ABSTRACT
          In this analysis of cases and clauses in Vietnamese,
an attempt is made to make use of tagmemics and a case grammar model
called lexicase. Such an eclectic combination of the two theories is
not new either in the field of general linguistics or in Vietnamese.
This paper recognizes the hierarchical levels in syntax and the
grammatical unit or tagmeme as composed of a slot and a filler class;
it recognizes the case relations between various nouns and the
predicative verb in the clause; and it also recognizes the centrality
of the verb. Lexicase introduces both overt case realizations and
covert case relations into the grammar as syntactic features assigned
to nouns by verbs. The data presented here include: 12 covert case
relations in Vietnamese; 11 overt case realizations; a
two-dimensional matrix yielding 25 possible combinations of covert
case relations and overt case realizations (25 tagmemic slots); 14
verb groupings classed according to their hospitality to case-marked
tagmemic slots; five clause types classed according to their
identificational-contrastive features such as the nuclear tagmemic
slots; 13 clause classes; and a bi-dimensional matrix of the clause
types and the clause classes giving 64 possibilities or clause units,
of which only 51 are grammatical in Vietnamese. The intention is to
present the data rather than to defend the linguistic models used.
(Author)

CASES AND CLAUSES IN VIETNAMESE

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0. Introduction

In this analysis of Cases and Clauses in Vietnamese, an attempt will be

made to make use of tagmemics (Brend 1970, 1972a, and 1972b, Cook 1969,

Longacre 1964, Pike 1954, 1955, 1960, 1966, and 1971) and a case grammar

model (Fillmore 1968, 1969, and 1971) called lexicase (Manley 1972, Starosta

1971a, 1971b, 1972a, 1972b, and 1972c, Taylor 1972). Such an eclectic

combination of the two theories is not new either in the field of general

linguistics (Cook 1970, 1971a, 1971b, and 1972, Heidi Platt 1970, John T.

Platt 1971) or in Vietnamese (Liem 1971a, 1971b, and 1972). Case grammar

studies on Vietnamese can be found in Clark 1971a and 1971b, Ha 1970,

Manley 1969, Taylor 1968, and Tran 1971, and a tagmemic analysis of Vietnamese

can be seen in Liem 1969.

In that this paper is tagmemically oriented, it recognizes firstly

the hierarchical levels in syntax and secondly the grammatical unit or

tagmeme ss composed of a slot and a filler class.

The concept of hierarchies in syntax makes it possible to single out

and, bu the same token, unnecessary to write phrase structure rules (Chomsky 1965)

in this paper. The grammatical slot of the tagmeme at the clause level has been pointed

out by Becker (Becker 1967a and 1967b), Fries (Fries 1970), and Young,

Becker, and Pike (Young, Becker, and Pike 1970) as having not only the

overt syntactic relationships (case realizations) but also the covert

meaning relationships (case relations) with the predicative verb.

In that this paper is also case grammar oriented, it recognizes the

the case relations between various nouns and the predicative verb in the

clause (or proposition in Fillmore's terminology). However, it also recognizes
the centrality of the verb
(Chafe 1970). The type of case grammar called lexicase by its developer,

Stanley Starosta, as utilized here introduces both overt case realizations

and covert case relations into the grammar as syntactic features assigned

to nouns by verbs (Starosta 1971a, 1971b, 1972a, and 1972b).

Because this paper intends to present data rather than to defend the

linguistic models utilized, theoretical discussions will be kept to their

absolute minimum. The reader is also referred to Vietnamese linguistic

bibliographies in Thompson 1965, and Thompson and Thomas 1966.

1. Cases

In Vietnamese, there seem to be twelve case relations whose definitions

are taken from Fillmore 1968, 1969, and 1971 whenever necessary:

The AGENTIVE (AGT) case: the AGT actant as the "instigator of the event".

The OBJECTIVE (OBJ) case: the OBJ actant is the "most neutral" actant.

The DATIVE (DAT) case: the case of the "animated being affected by the

state of, or experiencing the action of the verb".

The BENEFACTIVE (BEN) case: the BEN actant receives the benefit of the

action identified by the verb.

The COMITATIVE (COM) case: the COM actant accompanies another actant

in the verbal activity or state described.

The INSTRUMENTAL (INS) case.

The LOCATIVE (LOC) case: The LOC actant indicates the location.

The DIRECTIONAL (DIR) case: the DIR actant indicates the direction

toward which motion occurs.

The TIME (TIM) case: the TIM actant identifies the time-setting of the

action or state identified by the verb.

The SOURCE (SRC) case: the SRC actant indicates the location or time

from which action has begun.

The GOAL (GOAL) case: the GOAL actant indicates the location or time

toward which action occurs.

The EXTENT (EXT) case: the EXT actant indicates the space or time

through which action or state identified by the verb has occurred.

Out of the twelve cases, only the AGENTIVE and OBJECTIVE cases are nuclear

in the clause, the DATIVE, BENEFACTIVE, and INSTRUMENTAL cases are semi-nuclear

in the sense that they can be hosted only by certain verb

classes, and the rest of the cases, COMITATIVE, LOCATIVE, DIRECTIONAL,

TIME, SOURCE, GOAL, and EXTANT are satellite in that they occur with most

verbs except those otherwise marked.

The twelve covert case relations are pigeon-holed in eleven overt case

realizations of which some are marked by their positions vis-a-vis the verb,

and some are marked by prepositions. The case realizations are:

NM   Nominative position immediately preceding the verb, no

            prepositions.

O   Objective position immediately following the verb, no

            prepositions.

D   Dative realization with preposition cho. (This prepo-

            sition and all the following ones except vói and bàng are

            co-verbs. For discussion and examples, see Thompson

            1965:230-234).

I   Instrumental realization with preposition bàng.

B   Benefactive realization with prepositions giùm or hộ.

C   Comitative realization with preposition vói.

L   Locative realization with preposition ở.

Di   Directional realization with prepositions such as lên, xuống,

    qua, lại, etc.

SR   Source realization with preposition từ.

GL   Goal realization with prepositions tới or đến.

EX   Extent realization with preposition được.

The twelve covert case relations and the eleven overt case realizations

can be charted in a two-dimensional matrix yielding twenty five possibilities

as in Chart I below:

CHART I

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		NM	O	D	B	C	I	L	Di	SR	GL	EX
1	AGT	1										
2	OBJ	2	6									
3	DAT	3	7	15								
4	BEN		8	16	17							
5	COM					18						
6	INS	4	9				19					
7	LOC	5	10					20				
8	DIR		11						22			
9	TIM		12									
10	SRC							21		23		
11	GOAL		13								24	
12	EXT	.	14									25

The twenty five possible combinations of covert case relations and overt
case realizations can be arrived at by applying case-related redundancy rules
which are not specified here but which can be drawn from the following Chart II.

CHART II

-O
-NM
+K
-D
+D
+O
-OBJ
+OBJ
-DAT
+DAT
-BEN
+BEN
-INS
+INS
-LOC
+LOC
-DIR
+DIR
-TIM
+TIM
-GOAL
+GOAL
+EXT
-B
+B
-C
+C
-DAT
+DAT
+BEN
-I
+I
-L
+L
-SRC
+SRC
-D1
+D1
-SR
+SR
-GL
+GL
-EX
+EX
+AGT
-AGT
-OBJ
+OBJ
-DAT
+DAT
-INS
+INS
+LOC

[+NM +AGT]   1
[+NM +OBJ]   2
[+NM +DAT]   3
[+NM +INS]   4
[+NM +LOC]   5
[+O +OBJ]   6
[+O +DAT]   7
[+O +BEN]   8
[+O +INS]   9
[+O +LOC]   10
[+O +DIR]   11
[+O +TIM]   12
[+O +GOAL]   13
[+O +EXT]   14
[+D +DAT]   15
[+D +BEN]   16
[+B +BEN]   17
[+C +COM]   18
[+I +INS]   19
[+L +SRC]   20
[+L +LOC]   21
[+D1 +DIR]   22
[+SR +SRC]   23
[+GL +GOAL]   24
[+EX +EXT]   25
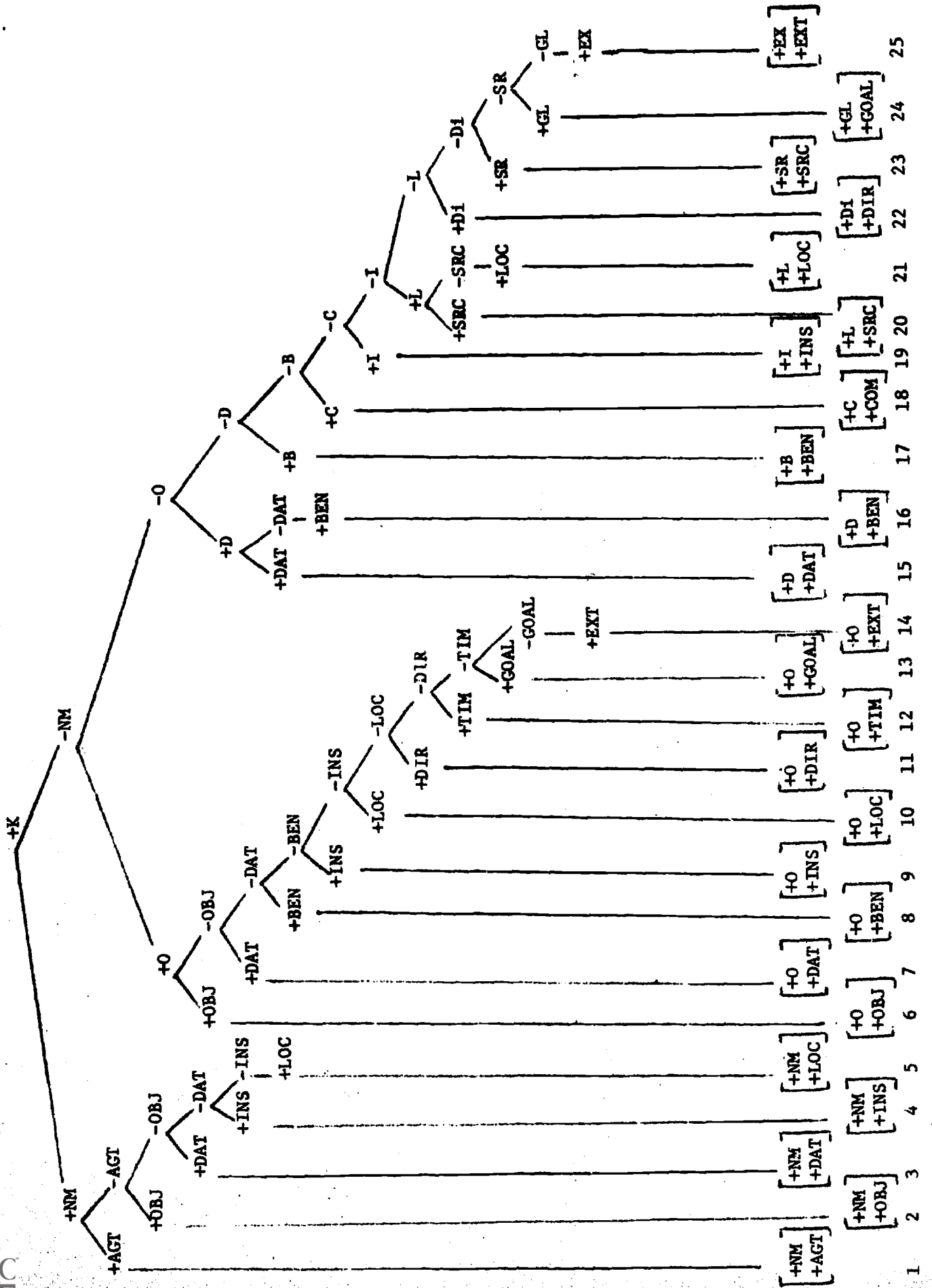
Chart II begins with [+K] for case positivity and ends with the twenty five tagmemic slots (covert case relations and overt case realizations) already stated in Chart I in another way. Following are examples of the tagmemic slots, whereas their filler classes will be discussed along with the classification of verbs in Vietnamese:

1. [+NM, +AGT] is hosted by transitive agentive (i.e. -submissive, and -dative) verbs.

    1.   Ông ấy   mua   báo.
            he   bought newspapers.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

2. [+NM, +OBJ] is hosted by copulative, stative, and intransitive verbs.

    2.1.   Ông ấy   là   bác-sĩ.
             he   is   a doctor.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad [-K]$$

    2.2a.   Ông ấy   chậm   lắm.
              he   is slow   very. (he is very slow)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{(Adverb)}$$

    2.2b.   Ông ấy   lạnh   lắm.
              he   is cold   very. (he is very cold)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{(Adverb)}$$

    2.2c.   Ông ấy   chết.
             he   died.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

    2.3a.   Ông ấy   ở   Saigon.
             he   stays in Saigon.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix}$$

    2.3b.   Ông ấy   ra   Saigon.
            he went out to Saigon.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix}$$

    2.3c.   Ông ấy   đi   Saigon.
             he   went to Saigon.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix}$$

2.3d. Ông ấy tới Saigon.
        he arrived in Saigon.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +GOAL \end{bmatrix}$

3. [+NM, +DAT] is hosted by transitive submissive (bị and được) and

    transitive dative verbs.

3.1a. Ông ấy bị đi.
        he was forced to go.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

3.1b. Ông ấy bị họ đánh.
        he was forced they beat (he was beaten by them)
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

3.2a. Ông ấy biết bà ấy.
        he knows her.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

3.2b. Ông ấy biết (rằng) bà ấy đi rồi.
        he knew (that) she had gone already.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

3.2c. Ông ấy muốn (rằng) bà ấy đi rồi.
        he wanted (that) she went already.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

3.2d. Ông ấy muốn (cho) bà ấy đi rồi.
        he wished (that) she had gone already.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

4. [+NM, +INS] is hosted by transitive agentive and intransitive verbs.

4.1. Dao này cắt thịt.
       knife this cuts meat. (this knife cuts meat)
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +INS \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

    It is noted here that only "potent" nouns can occur in the [+NM, +INS]
    slot.

4.2. Xe này đi Saigon.
       vehicle this goes to Saigon. (This vehicle goes to Saigon)
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +INS \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix}$

5. [+NM, +LOC] is hosted by stative verbs.

    5.   Phòng này lạnh.
           room   this is cold.   (this room is cold)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix}$$

    For a special class of nouns occurring in this slot, see
    Thompson 1965:200–203 who calls them "relator nouns" while
    Starosta calls similar nouns in Sora "Noun auxiliaries" (Starosta 1967).

6. [+O, +OBJ] is hosted by transitive verbs.

    6.1.   Ông ấy   mua sách.
             he   bought books.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

    6.2.   Ông ấy   biết chuyện ấy.
             he   knows story that.   (he knows that story)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

7. [+O, +DAT] is hosted by ditransitive dative verbs.

    7.   Ông ấy   bán tôi sách.
           he   sold me   books

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

8. [+O, +BEN] is hosted by ditransitive benefactive verbs. It is noted
that is construction is always ambigious, and therefore is usually
avoided.

    8.   Ông ấy   mua tôi sách.
           he   bought me   books.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +BEN \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$$

9. [+C, +INS] is hosted by transitive or intransitive verbs. (Perhaps, there
are only _special_ transitive verbs that can host [+O, +INS].)

    9.1.   Ông ấy   dùng dao.
             he   used knives.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +INS \end{bmatrix}$$

    9.2.   Ông ấy   đi xe đò.
             he   went by bus.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +INS \end{bmatrix}$$

10. [+O, +LOC] is hosted by intransitive locative verbs.

    10. Ông ấy ở Saigon.
         he stays in Saigon. (same as example 2.3a.)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix}$$

11. [+O, +DIR] is hosted by intransitive directional verbs.

    11.1. Ông ấy ra Saigon.
         he went out to Saigon.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{(same as example 2.3b.)}$$

    11.2. Ông ấy đi Saigon.
         he went to Saigon.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{(same as example 2.3c.)}$$

12. [+O, +TIM] is hosted by any verb, thus may be considered as being

a sentence tagmemic slot and consequently is not a case.

    12. Ông ấy đi hôm qua.
         he went yesterday.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +TIM \end{bmatrix}$$

13. [+O, +GOAL] is hosted by intransitive +goal verbs.

    13. Ông ấy tới Saigon.
         he arrived in Saigon.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +GOAL \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{(same as example 2.3d.)}$$

14. [+O, +EXT] is hosted by any verb except those marked otherwise.

    14.1. Ông ấy đi hai ngày.
         he went for two days.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +EXT \end{bmatrix}$$

    14.2. Ông ấy đi hai dặm.
         he went for two miles.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +EXT \end{bmatrix}$$

15. [+D, +DAT] is hosted by transitive agentive verbs.

    15. Ông ấy bán sách cho tôi.
         he sold books to me.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +D \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$$

16. [+D, +BEN] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs. (It is an ambiguous construction because [+D] can be either [+BEN] or [+DAT].)

16.1. Ông ấy   mua   sách   cho tôi.
       he   bought books for me.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +D \\ +BEN \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +D \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$$

16.2. Ông ấy   đi   cho tôi.
       he   went for me.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +D \\ +BEN \end{bmatrix}$$

17. [+B, +BEN] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs.

17.1. Ông ấy   mua   sách   giùm tôi.
       he   bought books for me.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +B \\ +BEN \end{bmatrix}$$

17.2. Ông ấy   đi   giùm tôi.
       he   went for me.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +B \\ +BEN \end{bmatrix}$$

18. [+C, +COM] is hosted by any verb except those marked otherwise.

18.1. Ông ấy   mua   sách   với tôi.
       he   bought books with me.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +C \\ +COM \end{bmatrix}$$

18.2. Ông ấy   đi   với tôi.
       he   went with me.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +C \\ +COM \end{bmatrix}$$

19. [+I, +INS] is hosted by transitive, intransitive, and some stative

verbs such as chết 'to die'.

19.1. Ông ấy   mua   sách   bằng tiền Việt-Nam.
       he   bought books by means of Vietnamese money.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +INS \end{bmatrix}$$

19.2. Ông ấy   đi   bằng xe đò.
       he   went by   bus.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +INS \end{bmatrix}$$

20. [+L, +SRC] is hosted by intransitive verbs, and could be thought of

as [+L, +LOC] or even as [+0, +LOC]

if ở 'to stay' in the following example were considered as the main

verb of the clause.

20. Ông ấy   ở   Mỹ   qua.
     he stayed America came over   (he came over from America)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +L \\ +SRC \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +L \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix}$$

21. [+L, +LOC] is hosted by any verb except those otherwise marked.

21. Ông ấy   mua   sách   ở   Mỹ.
     he   bought books in America.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +L \\ +LOC \end{bmatrix}$$

22. [+D1, +DIR] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs.

22.1. Ông ấy   đem   sách   lên   Saigon.
       he   brought books up to Saigon.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +D1 \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix}$$

22.2. Ông ấy   đi   lên   Saigon.
       he went up to Saigon.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +D1 \\ +DIR \end{bmatrix}$$

23. [+SR, +SRC] is hosted by all verbs if it means a time source,

and by most verbs except those marked otherwise if it means a

place source.

23.1. Ông ấy   đi   từ   Mỹ.
       he   went from America.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +SR \\ +SRC \end{bmatrix}$$

23.2. Ông ấy   đi   từ   hôm qua.
       he   went since yesterday.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix} \qquad \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +SR \\ +SRC \end{bmatrix}$$

12

24. [+GL, +GOAL] is hosted by all verbs if it means a time goal,

and is hosted by most verbs except those marked otherwise if it means
a place goal.

24.1. Ông ấy đi tới hai giờ.
 he went till two o'clock.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +GL \\ +GOAL \end{bmatrix}$

24.2. Ông ấy đi tới Saigon.
 he went to (and arrived at) Saigon.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +GL \\ +GOAL \end{bmatrix}$

25. [+EX, +EXT] is hosted by all verbs if it means a time extent,

and is hosted by most verbs except those otherwise marked when it means
a place extent.

25.1. Ông ấy đi được hai giờ.
 he went for two hours.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +EX \\ +EXT \end{bmatrix}$

25.2. Ông ấy đi được hai dặm.
 he went for two miles.
$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +EX \\ +EXT \end{bmatrix}$

Theoretically, given a verb that is hospitable to all the tagmemic slots,
all the twenty five slots could appear in one single clause. However, because
what is already known in larger linguistic or situational contexts is not necessarily
repeated, only some of them occur in the same clause. When they co-occur in the same
clause, there seems to be a relative order of case realizations as follows,
with the ones on vertical lines being fluctuant among themselves:

+B
+L +NM +verb +O +I +C +SR +GL +EX
+D +Di

When there are many case realizations in a clause, one of them, and
usually the time case realization, is topicalized and moved to the front
position of the clause.

Any clause level slot, whether neclear such as the [+NM, +AGT], or
semi-nuclear such as the [+O, +DIR], or satellite such as the [+T, +TIM]

can be omitted when it is clearly understood in higher linguistic hierarchies than the clause itself. For example, the reply in this two-sentence conversation does not have its [+NM, +OBJ] because it is clearly understood:

```
Ông    đi    không?
you    go    no?    (are you going?)
+NM
+OBJ

       Đi.
       go. (yes, I am going)
```

2. Verbs

According to their hospitality to case-marked tagmemic slots, verbs in Vietnamese can be classified into fourteen groups as indicated in Chart III. The fourteen verbs representative of their classes will be listed below with their hospitable case-marked tagmemic slots. It is noted that all of the case-marked tagmemic slots, except the slot [+O, +OBJ] hosted by submissive verbs, are filled by noun phrases. When they can be filled by other than noun phrases, they will be so indicated below. Numbers will refer to the examples found earlier in this paper.

1. là 'be'

   [+[+NM,+OBJ]__[-K]]

   $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{noun phrase} \\ \text{verb phrase} \\ \text{clause} \\ \text{prepositional phrase} \end{array}\right\}$

   Example 2.1.

   ```
   Đi    là    chết.
   to go is    to die.
   ```
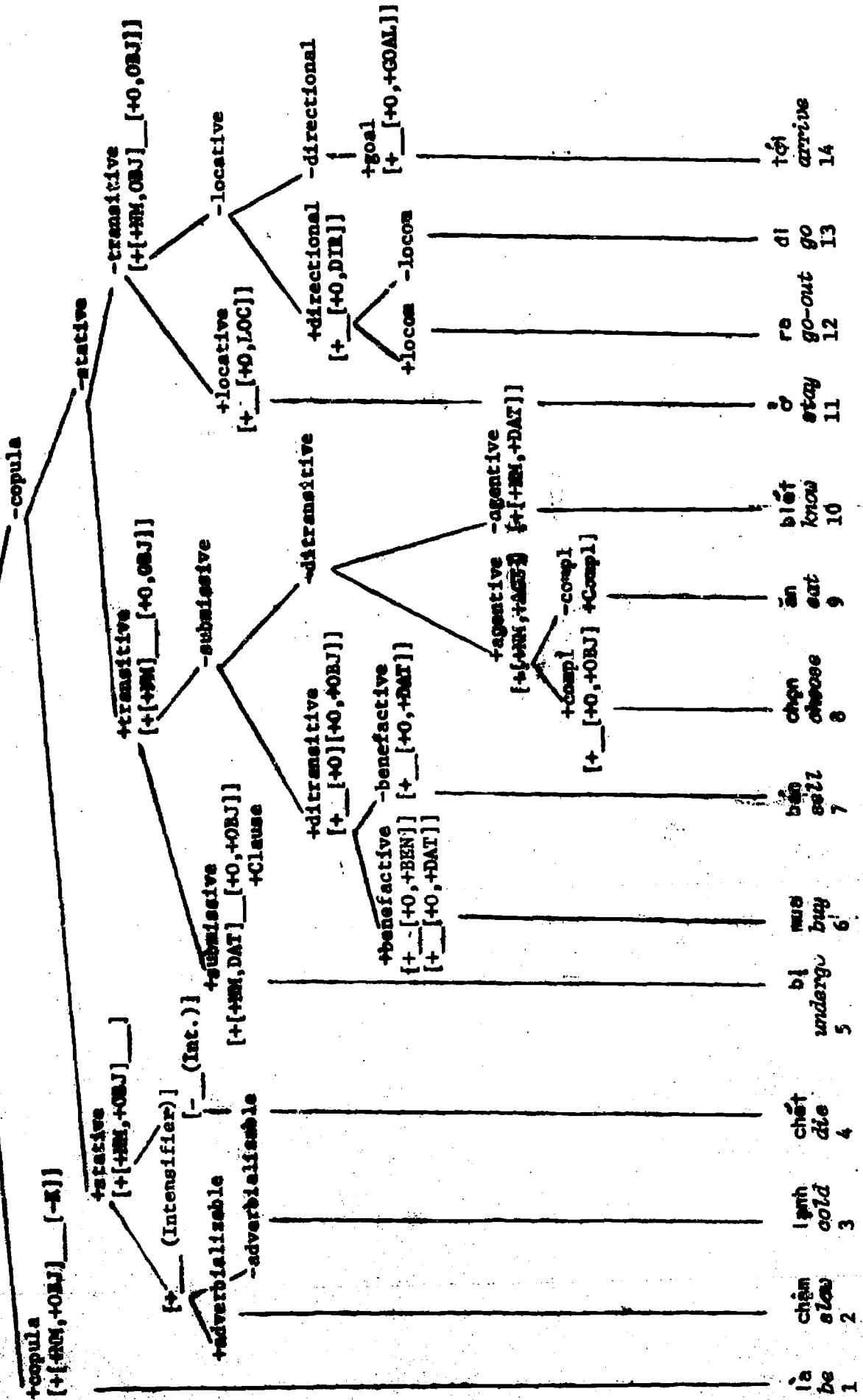
   ```
   Ông Ba    đi    là    phải.
   Mr. Ba's going is    right (the right thing)
   ```

   ```
   Từ đây đến đó là hai dặm.
   from here to there is two miles.
   ```

CHART III

+Verb

+copula
[+[+NM,+OBJ]__[-N]]

−copula

−stative

+stative
[+[+NM,+OBJ]__]

+transitive
[+[+NM,OBJ]__[+O,OBJ]]

−transitive
[+[+NM,OBJ]__]

+locative
[+__[+O,LOC]]

−locative

+directional
[+__[+O,DIR]]

−directional

+locom

−locom

+goal
[+__[+O,+GOAL]]

+transitive
[+[+NM]__[+O,OBJ]]

−subjective

+subjective
[+[+NM,DAT]__[+O,+OBJ]]
+Clause

(Intensifier)
[−__(Int.)]

+adverbialisable

−adverbialisable

+ditransitive
[+__[+O][+O,+OBJ]]

−ditransitive

+benefactive
[+__[+O,+BEN]]
[+__[+O,+DAT]]

−benefactive
[+__[+O,+DAT]]

+agentive
[+[+NM,+DAT]]

−agentive
[+[+NM,+DAT]]

+compl
[+__[+O,+OBJ] +Compl]

−compl
[+__[+O,+OBJ] +Compl]

1 là / be
2 chậm / slow
3 lạnh / cold
4 chết / die
5 bị / undergo
6 mua / buy
7 bán / sell
8 chọn / choose
9 ăn / eat
10 biết / know
11 ở / stay
12 ra / go-out
13 đi / go
14 tới / arrive

2. chậm 'slow', stative, adverbializable.

[+[+NM,+OBJ]___(Intensifier)] Example 2.2a.

Adverbializable as in:

Ông ấy đi chậm.
he went slowly.

3. lạnh 'cold', stative, not adverbializable.

[+[+NM,+OBJ]___(Intensifier)] Example 2.2b.

4. chết 'die', stative, cannot be followed by adverbs. (There are also reasons
to classify these verbs in the intransitive group).
[+[+NM,+OBJ]___]   Example 2.2c.

5. bị 'to be adversely affected', transitive submissive.

[+[+NM,+DAT]___[+O,+OBJ]]

{clause} Examples 3.1a and 3.1b.

6. mua 'buy', ditransitive, +BEN.

[+[+NM,+AGT]___[+O,+BEN] [+O,+OBJ]] Example 8.
        +DAT

7. bán 'sell', ditransitive, +DAT.

[+[+NM,+AGT]___[+O,+DAT] [+O,+OBJ]] Example 7.

8. chọn 'choose', transitive, ±complement.

[+[+NM,+AGT]___[+O,+OBJ] +complement] Example:

Ông ấy chọn bà ấy làm đại-diện.
he chose her to be representative
$\begin{bmatrix}+NM \\ +AGT\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}+O \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix}$ +complement

9. ăn 'eat', transitive, -complement.

[+[+NM,+AGT]___[+O,+OBJ]] Example: Ông ấy ăn thịt.
                        he eats meat.

10. biết 'know', transitive dative.

[+[+NM,+DAT]___[+O,+OBJ]]

{noun phr.} Example 3.2a.

{clause} Examples 3.2b, 3.2c, and 3.2d.

A sub-classification of this group of verb can be done according
                                can be
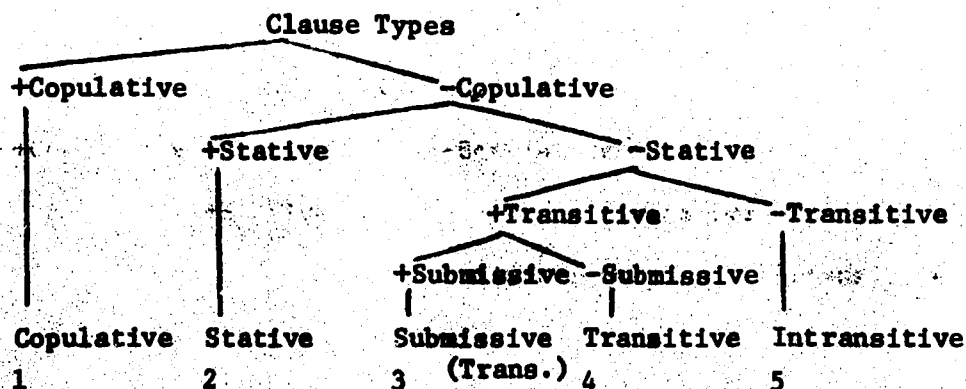to whether their objective clause   introduced by rằng 'that' as

is the case of _biết_ 'know' in example 3.2b or by either by _rằng_

'that' or _cho_ 'so that' as is the case of _muốn_ 'want' in examples

3.2c and 3.2d.

11. _ở_ 'stay at, live at, be at', intransitive, locational.

[+[+NM,+OBJ]___[+O,+LOC]] Example 2.3a.

12. _ra_ 'go out', intransitive, directional, +locomotion.

[+[+NM,+OBJ]___[+O,+DIR]] Example 2.3b.

13. _đi_ 'go', intransitive, directional, -locomotion.

[+[+NM,+OBJ]___[+O,+DIR]] Example 2.3c.

14. _tới_ 'arrive', intransitive, +goal.

[+[+NM,+OBJ]___[+O,+GOAL]] Example 2.3d.

3. Clause Types

According to their identificational-contrastive features such as the

nuclear tagmemic slots (Longacre 1964), clauses in Vietnamese can be

classified into five types as in Chart IV below.

CHART IV

Clause Types tree: +Copulative / -Copulative; -Copulative branches into +Stative / -Stative; -Stative into +Transitive / -Transitive; +Transitive into +Submissive / -Submissive. Leaves: Copulative 1, Stative 2, Submissive (Trans.) 3, Transitive 4, Intransitive 5.

It is noted that the classification of clauses into clause types is parallel to that of verbs in Chart III, and that the five clause types can be subclass_ified into fourteen allo-types just like verbs are classified into fourteen groups.

For reading convenience, examples of the five clause types are repeated below. Only pertinent tagmemic slots and pseudo-features of verbs will be given.
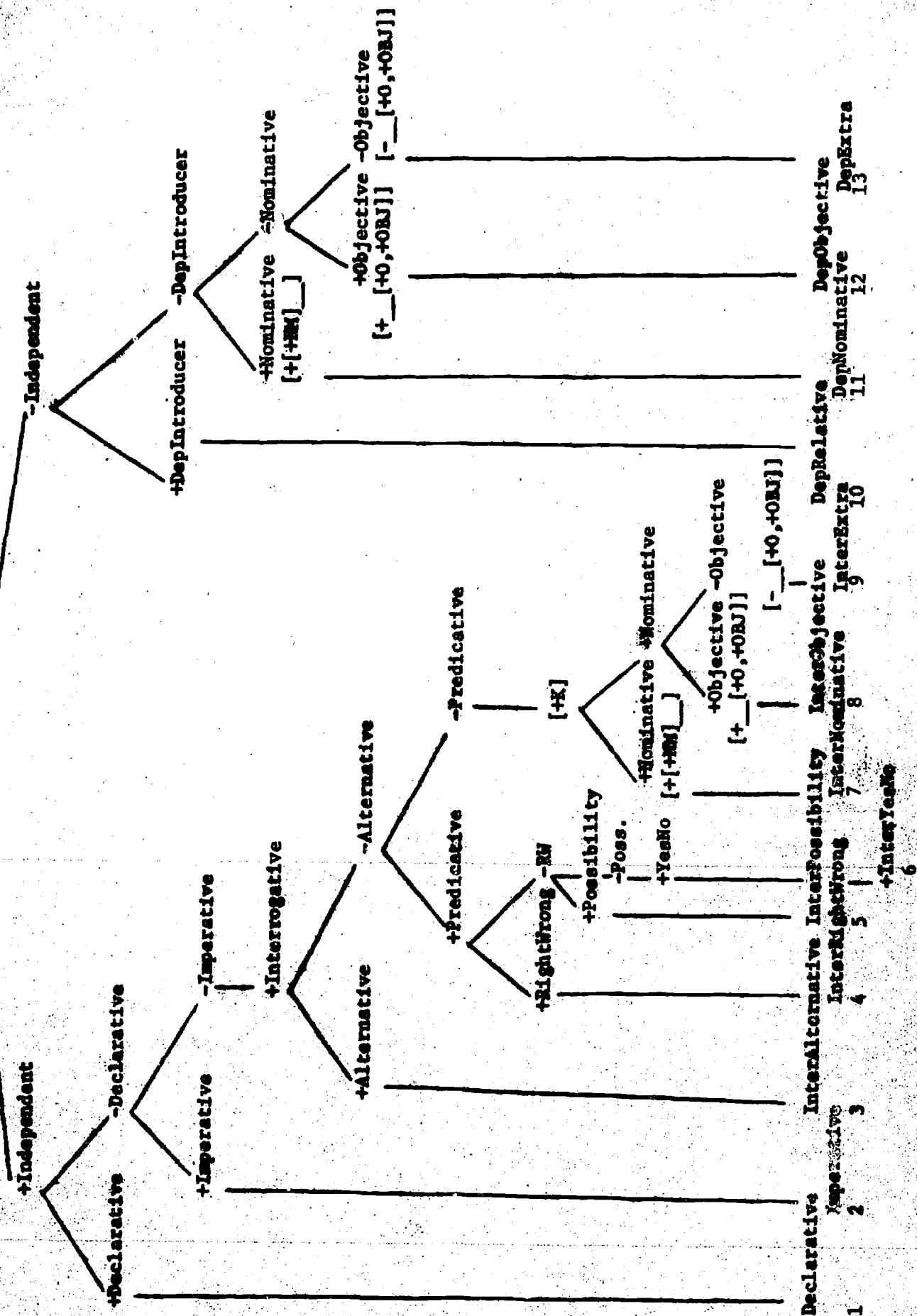
1. Copulative Clause Type: Ông ấy là bác-sĩ.
   he is a doctor.
   (Example 2.1)
   $$\begin{bmatrix}+NM \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb \\ +copula\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}-K\end{bmatrix}$$

2. Stative Clause Type: Ông ấy chết.
   he died.
   (Example 2.2c)
   $$\begin{bmatrix}+NM \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb \\ +stative\end{bmatrix}$$

3. Submissive Clause Type: Ông ấy bị họ đánh.
   he was forced they beat
   (Example 3.1b)   he was beaten by them.
   (See also Nguyen Dinh-Hoa 1972.)
   $$\begin{bmatrix}+NM \\ +DAT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb \\ +trans \\ +subm\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+0 \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix}$$

4. Transitive Clause Type: Ông ấy mua báo.
   he bought newspapers.
   (Example 1)
   $$\begin{bmatrix}+NM \\ +AGT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb \\ +trans\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+0 \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix}$$

5. Intransitive Clause Type: Ông ấy ở Saigon.
   he stays in Saigon.
   (Example 2.3a)
   $$\begin{bmatrix}+NM \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb \\ -trans \\ +loc\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+0 \\ +LOC\end{bmatrix}$$

4. Clause Classes

Besides the dimension of clause types, there is also the dimension of clause classes. The thirteen clause classes in Vietnamese are stated in Chart V below.

CHART V

+Clause Classes

+Independent

−Independent

+Declarative / −Declarative

+DepIntroducer / −DepIntroducer

−Imperative / +Imperative

+Nominative −Nominative
[+[+NM]_]

+Objective −Objective
[+_[+O,+OBJ]] [−_[+O,+OBJ]]

+Interrogative

−Alternative / +Alternative

−Predicative / +Predicative

[+K]

+RightWrong −RW

+Possibility −Poss.

+YesNo

+Nominative −Nominative
[+[+NM]_]

+Objective −Objective
[+_[+O,+OBJ]] [−_[+O,+OBJ]]

+InterYesNo

Declarative	Imperative	InterAlternative	InterAlternative	InterRightWrong	InterPossibility	InterNominative	InterObjective	InterExtra	DepRelative	DepNominative	DepObjective	DepExtra
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

1. Declarative Clause Class. It is the kernel clause class from which

    all the other eleven clause classes are derived when appropriate

    transform rules (Longacre 1964) are applied. All the examples so

    far given are declarative clauses. The example below will serve

    as kernel for all the derived clause classes.

    Ông ấy   mua   báo.
       he   bought newspapers.
    $\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +verb \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

2. Imperative Clause Class. Its clauses are identified by their

    imperative predicate (i.e. having hãy 'would better', đừng 'would better not,
                                                                          etc.)
    Ông   hãy mua   báo.
    You (Mr.) 'd better buy newspapers.
              [+imperative]

3. Interrogative Alternative Clause Class. Its clauses have one of

    their tagmemes alternated by a similar one.

          Ông ấy   mua   báo   hay   sách?
    Did   he   buy newspapers or   books?
                        $\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$ [+alt] $\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$

4. Interrogative Right-Wrong Clause Class. Its clauses have a right-

    wrong interrogative phrase at the end.

        Ông ấy   mua   báo,   phải không?
          he bought newspapers right not?   (he bought newspapers, didn't he?)
                              [+RightWrong]

5. Interrogative Possibility Clause Class. Its clauses have a possible-
                interrogative
    impossible phrase at the end.

        Ông ấy   mua   báo,   được không?
          he bought newspapers possible not (he bought newspapers, OK?)
                              [+Possibility]

6. Interrogative Yes-No Clause Class. Its clauses have a negative

    interrogative phrase at the end.

        Ông ấy   mua   báo   không?
          he   buy   books no (Does he buy newspapers?)

7. Interrogative Nominative Clause Class. Its clauses have an inter-

rogative nominative actant.

    Ai   mua   báo?
    who bought newspapers?
    $$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \\ +Interr \end{bmatrix}$$

8. Interrogative Objective Clause Class. Its clauses have an inter-

rogative objective actant.

    Ông ấy   mua   gì?
       he   bought what?
                      $$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \\ +Interr \end{bmatrix}$$

9. Interrogative-Extra Clause Class. Its clauses have an interrogative

satellite actant, for example Time:

    Ông ấy   mua   báo   hồi nào?
       he   bought newspapers when?   (when did he buy newspapers?)
                           $$\begin{bmatrix} +T \\ +TIM \\ +Interr \end{bmatrix}$$

10. Dependent Relative Clause Class. Its clauses are introduced by

rằng 'that' or cho 'so that', and fill the Objective slot of the

embedding clause.

    Ông ấy   nói   (rằng)   ông ấy mua báo.
       he   said   (that)   he bought newspapers.
    $$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +DAT \end{bmatrix}$$ $$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \end{bmatrix}$$

11. Dependent Nominative Clause Class. Its clauses have a dependent

nominative actant which may be omitted.

      Người (mà) mua   báo....
    the person that bought newspapers...
              $$\begin{bmatrix} +NM \\ +AGT \\ +Dep \end{bmatrix}$$

12. **Dependent Objective Clause Class.** Its clauses have a dependent objective actant which may be omitted and which is pre-posed to the position before the nominative actant when present.

> Báo (mà). ông ấy mua...
> the newspapers (that) he bought...

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +OBJ \\ +Dep \end{bmatrix}$$

13. **Dependent-Extra Clause Class.** Its clauses have a dependent satellite actant, for example Time, which is pre-posed to the position before the nominative actant or omitted all together.

> Ngày (mà). ông ấy mua báo...
> the day when he bought newspapers...

$$\begin{bmatrix} +T \\ +TIM \\ +Dep \end{bmatrix}$$

5. Clause Units

The five Clause Types and the twelve Clause Classes form a bi-dimentional matrix giving sixty /possibilities or Clause Units of which only fifty one
four
are grammatical in Vietnamese. The 51 Clause Units are listed in the following Chart VI.

Chart VI

Clause Types \ Clause Classes	1 Declarative	2 Imperative	3 InterAlter$_n$	4 InterRWrong	5 InterPossib	6 InterYesNo	7 InterNM	8 InterOBJ	9 InterExtra	10 DepRelative	11 DepNM	12 DepOBJ	DepExtra
1 Copulative	⋈		⋈	⋈			⋈		⋈	⋈	⋈		⋈
2 Stative	⋈	(X)	⋈	⋈		⋈	⋈		⋈	⋈	⋈		⋈
3 Submissive	⋈		⋈	⋈		⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈		⋈
4 Transitive	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈
5 Intransitive	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈	⋈		⋈	⋈	⋈		⋈

(X). Some Stative verbs can be used in imperative forms.

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