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 hierarchical levels in syntax and secondly the tagmeme, a grammatical unit composed of a slot and a filler class. The concept of hierarchies in syntax makes it possible to single out phrase structure rules (Chomsky 1965) and at the same time makes it unnecessary to write them in this paper. The grammatical slot of the tagmeme at the clause level, as has been pointed out by Becker (1967a and 1967b), Fries (1970), and Young, Becker, and Pike (1970), has not only an overt syntactic

ationship (case realization) but also a covert uning relationship (case relation) with the predictive verb.

In that the paper is also case grammar oriented, recognizes the case relations between various and and the predicative verb in the clause (or prosition in Fillmore's terminology). However, it so recognizes the centrality of the verb (Chafe 70). The type of case grammar utilized here, lied lexicase by its developer, Stanley Starosta, croduces both overt case realizations and covert se relations into the grammar as syntactic features signed to nouns by verbs (Starosta 1971a, 1971b, 72a, and 1972b).

Because the paper presents data rather than fends the linguistic models utilized, theoretical scussions are kept to the minimum. The reader is so referred to Vietnamese linguistic bibliographies Thompson 1965, and Thompson and Thomas 1966.

Cases

In Vietnamese, there seem to be twelve case retions, the definitions of which are taken mostly om Fillmore 1968, 1969, and 1971:

- The AGENTIVE (AGT) case: the AGT actant is 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 "animate being affected by the state 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 of time from which the action has begun.

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

Of these twelve cases, only the agentive and objective cases are nuclear in the clause; the dative, benefactive, and instrumental cases are seminuclear in the sense that they can be hosted only by certain verb classes; and the rest of the cases, the 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 pigeonholed in eleven overt case realizations, of which some are marked by their positions vis-à-vis the verb and some are marked by prepositions. The case realizations are:

NM

Nominative position immediately preceding the verb, no prepositions.

0

Objective position immediately

following the verb, no prepositions.

D	Dative realization with pre- position cho. (This prepo- sition and all the following ones except voi and bang are co-verbs. For discussion and examples, see Thompson 1965: 230-234).
I	Instrumental realization with preposition bang.
В	Benefactive realization with prepositions giùm or hộ.
C	Comitative realization with preposition với.
T	Locative realization with preposition σ .
Di	Directional realization with prepositions such as lên, xuống, qua, lại, etc.
SR	Source realization with preposition tw.

The twelve covert case relations and the eleven ert case realizations can be charted in a two-nensional matrix yielding twenty five possibil-tes, as in Chart I.

position được.

Goal realization with prepositions toil or den.

Extent realization with pre-

GL

EΧ

111

1		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	_	NM	0	D	В	С	I	L	Di	SR	GL	EX
1	AGT	1										
2	OBJ	2	6		,						-	
3	DAT	3	7	15								
4	BEN		8	16	17	14.						
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

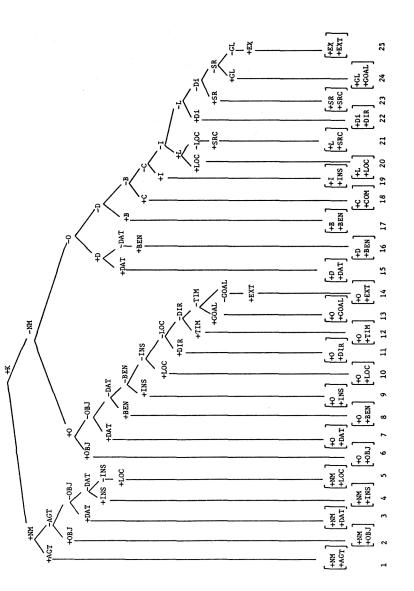
The twenty five possible combinations of covert case relations and overt case realizations are arrived at by applying case-related redundancy rules which are not specified here but which can be drawn from Chart II.

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 another way in Chart I. Following are examples of the tagmemic slots; 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.

 [+NM]
 [+0]
 [+0BJ]
- [+NM, +OBJ] is hosted by copulative, stative, and intransitive verbs.



```
2.2a. Ông ấy chậm lắm.
         he is slow very. (he is very slow)
                    (Adverb)
       +NM
       +OBJ
      Ông ấy lạnh lắm.
2.2ъ.
         he is cold very. (he is very cold)
       +NM
                    (Adverb)
       (+0BJ)
      Ong av
2.2c.
               chết.
               died.
         hе
       +NM
       +OBJ
       Ông ấy ở Saigon.
2.3a.
         he stays in Saigon.
       +NM
       +0BJ
       Ông ấy
2.3ъ.
               ra Saigon.
       he went out to Saigon.
       +OBJ
       Ông ấy đi
2.3c.
                  Saigon.
         he went to Saigon.
       +NM -
                  T+0
       | +OBJ |
                   +DIR
       Ông ấy tới
2.3d.
                  Saigon.
         he arrived in Saigon.
       +NM `
                    1+0
                    +GOAL
        +OBJ
[+NM, +DAT] is hosted by transitive submissive
(bj and ducc) and transitive dative verbs.
       Ông ấy
3.1a.
              Ьi
                  đi.
         he was forced to go.
       Г+ии Т
                   +0
                   +OBJ
       +DAT
               bị họ đánh.
3.1ь.
       Ông ấy
         he was forced they beat (he was beaten
                                   by them)
        +NM
       +DAT
       ông ấy
               biết bà ấy.
3.2a.
         hе
               knows
                       her.
        +NM
```

+OBJ

3.

- - 3.2d. Ong ấy muốn (cho) bà ấy đi rồi.

 he wished (so that) she had gone

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

Note: only "potent" nouns can occur in

vehicle this goes to Saigon. (This

vehicle goes to Saigon)

- the [+NM, +INS] slot.

 4.2. Xe nay di Saigon.
- +NM
 +0

 +INS
 +DIR
- [+NM, +LOC] is hosted by stative verbs.

 5. Phong nay lanh.
 - room this is cold. (this room is cold)

 [+NM]

 [+LOC]

 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).

- [+0, +0BJ] is hosted by transitive verbs.
 - 5.1. Ong ấy mua sách. he bought books. [+NM] [+0]

+NM +DAT +OBJ

- [+0, +DAT] is hosted by ditransitive dative verbs.
- [+0, +BEN] is hosted by ditransitive benefactive verbs. It is noted that this construction is always ambiguous, and therefore is usually avoided.
- [+0, +INS] is hosted by transitive or intransitive verbs. (It may be that there are only special transitive verbs that can host [+0, +INS].)
 - 9.1. Ong ay dung dao.

 he used knives.

 [+NM]
 [+AGT]
 [+INS]
 - 9.2. Ong ay di xe do.

 he went by bus.

 +NM +ORI +INS
- 10. [+0, +LOC] is hosted by intransitive locative verbs.
 - 10. Ong ấy ở Saigon.

 he stays in Saigon. (Same as example

 2.3a.)
- [+0, +DIR] is hosted by intransitive directional verbs.
 - 11.1. Ông ấy ra Saigon. he went to Saigon.

[+NM] [+O [+OBJ] [+DIR]	(Same as example 2.3b.)
Ông ấy đi Saigon.	
he went to Saigon.	
[+NM] [+0]	(Same as example
HNM HOBJ HDIR	2.3c.)

- [+0, +TIM] is hosted by any verb, thus may be considered as being a sentence tagmemic slot and consequently is not a case.

11.2.

- [+0, +GOAL] is hosted by intransitive +goal verbs.

 - [+0, +EXT] is hosted by any verb except those marked otherwise.
 - 14.1. Ong ay di hai ngay.

 he went for two days.

 HNM HOBJ HEXT
 - 14.2. Ong ay di hai dâm.

 he went for two miles.

 [+NM]
 [+OBJ]
 [+EXT]
- [+D, +DAT] is hosted by transitive agentive verbs.
- . [+D, +BEN] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs. (This is an ambiguous construction, because [+D] can be either [+BEN] or [+DAT].)
 - 16.1. Ong ấy mua sách cho tôi. he bought books for me.

HAGT HOBJ HEN

+DAT

```
16.2. Ông ấy đi cho tôi.
        he
            went for me.
                     +BEN
```

- [+B, +BEN] is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs.
 - Ông ấy mua sach giùm tôi. 17.1. he bought books for me. T+0 |+obj|
- Ông ấy đi giùm tôi. 17.2. he _ went for me. +NM +BEN |+OBJ| [+C, +COM] is hosted by any verb except those

L7.

18.

19.

- marked otherwise. Ông ấy mua sách với tôi. 18.1. bought books with me.
- Ông ấy đi với tôi. 18.2.
- he went with me. [+I, +INS] is hosted by transitive, intransitive, and some stative verbs such as chet 'to
 - die'. Ông ấy mua sách bằng tiền Việt-Nam. 19.1.
 - he bought books by means of Vietnamese money.
 - ông ấy đi bằng xe đò. 19.2.
 - he went by bus. +OBJ
- 20. [+L, +LOC] is hosted by any verb except those otherwise marked.
- Ông ấy mua sách ở Mỹ. 20. he bought books in America.

```
[+L, +SRC] is hosted by intransitive verbs, and could be thought of as [+L, +LOC] or even as
1.
    [+0, +LOC] if o'to stay' in the following ex-
     ample were considered as the main verb of the
     clause.
             Ông ấy ở Mỹ qua.
    21.
                he stayed America came over (he came
```

over from America)

```
[+0
|+LOC
[+Di, +DIR] is hosted by transitive and intran-
```

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

+0BJ +DIR [+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. Ông ấy đi từ Mỹ. 23.1.

he went from America. Ông ấy đi từ hôm qua. he went since yesterday. +OBJ +SRC

+NM

2.

3.

[+GL, +GOAL] is hosted by all verbs if it means 4. 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.

,05

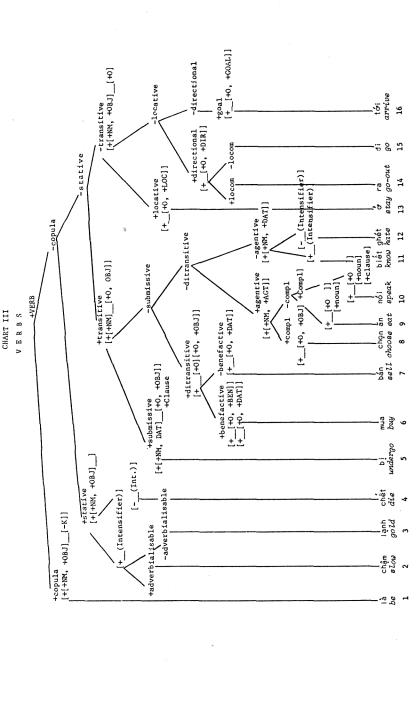
- 5. [+EX, +EXT] is hosted by all verbs if it means a time extent, and is hosted by most verbs except those otherwise marked when it means a place extent.

ith each other:

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 that is already known in larger linguistic or situational contexts is not normally repeated, only a limited number 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 collows, with those vertically ordered alternating

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

Any clause level slot---whether a nuclear slot such as [+NM, +AGT], a semi-nuclear slot such as [+0, +DIR], or a satellite slot such as [+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 a [+NM, +OBJ] because it is clearly understood:

2. Verbs

According to their hospitality to the various case-marked tagmemic slots, verbs in Vietnamese can be classified into sixteen classes as indicated in Chart III. Sixteen verbs representative of each class are listed below with the case-marked tagmemic slots allowed to cooccur with them. It is to be noted that all of the case-marked tagmemic slots, except the [+0, +OBJ] slots containing 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. la 'be' [+[+NM, +OBJ]__[-K]]

noun phrase
verb phrase
clause
prepositional phrase

Đi là chết to go is to die.

Example 2.1.

Ong Ba di la phai. Mr. Ba's going is right (the right thing).

Từ đây đến đó là hai dậm. from here to there is

two miles.

```
Chain Slow , Stative, adverbiaitzable.
   [+[+NM, +OBJ]_{\underline{}} (Intensifier)] Example 2.2a.
   Adverbializable as in:
                    ông áy đi chấm
                      he went slowly.
   lanh 'cold', stative, not adverbializable.
   [+[+NM, +OBJ]__(Intensifier)]
   Example 2.2b.
   chêt 'die', stative, cannot be followed by ad-
   verbs. (There is also reason to classify these
   verbs in the intransitive group).
   [+[+NM, +OBJ]__]
   Example 2.2c.
   bi 'to be adversely affected', transitive sub-
   [+[NM, +DAT]__[+0, +OBJ, +Clause]]
   Examples 3.1a and 3.1b.
   mua 'buy', ditransitive, +benefactive [+[+N, +AGT]__[+O, +BEN] ] [+O, +OBJ]]
j.
   Example 8.
   bán 'sell', ditransitive, -benefactive
7.
   [+[+NM, +AGT] [+0, +DAT] [+0, +OBJ]]
   Example 7.
   chon 'choose', transitive, + complement.
8.
    [+[+NM, +AGT]_{-}[+0, +OBJ] + complement] Example:
       Ông áy chọn bà áy làm đại-diện.
         he chose her to be representative
                          +complement
   ăn 'eat', transitive, -complement.
9.
    [+[+NM, +AGT] [+0, +OBJ]] Example:
                     ông áy ăn thit
                       he eats meat.
0.
    nói 'speak', transitive agentive.
    [+[+NM, +AGT] [+0, OBJ]]
                    noun phr.
                    clause
    Examples:
       ông ấy
                    nói chuyên.
                    told stories (or 'he conversed')
       he
       [+NM]
                          [+0]
       [+AGT]
                          [+OBJ]
```

```
noun phr. Example 3.2a.
                                 Examples 3.2b, 3.2c,
                      clause
                                   and 3.2d.
A sub-classification of this class of verb can
be made according to whether their objective clause
can be introduced by rang 'that' as in the case of
biết 'know' in example 3.2b or by either rằng 'that'
or cho 'so that' as in the case of muon 'want' in
examples 3.2c and 3.2d.
12.
     ghét 'hate', transitive dative.
     [+[+NM, +DAT] [+0, +OBJ]]
                    noun phr.
                    clause
     Examples:
       Ôna ấv
                  ghét chuyên đó.
        hе
                   hated
                          that matter.
```

[+0]

[+OBJ]

that he

[+0]

[+OBJ]

di 'go', intransitive, directional, -locomotion.

 $ec{c}$ 'stay at, live at, be at', intransitive,

ra 'go out', intransitive, directional, +

ghét

hated

[+[+NM, +OBJ] [+O, +LOC]]

[+[+NM, +OBJ] [+O, +DIR]]

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

 $[+[+NM, +OBJ]_{-}[+O, +GOAL]]$

 $t \dot{\sigma}$ i 'arrive', intransitive, +goal.

rằng ông ấy phải đi.

had to go.

biêt 'know', transitive dative. [+[+NM, +DAT] [+0, +0BJ]]

11.

[MN+]

[+DAT]

ôna ấv

[+NM]

[+DAT]

Example 2.3a.

Example 2.3b.

Example 2.3c.

Example 2.3d.

locomotion.

hе

locative

13.

14.

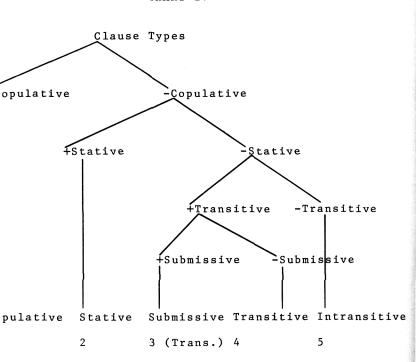
15.

16.

Clause Types

According to identificational-contrastive atures such as the nuclear tagmemic slots (Long-re 1964), clauses in Vietnamese can be classified to five types, as in Chart IV below:

CHART IV



It is to be noted that the classification of auses into clause types is parallel to that of arbs in Chart III, and that the five clause types in be subclassified into sixteen allo-types just verbs are classified into sixteen groups.

báo.

+0

L+0BJ

Saigon.

The thirteen

bought newspapers.

For the reader's convenience, examples of the five clause types are repeated below. Only pertinent tag-

memic slots and pseudo-features of verbs will be given ông ấy là bác-sĩ. 1. Copulative Clause

a doctor. is Type: T+verb +NM (Examples 2.1) +OBJ +copula ông **ấ**y chết. Stative Clause 2.

died. Type: +NM+verb (Example 2.2c) +stative +OBJ Ьį họ Submissive Clause

đánh. 3. was forced they beat Type: was beaten by them. (Example 3.1b) hе +verb +0 (See also Nguyen +NM l+obj +DAT +trans Dinh-Hoa 1972.) +subm

öng **á**y

ĥе.

+NM

+AGT

ông ấy

mua

+verb

+trans ૾ૢૺ

_he +NM stays in Saigon. Clause Type: T+verb (Example 2.3a) -trans +1oc 4. Clause Classes

Besides the dimension of clause types, there is also the dimension of clause classes.

4.

5.

Transitive

Clause Type:

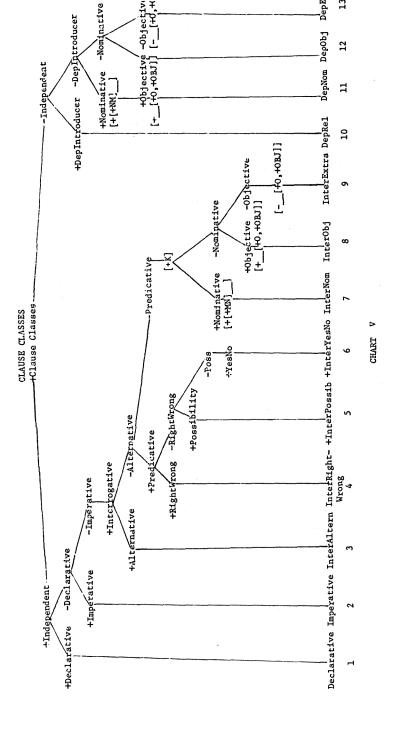
Intransitive

(Example 1)

below. Declarative Clause Class. This is the kernel 1. 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

clause classes in Vietnamese are stated in Chart V

kernel for all the derived clause classes. ông ấy mua báo. ĥe bought newspapers. +verb +0 transl



 Imperative Clause Class. Clauses of this class are identified by their imperative predicate (i.e. having hay 'had better', dung 'had better not, etc.)

Ong hay mua bao.
You (Mr.) 'd better buy newspapers.
[+imperative]

3. Interrogative Alternative Clause Class. Clauses of this class have one of their tagmemes paired with an alternative tagmeme.

Ong ay mua bao hay sach?

Did he buy newspapers or books?

[+0] [+alt] [+0]

+0BJ

4. Interrogative Right-Wrong Clause Class. Clauses of this class have a right-wrong interrogative phrase at the end.

Ong ay mua bao, phai không? he bought newspapers right not? (he bought newspapers, didn't he?) [+RightWrong]

 Interrogative Possibility Clause Class. Clauses of this class have a possible-impossible interrogative phrase at the end.

> Ong ay mua bao, được không? he bought newspapers possible not (he bought newspapers, OK?) [+Possibility]

 Interrogative Yes-No Clause Class. Clauses of this class have a negative interrogative phrase at the end.

> Ong ay mua bao không? he buy books no (Does he buy newspapers?)

Interrogative Nominative Clause Class. Clauses
of this class have an interrogative nominative
actant.

Ai mua báo?
who bought newspapers?
+NM
+AGT
+Interr

 Interrogative Objective Clause Class. Clauses of this class have an interrogative objective actant.

Ong ay mua gì?
he bought what?
+0
+OBJ
+Interr

Interrogative-Extra Clause Class. Clauses of this class have an interrogative satellite actant, for example Time.

Ong ay mua bao hoi nao?

he bought newspapers when?
(when did he buy newspapers?)

+T

+TIM

+Interr

Dependent Relative Clause Class. Clauses of this class are introduced by rang 'that' or cho 'so that', and fill the Objective slot of the embedding clause.

Ong ay nói (rang) ông ay mua báo.

he said (that) he bought newspapers.

+NM
+DAT
+OBJ

 Dependent Nominative Clause Class. Clauses of this class have a dependent nominative actant which may be omitted.

Người (mà) mua báo...
the person that bought newspapers...
+NM
+AGT
+Dep

 Dependent Objective Clause Class. Clauses of this class 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...

+0
+0BJ
+Dep

13. Dependent-Extra Clause Class. Clauses of this class 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...
+T
+TIM
+Dep

5. Clause Units

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

Chart VI

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

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

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