

ON Austronesian Lexicon IN VIETNAMESE¹

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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),² 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)³ 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. *dang* ‘in process’

Ông ấy dang 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 *Nguồn gốc Mälai*, so Prof. Hòa informs me).

3. Some, though not all, Vietnamese illustrative forms are from Nguyễn Đình Hòa, 1971.

- d. *māi* ‘continuative’

Họ di bộ māi đến Thủ-Đức.
They go by-foot continue to Thủ-Đức
'They walked all the way to Thủ-Đức.'

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.) *hədroi* ‘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)

Original Finals				
	open syllable	final stop	final spirant	
<i>original initials</i>	voiceless Cጀ(N)	CጀC	CጀH	high tones
	voiced Cጀ	CጀC	CጀH	low tones

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 (-V(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 imploded consonants are V (symbolised in our exposition with \bar{V} for clarity though it (the macron $\bar{}$) is not written in Vietnamese orthography), \bar{V} , and $\bar{\bar{V}}$. The Low Tones that originally occurred with voiced initial consonants are \bar{V} , \bar{V} , and $\bar{\bar{V}}$.

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 \bar{V} tone has been appropriately selected, and *sudah* > *dā*.

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:

	A (-ATR)				B (+ATR)			
1.	p	t	c	k	b	d	j	g
	ph	th	ch	kh	bh	dh	jh	gh
	?b	?d	?j	?				
2.	s		h		m	n	ñ	ŋ
					w	l	y	r

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

- (5)a. 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/	/karo/	'strong'
	B2 + A1	/la/+ /kaw/	/lakaw/	'to step over'
	A2 + B2	/ha/+ /nin/	/hanin/	'bow'
	B2 + A2	/la/+ /say/	/lasay/	'cooked rice'

Returning now to *sudah* > *dā*, one may usefully compare this process with Friberg and Hor's A2 + B1, in which /ha/+ /dōm/ > /hadōm/, 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 *sáp* 'about to': BI *siap* 'ready' are also preverbal forms. The tone of *sáp* results straightforwardly from its syllable type as CVC (cf. 1.1.(3) above).

For VN *dang* 'in process': BI *sedang* 'in process' one must, as with *dā*, 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 **dang*. 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 *dā* derives from an unstressed syllable while *dang* corresponds to a stressed one.

The pair VN *māi* 'continuative': BI *masih* 'still, yet' do not function quite like the other aspectuals above, for *māi* occurs as a post-verbal while *masih* is a pre-verbal. Phonetically, one can assume a reduction *masih* > *maih* (i.e. CVH), after which, given the voicing of the initial, the resultant *māi* 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* *này* *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 *muốn* ‘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 *muốn* 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, \hat{V} , \check{V}), but why V (*muōn*), when CVN would seem to predict V (**muōn*)? 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. B.I: *Bahasa Indonesia ialah bahasa kebangsaan*
 language Indonesia 'is' language national
 'Indonesian is the national language.'

Structurally, VN *là* and BI *ialah* (lit. *iā* '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 **lā* rather than *là*. 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 Đinh Hoà has pointed out (pers. commun.) that in the old *Chữ Nôm* data this copular *là* turns up as *lām* '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 *lām* 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 Austronesian⁵ forms, among which are the following:⁶

- (10) VN *kia; kìa* ‘there’: UAN *iija ‘he, she, it’, BI *ia*, Chmr. *gwid'a*, SAT. *hia'*

VN *nay, nà*: 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

- (11) VN *lâu* ‘long time’, *luôn* ‘forever’: UAN *laun ‘duration’, BI *laun* ‘to linger, loiter’, Pw. *laut* ‘unfinished portion’.

VN *rất* ‘very’: UAN *bəyat ‘heavy’, BI *berat* ‘heavy’ (cf. VN *ho-i* lit. ‘vapour’ = ‘rather’).

VN *lám* ‘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:

Am.	Ami	Mlg.	Malagasy	Rg.	Rengao
Bs.	Bisayan	MVN	Middle (17th-cent-	Ru.	Rukai
BsE	Bisayan as recorded in Encarnacion		ury) Vietnamese	SAT.	Squiliq Atayal
Bu.	Bunun	NgD	Ngaju Dayak	Sir.	Siraya
Chmr.	Chamorro	PAA	Proto-Austro-Asiatic	SLi.	Southern Li
CLi.	Central Li	PAN	Proto-Austronesian, Dahl's constructions	TB	Toba-Batak
Jav.	Javanese	PMP	Proto-Malayo-Poly-	Tg.	Tagalog
Kv.	Kuvalan		nesian	Th.	Thao
Lq.	Laqua	Pu.	Puyama	UAN	Uraustronesisch, Dempwolff's con-
Mak.	Makassarese	Pw.	Paiwan		structions
Md.	Madurese	Pz.	Pazeh		

2.1. Body parts

- (12) VN *vai* (MVN *bai*) ‘shoulder’: **bava* ‘shoulder’, BI *bahu*, Pz. ‘*a-baxa*, Truk. *jafar* (Dyer 1953).

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

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

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

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

2.2. Humans and body functions

- (13) VN *mù* ‘blind’: UAN **buta*, BI *buta* ‘blind’, Pw. *ma-vutsa*, Rade *buum ala* cf. Thai *‘bot.

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

VN *iá* ‘defecate’: UAN **iə(h)* ‘urine’, Jav. *p-ih* ‘water conduit’, Bu. ‘*isah* ‘urine’.

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

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

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

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

VN *găi* ‘scratch’: UAN **gatəl* ‘itch’, Jav. *gatəl*, BI *garit*, Md. *ghatal*, Pw. *gatsəl*, cf. also BI *kais* ‘scrape for food’.

VN *nghe* ‘hear’: UAN **dəŋə* ‘hear’, BI *dengar*, Tg. *dijig*, Pu. *ma-rngai*, Rade *kna* ‘ear’ (< **taliŋa*).

VN *da* (MVN *dęq*) ‘belly’: UAN *[*t]ijan* ‘belly’ BI *tian* ‘abdomen of pregnant woman’, Am. *tiat*, Th. *tiiya*.

VN *đứng* ‘stand’: UAN **diyi* ‘stand’, Rade *dook dəŋ* ‘stand’ (cf. Li *tšuon*, Thai *‘yüün’).

VN (*nă̄m*) *mê* ‘dream’: UAN **i(m)pi*, BI *mimpi*, Pw. *səpi*, Rade *epei* ‘dream’.

VN *bà* ‘grandmother’: UAN *baji* ‘wife, woman’, Tg. *ba-bai'i* Am. *va-vahi'*, BsE *bayi* ‘grandmother’. cf. also VN *vợ* ‘wife’.

VN *thuwa* ‘respect form’: UAN *tuha/tuva ‘old’ Jav. *tuwa*.

2.3. *Flora, fauna*

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

VN *bông* ‘flower’: BI *bunga* ‘flower’, Rade *mja*. cf. PMunda *ba[g]la, Mon *pkao*, Aslian *bəkaw, PAA *baka[ɿ].

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

VN *trứng* (MVN *tléng*): *UAN *taluŋ ‘egg’, Tg. ‘*itlog*, BI *telur*, Am. *lita’uy*.

VN *sữa* ‘milk’: UAN *tuú ‘female breast’, BI *susu* ‘milk, breast’, Am. *tsotso*’, Rade *ksau* ‘breast’.

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

2.4. *World, weather*

VN *bụi* ‘dust’: UAN *dabuk ‘ashes, dust, grey’, BI *abu* ‘dust’, Jav. *dawu* ‘grey’, ?*bruih* ‘dust’. But cf. Rg. *həpuih* ‘to dust’, Waic. *pes.

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

VN *hở* (of cliff, well) ‘collapse, slide’: UAN *dələt ‘leave suddenly’, Tg. *lilis* ‘wipe off’, TB *dolos* ‘glide’, Jav. *dəlas* ‘keep away’, Rade *luh* ‘fall to the ground’. cf. Rg. *rəlayh* ‘cave in’.

VN *trăng/giăng* (MVN *blāng*) ‘moon’: UAN *bulan ‘moon’, BI *bulan*, Rade *mlaan*, Jarai *blan*, Pu. *vołan*, Kv. *buu ran*.

VN *sáng* ‘become bright’: BI *terang* ‘clear, bright’, cf. VN *trắng* ‘white’, *răng* ‘dawn’.

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

VN *mai* ‘tomorrow’: UAN *damay ‘resin, torch’, Sir. *madama* ‘morning’, Ru. *damar* ‘moon’, Tg. *damag* ‘night’ (cf. with *đêm* above). Cf. Rg. *mar* ‘morning’ *mar eh* ‘tomorrow’, also Rg. *mang* ‘night’.

VN *đường/dàng* ‘road’: PMP *Zalan ‘road, path’, BI *jalan*, Tg. *daan*, Bu. *daan*, Sir. *darang*, Rade *elaan*, Haroi *calian* ‘id’.

2.5 Miscellaneous verbs

VN *râi, trâi* ‘to sow’: BI *beras* ‘rice’, Rade *rah* ‘sow rice in wet field’.

VN *trâ, giâ* (MVN *blâ*) ‘pay back’: UAN **bəlah* ‘split’, BI *belah* ‘split, part’, Pw. *vəlaq* ‘split’. Cf. also VN *bûra* ‘split open’ (except ~ tone is expected).

VN. *kêt* ‘fasten together’: UAN **dəkət* ‘to stick, BI *dekat* ‘near’, Tg. *dikit* ‘joined’. Pw. *dəkəts* ‘to stick’.

VN *tôi* ‘arrive’: UAN **ha(n)təd* ‘deliver, convey’, BI *antar* ‘introduce’ Jav., Md. *atər*, Pw. *saíədz* ‘send’.

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

VN *nâu* ‘cook’: UAN **tunu* ‘roast’, Jav. *tunu* ‘burn, Md. *tono(h)* ‘roast’, Pw. *ma-tsutu* ‘hot’, Rade *m?dau*, Roglai *pa?dau* ‘warm’.

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

VN *kiêm* ‘seek’: UAN **ki[ŋ]im* ‘send’, BI *kirim* ‘id.’, Am., Bu., *kilim*, Pw. *kim* ‘search for’.

2.6. Descriptives

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

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

VN *bü* ‘big’: UAN **bəyat* ‘heavy’, BI *berat* ‘id.’, Mlg. *be* ‘big, great, many’.

2.7. Miscellaneous

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

VN *súng* ‘gun’: UAN *laíen*, Tg. *lusoy*, Rade *suy*, Rg. *iisuk* ‘mortar’, Pz. *ludzúj*, SAt. *luhuŋ*.

VN *ván* ‘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 *bân* ‘shoot’, and BI *panar* ‘stunned, dull’, but also BI *senapan* ‘weapon’.

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 *kết* ‘fasten together’: UAN *dəkət ‘to stick’ BI *dekat* ‘near’, Tg. *dikit* ‘joined’, Pw. *dəkəts* ‘to stick’.

VN *trứng* (MVN *tl̥eng*) ‘egg’: BI *telur*, Tg. *itlog*

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

VN *cây* ‘tree’: BI *kayu* ‘tree’.

VN *tô, trô* ‘show’: Jav. *tuduh* ‘point’, Tg. *turo* ‘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 *vợ* ‘wife’).

VN *mù* ‘blind’: UAN *buta, BI *buta*, Rade *buum ala?* ‘blind’, cf. Thai *‘bot.

VN *mạ* ‘rice seedling’: BI *huma* ‘field for dry rice’, Bu. *humaq*, SAt. *qumah* ‘work in the field’.

VN *gục* ‘bend head down’: BI *angguk* ‘nod’.

VA *mửa* ‘vomit’: UAN *u(n)tah, BI *muntah*, SAt. *m-utaq* ‘vomit’.

3.3. *VN ? or ~ tone: AN -s-*

VN *mãi* ‘continuative’; BI *masih* ‘still, yet’.

VN *sữa* ‘milk’: BI *susu* ‘milk, breast’, Am. *tso tso*', Rade *ksau* ‘breast’.

3.4. *VN ? or ~ tone: AN -s/h*

VN *ĩa* ‘defecate’: UAN *iə(h), Jav. *p-ih* ‘water conduit’, Bu. *'isah* ‘wine’.

VN *rãi* ‘to sow’: BI *beras* ‘rice’, Rade *rah* ‘sow rice in wet field’.

VN *lưỡi* ‘tongue’: Jav. *dilah*, BI *lidah*, Pw. *lidalid*, Rade *lah*.

3.5. *VN` or . tone: AN final stop*

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

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

VN *bụi* ‘dust’: UAN *dabuk ‘ashes, dust, grey’, BI *abu* ‘dust’, Jav. *dawu* ‘grey’. cf. PMP *abuh, Rade *'bruih*, Rg. *həpuih* ‘to dust’, Waic. *pes.

VN *gục* ‘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’, *chúng ta* ‘we incl.’: PAN *(k)ita, *ta, BI *kita* ‘we incl.’.

VN *ăn* ‘eat’: PMP *ka'ən ‘eat’, Tg. *kaa'in*, BI *makan*, SAT. *qan-iq* ‘eat’.

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

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

3.7. *VN ch-*: *AN t/pl-*

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

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

3.8. *VN ρ or σ : AN -l/r-*

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

VN *triếng* (MVN *tléng*): UAN *teluy ‘egg’, Tg. *'itlog*, BI *telur*, Am. *lita'uy* ‘egg’.

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

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

3.9. VN -i: AN -l/r

VN *cuōi* 'end, last': UAN *likud̩ '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 *tōi* 'arrive': UAN *ha(n)təd̩ 'deliver, convey', BI *antar* 'introduce', Jav., Md. *atər*, Pw. *satədz* 'send'.

VN *dōi* 'deceive, lie': UAN *putəd̩ 'rotate', BI *putar* 'turn, be dishonest'.

VN *tai* 'ear': PAN *taliŋa, BI *telinga* 'ear'. cf. CLI. *thai*.

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

VN *trăng/giăng* (MVN *blăng*) 'moon': UAN *bulan 'moon', BI *bulan*, Rade *mlaan*, Pu. *vołan*, Kv. *buu ran*.

VN *tră/giă* (*blă*) 'pay back': UAN *bəlah 'split', BI *belah* 'split, part', Pw. *vəlaq* 'split'. Cf. VN *b්‍රා* 'split open'.

VN *tròn* 'be round': UAN *bəluv̥. cf. Li. (*p)luon*, Thai *'duaŋ, '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 *đã* 'already': BI *sudah* 'already'.

VN *sáp* 'about to': BI *siap* 'ready'.

VN *dang* 'in process': BI *sedang* 'in process'.

VN *là* 'is': BI *ia lah* 'is'.

VN *thưa* 'respect': BI, Jav. *tuwa* 'old'.

VN *cây* 'tree': BI *kayu* 'tree'.

VN *rải* 'to sow': BI *beras*, Rade *rah* 'sow rice in wet field'.

Remote

VN *gãi* 'scratch': UAN *gatal̩ 'itch', BI *garit*, Pw. *gatsəl*. cf. BI *kais* 'scrape for food'.

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

VN *kiêm* ‘seek’: UAN *ki[ll]im ‘send’, BI *kirim* ‘id’, Bu. *kilim*, Pw. *kim* ‘search for’.

VN *sắc* ‘sharp’: PMP *hat'aq ‘whet’, Chmr. *qwasa'*, Tg. *háasa'*, Pw. *t-ataq* ‘id’.

VN *kết* ‘fasten together’: UAN *dəkət ‘to stick’, BI *dekat* ‘near’, Tg. *dikit* ‘joined’, Pw. *dəkəts* ‘to stick’.

VN *đường* *đàng* ‘road’: PMP *Zalan ‘road, path’, BI *jalan*, Tg. *daan*, Sir. *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 Việt-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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