ON AUSTRONESIAN LEXICON
IN VIETNAMESE

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The sources of Vietnamese lexicon have been much discussed as regards Chinese, Tai, and Mon-Khmer vocabulary (Maspero 1912; Schmidt 1926; Haudricourt 1954), and one may now presume that Vietnamese is rather safely established as an Austroasiatic language. The Austronesian (AN) subset of Vietnamese lexicon, however, while clearly not having gone unnoticed (qv. discussion in Benedict 1976), continues to invite a good deal of sorting out. The present paper mentions some well-known Austronesian forms as well as raising questions about whether certain other Vietnamese items are ultimately of Austronesian (or Austro-Thai?) origin. The effort here is to contribute towards a more deliberate Vietnamese perspective on Austronesian lexical associations with Austroasiatic.

1. Function forms
Vietnamese possesses several very regularly used grammatical or closed-set function words that appear to have Austronesian counterparts.

1.1. Aspectuals
The following forms function as regular Vietnamese (VN) aspectuals:

(1)a. dã ‘already
Tôi dã mua xe rồi.
I already buy auto already
‘I have already bought a car.’
b. sáp ‘about to’
Tôi sáp mua xe.
I about-to buy a car
‘I am about to buy a car.’
c. đang ‘in process’
Ông ấy đang làm việc.
grandfather that in-process do work
‘He is working.’

1. A version of this paper was presented at the Eighteenth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (Bangkok) in 1985. I gratefully acknowledge helpful comments from Paul Benedict, James Matisoff, Nguyễn Đình Hoà, and Bill Gage, though certain things still survive that are perhaps not to their liking.
2. The ultimate Austronesian origin of Vietnamese is a notion that has existed for some time (cf. e.g. discussion in E. Sauvignet 1922; K. Wulff 1942; as well as by Bình Nguyễn Lộc, c.1960 in his Nguyễn gốc Môlai, so Prof. Hoa informs me).
3. Some, though not all, Vietnamese illustrative forms are from Nguyễn Đình Hoà, 1971.
d. māi ‘continuative’
   Ho di bō māi dēn Thu-Dūc.
   ‘They go by-foot continue to Thu-Dūc.’
   ‘They walked all the way to Thu-Dūc.’

These forms may be compared with the following in Bahasa Indonesia (BI): 4

(2)a. sudah ‘already’
   Ia sudah pergi.
   he already go
   ‘He has already gone.’

b. siap ‘ready’
   Mereka siap untuk pergi.
   they ready for go
   ‘They are ready to go.’

c. sedang ‘while, in process’
   Ia sedang membaca ketika saya datang.
   he in-process read when I arrive
   ‘He was reading when I arrived.’

d. masih ‘still, yet’
   Ia masih tidur.
   he still sleep
   ‘He is still sleeping.’

As exemplified above in 1a and 2a, VN dā ‘already’: BI sudah ‘already’ both occur in preverbal position to signal Perfective aspect. In VN it will be observed that a clause-final rōi reinforces the same completive meaning redundantly. This form is perhaps the ‘true’ Austroasiatic marker (cf. Rengao (Rg.) hdroi ‘before’) into whose territory dā has intruded.

The tone on dā accords well with diachronic expectations clarified originally by Haudricourt (1954), which may be generally summarised as follows:

(3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Finals</th>
<th>open syllable</th>
<th>final stop</th>
<th>final spirant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>CV(N)</td>
<td>CVČ</td>
<td>CVH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CVČ</td>
<td>CVH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. A number of the sample Indonesian sentences and lexicon are from Echols and Shadily (1974).
Thus, depending on the original voicing status of the initial consonant (C-) and the closure status of the final (-N, -VC, or VH), a particular contrastive tone has developed in Vietnamese, typically, with a concomitant loss of most of the original conditioning features. The High Tones associated with old voiceless or imploed consonants are V (symbolised in our exposition with \( \tilde{V} \) for clarity though it (the macron \( \tilde{\} \)) is not written in Vietnamese orthography), \( \check{V} \), and \( \tilde{V} \). The Low Tones that originally occurred with voiced initial consonants are \( \check{V} \), \( \tilde{V} \), and \( \check{V} \).

At this point, however, when dealing with disyllabic forms, such as BI sudah, it is crucial to unravel the ‘pecking order’ that dictates which initial consonant counts as to voicing status in the selection of the High vs. Low tone set in (3) above. That is, in sudah does the s- or the d- take precedence? Clearly, the voiced initial d- had prevailed, and the \( \check{V} \) tone has been appropriately selected, and sudah > d\( \check{a} \).

To clarify this consonant precedence, it is perhaps worth the digression to discuss the discoveries of Friberg and Hor (1977) as to initial consonant ‘dominance’ with respect to the register (+ATR* vs. -ATR) selection of stressed (main) syllables in Western Cham (Austronesian of southern Vietnam and Cambodia). Distinguishing register A (-ATR) consonants from register B (+ATR), Friberg and Hor (1977: 36) summarise how precedence is established and register effects determined on the phonation of vowel quality of the succeeding syllable:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{A (} & \text{B (} & \text{p} & \text{t} & \text{c} & \text{k} & \text{b} & \text{d} & \text{j} & \text{g} \\
\text{ph} & \text{th} & \text{ch} & \text{kh} & \text{bh} & \text{dh} & \text{jh} & \text{gh} \\
\text{?b} & \text{?d} & \text{?j} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?}
\end{array}
\]

Register A and B in Western Cham words were accounted for by the following ‘dominance’ rules:

(5a) A + A = A
b. B + B = B
c. A1 + B1 = second element
d. B1 + A2 = B
e. A + B2 = A

These rules (following Purtle (1969) for Khmer), although neither ordered with respect to each other nor within the left-hand members, indicate register of tonic syllable. Quadrant A1 and B1 are equally strong; they both dominate A2 and B2. A2 also dominates B2. This analysis is based entirely on the consonant ‘strength’; the consonant is seen to ‘dominate’ or determine the register characteristics of the following vowel. And, based on the five ‘dominance’ rules noted above, certain atonic syllable initial

\( *= \) Advanced Tongue Register (Ed.).
consonants exert their strength over an intervening tonic syllable initial to determine the ‘registerness’ of the tonic syllable vowel.

In the following examples, consonant dominance is seen in the combining of various syllables to form words (a grave accent /˘/ is added to indicate second (+ ATR) register clearly):

(6)  A1 + B1 /ka/+ /baw/ /kabaw/ ‘buffalo’
    B1 + A1 no examples (historically B1 has become A1).
    B1 + A2 /bal/+ /haw/ /bahaw/ ‘new’
    A2 + B1 /ha/+ /dom/ /hadom/ ‘how much’
    A1 + B2 /ka/+ /ro/ /karо/ ‘strong’
    B2 + A1 /la/+ /kaw/ /lakaw/ ‘to step over’
    A2 + B2 /ha/+ /nin/ /hanı/ ‘bow’
    B2 + A2 /la/+ /say/ /lasay/ ‘cooked rice’

Returning now to sudah > dă, one may usefully compare this process with Friberg and Hor’s A2 + B1, in which /ha/+ /dом/ > /hadом/, the word initial spirant yielding to the main syllable initial stop as the prosody determining element. Then, of course, Vietnamese ultimately reduces the form to a monosyllable.

Resuming our discussion of the other aspectuals, it will be observed that the pair VN săp ‘about to’; BI siap ‘ready’ are also preverbal forms. The tone of săp results straightforwardly from its syllable type as CVÑ (cf. 1.1.(3) above).

For VN diăng ‘in process’: BI sedang ‘in process’ one must, as with dă, assume a simplification which ultimately drops the first syllable. As to tone assignment, one expects either level (unmarked) or ‘ with a CVN syllable (no. (3) above), but with Friberg and Hor’s rules an initial s- should have yielded to d- and resulted in *dăng. Perhaps the situation is more complex historically and Friberg and Hor-type dominance is further conditioned by other factors. A prime candidate is perhaps an original stress difference in Austronesian. Specifically, for example, note:

(7)  BI ‘sudah ‘already’
    BI se’dang ‘in process’

in which VN dă derives from an unstressed syllable while diăng corresponds to a stressed one.

The pair VN măi ‘continuative’: BI masih ‘still, yet’ do not function quite like the other aspectuals above, for măi occurs as a post-verbal while masih is a pre-verbal. Phonetically, one can assume a reduction masih > maïh (i.e. CVH), after which, given the voicing of the initial, the resultant măi is completely expected (qv. (3) above).

1.2 Desiderative
The following sentences are instances of desiderative modality in VN or BI:
(8)a. VN: *em nầy muôn về nhà.*
   younger sibling this want return home
   ‘He/she (young one) wants to go home.’

b. BI: Dia mau datang sore ini.
   3-sg. want return home this
   ‘She wants to come this evening.’

That is, VN muôn ‘want’ and BI mau ‘want’ both function as conventional
preverbal desiderative forms. The question is ‘Do they have any historical
connection?’ The similarity of form is strengthened if one assumes that
muôn derives from the nominalised (ke...an) form ke-mau-an ‘a wish’.

If we again invoke consonant dominance (qv. 1.1 (5) and (6) above), the
initial k- would determine one of the three High tones (V, V, V), but why
V (muôn), when CVN would seem to predict V (*muôn)? Again, the
hypothesis of a nominalisation source may provide an answer, for suffixes
in Indonesian (cf. also Philippine languages) regularly insert a (?) between
vowel sequences, thus (BI):

   ke-mau-an ‘wish (n.)’

which would provide the explanatory feature of stop in the final (-V"N) to
produce an expected muôn ‘want’.

1.3 Equative
Consider the following sentences in VN and BI:

(9)a. VN: Anh tôi là giáo sư.
   older brother my ‘is’ teacher
   ‘my older brother is a teacher.’

b. BI: Bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa kebangsaan
   language Indonesia ‘is’ language national
   ‘Indonesian is the national language.’

Structurally, VN là and BI ialah (lit. ià ‘3rd sg.’ + lah ‘emphatic’) operate
in remarkably similar ways. Assuming the reduction to one syllable lah,
the problem for tone would be that CVH predicts a form *lã rather than
lã. The indication then, is that the Austronesian form, if the connection is
authentic, must itself have been reduced to la at the time it was given a
tonal interpretation in Vietnamese. This account of là is problematical,
however, for Nguyễn Đình Hoà has pointed out (pers. commun.) that in
the old Chữ Nôm data this copular là turns up as làm ‘to do’, and his
suggestion is that that is, indeed, its origin. Since, on the other hand, it is
acceptable even in Modern Vietnamese to use làm as well as là in a
copular sense, it is not clear to me that they could not be independent
forms.
1.4 Pronouns
There appear in Vietnamese a number of pro-forms of a locative, personal or interrogative nature that bear a good deal of resemblance to Austronesian forms, among which are the following:6

(10) VN kiạ; kia ‘there’: UAN *ija ‘he, she, it’, BI ta, Chmr. gwid’a, SAAt. hia

VN nay, naï: PAN *iniH2, BI ini ‘this’ sini ‘here’, Rade nei (cf. similar forms in Tai).

VN nó [arrogant] ‘3-sg.’, chúng nó ‘they’; PAN *na ‘3-sg.’, Agta na ‘3-sg.’, BI sana ‘there’.

VN ta [arrogant] I’, chúng ta ‘we incl.’: PAN *(k)ita, *ta ‘we incl.’, BI kita.

VN mà ‘which’ (rel. pron.), mô ‘what, where?’: BI mana ‘where, which’ (interrog. pron.).

1.5 Adverbs


VN rải ‘very’: UAN *bɔvat ‘heavy’, BI berat ‘heavy’ (cf. VN hoi lit. ‘vapour’ = ‘rather’).

VN lâm ‘very’: Haroi hlam ‘very’, cf. BI selama ‘as long as’, selama lamanya ‘at the most’.

VN xa ‘far’: PMP *za[h]ouq, BI jauh, Chmr. t’ag’o.

2. Content forms
Vietnamese has, in addition to the more ‘grammatical’ forms above, quite a large number of general lexical items that also bear enough resemblance to Austronesian forms to have been noted by a number of investigators.

5. Austronesian citations are in general from Dahl (1977). Rade forms are from Egerod (1978), other Chamic citations are from Burnham (1976). Waic references are from Diffloth (1980).

6. Abbreviations for languages cited without full text references are:

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<td>MVN</td>
<td>Ru.</td>
<td>Rukai</td>
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<td>Squiliq Atayal</td>
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<td>VN</td>
<td>Sir.</td>
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2.1. Body parts


VN làrī ‘tongue’: UAN *dilah ‘tongue’, Jav. dilah, BI lidah, Pw. lidaliñ, Rade lah, Haroi caliah, Cham talah ‘id’.

VN tráı ‘left hand’: PAN *uivi ‘left (hand)’, BI kiri, Mak. ka-iri, Pu. tama-wiri’.

VN tai ‘ear’: PAN *t2alina, BI telinga ‘ear’, cf. CLi. thài.

VN dâu ‘head’: PMP *qulu ‘head’, Tg. ¿ulo, BI hulu ‘upper end, head’, cf. also Lq. ru, SLi. dau ‘head’.

2.2. Humans and body functions


VN tō, trō ‘show’: UAN *tu(n)duh, Jav. tuduh, BI tunjuk ‘point’, Tg. turo ‘instruction’, Bs. tolo ‘finger’, Am. to ro ‘point’.


VN án ‘eat’: PMP *ka’an ‘eat’, Tg. kaa’in, BI makan, SAT. qan-iq. cf. Rg. kaq ‘eat (meat)’.

VN guc ‘bend head down’: BI angguk ‘nod’ cf. BI anggut ‘nod, (ship) pitch’.

VN ngó ‘take a look’: BI anggul ‘tip toward, raise head’, Rade angti ‘look up’.

VN mūa ‘vomit’: UAN u(n)tah ‘vomit’ BI muntah; SAT. m-utaq. Note that, here, VN retains the Austronesian verbal prefix m-.

VN gāi ‘scratch’: UAN *gatal ‘itch’, Jav. gatol, BI garit, Md. ghatal, Pw. gatol, cf. also BI kais ‘scrape for food’.

VN nghe ‘hear’: UAN *dæŋ ‘hear’, BI dengar, Tg. dïŋg, Pu. ma-rngai, Rade kna ‘ear’ (*taliñja).

VN dā (MVN dēq) ‘belly’: UAN *[t]ijan ‘belly’ BI tian ‘abdomen of pregnant woman’, Am. tia†, Th. tiya.

VN dïŋg ‘stand’: UAN *dīvi ‘stand’, Rade dök døŋ ‘stand’ (cf. Li tsuon, Thai *yïün).

VN (nǎm) mē ‘dream’: UAN *i(m)pi, BI mimpi, Pw. səpi, Rade epe ‘dream’.

VN bà ‘grandmother’: UAN baJi ‘wife, woman’, Tg. ba-bai’i Am. va-vahi’, BSÉ bayi ‘grandmother’. cf. also VN v propel ‘wife’.
VN *thura ‘respect form’: UAN *tuha/tuva ‘old’ Jav. tuwa.

2.3. Flora, fauna

VN cây ‘tree’: UAN *kaju, PMP *kaS2ju ‘tree, wood’, BI kayu, Tg. kaahoy, Am. kasiu.


VN mà ‘rice seedling’: PMP *qumaH ‘field’, BI huma ‘field for dry rice’, Bu. humaq, SAT. qumah ‘work in the field’.

VN trúng (MVN thìنغ): *UAN *təlu ‘egg’, Tg. 'itlog, BI telur, Am. lita'uy.


VN càng ‘claw, pincer’: UAN *bayon ‘molar’, Tg. bagan ‘molar’ Jav. wan ‘jaw’, Rade kaay ‘chin, jaw’.

2.4. World, weather


VN dât ‘earth’: UAN *datav ‘flat’, BI rata ‘flat, level’, Tg. lataq ‘carpet’, NgD datah ‘step, rung’.


VN dêm ‘night’: UAN *dəm dam ‘keep quiet’, BI diam ‘quiet’, Pw. dzəm dzəm ‘last night before full moon’.


VN dawning/dáng ‘road’: PMP *Zalan ‘road, path’, BI jalan, Tg. daan, Bu. daan, Sir. darang, Rade elaan, Haroi calian ‘id’.
2.5 Miscellaneous verbs

VN rải, trải 'to sow': BI beras 'rice', Rade rahi 'sow rice in wet field'.

VN trả, già (MVN bla) 'pay back': UAN *bolah 'split', BI belah 'split, part', Pw. volaq 'split'. Cf. also VN bêa 'split open' (except ~ tone is expected).

VN. kêt 'fasten together': UAN *dakot 'to stick, BI dekat 'near', Tg. dikit 'joined'. Pw. dôkots 'to stick'.

VN tới 'arrive': UAN *ha(n)tôd 'deliver, convey', BI antar 'introduce' Jav., Md. atar, Pw. sôdz 'send'.

VN dôi 'deceive, lie': UAN *putôd 'rotate', BI putar 'turn, be dishonest'. cf. Rg. podär 'spin a top, deceive'.

VN nau 'cook': UAN *tunô 'roast', Jav. tunu 'burn, Md. tono(h) 'roast', Pw. ma-tsulu 'hot', Rade m?dau, Roglai pâ?dau 'warm'.

VN mât 'lose': UAN *mataj, BI mati 'die, dead'.

VN kiêm 'seek': UAN *kîl[jim 'send', BI kirim 'id.', Am., Bu., kilim, Pw. kim 'search for'.

2.6. Descriptives

VN sãi 'wrong': PMP *t'alaq, BI salah, Tg. salâ 'mistaken', Pw. patalaq 'envious, jealous'.

VN sôc 'sharp': PMP *hat'aq 'whet', Chmr. gwasa', Tg. hâasa, Pw. t-ataq 'id'.

VN bê 'big': UAN *bôvat 'heavy', BI berat 'id.', Mlg. be 'big, great, many'.

2.7. Miscellaneous

VN cuôi 'end, least': UAN *likuô 'back, behind', BI ekor 'tail', Tg. likod, NgD ba-rikor, Pw. likudz 'behind'.

VN sîng 'gun': UAN læiê, Tg. lusog, Rade suy, Rg. ii suk 'mortar', Pz. ludzuû, SA. lu hu.y.

VN vân 'plank, board': UAN *papan, BI papan 'board', cf. Li. pen 'classifier for people', Thai *peen 'plank'.

VN ná 'bow': UAN *panah, PMP *panaq 'bow, arrow, shoot', BI panah 'bow and arrow', Tg. paana, Rade hna, Am. pana'h. Cf. VN bán 'shoot', and BI panar 'stunned, dull', but also BI senapan 'weapon'.

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3. Some Phonetic Patterns

The Vietnamese forms cited above in sections 1 and 3, while presenting a number of 'irregularities', do, on the other hand, exhibit a number of likely phonetic associations with Austronesian forms in general, now summarised in 3.1-10.

3.1. VH high tones: AN voiceless initials

VN két 'fasten together': UAN *dakat 'to stick' BI dekat 'near', Tg. dikit 'joined', Pw. dokedats 'to stick'.
VN trăng (MVN thằng) 'egg': BI telur, Tg. itlog
VN ta ['arrogant'] I', chūng, ta 'we incl.': PAN *(k)ita, *ta, BI kita 'we inclusive'.
VN cây 'tree': BI kayu 'tree'.
VN tò, trò 'show': Jav. tuduh 'point', Tg. turu' 'instruction'.

3.2. VN low tones: AN voiced initials

VN bà 'grandmother': UAN *baji 'wife, woman', Tg. ba-bai'i, Am. va-vahi, BSE bayi 'grandmother' (cf. VN yop 'wife').
VN mù 'blind': UAN *buta, BI buta, Rade buum ala? 'blind', cf. Thai 'bot.
VN mà 'rice seedling': BI huma 'field for dry rice', Bu. humaq, SAT. qumah 'work in the field'.
VN gúc 'bend head down': BI angguk 'nod'.
VA mûra 'vomit': UAN *u(n)tah, BI muntah, SAT. m-utaq 'vomit'.

3.3. VN ? or ~ tone: AN -s-
VN mài 'continuative': BI masih 'still, yet'.
VN sūña 'milk': BI susu 'milk, breast', Am. tso tso', Rade ksau 'breast'.

3.4. VN ? or ~ tone: AN -s/h
VN ïa 'defecate': UAN *ia(h), Jav. p-ih 'water conduit', Bu. 'isah 'wine'.
VN rái 'to sow': BI beras 'rice', Rade rah 'sow rice in wet field'.
VN hro'i 'tongue': Jav. dilah, BI lidah, Pw. lidaliid, Rade lah.
3.5. VN ˚ or o: AN final stop

VN đat ‘earth’: UAN *data ‘flat’, BI rata ‘flat, level’, Tg. lataq ‘carpet’, NgD datah ‘step, rung’.

VN sạc ‘sharp’: PMP *hat’aq ‘whet’, Chmr. gwasa’, Tg. haasa’, Pw. t-ataq ‘id’.


VN gúc ‘bend head down’: BI angguk ‘nod’ (cf. 3.2.).

3.6. VN level (unmarked) or ˚ tone: AN open syllable/final nasal

VN tai ‘ear’: BI telinga. cf. CLi. thai ‘ear’.

VN ta [arrogant] I, chung ta ‘we incl.’: PAN *(k)ita, *ta, BI kita ‘we incl.’.

VN ăn ‘eat’: PMP *ka’an ‘eat’, Tg. kaa’in, BI makan, SAt. qan-ig ‘eat’.

VN mà ‘which (rel. pn.)’: BI mana ‘where, which (interrog. pn.)’, cf. also VN mò ‘what, where’.

VN dwong, dăng ‘road’: PMP *Zalan ‘road, path’, BI jalan, Tg. daan, Sir. darang.

3.7. VN ch-: AN t/pl-

VN ch ‘thread’: PAN *taliS ‘rope, cord’, BI tali, Tg. taali?, Pw. tsalis, Pz. sariss ‘cord’.

VN chuc ‘a collection of ten’: UAN/PMP *puluh/puluq Tg. pulo’, pu’o’, Ru. porok, Pw. puluq ‘ten’.

3.8. VN ur or ø : AN -l/r-

VN luoi ‘tongue’: UAN *dilah ‘tongue’, Jav. dilah, BI lidah, Pw. lidaliid, Rade lah.

VN trung (MVN thung): UAN *taluy ‘egg’, Tg. ‘itlog, BI telur, Am. lita’uy ‘egg’.

VN dwong, dăng ‘road’: PMP *Zalan ‘road, path’, BI jalan, Tg. daan, Sir. darang, Rade elaan.

VN bu ‘big’: UAN *buvat, BI berat ‘heavy’, Mlg. be, ‘big, great, many’.

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3.9. **VN -i: AN -l/r**

VN cuôî ‘end, last’: UAN *likud ‘behind, back’, BI ekor, Tg. likod, NgD ba-rikor, Pw. likudz ‘behind’.

VN sai ‘wrong’: PMP *t’alaq, BI salah, Tg. sala’, ‘mistaken’, Pw. pa-talaq ‘envy. jealous’.


VN dōî ‘deceive, lie’: UAN *putād ‘rotate’, BI putar ‘turn, be dishonest’.


3.10. **VN tr-/gi-/bl-: AN b(v)l-**


VN trōî ‘be round’: UAN *bōluy. cf. Li. (p)luon, Thai *duan, *don (Benedict 1966: 246).

4. **Concluding remarks**

This brief consideration of possible lexical affinities between Vietnamese and Austronesian makes no claim to far-reaching conclusions. At the same time, some of the VN forms observed above would, if valid, seem to call for at least two sources or periods of Austronesian (or Austro-Thai?) contact in order to explain their contemporary phonological constitution. These I will, for present purposes, distinguish simply as Immediate vs. Remote sources. The following sets of vocabulary are illustrative:

**Immediate**

VN dā ‘already’: BI sudah ‘already’.

VN sāp ‘about to’: BI siap ‘ready’.

VN dang ‘in process’: BI sedang ‘in process’.

VN là ‘is’: BI ia lah ‘is’.

VN thuva ‘respect’: BI, Jav. tuwa ‘old’.

VN cây ‘tree’: BI kayu ‘tree’.

VN rāi ‘to sow’: BI heras, Rade rah ‘sow rice in wet field’.

**Remote**

VN gāï ‘scratch’: UAN *gatsal ‘itch’, BI garit, Pw. gatsal. cf. BI kais ‘scrape for food’.

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VN *ma 'rice seedling': PMP *qumaH 'field', BI huma 'field for dry rice', Bu humaq, SA. qumah 'work in the field'.

VN *kiem 'seek': UAN *kil[l]im 'send', BI kirim 'id', Bu. kilim, PW. kim 'search for'.

VN *sac 'sharp': PMP *hat'aq 'whet', Chmr. qwas'a, Tg. hāasa', PW. t-ataq 'id'.

VN *ket 'fasten together': UAN *dakat 'to stick', BI dekat 'near', Tg. dikit 'joined', PW. d'okats 'to stick'.

VN *derving dang 'road': PMP *Zalan 'road, path', BI jalan, Tg. daan, SR. darang, Rade elaan.

Thus, some of the forms cited in this paper may well reflect contact between Austronesians or Austro-Thai and Austroasiatic, rather than with Viêt-Muông proper. Even so, it is suggested that, for example, syllable reduction and tonal effects in the latter contribute significant perspective to historical processes even in early linguistic relationships.

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