DITRANSITIVE VERBS IN VIETNAMESE

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0. The subclass of transitive verbs in Vietnamese includes several verbs which take two objects. This paper attempts to examine those doubly transitive verbs.

1. Typically a sentence containing such a ditransitive verb consists of 'sequential phrases', which are 'coordinate phrases presenting situations which follow one another' (Thompson 1965:230).

1. Ông ấy bán nhà cho bà ấy.
   grandfather that sell house give grandmother that
   'He sold a house to her.'

Such a purposive expression is said (Thompson 1965:331) to 'make use of the sequential construction with the verb cho "give" in second position, usually followed by a complement specifying the person, thing or situation served'. This complement is traditionally called 'indirect object'.

Sentence 1 is ambiguous, however. It may also mean 'He (a real estate agent) sold a house for her.' (Cf. Fillmore 1965:10-13.)

One deep structure can be represented as follows:
The second deep structure can be diagrammed as follows:

(2) 'He sold a house for her.'

The surface structure, of course, remains the same:

2. Ông ấy bán nhà cho bà ấy.
   'He sold a house for her.'

When the phrase cho bà ấy means 'for her, on her own' (as in Sentence 2), the surface structure can
undergo certain changes, whereas in the former case (Sentence 1) it cannot, as we shall see below.

Suppose we have these sentences (3) and (4), where the indirect object is now second person. It is also ambiguous:

3. Ông ấy bán nhà cho bà.
   grandfather that sell house give grandmother
   'He sells a house to you.'

or 4. Ông ấy bán nhà cho bà.
   'He sells a house for you.'

But if we have these sentences in a causative frame ('Let him sell the house to you', 'Let him sell the house for you'), something interesting happens. The indirect object noun phrase can be deleted only in Sentence 4, when it denotes the benefactive—the person on whose behalf some action is performed:

5. Để ông ấy bán nhà cho.
   let he sell house give
   'Let him sell a house for you.'

and not when it denotes the goal, the receiver, the recipient:

6. Để ông ấy bán nhà cho
   'Let him sell a house to you.'

To use Fillmore's case frames (1968:27), that is, those contextual features that spell out the case relation(s) of the verb, Sentence 1 has Agentive, Objective and Goal:

[+ _____ O A G]
Indeed, the verb cho 'to give' in the deep structure of Sentence 2 can be replaced by such verbs as giúp, hỗ, giữ, etc., with the general meaning 'to help, assist'. Trần Trọng Kim, Phạm Duy Khiêm and Bùi 7 (1943:184) specify that 'aid or assistance to an equal or an inferior' is involved. The following sentences are paraphrases of Sentence 2 ('He sold a house for her'):

7. Ông ấy bán nhà giúp bà ấy.
8. Ông ấy bán nhà hỗ bà ấy.
9. Ông ấy bán nhà giữ bà ấy.

Hence good paraphrases of Sentence 5 are:

10. Đè ông ấy bán nhà giúp.
11. Đè ông ấy bán nhà hỗ.
12. Đè ông ấy bán nhà giữ.

'Let him sell a house for you.'

In Sentences 10-12, the verb cho itself can occur following the verb meaning 'to help, to assist':

13. Đè ông ấy bán nhà giúp cho.
14. Đè ông ấy bán nhà hỗ cho.
15. Đè ông ấy bán nhà giữ cho.

Let us now return not to the real estate broker and his client, but to the person who has to dispose of this property. The indirect object (the terminal point or goal of the sale) may follow the verb bán 'to sell' and thus precede the direct object in Sentence 1, and we have:
16. Ông ấy bán cho bà ấy nhà.
'He sold a house to her.'

However, the direct object would have to be a noun phrase containing more than one syllable. Lê Văn Lý (1968:208) claims that this conforms with the 'principle of euphony'.

Example 16 may thus be less acceptable than sentence 17, which would be considered a well-formed sentence:

17. Ông ấy bán cho bà ấy hai cái nhà.
   grandfather that sell give grandmother that 2 thing house
   'He sold her two houses.'

At any rate, this surface transformation which moves the indirect object to a position immediately following the verb can be seen as a stylistic transformation on the surface level.

The verb cho, often translated by the English preposition 'to', can also be missing. Both Sentences 18 and 19:

18. Ông ấy biểu bà ấy hai cái nhà.
19. Ông ấy tặng bà ấy hai cái nhà.

mean 'He gave her two houses/He presented her with two houses', and the verbs biểu and tặng 'to present' behave just like cho ('to give'), the main verb of Sentence 20:

20. Ông ấy cho bà ấy hai cái nhà.
   'He gave her two houses.'
Let us now examine other sentences having the structure \([\text{NP} \, V \, \text{NP} \, \text{NP}]\):

21. Ông ấy đưa tiền cho bà ấy.
   grandfather that hand money give grandmother that
   'He handed the money to her.'

22. Ông ấy đưa (cho) bà ấy tiền.
   'He handed her the money.'

23. Ông ấy đưa (cho) bà ấy nhiều tiền.
   'He handed her a lot of money.'

The derivation of Sentence 22 from 21 is pretty clear:

21. **đưa tiền cho bà ấy**
    1 2 3 4

22. **đưa (cho) bà ấy tiền.**
    1 3 4 2

Again we say that Sentence 23, where nhiều tiền is the two-syllable direct-object NP, sounds better than Sentence 22.

Let us now consider the following sentence:

24. Ông thư-ký đưa cái quạt cho cô y-tá.
   grandfather secretary hand thing fan
give aunt nurse
   'The clerk handed the fan to the nurse.'

After the indirect object movement transformation takes place, we have:

25. Ông thư-ký đưa (cho) cô y-tá cái quạt.
   'The clerk handed the nurse the fan.'

If we talk about the objective, we can have phrases 26 and 27, in which relativization is accomplished by
means of mà and do, respectively:

26. cái quạt mà ông thư-ký dâa (cho) cô y-tá
27. cái quạt do ông thư-ký dâa (cho) cô y-tá
' the fan which the clerk handed to the nurse...'

And if we discuss the receiver (or goal), we have the following NP with cô y-tá 'the nurse' followed by a relative clause which can be introduced only by mà and not by do:

28. cô y-tá mà ông thư-ký dâa cái quạt...
' the nurse to whom the clerk handed the fan...'
29. *cô y-tá do ông thư-ký dâa cái quạt...

Passivization gives us Sentences 30 and 31:

30. Cái quạt được ông thư-ký dâa cho cô y-tá
thing fan get grandfather secretary hand
give aunt nurse
'The fan was handed to the nurse by the clerk.'
31. Cô y-tá được ông thư-ký dâa cho cái quạt
aunt nurse get grandfather secretary
hand give thing fan
'The nurse was handed a fan by the clerk.'

As shown in 'Passivization in Vietnamese' (Nguyên Đình-Hòa 1972a), the deep structures of either 30 or 31 involve each an embedded sentence serving as the complement of the verb được 'to obtain, win, get, receive':
(30)

S₀

NP

vài quạt
the fan

VP

dực NP
get

đông thu-ký
the clerk

S₁

VP

VP₁

VP₂

V

NP

dừa hand

cài quạt the fan

cọ y-tá

the nurse

cọ y-tá

the nurse

Another so-called 'passive' verb, bà 'to suffer (fortunate experience)', if substituted for the verb
vàc, would result in this ungrammatical sentence:

32. *Cô y-tá bà ông thu-ký dừa cho cài quạt.
This is due to the fact that the clerk's giving the fan to the nurse is not something unpleasant, but something 'pleasant, advantageous', which requires Ươm, a verb that can be marked [+passive [-unpleasant]]

Since the acts of selling (to somebody), handing, distributing, sending, etc., are directed toward a goal—the receiver, the recipient—we have here a subcategory of verbs which may be called VERBS OF GIVING. The following list is not exhaustive:

ban 'to bestow, grant', bán 'to sell', biếu 'to present', bồ-thí 'to give (as alms)', bồi-thương 'to give as reparations', bù 'to give to make up for a difference', cấp 'to award', chia 'to distribute', chuyền 'to transmit', dành 'to reserve, save', dạy 'to teach', đăng 'to offer', đền 'to pay damage', đồng 'to pay (as dues)', du 'lờ' 'to bribe', dưa 'to hand, transmit', gả 'to give in marriage', gửi 'to send', giao (trao) 'to hand over', hi-sinh 'to sacrifice', hiến 'to offer (as a tribute)', hoàn 'to reimburse, refund', lể 'to present (as a gift)', mất 'to lose', nộp 'to pay, remit', nhượng 'to cede', phát 'to distribute', tặng 'to present', thịnh 'to dole out', thưởng 'to reward', Ươm 'to advance', etc.

The indirect object in the sentence under consideration, which has been called 'complément d'attribution' (Trần Trọng Kim et al, 1943:17, 184), may be missing:

33. Ông thư-ký đưa cái quạt.

'The clerk handed the fan [to the nurse]...
The direct object may also be missing:

34. Ông thụ-kýðuachocôy-tá.
'The clerk handed [the fan] to the nurse'.

And the transitive verb ðuac ('to hand') itself may occur alone:

35. Ông thú-ký ðuac.
'The clerk handed [the fan to the nurse].'

Unlike the situation in English, where *He handed is not considered a well-formed sentence.

2. The second type of sentence that contains a double transitive verb is exemplified by the following sentence:

36. Ông thụ-ký lâycủacôy-tá cáiquãt.
grandfather secretary take possession aunt nurse thing fan
'The clerk took a fan from the nurse.'

its synonym:

37. Ông thụ-ký lâycảiquãtcủacôy-tá.
where the direct object cải quạt (the fan that was taken/stolen) precedes the indirect object cô y-tá the person from whom the fan has been taken/stolen).

We can posit the deep structure of these two sentences to be:
In Sentence 37, of which Sentence 36 is a surface transformation, cái quạt của cơ y-tá is a noun phrase containing a head noun (cái quạt) and a prepositional phrase introduced by của ('property, possession; of') and indicating possession. But after the direct object and the indirect object switch positions, it is obvious, in Sentence 36, that the case relation is between the main verb lấy 'to take, steal' and the prepositional phrase của cơ y-tá 'from the nurse'. Indeed the direct object may be deleted when the context is clear:

38. Ông thư-ký lấy của cơ y-tá.

'The clerk took [the fan] from the nurse.'

Or the indirect object may be missing:

39. Ông thư-ký lấy cái quạt.

'The clerk took the fan [from the nurse].'
For both the direct object and the indirect object may be left out:

40. Ông thư-ký lấy.
   'The clerk took [the fan from the nurse].'

If we try relativization, we get

41. cái quạt mà ông thư-ký lấy của cô y-tá...
    'the fan which the clerk took from the nurse...' 

but not

42. *cái quạt do ông thư-ký lấy của cô y-tá...

and

43. cô y-tá mà ông thư-ký lấy quạt của cô ấy...
    'the nurse whom the clerk took the fan from...' 

but not

44. *cô y-tá do ông thư-ký lấy quạt...

Phrases 42 and 44 are starred because do is used only when there is the idea of origin, manufacture, etc.

The passive sentences are interesting to observe. The following are ungrammatical:

45. *Cái quạt được ông thư-ký lấy của cô y-tá.

46. *Cái quạt bị ông thư-ký lấy của cô y-tá.
    'The fan was taken from the nurse by the clerk.'
We only have:

47. Cô y-tá bị ông thu-ký lấy cái quạt.

'The nurse was robbed of her fan by the clerk.'

The deep structure of Sentence 47 may be as follows:

As contrasted with được, the verb bị 'to suffer
undergo' is marked [+passive +unpleasant], and since losing
her fan to the clerk is not something pleasant to the
nurse, a sentence like 48 would be considered
ungrammatical:

48. *Cô y-tá được ông thu-ký lấy cái quạt.
Both 45 and 46, on the other hand, are starred possibly because both duơc and bị require the feature [human], and this may be the reason why Vietnamese speakers prefer an active sentence like *Swift sent a note to Stella*, or *Swift took a note from Stella*, to a passive sentence like *A note was sent to Stella by Swift*, or *A note was stolen from Stella by Swift*.

Acts of taking, buying, borrowing, stealing, etc., involve a source—the owner from whom the object is taken, bought, borrowed or stolen, etc.—so the verbs in this sub-category may be called VERBS OF TAKING.

The number of these transitive verbs which require cua, translatable as 'from', is smaller than the first group: ăn bột 'to squeeze', ăn cấp 'to steal', ăn cuộp 'to rob', ăn quít 'to eat without paying', bòn 'to extort', cuộp 'to rob', chiêm (doạt) to seize', giật 'to snatch', lấy 'to take, steal', mua 'to buy', muốn 'to borrow (tool, money)', nỡ 'to like', nhận 'to receive', thu 'to collect', thuê 'to rent', tranh 'to take away', soáy 'to swipe', vay 'to borrow (money)', etc.

3. Thus far, we have seen two sentence types whose parallel structures may be compared as follows according to the Fillmore model:

(24 & 25) 
\[ S \]

\[ \text{Verb of giving} \]

\[ \text{Objective} \quad \text{Goal} \quad \text{Agentive} \]

\[ \text{duơc} \quad \text{cái} \quad \text{cho} \quad \text{ông} \]

\[ \text{quạt} \quad \text{y-tá} \quad \text{thuê-ký} \]
In both cho-sentences and cùa-sentences, these case markers may be deleted, and the meaning may or may not be slightly changed.

In the following examples, cho is left out without significant change of meaning:

49. Bà bán tôi một chục xòai.
   grandmother sell I one ten mango
   'Sell me a dozen mangoes.'

50. Tôi xin tặng anh cuốn sách này.
   I beg present elder brother roll book this
   'I would like to present you with this book.'

Cùa is left out when the sentence contains such verbs as muốn, nợ, or vay:

51. Tôi muốn anh cuồn sách này nhé?
   I borrow elder brother roll book this OK?
   'May I borrow this book from you?'

52. Tôi nợ anh hai nghìn đồng.
   I owe elder brother two thousand piastres
   'I owe you 2,000 piasters.'
53. Tôi vay anh ba trăm, được không?
I borrow elder brother three hundred, acceptable not
'May I borrow 300 [piasters] from you?'

But the absence of cho may affect the meaning. instance, Sentence 54 means 'He sent her the money' but Sentence 55 means 'He entrusted her with the money.'

54. Ông ấy gửi cho bà ấy tiền.
grandfather that send give grandmother that money
55. Ông ấy gửi bà ấy tiền.
grandfather that send grandmother that money

In Như Chung Xuân, a novel by Khải Hùng (1969: ), Thiệt-Thanh, a village landlord who already had three wives, proposed to Mai, a young woman, who had to try to sell her ancestral home to him, as follows:

56. Cô lấy tôi ... bảo nhiêu tiền?
aunt take I how much money
'How much do you charge me?'

intended pun was on the phrase lấy tôi 'charge', which also means 'marry me', since the old rake posedly said that sentence with more than this case me in mind (S = source): [+____OAS].

4. Next to the two subclasses described above, there are several verbs in Vietnamese that accompany NP's, one of which expresses location in a rather crucial way. Let us consider Sentence 57:
57. Ông thư-ký thọc tay vào túi áo.

grandfather secretary thrust hand enter pocket jacket
'The clerk stuck his hand into his coat pocket.'

The construction has been called a telescoped construction because the noun tay 'hand' is considered to be both the object of thọc 'to push, thrust' and the subject of vào, 'to enter'. The latter verb, which is translated as 'into', has often been called a coverb of direction in the surf structure.

The following deep structure is easily arrived at:

(57)

```
SO
  NP
  ông thư-ký
    V
    thọc
      NP
      tay
        S1
          V
          vào
          NP
          túi áo
```

The main verb denotes a movement or gesture involving a body part, and the subject (or agent) must be [+human]. Most frequently encountered verbs are cho 'to put', chuí 'to bury (nose mũi, head đầu)', dưng 'to collide', dút 'to insert', gi/gĩ 'to crush, làm 'to step', giáp 'to slam', giữ 'to thrust, push', húc 'to butt', nhét 'to push', trỏ 'to poke' và 'to collide', etc.
Consider now Sentence 58:

58. Ông thư-ký ăn tiền vào túi áo.
   grandfather secretary thrust money enter pocket jacket
   'The clerk pushed the money into his coat pocket.'

Although tiền 'money' is not a body part, we may be about the same surface transformations (59.a-f m 57, and 60.a-f from 58):

59.
   a. Ông thư-ký thọc vào túi áo bàn tay đen
      ...hand black
      'The clerk stuck his dirty hand into his coat pocket.'
   b. bàn tay mà ông thư-ký thọc vào túi áo...
      'the hand which the clerk stuck into his coat pocket...'
   c. bàn tay do ông thư-ký thọc vào túi áo...
      'the hand which the clerk stuck into his coat pocket...'
   d. cái túi áo mà ông thư-ký thọc tay vào...
      'the coat pocket into which the clerk stuck his hand...'
   e. Bàn tay đen bàn, ông thư-ký cũng thọc vào túi áo.
      'The clerk stuck even his dirty hand into his coat pocket.'
   f. Túi áo, ông thư-ký cũng thọc tay vào.
      'The clerk stuck his dirty hand even into his coat pocket.'
60.

a. Ông thuỷ-ký ăn vào túi áo cả sấp tiền.
   'The clerk shoved the whole wad of banknotes into his coat pocket.'

b. Sắp tiền mà ông thuỷ-ký ăn vào túi áo...
   'The wad of banknotes which the clerk shoved into his coat pocket...'

c.  Sắp tiền do ông thuỷ-ký ăn vào túi áo.
   'The wad of banknotes which the clerk shoved into his coat pocket...'

d. Cái túi áo mà ông thuỷ-ký ăn tiền vào...
   'The coat pocket into which the clerk shoved the money...'

e. Sắp tiền, ông thuỷ-ký cùng ăn vào túi áo.
   'The clerk shoved even the wad of banknotes into his coat pocket.'

f.  Túi áo, ông thuỷ-ký cùng ăn tiền vào.
   'The clerk shoved the money even into his coat pocket.'

Nguyễn Kim Thân (1964:II, 72) claims that constructions involving a verb of bodily movement do not allow surface transformations similar to 59a-d. Examples he cites are:

61. Đừng chặn vào cavalière
    'knock one's foot/feet against one's dancing partner'

62. Va cả vai vào người ta
    'knock your shoulder against me'

63. Thúc tay vào túi
    'thrust one's hand into the pocket'
Actually, surface transformations similar to 59 all yield acceptable strings:

64.

a. düng vào cavalière cả hai chân
   'knock both feet against one's dancing partner'

b. cái chân mà ông ấy düng vào cavalière...
   'the foot that he knocked against his dancing partner...'

c. ?cái chân do ông ấy düng vào cavalière...
   'the foot that he knocked against his dancing partner...'

d. có cavalière mà ông ấy düng chân vào...
   'the dancing girl against whom he knocked his foot...'

e. Chân, ông ấy cũng düng vào cavalière.
   'He even knocked his feet against the dancing girl.'

f. Cavalière, ông ấy cũng düng chân vào.
   'He knocked his feet even against the dancing girl.'

65.

a. va vào người ta cái vai to tượng.
   'knock your big shoulder against me'

b. cái vai mà ông va vào người ta...
   'the shoulder which you knocked against me...'

c. ?cái vai do ông va vào người ta...
   'the shoulder which you knocked against me...'
d. người mà ông va cái vai vào...
    'the person against whom you knocked your shoulder...'

e. Vai, ông cùng va vào người ta.
    'You even butted your shoulder against me.'

f. Người ta, ông cùng va vai vào.
    'You butted your shoulder even against me.'

Applying the same surface transformations to Sentence 63, we obtain strings that are similar to 59a-f.

Actually the reason why verb phrases containing the verb chúi 'to bury (one's nose, head, ears)' do not give comparable surface transformations is because this verb is closely associated only with the three nouns denoting body parts: mủi 'nose', đầu 'head' and tai 'ears'. All three verb phrases chúi mủi, chúi đầu, (chúi đầu) chúi tai are idioms meaning 'to bury one's nose [in books, hobby, etc.].' Mủi, đầu, or tai cannot be topicalized, the verb phrase cannot be broken up, and from Sentence 66, we do not get 67a, b, c, or e:

66. Bà ấy chúi mủi vào mà-chữọc.
    'She buried her nose in mahjong.'

67.
   a. Bà ấy chúi vào mà-chữọc cái mủi.
       'She buried her nose in mahjong.'
   b. *cái mủi mà bà ấy chúi vào mà-chữọc...
       'the nose which she buried in mahjong...'
   c. *cái mủi do bà ấy chúi vào mà-chữọc...
       'the nose which she buried in mahjong...'
   d. bàn mà-chữọc mà bà ấy chúi mủi vào...
       'the mahjong game where she buried her nose...'
e. *Mũi, bà ấy cũng chuí vào mà-chụt.  
'She even buried her nose in mahjong.'
f. Mà-chụt, bà ấy cũng chuí mũi vào.  
'She buried her nose even in mahjong [because she is an inveterate gambler].'

The above counter-argument (against the distinction between two verb phrases, one involving a verb of motion and a noun denoting a body part and the other containing a verb of motion and a non-body part) is reinforced by the applicability or non-applicability of the dem- or láy- transformation. The latter consists of adding the verb dem 'to bring' or láy 'to take', moving the direct object NP to the position following that verb and leaving only the direct object (goal) NP after the main verb. Thus, from Sentence 1, repeated here for easy reference:

1. Ông ấy bán nhà cho bà ấy.  
'He sold a house to her.'

get Sentence 68:

68. Ông ấy đem nhà bán cho bà ấy.  
'He took a house and sold [it] to her.'

From Sentence 21, repeated here for easy comparison:

21. Ông ấy đưa tiền cho bà ấy.  
'He handed the money to her.'

get Sentences 69 or 70:

69. Ông ấy đem tiền đưa cho bà ấy.
70. Ông ấy lấy tiền đưa cho bà ấy.
   'He brought (or took) the money and gave [it] to her.'

From Sentence 24:

24. Ông thư-ký đưa cái quạt cho cô y-tá.
   'The clerk handed the fan to the nurse.'

we get:

71. Ông thư-ký đem cái quạt đưa cho cô y-tá.
72. Ông thư-ký lấy cái quạt đưa cho cô y-tá.
   'The clerk brought (or took) the fan and gave [it] to the nurse.'

Let us now try to apply this lấy- transformation to a sentence involving a verb of motion and a noun denoting a body part. From Sentence 57 and 58 we get Sentences 73 and 74, respectively:

57. Ông thư-ký thọc tay vào túi áo.
   'The clerk stuck his hand into his coat pocket.'
58. Ông thư-ký ấn tiền vào túi áo.
   'The clerk pushed the money into his coat pocket.'

73. Ông thư-ký lấy tay thọc vào túi áo.
   'The clerk took his hand and stuck [it] into his coat pocket.'
74. Ông ấy lấy tiền ấn vào túi áo.
   'He took the money and pushed [it] into his coat pocket.'

We cannot, however, derive Sentence 75 from Sentence 66:
66. Bà ấy chổ mủi vào mả-chữíc.
'She buried her nose in mahjong.'

75. *Bà ấy lấy cái mủi chổ vào mả-chữíc.

This is the evidence of the structural integrity of the idioms chổ mủi, chổ đầu, and chổ đâu chổ nói. For an equivalent situation in Chinese, see Lang's discussion of the use of bà in his dissertation (1971:52-81).

Sentence 57 can be compared with the two previously described types if it is represented as follows:

![Diagram](image)

5. The fourth sub-category of verbs we wish to consider now has limited membership: all these are likened to such English verbs as recognize, consider, etc.

Let us consider Sentence 76:

76. Cô y-tá coi ông thư-ký là thù.
'The nurse considers the clerk an enemy.'
Its deep structure is posited below:

(76)

We have the following structural change:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{coi} \times [\text{ông thu-ký là thù}] \\
&1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \\
&\text{coi} \quad \text{ông thu-ký là thù} \\
&1 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5
\end{align*}
\]

The copula là may be replaced by như 'to be like resemble.'

VERBS OF JUDGING include the following: cho, coi 'to consider', công-nhận 'to recognize', chứng-nhận 'to certify', gọi/kêu 'to call', nhận 'to recognize', nhìn nhận, thưa-nhận 'to recognize', xem 'to consider', etc.

The embedded sentence \( S_1 \) can have a NEG: là can be negated by không phải:
77. Cô y-tá coi ông thư-ký không phải là thù.
' The nurse considers the clerk not an enemy.'

But if the verb in the matrix sentence is negated, we have:

78. Cô y-tá không coi ông thư-ký là thù.
' The nurse doesn't consider the clerk an enemy.'

Although Sentence 79 is unacceptable as an alternative surface form of 76,

79. *Cô y-tá coi là thù ông thư-ký,

several other surface transformations can be applied:

80. Ông thư-ký mà cô y-tá coi là thù...
' the clerk whom the nurse considers an enemy...'

81. Ông thư-ký do cô y-tá coi là thù...
' the clerk whom the nurse considers an enemy...'

82. Ông thư-ký, cô y-tá cũng coi là thù.
' The nurse even considers the clerk an enemy.'

6. Finally, there is a small set of verbs that can be called VERBS OF CHOOSING (all involving the idea of selection, election, appointment or assignment), which also take double objects. Let us consider:

83. Họ bầu ông thư-ký làm chủ tịch.
' They elected the clerk chairman.'
which has the following deep structure:

(83)

The verb làm 'to make, function as, perform the role of' in the embedded sentence takes an object NP₂ which denotes a function, a job or a title. The object NP₁ has the feature [+human].

Any verb in the set bầu 'to elect', bô 'to name' bổ-nhiệm 'to appoint', cắt 'to promote', chọn 'to choose, select', cử 'to elect', kén 'to select', lấy 'to choose', phong 'to name', tôn 'to elevate', tuyề 'to recruit', etc., may be used with only one or neither of the two object NP's. Sentence 83, for instance, may be clipped to:

84. Họ bầu.
   'They voted.'
85. Họ bầu ông thư-ký.
   'They elected the clerk.'
86. Họ bầu chủ-tịch.
   'They elected a chairman.'
The fact that the English equivalent of Sentence 1, where a transitive verb has no object at all, cannot be: *They elected well illustrates the transitivity of all Vietnamese verbs. This will be the subject of another paper. The present paper will deal here, with a tentative suggestion that in both sentences 76 and 83 there appears the factitive case and that the verb coi 'consider' or bầu 'elect' may be inserted into the frame [+___0 A F]:

```
S
  \--- d\uality
      \--- \Proposition
        \--- \Verb
            \--- K
            \--- NP
        \--- Objective
            \--- K
            \--- NP
        \--- Factitive
            \--- K
            \--- NP
        \--- Agentive
            \--- K
            \--- NP

76) coi ông thư-ký là thủ começou tổ y-tá
83) bầu ông thư-ký làm chủ-tích họ
```

The above discussions of so-called (surface) double-object or ditransitive verbs in Vietnamese have been aimed at further illustrating the high degree of selectivity between a specific verb and its object(s). If double transitivity on the surface is likely to be an areal feature, case grammar is certainly helpful in shedding light on the deep structures inasmuch as case relations are made explicit amidst the variety of surface realizations that differ from language to language.
REFERENCES


