SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIETNAMESE LEXICON: PRELIMINARY GLEANINGS FROM ALEXANDRE DE RHODES’ WRITINGS

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1. Introduction
The phonological system of Middle (i.e. seventeenth-century) Vietnamese¹ has been treated in Gregerson (1969), Haudricourt (1974), and others. This paper takes a look at the Vietnamese lexicon of the same period, as shown in the trilingual (Vietnamese–Portuguese–Latin) dictionary and in the Catechism authored by the Jesuit missionary Alexandre de Rhodes (1593-1660). Only ‘full words’ (thực-từ) or content words in their archaic forms will be discussed, leaving out function words, known by traditional Sino-Vietnamese grammarians as ‘empty words’ (hue-từ).

The Dictionarium Annamiticum [sic] Lusitanum et Latinum² (Rhodes 1651a, hereafter Dict.) consists of 900 numbered columns, two to each page, listing Vietnamese entry words in alphabetical order according to the spelling of the time, each headword and illustrative example followed by its Portuguese equivalent, then by its Latin equivalent. Between the ‘b’ and ‘c’ sections, there is a section (cols. 65-74) devoted to words whose initial consonant is transcribed with the symbol ã; this lenis obstruct was described by de Rhodes (1651b: 3) as ‘almost like Greek β as in βéào “enter”, βái cá “fin [of fish]’”. This feature is explained within a 31-page statement on Vietnamese grammar bound in the back of the dictionary, following an Appendix, which contains five unnumbered errata pages, and a 171-page index of Latin words: this Linguae Annamiticae seu Tunchinisens Brevis Declarato (hereafter BD) is composed of eight headings.

On the other hand, the Catechismus pro iis qui volunt suscipere Baptismum in octo dies divisus, Phép giáng tám ngày cho kẻ muốn chịu phép rửa tội mà ãéáo ñọc Thánh Đúc Chúa Blòi (Rhodes 1651c; hereafter Cat.), constitutes ‘the first work appearing in romanized Vietnamese’ (tác-phẩm quóc-ngữ đầu tiên), as the work is referred to in the title Giáo-sĩ Đúc-lô và tác-phẩm quóc-ngữ đầu tiên, (eds.) Nguyễn Khắc Xuyên and Phạm Đình Khlem (1961), a book issued on the 300th anniversary of the death of the missionary – ‘the evangelical apostle who codified the quóc-ngữ script,

1. Maspero (1912) distinguished five periods in the history of the Vietnamese language: proto-annamite (before and during Chinese rule), préannamite (during independence), annamite ancien (fifteenth century), annamite moyen (seventeenth century), and annamite moderne.
2. For a general description of this trilingual dictionary, see Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1985b.
and the reverend benefactor of the Vietnamese church and the Vietnamese nation.'

Since the compilation Dict. systematically listed the seventeenth-century lexicon, I have first tried to cull out archaic forms used in the Catechismus, then to check their listings in the trilingual dictionary. I also present other interesting items found in Dict., but not in Cat. In this preliminary gleaning process, of necessity not exhaustive, I shall successively discuss nouns, classifiers, adjectives, adverbs, preverbs, verbs, and postverbs.

2. Nouns
The Dict. lists several 'taboo words' denoting sexual organs, e.g. bén, dâu, dực, dôi, lồn, ke (female), bơi, cặc, dài, lỗ (male). The entry dạch is glossed as 'semen humanum': cf. 'secretion from female genitalia' and 'female genitalia' (Văn Tấn 1977, under dạch).

(ăn)năn tôi (Dict. 7) 'to eat the bitter grass [called năn (Dict. 504)] 'to show remorse for one's sin'. Cat. 177h.

bái, con bài dĩ bài (Dict. 19) 'prostitute, lustful woman'.

bôm, con bôm (53)* 'prostitute', cf. modern VN dĩ bôm.
Both Lê Văn Đúc (1970) and Văn Tấn (1977) have the compound bôm bài 'deceitful person' (cf. bái, bình bài (also Dict. 19, but separate entry) 'deceitful person').

bầu (30) 'companion, partner'. Cat. 234. Lê Văn Đúc et al. (1970) has both bầu 'you [to wife or girl friend]' and bầu-bạn 'friends' whereas Văn Tấn (1977) has only bầu bạn 'same as bè bạn, friends'.

cai (79) 'head, commander' Cat. 71t, u, cf. modern VN 'foreman'.

cảng la (85), same as giằng la (277) 'wicker basket with handle', cross-listed under la (389). This compound can be found in 'Tháp-giói cõ-hơn quóc-người vẫn' ('Ten commandments to lonely wickers'), in Thien-nam Du-ha Táp, a collection of poems by Emperor Lê Thánh-tông and his co-members in Tao-dân Circle (fifteenth century):

Song viết liên tay; cảng la, nón ấm.
Hôm mai hõp mặt: nói cáo, vôơn lau.

(Cao Hữu Lạng 1983: 12)

cắt nhàn (89) 'incense'. Cat. 165b-c.

cắt (90) 'back'. Cat. 185d. Dict. also gives sáp cắt cùng ai and blaí cắt (cf. modern VN chưng lượng đâu cắt and trái cắt).

chê (101) 'pretty large earthenware vessel'. Cat. 181f-g.

chắm cu (95) 'punctuation'. This expression is found in Poem 3, line 4, by Nguyễn Trãi (1380-1442): 'Phien sách ngày xuân ngôi chăm cu, although the word cu (136) for 'sentence' is câu in modern VN.

dình liêu (415, under liêu) 'huge bamboo torch'.

dội tôi (228) 'chain, shackle'. Cat. 10f. Also spelled lội tôi, with tôi itself listed separately (822) 'chain'.

côm (130) tlang (804) 'stock made of bamboo or wood to confine a

*Unless necessary for clarity, Dict. is dropped before page number to the entry (Ed.).
prisoner's neck or ankles'. Cat. 10f. Cf. modern VN cùm and tròng, respectively, with the second member of the compound occurring in the expression gông dòng trong mang to denote the status of a prisoner restrained by a cangue (gông, Dict. 299) around the neck and by stocks around the ankles.

dāo (206), i.e. dōng 'spear'. Cat. 232q, u.

hề (318) 'mourning rites lasting three years'. Cf. modern hội hè 'festivals, merry-making occasions'.

khố (374) 'period, time' < Chinese *k'ua 课, which explains why the variant forms thố (776) and thươ (784), nowadays spelled thưa/thươ, are transcribed in the nôm script by the character 薦. Cat. 150i, 176d, 195h, 196s-t, 197b-c.

khu (376) 'rear end, buttocks'.

là dā (191 under dā and 390 under lâ) 'stone slab' Cat. 280o,p,r. This archaic form is found for instance in Poem 21, line 1 by Nguyễn Trãi: Đầu người đi là đâ mồm.3

lâm (396) 'mud' Cat. 195n, 196x. Cf. chân lâm tay bin.

mủi tui (489) 'coriander' – seeds from the Hô-tuy plant (Lê Văn Đức 1970:939).

nế in to nế 'ancestors' Cat. 81x. Cf. to toũ (817) and both compounds appearing as subentries under toũ, i.e. tông (827).

phèo (598) 'bamboo': the second member of the synonym compound tre pheo retains this meaning in Mường.

rắc (632) 'prison, jail'. Cat. tù rắc 10z, 10e. Dict. also gives the phrase rắc dễ ngục 'hell'.

táp (725) 'tempest, hurricane', nowadays occurs only in such compounds as bão tập.

tăng (721) 'mourning' provides cultural meaning of the expression đê tăng dê tọc [tôoc] (the bereaved man letting his hair grow on top and in front and the bereaved woman cutting part of her hair), which confirms that tăng tọc is another synonym compound and not a reduplication.

thề (754) 'world'. Cat. 5b, 6i: thề này 'this world'.

thoại (774) 'short moment'. Cat. 241m.

thọa (773) 'brothel; prostitute', with con thọa meaning 'prostitute, harlot' (cf. the adjective dĩ thọa in modern VN).

tố (822) 'servant, slave' with the compound tố tả 'servants' Cat. 6t,x,y (cf. modern VN tò tò).

3. Determiners, Classifiers and Demonstratives

Two items are used to denote 'all, the whole': cả and thay thày. The former occurs with và: cả và nhà 'the whole house', cả và thiên-ha 'the whole universe' (77), cho cả và loài người ta 'for our whole mankind' (Cat. 88f), cả và nước 'the whole country' (Cat. 21c). Dict. also lists cả hoạ as the equivalent of cả và under the entry hoạ (329). The latter word can be found in Poems 80, 90, 93 and 247 by Nguyễn Trãi, and it is tempting to posit the following development: hoạ/hwa/ > ua/wâ/ > và/vâ/. One can

3. Theurel (1877: 220) lists là dâ 'hail' and mra là dâ 'it is hailing'.

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also note **và hai** ‘both’ and the use of **và** as correlative conjunction in **và bánh và cá** ‘both bread and fish’ (Cat. 184n). The determiner **thay thay** is found with **hết** (734) although under **hết** (322) the spelling **hết thay thay thái** is presented.

In addition to pluralisers **các** (78), **chừng** (121-2), **những** (559), Dict. lists **mở** (475), as in **mở tôi** (475), also discussed in BD 12, and **phố** (601), as in **phố ông phố bà** ‘ladies and gentlemen’, **phố thay** ‘masters’ and **những phố ông** ‘gentlemen’ (BD 12, 19). This last example is also listed under **những** that is glossed ‘only’, so **những phó ông** means ‘only gentlemen’ with **chừng những** meaning ‘not only’ whereas **những** means ‘all’, and also ‘nothing but’ as in **những mong** ‘only hoping’, **đầy những mùi** ‘full of mosquitoes’, **những mùi** là **mùi** ‘nothing but mosquitoes’ in modern VN.

Concerning **những**, the sense ‘as many as’ (e.g. **những tạm dúvida con** ‘as many as eight kids’) seems to have been non-existent in middle Vietnamese, and a dictionary published in the late nineteenth century, (Huỳnh-Tịnh Của 1896: 143) does not list this sense, either, under the entry **những**.

On the other hand, for the second-person plural pronoun, the two arrogant expressions **mở bay** and **mở máy** are noted together with **chừng máy**, **chừng bay** and **bay** ‘you guys’ (BD 12).

The pluraliser **phố** (Cat. 197 and passim) had been used in the fifteenth century by Nguyễn Trãi, transcribed by the nôm character 韻 (Nguyễn Đình-Hoài 1985a: 471); it was still listed in Theuril (1877: ix, 363), and in Huỳnh-Tịnh Của (1896: 200) with the character 韻.

Under the rubric ‘classifiers’, it is worth mentioning that **cái**, nowadays used for inanimate, non-living things, appears in the Dict. with such nouns as **cóc** ‘toad’, **đen** ‘spider’, **éch** ‘frog’, **kiên** ‘ant’ (128, 167, 249, 380, respectively), etc.⁵

Beside the demonstratives **này, no, ấy, kia, kia**, the Dict. also has **tê** as a synonym of **kia** ‘that... over there’: **ông tê** (728; BD 20). The latter is still used in Central Vietnamese.

**nào** (507) is shown as occurring following the noun it modifies: **sao nào?**, **thế nào?**, **chắc nào?**, **đồng/nhưng nào?** (BD 21) to denote ‘which...?’ and as occurring in such idiomatic expressions as **nào có ai biết?** ‘who knows?’, **nào có tôi gi?** ‘which sin? which offence? which crime?’ with the connotation of negativity (508; BD 22). But there is also another usage, in which **nào** precedes a noun: **nào sách?** ‘where’s the book?’, **nào thay?** ‘where’s the teacher?’ (508). This word order can be found in some of Nguyễn Trãi’s poems in the fifteenth century: **nào nơi** ‘which place?’ (poem 47), **nào hoa** ‘which flower(s)?’ (poems 59 and 224), **nào cửa** ‘which thing?’, **nào thò** ‘which time?’ (poem 164).

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⁴ Theuril (1877: 279) has the core meaning of **mở** as ‘10,000’ with its derived meaning as ‘parum, quoddam numerale’ to designate ‘a bunch’ [of vegetables **mờ rau**] or ‘a handful’ [of rice **mờ gao**]. Huỳnh-Tịnh Của (1896: 41) gives the nôm character 鑁 for **mở**, and provides two illustrations **mở tôi** and **mở qua** for ‘we, us (exclusive)’.

⁵ According to Theuril (1877: pp. vii-viii) **rắn** ‘snake’, **kiên** ‘ant’, and **säu** ‘insect, bug’ could take either **con** or **cái** as classifier.
4. Adjectives
There is a striking number of synonym compounds among the adjectives, in which one member somehow has lost its original meaning so that in modern VN the compound sounds like a reduplication. Phật, for example, meant 'ignorant, feeble-minded' (178), occurring in the compound đại-dột 'imprudent, unwise' (155). Hời (334) was a synonym of hẹp (321), and the compound meaning 'narrow [of mind]' is not an alliterative reduplication. However, the adjective choi bồi 'to indulge in promiscuity' is merely a rhyming reduplication (52), in which bồi is not the homophonous entry bồi (also 52) meaning 'a lot' which Lê Trung Hoà (1982: 30) interprets as a modifier of the verb choi 'to play (around).

Khăm (360) 'sufficient' with the example chăng khăm 'not enough' (cf. no below).

Khôn (374) 'difficult' [and also 'wise']: this word was used by Nguyễn Trãi in poems 1, 6, 7 and 65 (Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1985a: 468), and also discussed in Theurel (1877: p. xxi) as a synonym of khô.

Không (spelled khoõ, Dict. 375) is glossed 'vacuus, -a, -um' as in examples an com không 'to eat plain rice [without meat or vegetables]', làm (việc) không 'to work without pay', nhà không 'empty house', and, in the following entry, không goa 'widow': cf. những xác không (Cat. 15x), nhưng không đời (Cat. 237p.), next to the compound he không (Cat. 54h) which is glossed 'vacuum', i.e. 'nothing, nothingness, void, vacuum' in such collocations as hoa he-không, lại ra he-không (Dict. 341). (On the meaning of không as negative particle, see the section on verbs below).

Lá đào (400) or lão nháo 'disordered, chaotic' (Cat. 19y, 87u, etc.)

Lốp (425) is given as a synonym of kip (384) 'opportunite' (đến cho kip): with such illustrations as đi (cho) lốp 'to go in time', chẳng lốp 'not in time'. Cat. does not use lốp (it has only kip), and Theurel (1877), which lists a number of illustrative examples, - thì, sânh -, vì -, - chuẩn, viên -. chua -, đa -, ăn nan chẳng -, for kip (218), does not have the entry lốp.

Mùa (487) 'more than sufficient, superabundant' (synonymous with dư (179)) nowadays occurs only in the compound thưa mùa (487) and in the expression bọ mùa 'to leave one's food unused': cf. Theurel (1877; add. 44) bọ mùa, mùa mùa 'leave work unfinished'.

Nát (509) has the sense 'rotten, spoiled, decadent' used in the moral sense in Cat. 70 (also hủ nát).

Nghi (526) 'easy' (chăng nghi chịu lơi nó câm dỗ, nghi dói dân bá đồọc in Cat. 83 n, r; nghi chịu đồọc thà vậy in Cat. 90o); càng nghi làm việc ấy in Cat. 118y; nghi làm lên in Cat. 251o) has been found in Chí-nam Ngọc-âm Giài-nghia, a dictionary of Chinese and Nôm characters, compiled some time after the sixteenth century (Trần Xuân Ngọc-Lan 1982; Lê Văn Quán 1981). In the preface, its author, a monk by the name of Phập-tính, said:

Bây giờ Nôm dạy chữ đơn,
Chó người mới học nghi xem, nghi nhuận.

'The nôm script is taught in here as single characters,
'So as to make it easy for beginners to read and to learn them.'
nướ nhân (556) ‘deceitful, false’, synonymous with đời trả (dời bilá), as in ông Adam chẳng có phải lối nướ nhân đâu (Cat. 88-I).

no (562) ‘full; sufficient’ has such run-on entries as no moi noi, no moi sê, thằng no, dâ no mất, and also no dô, no khám [see khâm above]. Cf. denen khi ở thể này dâ no (Cat. 81x), ta phải kính ở no moi noi (Cat. 51s), the latter structure no moi... being the equivalent of English ‘every..., all...’ with the meaning of this lexeme restricted in modern VN to the notion of ‘fullness (from eating), satiety’.

nót (571-2) ‘premature’, synonymous with sinh non, also has yếu nót ‘feeble in body and mind’; the form non nót ‘tender, immature’ in modern VN, made up as a synonym compound, is often considered an alliterative reduplication.

(rặn mây) rân mạt under rân (636) ‘obstinate, not amenable to control’ (ở rân mạt cùng nó, in Cat. 87r: cf. Theurel 1877: 383). The equivalent in modern VN is rân dâu or cùng cổ, and involves the head or neck, not the face.

tây (716) ‘equal’ is cited as appearing freely (like its peer bằng) followed by a complement: tay người nenh hai muoi tuoi, ‘equal in size to a 20-year-old person’. Cf. modern VN idiomatic expressions tay đình and tay tròi as modifiers of tôi ‘offence’, or vâ ‘offence, fine, calamity’.

vay (857) ‘slanting, crooked’ used with the noun dạo ‘way, path, religion’ just as in dạo tà ‘false or erroneous precept’ (712); Cat. 29m, 30p, where dạo vay refers to Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and other local beliefs of the time.

5. Adverbs

Only a few adverbs deserve mention:

gia giêt (271) is a modifier like lâm, thay or ráp ‘very’: BD 14 gives tốt lâm, lành thay, xấu ráp, and mlô, i.e. lô, gia giêt as examples, where such an intensifier follows the modifier. Cf. lón gia giêt hồn cã (Cat. 62y), đập gia giêt dâu mây (Cat. 92e), lo gia giêt làm vậy cho cha mẹ (Cat. 120n). Lê Văn Đức (1970: 537) also gives the meaning ‘severely, sternly’ illustrated by the expression phê-bình gia giêt.

mòt (482) is listed and glossed only as a numeral. However, its use in the sense of ‘only’ is found in more than one source: mòt lo sẽ thể gian mà thôi (Cat. 95l); chẳng thấy lô, mòt thấy hai mà thôi ‘non lucrum sed tantùm detrimentum video’ (Theurel 1877: 284, under mòt); as well as mòt noi sẽ mình mà thôi (in Sách sô sang chêp các việc, a diary by an eighteenth-century priest, Phính Binh (1968: 152)).

ráp (641) ‘very’ as in tốt ráp ‘very good’ (and in xấu ráp, BD 14). Cf. nàng ráp (Cat. 221s), dâu ráp (Cat. 217m).

sê sê (684), synonym of dân dân (268), as in tô ra sê sê (256p), sê sê có chịu (268x).

với, often considered an adverb modifying xa ‘far’ (872-3) is glossed as a substantive meaning ‘high seas’ so that xa với really means ‘far off the coast, on the high seas’.
6. Preverbs

chăng is used more often than không (375) as the negative preverb, whereas dòng is synonymous with cùng 'all, together' as in dòng ở một lần, dòng nhất thế (236).

khả 'can; appropriately, fittingly' (359) < khả (Cat. 11. y-z has Đại bến khả bước sừng trâu | Lê thất khả phục được lòng người ta, which is a translation of the Sino-Vietnamese couplet Kiến-chang khả kệ nguơn-ğac | Lý-ngữ nâng phục nhân-tảm).

khùng (377) 'agree to, consent to, accept to'; chẳng khùng vàng phép cha mẹ (Cat. 18).

mưa (487) is a prohibitive form 'don’t, should not' found in fifteenth-century utterances (Nguyễn Đình-Hòa 1985a: 469); the entry mưa nói dối 'don’t lie, should not tell lies' is repeated in BD 24 as mưa hè nói dối 'should never tell lies'.

rính (349) ‘be about to, approach [a condition], with three examples rính chết, rính ngã, rính đẻ, the first of which is found in Cat. 67, 69 with the meaning ‘dying, about to die’, also cited in Theurel (1877: 390) ‘morti vicinus’. Cat. 98b also has rính lụt about the Deluge.

7. Verbs

The subgroup comprising bị, chịu, được and phải deserves priority treatment simply because these suggest the passive voice of Western languages.

The first one, bị (34), not to be confused with the preceding entry, which means ‘bag’ (‘mantica’), is given only one illustration: bị phả [phong] ba ‘run into a storm’ although in modern Vietnamese (Clark 1974, Nguyễn Đình-Hòa 1972) its [+ -pleasant] or [+ adversative] feature tempts many an analyst to translate it as ‘be... , get... ’, in English.

The verb chịu, with the meaning ‘undergo, suffer, experience’ must have been used more frequently than bị. Dict. (109) lists chịu tôi, chịu chết, chịu lởi, chịu lụy, chịu nợ, chịu miếng, chịu thai.

Phải, on the other hand, which denotes involvement in an unpleasant or unfortunate situation, is illustrated by no less than twelve examples, in which the ‘predicament’ can be as serious as thunder and lightning (phải sâm sét), paralysis (phải liệt), or as inadvertent as eating meat by mistake (mắm phải thịt), or as committal as falling in love (phải lòng). (590)

The opposite of these three terms, the entry dưới (243) is often glossed as ‘to gain, get, acquire, earn, find, obtain’ with the feature [+ pleasant]. At any rate, all four lexemes fully qualify as regular verbs.

bố vụ (49) ‘to slander, calumniate’; Cat. 65, 190.
chắc (93) ‘to purchase’, found earlier in Nguyễn Trãi’s poems.
daì (154) ‘to fear’; Cat. 59, 91, 221x. Cf. modern VN expression khốn cho người ta dài, dài cho người ta thù sống.
daú (160) ‘to love’ with the examples yêu đầu con and thuộc đầu, the latter still found in bùa yêu thuộc đầu ‘love charm, philtre, love potion’.
dế (161) ‘to despise’ as in dế người ‘to be haughty’.
dã (191) ‘to touch’, with co-verb đến or phải preceding the object: tay dã đến cái sắng ‘His hand touching the coffin’ (Cat. 187), Tay tôi dã đến đức Chúa ảó được Đức Chúa Iesu ‘As my hand touched the hem of Jesus’ robe’ (Cat. 185f).

dâ (191) ‘to heal’: some examples in Cat. are kê đau nang thì cho dã ‘curing persons who were seriously ill’ (179r), song chẳng dã cho ‘but they could not cure her’ (185e), thì tôi dã ‘then I was cured’ (185g), chửa dã tất ta ‘to cure our ailments’ (186m). Cf. modern saying Thuốc dã dã tất / Sứ thất mất lòng.

dem [dâng] (195) ‘to guide, lead, show the way’ as in [cái sao] soi cho mà dem dâng ‘[the star] guiding them and showing them the way’ (Cat. 164u), [ông thành Joong Baptist] khi dem dâng cho đức Chúa Iesu ‘showing the way to Jesus’ (Cat. 177k).

dé (211) ‘to threaten’: Cat. 86h has de chất, and Theurel (1877: 114) lists three synonymous compounds de net, de loi, de phat.

dói (228) ‘to imitate, copy’ with examples theo dôi, làm dôi listed as synonyms of bắt chước: Theurel (1877: 125) has both theo dôi and học dôi.

dơn (231) ‘to add, augment’, about which Dict. has next to thêm đơn the expression nói đơn đạt ‘to exaggerate’; cf. thiếu mớit chử chaùa, vi vậy thì phát thêm đơn chử ấy ‘since the word chúa is missing, we have to add that word on’ (Cat. 16z).

giâ (272) ‘to show gratitude to, thank’, as in giâ ơn; cf. có giâ nhâ hay là giâ chư nhâ (Cat. 14e), vi bằng có ai giâ nhâ mà chàng giâ chư nhâ (Cat. 14e).

gước (185) ‘to wait, hold it’; Gướm [spelled duơm] dã! (Cat. 306p).

lê (407) ‘to be afraid, fear’, a lexeme that occurred freely in the fifteenth century (Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1985a: 468) but later was – and is in modern parlance – used only in compounds: for instance e lê, sơ lê recorded in Theurel (1877: 233).

mâng (452) ‘to hear, perceive through the sense of hearing’, therefore the equivalent of nghe thấy, as opposed to nghe ‘to listen’. Theurel (1877: 268) lists măng tin, măng tai, măng nghe, măng tiếng, and a recent article by Nguyễn Bạt-Tuy (1976) points out, using cognates in several Mon-Khmer languages, that the common reading of the nóm character .FILE_IMAGE_ as mảng is wrong.

nên (513) ‘to become [so many years old]’ as in nên mười tuổi, or nên một, nên hai (Theurel 1877: 297) – collocations in which modern VN would substitute lên ‘to go up to, reach’, Cf. ông Noe nên sâu trầm tuổi (Cat. 99p), bà Sara dã nên chín mươi tuổi (Cat. 125a).

phen lê (405) ‘to envy, begrudge’; cf. phen bi, phen lê in Theurel (1877: 360), or phen bi with the meaning ‘to compare’ in modern VN.

tây (716) ‘to be partial to, favour’, for which the example in Dict. (đức Chúa blòi) chăng tàn cây ai is also cited in Cat. 56k: phân xét chẳng tàn cây ai ‘in his judgement, was not partial to anyone’.

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8. Postverbs

doan (226) ‘to complete, finish’; phảm tôi doan (Cat. 89u), khi dê con doan (Cat. 161e), khi dê doan (Cat. 162s, t, u) ‘after She gave birth [to Jesus]’. The example thói doan ‘after stopping’ cited in Dict. shows that the usage has not changed, since modern VN has nỗi doan ‘so saying... ’ comparable to dâ chêp thu doan in BD 28.

liên (413), modern VN liên, as in Học liên ‘to study continuously’; cf. giữ liên (Cat. 40g, h), which could be likened to luôn.

rồi (653) ‘to finish, complete’ > ‘already’: the early meaning persists in Saigonese (Rồi chưa? – Rồi. ‘Did you finish yet? – I did’), the equivalent in the Hanoi dialect being Làm xong chưa? – Làm xong rồi. Dict. gives the basic meaning of ‘leisure’ [‘otium’], encountered in vò công rọi nghiệm (Theurel 1877: 392) or in the modern expression ăn không ngồi rồi ‘to sit idle, live in idleness’.

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