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)
0. Introduction


In that this paper is tagmemic oriented, it recognizes firstly the hierarchical levels in syntax and secondly the grammatical unit or tagmeme as composed of a slot and a filler class.

The concept of hierarchies in syntax makes it possible to single out and, by 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, COMPONENTATIVE, 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-à-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 preposition and all the following ones except với and bằng are co-verbs. For discussion and examples, see Thompson 1965:230-234).

I: Instrumental realization with preposition bằng.

B: Benefactive realization with prepositions gium or họ.

C: Comitative realization with preposition với.
Locative realization with preposition 
Directional realization with prepositions such as lèn, rông, qua, lai, etc.
Source realization with preposition từ.
Goal realization with prepositions tới or đến.
Extent realization with preposition.dupu.

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

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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 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. Ong ấy mua báo.
      he bought newspapers.
      [+NM] [+AGT] [+O] [+OBJ]

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

   2.1. Ong ấy là bác sĩ.
        he is a doctor.
        [+NM] [+OBJ] [-K]

   2.2a. Ong ấy chậm lắm.
        he is slow very. (he is very slow)
        [+NM] [+OBJ] (Adverb)

   2.2b. Ong ấy lạnh lắm.
        he is cold very. (he is very cold)
        [+NM] [+OBJ] (Adverb)

   2.2c. Ong ấy chết.
        he died.
        [+NM] [+OBJ]

   2.3a. Ong ấy ở Saigon.
        he stays in Saigon.
        [+NM] [+OBJ] [+LOC]

   2.3b. Ong ấy ra Saigon.
        he went out to Saigon.
        [+NM] [+OBJ] [+DIR]

   2.3c. Ong ấy đi Saigon.
        he went to Saigon.
        [+NM] [+OBJ] [+DIR]
2.3d. Ong ấy trở về Saigon.
he arrived in Saigon.

3. [+NM, +DAT] is hosted by transitive submissive (bj and ASS) and transitive dative verbs.

3.1a. Ong ấy bj đi.
he was forced to go.

3.1b. Ong ấy bj họ đánh.
he was forced they beat (he was beaten by them)

3.2a. Ong ấy biết bà ấy.
he knows her.

3.2b. Ong ấy biết (rằng) bà ấy đi rồi.
he knew (that) she had gone already.

3.2c. Ong ấy muốn (rằng) bà ấy đi rồi.
he wanted (that) she went already.

3.2d. Ong ấy muốn (cho) bà ấy đi rồi.
he wished (that) she had gone already.

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)

4.2. Xe này đi Saigon.
vehicle this goes to Saigon. (This vehicle goes to Saigon)
5. [+NM, +LOC] is hosted by stative verbs.

5. Phòng này ơi    
   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).

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

6.1. Ong ấy mua sách.  
   he bought books.
   [+NM]    [+O]    [+OBJ]

6.2. Ong ấy biết chuyện ấy.  
   he knows story that. (he knows that story)
   [+NM]    [+O]    [+OBJ]

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

7. Ong ấy bán tôi sách.  
   he sold me books
   [+NM]    [+O]    [+DAT]    [+OBJ]

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

8. Ong ấy mua tôi sách.  
   he bought me books.
   [+NM]    [+O]    [+O]    [+BEN]    [+OBJ]
   [+O]    [+DAT]

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

9.1. Ong ấy dùng dao.  
   he used knives.
   [+NM]    [+O]    [+INS]

9.2. Ong ấy đi xe ô.  
   he went by bus.
   [+NM]    [+O]    [+INS]    [+OBJ]
10. [+O, +LOC] is hosted by intransitive locative verbs.

10. Ong ấy ở Saigon.
    he stays in Saigon. (same as example 2.3a.)

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

11.1. Ong ấy rời Saigon.
      he went out to Saigon.

11.2. Ong ấy đi Saigon.
      he went to Saigon.

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. Ong ấy đi hôm qua.
    he went yesterday.

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

13. Ong ấy tới Saigon.
    he arrived in Saigon.

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

14.1. Ong ấy đi hai ngày.
      he went for two days.

14.2. Ong ấy đi hai dặm.
      he went for two miles.

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

15. Ong ấy bán sách cho tớ.
    he sold books to me.
16. \([+D, +\text{BEN}]\) is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs. (It is an ambiguous construction because \([+D]\) can be either \([+\text{BEN}]\) or \([+\text{DAT}]\).)

16.1. Ong ấy mua sách cho tôi. \([+D]\) he bought books for me. \([+\text{BEN}]\)

16.2. Ong ấy đi cho tôi. \([+D]\) he went for me. \([+\text{BEN}]\)

17. \([+\text{B}, +\text{BEN}]\) is hosted by transitive and intransitive verbs.

17.1. Ong ấy mua sách giăm tôi. \([+\text{B}]\) he bought books for me. \([+\text{BEN}]\)

17.2. Ong ấy đi giăm tôi. \([+D]\) he went for me. \([+\text{BEN}]\)

18. \([+\text{C}, +\text{COM}]\) is hosted by any verb except those marked otherwise.

18.1. Ong ấy mua sách với tôi. \([+\text{C}]\) he bought books with me. \([+\text{COM}]\)

18.2. Ong ấy đi với tôi. \([+D]\) he went with me. \([+\text{COM}]\)

19. \([+\text{I}, +\text{INS}]\) is hosted by transitive, intransitive, and some stative verbs such as chết 'to die'.

19.1. Ong ấy mua sách bằng tiền Việt-Nam. \([+\text{I}]\) he bought books by means of Vietnamese money. \([+\text{INS}]\)

19.2. Ong ấy đi bằng xe đc. \([+\text{I}]\) he went by bus. \([+\text{INS}]\)
20. [+L, +SRC] is hosted by intransitive verbs, and could be thought of as [+L, +LOC] or even as [+O, +LOC]

if to stay' in the following example were considered as the main verb of the clause.

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

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

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

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

22.1. Ong ấy đem sách lên Sài Gòn.
    he brought books up to Sài Gòn.

22.2. Ong ấy đi lên Sài Gòn.
    he went up to Sài Gòn.

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. Ong ấy đi từ Mỹ.
    he went from America.

23.2. Ong ấy đi từ hôm qua.
    he went since yesterday.
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. Ong ấy đi tối hai giờ.
He went till two o'clock.

24.2. Ong ấy đi tối Saigon.
He went to (and arrived at) Saigon.

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. Ong ấy đi dựng hai giờ.
He went for two hours.

25.2. Ong ấy đi dựng hai dặm.
He went for two miles.

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
+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 nuclear 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'

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

Example 2.1.

\{ noun phrase \}            \{ verb phrase \}            \{ clause \}            \{ prepositional phrase \}

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.
2. **chậm** 'slow', stative, adverbializable.

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

   Adverbializable as in:

   Ong 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. **bi** '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.

7. **bán** 'sell', ditransitive, +DAT.

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

8. **chọn** 'choose', transitive, +complement.

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

   Ong ấy chọn bà ấy làm đại diện.
   he chose her to be representative

   [+NM] [+AGT] [+O] [+OBJ]

9. **ăn** 'eat', transitive, -complement.

   [+[+NM,+AGT][+O,+OBJ]] Example: Ong 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 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. đó 'stay at, live at, be at', intransitive, locational.
   \[+[\text{NM},+\text{OBJ}][+\text{O},+\text{LOC}]]\] Example 2.3a.

12. ra 'go out', intransitive, directional, +locomotion.
   \[+[\text{NM},+\text{OBJ}][+\text{O},+\text{DIR}]]\] Example 2.3b.

13. dí 'go', intransitive, directional, -locomotion.
   \[+[\text{NM},+\text{OBJ}][+\text{O},+\text{DIR}]]\] Example 2.3c.

14. tới 'arrive', intransitive, +goal.
   \[+[\text{NM},+\text{OBJ}][+\text{O},+\text{GOAL}]]\] Example 2.3d.

3. **Clause Types**

According to their identification-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**
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 subclassed 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:**
   
   (Example 2.1)
   
   Ong ạ́y là bác-sĩ.
   
   he is a doctor.

2. **Stative Clause Type:**
   
   (Example 2.2c)
   
   Ong ạ́y chết.
   
   he died.

3. **Submissive Clause Type:**
   
   (Example 3.1b)
   
   (See also Nguyen Dinh-Hoa 1972.)
   
   Ong ạ́y bị họ đánh.
   
   he was forced they beat

   he was beaten by them.

4. **Transitive Clause Type:**
   
   (Example 1)
   
   Ong ạ́y mua báo.
   
   he bought newspapers.

5. **Intransitive Clause Type:**
   
   (Example 2.3a)
   
   Ong ạ́y ở Sài Gòn.
   
   he stays in Saigon.

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.
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.

Ong ấy mua báo.
The example below will serve as kernel for all the derived clause classes.

2. Imperative Clause Class. Its clauses are identified by their imperative predicate (i.e. having *hãy* 'would better', *đừng* 'would better not', etc.)

Ong hãy mua báo. You (Mr.) 'd better buy newspapers.

3. Interrogative Alternative Clause Class. Its clauses have one of their tagmemes alternated by a similar one.

Ong ấy mua báo hay sách? Did he buy newspapers or books?

4. Interrogative Right-Wrong Clause Class. Its clauses have a right-wrong interrogative phrase at the end.

Ong ấy mua báo, phải không? he bought newspapers right not? (he bought newspapers, didn't he?)

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

Ong ấy mua báo, được không? he bought newspapers possible not (he bought newspapers, OK?)

6. Interrogative Yes-No Clause Class. Its clauses have a negative interrogative phrase at the end.

Ong ấy mua báo không? he buy books no (Does he buy newspapers?)
7. Interrogative Nominative Clause Class. Its clauses have an interrogative nominative actant.

\[ \text{Ai mua báo? who bought newspapers?} \]
\[ [+NM] \]
\[ [+AGT] \]
\[ [+Interr] \]

8. Interrogative Objective Clause Class. Its clauses have an interrogative objective actant.

\[ \text{Ong ấy mua gì? he bought what?} \]
\[ [+O] \]
\[ [+OBJ] \]
\[ [+Interr] \]

9. Interrogative-Extra Clause Class. Its clauses have an interrogative satellite actant, for example Time.

\[ \text{Ong ấy mua báo hồi nào? he bought newspapers when? (when did he buy newspapers?)} \]
\[ [+T] \]
\[ [+TIM] \]
\[ [+Interr] \]

10. Dependent Relative Clause Class. Its clauses are introduced by ràng 'that' or cho 'so that', and fill the Objective slot of the embedding clause.

\[ \text{Ong ấy nói (ràng) ông ấy mua báo. he said (that) he bought newspapers.} \]
\[ [+NM] \]
\[ [+DAT] \]
\[ [+O] \]
\[ [+OBJ] \]

11. Dependent Nominative Clause Class. Its clauses have a dependent nominative actant which may be omitted.

\[ \text{Người (ma) mua báo,... the person that bought newspapers...} \]
\[ [+NM] \]
\[ [+AGT] \]
\[ [+Dep] \]
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.

\[ \text{Báo (mà) ông ấy mua... the newspapers (that) he bought...} \]

\[ [+O] \\
\[ +OBJ] \\
\[ +Dep] \]

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 altogether.

\[ \text{Ngày (mà) ông ấy mua báo... the day when he bought newspapers...} \]

\[ [+T] \\
\[ +TIM] \\
\[ +Dep] \]

5. Clause Units

The five Clause Types and the twelve Clause Classes form a bi-dimensional four matrix giving sixty 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Types</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clause Classes</td>
<td>Copulative</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Submissive</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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(X). Some Stative verbs can be used in imperative forms.
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