DITRANSITIVE GOAL VERBS IN VIETNAMESE¹

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1. Introduction.

This paper describes a class of verbs found in Vietnamese and believed to exist in all languages. Verbs of this class express certain kinds of natural, space-oriented activity that go on in all societies, though the specific means of their expression may be language- or area-particular. They are treated here in some detail in the hope that the findings adduced will suggest directions of research in other Mon-Khmer languages. It is further hoped that cumulative research will show which shared characteristics of grammatical form are language-family characteristics and which are area characteristics. Such indications should in turn throw light on the grammatical structure of proto-Mon-Khmer.

The languages of mainland Southeast Asia share many grammatical features. It has yet to be determined whether any of these shared features are language-family characteristics or whether they are areal or typological. In a paper discussing certain grammatical properties shared by Vietnamese, Khmer and Black Tai (Clark, 1972) I have called attention to the wide-

¹This is an expansion of one aspect of my doctoral dissertation, Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese (University of Hawaii), to appear shortly as a monograph in Pacific Linguistics. Examples from Vietnamese and Rhade are here cited in their standard orthographies; the transcription of Khmer forms is based on that developed by Huffman (1970), while the transcription of Thai forms follows Kullavaniyaya (1974). I am deeply indebted to Stanley Starosta and Tôn-nử Kim-Chi for all of their generously given help; I am grateful also for assistance received from Nguyễn-Bằng Liêm in Vietnamese and from James Tharppe and Kenny Boun-Ya in Rhade. While my dissertation was in progress Saveros Pou and Pranee Kullavaniyaya gave me help with Khmer and Thai respectively, and some of the information originally provided by them reappears here.
spread occurrence of *coverbs*, the term by which I refer to locational and directional prepositions derived from corresponding homophonic and synonymous verbs. A case in point is the coverb meaning 'to' and the corresponding verb 'give'. This is found not only in the three languages just mentioned but also in Thai and Lao (Tai languages) and in at least three Mountain Mon-Khmer languages of south and central Vietnam: Chrau (D.D. Thomas, 1971 and personal communication, and D.M. Thomas, 1969), Sedang (Smith, 1969 and personal communication), and Jeh (Gradin, 1970a, 1970b). Coverbs, described in detail in my forthcoming monograph on coverbs and case in Vietnamese, are introduced here because they play a large role in Vietnamese in the behavior of the class of verbs under discussion. This role is described in sections 2 and 3.

The framework in which this class is presented is one developed by Stanley Starosta, applied by Harvey Taylor (1971), and refined by Paul Li (1973), Praneet Kullavanijaya (1974), Videa DeGuzman (1976), and myself. It is a generative framework which obviates the need for a distinct deep structure and transformations. Proponents of this framework claim in part that, for each vocabulary item in a given language, the mind of the speaker contains a set of inherent features particular to that item. These inherent features include a specification of the item's category (that is to say, its grammatical function, e.g., verb), its semantic-grammatical characteristics, its phonological character, and any idiosyncratic grammatical or phonological behavior it may exhibit.

*For every verb in a language, the grammatical characteristics include a statement (the "case frame") of which case relations occur with the verb and how they are realized. A case relation is a particular relationship holding between a predicate and its associated nominals according to which every nominal constituent of a sentence plays a particular role (its "case") with respect to the predicate. The realizations—that is, the overt configurations by which these case relations are marked—*
are called "case forms." Case forms include such factors as word order and the presence or absence of prepositions. The case frame of a verb, in short, consists of its obligatory and possible case relations and their case forms. Examples of case relations and case forms are given in the next section.

The cooccurrences of case relations and case forms provide the basis on which verbs are subcategorized. A verb's case frame tells the class and subclasses to which it belongs; that is, verbs which share the same set of case relations belong to the same class, while members of that class which share the same case forms for their several case relations belong to the same subclass. This results, of course, in many verbs' belonging to a number of different subclasses.

The case frame of a given verb is, in turn, determined by that verb's inherent features. Shown here is a tree of verb inherent features which are relevant to this discussion:

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+agentive
  +locative
  -locative
    +direction
    -direction
      +goal
      -goal
      +location
        +dative
        -dative
        +source

cho  thọc  nhờ  dựng  mua
'give' 'thrust (into)' 'extract' 'erect' 'buy'
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The classes of verbs represented by these features are: Agentive, Agentive Locative, Agentive Locative Location, Agentive Locative Source, Agentive Locative Goal, and Agentive Dative. Also represented are non-Locative Agentive verbs and non-Dative Agentive Locative Goal verbs. Fuller explanations of these features are given in section 2.6.

Stanley Starosta (personal communication) states that an exhaustive classification of verbs is equivalent to a statement of the syntactic properties of verbal sentences; he suggests the possibility of reconstructing syntax by reconstructing the distributional properties of verbs and verb classes.

Against this background I may now state that the purpose here is to show how the class of Agentive Locative Goal verbs behaves in Vietnamese. That is, I propose to show the case relation and case form cooccurrences particular to this class of verbs. It should be possible to compare the behavior of this class in Vietnamese with the behavior of the same class in other Mon-Khmer languages.

2. Case Relations and Verb Classes.

In this section I shall discuss four relevant case relations and their case forms, show the distinction between inner and outer Locative, and state the case frames assigned to verb classes on the basis of the features in the tree given above. This much will constitute background for the presentation of verbs in section 3. It is assumed that the same background will be applicable to verb subcategorization in all languages.

In section 1 it was stated that coverbs play a large role in the behavior of Agentive Locative Goal verbs in Vietnamese. Coverbs were described as locational and directional prepositions which have corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs. In fact, the Goal Dative preposition and all Goal Locative prepositions (including the Terminus prepositions) are coverbs, while one of the two Location Locative prepositions is a coverb. (These are given in the sections discussing Dative,
Goal and Terminus Locative, and Location Locative.) Thus all prepositions occurring with the Datives and inner Locatives (see below) of Agentive Goal verbs are coverbs, except the prepositions with Source Locatives.

When the Locative of an Agentive Goal verb occurs without a preposition, its head noun is a "locative relator noun" (Thompson, 1965: 200-202; Clark, forthcoming). Locative relator nouns include trong 'the inside', tran 'top, the space above', giũa 'the middle, the space between', and so on.

Major case relations posited and discussed for Vietnamese in my forthcoming monograph are Agentive, Objective, Dative, Locative, Instrumental, Benefactive, Comitative, and Time. The case relations of interest here are Agentive, Patient (termed Objective in an earlier paper), Dative, and Locative.

2.1. Agentive.

The Agentive is the instigator of the action of the verb. Verbs having an Agentive case relation with their normal grammatical subject are said to be Agentive verbs. Such verbs are always accompanied by a nonsubject Patient case relation, and are therefore one class of transitive verbs. The grammatical subject of a verb occurs in the Nominative case form.

In Vietnamese the Agentive occurs only as the relation between the verb and its grammatical subject. The grammatical subject always precedes the verb, being usually the immediately preceding noun phrase (NP), and never occurs with a preposition; this is the Nominative case form for Vietnamese. A simple sentence with an Agentive verb has the shape: Agentive NP - Verb - Patient NP. For example,

(1)  em  sõ  gõi  mõt  vật  ky-niêm
younger sibling will send one object souvenir
= 'I'll send a souvenir'.

Here gõi 'send' is an Agentive verb, and em 'younger sibling' is in the Agentive case.
(2) chim sê lâm sô
bird sparrow do nest
= 'The sparrows made a nest'.

Here lâm is an Agentive verb, and chim is in the Agentive case.

2.2. Patient.

The Patient is the case in closest relationship with the verb: the thing that is located or moves in physical or abstract space, or that is directly affected or described. It is assumed that every verb takes a Patient case relation, whether in the Nominative case form, as grammatical subject of the verb, or in some other case form.

In Vietnamese sentences of the type with which we are concerned here, the Patient is the "thing that moves in space" and always occurs in the Accusative case form. Nouns in the Accusative case form in Vietnamese follow the verb and are without prepositions. Examples are vât 'object' in sentence 1 above, and sô 'nest' in sentence 2.

2.3. Dative.

The Dative is the animate point of reference with respect to the Patient, frequently the goal or source of the action of the verb. We are concerned here with the Goal Dative which occurs only with Agentive verbs.

In Vietnamese the Goal Dative can occur in any one of three case forms: (a) the "Dative" case form, i.e. with the Goal Dative preposition cho 'to' (a coverb), as in cho chì in sentence 3 below and in cho tôi in sentence 4; (b) the Goal Locative case form, i.e. with a Goal Locative preposition such as the coverb qua in sentence 5; and (c) the Accusative case form, i.e. without a preposition providing the Dative immediately follows the verb, as chì in sentence 6 and tôi in sentence 7, and providing the Patient NP consists of several words. For example,
(3) em sẽ gởi một vật kỷ niệm cho chị
young sib will send one object souvenir to older sister
= 'I'll send a souvenir to you, older sister'.

(4) ông ấy bán nhà cho tôi
Mr. that sell house to I
= 'He sold a house to me'.

(5) em sẽ gởi một vật kỷ niệm qua chị
young sib will send one object souvenir across to sister
= 'I'll send a souvenir over to you'.

(6) em sẽ gởi chị một vật kỷ niệm
young sib will send older sister one object souvenir
= 'I'll send you a souvenir'.

(7) ông ấy bán tôi một cái nhà lớn
Mr. that sell I one thing house big
= 'He sold me a big house'.

2.4. Locative.

The Locative is the orientation in physical or abstract space of the event of the verb (outer Locative), or the point or extent in physical or abstract space with specific respect to the Patient of the verb (inner Locative). The Locative has three aspects: Location, Source, and Goal. In Vietnamese, Goal includes Goal marked as Terminus (see below).

2.4.1. Location is the point in space in which the event or the Patient is located. In Vietnamese the Location Locative occurs in the Accusative case form with a locative relator noun such as trong 'the inside' in sentence 8 and trên 'top' in sentence 9, or it occurs in the Location subcase form with a Location Locative preposition as in sentence 10. The Location Locative prepositions are tại 'in, at' and the coverb ở 'in, at'.

(8) chị ấy giặt áo trong cháu to
older sister that wash tunic inside basin large
= 'She washed the clothes in a large basin'.

MKS 6:1-38 (c)1977 See archives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use.
(9) chim sẽ làm ở trên cành có nhiều lá
bird sparrow do nest top branch have much leaf
'The sparrow built its nest on a branch with many leaves'.

(10) người Cao-Đài tụ tập ở miền Tây-Ninh
person Cao-Dai gather in region Tay-Ninh
'The Cao-Dai people are concentrated in the Tay-Ninh region'.

The non-Agentive (intransitive) Location verb ở 'be in' is
the verb corresponding to the coverb ở 'in'. Its Location Loca-
tive occurs in the Accusative case form with or without a loca-
tive relator noun, as in the next examples.

(11) con mèo ở dưới cái bàn
animal cat be in underneath thing table
'The cat's under the table'.

(12) bây giờ chị Lan ở Long-Xuyên
now older sister Lan be in Long-Xuyên
'Lan is in Long-Xuyên now'.

2.4.2. Source is the point in space from which the action of
the verb originates. In Vietnamese the Source Locative occurs
in the Source subcase form with a Source Locative preposition,
namely từ 'from', as in sentence 13, and khỏi 'out of', as in
sentence 14 (where ra is an adverb). The Source Locative pre-
positions are not coverbs.

(13) em sẽ gởi một vật kỷ niệm từ Bangkok
young sib will send one object souvenir from Bangkok
'I'll send a souvenir from Bangkok'.

(14) chị ấy nhổ cây ra khỏi đất
she extract plant out out of earth
'She pulled up the plant (out of the ground)'.

\[\text{Thompson, 1965: 201.}\]

\[\text{Tôn-Núi Kim-Chi.}\]
With a small set of Locative Source verbs the Source Locative can occur in the Accusative case form. For example,

(15) tôi sẽ rủi bệnh viện ngày thứ hai
    I will leave hospital day second
    'I'll leave the hospital Monday'.

2.4.3. Goal is the point in space toward which the Patient is directed. In Vietnamese, the Goal Locative occurs in the Goal subcase form with a Goal Locative preposition, as in sentence 16 below, or in the Accusative case form with a locative relator noun, as in sentence 17, where dùi quyền sách is to be interpreted as a Goal Locative because of the [+goal] marking on the verb dùi.

(16) em sẽ gởi một vật kỳ niêm về Long-Xuyên
    young sib will send one object souvenir back to Long-Xuyên
    'I'll send a souvenir back to Long-Xuyên'.

(17) nó lên dùi bục thông dùi quyền sách*
    3p stealthily insert letter underneath volume book
    'He sneaked the letter under the book'.

All Goal Locative prepositions are coverbs. They are: vào / về 'into', ra 'out to', lên 'up to', xuống 'down to', qua / sang 'across to', về 'back to', lại 'hither to', and đi 'to (thither).

With the set of non-Agentive Goal verbs which corresponds to the set of Goal coverbs, the Goal Locative occurs in the Accusative case form without a preposition and with or without a locative relator noun. For example,

(18) tôi phải lên trên Đà Lạt
    I must go up top Dalat
    'I have to go up to Dalat'.

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*[Nguyễn Văn Khuê, 1966: 583*]
(19) Tôi sẽ về Huế ăn tết  
I will return Hue eat festival  
'I'll go back to Hue for Tet'.

Many examples of Goal Locatives are given in the section on Agentive Locative Goal verbs.

2.4.4. Terminus explicitly marks the attainment of a Goal. In Vietnamese, the Terminus Locative occurs in the Terminus sub-case form with a Terminus Locative preposition. For example,

(20) Họ đón nhà đến khu đại học  
they arrange house to area university  
'They moved to the university compound'.

The two Terminus prepositions are both coverbs: đến 'reaching to' and tới 'reaching to'. With their corresponding non-Agentive Terminus Locative verbs, đến 'arrive at' and tới 'arrive at', Terminus always occurs in the Accusative case form, as does phi-trưởng in

(21) Tôi sẽ đến phi-trưởng gặp cô ấy  
I will arrive at airport meet Miss that  
'I'll go to the airport to meet her'.

The following is a sentence having three directional Locatives: a Source Locative with từ 'from', a Goal Locative with qua 'across to', and a Terminus Locative with đến.

(22) Nó chạy từ đường Duy-Tân qua cầu này đến chợ áo  
3p run from street Duy-Tân across bridge this to market that  
'He ran from Duy-Tan Street across the bridge to the market'.

2.5. Inner and Outer Locative.

As noted above (2.4), the outer Locative is the orientation in space of the event of the verb. The outer Locative is always
a Location Locative. With Agentive verbs it is the location of the Agent. In Vietnamese the outer Locative frequently occurs initially in the sentence.

By contrast, the inner Locative---that is, the point or extent in space with reference to the Patient---occurs only with Locative verbs; depending upon the verb's requirements, it can be a Location Locative or a directional Locative. Some Locative verbs have obligatory (or "strict") inner Locatives, others have optional (or "nonstrict") inner Locatives (Kullavanijaya, 1974: 56). In Vietnamese the inner Locative rarely occurs initially.

Sentences 23 to 27 contain both inner and outer Locatives. In 23, trong phòng ngủ is an outer Locative while trên giường is an inner Locative in the Accusative case form with the locative relator noun trên 'top'. The latter is interpreted as a Goal Locative because the verb để 'put' has an inherent [+goal] feature.

(23) trong phòng ngủ nó thường để sách trên giường
inside room sleep 3p usual put book top bed
'In the bedroom, he usually puts his books on the bed'.

Both dựng 'erect' in sentence 24 and giặt 'wash' in 25 are [-direction] verbs, for which reason their inner Locatives---trước nhà and trong chuă to respectively---are interpreted as Location Locatives. Both verbs occur with locative relator nouns. Their outer Locatives are marked by the Location Locative preposition ở.

(24) ở nhà-que người ta dựng một cây tre cao trước nhà
in country people erect one tree bamboo tall front house.
'In the country, people erect a tall bamboo tree in front of the house'.

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5 Nguyễn Đình Liêm.
6 Jones and Thong, 1960: 186.
(25) ngoại hiện chỉ ấy giặt áo trong chambre to
in outside veranda she wash tunic inside basin large
'On the veranda, she washes clothes in a large basin'.

If the outer Locative in sentence 25 is not topicalized, it
follows the inner Locative, as in
(26) chỉ ấy giặt áo trong chambre ngoại hiện
she wash tunic inside basin in outside veranda
'She's washing clothes in a basin out on the veranda'.

In sentence 27 ngoại 'sit' is a non-Agentive Locative verb with
an inner Locative, bên tay trái, and an outer Locative, trong
xe áo, both with locative relator nouns.

(27) trong xe áo nó thường ngoại bên tay trái
inside bus 3p usual sit side hand left
'In the bus, he usually sits on the left side'.

For further discussion of outer and inner Locatives, see
Fillmore (1968: 26, fn 34), Platt (1971: 30–33), Teng (1972:
17-18, 59–61), Kullavanijaya (1974: 55 ff.), and Clark (forth-
coming).

2.6. Classes of Agentive Verbs.

Agentive transitive verbs can be classified on the basis of
their cooccurrence with the Agentive, Patient, Dative and Loca-
tive cases and on the basis of the case forms in which these
case relations occur. Since these cooccurrences are determined
by each verb's inherent features, the tree of inherent features
given in section 1 is repeated here with further examples of
Vietnamese verbs in each major class. What these inherent fea-
tures mean in terms of verb case frames in Vietnamese is stated
hereafter. (See Ramos, 1973: 110, on the classification of
verbs.)
Agentive Locative Goal verbs, which is the class of verbs discussed in section 3, are those represented in the first two columns above. As for the other three columns, sentence examples of nhđ, dýng and mua are 14, 24 and 28 respectively.

The inherent features in the tree just given may be defined as follows in terms of verb case frames:

**+agentive:** An agentive verb takes its grammatical subject in the Agentive case relation in the Nominative case form, and always takes a Patient case relation having the Accusative case form.

**+locative:** A Locative verb takes an obligatory or optional Locative in an unspecified case form. Verbs with the inherent feature of [+locative] take inner Locatives.

**-locative:** A non-Locative verb may not take a directional Locative, that is to say, it may not take a Locative in a directional case form.

**+direction:** A [+direction] verb can take a directional Locative, which may be marked by a directional Locative case form, or it can take a Dative in a case form allowed for Dative.
-direction: A [-direction] Locative verb has the inherent feature [+location], and can take an inner Location Locative but not a Locative marked by a directional case form.

+goal: A Goal verb can take a directional Locative in a case form allowed for directional Locative, or a Goal Dative in a case form allowed for Goal Dative.

-goal: A [+direction] verb which is [-goal] has the inherent feature [+source].

+dative: A Dative Goal verb can take a Dative; the [+goal] feature insures that it is a Goal Dative and not a Source Dative.

-dative: While a [-dative] Agentive Goal verb can take a Goal Locative, it cannot take a Dative.

The foregoing subclassification does not account for Source Dative verbs. In Vietnamese there does not appear to be any correlation between Source Locative and Source Dative, at least not in any marking. A Source Dative in Vietnamese occurs with the noun cùa 'property, possession of', as in cùa ngoại-quốc in sentence 28, or it can occur alone immediately following some Source-marked verbs, as in (cùa) Lan in 29, where cùa is optional.

(28) phụ-tùng phải mua cùa ngoại-quốc
accessory must buy property foreign country
'We have to buy the spare parts from foreign countries'.

(29) tôi muốn (cùa) Lan một đôi dép
I borrow property Lan one pair sandal
'I borrowed a pair of sandals from Lan'.

Note that these Source Datives cannot occur with the Source Locative preposition từ 'from'. This means that the following are ungrammatical:

(28a) *phụ-tùng phải mua từ ngoại-quốc.

(29a) *tôi muốn từ Lan một đôi dép / một đôi dép từ Lan.

It is supposed that these verbs are properly classified as non-Locative, and in the feature tree given above mua is given as
non-Locative. Source Datives are discussed in detail in my forthcoming monograph.

However, in many (perhaps most) languages, Source Datives occur in the Source Locative subcase form or at least with a Locative marker. Note for example the English translations of sentences 28 and 29: 'from foreign countries' and 'from Lan'. Khmer, a language related to Vietnamese and sharing many other syntactic characteristics, uses the Source Locative preposition /pii/ 'from' with Source Datives:

(30) cəmnaek krióq-laan....tréw tif pií baarəteeh\(^7\)
    as for auto parts must buy from foreign countries
    'As for auto parts, they have to buy them from foreign countries'.

(31) koət kcey məkuu pií sərǐi\(^8\)
    3p borrow one pair from Sari
    'She borrowed a pair from Sari.'

Two non-Mon-Khmer languages of Southeast Asia, Thai and Rhade (an Austronesian language spoken in central Vietnam), also use Source Locative markers with Source Datives. Sentence 32 exemplifies Thai, sentence 33 Rhade:

(32) chăn yàak yiím naŋşii càak pûk\(^9\)
    I want borrow book from Pook
    'I want to borrow a book from Pook'.

(33) ækei anán cañ pluh prǎk mɔŋ kəo\(^10\)
    man that borrow ten money from I
    'That man borrowed ten dollars from me'.

Perhaps the locative character of Source Datives in languages other than Vietnamese would be reflected in the following

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\(^7\) Huffman, 1970: 372.

\(^8\) Saveros Pou.

\(^9\) Pranee Kullavanijaya.

\(^10\) Kenny Boun-Ya and James Tharpe.
feature tree used in my forthcoming monograph on coverbs. This allows Source Dative verbs ([+dative], [-goal]) to be subclassified under Locative.

3. Agentive Locative Goal Verbs.

An Agentive Location Goal (ALG) verb allows a Goal Dative case relation or a Goal Locative case relation. Some ALG verbs can take a Dative but not a Locative, as bàn 'sell' and dạy 'teach'. Others can take a Locative but not a Dative, as chèo 'oar' and thọc 'thrust'. Still others can take either a Dative or a Locative, as gởi 'send' and ném 'throw'.

We are concerned here with those ALG verbs which can take a Goal Locative, whether or not they can also take a Dative. To clarify their presentation here, these verbs are further broken down into semantic groups. Sentence examples are given with each group.

3.1. Agentive Goal Dative Verbs.

ALG verbs which are known to be able to take Datives fall into two main semantic groups, which I designate as carry-type
verbs and send-type verbs.

Carry-type verbs are those whose Agent is the instrument of locomotion, that is to say, the instrument which moves the Patient through physical or abstract space.

Send-type verbs are those whose Agent is the initiator of the movement of the Patient through space but does not accompany the Patient. It appears that all send-type ALG verbs can take the Dative. One verb, cho 'give', is included in the send-type group, though its Dative can sometimes be interpreted as a carry-type Dative.

3.1.1. Send-type Dative Verbs.

The following are representative send-type ALG verbs:

- **tin**  'inform'  
- **viết**  'write, note down'  
- **biên**  'write down'  
- **cho**  'give'

- **gởi**  'send'
- **ném**  'throw'
- **quảng**  'throw'
- **liễng**  'throw'

Some of these, such as tin, viết, biên and cho, rarely take Locatives; others, such as ném, quảng and liễng, seem to prefer Locatives over Datives. The verb gởi occurs freely with either Dative or Locative. Although viết and biên rarely take send-type Locatives, they occur frequently with "surface" Locatives and are included in the list of put-on-type verbs in section 3.3.3.

The following sentences exemplify send-type verbs occurring with Datives, most of which are marked by the Dative preposition cho, which is a coverb; as noted below, the Dative with the verb cho does not occur with the preposition cho. Sentences 5 above and 35a below illustrate Datives with Goal Locative prepositions.

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11Cf. sentences 1, 3, 5, 6, 13, and 16.
(34) Tôi sẽ tin địa chỉ mới cho chị rõ
I will inform address new to older sister clear
'I'll let you know exactly the new address'.

(35) nó viết vài lời cho ông Hải
3p write several word to Mr. Hai
'He wrote some words to Mr. Hai'.

(35a) nó viết vài lời về ông Hải
3p write several word back to Mr. Hai
'He wrote some words back to Mr. Hai'.

(36) chị biên thư cho bọn em nhé
older sister write letter to group young sib O.K.?
'Please write us a letter, older sister!'

(37) ông ấy vừa cho con gái chiếc xe Huế-Ky
he just give daughter object vehicle America
'He just gave his daughter an American car'.

Cho 'give' is the only verb in this group which obligator-
ily takes its Dative in the Accusative case form immediately
following it. In other words, it cannot occur with its corre-
ponding preposition cho 'to'.

In sentence 38, marginally acceptable to native speakers,
the preposition cho has the value of 'for' and con gái has a
Benefactive case relation with the verb cho, not a Dative case
relation.

(38) ông ấy vừa cho chiếc xe cho con gái
he just give car for daughter
'He just gave a car (to somebody) for his daughter'.

(39) tôi ném quyền tự điển của tôi cho nó
I throw volume dictionary property I to 3p
'I tossed my dictionary to him'.

Nguyễn Bình-Hòa, 1966: 68.
(40) quăng cái áo lên cho tôi nhé
throw thing that up to I O.K.?
'Throw that up to me, will you?'

(41) em lại ng trái xoài cho tôi đi
young sib throw fruit mango to I imperative
'Throw me a mango, little sister!

For examples of gởi 'send' with a Dative see sentence 3,
with the Dative preposition cho; sentence 5, with the Goal Locative preposition qua; and sentence 6, where the Dative is in the Accusative case form immediately following the verb. For an example of gởi with a Goal Locative see sentence 16.

The following exemplifies sentences containing both a Locative and a Dative, in which case the Locative must precede the Dative:

(42) tôi nhận quà chỉ gởi sang Mỹ cho tôi
I receive gift older sister send across to America to I
'I received the gift you sent to the U.S. to me'.

The following illustrate other ALG Dative verbs with Locatives:

(43) nó tin việc này về Sài Gòn
3p inform matter this back to Saigon
'He sent the information about this matter back to Saigon'.

(44) cô ấy viết thơ vào Long-Xuyên
she write letter into Long-Xuyên
'She sent a letter to Long-Xuyên'.

(45) nó cho hàng hoá đi Sài Gòn
3p give goods to Saigon
'He sent the goods to Saigon'.

Nguyễn Bằng-Liêm.
(46) chị hai ném giấy áo vào lửa
sister two throw paper that into fire
'Second sister threw the paper into the fire'.

(47) tôi ném quyển từ điển của tôi vào nó
I throw volume dictionary property I into 3p
'I threw my dictionary at him'.

The Locative noun in sentence 47 is animate but is clearly not a Dative, since vào with the verb ném indicates a spatial target rather than a recipient, as with cho in 39 above.

(48) nó ném kề thù của nó xuống đất
3p throw enemy property 3p down to earth
'He dashed his enemy to the ground'.

(49) người đánh cá quăng lưới xuống nước
person hit fish throw net down to water
'The fisherman cast his net into the water'.

(50) cô ấy thình-lình quăng mình vào lửa
she sudden throw self into fire
'She suddenly threw herself into the fire'.

(51) Hưng liều sợi dây qua sông
Hung throw fiber rope across river
'Hung threw the rope across the river'.

(52) chúng nó liều đá xuống những người bao vây
plural 3p throw stone down to plural person besiege
'They threw down stones on the besiegers'.

3.1.2. Carry-type Dative Verbs.

The following are representative carry-type ALG verbs which can take Datives:

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14Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 1109.
15Ibid., 706.
16Ibid., 857.
17Ibid., 601.

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đưa 'hand, take, deliver'
dem 'take, carry'
mang 'carry, take'
khiếng 'carry (something heavy)'\textsuperscript{18}
gánh 'carry on a shoulder-pole'

Except for đưa, which occurs freely with both Dative and Locative, carry-type verbs are more often associated with the Locative than with the Dative. That they do occur with the Dative is shown in the sentences below.

(53) bà đưa hình tôi cho bạn giúp tôi
Mrs. hand picture I to friend for I
'Please, madam, give my picture to my friend for me'.

Note that in sentence 54 there is a Locative phrase as well as a Dative. However, this Locative phrase is part of the Dative noun phrase, that is to say, trong làng is an attribute of người.

(54) nó đem tin cho mọi người trong làng\textsuperscript{19}
3p carry news to all person inside village
'He carried the news to everyone in the village'.

(55) mang cho tôi ba tờ biên-lai
carry to I three sheet receipt
'Bring me three receipts'.

(56) họ khìếng cái ruộng đến cho bác rồi\textsuperscript{20}
they carry thing chest reaching to uncle already
'They already carried the chest over to uncle'.

\textsuperscript{18}Khuân has the same meaning.
\textsuperscript{19}Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 980.
\textsuperscript{20}Tên- nữ Kim-Chi.
(57) em gánh nước cho chị & đều xóm
young sib pole-carry water to old sister in head hamlet
'Take the water to the woman at the end of the hamlet'.

The next eight sentences illustrate these same five verbs
with Goal Locatives:

(58) nó đưa lại nhà tôi ba chục cam
3p hand to house I three ten orange
'He brought thirty oranges to my house'.

(59) con sẽ...đem xác ba xuống sông sông
child will take body father down to middle river
'I'll bring your body, father, (as you ask, and throw it)
into the middle of the river'.

(60) người làm ruộng đem nước về ruộng cách nào ông
person do field take water into field way which Mr.
'How do the farmers bring water into the rice field?'

(61) chị ấy mang xuống bếp hai cân gạo
she carry down to kitchen two weight rice
'She carried two kilos of rice down to the kitchen'.

(61a) chị ấy mang gạo xuống bếp
she carry rice down to kitchen
'She carried rice down to the kitchen'.

(62) những người bị thương được mang đi
plural person suffer wounded get carry away
'The wounded men were carried away'.

---

Note that sentence 62 contains a Locative adverb rather than a Locative phrase.

(63) họ khiêng những người bị thương đến nhà-thương
they carry plural person suffer wounded to hospital
'They carried the wounded to the hospital'.

(64) họ cất lại thành bộ và gánh về sân đập lúa²⁷
they tie up become sheaf & carry back-to court beat rice
'They tie them up into bundles and carry them back to the
threshing floor'.

3.2. Carry-type Locative Verbs.

As was noted in section 3.1, carry-type verbs are those
whose Agent is the instrument of locomotion, the instrument
which moves the Patient through physical or abstract space. The
eight verbs listed below, so far as has been found, do not take
the Dative. They do take Goal Locatives, either (a) in the Ac-
cusative case form without a preposition but with a locative
relator noun or (b) in the Goal subcase form, i.e. with a Goal
Locative preposition. It has been mentioned in section 2.4 that
all Goal Locative prepositions are coverbs. Illustrative sen-
tences are given hereafter.

câm 'hold, carry' lôi-kéo 'pull, drag, draw'
chở 'transport' lôi-củn 'pull along, carry'
dỡ 'transfer, move' lái 'drive, steer'
dọn 'move, arrange'²⁸ chèo 'oar, row'

Sentences 65, 70 and 75 below contain both a Source Loca-
tive and a Goal Locative, with the Goal Locative in 65 and 70
explicitly marked for Terminus with the Terminus preposition
đến 'reaching to'. Since extent in space is implied by the fea-
ture of direction associated with a Goal verb, theoretically

²⁷Jones and Thong, 1960: 222.
²⁸Cf. sentence 20 above.
any Locative Goal verb can take both a Source Locative and a Goal Locative to specify the beginning and terminal points of extent. Verbs which do not allow a Source Locative have the inherent feature [-source].

(65) ông ấy cầm tiền từ văn-phòng đến ngân-hàng
he hold money from office to bank
'He carried the money from the office to the bank'.

(66) người ta chở người và xe hơi qua sông bằng phà máy
people carry person and car across river by ferry
'They transport people and automobiles over the river by ferry'.

(67) ngày mai tôi phải chở bạn tôi vào nhà-thủy
tomorrow I must carry friend I into hospital
'I have to take my friend to the hospital tomorrow'.

(68) chở củi về rừng
transport firewood back to forest
'To carry coals to Newcastle'.

(69) văn-phòng này họ đợi đến Chợ-lớn
office this they move to Cholon
'This office they moved to Cholon'.

(70) văn-phòng đã được đợi từ Sài-gòn đến Chợ-lớn
office (past) get move from Saigon to Cholon
'The office has been transferred from Saigon to Cholon'.

(71) người ta đón đồ ăn lên bàn thờ
people arrange thing eat up to table venerate
'People place food on the altar'.

---

29 Jones and Thong, 1960: 228.
30 Proverb.
(72) bị lởi-kéo vào trong
'suffer pull into trap
'Be lured into a trap'.

Sentence 73 has a Locative adverb instead of a Locative noun phrase:

(73) rồi anh này lởi-kéo người con gái này ai
then brother this drag person daughter this away
'And then this young man dragged the daughter away'.

(74) cô ấy bị lởi-cuồn vào vòng chính-tri
she suffer pull into circle politics
'She was drawn into politics'.

(75) bà ấy lại xe từ Biên-Hoa lên Đàlạt
Mrs. that drive vehicle from Bien-Hoa up to Dalat
'She drove the car from Bien-Hoa to Dalat'.

(76) cô lại dơ chèo thuyền qua sông
Miss steer ferry oar sampan across river
'The barge girl is oaring the boat across the river'.

(77) cô lại dơ chèo thuyền vào bờ
Miss steer ferry oar sampan into bank
'The barge girl is pulling the boat ashore'.

(78) Nam chèo ghe ra khỏi
Nam row boat out to open sea
'Nam rowed his boat off the shore'.

3.3. Put-type Locative Verbs.

Put-type verbs are ALG verbs whose Agent is the instrument of placing; having the inherent feature of [-locomotion], they refer to the Patient's being located by a relatively stationary Agent. They are divided here into three groups: (a) general

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34 Ibid., 391.
put-type verbs, (b) put-in-type verbs, and (c) put-on-type verbs.

These three groups are distinguished in part by their occurrence or nonoccurrence with Source Locatives. Some general put-type verbs can take a Source Locative\textsuperscript{36} while others cannot. These latter have the inherent feature of [−source]. The put-in-type verbs, on the whole, cannot take an extent Source Locative—that is to say, they cannot occur with the extent Source preposition ṭu 'from'. Some, however, can occur with the [−extent] Source preposition khoi 'out of'.\textsuperscript{37} Such verbs have the inherent feature of [−extent]. The put-on-type verbs occur only with Goal Locatives.

3.3.1. General Put-type Verbs.

General put-type ALG verbs do not have specific requirements respecting the nature of their Goal Locatives. Instead, a [+interior] or [+surface] interpretation is imposed by semantic marking on the preposition occurring with the Locative and on the Locative head noun in specific sentences. The following nine verbs are representative of this group:

\begin{align*}
\text{để} & \quad \text{‗put, place‘}\textsuperscript{38} \\
\text{đất} & \quad \text{‗place, put‘} \\
\text{bờ} & \quad \text{‗put, throw away‘} \\
\text{vứt} & \quad \text{‗discard‘} \\
\text{ấn} & \quad \text{‗press, thrust‘} \\
\text{giúi} & \quad \text{‗slip (into), push, thrust‘} \\
\text{gộp} & \quad \text{‗contribute, participate, collect‘} \\
\text{đổ} & \quad \text{‗pour, spill‘} \\
\text{tất} & \quad \text{‗bail, scoop (as with a bucket‘)‘}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{36} Cf. sentence 94 below, with vứt 'discard'.
\textsuperscript{37} Cf. sentence 96.
\textsuperscript{38} Cf. sentence 23 above.
Examples of these verbs in sentences are given below. While the Locative in sentence 79 occurs with a Location preposition, it is interpreted as Goal because of the [+]goal marking on the verb ảđ. It is further interpreted as an interior Goal because of the [+]interior marking on ờ and trong.³⁹

(79) nàng ảđ keọ ờ trong hốp
young woman put candy in inside box
'She placed the candy in a box'.

(80) nó ảđ cái ghế vào mọt xỏ và ngowi xường
3p put thing chair into one corner and sit down
'The child put a chair in a corner and sat down'.

(81) họ ảđ tối nước quanh tường
they place pipe water around wall
'They placed a water pipe all around the wall'.

(82) Phong ảđ mọt cái hồn lên tay nguivi ảđp
Phong place one thing kiss up to hand person pretty
'Phong kissed the hand of the pretty young woman'.

(83) cha me ảđ ảđu con ngowi ảđy⁴⁰
father mother place where child sit there
'Whom the parents have selected, the daughter will marry'.

(84) bỏ cái thơ này vào thùng thơ nào gần nhất⁴¹
put thing letter this into letter-box which near first
'Drop this letter in the nearest mailbox'.

(85) họ bỏ mọt ảđa bé mới sinh ngoài tường⁴²
they put one child just born outside street
'They abandoned a new-born infant in the street'.

³⁹For a surface Goal with ảđ see sentence 23 above.
⁴⁰Proverb.
⁴²Nguyễn Văn Khơn, 1966: 104. "In the street" may connote "in a public place."
(86) nó vật con búp-bè xuống đất
3p discard child doll down to earth
'She threw the doll down on the floor'.

(87) ông thủ-ký ấn vào túi áo cạ sáp tiền
secretary thrust into pocket tunic all wad money
'The clerk shoved the whole wad of banknotes into his coat pocket'.

(88) nó ấn ngón tay lên vết thương
3p thrust finger hand up to wound
'He pressed his finger on the wound'.

(89) Phong giữ một bài thơ vào tay nàng
Phong thrust one poem into hand she
'Phong thrust a poem into her hand'.

(90) Phong gắp mặt vào việc áo
Phong donate face into matter that
'Phong took a hand in that matter'.

(91) xin cho chim gắp nhạc về trời
please give bird donate music back to sky
'Please let the birds bring music back to the sky'.

(92) chỉ phải dở gạo vào bao trước khi đi chợ
you must pour rice into bag before time go market
'You (older sister) have to pour the rice into a sack before you go to the market'.

(93) họ tát nước ao nước mương về ruộng bằng gáo
they scoop water pond water ditch into field by bucket
'They scoop water from ponds and ditches into the rice field by means of buckets'.

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45 Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 45.
46 From the song Xin Cho Tôi (1966) by Trịnh-Công-Sơn.
47 Jones and Thong, 1960: 221.
Instead of a Goal Locative, sentence 94 has a Source Locative with the extent Source Locative preposition:

\[(94) \text{nó vút giấy từ xe aó}^{48}\]
3p discard paper from bus
'He cleaned the trash out of the bus (onto the ground)'.

3.3.2. Put-in-type Verbs.

Many of the put-type verbs are of the put-in-type, called Verbs of Inserting by Nguyễn Đình-Hoa (1976). Their Locatives are interpreted as [+interior] Goal Locatives and are often, though not always, marked with the preposition vào 'into' or with the locative relator noun trong 'inside'. The following are representative put-in-type verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{áút} & \quad \text{'insert'}^{49} \\
\text{xen} & \quad \text{'insert'} \\
\text{nhét} & \quad \text{'push in, cram'} \\
\text{thọc} & \quad \text{'thrust, poke'} \\
\text{đặng} & \quad \text{'insert; publish'} \\
\text{nhúng} & \quad \text{'dip, immerse'} \\
\text{kê} & \quad \text{'mention, count'} \\
\text{đâm} & \quad \text{'stab, prick'} \\
\text{đồng} & \quad \text{'drive in, fix'}
\end{align*}
\]

These verbs are illustrated in the sentences given below. Observe in sentence 95 the non-Agentive Locative verb nhìn and its Goal Locative. Some put-in-type verbs can occur with the [-extent] Source preposition khối as in 96 but not with the extent Source preposition tú as in 97.

\[^{48}\text{Tôn-nữ Kim-Chi.}\]
\[^{49}\text{Cf. sentence 17 above.}\]
(95) Lan sứt đầu qua cửa sổ và nhìn vào mặt em
   'Lan put her head in the window and looked at her sister'.

(96) Lan sứt đầu ra khỏi cửa sổ
   'Lan stuck her head out of window'.

(97) Lan sứt đầu / bức thơ đó từ cửa sổ
   'Lan put her head / the letter out the window'.

(98) họ xen một điều khoản vào giao kèo
   'They inserted a clause into the agreement'.

(99) Lan nhét quần áo vào vali rồi đi
   'Lan stuffed her clothes into a suitcase and left'.

(100) nó thọc tay vào cửa sổ
   'He thrust his hand into the window'.

(101) nó thọc gậy trong bùn
   'He thrust a stick into the mud'.

(102) tôi muốn đăng một bài vào tờ báo
   'I want to publish one text into sheet newspaper
    'I want to publish an article in the newspaper'.

(103) Lan nhúng áo vào thuốc nhuộm
   'Lan dipped her blouse in the dye
    rồi lấy ra phơi trên dây
    and then take out dry top line
    and then took it out to dry on the line'.

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(104) Quy lúc nào cũng những tay vào việc quan-trọng
Quy moment which also dip hand into matter important
'Quy always has a hand in the important matters'.

(105) Tôi được họ kê trong số ngũ hội-viên
I get they count inside number plural member
'I am fortunate to be counted as a member by them'.

Sentence 106 has a Locative adverb rather than a Locative noun phrase:

(106) dùng kê tôi vào\textsuperscript{51}
don't count I in
'Don't count me in'.

(107) nó dăm dao-găm vào tim kê-thù\textsuperscript{52}
3p stab dagger into heart enemy
'He thrust a dagger into his enemy's heart'.

(108) Phong dộng đinh vào tường
Phong drive nail into wall
'Phong is driving nails into the wall'.

3.3.3. Put-on-type Verbs.
Members of this subclass of put-type ALG verbs have Locatives which are interpreted as [+surface] and usually occur with the preposition (coverb) vào with the value of 'onto' rather than 'into', or sometimes with the locative relator noun trên 'top'.

Put-on-type verbs occur only with Goal Locatives, never with Source Locatives; they thus have [-source] as an inherent feature. This subclass consequently contradicts the theory mentioned in section 3.2 that every Locative Goal verb can take both a Source Locative and a Goal Locative.

The following list of representative put-on-type verbs

\textsuperscript{51}Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 515.
\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 323.
includes the send-type Dative verbs viết and biến already mentioned in section 3.1.1.

chéd 'write down'
vẽ 'draw, paint'
treo 'hang'
đán 'glue, stick'
găn 'glue, join, pin'
áp 'press against, approach'
thoa 'rub, anoint'
trét 'smear'
viết 'write'
biến 'write, note down'

The following three verbs are included in this section because their Locatives tend to be interpreted as surface Locatives:

chĩa 'point (gun)'
xoay 'turn (on axis), direct'
chỉeu 'shine, project'

Below are examples of these verbs in sentences. Compare the surface Locative in 109 with the send-type Locative in 44, both containing the verb viết and the preposition vào.

(109) chĩ viết vào nốt nhạc vào bản nhạc ấy do
you write some note music onto copy music that
'Please write some notes on that music sheet'.

(110) họ biến tên cô ấy vào số
they write name she onto register
'They entered her name on the list'.

53Treo sometimes functions as a general put-type verb.
(111) ông ấy chép vào sổ những việc đã xảy ra\(^{54}\)
he write onto record (pl.) matter (past) happen out
'He recorded the things that had happened'.

(112) họ vẽ cảnh đảo vào tờ giấy bùa\(^{55}\)
they draw branch peach onto sheet paper amulet
'They draw a peach branch on a (paper) amulet'.

(113) người ta cũng treo vào cảnh đảo
people also hang onto branch peach
một tờ giấy bùa\(^{56}\)
one sheet paper amulet
'They also hang an amulet onto the peach branch'.

(114) nó dán mũi vào cửa kính\(^{57}\)
3p stick nose onto window glass
'She pressed her nose against the shop window'.

(115) tổng-thống gắn huy- chương
president pin medal
vào ngực áo người phi-công\(^{58}\)
onto chest tunic person pilot
'The President pinned the medal on the pilot's breast'.

(116) cô ấy áp giấy vào kiên với bàn tay
she press paper onto glass with hand
'She pressed the paper on the glass with her hand'.

(117) Lan thoa dầu vào tay và chấn rôi nằm nghỉ
Lan rub oil onto arm and leg and then lie rest
'Lan rubbed oil onto her arms and legs, then lay down to rest'.

\(^{54}\)Nguyễn Văn Khôn, 1966: 216.

\(^{55}\)Thompson, 1965: 233.

\(^{56}\)Idem.

\(^{57}\)Nguyễn Bình-Hoà, 1966: 85.

\(^{58}\)Tôn-nử Kim-Chi.
(118) Họ phải trả đất sét vào kẻ gạch
they must smear clay onto crack brick
'They have to spread clay over the crack in the wall'.

(119) khi át người lĩnh sẽ chia súng vào vật gì
time that person soldier will aim gun onto object what
'At that time, the soldiers will aim at something'.

(120) kia! Bạn xoay với nước vào đám cháy ai
there friend turn spout water onto group burn (imper.)
'Hey! Turn the water on the fire!'

(121) người cảnh sát chiếu đèn vào mặt thằng ám
person police shine light onto face guy that
'The police flashed the light in his face'.

4. Summary.

An ALG verb is a transitive verb: its grammatical subject stands in the Agentive case relation to it, and it always has a Patient case relation. Moreover, it takes an obligatory or optional inner Goal Locative. An inner Locative has been defined as a point or extent in space with specific reference to the Patient; a Goal Locative is the point in space toward which the Patient is directed.

It has been shown that ALG verbs can be divided into two major syntactic groups, namely those which can take Datives and those which cannot. While the question of strict and nonstrict Datives and Locatives has not been gone into here, syntactic subgrouping would further divide these verbs into four subclasses: (a) Dative verbs which have obligatory Datives, (b) Dative verbs which have optional Datives, (c) Locative verbs which have obligatory Goal Locatives, and (d) Locative verbs which have optional Goal Locatives.

Verbs can be classified into semantic groupings as well. ALG verbs fall into three semantic groups:

1) Send-type verbs, those whose Agent is the initiator of the movement of the Patient through physical or abstract
space without accompanying the Patient. Examples of these are
ghi 'send', viết 'write', and ném 'throw'. It appears that all
send-type verbs can take Datives.

2) Carry-type verbs, those whose Agent is the instru-
ment of locomotion which moves the Patient through space. Some
carry-type verbs can take Datives while others apparently can-
ot. Examples of those which can take Datives are đưa 'hand,
deliver' and đem 'take, carry'. Examples of those which cannot
are chở 'transport', lôi-kéo 'pull, draw (into)', and chèo
'oar, row'.

3) Put-type verbs, those which have the inherent fea-
ture of [-locomotion] and denote the Patient's being placed by
a relatively stationary Agent. Put-type verbs do not take Da-
tives. They are divided into three subgroups:

a) Put-in-type verbs, those having [+interior]
Locatives, as dựt 'insert', thọc 'thrust, poke', and nhúng
'dip, immerse';

b) Put-on-type verbs, those having [+surface]
Locatives, as chép 'write down', dán 'glue, stick', and thoa
'rub, anoint'; and

c) Put-type verbs which do not specify the nature
of their Locatives, as đẻ 'put, place', bỗ 'put, throw away',
and ân 'press, thrust'.

These semantic groups appear to have only two significant
syntactic distinctions:

The first of these has been mentioned in the para-
graphs immediately above. All send-type verbs can take Da-
tives; carry-type verbs are divided into those which can and
those which cannot take Datives; and none of the put-type verbs
take Datives.

The second distinction has to do with the cooccurrence
of Locatives. Whereas send- and carry-type verbs can occur with
both Source and Goal Locatives expressing extent in space, put-
type verbs are more restricted in respect to Source Locatives.
Most of them do not occur with the Source Locative preposition
tı' 'from', which expresses extent. Some of them can occur with the non-extent Source Locative preposition khôi 'out of'. The put-on-type verbs do not occur with any Source Locatives.

The Goal Datives of ALG verbs usually occur with the Dative preposition cho 'to'. Their Goal Locatives occur with the Goal Locative prepositions cited in section 2.4.3 or with locative relator nouns---place nouns expressing spatial relationship between other nouns and their verbs. The Goal Locatives of put-type verbs make particular use of the Goal Locative preposition vào 'into, onto'.

All Goal prepositions are coverbs, that is to say, prepositions which are derived from corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs. Neither of the two Source Locative prepositions occurring with ALG verbs are coverbs. This is also true for spoken Khmer and Chinese, where Source prepositions are not coverbs. On the other hand, Thai /càak/ 'from' has a still active corresponding verb, namely /càak/ 'leave'. Moreover, /càak/ as both verb and preposition is found in literary Khmer and Old Mon. 59

It would be interesting to see how the facts presented here compare with the behavior of ALG verbs in other languages of mainland Southeast Asia, particularly the Mon–Khmer languages, and in earlier stages of any of these languages, including Vietnamese.

59S. Pou, personal communication. See my forthcoming monograph (referred to in note 1) for a comparison of coverbs in Vietnamese, Khmer and Thai as well as for an historical hypothesis regarding prepositions deriving from verbs.


Sinica Special Publications No. 64.


