

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 scholar-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’ (*hư-từ*).

The *Dictionarium Annnamiticum* [sic] *Lusitanum et Latinum*² (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 *ϣ*; this lenis obstruent was described by de Rhodes (1651b: 3) as ‘almost like Greek *β* as in *ϣ*ẻào “enter”, *ϣ*ải 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 Tunchinensis 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 giảng tám ngày cho kẻ muốn chịu phép rửa tội mà ϣẻào đạo thánh Đức Chúa Blời* (Rhodes 1651c; hereafter *Cat.*), constitutes ‘the first work appearing in romanized Vietnamese’ (*tác-phẩm quốc-ngữ đầu tiên*), as the work is referred to in the title *Giáo-sĩ Đặc-lộ và tác-phẩm quốc-ngữ đầu tiên*, (eds.) Nguyễn Khắc Xuyên and Phạm Đình Khiêm (1961), a book issued on the 300th anniversary of the death of the missionary – ‘the evangelical apostle who codified the *quốc-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. *bẹn, dậu, dồc, dôi, lồn, ke* (female), *bôi, cặc, dái, lô* (male). The entry *đếch* is glossed as 'semen humanum': cf. 'secretion from female genitalia' and 'female genitalia' (Văn Tân 1977, under *đách*).

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

bải, con bải đi bải (*Dict.* 19) 'prostitute, lustful woman'.

bợm, con bợm (53)* 'prostitute', cf. modern VN **đĩ bợm**.

Both Lê Văn Đức (1970) and Văn Tân (1977) have the compound **bợm bải** 'deceitful person' (cf. **bải, binh bải** (also *Dict.* 19, but separate entry) 'deceitful person').

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

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

cang la (85), same as **giang la** (277) 'wicker basket with handle', cross-listed under **la** (389). This compound can be found in 'Thập-giới cô-hồn quốc-ngữ văn' ('Ten commandments to lonely souls'), in Thiên-nam Dư-hạ Tập, a collection of poems by Emperor Lê Thánh-tông and his co-members in Tao-đàn Circle (fifteenth century):

Song viết liền tay; cang la, nón ánh.

Hôm mai họp mặt: nội cổ, vườn lau.

(Cao Hữu Lượng 1983: 12)

cát nhân (89) 'incense'. *Cat.* 165b-c.

cật (90) 'back'. *Cat.* 185d. *Dict.* also gives **sấp cật cùng ai** and **blái cật** (cf. modern VN **chung lưng đầu cật** and **trái cật**).

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

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

đinh liệu (415, under **liệu**) 'huge bamboo torch'.

đôi tói (228) 'chain, shackle'. *Cat.* 10f. Also spelled **lời tói**, with **tói** itself listed separately (822) 'chain'.

cồm (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 *trống*, respectively, with the second member of the compound occurring in the expression *gông đóng trống mang* to denote the status of a prisoner restrained by a cangue (**gông**, *Dict.* 299) around the neck and by stocks around the ankles.

đào (206), i.e. **đồng** 'spear'. *Cat.* 232q, u.

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

khởi (374) 'period, time' < Chinese *k'ua² 課, which explains why the variant forms **thởi** (776) and **thửở** (784), nowadays spelled *thửa/thuở*, are transcribed in the *nôm* script by the character 課. *Cat.* 150i, 176d, 195h, 196s-t, 197b-c.

khu (376) 'rear end, buttocks'.

lã đá (191 under **đá** and 390 under **lã**) 'stone slab' *Cat.* 280o,p,r. This archaic form is found for instance in Poem 21, line 1 by Nguyễn Trãi: *Dấu người đi lã đá mòn*.³

lấm (396) 'mud' *Cat.* 195n, 196x. Cf. *chân lấm tay bùn*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

thời (774) 'short moment'. *Cat.* 241m.

thoả (773) 'brothel; prostitute', with **con thoả** meaning 'prostitute, harlot' (cf. the adjective *đĩ thoả* in modern VN).

tôi (822) 'servant, slave' with the compound **tôi tá** 'servants' *Cat.* 6t,x,y (cf. modern VN *tôi tớ*).

3. Determiners, Classifiers and Demonstratives

Two items are used to denote 'all, the whole': **cả** and **thay thay**. The former occurs with **và**: **cả và nhà** 'the whole house', **cả và thiên-hạ** '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 hoà** as the equivalent of **cả và** under the entry **hoà** (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: *hoà/hwà/* > *uà/wà/* > *và/và/*. One can

3. Theurel (1877: 220) lists *lã đá* 'hail' and *mưa là đá* 'it is hailing'.

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 thái** is presented.

In addition to pluralisers **các** (78), **chúng** (121-2), **những** (559), *Dict.* lists **mớ** (475), as in *mớ tôi* (475),⁴ also discussed in *BD* 12, and **phô** (601), as in *phô ông phô bà* ‘ladies and gentlemen’, *phô thầy* ‘masters’ and *những phô ông* ‘gentlemen’ (*BD* 12, 19). This last example is also listed under **những₂** that is glossed ‘only’, so *những phô ông* means ‘only gentlemen’ with *chẳng những* meaning ‘not only’ whereas **những₁** means ‘all’, and also ‘nothing but’ as in *những mong* ‘only hoping’, *đầy những muỗi* ‘full of mosquitoes’, *những muỗi là muỗi* ‘nothing but mosquitoes’ in modern VN.

Concerning **những**, the sense ‘as many as’ (e.g. *những tám đứa 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-Tĩnh 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 *mớ bay* and *mớ mây* are noted together with *chúng mây*, *chúng bay* and *bay* ‘you guys’ (*BD* 12).

The pluraliser **phô** (*Cat.* 197 and *passim*) had been used in the fifteenth century by Nguyễn Trãi, transcribed by the *nôm* character 鋪 (Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1985a: 471); it was still listed in Theurel (1877: ix, 363), and in Huỳnh-Tĩnh Của (1896: 200) with the character 喃.

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’, **đện** ‘spider’, **ếch** ‘frog’, **kiến** ‘ant’ (128, 167, 249, 380, respectively), etc.⁵

Beside the demonstratives **này**, **nọ**, **ấy**, **kia**, *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?*, *cách nào?*, *đường/như thế nào?* (*BD* 21) to denote ‘which...?’ and as occurring in such idiomatic expressions as *nào có ai biết?* ‘who knows?’, *nào có tội gì?* ‘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 thầy?* ‘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 của* ‘which thing?’, *nào thuở* ‘which time?’ (poem 164).

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

5. According to Theurel (1877: pp. vii-viii) *rắn* ‘snake’, *kiến* ‘ant’, and *sâu* ‘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. **đột**, for example, meant 'ignorant, feeble-minded' (178), occurring in the compound **dại-đột** 'imprudent, unwise' (155). **hồi** (334) was a synonym of **hẹp** (321), and the compound meaning 'narrow [of mind]' is not an alliterative reduplication. However, the adjective **chơi bời** 'to indulge in promiscuity' is merely a rhyming reduplication (52), in which **bời** is not the homophonous entry **bời** (also 52) meaning 'a lot' which Lê Trung Hoà (1982: 30) interprets as a modifier of the verb *chơi* 'to play (around)'.

khảm (360) 'sufficient' with the example *chẳng khảm* '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 **khó**.

không (spelled *khoũ*, *Dict.* 375) is glossed 'vacuus, -a, -um' as in examples *ăn cơm 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 goá* 'widow': cf. *những xác không* (*Cat.* 15x), *nhưng không dôi* (*Cat.* 237p.), next to the compound *hư không* (*Cat.* 54h) which is glossed 'vacuum', i.e. 'nothing, nothingness, void, vacuum' in such collocations as *hoá hư-không*, *lại ra hư-không* (*Dict.* 341). (On the meaning of **không** as negative particle, see the section on verbs below).

lá đảo (400) or **láo nháo** 'disordered, chaotic' (*Cat.* 19y, 87u, etc.)

lộp (425) is given as a synonym of **kịp** (384) 'opportune' (*đến cho kịp*): with such illustrations as *đi (cho) lộp* 'to go in time', *chẳng lộp* 'not in time'. *Cat.* does not use *lộp* (it has only *kịp*), and Theurel (1877), which lists a number of illustrative examples, ~ *thì*, *sánh* ~, *ví* ~, ~ *chân*, *vừa* ~, *chưa* ~, *đã* ~, *ăn năn chẳng* ~, for *kịp* (218), does not have the entry *lộp*.

mứa (487) 'more than sufficient, superabundant' (synonymous with **đư** (179)) nowadays occurs only in the compound *thừa mứa* (487) and in the expression *bỏ mứa* 'to leave one's food unused': cf. Theurel (1877; add. 44) *bỏ mứa*, *mứa mứa* 'leave work unfinished'.

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

ngỉ (526) 'easy' (*chẳng ngỉ chịu lời nó cảm dỗ*, *ngỉ dỗi đàn bà được* in *Cat.* 83 n, r; *ngỉ chịu được tha vậ* in *Cat.* 90o); *càng ngỉ làm việc ấy* in *Cat.* 118y; *ngỉ làm lên* in *Cat.* 251o) has been found in *Chỉ-nam Ngọc-âm Giải-nghĩa*, 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 Pháp-tính, said:

*Bây giờ Nôm dạy chữ đơn,
Cho người mới học ngỉ xem, ngỉ nhuần.*

'The nôm script is taught in here as single characters,
'So as to make it easy for beginners to read and to learn them'.

nhữ nhảm (556) ‘deceitful, false’, synonymous with *dối trá* (*dôi blá*), as in *ông Adam chẳng có phải lời nhữ nhảm đâu* (Cat. 88-l).

no (562) ‘full; sufficient’ has such run-on entries as *no mọi nơi, no mọi sự, thâng no, đã no mặt*, and also *no đủ, no khảm* [see **khảm** above]. Cf. *đến khi ở thế này đã no* (Cat. 81x), *ta phải kính ở no mọi nơi* (Cat. 51s), the latter structure *no mọi...* 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’.

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

(*rắn mảy*) *rắn mặt* under **rắn** (636) ‘obstinate, not amenable to control’ (*ở rắn mặt cùng nó*, in Cat. 87r: cf. Theurel 1877: 383). The equivalent in modern VN is *rắn đầu* or *cứng 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: *tây người nên hai mươi tuổi*, ‘equal in size to a 20-year-old person’. Cf. modern VN idiomatic expressions *tây đình* and *tây trời* as modifiers of *tội* ‘offence’, or *vạ* ‘offence, fine, calamity’.

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

5. Adverbs

Only a few adverbs deserve mention:

gia giết (271) is a modifier like *lắm, thay* or *ráp* ‘very’: BD 14 gives *tốt lắm, lành thay, xấu ráp*, and *mlón*, i.e. *lớn*, *gia giết* as examples, where such an intensifier follows the modifier. Cf. *lớn gia giết hơn cả* (Cat. 62y), *đạp gia giết đầu mây* (Cat. 92e), *lo gia giết làm vạy cho cha mẹ* (Cat. 120n). Lê Văn Đức (1970: 537) also gives the meaning ‘severely, sternly’ illustrated by the expression *phê-bình gia giết*.

một (482) is listed and glossed only as a numeral. However, its use in the sense of ‘only’ is found in more than one source: *một lo sự thể gian mà thôi* (Cat. 951); *chẳng thấy lợi, một thấy hại mà thôi* ‘non lucrum sed tantum detrimentum video’ (Theurel 1877: 284, under *một*); as well as *một nói sự mình mà thôi* (in *Sách sổ sang chép các việc*, a diary by an eighteenth-century priest, Philiphe Bình (1968: 152)).

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

sẽ sẽ (684), synonym of *dần dần* (268), as in *tỏ ra sẽ sẽ* (256p), *sẽ sẽ có chịu* (268x).

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

6. Preverbs

chẳng is used more often than **không** (375) as the negative preverb, whereas **đồng** is synonymous with **cùng** 'all, together' as in *đồng ở một làng, đồng nhất thể* (236).

khá 'can; appropriately, fittingly' (359) < *khả* 可 (*Cat.* 11y-z has *Dây bền khá buộc sừng trâu / Lẽ thật khá phục được lòng người ta*, which is a translation of the Sino-Vietnamese couplet *Kiên-thắng khả kè ngư-giắc / Lý-ngữ năng phục nhân-tâm*).

khứng (377) 'agree to, consent to, accept to'; *chẳng khứng vâng phép cha mẹ* (*Cat.* 181).

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

rình (649) 'be about to, approach [a condition]' with three examples *rình chết, rình ngã, rình 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 *rình 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 phũ [phong] ba* 'run into a storm' although in modern Vietnamese (Clark 1974, Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 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 tội, chịu chết, chịu lỗi, chịu lụy, chịu nợ, chịu miệng, 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 sấm sét*), paralysis (*phải liệt*), or as inadvertent as eating meat by mistake (*mlâm phải thịt*), or as committal as falling in love (*phải lòng*). (590)

The opposite of these three terms, the entry **được** (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.

bỏ vạ (49) 'to slander, calumniate'; *Cat.* 65, 190.

chác (93) 'to purchase', found earlier in Nguyễn Trãi's poems.

dãi (154) 'to fear'; *Cat.* 59, 91, 221x. Cf. modern VN expression *khôn cho người ta dãi, dãi cho người ta thương*.

dầu (160) 'to love' with the examples *yêu dầu con* and *thuốc dầu*, the latter still found in *bùa yêu thuốc dầu* 'love charm, philtre, love potion'.

để (161) 'to despise' as in *để người* 'to be haughty'.

đá (191) ‘to touch’, with co-verb *đến* or *phải* preceding the object: *tay đã đến cái săng* ‘His hand touching the coffin’ (Cat. 187), *Tay tôi đã đến được chân áo đức Chúa Iesu* ‘As my hand touched the hem of Jesus’ robe’ (Cat. 185f).

đã (191) ‘to heal’: some examples in Cat. are *kẻ đau nặng thì cho đã* ‘curing persons who were seriously ill’ (179r), *song chẳng đã cho* ‘but they could not cure her’ (185e), *thì tôi đã* ‘then I was cured’ (185g), *chữa đã tật ta* ‘to cure our ailments’ (186m). Cf. modern saying *Thuốc đắng đã tật / Sự thật mất lòng*.

đem [đàng] (195) ‘to guide, lead, show the way’ as in [*cái sao*] *soi cho mà dem đàng* ‘[the star] guiding them and showing them the way’ (Cat. 164u), [*ông thánh Ioong Baptista*] *khi dem đàng cho đức Chúa Iesu* ‘showing the way to Jesus’ (Cat. 177k).

đe (211) ‘to threaten’: Cat. 86h has *đe chết*, and Theurel (1877: 114) lists three synonymous compounds *đe net*, *đe loi*, *đe phạt*.

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

đơm (231) ‘to add, augment’, about which Dict. has next to *thêm đơm* the expression *nói đơm đặt* ‘to exaggerate’; cf. *thiếu một chữ chúa*, vì vậy thì phải thêm đơm chữ ấy ‘since the word *chúa* is missing, we have to add that word on’ (Cat. 16z).

giã (272) ‘to show gratitude to, thank’, as in *giã ơn*; cf. *có giã nhà hay là giã chủ nhà* (Cat. 14c), *vì bằng có ai giã nhà mà chẳng giã chủ nhà* (Cat. 14e).

gươm (185) ‘to wait, hold it’; *Gươm* [spelled *duợm*] *đã!* (Cat. 306p).

lệ (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 lệ*, *sợ lệ* recorded in Theurel (1877: 233).

mắng (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 *mắng tin*, *mắng tai*, *mắng nghe*, *mắng tiếng*, and a recent article by Nguyễn Bạt-Tụy (1976) points out, using cognates in several Mon-Khmer languages, that the common reading of the *nôm* character 𑜎𑜫 as *mắng* 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 sáu trăm tuổi* (Cat. 99p), *bà Sara đã nên chín mươi tuổi* (Cat. 125a).

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

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

8. Postverbs

đoạn (226) 'to complete, finish'; *phạm tội đoạn* (Cat. 89u), *khi đẻ con đoạn* (Cat. 161e), *khi đẻ đoạn* (Cat. 162s, t, u) 'after She gave birth [to Jesus]'. The example *thôi đoạn* 'after stopping' cited in *Dict.* shows that the usage has not changed, since modern VN has *nói đoạn* 'so saying...' comparable to *đã chép thư đoạn* in *BD* 28.

liên (413), modern VN *liền*, 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 *vô công rồi nghề* (Theurel 1877: 392) or in the modern expression *ăn không ngồi rồi* 'to sit idle, live in idleness'.

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