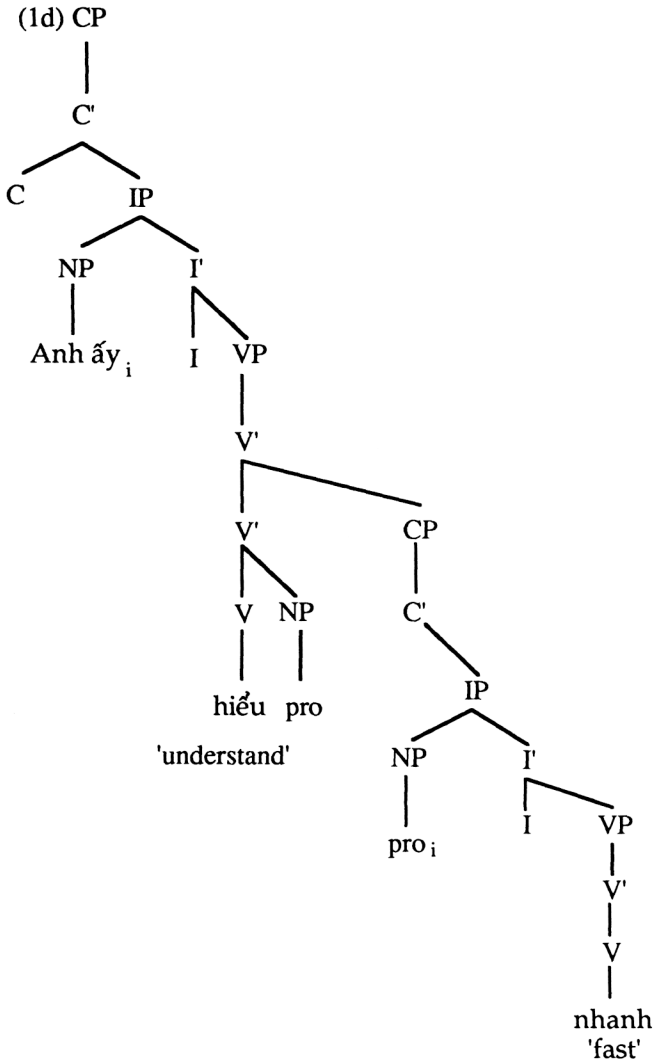


In (1c) the verb *hiếu* 'to understand' is a transitive verb, and the non-overt object of this verb is *pro*, which is governed by the verb *hiếu*. In the infinitival clause the non-overt subject is PRO, which is controlled by the overt subject of the main clause. This non-overt subject PRO is not governed by I(nflection), which is empty in the infinitival clause in Vietnamese. The infinitival clause is an adjunct of the main clause. The structure of this sentence is shown in (1d).



The sentence in (2) has only one basic state verb in one clause.

- (2) Tôi ốm.
 I sick
 “I am sick.”

In (2a) there are two verbs occurring together.

- (2a) Tôi ngủ ốm hai ngày.
 I rest sick two day
 NP VP VP NP
 “I’ve rested (because I was) sick for two days.”

In (2a) the verb *ngủ* ‘to rest’ is an intransitive verb. The non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is PRO, which is controlled by the overt NP subject of the main clause. This sentence is subject controlled. The infinitival clause is the adjunct of the main clause as in (2b).

- (2b) Tôi_i ngủ [CP [IP PRO_i ốm hai ngày.]]
 I rest sick two day
 NP VP VP NP
 “I’ve rested (because I was) sick for two days.”

- (3) Lan chăm chỉ.
 Lan diligent
 “Lan is diligent.”

In (3a) there are two verbs occurring together which have a derived preposition *về* ‘to return/ back’ which need to be observed.

- (3a) Lan chăm chỉ viết thư về nhà.
 Lan diligent write letter return home
 NP VP VP NP P NP
 “Lan is diligent to write letters back home.”

(3a) has the same structure as (2a). *chăm chỉ* ‘diligent’ is an intransitive verb. The non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is PRO, which is controlled by the overt NP subject of the main clause. This sentence is subject controlled. In (3b) the infinitival clause is an adjunct of the main clause.

- (3b) Lan_i chăm chỉ [CP [IP PRO_i viết thư về nhà.]]
 Lan diligent write letter return home
 NP VP VP NP NP P NP
 Agt Agt Pat Des
 “Lan is diligent to write letters back home.”

về ‘to return, back’ is not claimed to be a verb because it cannot be preceded by a negative or an auxiliary to the verb as in (3c). Therefore it is claimed as a preposition which is the head of the PP: P *về* ‘back’ + NP *nhà*.

- (3c) Lan ; chăm chỉ [CP [IP PRO ; viết thư
 Lan diligent write letter
 NP VP VP NP
 Agt Agt Pat

*không/*sẽ về nhà.]]
 not will return home
 NEG AUX P NP

Des

“Lan is diligent to write letters *not/*will back home.”

- (4) Lan là cô giáo.
 Lan be teacher
 NP VP NP
 “Lan is a teacher.”

- (4b) Lan là một giáo viên tiếng Anh có kinh nghiệm.
 Lan be one teacher language English has experience
 NP VP NP NP VP NP
 “Lan is a teacher of English (who) has experience.”

In (4b) there are two possible ways to justify status as a verb as in (4c) and (4d). In (4c) the non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is controlled by the overt-subject of the main clause.

- (4c) Lan ; là một giáo viên tiếng Anh
 Lan be one teacher language English
 NP VP NP NP
 [CP [IP PRO ; có kinh nghiệm.]]
 has experience
 VP NP
 “Lan is a teacher of English (who) has experience.”

Another possibility is that PRO is controlled by the overt object of the main clause which refers equally to the overt subject of the main clause. The infinitival clause is the adjunct of the main clause as in (4d).

- (4d) Lan ; là một giáo viên tiếng Anh ;
 Lan be one teacher language English
 NP VP NP
 [CP [IP PRO ; có kinh nghiệm.]]
 has experience
 VP NP
 “Lan is a teacher of English (who) has experience.”

Goral (1986: 292-293) calls this kind of verb an adjectival verb which is equivalent to the basic state verb in this study.

- (5) Ông trễ.
 you late
 “You are late.”
- (5a) Ông đến trễ.
 you arrive late
 “You arrived late.”
- (6) Tran đau tiếp tục.
 clf battle continue
 NP VP
 “The battle is going on.”

In (6) the verb *tiếp tục* ‘continue’ is an intransitive verb.

- (6a) Tôi nghỉ một lát lại tiếp tục làm.
 I rest one moment again continue do
 NP VP NP AdvP VP VP
 “I rest a moment then continue to do it.”

In (6a) there are three verbs in the sentence which can be analysed as in (6b).

- (6b) Tôi_i nghỉ một lát [_{CP} [_{IP} PRO_i lại tiếp tục]]
 I rest one moment again continue do
 NP VP NP AdvP VP
 Agt Agt
- [_{CP} [_{IP} PRO_i làm *pro*]].
 VP
 Agt Pat
 “I rest a moment then continue to do it again.”

In (6b) there is one main clause and two infinitival clauses. The non-overt subjects of the infinitival clauses are PROs which are controlled by the overt subject of the main clause. The non-overt object of the verb *làm* ‘to do’ is *pro*, which is governed by the verb *làm*. The third clause is the complement of the second clause, whereas the second clause is an adjunct of the main clause.

- (7) Tôi đi chợ.
 I go market
 “I go to the market.”
- (7a) Chúng ta đưa con đi chơi công viên.
 we bring child go play park
 NP VP NP VP NP
 “We take a child and go for a walk in the park.”

In (7a) there are two verbs in the sentence, as shown in (7b).

- (7b) Chúng ta đưa con [CP [IP PRO_i đi chơi công viên]].
 we bring child go play park
 NP VP NP VP NP
 Agt Pat Agt Loc
 “We take a child and go for a walk in the park.”

In (7b) the non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is controlled by the overt subject of the main clause. The second clause is the complement of the first clause.

- (8) Họ hét âm lên.
 they scream noise up
 NP VP NP P
 “They screamed very noisily.”

- (8a) Chị ấy gọi như hét vào tai.
 eld sis that call as scream into ear
 NP VP A VP P NP
 “She calls like (she is) screaming into one’s ear.”

In (8a) there are two verbs, as shown in (8b).

- (8b) [CP [IP Chị ấy gọi *pro* như
 eld sis that call as
 NP VP A
 Agt Pat
 [CP [IP PRO_i hét vào tai.]]]
 scream into ear
 VP P NP
 Agt Des
 “She calls like (she is) screaming into one’s ear.”

In (8b) the verb ‘to call’ is a transitive verb which has as its complement the non-overt object *pro*. It is governed by the verb *gọi*, whereas the non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is PRO, which is controlled by the overt subject of the main clause. The second clause is the complement of the main clause. *vào* ‘enter, into’ is claimed to be a preposition, not a verb, because it cannot be negated or preceded by an adverb as a verb can be.

- (9) Nước mắt lan trên go ma.
 water eye roll on knoll cheek
 NP VP P NP
 “The tears rolled down her cheeks.”

- (9a) Bà nga lan ra đất.
 grandmo fall down roll out / exit ground
 NP VP VP P NP
 “Grandmother fell down and rolled on the ground.”

In (9a) there are two verbs in the sentence. The non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is controlled by the overt subject of the main clause, as shown in (9b).

- (9b) Bà nga [CP [IP PRO_i lan ra đất]].
 grandmo fall down roll out ground
 NP VP VP P NP
 “Grandmother fell down and rolled on the ground.”

In (9b) *ra* ‘out / exit’ is not a verb because it cannot be preceded by a negative or an adverb. It is a derived preposition which is the head of the PP.

Goral (1986:376) analyses derived prepositions as directional verbs, e.g. *nhìn ra* [lit: look (at) exit] ‘to recognize’, but I analyse this kind of verb as a coverb.

- (10) Tôi nghe đài.
 I listen radio
 NP VP NP
 “I listen to the radio.”

- (10a) Chú ý nghe tôi giảng lại.
 pay attention listen I explain again
 VP VP NP VP Adv
 “Pay attention and listen to my explanation again.”

In (10a) there are three verbs in the sentence. There are non-overt subjects of the main and the second clauses which are PRO. Because Vietnamese is not an inflectional language like Italian or Spanish, therefore *pro* is not used in these positions because these empty elements have no definite reference to a verbal inflection. The non-overt object of the verb *giảng* ‘to explain’ in the third clause is *pro* which is governed by the verb *giảng*. The third clause is the adjunct of the second clause, whereas the second one is the complement of the first clause, as in (10b).

- (10b) [CP [IP PRO Chú ý] [CP [IP PRO nghe tôi_i]]
 pay attention listen I
 VP VP NP

 [CP [IP PRO_i giảng *pro* lại]].
 explain again
 VP Adv
 “Pay attention and listen to my explanation again.”

Goral (1986:436-7) sets up criteria for considering a verb concatenation as a single verb: if verbs are separated by unambiguous clause or sentence boundaries, then they do not belong to a single concatenation. But my study permits boundaries between clauses in one sentence, such as the complement or the complementizer (e.g. *để* ‘for’). These internal boundaries do not affect my criteria because there is

related reference within each sentence. Since verbs are considered a sequence because there are both non-overt subjects and non-overt objects in the main and infinitival clauses. The non-overt subject is referred to as PRO, the non-overt object is referred to as *pro*.

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