) cô ấy áp   giấy vào   kiếng với bàn tay
      she press paper onto glass with hand
      'She pressed the paper on the glass with her hand'.

(117) Lan thoa dầu vào   tay và chân rồi   nằm nghỉ
      Lan rub oil onto arm and leg and then lie rest
      'Lan rubbed oil onto her arms and legs, then lay down to rest'.

---

[54]Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 216.

[55]Thompson, 1965: 233.

[56]Idem.

[57]Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966: 85.

[58]Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.

(118) họ   phải   trét   đất sét   vào   kẽ   gạch
      they must smear   clay   onto   crack brick
      'They have to spread clay over the crack in the wall'.

(119) khi   đó ngừời   lính   sẽ chĩa súng vào   vật   gì
      time that person soldier will aim gun onto object what
      'At that time, the soldiers will aim at something'.

(120) kia!   bạn   xoay   vòi   nứớc   vào   đám cháy   đi
      there friend turn spout water onto group burn (imper.)
      'Hey! Turn the water on the fire!'

(121) ngừời cảnh-sát chiểu đèn   vào   mặt thằng đó
      person police shine light onto face   guy   that
      'The police flashed the light in his face'.

4. *Summary*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

REFERENCES

Cadière, L., 1958. *Syntaxe de la langue viêtnamienne*. Paris,
   Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Clark, Marybeth, 1972. Some Possible Grammatical Areal Fea-
   tures in Southeast Asian Languages. Paper presented at
   Southern Illinois University, Department of Linguistics and
   Center for Vietnamese Studies, August 22, 1972.

Clark, Marybeth, forthcoming. Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese.
   Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No. 48. Canberra, The Aus-
   tralian National University.

Đào-Đăng-Vỹ, 1964. *Việt-Pháp Từ-Điển* (Vietnamese-French Dic-
   tionary). Saigon, Nha-Sach Khai-Tri.

DeGuzman, Videa P., 1976. *Syntactic Derivation of Tagalog
   Verbs*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of
   Hawaii.

Fillmore, Charles J., 1968. The Case for Case, in *Universals
   in Linguistic Theory*, edited by E. Bach and R.T. Harms. New
   York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1-88.

Gradin, Dwight, 1970a. Preliminary Report on Word Affixation
   in Jeh. Unpublished typescript (NSF Project).

Gradin, Dwight, 1970b. Preliminary Report on the Verb in Jeh.
   Unpublished typescript (NSF Project).

Henderson, E.J.A., 1965. The Topography of Certain Phonetic
   and Morphological Characteristics of Southeast Asian Lan-
   guages, in *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies, II*, edited by
   G.B. Milner and E.J.A. Henderson. Amsterdam, North-Holland
   Publishing Co., 400-34.

Huffman, Franklin E., 1970. *Modern Spoken Cambodian*. New
   Haven, Yale University Press.

Huffman, Franklin E., 1973. Thai and Cambodian---A Case of
   Syntactic Borrowing?, in *JAOS*, 93.4: 488-509.

Kullavanijaya, Pranee, 1974. *Transitive Verbs in Thai*. Unpub-
   lished doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii.

Jones, Robert B., Jr., and Hùynh Sanh Thong, 1960. *Introduc-
   tion to Spoken Vietnamese* (revised edition). Washington,
   D.C., American Council of Learned Societies.

Lê Văn Hùng, 1955. *Vietnamese English Dictionary*. Paris, Edi-
   tions Europe-Asie.

Lê-Văn-Lý, 1960. *Le parler vietnamien*. Saigon, Vien Khao-Co
   (Publications de l'Institut de Recherches Historiques).

Lê-Văn-Lý, 1968. *Sơ Thảo Ngữ Pháp Việt Nam* (Outline Grammar of
   Vietnamese). Saigon, Bo Giao-Duc Trung-Tam Hoc-Lieu.

Li, Paul Jen-kuei, 1973. *Rukai Structure*. Taipei, Academia

38

Sinica Special Publications No. 64.

Liêm, Nguyễn Đăng, 1976. Cases and Clauses in Vietnamese, in *Austroasiatic Studies*, edited by Philip N. Jenner, Laurence C. Thompson and Stanley Starosta. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 13. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii, 773-99.

Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1966. *Vietnamese-English Dictionary*. Tokyo and Rutland, Charles E. Tuttle.

Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1972. Vietnamese Categories of Result, Direction, and Orientation, in *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager*, edited by M. Estellie Smith. The Hague, Mouton, 395-412.

Nguyễn Đình-Hoà, 1976. Ditransitive Verbs in Vietnamese, in *Austroasiatic Studies*, edited by Philip N. Jenner, Laurence C. Thompson and Stanley Starosta. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 13. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii, 919-49.

Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966. *Việt-Anh Tự-Điển* (Vietnamese-English Dictionary). Saigon, Nha-Sach Khai-Tri.

Platt, John T., 1971. *Grammatical Form and Grammatical Meaning*. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Co.

Ramos, Teresita V., 1973. *The Case System of Tagalog Verbs*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii.

Shum, Shu-ying, 1965. *A Transformational Study of Vietnamese Syntax*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University.

Smith, Kenneth, 1969. Sedang Affixation, in *Mon-Khmer Studies III*, edited by David Thomas. Saigon, Linguistic Circle of Saigon and Summer Institute of Linguistics, Publication No. 4, 108-29.

Taylor, Harvey M., 1971. *Case in Japanese*. South Orange, N.J., Seton Hall University Press.

Teng Shou-Hsin, 1972. *A Semantic Study of Transitivity Relations in Chinese*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Thomas, David D., 1971. *Chrau Grammar*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 7. Honolulu, The University of Hawaii Press.

Thomas, Dorothy M., 1969. Chrau Affixes, in *Mon-Khmer Studies III*, edited by David Thomas. Saigon, Linguistic Circle of Saigon and Summer Institute of Linguistics, Publication No. 4, 90-107.

Thompson, Laurence C., 1965. *A Vietnamese Grammar*. Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Trần Trọng Kim, Bùi Kỷ, and Phạm Duy Khiêm, 1960. *Việt Nam Văn-Phạm* (Vietnamese Grammar). Saigon, Nha Xuat-Ban Tan Viet.