DITRANSITIVE VERBS IN VIETNAMESE

Nguyễn Đình-Hoà
Southern Illinois University

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).
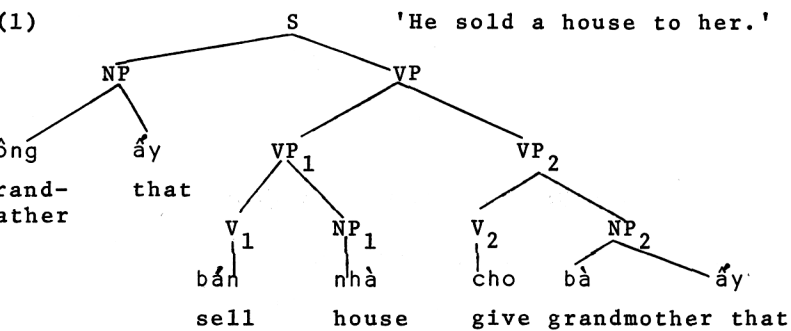
> 1. Ông ấy bán nhà cho bà ấy.
>   grandfather that sell house give grand-
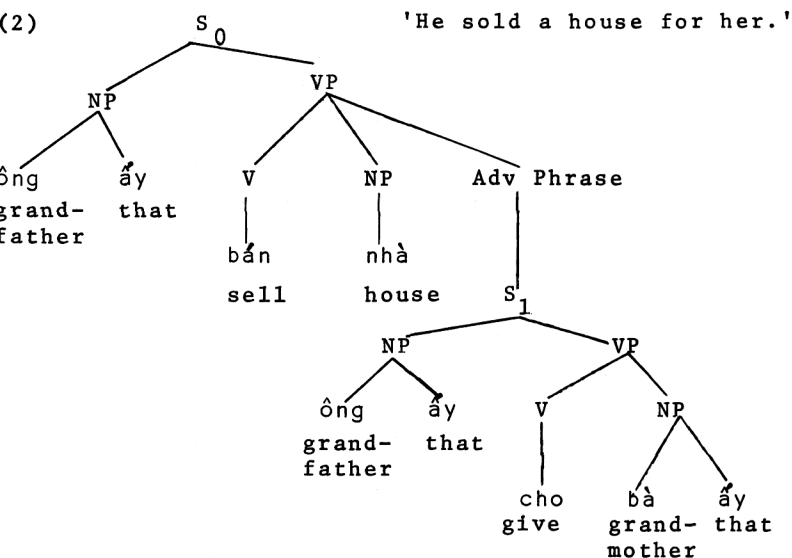>   mother that
>   'He sold a house to her.'

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 fol-lowed by a complement specifying the person, thing or situation served'. This complement is tradition-ally 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:

(1) `S`   'He sold a house to her.'

```
                    S              'He sold a house to her.'
         NP                VP
    Ông      ấy       VP₁              VP₂
  grand-    that    V₁    NP₁       V₂      NP₂
  father          bắn   nhà       cho    bà      ấy
                  sell  house     give grandmother that
```

The second deep structure can be diagrammed as follows:

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

```
              S₀                 'He sold a house for her.'
      NP             VP
  Ông     ấy     V    NP    Adv Phrase
 grand-  that
 father       bắn   nhà           S₁
              sell  house
                            NP              VP
                         ông    ấy      V        NP
                        grand- that
                        father        cho    bà      ấy
                                      give  grand-  that
                                            mother
```

The surface structure, of course, remains the same:

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

When the phrase cho bà ấy means 'for her, on her behalf' (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 grand-
>   mother
>   '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--that is,
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 re-
lation(s) of the verb, Sentence 1 has Agentive, Objec-
tive and Goal:

> [+ _____ O A G]

and Sentence 2 has Agentive, Objective and Benefactive:

[+ _____ O A B]

Indeed, the verb cho 'to give' in the deep struc-
ture of Sentence 2 can be replaced by such verbs as
giúp, hộ, giùm, etc., with the general meaning 'to
help, assist'. Trần Trọng Kim, Phạm Duy Khiêm and Bùi
Kỷ (1943:184) specify that 'aid or assistance to an
equal or an inferior' is involved. The following sen-
tences are paraphrases of Sentence 2 ('He sold a house
for her'):

> 7. Ông ấy bán nhà giúp bà ấy.
> 8. Ông ấy bán nhà hộ bà ấy.
> 9. Ông ấy bán nhà giùm bà ấy.

And good paraphrases of Sentence 5 are:

> 10. Để ông ấy bán nhà giúp.
> 11. Để ông ấy bán nhà hộ.
> 12. Để ông ấy bán nhà giùm.
>
> 'Let him sell a house for you.'

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

> 13. Để ông ấy bán nhà giúp cho.
> 14. Để ông ấy bán nhà hộ cho.
> 15. Để ông ấy bán nhà giùm cho.

Let us now return not to the real estate broker and
his client, but to the person who has to dispose of
his 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 biếu 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 biếu 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 [NP V NP NP]:

> 21. Ông ấy đưa tiền cho bà ấy.
>   grandfather that hand money give grand-
>   mother 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 $\Longrightarrow$
> 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 đưa (cho) cô y-t...
> 27. cái quạt do ông thư-ký đưa (cho) cô y-t...
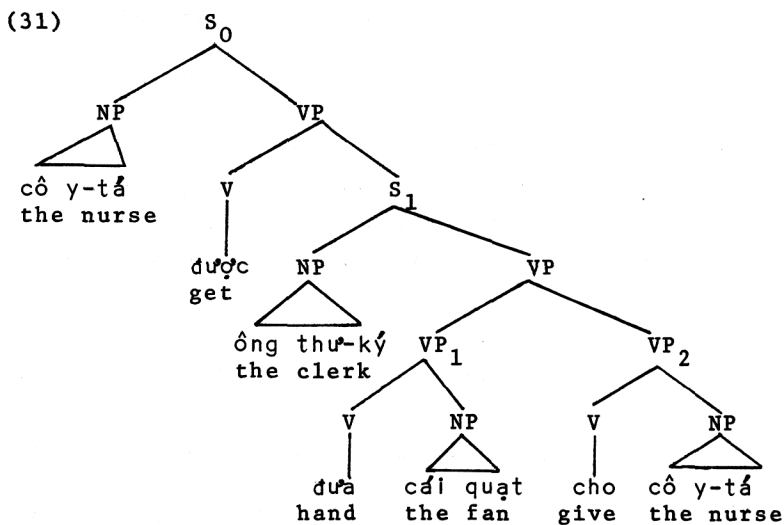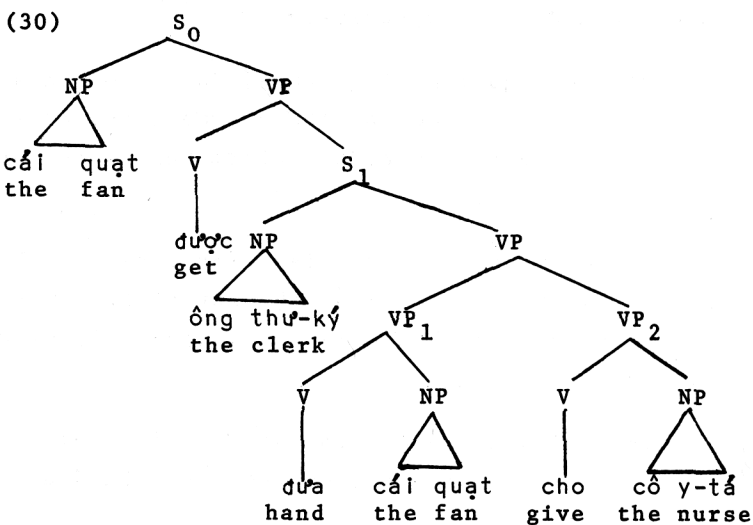>   'the fan which the clerk handed to the
>   nurse...'

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

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

Passivization gives us Sentences 30 and 31:

> 30. Cái quạt được ông thư-ký đưa cho cô y-t...
>   thing fan get grandfather secretary han...
>   give aunt nurse
>   'The fan was handed to the nurse by the
>   clerk.'
> 31. Cô y-tá được ông thư-ký đưa cho cái quạ...
>   aunt nurse get grandfather secretary
>   hand give thing fan
>   'The nurse was handed a fan by the cler...

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

(30)

S_0
 NP — cái quạt / the fan
 VP
  V — được / get
  S_1
   NP — ông thư-ký / the clerk
   VP
    VP_1
     V — đưa / hand
     NP — cái quạt / the fan
    VP_2
     V — cho / give
     NP — cô y-tá / the nurse

(31)

S_0
 NP — cô y-tá / the nurse
 VP
  V — được / get
  S_1
   NP — ông thư-ký / the clerk
   VP
    VP_1
     V — đưa / hand
     NP — cái quạt / the fan
    VP_2
     V — cho / give
     NP — cô y-tá / the nurse

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

32. *Cô y-tá bị ông thư-ký đưa cho cái 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
được, a verb that can be marked $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{passive} \\ -\text{unpleasant} \end{bmatrix}$.

Since the acts of selling (to somebody), handing,
distributing, sending, etc., are directed toward a
goal--the receiver, the recipient--we have here a sub-
category 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', bố-thí 'to give (as alms)', bồi-thường 'to
give as reparations', bù 'to give to make up for a
difference', cấp 'to award', chia 'to distribute',
chuyển 'to transmit', dành 'to reserve, save', dạy 'to
teach', dâng 'to offer', đền 'to pay damage', đóng 'to
pay (as dues)', đút (lót) 'to bribe', đưa 'to hand,
transmit', gả 'to give in marriage', gửi 'to send', g
(trả) 'to pay', giao (trao) 'to hand over', hi-sinh
'to sacrifice', hiến 'to offer (as a tribute)', hoàn
'to reimburse, refund', lễ 'to present (as a gift)',
mất 'to lose', nộp 'to pay, remit', nhường/nhượng 'to
cede', phát 'to distribute', tặng 'to present', thí
'to dole out', thưởng 'to reward', ứng 'to advance',
etc.

The indirect object in the sentence under consid-
eration, which has been called 'complément d'attri-
bution' (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

direct object may also be missing:

> 34. Ông thư-ký đưa cho cô y-tá.
>   'The clerk handed [the fan] to the nurse'.

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

> 35. Ông thư-ký đưa.
>   'The clerk handed [the fan to the nurse].'

like the situation in English, where *He handed* is
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 thư-ký lấy của cô y-tá cái quạt.
>   grandfather secretary take possession aunt
>   nurse thing fan
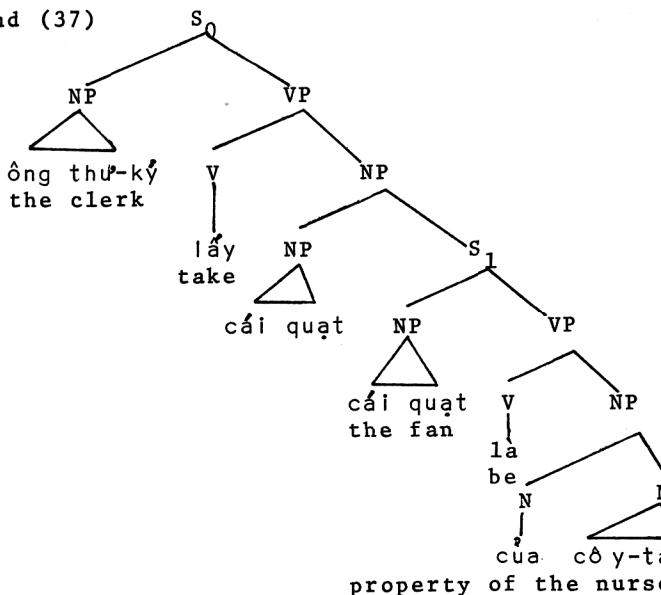>   'The clerk took a fan from the nurse.'

its synonym:

> 37. Ông thư-ký lấy cái quạt của cô y-tá.

where the direct object cái 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 sen-
tences to be:

(36) and (37)


```
                              S₀
                    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                   NP                    VP
                  ╱──╲             ┌──────┴──────┐
              ông thư-ký          V              NP
               the clerk         │         ┌─────┴─────┐
                                lấy        NP          S₁
                                take      ╱──╲    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                       cái quạt  NP          VP
                                                ╱──╲    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                             cái quạt  V           NP
                                             the fan  │          ╱──╲
                                                      là        N    N
                                                      be        │   ╱──╲
                                                               của  cô y-tá
                                           property of the nurse
```

In Sentence 37, of which Sentence 36 is a surface transformation, cái quạt của cô 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 cô y-tá 'from the nurse'. Indeed the direct object may be deleted when the context is clear:

38. Ông thư-ký lấy của cô 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

both the direct object and the indirect object may
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...'

t not

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

d

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

t not

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

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

The passive sentences are interesting to observe.
e 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 thư-ký lấy cái quạt.
>
>   'The nurse was robbed of her fan by the clerk.'

The deep structure of Sentence 47 may be as follows:

(47)
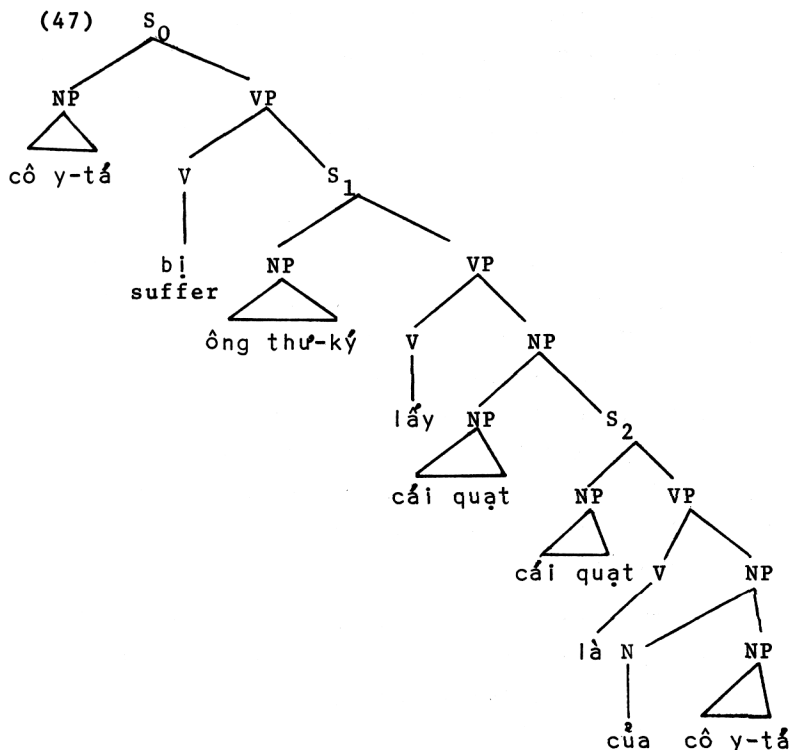
As contrasted with được, the verb bị 'to suffer undergo' is marked $\begin{bmatrix} +passive \\ +unpleasant \end{bmatrix}$, and since losing her fan to the clerk is not something pleasant to the nurse, a sentence like 48 would be considered ungrammatical:
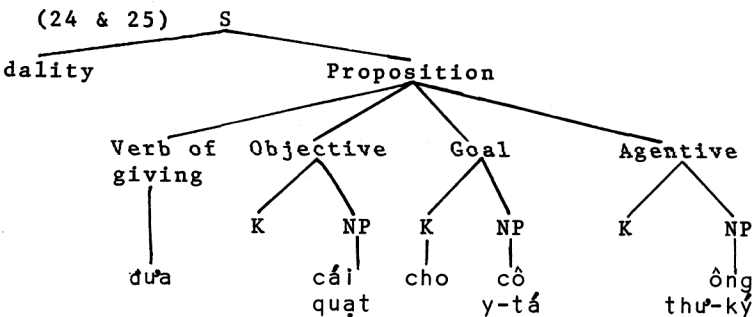
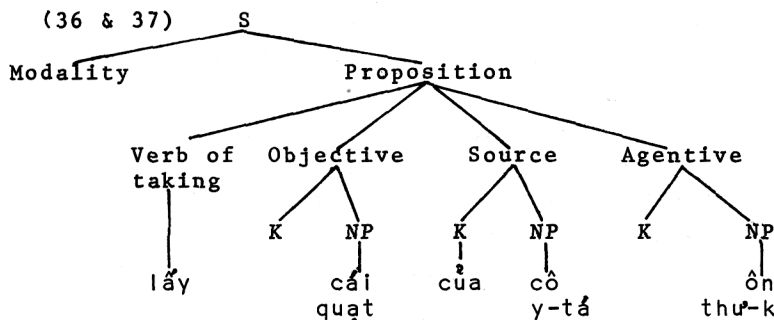> 48. *Cô y-tá được ông thư-ký lấy cái quạt.

Both 45 and 46, on the other hand, are starred *possibly* because both được 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 của, translatable as 'from', is smaller than the first group: ăn bớt 'to squeeze', ăn cắp 'to steal', ăn cướp 'to rob', ăn quịt 'to eat without paying', bòn 'to extort', cướp 'to rob', chiếm (đoạt) 'to seize', giật 'to snatch', lấy 'to take, steal', mua 'to buy', mượn 'to borrow (tool, money)', nợ 'to owe', 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

Modality ... Proposition

Verb of giving   Objective   Goal   Agentive

đưa   K   NP   K   NP   K   NP
       cái   cho   cô   ông
       quạt   y-tá   thư-ký

(36 & 37)


```
(36 & 37)              S
           ┌───────────┴───────────────────────────┐
       Modality                            Proposition
                       ┌────────────┬──────────────┬──────────────┐
                   Verb of      Objective       Source        Agentive
                   taking      ┌──┴──┐         ┌──┴──┐        ┌──┴──┐
                               K    NP         K    NP        K    NP
                               │    │          │    │         │    │
                     lấy      cái   của   cô          ôn
                              quạt         y-tá       thư-k
```

In both cho-sentences and của-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 xoài.
>   grandmother sell I one ten mango
>   'Sell me a dozen mangoes.'

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

Của is left out when the sentence contains such verbs as mượn, nợ, or vay:

> 51. Tôi mượn anh cuốn sách nầy 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 pias
>   '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
ey' but Sentence 55 means 'He entrusted her with
e 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 Nửa Chừng Xuân, a novel by Khái Hưng (1969:
, Thiết-Thanh, a village landlord who already had
ee wives, proposed to Mai, a young woman, who had
e to try to sell her ancestral home to him, as
lows:

56. Cô lấy tôi ... bao 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
posely said that sentence with more than this case
me in mind (S = source): [+_____OAS].

4. Next to the two subclasses described above,
re are several verbs in Vietnamese that accompany
NP's, one of which expresses location in a rather
cial 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 con-
sidered 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)
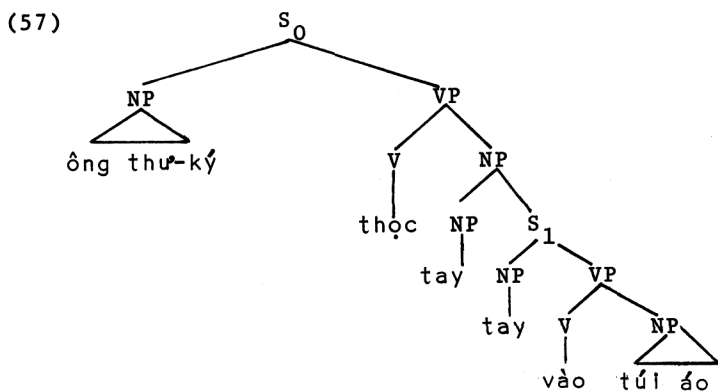
The main verb denotes a movement or gesture in
volving a body part, and the subject (or agent) mus
be [+human]. Most frequently encountered verbs are
cho 'to put', chúi 'to bury (nose mũi, head đầu)',
đụng 'to collide', đút 'to insert', gi/gí 'to crush
giẫm 'to step', giập 'to slam', giúi 'to thrust,
push', húc 'to butt', nhét 'to push', trõ 'to poke'
va 'to collide', etc.

Consider now Sentence 58:

> 58.   Ông thư-ký ấn 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
~~e~~ 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
>   bẩn.
>   dirty
>   '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 bẩn, ông thư-ký cũng thọc
>   vào túi áo.
>   'The clerk stuck even his dirty hand in-
>   to 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 thư-ký ấn vào túi áo cả sấp tiền.

                       ...whole wad money

      'The clerk shoved the whole wad of ban

      notes into his coat pocket.'

   b. sấp tiền mà ông thư-ký ấn vào túi áo..

      'the wad of banknotes which the clerk

      shoved into his coat pocket...'

   c. ?sấp tiền do ông thư-ký ấn vào túi áo.

      'the wad of banknotes which the clerk

      shoved into his coat pocket...'

   d. cái túi áo mà ông thư-ký ấn tiền vào..

      'the coat pocket into which the clerk

      shoved the money...'

   e. Sấp tiền, ông thư-ký cũng ấn vào túi á

      'The clerk shoved even the wad of bank

      notes into his coat pocket.'

   f. Túi áo, ông thư-ký cũng ấn tiền vào.

      'The clerk shoved the money even into

      his coat pocket.'

Nguyễn Kim Thản (1964:II, 72) claims that con-
structions involving a verb of bodily movement do n
allow surface transformations similar to 59a-d. Ex
amples he cites are:

      61.   dụng chân 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.   thục tay vào túi

            'thrust one's hand into the pocket'

Actually, surface transformations similar to 59
all yield acceptable strings:

64.
- a. đụng vào cavalière cả hai chân
    'knock both feet against one's dancing
    partner'
- b. cái chân mà ông ấy đụng vào cavalière...
    'the foot that he knocked against his
    dancing partner...'
- c. ?cái chân do ông ấy đụng vào cavalière...
    'the foot that he knocked against his
    dancing partner...'
- d. cô cavalière mà ông ấy đụng chân vào...
    'the dancing girl against whom he knocked
    his foot...'
- e. Chân, ông ấy cũng đụng vào cavalière.
    'He even knocked his feet against the
    dancing girl.'
- f. Cavalière, ông ấy cũng đụng chân vào.
    'He knocked his feet even against the
    dancing girl.'

65.
- a. va vào người ta cái vai to tướng.
    '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 you[r]
   shoulder...'
e. Vai, ông cũng va vào người ta.
   'You even butted your shoulder against [m?]
f. Người ta, ông cũng va vai vào.
   'You butted your shoulder even against [m?]

Applying the same surface transformations to Se[n]-
tence 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 be-
cause this verb is closely associated *only* with the
three nouns denoting body parts: mũi 'nose', đầu
'head' and tai 'ears'. All three verb phrases chúi
mũi, chúi đầu, (chúi đầu) chúi tai are idioms meanin[g]
'to bury one's nose [in books, hobby, etc.]'. Mũi,
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 mũi vào mà-chược.
        'She buried her nose in mahjong.'
    67.
    a. *Bà ấy chúi vào mà-chược cái mũi.
       'She buried her nose in mahjong.'
    b. *cái mũi mà bà ấy chúi vào mà-chược...
       'the nose which she buried in mahjong..[.]'
    c. *cái mũi do bà ấy chúi vào mà-chược...
       'the nose which she buried in mahjong..[.]'
    d. bàn mà-chược mà bà ấy chúi mũi vào...
       'the mahjong game where she buried her
       nose...'

e. *Mũi, bà ấy cũng chúi vào mà-chượic.
        'She even buried her nose in mahjong.'

    f. Mà-chượic, bà ấy cũng chúi mũi vào.
        'She buried her nose even in mahjong
        [because she is an inveterate gambler].'

   The above counter-argument (against the distinc-
n between two verb phrases, one involving a verb
motion and a noun denoting a body part and the
er containing a verb of motion and a non-body part
n) is reinforced by the applicability or non-
licability of the đem- or lấy- transformation.
 latter consists of adding the verb đem 'to bring'
lấy 'to take', moving the direct object NP to the
ition following that verb and leaving only the
irect object (goal) NP after the main verb. Thus,
m 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 com-
ison:

   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.

or   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 chô 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.
or   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 chúi mũi vào mà-chược.

     'She buried her nose in mahjong.'

75. *Bà ấy lấy cái mũi chúi vào mà-chược.

This is the evidence of the structural integrity
of the idioms chúi mũi, chúi đầu, and chúi đầu chúi
mũi. For an equivalent situation in Chinese, see
Lang's discussion of the use of bǎ in his disserta-
tion (1971:52-81).

Sentence 57 can be compared with the two pre-
viously described types if it is represented as
follows:
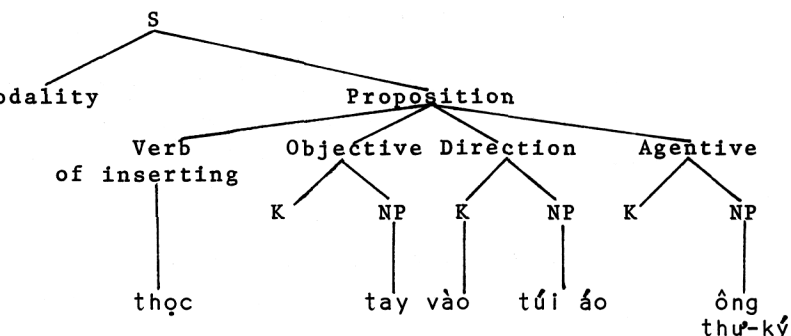
5. The fourth sub-category of verbs we wish to
consider now has limited membership: all these are
likened to such English verbs as *recognize, consider,*
etc.

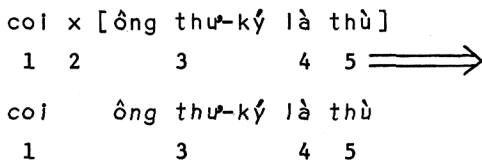Let us consider Sentence 76:

76. Cô y-tá coi ông thư-ký là thù.

     'The nurse considers the clerk an enemy.'

Its deep structure is posited below:

(76)
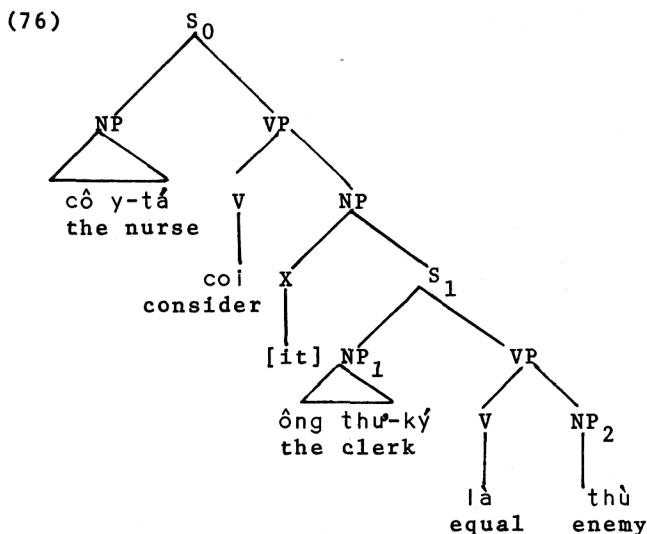
We have the following structural change:

```
coi × [ông thư-ký là thù]
 1   2      3     4  5  ⟹

coi      ông thư-ký là thù
 1         3      4  5
```

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, thừa-nhận 'to recognize', xem 'to consider', etc.

The embedded sentence (S₁) 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.'

ιt if the verb in the matrix sentence is negated, we
ιve:

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 alter-
ative surface form of 76,

79. *Cô y-tá coi là thù ông thư-ký,

everal 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
an be called VERBS OF CHOOSING (all involving the
dea of selection, election, appointment or assign-
ent), which also take double objects. Let us
onsider:

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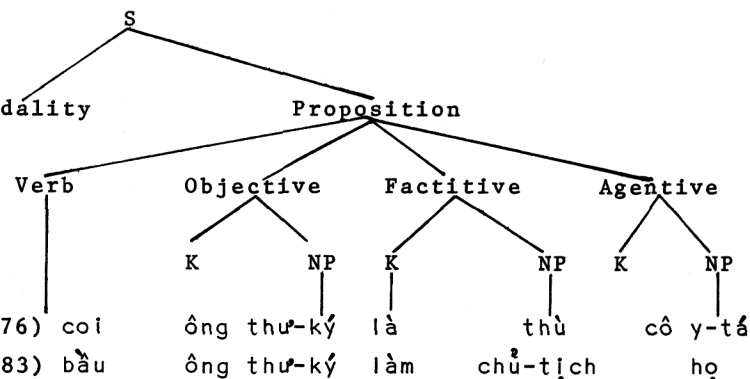
which has the following deep structure:

(83)
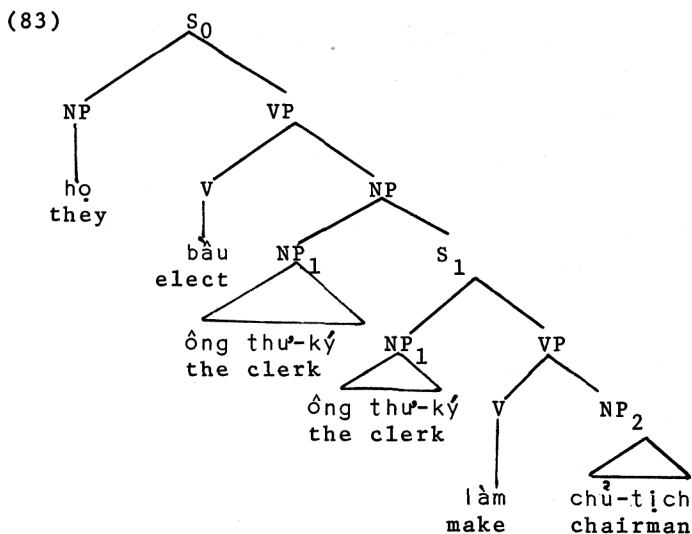
The verb làm 'to make, function as, perform the role of' in the embedded sentence takes an object NP_2 which denotes a function, a job or a title. The object NP_1 has the feature [+human].

Any verb in the set bầu 'to elect', bổ 'to name', bổ-nhiệm 'to appoint', cất 'to promote', chọn 'to choose, select', cử 'to elect', kén 'to select', lấy 'to choose', phong 'to name', tôn 'to elevate', tuyển '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
, where a transitive verb has no object at all,
nnot be: *They elected* well illustrates the tran-
tivity of *all* Vietnamese verbs. This will be the
bject of another paper. The present paper will
d here, with a tentative suggestion that in both
ntences 76 and 83 there appears the factitive case
) and that the verb coi 'consider' or bầu 'elect'
y be inserted into the frame [+___O A F]:


```
                         S
              /                    \
          dality              Proposition
            |              /      |        \
          Verb      Objective  Factitive  Agentive
            |        /    \      /   \      /   \
                    K     NP    K    NP    K    NP
                    |     |     |    |     |    |
        76) coi   ông thư-ký   là    thù   cô  y-tá
        83) bầu   ông thư-ký   làm  chủ-tịch     họ
```

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

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