Consonant copying and tone harmony in Vietnamese reduplicatives

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0. Introduction

Reduplicatives are very commonly used in Vietnamese, not only in colloquial conversation but also, very frequently, in poetry and lyrical prose. According to our reckoning, there are around 4000 lexical items in which changes of meaning correspond to modifications in the phonological shape of words. These modifications follow rules which consist in copying and replacing certain pieces of the phonological word, thereby creating consonant, rime or vowel alliterations as well as patterns of tone harmony.

There are two types of reduplicatives: primary and secondary. Secondary reduplicatives are derived by rules from primary ones, as in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Primary reduplicatives</th>
<th>Secondary reduplicatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bệnh</td>
<td>bặp bệnh</td>
<td>bặp bặp bặp bệnh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to surge up&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;bobbing&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;bobbing incessantly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khênh</td>
<td>khapus khênh</td>
<td>khapus kha khapus khênh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;protruding&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;uneven, bumpy&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;very bumpy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mơ</td>
<td>lọ mơ</td>
<td>to lọ mơ &quot;not to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to dream&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dreamy, vague&quot;</td>
<td>understand at all&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this paper, we are concerned with one category of primary Vietnamese reduplicatives where one phonological word is a free morpheme and the other
is a bound morpheme. In this category, the bound morpheme is entirely made up of phonological pieces, which are produced by rules. We will describe five different ways in which this can be done.

These primary reduplicatives all involve copying certain segments of the root (free morpheme) and adding certain segments in a systematic fashion. However, the tone of the root is not copied; instead, the tone of the bound morpheme must agree in a certain way with the tone of the root. This pattern of the agreement relies upon a classification of Vietnamese tones into two series: 1 and 2. Roots may have all 6 tones available in Vietnamese, but the tone of the bound morpheme is not independent: the tone of the root and the tone of the bound morpheme must belong the same class. In other words, this is a case of tone harmony.

1. VN tone series

All finals:
Series          1: “ngang” (no mark); “hội” (⟩⟩); “sắc” (⟩⟩)
                 2: “huyền” (⟩⟩); “ngã” (⟩⟩); “năng” (⟨⟩)

Stop finals:
Series          1: “sắc” (⟩⟩)
                 2: “năng” (⟨⟩)

2. Patterns

a) Meaning: “alternating”
Shape: Preposing a bound morpheme constructed by:
- Copying the initial consonant of the root
- Replacing the rime by the phonological sequence -áp
- Using one of only two possible tones: “sắc” and “năng”
- Harmonizing the tone:
  “sắc” if root has a tone of series 1
  “năng” if root has series a tone of 2
Exx. kềnh "warped"  karş Fernandez "uneven"
dễnh "overflow"  đáp dính "bobbing"
lưỡng "half-way; half-done"  lấp lửng  "half-submerged"
chừng "stop short"  chập Chúng "toddlings"

b) Meaning: "perfect and pleasant"
Shape: postposing a bound morpheme consisting of:
- copy of initial consonant
- rime replacement: -ǎn
- bound tones: "sắc" or "nằng"
- tone harmony: "sắc" with series 1;
  "nằng" with series 2

Exx. nhỏ "small"  nhọ nhân "tiny, nice"
xinh "pretty"  xinh xắn "nice-looking"
tròn "round"  tròn trấn "plump, round"
nhã "courteous"  nhã nhận "very courteous"

c) Meaning: "very"
Shape: postposing a bound morpheme consisting of:
- copy of initial consonant
- rime replacement: -ang
- bound tones: "ngang" or "huyện"
- tone harmony: "ngang" with series 1;
  "huyện" with series 2

Exx. nhẹ "light"  nhẹ nhàng "very light"
dễ "easy"  dễ dàng "very easy"
hợ "half-opened"  họa "opened; discovered"
xơn "sting; smart"  xơn xưởng "agitated; feeling perplexed"

d) Meaning: "very" (with positive quality)
Shape: postposing a bound morpheme consisting of:
- copy of initial consonant
- rime replacement: -e
- bound tones: "hôi" or "ngã"
- tone harmony: "hơi" with series 1;
  "nghĩ" with series 2
Exx.  gon “neat, tidy”  gon ghé “pleasingly tidy”
mới “new”  mới mê “very new”
vui “pleased, glad”  vui vẻ “very glad, joyful”
rành “know well”  rành rõ “know very well”

e) Meaning: "a little"
Shape: preposing a bound morpheme consisting of:
- copy of the whole syllable (except the tone)
- change the final stop of the bound morpheme
to the corresponding nasal
- bound tones: "ngang" or "huyền"
- tone harmony:  "ngang" with series 1;
  "huyền" with series 2
Exx.

p > m  đẹp “beautiful; handsome”
dêm đẹp “a little bit beautiful”
t > n  khiết “fitting well”
khinh khiết “fit rather well”
k > ng  khác “different”
kháng khác “rather different”
ch > nh  sạch “clean”
sánh sạch “rather clean”
m > m  chậm “slow”
chậm chậm “rather slow”
n > n  ngắn “short”
ngăn ngắn “rather short”
ng > ng  nặng “heavy”
nặng nặng “rather heavy”
ňh > nh  nhìn “a little bigger”
nính nhìn “a shade bigger”

rĩ “coze out”  rĩ rĩ “exude”
dề “easy”  đề đề “rather easy”
khe “soft, light”  khe khe “rather softly, light”
cũ “old”  cũ cũ “rather old”