A Vietnamese Grammar
CHAPTER 1

Introduction to
Vietnamese Pronunciation

1.1. Standard Pronunciation. Although there is considerable fluidity and a good deal of conflicting opinion, in general the pronunciation of educated speakers from the Hanoi area of Viet Nam is the most widely accepted as a sort of standard. School pronunciation involves a few distinctions beyond those normally made in the dialect area: they reflect differences in spelling which correspond to real differences in pronunciation in some dialects.\(^1\) It seems most useful to present here this somewhat idealized pronunciation. For those interested in the details of pronunciation in Hanoi and Saigon, in phonological structure, in the general picture of dialectal shifts, and in the background of the modern writing system, a technical discussion of these matters is provided in Chapters 2-4.

Since the traditional orthography furnishes a good basis for discussing standard pronunciation this presentation will treat sounds as renditions of written symbols. Such an approach will also be most useful for students already familiar with the orthography, as well as for those who wish to progress rapidly to a reading acquaintance with the language. The tabular form of the presentation will provide a rapid introduction to the sounds for readers who wish to progress to the chapters on grammatical structure as soon as possible, at the same time furnishing a means of checking quickly the pronunciation of particular spellings.

\(^1\) But no modern dialect yet studied shows all the distinctions implied in the traditional orthography.
1.2. **Consonants** are listed in the following table with symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), rough English equivalents, and a minimum of pertinent remarks about their differences from the English sounds and other peculiarities, especially limitations on distribution. Pronunciations labeled “careful” generally disappear in natural conversation in favor of alternatives labeled “ordinary.” (These “careful” pronunciations reflect spelling differences.) The English equivalents are at best only approximations of the Vietnamese sounds; those that are especially un-dependable or only suggestive are enclosed in parentheses. The terms “initial” and “final” mean syllable initial and syllable final.

Syllables which are written with no initial consonant—that is, the first symbol is a vowel letter (1.3)—actually begin with a glottal stop. Letter cues refer to notes at end of table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>ROUGH ENGLISH EQUIVALENT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>fortis preglottalized</td>
<td>ba three</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imploded (cf. 2.22)</td>
<td>biết know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>initial, exc. before i, e, ê, y final after u, o, ô</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>scald</td>
<td>fortis, unaspirated</td>
<td>cá fish</td>
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<td>cững likewise</td>
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<td></td>
<td>unreleased double</td>
<td>-doc poisonous</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>closure (cf. 2.26)</td>
<td>hoc study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final after other vowels</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>tic</td>
<td>unreleased</td>
<td>khác different</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muc ink</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>[cʰ]</td>
<td>(chop)</td>
<td>unaspirated palatal, less friction than in English</td>
<td>chè tea</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>unreleased, often backed</td>
<td>chon choose</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final</td>
<td>[cʰ]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>cách manner</td>
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<td>ích useful</td>
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<td>Initial</td>
<td>Phone</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>d</strong></td>
<td>[d']</td>
<td>done</td>
<td>Fortis preglottalized, imploded (cf. 2.24)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gh</strong></td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>gone</td>
<td>Following immediately after syllable ending in -ng, elsewhere: voiced</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dorsovelar spirant</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>g</strong></td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Initial exc. before i, e, ê</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(same as gh)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>gi</strong></td>
<td>[zi]</td>
<td>zebra</td>
<td>Voiced lenis lamino-dental spirant plus high front vowel</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(same as z)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>h</strong></td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k</strong></td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>sketch</td>
<td>Fortis unaspirated (same as c-)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- **d**  to use da skin
- **gh**  qhi to record
- **g**  bàng gõ made of wood gõ wood
- **gi**  gin keep gieng January gi what(ever)
- **h**  hò lake hát sing
- **k**  kia over there kẽn choose kêu call kỳ to sign
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>(Bach)</td>
<td>lenis voiceless dorsovelar spirant</td>
<td>không not</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khi monkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>lot</td>
<td></td>
<td>khát be thirsty</td>
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<td>khu region</td>
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<td>lá leaf</td>
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<td>lúa rice growing</td>
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<td>lim ironwood</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td></td>
<td>manh strong</td>
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<td>mua buy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>final</td>
<td>[mʰ]</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>unreleased; shorter than in English</td>
<td>tìm to search</td>
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<td>cam orange</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>postdental</td>
<td>này this</td>
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<td></td>
<td>final</td>
<td>[nʰ]</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>unreleased; shorter than in English</td>
<td>nũa in addition</td>
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<td>in print</td>
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<td>nên therefore</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngh</td>
<td>initial before i, e, è</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>singer</td>
<td></td>
<td>bán sell</td>
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<td>nghi suspect</td>
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<td>nghe listen</td>
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<td>nghè profession</td>
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<td>ng</td>
<td>initial before other vowels</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>(same as ngh-)</td>
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<td>ngua horse</td>
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<td>ngon tasty</td>
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<td>finals after u, o, ò</td>
<td>[ŋm]</td>
<td>short unreleased double closure (cf. 2.44)</td>
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<td>finals after other vowels</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>unreleased; shorter than in English</td>
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<td>nh</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>onion</td>
<td>palatal</td>
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<td>[n]</td>
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<td>unreleased, short, often backed</td>
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<td>p</td>
<td>final only</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>top</td>
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<td>ph</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>photo</td>
<td>lenis</td>
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<tr>
<td>qu</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[kw]</td>
<td>square</td>
<td>fortis unaspirated</td>
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<td>ṛ</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>zebra</td>
<td>ordinary: lenis</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>[r]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>careful: flap or trill</td>
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<td>(distinguished from (d, gi); cf. 3.21)</td>
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<td>dúng correct</td>
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<td>ông bee</td>
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<td>ông grandfather</td>
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<td>vàng gold</td>
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<td>nhưng but</td>
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<td>nǎng heavy</td>
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<td>nhà house</td>
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<td>lính soldier</td>
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<td>manh strong</td>
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<td>kip on time</td>
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<td>tắp practice</td>
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<td>phá destroy</td>
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<td>phúc happiness</td>
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<td>quê rural area</td>
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<td>qua cross over</td>
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<td>ra go out</td>
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<td>rẽ turn off</td>
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<td>rõi already done</td>
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<tr>
<td>SYMBOL</td>
<td>POSITION</td>
<td>IPA</td>
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<td>s^d</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>ordinary: lenis laminodental</td>
<td>sūa milk</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʂ]</td>
<td>(shot)</td>
<td>careful: retroflex (distinguished from x; cf. 3.21)</td>
<td>sao star</td>
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<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>stop</td>
<td>fortis, unaspirated dental</td>
<td>tōi I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final</td>
<td>[t̥]</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td>unreleased</td>
<td>tù fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>lenis aspirated dental</td>
<td>tày west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr^b</td>
<td>initial only</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>(chop)</td>
<td>ordinary: fortis unaspirated palatal, less friction than in English</td>
<td>màt cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʂ]</td>
<td>(strap)</td>
<td>careful: retroflex affricate (distinguished from ch; cf. 3.21)</td>
<td>mểt tired</td>
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<td>tôi stop</td>
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<td>thang month</td>
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<td>khi then</td>
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<td>trề late</td>
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<td>trang page</td>
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</table>
\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{v} initial only \quad [v] \quad \text{van} \quad \text{lenis}
\quad \text{và and}
\quad \text{vè return}
\quad \text{vua king}
\item \textbf{x}^{d} \quad \text{initial only} \quad [s] \quad \text{sun} \quad \text{lenis laminodental}
\quad \text{xa far}
\quad \text{xe vehicle}
\quad \text{xua in former times}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{NOTES}

\begin{itemize}
\item Note also that \texttt{0} and \texttt{ò} have special pronunciations before \textit{c, ng (1.3).}
\item In ordinary Hanoi speech \texttt{ch-} and \texttt{tr-} are pronounced alike.
\item In ordinary Hanoi speech \texttt{d-}, \texttt{gi-} and \texttt{r-} are pronounced alike.
\item In ordinary Hanoi speech \texttt{s-} and \texttt{x-} are pronounced alike.
\end{itemize}
1.3. Vocalics are more complicated to discuss because some symbols play different roles in only slightly different positions. There are semi-vowels similar to those in English *yes*, *boy*, *wall*, *how*, *idea*, but they are represented by symbols which also serve to denote vowels in other cases.

The table below shows the pronunciation of the various symbols. In the case of each letter its most general use is covered first, then special cases are taken up; these combinations are indented beyond the general entry. Unless otherwise indicated, each symbol sequence occurs either initially in the syllable or directly after one of the initial consonants listed in 1.2. It then constitutes the rest of the syllable, unless it is followed by a hyphen, which indicates that it is followed by some other symbol. Similarly, a symbol preceded by a hyphen indicates that it is always preceded by some other symbol. Lettered cues refer to notes at the end of table.

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, a-</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td>A Á Asia ba three</td>
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<td>đáp reply nam south</td>
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<td>hát sing bàn table</td>
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<td>gác upstairs vàng gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ach</td>
<td>[εj]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>= ā + ch</td>
<td>sách book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anh</td>
<td>[εɲ]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>= ā + nh</td>
<td>anh elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>[ai]</td>
<td>qisle</td>
<td></td>
<td>mai tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>[ɛi] (bite)</td>
<td>= ā + [i]</td>
<td>mayoría</td>
<td>máy machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>[əu]</td>
<td>cacao</td>
<td></td>
<td>sao star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>[ɛu] (bou)</td>
<td>= ā + [u]</td>
<td></td>
<td>sau afterward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also *ia*, *ua*, *uya*, *va*

| ā- | [ɛ] (hat) | more | cáp pilfer | nām five |
|    |           | central | đắt expensive | ān eat |
|    |           | than in | bāc north | nāng heavy |
|    |           | English |         |         |

| â- | [ʌ] | but | ngâp flooded | đâm stab |
|    |     |     | rât very | đâm citizen |
|    |     |     | xâc ill- mannered | vâng obey |

<p>| âu | [ʌu] | - | dâu where(very) | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>ây</td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>occasionally centralized (cf. 2.65)</td>
<td>dây here</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e, e-</td>
<td>[ɛ] (bet)</td>
<td>slightly lower than in English</td>
<td>nghe listen, dep beautiful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eò'</td>
<td>[ɛu]</td>
<td>mèo cat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>[ei]</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>quê rural area</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ê-</td>
<td>[e̞] (bet)</td>
<td>slightly higher than in English; except before -ch, -nh</td>
<td>dép kitchen, hét used up, nèn therefore</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>êch</td>
<td>[ɛ̞c̞]</td>
<td>upper mid central unrounded vowel</td>
<td>ech frog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ênh</td>
<td>[ɛ̞ŋ]</td>
<td>bênh defend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>êu</td>
<td>[ɛ̞v]</td>
<td>nêu if</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also -iê-, -uê-, -uyê-, yê-

i | [i] | see | also spelled | di go, chi elder |
| i-     | [i] | beet | kip in time, tim to search |
| ich    | [ɪc̞] (itch) | lower high | ich useful |
| inh    | [ɪŋ] | front unrounded vowel | linh soldier |

iâd | [iə] | idea | chia divide |

-iê- | [iɛ̞] (deal) | vowel cluster | tiếp continue, biết know |

-iêc  | [iək̚] | diphthong | viếc affair |

-iêng | [iəŋ̚] | diphthong | tiếng noise |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>ROUGH ENGLISH EQUIV.</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-iêu</td>
<td>[iê u]</td>
<td>vowel cluster</td>
<td>hiêu understand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iu</td>
<td>[iu]</td>
<td>diphthong</td>
<td>chiu suffer, endure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also ai, oi, òi, oi, ui, uôi, ui, uoi

| o, o-  | [o]  | law | slightly higher than in English | nho small to large chóp summit xóm neighborhood ngot sweet hood ngon tasty |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| oi  | [ɔi] (boy) | lower than English diphthong | doi be, hungry |
| oo- | [ɔ] | used only in a few loan words | soong pot boong deck [of ship] |
| oc  | [ɯukp̥] | | | doc read |
| ong | [ŋʊŋm̥] | | | ong bee |
| oa, oa- | [wa] | except before -ch, -nh, -y | òa burst into tears goá be widowed khoai potato toán calculate |
| oach | [wəc] | | | óach well dressed |
| oanh | [wən] | | | oanh oriole |
| oay  | [wəi] | ay | xoay turn [on axis] |
| oã- | [wə] | | hoãc or ngoãt turn around quickly |
| oe, oe- | [wɛ] | west | khoê healthy lêe-loêt gaudy |

See also ao, eo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ô</th>
<th>[ou]</th>
<th>snow</th>
<th>cô father's sister bô a set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ô-</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td></td>
<td>hop box hûm day tôt good bûn four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôi</td>
<td>[oi] (boy)</td>
<td>higher than in English</td>
<td>tôi I ngôi sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôc</td>
<td>[ʌukp̥]</td>
<td></td>
<td>doc poisonous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ông</td>
<td>[ŋʊŋm̥]</td>
<td></td>
<td>ông grandfather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also uô-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>ROUGH ENGLISH EQUIV.</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ο</td>
<td>[8 ɯ]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>upper mid back unrounded diphthong</td>
<td>mọ dream, sọ be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ο-</td>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>upper mid back unrounded vowel</td>
<td>hơm more than com cooked, ỏt pepper, lốp class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>οι</td>
<td>[8i]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>vớ with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also uο, uο-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[uu]</td>
<td>sue</td>
<td>ngủ sleep, thu autumn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>(boot)</td>
<td>slightly lower than English, not diphthongized</td>
<td>chụp snap [a picture], bút writing instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>[uə]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>(except in cua crab, múa season qua [kwa])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>[ui]</td>
<td>buøy</td>
<td>(except in mủi nose, vui pleasant qui [kwí])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uơ-</td>
<td>[uə]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>vowel cluster, huơm ship’s sail (cf. 2.58), chuột rat except before luôn continually, -c, -ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uơc</td>
<td>[uək]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>diphthong, luơc cook by boiling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uông</td>
<td>[uəŋ]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>diphthong, chuông bell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uội</td>
<td>[uəi]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>vowel cluster, duội tail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uê</td>
<td>[we]</td>
<td>suede</td>
<td>thưốe to rent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uêch</td>
<td>[we+c]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>cf. ech, khoêch amplify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uenh</td>
<td>[we+p]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>énh, huếnh-hoang showy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uâ-</td>
<td>[wʌ]</td>
<td>won</td>
<td>xuân spring [season]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uy a,e</td>
<td>[wɨi]</td>
<td>wee</td>
<td>khuy button</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uy-</td>
<td>[wi]</td>
<td>weep</td>
<td>huýt to whistle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYMBOL</td>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>ROUGH ENGLISH EQUIV.</td>
<td>REMARKS</td>
<td>EXAMPLES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uya&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>[wiɔ]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td>khuya late at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyê&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>[wie+]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>cf. -iê-</td>
<td>tuyêt snow Nguyệt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyu&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>[wiu]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>khuyu elbow [family]</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uœ</td>
<td>[wɔu]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>thuố epoch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also au, âu, êu, iu, iêu, uu, wou

| u | [u+] (good)<sup>g</sup> | high back unrounded rising diphthong | tu fourth               |
| u- | [u] (good)<sup>g</sup> | high back unrounded vowel             | dût break [string]      | stíc strength don't    |
| ua | [uɔ]  | –                    | mua rain                  |
| ui  | [uɪ]  | –                    | nguí sniff                |
| uœ- | [u ɔ] | –                    | vowel cluster uốp to perfume guom sword uôt wet vuôn garden |
| uœi  | [u ɔi] | –                    | người person             |
| uœu  | [u ɔu] | –                    | ruçu alcoholic drink      |
| uu      | [u u]  | –                    | mru ruse                 |

| y | [i] (see) | replaces i in certain cases<sup>h</sup> | Mỹ America kỳ strange |
| y- | [i] (beet) |                          | hýt-rô hydrogen         |
| yê- | [ie+] | –                  | replaces -iê- yên calm   |
| yêng | [iəŋ⁻] | –                  | yêng blackbird          |
| yêu     | [ie+w] | –                  | yêu cherish             |

See also ay, ây, uy

NOTES

<sup>a</sup> In general the final semivowels [i, u] are represented by i and u, respectively. However, there are some special cases: after a the spellings -y, -u represent the semivowels and also signal that the vowel is [ə], elsewhere written ā. In the same positions, the vowel [a] is signalled by
writing -i and -o for the semivowels. In addition it is conventional to write 
-o for the [u] semivowel after e. Note that the final consonants -ch, -nh 
also signal that the preceding a represents [v].

b [u] and [ʌ] are consistently shorter than other vowels.

c The vowels written e, ê are very similar (and difficult to distinguish) 
before final stops and nasals; e is slightly lower than the vowel in En-
lish bet. ê slightly higher.

d There are vowel clusters written -iê-, -uô-. In these clusters, which 
in Hanoi speech are heard only preceding final [p, m, t, n] and the semi-
vowels [i, u], the second vowel is centralized, but clearly another vowel, 
not a semivowel (cf. 2.5). In other cases the second element is usually a 
lower mid back unrounded semivowel, sometimes centralized. Occasionally 
it is heard as a low back unrounded vowel. Note that when initial the 
writing iê is replaced by yê.

e The semivowel [v] is common preceding many vowels. This is usu-
ally written u, but before a, â and e is written o. (The combination [kw], 
however, is always written qu-.) The combination uê- occurs only before 
-ch, -nh in a few rare forms, except where the u belongs to the initial 
sequence qu-. Uy- is rare before consonants. Úyê- appears only before 
-t, -n.

f We would expect the same pronunciation before -p, but no examples 
have appeared.

g The high back unrounded vowel represented by u is heard in some 
dialects of American English in a few words replacing [u]; actually it is 
somewhat lower than the Vietnamese vowel.

h In some words y is an alternate for i; in others only one or the other 
is found. For a detailed discussion, see 3.34.

1.4. Tones are elements consisting of pitch contours combined with 
certain other features. Six distinctions are made by the standard ortho-
graphy: one tone is unmarked, four others are represented by diacritics 
written over a vowel of the syllable, the last by a dot under a vowel of the 
syllable. Since other diacritics are used to distinguish vowel qualities (e.g., 
ã, â, ò) there are often two diacritics accompanying the same vowel 
letter. The following table presents the tones of Hanoi speech. For clarity 
the tone symbols are written with the vowel a. (For more details see 2.71.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>(ngang)2</td>
<td>Mid or high-mid trailing pitch, nearly level when syllable is not final in pause group; in final syllables pitch falls to low range (citation forms often show level pitch)</td>
<td>ba three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(unmarked)</td>
<td></td>
<td>không not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ān eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tư fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mơ dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à</td>
<td>huyễn</td>
<td>Low trailing pitch, often accompanied by breathy voice quality</td>
<td>và and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gần near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hàng made of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cờ chess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>sắc</td>
<td>High rising pitch, often heard as nearly high level in rapid speech</td>
<td>cá fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sách book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>số number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bàn shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cử persist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lớp class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>nãng</td>
<td>Low dropping pitch, abruptly falling to bottom of normal voice range; syllable ends in stop or is cut off abruptly by glottal stop</td>
<td>mà rice seedling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nãng heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chợ market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngựa horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lai come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cặp briefcase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vật thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sạch clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>được get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>hói</td>
<td>Mid-low dropping pitch, less abrupt than the tone just described accompanied in citation forms by rise at end</td>
<td>că̂ elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hóî ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ombieŝ nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thú̂ try out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ngã</td>
<td>High rising pitch, accompanied by glottal stop or “strangulated” vowel quality</td>
<td>dã [anterior tense marker]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mõi each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chũ̂ written word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cũng likewise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 This tone is marked by the absence of any other tone symbol; its name is a technical term used by grammarians. The names of the other tones are in common use to designate the diacritics. Note that each name is an example of the tone it designates. (See also 3.38.)
1.5. **Intonational elements** are not represented in the traditional writing system except in a vaguely suggestive way (cf. 2.73, 3.54). It seems important, however, to mention them in this brief sketch of pronunciation.

For the immediate purpose it will suffice to say that three degrees of **stress** (relative loudness or force in the production of a syllable) are distinctive: most syllables are produced with **medium** loudness, but at least one in each pause group has **heavy stress** (louder than medium) and occasional syllables have **weak stress** (less loud than medium). Heavy stress isolates a syllable of the form which conveys the maximum new information or has the greatest importance in the phrase; weak stress accompanies syllables belonging to forms which add little or no new information—they are nearly predictable in the context. For further discussion of these matters, see 2.72, 5.22 and 12.5.

While it is likely that the real basis of other intonational distinctions lies in contours of loudness (see 2.73), it is most easily observable to the non-native ear—and most simply described and imitated—as deviations from the basic patterns of the tones (1.4). Most syllables are accompanied by the tonal contours as described, but before pause and occasionally in the middle of pause groups exceptional contours are heard.

Final syllables accompanied by tones beginning and ending lower than usual (**lowered tone**) signal the end of sentences which are produced with certainty—they convey the notion that the speaker expects his word to be taken, he expresses no doubt. This terminal intonation is most often represented on paper by a period, although the correspondence is not consistent. If, on the other hand, the final syllable has its tone beginning and ending higher than usual (**raised tone**), the sentence expresses some kind of uncertainty or indefiniteness—it often signals a question, but also accompanies a variety of emotionally colored statements and commands. The questions are typically written with a question mark at the end. Finally, there are syllables, both final and medial, which are accompanied by a tone contour that covers far more of the voice range than usual (**spread tone**). This intonation (sometimes symbolized in print by the exclamation point) signals a variety of exclamatory colorings, but also often signifies the lack of concern on the part of the speaker for the outcome of his utterance. For examples and more detailed description of intonational patterns, see 2.73 and 5.3.
CHAPTER 2

Hanoi Phonology

2.1. The Phonological System of Hanoi speech contains three major systems of sounds—consonants, vowels, and tones—and two minor systems of accompanying elements—stresses and intonations. The balance of the phonological structure has to do with the interrelationships of these elements and systems with one another—the ways in which they are combined to form syllables and pause groups. A brief characterization of each system is provided first. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a description of the elements themselves. In the detailed discussion, examples are cited in the standard orthography. However, where it is desirable to call attention to special phonological features, broad phonetic transcriptions (using primarily the symbols of the traditional spelling) are sometimes added, enclosed, as is customary, between brackets: [...].

2.11. The Consonant System makes use of the distinctions fortis vs. lenis, voiced vs. voiceless and oral vs. nasal, and shows consonants primarily in four positions: labial, apical, laminal and dorsal. The elements are shown in Table 1, represented by the symbols with which they are written on at least some occasions in the standard orthography (Chapter 3), except that the voiced lenis consonant in laminal position is here represented by z (while in the traditional system it is written variously d, gi and r). Consonants are discussed in detail in 2.2-4.
Table 1. The Consonant System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORTIS ORAL CONSONANTS</th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
<th>APICAL</th>
<th>LAMINAL</th>
<th>DORSAL</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops, voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops, voiced (preglottalized)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LENIS ORAL CONSONANTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the symbols used in this table are digraphs (that is, they consist of more than one letter). However, they represent single elements. No difference in status is implied between the symbols consisting of a single letter and those consisting of two. The h’s in ph, th, ch, nh, kh have nothing consistently in common with the single h in the glottal column, or with each other. The t and th are as distinct in Vietnamese as a comparable pair (t and th) in English are—although the distinctions involved in the two languages are quite different. The letter x was chosen to represent an element similar to English s because the distinction between Vietnamese s and x is an important feature in certain other dialects, and the Hanoi sounds are most similar to those regularly written x (cf. 2.35, 3.21, 4.21).

2.12. The Vocalic System includes two subsystems of vowels and related semivowels: upper vocalics, six vowels and three semivowels formed relatively high in the mouth and characterized by a three-way position distinction (front, back unrounded, back rounded); and lower vocalics, five vowels and one semivowel formed relatively low in the mouth and characterized by a two-way position distinction (front, back). Sounds of the two systems are distributed somewhat differently in syllable structure (see 2.5, 2.6 and 2.82). The occurring sounds are shown in Table 2. Note that in the lower vocalic subsystem there are three distinctions of height in front, but only two in back: a includes both higher and lower low vowels. Vocalics are discussed in detail in 2.5-6.
### Table 2. The Vocalic System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front Unrounded</th>
<th>Back Unrounded</th>
<th>Back Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>UPPER</em> High Vowels</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ür</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Mid Vowels</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Mid Vowels</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>LOWER</em> Higher Low Vowels</td>
<td>â</td>
<td></td>
<td>â</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Low Vowels</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.13. The Tone System

The Tone System consists of six elements composed of contours of musical pitch combined with certain other features of voice production. Table 3 shows the system in a comparative chart. Tones are discussed in detail in 2.71.

### Table 3. The Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONE NAME</th>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>PITCH LEVEL</th>
<th>CONTOUR</th>
<th>OTHER FEATURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sác</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>Tenseness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngã</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>Glottalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngang</td>
<td>(unmarked)</td>
<td>High-Mid</td>
<td>Trailing-Falling</td>
<td>Laxness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>họcn</td>
<td>̀</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Trailing</td>
<td>Laxness, breathiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hôi</td>
<td>̂</td>
<td>Mid-Low</td>
<td>Dropping</td>
<td>Tenseness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nãng</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Dropping</td>
<td>Glottalization or tenseness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.14. Minor Systems

The Minor Systems are two: stresses (relative degrees of force or loudness with which each syllable is produced) and intonations (contours of diminishing force through each syllable with concomitant variations in tone contours). These systems are shown in Table 4. Stresses are discussed in detail in 2.72, intonations in 2.73.

### Table 4. Minor Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRESSES</th>
<th>INTONATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Decreasing (normal tones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Fading (lowered tones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Sustaining (raised tones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In creasing (spread tones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.15. Hanoi Phonemics (Notes for Linguists). Considered from the point of view of phonemic analysis, the phonological structure of Hanoi speech emerges as still more systematized. (Since this systematization appears capable of producing some confusion for non-linguist readers it has not been used as the basis for general description. However, it seems useful to provide these notes for the benefit of those who are interested).

A more rigorous systematization of consonantal elements would recognize glottal stop as a phoneme. The voicing of [b] and [d] would then be predictable allophones of /p/ and /t/ respectively, following initial /ʔ/. (B, initial only, and p, final only, must in any case belong to the same phoneme.) The fact that so-called initial [w] is always preceded by glottal stop suggests putting it with lenis [v], initial only. The semivowels [j, y], final only, combine respectively with [z, g], initial only. An /h/ phoneme can be defined to include modified anticipations and prolongations of vowel phonemes, thus accounting for [h-] and [-å]. The vowel system remains as presented in 2.12, but all the semivowels have been reassigned to the consonantal system.

Recognition of glottal stop as a phoneme forces a reconsideration of the tone system. The most economical phonemicization would recognize two tones, high and low; two degrees of tension, tense and lax. Other tone differences would be accounted for by final /-ʔ/, and the tonal contours would be predictable. Stresses and intonations would remain as presented in 2.14.

Table 5 shows this reanalysis, arranged so as to be comparable with earlier charts. It has not seemed particularly valuable to provide an accounting of the effect of the reanalysis on syllable structure. The charts provided in 2.8 can be converted mechanically. The most significant difference is the addition of a new type of syllable ending in /-ʔ/.

Nguyễn Ba-Tuy 1959 reports experimental phonetic studies on the basis of which the author proposes some interesting treatments for certain aspects of the phonological system. He mentions in particular the difference between final consonantal elements following long vocalics (which he calls lóng 'loose', presumably meaning 'lax, lenis') and those following short vocalics (termed chật ‘tight’, i.e., presumably, ‘tense, fortis’). He then considers differences in tension among initial consonants and identifies homorganic lax and tense elements in the two positions. He finds initial b- and d- (as well as g-) lax, while t- and k- (c-) are tense. So, for example, the distinctions /-ap/-ăp, -at/-ăt, -ak/-ăk/ he treats as /-ab/-ăp, -ad/-ăt, -ag/-ăk/, respectively. He also identifies final laminals /-ch, -nh/ with the final tense velars /-k, -ng/; for example, /-ich, -ĕch, -ăch/ are treated as /-ik, -ĕk, -ek/ (the contrast /-ăch/-ăk/ has been shifted to the
Table 5. Phonemic Reinterpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th></th>
<th>Vocalics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p t ch k ’</td>
<td>j g w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?p ?t</td>
<td>i u u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph th x kh h</td>
<td>ê o ô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w l j g</td>
<td>e o</td>
<td>a â</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m n nh ng</td>
<td></td>
<td>a h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tones
sác high tone, tense
ngã high tone, tense, final /-?/
ngâng high tone, lax
huyën low tone, lax
hôi low tone, tense
năng low tone, tense, final /-?/ or other stop

Explanation of Certain Combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prevocalic</th>
<th>Postvocalic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/w-/ = [v-]</td>
<td>/-w/ = [-w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?w-/ = [?w-]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j-/ = [z-]</td>
<td>/-j/ = [-j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?g-/ = [g-]</td>
<td>/-g/ = [-g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h-/ = [h-]</td>
<td>/-h/ = [-â]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel: /-ek:-ak/). It is interesting to note, in this connection, that he considers the laminopalatal closure of /-ch, -nh/ as subsidiary to the simultaneous velar closure he ascribes to these sounds in the same way that labial closure is a non-distinctive coarticulation in the case of /-k, -ng/ after /u, w/. In this way he establishes a reduced vowel inventory, having dispensed with our /â, â/.

There are a number of problems with this treatment. For example, at the phonemic level there is considerable loss in economy elsewhere in the system: he is forced to set up five additional phonemes—tense varieties of nasals and semivowels (written here for convenience with capital letters): /M, N, NG, Y, W/—which occur only finally, and of which /Y, W/ have very limited distributions. On the phonetic level, I find the typification of b-, d- as lax quite contrary to reality, and the experimental basis for the
characterization seems dubious. For this purpose elements were pronounced into one end of a V-shaped tube partially filled with a liquid, and relative readings of the rising of the liquid at the other end of the tube were recorded. This presumably records primarily the amount of air released rather than relative tension of production. The fact that $b$- and $d$- displaced the liquid a relatively small amount seems quite predictable, since they are regularly preglottalized and imploded, making for reduced exhalant air pressure. On the other hand, the identification of these differences in the tension of finals is interesting and may well lead to a deeper understanding of the phonological system.

An opposite treatment based on some of the same phenomena (in fact, inspired by the earlier work of Nguyễn Bát-Tỵ) appears in Haudricourt 1952. Here the number of short vowels is increased to six: /á, â/ are the short vowels corresponding to /a, o/; in addition there are short varieties of /è, e, ô, o/. Although again probably not preferable, as a phonemic system, this treatment does call attention to interesting features in the distributitional table.

2.2. Fortis Stops are characterized by relatively strong articulation: at the beginning of syllables they are exceedingly fortis, except for $ch$, which is somewhat weaker. At the end of syllables they are about midway between the extremes of fortis and lenis. (It would be somewhat more accurate to call them non-lenis stops.) Those after short vocalics are generally more fortis than those after long vocalics.

They subdivide naturally into voiceless $p$, $t$, $ch$, $k$; and voiced $b$, $d$, which are also preglottalized and often imploded. The voiced stops occur only initially, while the voiceless stops also occur finally, in which position they are unreleased; $p$ occurs only finally (see 2.15).

2.21. $p$: bilabial stop (without any other closure in the mouth: in certain positions $[k]$ involves a double closure, a labial closure accompanying the defining dorsovelar stop; cf. 2.26)—voiceless, unreleased: final only.

kip on time, nęp glutinous [rice], tięp receive, welcome, láp class, uáp to scent, chüp seize suddenly, háp box, dęp be beautiful, tháp be short, low, tháp tower

2.22. $b$: bilabial stop, voiced, preglottalized and often imploded (see below): initial only.

bietzt know, bèn side, būa meal, bè shore, buôm [ship's] sail, bôn four, bè raft, bèt to suit, bán to shoot, bán be busy, ba three
This sound is similar to English b but is much more strongly articulated. In addition, it is always preceded by glottal stop, which is seldom released before the beginning of the b, with the result that a partial vacuum is created between the throat and the lips; when the lip closure is released this vacuum is often still strong enough so that a little air is sucked in at the lips, giving the sound its characteristic strangeness to non-native ears.

2.23. t: apical stop, postdental--
Voiceless, unreleased: final only.

\[ \text{ít small amount, hét be used up, biết know, đút to break} \\
\text{[string], ỏt pimento, pepper, ụt be wet, ụt writing} \\
\text{instrument, mọt one, chuột rat, ghét detest, ngọt be sweet,} \\
\text{đạt be expensive, mất to lose} \]

Voiceless, sharply released: initial only.

tien money, tét [New Year's] holiday, tue fourth, tô thin sheet 
[classifier], tủ cupboard, shelves, tôm shrimp, lobster, 
tẻ to fall down [living being], to be large, tay hand, arm, 
tây west, ta you and I, tôa bureau, office

This sound differs sharply from English t, of which it is reminiscent. English initial t is fortis and voiceless, but it is also aspirated—that is, a puff of breath accompanies its release—and it is produced by the contact of the tongue tip to the ridge behind the upper teeth. Vietnamese initial t is fortis and voiceless, but in producing it the tongue tip touches the roots of the upper teeth, and the release is unaspirated. Final t, however, is more similar to English final unreleased t (except for position). When it comes at the end of a syllable which is followed immediately by a syllable beginning with ch or nh, the contact of the tongue tip is against the backs of the upper teeth: the transition to the following laminal articulation of the ch or nh (see 2.25, 2.43) thus involves less movement.

2.24. d: apicoalveolar stop, voiced, preglottalized and often imploded (see below): initial only.

\[ \text{di go, đê put, place, dua hand over, don application, đủ be} \\
\text{enough, đôi pair, couple, dép be beautiful, đố be red, đồc} \\
\text{to read, dòng winter, đà stone, đoán to guess} \]

D is very similar to b: it is voiced and preglottalized, and this preglottal-ization often occasions an implosion with the release (cf. 2.22). It resembles English d in that it is alveolar.

2.25. ch: laminoalveolar stop--
Unreleased: final only.

ič be useful, ích frog, säch be clean

24
Usually with slightly affricated release: initial only.

chia divide, chét to die, chua not yet, chợ market, chủ master, lord, boss, chỗ place, chén cup, cho give, chẳng definitely not, chậm be slow, chap final month of year, chuyên conversation

Although reminiscent of the English ch in child, this Vietnamese sound differs in position: the English sound is generally produced by the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge with the blade touching just behind it, while in the Vietnamese sound the tongue tip is down near the backs of the lower teeth and the contact is made by the blade against the back of the alveolar ridge. The English sound is aspirated and affricated while the Vietnamese sound is unaspirated and only slightly affricated (sometimes not at all). Note that ch occurs finally only after i, ᖘ, [ā].

After vowels the closure is often made somewhat further back—sometimes it involves an area of the tongue considerably behind the tip touching the roof of the mouth in back of the ridge (laminopalatal). This makes it difficult to distinguish from English consonants like those in sick, seek.

Jones and Thông (1957, 1960) analyze the sequences ich, inh, ék, enth, ach, anh as /ık, ing, ēk, ēng, āng/ respectively (reported here with the equivalent symbols of the present treatment). Nguyễn Đình Hòa (1957b, 1959b) makes a similar analysis, with the difference that he interprets ẻk, enth as /āyk, āng/. These interpretations seem to me pedagogically less fortunate in that they tend to reinforce an English speaker’s difficulty in hearing the sounds. There may be some question about the phonetic reality of these sequences. But I find it difficult to believe that the clear pronunciations of final palatal ch and nh which I have heard in my Hanoi informants’ connected speech represent deviations in the direction of the official spelling. This is a feature which should be carefully investigated on the spot in Hanoi, since speakers who have migrated from their birthplaces do change their speech habits. (See also 2.15, discussion of Nguyễn Bạt-Tụy 1959).

2.26. k: voiceless dorsovelar stop—

Unreleased with simultaneous strong rounding (and often closure or near closure) of the lips: final only after u and [w].

lúc time, instance, học [hawks] to study, cốc [kawks] [drinking] glass

Unreleased, plain: final only after vowels other than i, ē, u, ơ, o.

mực ink, nước water, ếng ếc [onomatopoetic: squealing of pig], sắc be sharp, xác be ill-mannered, cácc [plural marker]

25
Sharply released: initial only.

- kia (over) there, kêu shout, call, cửa door, opening, cờ flag,
  cưng also, cô father's sister, kém be less, con animal
  [classifier], cắt put away, store, cá fish, qua cross over

Vietnamese k differs from the similar sound in English (as in cake, quick, cookie) primarily in lacking aspiration in initial position and in having the strong lip rounding (or sometimes double closure) after u and [w]. This strongly rounded k occasions considerable difficulty for learners of the language, since they will frequently think they are hearing p instead of k and must take care to distinguish the following contrasting syllable types:

[-up: -uk] dup three times, duc perforate
[-āp: -āwk] cāp pilfer, cốc toad
[-âp: -âwk] châp bear a grudge, chốc moment, instant

This element is written with three symbols, distributed as follows:
- k before i, y, ê, or e of the official spelling (in the same syllable)
- q in the combination [kw]: qu-
- c elsewhere (before all other vowels and in final position)

2.3. Lenis Oral Consonants are less strongly articulated than the fortis stops: occurring only in initial position (where fortis stops are very strongly articulated), they are about midway on the scale or somewhat toward the lenis extreme. They are mainly continuants, although th is a stop and g has a stop variant. The continuants are spirants, except for the lateral l. They occur in pairs, voiced and voiceless in each position, except for h (see 2.39 below).

2.31. ph: voiceless labiodental spirant.

phía direction, phê criticize, comment on, phương method, way,
phở noodle soup, phu coolie, phô street, phép rule, custom,
phô entrust, phòng room, Phật Buddha, phá destroy

2.32. v: voiced labiodental spirant.

việc affair, matter, work, về return, vừa to fit, suit, vợ wife, vua
king, vón capital, principal (sum), vẽ to draw, sketch, vỏ
shell, skin, văn literature, letters, vâng obey, và and

2.33. th: voiceless apicodental stop with aspirated release.

thi take an examination, thê manner, way, thử to try out, thờ to
worship, thua to lose [e.g., a game], thời to stop, theo
follow, tho to live long, thành become, thật be real, true, thang staircase, thuề taxes
The distinction between t and th in Vietnamese is difficult for speakers of English because it entails some elements which are contrary to the habits of English. Vietnamese t is fortis and unaspirated, th is lenis and aspirated (opposed to the English t in take, toad, which is fortis and aspirated, and the d in dish, dawn, which is lenis and unaspirated). There is also, of course, the matter of position: Vietnamese th, like t, is formed against the roots of the upper teeth.

2.34. l: voiced lateral (apicodental contact; accompanied by approximately the coloring of the vowel ơ).
    linh soldier, lên go up, lửa fire, lơn pig, lúc time, instance,列入 path, leo to climb, lo to worry, lành be cold, lâu to last a long time, lá leaf, loài species
Hanoi l is rather like the l in English lay, let.

2.35. x: voiceless laminodental spirant.
    xin to ask for, xếp to fold, sữa [xũa] milk, sợ [xơ$f$] to fear, xưởng go down, số [xơw] number, xe vehicle, xóm neighborhood, sách [xâw] book, sòng [xâw] to live, xa be far away, xuân spring [season]
X is similar to English s in see, but is somewhat more palatalized, and a little less shrill. In the official orthography it is represented sometimes by x, sometimes by s; the spelling must be learned for each word.

2.36. z: voiced laminodental spirant (voiced counterpart of x).
Z is similar to English z in zebra, but is somewhat more palatalized. In the official orthography it is represented by đ (without a bar), r or ĝi (simply g- before [i]) (for details, see 3.2-3).

2.37. kh: voiceless dorsovelar spirant (occasionally beginning with a stop—see below).
    khi time when, khê carambola (kind of fruit-bearing tree), khu-hôi round-trip, khó be gullible, khu region, khó be unfortunate, khen commend, khó be difficult, khách guest, không not, khát be thirsty, khoai potato.
Kh is created by narrowing the passage between the back of the tongue and the roof of the mouth, sometimes making a complete closure. Some speakers occasionally begin kh with a very short stop; this is especially common immediately after a preceding syllable ending in [k]—the [k] is simply held over and released with the new syllable.

2.38. g: voiced dorsovelar oral consonant—
Stop: initial immediately following syllable ending in ng.

\textit{thang gác stairs} [leading up]

Spirant: elsewhere (i.e., unless immediately preceded by syllable ending in ng).

\textit{ghi} to record, \textit{ghê} chair, \textit{quồng} mirror, \textit{gôi} to arouse [feelings],
\textit{guộc} clog, wooden shoe, \textit{gô} wood, \textit{ghên} be jealous, \textit{gôi} to call, \textit{gâp} to meet, \textit{gàn} be near, \textit{gác} upstairs, \textit{gôa} be widowed

G is written \textit{gh} before i, ë, e.

2.39. h: voiceless anticipation of immediately following vowel or semivowel. Although it might be referred to as a voiceless spirant in the glottis, h actually is simply the voicelessness which accompanies voiceless sounds in the same way that voicing accompanies voiced sounds. Each occurrence of h, then, is really a voiceless vowel having the same formation as the following vowel or semivowel (only [w] occurs).

\textit{hiếu} to understand, \textit{hé} be used up, \textit{hãa} to pledge, promise, \textit{hôn} be more (than), \textit{hút} inhale, \textit{hôp} box, can, jar, \textit{hè} summer, \textit{hôi} to ask (a question), \textit{hay} be interesting, good, \textit{hồng} rose, \textit{hát} to sing, \textit{hoàng} [hwàng] emperor

2.4. \textbf{Nasals} are fully voiced and about midway in relation to the extremes of lenis and fortis (those in final position after short vocalics are more fortis than others). They all occur both initially and finally; in the latter position they are unreleased. They differ sharply from similar nasals in English in final position in that they are very short—English nasals are prolonged, especially after short vowels. With \textit{ngã} and \textit{nãng} tones (see 2.71) in rapid speech they are chopped off almost before they are formed. However, enough of each nasal is heard in such cases so that it is possible to tell them apart. Vowels are frequently nasalized before or after nasals. They are always nasalized before [wng] and in all nasal-final syllables accompanied by \textit{ngã} and \textit{nãng} tones (see 2.63, 2.64).

2.41. m: labial nasal (without any other closure in the mouth— in certain circumstances ng involves a double closure, a labial closure accompanying the defining one in the dorsovelar area; cf. 2.44).
Mỹ America, tìm kiếm to go looking (for something), mê be unconscious, đêm night, mật preserves, jam, mở to open, sớm be early, lucröm give a threatening look, mua to buy, chum earthenware jar, một one, hôm day, buôm [ship’s] sail, mèo cat, dem to carry, mỏ beak, bill, xóm neighborhood, may to sew, năm year, mây cloud, dâm to stab, ma spirit, ghost, tâm eight

2.42. n: postdental apical nasal (in final position followed immediately by ch or nh the contact is against the backs of the upper teeth; cf. 2.25).
   nin to hold back, keep from, nén be fitting, proper, tiền money, nũa still more, nở to bloom, hôm be more (than), muôn to borrow, núi mountain, phünk drizzle, noài to rise to the surface, bọn four, ném to throw, đen lantern, non be tender, young, năn to model [clay], nâu to cook (esp. by boiling), xuân spring [season], nạn accident, calamity

2.43. nh: laminoalveolar nasal.
   niệu be abundant, much, lính soldier, nhẹ to extract with a sharp instrument, bènh to defend, nhu like, as, nó to remember, nhục to disgrace, nhở to pull out, uproot, nhẹ be light [weight], nó be small, nhanh be fast, nhat first, nhà house, năm nhuan leap year
   Note that nh occurs finally only after i, ê, [ä].
   This nasal has the same position as ch (2.25). Finally, especially after [i], the sound is frequently made a little further back in the mouth, with the contact somewhat back of the ridge behind the upper teeth. For this reason it sounds very much like the end of the English word thing, but the closure is not so far back (the English sound is velar).

2.44. ng: dorsovelar nasal—
   With simultaneous strong rounding (and often closure or near closure) of the lips: final only after u, [w].
   ãng be correct, ong [ãng] bee, ông [awng] grandfather
   Plain: elsewhere (i.e., initial, and final after other vowels)
   ngiê to rest, take time off, nghề occupation, profession, ngựa horse, đừng don’t, ngộ to expect, think, người person, درưng sugar, ngủ to sleep, ngồi to sit [down], xẻng shovel, nghe to listen [to], ngon be good tasting, xoong saucepan, ngàn be short, brief, nặng be heavy, ngàn silver, vàng to obey, ngà ivory, làng village, ngoài outside
Note that ng does not occur finally after [i, o], and is rare after [ê, e, ô, o] (cf. 2.82). The spellings ong, ông represent special combinations with the diphthongs [âw, âw] (cf. 2.58, 2.62).

The strongly rounded ng occurring after u and [w] occasions the same kind of difficulty for foreigners as [k] in the same position. Care must be taken to distinguish the following syllable types:

- [-um: -ung] chum earthenware jar, chung assemble
- [-âm: -âwng] đâm to sink, dòng to shut
- [-âm: -âwng] âm sound, ông grandfather

This sound is written ngh before i, ê, e.

2.5. **Upper Vocalics** have three distinctive positions: front (which includes variant vowels in central position), back unrounded, and back rounded. In each position there is a high vowel and semivowel, and an upper mid vowel. None of these vowels occur finally. Those which are written as single final vowels are actually diphthongs consisting of the vowel followed by its homorganic semivowel. Thus the writings i, ê, u, o, u, ô, actually represent in final position the diphthongs [ïj, êj, ư, ô, uw, ôw].

It is also important to distinguish a variety of diphthongs from some vocalic sequences of rather different quality—vowel clusters, which contain two dissimilar vowels in sequence, neither of which is regularly enough less prominent than the other to qualify as a semivowel. These are the sequences written -iê- (or yê-) before [w, p, m, t, n], uô- before [j, m, t, n], and ưô- before all occurring finals. It is regularly observable that on occasion the first element is slightly more prominent, on occasion the second; sometimes it seems impossible to distinguish either vowel as more prominent. They are thus quite different from diphthongs like those written ao, au, âu, ua, etc., where the first element is regularly more prominent than the second. It is interesting that these vowel clusters involve only the upper vowels in sequence from higher to lower.

2.51. i: high front or central (unrounded) vowel—

* Lower high central: before final ch, nh.
  * ích be useful, linh soldier

* Upper high front: before [ê, â, p, m] in the same syllable.
  * biết know, chia [chìa] to divide, miệng [mìâng] mouth, kìp be urgent, tìm kiêm search (for)

* Lower high front: elsewhere (i.e., before [j, w, t, n] in the same syllable).
  * đi [di] go, gì [zi] what(ever), chịu [chìw] endure, suffer, mưu [mìw] scheme (see below), ít be a small amount, xin to ask for
The diphthong [ij] is quite similar to that in English *see*. The variant of i before ch, nh is similar to many pronunciations of the vowel in English *it*. However, in other positions i is very high and front, like the element at the very end of English *see*. English speakers will have difficulties especially before p, m, because the Vietnamese combinations ip, im, are unlike the English sounds in *keep* and *seem* (which are usually diphthongs like that in *see*).

In the official spelling the most common symbol is i: doch be useful, ít be a small amount, tìm kiêm search for, chia to divide. However, after [w] y is written: quyền [kwåˈn̩] volume, ủy [wij] to delegate, entrust, Huỳnh [hwîŋ] [a family name]. Y is written consistently as the first vowel of the cluster [i-] and the diphthong [i-] (followed by some final) when otherwise the i would appear as the first letter of a syllable (the initial is glottal stop, which is not represented in the orthography)—that is, whenever otherwise the sequence of symbols i- would stand first in a word: yêu [iəw] to cherish, yến [iəŋ] red-winged blackbird. The diphthong [ij] is written simply i in most cases: đi [dij] go, giá [zij] what(ever), chỉ [chij] elder sister, mì [mî] wheat flour. In some cases, however, y is written instead, and in a few forms y and i are interchangeable: Mỹ [mîj] America, hy, hi [hij] to hope.

In some dialects there are forms involving the sequences [uw, uow], and they are written uu, uou. However, these sequences are not native to Hanoi, where they are replaced in ordinary speech by [iw, ièw]. As a result there are some forms in Hanoi speech with [iw, ièw] which are written uu, uou, respectively, while others are written iu, ieu: chiếu [chiw] endure, suffer, miêu [miw] scheme, hiểu [hiəw] understand, rêu [ziəw] alcoholic beverage. (Even in Hanoi, of course, one hears spelling pronunciations with [uw, uow].)

2.52. è: upper mid front or central (unrounded) vowel—

Upper mid central: before final ch, nh; and after [i] before [w, p, m, t, n] in the same syllable (slightly lower before [w]).

èch frog, bènh defend; hiểu [hiəw] understand, tiếc receive, welcome, kiểm be in charge of, biết know, miền region

Upper mid front: elsewhere (i.e., before [j, w, p, m, t, n] in the same syllable) (slightly higher before [j]).

dè [dəw] put, place, nên [nəw] if, bếp kitchen, đêm night, hêt be used up, đến arrive

The diphthong [êj] is similar to that in English *they*, but the vowel is higher. The vowel which occurs before ch, nh, and after [i] before [w, p, m, t, n] is a little higher than the vowel often heard at the end of English
sofa, similar to the first vowel in a rapid pronunciation of confusion or sustain. In other positions ê is slightly higher than the vowel in English bet. However, this is the most serious difficulty, because Vietnamese e (2.6) is only slightly lower than this English vowel. Thus each vowel, when heard in isolation, will sound much like the vowel in bet to an English speaker. He must practice hearing and making this distinction, using such pairs as the following:

ê
kêu [kêu] to shout, call
nêp glutinous [rice]
dêm night
hêt be used up
dân [Taoist] temple

e
keo [kew] be miserly
nép to hide [oneself]
dem carry
hét to shriek
dân lantern

Not all cases where ê is written are pronounced [ê]: in the combinations iêc, iêng, ê has the value of the semivowel [Â] (see 2.66.) Note that [êj] is written simply ê.

2.53. [j]: high front unrounded semivowel—
Upper high: after i.
   đi [dĭ] go, đi [zĭ] what(ever)
   Lower high: elsewhere (i.e., after ê, u, o, u̯, o, a, â) (tenser after short vowels).

This semivowel is very short and in rapid speech often becomes voiceless or nearly so before silence or a voiceless sound beginning the next syllable. English speakers tend to make this [j] too long (as in the comparable semivowel in English boy).

The representation of [j] in the official spelling (see also 3.34) is usually i: tôi I, hỏi ask a question, cụi firewood. But after [i, ê] it is not written at all: đi go, đê easy. After â it is always written y: mây cloud. The distinction between [a] and [â] before [j] is symbolized by writing [j] as i in the first case, as y in the second: mai [maj] tomorrow, may [mâj] be lucky.

2.54. u: lower high back unrounded vowel.
   ngûi to sniff, tu [tû] fourth, nguôi person, lwon eel, ua to like,
   đût to break [string], súc strength, dùng don’t

In many dialects of American English, vowels of this sort do not occur or
are rare. It may be helpful in learning the sounds to practice saying the English word *too*, prolonging the vowel while gradually spreading the lips and keeping the tongue in the same position. This should give an upper high back unrounded vowel. The lower vowel can be obtained by opening the mouth a little wider. Some speakers of English use lower high back unrounded vowels commonly in words like *good, should*, especially in unstressed positions. Such vowels generally are variants of [u] in English, and this may mean that there will be real difficulty in learning to distinguish Vietnamese ú and u (see 2.57). For persons with this difficulty, practicing exaggerated rounding for u and exaggerated lip spreading for ú should be helpful. The following pairs of words are examples of the contrast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u</th>
<th>ú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thứ [thú]</td>
<td>thứ [thú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kú] to saw</td>
<td>[kú] crab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to break [string]</td>
<td>to insert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dũng to stand</td>
<td>dũng be correct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diphthong [uw] occurs only finally. It is similar to [ij] in that it involves movement from a vowel to a higher homorganic semivowel, and in that it is represented in the orthography by the symbol ú alone. Ú is the regular writing for the vowel. Note, however, that the spellings uu and ou are actually [iw] and [ięw] in Hanoi pronunciation.

2.55. σ: upper mid back unrounded vowel.

mời invite, chơ [chó] market(place), khớp joint [of bones],

sóm be early, ớt pepper, pimento, sơn to paint, ủng to scent,

luôm give a threatening look, uốt be wet, luơn eel, duọc receive, đọng sugar

No vowels of this sort occur in most dialects of English. It will probably be easiest for an English speaker to learn this sound after having learned u, then practicing σ by opening his mouth wider. If he produces a sound like that in English but he has opened his mouth too wide. It is also possible to approximate this vowel by pronouncing the English word go, prolonging the vowel and spreading the lips without moving the tongue.

2.56. The y semivowel is roughly the same as u or somewhat higher. It occurs only after u and σ when no other consonants follow, and is not represented in the orthography. The diphthongs involved thus parallel [ij, uw].

Upper high back unrounded semivowel: after u.

tư [tư] fourth, chữ [chư] written word

Lower high back unrounded semivowel: after σ.

sọ [sọ] be afraid, ọ [ọ] be located
2.57. u: high back rounded vowel—
   Upper high: before p, m.
   chüp seize suddenly, chum earthenware jar
   Lower high: elsewhere (i.e., before [j, w, ō, ā, t, n, k, ng] in the same syllable).
   nủi [núj] mountain, mủ [múw] hat, tuởi years old, chùa [chúâ] (Buddhist) temple, bút writing instrument, phùn drizzle, lúc time, instance, củng also

The diphthong [uw] is quite similar to that in English too (except for speakers who have an unrounded vowel in this combination). The vowels before p, m are as high as the end of this English combination. The other variant is only slightly lower. It resembles the vowel in most pronunciations of English wood. The difficulty for English speakers having unrounded high back vowels in their speech is discussed in 2.54.

2.58. ô: upper mid back rounded vowel—
   Higher mean mid: before [j, w].
   tôĩ [tôj] I, rõĩ [zőj] be already accomplished, cô [kôw] father’s sister, lô [lôw] hole
   Mean mid strongly centralized: after u.
   buôn be sad, quốc [kwôk] country, tuổi [tuôj] years old, chuột rat

   Upper mid: elsewhere (i.e., before p, m, t, n).

   tôp band, group, hôm day, tôĩ be good, dọn fort, military post

The cluster [ôw] is quite similar to the diphthong heard in some pronunciations of English snow, boat. However, many English speakers have unrounded back vowels (usually also lower) in such words, combinations which are very similar to the Vietnamese diphthong [âw] (see 2.64-65). They will need to practice carefully hearing and making the distinction between [ôw] with a rounded vowel, and [âw] with an unrounded (and much lower) vowel. Certain other English speakers have still different vowels in snow or boat—central vowels. They may have difficulty distinguishing Vietnamese [âw] (see 2.64) rather than [âw] from [ôw], or they may confuse all three combinations. Examples of the three contrasting diphthongs in Vietnamese follow:
   sô [xôw] number  xâu [xâw] be ugly  sâu [xâw] six

The cluster [ôj] is reminiscent of the diphthong in English toy, boy, but the vowel is higher. Many English speakers will have difficulty learning to distinguish Vietnamese [ôj] from [oj] (see 2.62). They will need
to practice pairs like the following:

nói [nój] to join, add to  noi [nój] to speak
đối [dój] to reply to  dôi [dój] be hungry

Before p, m, t, n Vietnamese ơ is not a diphthong like the one usually heard in English hope, home, boat, bone. It is totally unlike the vowels in English words like hop, Tom, cot, Don. (Most speakers of English have low central unrounded vowels in these positions, although some have low or lower mid back rounded vowels.) Those who have difficulties with these combinations will need to practice starting with the vowel they have learned in the combinations [ôw, ôj], and remember that the ơ in ôp, ôm, ôt, ôn is produced with the tongue raised just slightly higher. (With low tones the combination [ôp] sometimes has a slightly lower vowel: e.g., hộp box, can.)

Not all cases where ơ is written correspond to [o] in the pronunciation: in the combinations uóc, uông, ơ has the value of [â] (cf. 2.66); the combinations ơc, ơng represent [âwkw, âwng] respectively. Note also that [ôw] is written simply ơ.

2.59. [w]: high back rounded semivowel—
Upper high: after [u].

đủ [dûw] be enough, mủ [mûw] hat

Lower high: elsewhere (i.e., preceding the vocalic nucleus of the syllable, and after [i, ē, e, ơ, a, ā, â]) (tenser preceding vocalic nucleus than following it, and preglottalized when initial in syllable; tenser after short vowels).


Before vowels [w] is very similar to English w in winter, although it is tenser and perhaps a little higher. However, after vowels it is laxer; like [j] it is very short and in rapid speech often becomes voiceless or nearly so before silence or a voiceless sound in the next syllable. The [w] in the combinations [âwkw, âwng, âkw, âwng] (cf. 2.64, 2.65) is especially short. English speakers tend to make postvocalic [w] too long (like the comparable semivowel in English cow, crowd).
The representation of [w] in the official spelling (see also 3.33) is usually u: tuần week, thuế taxes, chuyện talk, conversation, thúy epoch, chịu endure, suffer, nâu if, xâu be ugly. However, it is not written at all after [u, ō]: ngủ [ngũ] to sleep, cô [kōw] father's sister. After e and before e, a, ā it is written o (except that [kw-] is always written qu-): mèo [mēw] cat, khoẻ [khwę] be strong, healthy, già [gwá] be widowed, hoặc [hwāk] or, qua [kwā] cross over. The distinction between [a] and [ā] before [w] is symbolized by writing [w] as o in the first case, u in the second: sao [xaw] star, sau [xāw] afterward.

2.6. Lower Vocalics have only two distinctive positions: there are three vowels produced toward the front of the mouth, two toward the back. Three of the vowels are relatively long and appear in final position: e, o, a. The others (ā and ā) are very short and do not occur finally.

2.61. e: lower mid front unrounded vowel.

nghe listen, bè raft, lề cause, reason, mèo [mēw] cat, thép steel, dem carry, ghét detest, den be black, eng-ēc [onomatopoetic: squealing of pig], sēng shovel

This sound is not much lower than the vowel in English bet, and for this reason there are many positions in which it is difficult for the English speaker to learn the distinction between e and ē. For some examples of this distinction, see 2.52.

In final position e itself occupies about the same amount of time as a diphthong such as [ew]. That is, mè ‘tench’ (a kind of fish) is about as long as mèo [mēw] ‘cat’. In heavily stressed syllables, especially citation forms, one often hears [e̯á] as an alternate for [e] in final position or before -ng (most commonly with low tones): bè [bè(ā)] raft, sēng [xē(ā)ng] shovel. Before ng this [ā] is extremely short.

2.62. o: lower mid back rounded vowel.

khô be difficult, cỏ grass, hỏi ask a question, chớp summit, xóm neighborhood, ngót be sweet, ngon be good tasting, hoong [bong] deck (of ship), ho (extended) family, clan

This sound is very similar to that heard in most pronunciations of English law, although generally a little higher. Many English speakers have considerable difficulty with o before final consonants, because in their native speech a lower unrounded vowel occurs in words like chop, Tom, cot, Don. They will need to listen carefully to the Vietnamese words and compare them with similar English words in order to hear the differences before they will be able to practice the Vietnamese sounds.
Like e, o itself when final occupies about the same amount of time as a diphthong like [oj]. So khó ‘be difficult’ is about the same length as khởi [khój] ‘smoke’. In heavily stressed syllables, especially citation forms, one often hears [oâ] as an alternate for [o] both in final position and before [j] (most commonly with low tones): cỏ [kô(â)] grass, hỏi [hô(â)] ask (a question).

The distinction between oi and ôi occasions difficulty for some. This is discussed in detail in 2.58.

Note that before ng [o] is written oo. (The spelling ong represents [âwng], which is extremely common in Vietnamese, while [ong] is limited to a few borrowed words: see also 3.37.)

2.63. a: lower low front unrounded vowel.

nhà building, bài lesson, cao be high, đáp to answer, làm to act, hát to sing, bàn table, khác be different, làng village, mạ rice seedling, bạn friend

For English speakers whose a in words like father is produced very far front in the mouth, Hanoi a presents few problems. But many have in father a vowel much like the ones in hot, rob, hop, which is farther back in the mouth (often described as “broader”). For them Hanoi a may most usefully be viewed as intermediate between the English vowels just mentioned and those in words like cat, map, jam. Specifically, it is lower than the latter, and farther front than the former.

In final position a itself occupies about the same amount of time as a diphthong such as [aj]. That is, mạ ‘ghost’ is about as long as mai ‘tomorrow’.

There may be considerable difficulty in learning to distinguish a from ā (2.64), which is not only shorter, but is also quite different in quality. Following are some examples of this contrast:

**a**  
mai [maj] tomorrow  
sao [xaw] star  
sáp wax  
thám be greedy  
cát sand  
bán to sell  
xác corpse  
măng carry (on one’s person)

**ã**  
may [mãj] be lucky  
sau [xày] afterward  
sáp be on the point of  
thám to visit  
cát to cut  
bán to shoot  
sắc be sharp  
măng bamboo shoots

Note that in the orthography the symbol a does not always represent [a]. Before ch, nh (where [a] does not occur) a represents [ã] and [aj, âw] are written ay, au, as distinct from ai [aj] and ao [aw].
2.64. ā: upper low central unrounded vowel.

máy [máj] machine, sáu [sáw] six, sáp be on the point of, thểm to visit, dât be expensive, ān to eat, sach [sách] be clean, manh [mänh] be strong, săc be sharp, dăng direction, area, dôc [dawk] to read, ong [âng] bee

This sound resembles nothing in most English dialects. It can be learned by producing the vowel in cat, mat, with the tongue slightly retracted. It is essential to learn the distinction between ā and â. The latter is similar to the sounds usually heard in English words like but, fuss, sun in stressed positions. Without contrasting forms to compare it with ā often sounds like â to an English speaker. Following are some examples of the contrast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ā</th>
<th>â</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máy [máj] machine</td>
<td>máy [máj] how(ever) many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáu [sáw] six</td>
<td>xáu [sáw] be ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câp pilfer</td>
<td>câp level, degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thểm to visit</td>
<td>thểm be black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dât be expensive</td>
<td>dât ground, land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chăn to tend</td>
<td>chăn foot, leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>săc be sharp</td>
<td>xác be ill-mannered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vâng to throw out</td>
<td>vâng to obey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òc [áwk] brain</td>
<td>òc [áwk] snail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ong [âng] bee</td>
<td>ông [âng] grandfather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the standard orthography [ä] is usually written ā, but before ch, nh (where [a, â] do not occur) it is written simply a: câp pilfer, ān to eat, sach be clean, manh be strong. The combination [aj] is written ay. The combination [aw] is written au when final, but o before [k, ng]: sáu six, ôc brain, ong bee.

2.65. â: relatively low back unrounded vowel.

Lower mid back, strongly centralized: after [w, b, ph, v, m] before [j].

quậy to stir, bày to display, phẩy comma, vây as just described, máy how(ever) many

Lower mid back: elsewhere.

tây west, dâu where(ver), ngâp be flooded, dâm to stab, rât very, dân citizen, xác be ill-mannered, vâng obey, ôc [áwk] snail, không [khâng] not

The most common sound of â is very similar to the vowel in English but, fuss, sun in stressed positions. The sound before [j] after labials, however, is nearly a central vowel, and the English speaker may have some difficulties in distinguishing [âj] from [êj] in these positions. Some contrasting examples follow:
\[\hat{a}\] to display \[\hat{e}\] border, edge
phẩy comma \[phè\] comment on, criticize
vẩy in the following manner \[vè\] to return
mẩy cloud \[mê\] be unconscious
quẩy to stir \[quê\] rural area

The distinction between [âw] and [òw] is treated in 2.58. The distinction between [â] and [á] is treated in 2.64.

/â/ is written ā in the standard orthography except in the combinations [âwk, âwng], which are written âc, âng, respectively.

2.66. The â semivowel is roughly the same as the vowel â—a lower mid back semivowel. It appears as a final after the upper high vowels [i, u, u]; and as a prefinal before [k, ng] after the same vowels. Occasionally a still lower vowel is heard following [u], especially with low tones; this is also the vowel heard in the diphthongs [eâ, oâ] which appear as alternates of [e, o] in certain positions (cf. 2.61-62). After [i] before [k, ng] it is strongly centralized.

chia [chiâ] to divide, mua [muâ] to rain, mua [muâ] to buy;
thuộc [thúôc] medicine, buông [bùông] chamber, room,
việc [viêc] matter, affair, tiêng [tiêng] noise, sound;
mùa [mùa] season (of year), bè [bè(â)] raft, hỏi [ho(â)j] ask (a question)

In the standard writing system this semivowel is represented by a in final position; and by ē after i, ô after u before [k, ng]. It is not written in the variants of forms in -e, -o.

2.7. Tones and Accompanying Elements. As the speaker of any language talks he gradually releases air from his lungs. This release is effected in brief uneven pulses, which are characterized by a beginning that is relatively forceful, and gradually decreasing force until the next pulse or a pause. In Vietnamese the sequence of consonants and vowels which goes with each chest pulse is a syllable. The makeup of syllables is described in 2.8.

Each syllable has certain additional distinctive features which are produced simultaneously with some or all of its consonants and vowels. First of all, the chest pulses which define syllables are unequal, varying from very forceful to very weak: three gradations of this forcefulness (stresses) are distinctive. At the same time, the force of each chest pulse dissipates gradually—that is, it begins strong and becomes gradually weaker. There are four different ways in which this is accomplished (intonations).
Finally, there are six tones—combinations of musical pitch and certain other aspects of voice production. Every syllable in connected speech is accompanied by one element from each of these sets.

2.71. Tones in Hanoi speech combine relative heights and contours of pitch with differences in glottal stricture. It remains unclear precisely how these tonal differences are perceived, but it is at least evident that loss of voicing impairs perceptibility considerably (cf. Lê vần Lý 1948 and Miller 1961). There are a number of theoretical difficulties involved in the interpretation of these phenomena (cf. 2.15), but the most generally useful description handles the material in the same way as the traditional orthography.

Sắc tone is high and rising (perhaps nearly level at the high point in rapid speech) and tense. In sequences of several syllables with this tone, one accompanied by heavy stress (2.72) is highest and those preceding it are successively higher as the heavy stress is approached. After the heavy stress subsequent syllables with sác tone begin lower and build up their own series of increasing height. It is symbolized by the acute accent: cá fish, khó be difficult, tốt be good, thuốc medicine

Ngã tone is also high and rising (in other words, the contour is roughly the same as that of sác), but it is accompanied by the rasping voice quality occasioned by tense glottal stricture. In careful speech such syllables are sometimes interrupted completely by a glottal stop (or a rapid series of glottal stops). It is symbolized by the acute accent: ~. dã [anterior marker], sữa milk, muỗi mosquito, cưng likewise

Ngang tone is lax; in contour it is nearly level in non-final syllables not accompanied by heavy stress, although even in these cases it probably trails downward slightly. It starts just slightly higher than the mid point of the normal speaking voice range. In syllables accompanied by heavy stress (2.72) it starts somewhat higher and falls more noticeably. Final syllables in the pause group have this latter contour unless one of the special intonations is involved (see 2.73), in which case quite different contours are heard. In isolated citation forms one frequently hears the level contour typical of non-final syllables. This tone is symbolized in the writing system by the absence of any tone mark.

ba three, tay hand, xe vehicle, răng tooth

Huyền tone, also lax, starts quite low and trails downward toward the bottom of the voice range. It is often accompanied by a kind of breathy voicing, reminiscent of a sigh. It is symbolized by the grave accent: cờ chess, làng village, giày shoe, về to return home
Hỏi tone is tense; it starts somewhat higher than huyễn and drops rather abruptly. In final syllables, and especially in citation forms, this is followed by a sweeping rise at the end, and for this reason it is often called the “dipping” tone. However, non-final syllables seem only to have a brief level portion at the end, and this is exceedingly elusive in rapid speech. It is symbolized by an accent made of the top part of a question mark: ?.

cỏ grass, khỏe be strong, healthy, ngủ to sleep, ảnh photograph

Nặng tone is also tense; it starts somewhat lower than hỏi. With syllables ending in a stop [p, t, ch, k] it drops only a little more sharply than huyễn tone, but it is never accompanied by the breathy quality of that tone. Other syllables have the same rasping voice quality as ngã, drop very sharply and are almost immediately cut off by a strong glottal stop. This tone is symbolized by a subscript dot: . (For a recent study of this tone in Hanoi speech, see Donaldson 1963.)

ma rice seedling, manh be strong, dep be beautiful, chợ market-
(place)

Note that the name for each tone is itself an example of that tone. These names are known to literate Vietnamese as the designations of the diacritics which symbolize them. For this reason the name ngang is not generally known; for the most part it is to be found only in technical works, while the other words are common property.

With the various intonations tone contours are somewhat different. These differences are discussed in connection with the intonations themselves (2.73).

2.72. Stresses are not symbolized in any way in the traditional orthography. Where it has seemed important to indicate them in this work, a single superior vertical stroke (') is used before the first letter of the syllable to symbolize heavy stress, a small superior circle (°) for weak stress, while medium stress is left unmarked.

In ordinary speech the majority of syllables are accompanied by medium stress. In sequences of several such syllables alternate ones are slightly louder, but this is not a distinctive matter. Each pause group has at least one heavy stress. Weak stresses are fairly frequent in rapid passages, rarer in careful speech.

Tôi 'không 'biết. I don't know
'Nói phải 'cô 'người nói 'di nói 'lại, chó 'bắt 'người 'ta 'nói 'một
mình 'hội! For a conversation you ought to have people talk-
ing together, not make somebody talk alone all the time!
["speak ought exist person speak go speak come and-not constrain someone speak alone continually"]

2.73. **Intonations** are probably perceived as shifting contours of fading syllabic stress—that is, the way the force of each syllable dies away; however, there are also differences in the contours of the tones. Some extensive and careful research on natural speech is needed to provide a better basis for understanding these phenomena.

For the moment it may be simply stated that there seem to be four ways in which the force of a syllable is dissipated. The most common fashion is here accepted as normal intonation: **decreasing** stress contour involves a gradual diminishing of force from the beginning of the syllable; it accompanies the vast majority of syllables. Final syllables in pause groups are frequently accompanied by **fading** intonation, characterized by a more rapid decline in force. The tones of such syllables are **lowered**—that is, they begin and end lower than syllables with the same tones and decreasing stress. Also quite frequent with final syllables is **sustaining** intonation, in which the initial force of the syllable is maintained for a short while before decreasing. The tones of these syllables are **raised**—starting and ending higher than with regular decreasing stress. Occasional syllables (both medial and final) are accompanied by **increasing** intonation, in the production of which the initial force increases before it starts to fade away. The tones of these syllables are **spread**—they cover a greater proportion of the voice range than the same tones accompanied by decreasing stress.

The pitch contours described in 2.71 are those which occur with decreasing intonation. The effect of the other intonations on the tones is described in detail in the following paragraphs.

With **fading** intonation tones are somewhat lower. Sắc and ngặ syllables like má 'cheek' and sūa 'milk' begin a little lower and do not rise as high. Ngang syllables like ma 'ghost' start lower and fall slightly. Hỏi syllables like mà 'tomb' start lower and usually have only a slight rise at the end or none at all. Năng syllables like mà 'rice seedling' and dép 'be beautiful' start lower and fall abruptly. Huyễn syllables such as mà 'but' start lower and fall to the bottom of the speaker's normal speaking voice range. This intonation is common at the end of simple statements.

*Tôi đi xuống.* I'm going down.

*Tôi đi lên.* I'm going up.

*Tôi đi ngủ.* I'm going to bed.

*Tôi không mệt.* I'm not tired.

*Tôi đi chùa.* I'm going to the (Buddhist) temple.
FIG. 1. TONAL CONTOURS WITH DIFFERENT INTONATIONS
With **sustaining intonation** tones are somewhat higher. Sắc and ngã syllables start higher and rise somewhat more abruptly. Ngang syllables start higher and fall back to about the middle of the voice range. Hỏi syllables start at about the same level as with decreasing intonation, but do not fall as far and rise noticeably at the end. Năng syllables again start at about the same level as with decreasing intonation and drop abruptly to a level only slightly lower; they often sound simply level, but higher than with decreasing intonation. Huyễn syllables start higher and do not fall so low as with decreasing intonation. A complicating factor with ngang tone involves relative stress: in sequences of several ngang tones the one accompanied by the heaviest stress is the highest (the last of the following examples). This intonation is frequent in questions.

*Khi nào ông đi xuống?* When are you going down?

*Ông thích không?* Do you like [it]?

*Khi nào ông đi ngã?* When are you going to bed?

*Tại sao ông mệt?* Why are you tired?

*Ông nói gì?* What did you say?

*Ông đi không?* Are you going?

With **increasing intonation** tones cover more of the voice range. Sắc and ngã syllables start lower and rise higher. Ngang syllables start higher and fall all the way to the bottom of the normal speaking voice range. Hỏi syllables start a little higher, dip rapidly and rise to a point around the middle of the voice range. Năng syllables start higher and fall abruptly. Huyễn syllables start higher and fall to the bottom of the normal speaking voice range. This intonation is generally heard in exclamative sentences like the following.

*Sao ông không đi xuống!* Why aren't you going down?

*Sao ông không đi!* Why don't you go!

*Sao ông không đi ngã!* Why don't you go to bed!

*Sao ông không mệt!* How come you're not tired!

*Ông ấy không nói gì!* He didn't say anything!

Figure 1 provides an impressionistic comparative drawing of the tonal contours with the different intonations.

Intonations are not directly represented in the official writing system, although they are often suggested by conventional punctuation symbols (see 3.54). They involve some special problems of meaning which are best treated as morphemic entities (5.3).

### 2.8. Syllable Structure

The sequence of sounds accompanying each chest pulse constitutes a syllable. Every syllable has at least a vowel
and a tone, accompanied by a relative stress and an intonation. In some
syllables the vowel is followed by a semivowel, a consonant, a semivowel
and a consonant, or a second vowel and a consonant. The vowel and what-
ever follows it is the nucleus of the syllable. All syllables also have a
consonant at the beginning—if not one of the ones treated in 2.2-4, then a
glottal stop (which is not represented in the regular orthography, so the
vowel appears as first letter). Most of these consonants appear in some
syllables followed by the semivowel [w], making a cluster. Glottal stop
is followed by [w], and in this case the symbol (o- or u-) representing the
[w] is the first letter written. These consonants and clusters are initials.
The composition of the syllable may now be restated simply: each syllable
contains an initial, a nucleus and a tone.

There are no limitations on the kinds of syllables which occur with the
various stresses and intonations. But there are a number of special features
about the internal structure of syllables and they are described in the fol-
lowing sections.

Syllables vary in length with the degree of relative stress which accom-
panies them: the heavier the stress the longer the syllable. Syllables ac-
 companied by [o'] are extremely rapid.

Syllables with the same relative stress are approximately equal in
length. That is, those containing a vowel cluster, diphthong or triphthong
take approximately the same time as those containing a single vowel, and
so on. However, there are some special differences which are worth noting.
Syllables ending in stops preceded by a single vowel are shorter than other
types. On the other hand, the vowel [a] is often somewhat longer than
other vowels in comparable positions.

Very short:

ich be useful, hét be used up, dút to break [string], lóp class,
hút to inhale, mót one, dép be beautiful, ngot be sweet,
cáp pilfer, tháp be short, low

Slightly longer:
tháp tower, in to print, dên arrive, muốn to want, đường sugar,
di go, ngưới person, biết know, đươc receive, sau afterward,
nghe listen

Still longer:
cám orange, hai two, sao star, xa be far

2.81. Initials include all of the consonants described in 2.2-4 except
[p]. Where the traditional writing shows a vowel symbol as initial, it is,
in fact, preceded by a glottal stop. All initial clusters have [w] as second
member. This includes the case in which the symbol representing [w] appears first—in pronunciation it is preceded by glottal stop. Table 6 shows the occurring combinations. Possible clusters are shown by including [w] in parentheses after the consonants with which it occurs. The entry (w) in the glottal column symbolizes the glottal stop initial, which sometimes clusters with [w].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORTIS</th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
<th>APICAL</th>
<th>LAMINAL</th>
<th>DORSAL</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>t(w)</td>
<td>ch(w)</td>
<td>k(w)</td>
<td>(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LENIS</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th(w)</td>
<td>x(w)</td>
<td>kh(w)</td>
<td>h(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>l(w)</td>
<td>z(w)</td>
<td>g(w)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh(w)</td>
<td>ng(w)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Clusters with [w] occur with nearly all non-labial consonants. The important exception is [n]. There are a few forms in dictionaries which would suggest a cluster [nw]: e.g., noăn [nwân] womb (listed in dictionaries with the meanings: egg; testicle), nòă [nwa] lazy, nûy nhân [nwij nhån] dwarf. However, these are learned forms, all Chinese borrowings, of extremely limited occurrence in the everyday language. It thus seems more realistic to consider the cluster [nw] as marginal. A very few French loan forms have [w] clusters with labials—e.g., (ô-tô-)busît [ôw tôw bwît] bus (Fr. autobus)—but they are also marginal. The cluster [gw] seems to be represented by only the single form góà [gwá] be widowed. However, unlike the items suggesting [nw], this form is extremely common in everyday speech and is a native word of long standing.

The cluster [lw] is absent from the speech of many Hanoi people. In these cases the [w] is replaced by the vowel [u] before [i, â], and by the vowel [ø] before [a, ã] thus establishing additional vowel clusters:

2.82. Nuclei are simple, containing only a single vowel (and no final consonant or semivowel); two-element, containing a vowel followed by a consonant or semivowel; and three-element, containing a cluster of two vowels or a diphthong followed by a final consonant or semivowel.

Simple nuclei consist of one of the vowels e, o, a. Syllables in e and o have occasional variants in [eã, oã], which are, of course, two-element nuclei (cf. 2.61, 2.62).

nghe listen, nhô be small, cá fish, lề cause, reason, ho clan, ma rice seedling

Two-element nuclei contain any of the eleven vowels as first element, and (with certain limitations) one of the following as final element: [j, ỹ, w, ã, p, m, t, n, ch, nh, k, ng]. Table 7 shows the possible combinations. Examples follow.

Table 7. Two-Element Nuclei

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>j  y  w  ã  p  m  t  n  ch  nh  k  ng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iij  iw  iã  ip  im  it  in  ich  inh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>êj  ëw  ëp  êm  êt  ên  êc  ênh  (êng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uij  uý  uã  ut  uk  ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oj  og  op  om  ot  on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uij  uw  uã  up  um  ut  un  uk  ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò</td>
<td>òj  òw  òp  ôm  ôt  ôn  (òng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ew  (eã)  ep  em  et  en  ek  eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oj  (oã)  op  om  ot  on  ong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ã  áw  âp  âm  ât  ân  âch  ânh  âk  âng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>ãj  ãw  âp  âm  ât  ân  âk  âng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aj  aw  âp  âm  ât  ân  ak  ang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Di [di] go, muu [miw] scheme, chiâ [chiã] to divide, kíp be urgent, lim ironwood, it be a small amount, in to print, ich be useful, linh soldier
dê [deį] put, place, neu [nêw] if, bêp kitchen, dém night, héit be used up, dép arrive, ëch frog, bênh defend, côông-kêng carry [a person] astride over one’s shoulders
nguí [ngûj] to sniff, tu [urgy] fourth, muâ [muâ] to rain, dút
to break [string], súc strength, dũng don’t
mở [mó] invite, mở [mó] to dream, lớp class, sớm be early, ớt pepper, sơn to paint,
núi [nú] mountain, dů [důw] be enough, mua [muá] to buy,
chợp seize suddenly, chum earthenware jar, phút minute, momen, bùn mud, lúc time, instance, dũng be correct
tố [tố] I, cô [kôw] father’s sister, tớp band, group, hôm day,
một one, đơn fort, military post, cỏng-kêng [kông kêng] carry [a person] astride over one’s shoulders
mèo [mèw] cat, bè [bèw] raft (see 2.61), đẹp be beautiful, dem to carry, ghệt detest, đen be black, ẻng ẻc [eng ék] [onomatopoetic: squealing of pig]
hỏi [hỏj] ask a question, nhỏ [nhọ] be small (see 2.62), chớp summit, xóm neighborhood, ngót be sweet, ngon be tasty, boong [bong] deck [of ship]
tay [tāj] hand, arm, sáu [săw] six, cấp pilfer, thạm to visit, tát [tât] to extinguish, ăn to eat, sách [xâch] book, hành [hânh] onion, sắc be sharp, vắng be absent
tây [tāj] west, xâu [xāw] be ugly, cấp level, degree, đảm to stab, rắt very, dân citizen, xắc be ill-mannered, vắng to obey
hai [haj] two, sao [xaw] star, tháp tower, làm act, mát be cool, bàn table, khác be different, lang village

Sometimes the final semivowels [w, ậ] are as prominent as the preceding vowel in the combinations [iw, iạ, uạ, uạ] (occasionally even more prominent); the diphthongs are then really vowel clusters: [iu, iạ, uạ, uạ].
Speakers who have no initial cluster [iw] have one special two-element nucleus which otherwise does not occur: [oa] as in loa ‘megaphone’, where other speakers have [lwa] (cf. 2.81).

Some of these combinations are rare. [ut] is not common, and the lack of examples in [un] is perhaps connected. Forms in [ek, eng] are very few, and seem for the most part to be onomatopoetic. Forms in [ong] are extremely limited, and all the examples observed are borrowings from French.
Words in [èch, entrée] are also relatively infrequent and some of them have variants in [ich, inh]. The combinations [èng, ông] are attested only in the single form cỏng-kêng cited above (cf. Nguyễn Đình Hóa 1955: p. 26).

Three-element nuclei contain the vowel clusters and diphthongs oạ]; cf. 2.61, 2.62), followed by certain of the following finals: [j, w, p, m, t, n, k, ng]. The occurring combinations are shown in Table 8.
Table 8. Three-Element Nuclei

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocalic Sequences</th>
<th>Finals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ī c</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū ū</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū ū ū</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū ū ū ū</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū ū ū ū ū</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū ū ū ū ū ū ū ū</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ū ū ū ū ū ū ū ū ū</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ā</td>
<td>iēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ā iēp</td>
<td>īēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ā īēt</td>
<td>īēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī ā īāk</td>
<td>īāng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō</td>
<td>uoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō uop</td>
<td>uom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō uōt</td>
<td>uon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō uōk</td>
<td>uong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō ā</td>
<td>uōj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō uōm</td>
<td>uōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uō uōn</td>
<td>uōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e ā)</td>
<td>(eāng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o ā)</td>
<td>(oāj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āwk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āwng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āwng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hiēu [hiēw] understand, tīēp to welcome, ngiēm to experiment, biet know, miēn region
viēc [viēk] matter, affair, tiēng [tiēng] sound, noise
nguōi [nguōj] person, uōp to scent, luōm give a threatening look, uōt be wet, vuōm garden, nuōc water, duōng sugar
tuōt [tuōj] years old, buōm [ship’s] sail, chuōt rat, buōn be sad
guōc [guōk] clog, wooden shoe, ruōng [ruōng] rice field
xēng [xēng] shovel, hōi [hōī] ask a question
hōc [hōwk] to study, cōng [kāwng] carry on one’s back, őc [āwk] snail, ōng [āwng] grandfather

The nuclei [eāng, oāj] are alternates of [eng, oj] (see 2.61, 2.62). The nucleus [uōm] is very rare, and the non-occurrence of [uōp] is perhaps connected. Note that [ī ā-, ū ā-] before [k, ng] correspond to [īē-, ūē-] before other finals.

In the clusters [ī ā, uō, uō] the second vowel is frequently more prominent than the first. This occasionally also happens with the diphthongs [ī ā, uā], in which a vowel cluster then results: [ī ā, uā].

Speakers having no initial [lw] cluster have the following three-element clusters after l which otherwise do not occur: [uāt, uān, oāj, oāt, oānh, oāng, oaj, oat, oan, oak, oang]. E.g., luāt [luāt] law, loānh-quānh [loānh kwānh] go around and around, loāi [loāj] species.

2.83. Combinations of Nuclei with Tones. In general, most of the nuclei described in 2.82 occur with all tones. Non-occurrences are for the most part accidental and not structurally significant. There is one important
exception: nuclei ending in stops occur only with sāc and nǎng tones.
kip be urgent, īt be a small amount, sāch [xāch] book, khác be different, dep be beautiful, vit duck, sāch [xāch] be clean, hōc [hāwk] to study, tiēp to welcome, biē̄t know, viēc [vi̯gk] matter, affair, duōc receive

2.84. Combinations of Nuclei with Initials. A large number of the syllabic nuclei occur with each initial described in 2.81. For the most part non-oCCurrences are the result of accident—that is, no words with these particular shapes happen to occur, although there is no pattern which would suggest that they are not possible sequences. However, one limitation is structurally significant: with a single exception (quốc [kwɔk] country), no initial clusters with [w] occur before back rounded vowels [u, ò, o] or before [u], and they are very rare before [o]. Three examples of the latter have been recorded:
quô [kwɔ] to gather, seize, quò [kwɔ] to grope for, quô [kwɔ] to scold
Initial clusters with [w] are also very rare before nuclei ending in [w]. Only [kw, khw, ngw] have been observed; the nuclei involved are [iw, ēw, ew, aw] and the number of forms is small:

2.9. Pause Groups are sequences of syllables occurring between two pauses without any intervening pauses. They vary in length from a single syllable to a dozen or more, but the average length is around five to eight syllables. In extremely rapid speech speakers generally make few pauses, and the groups are longer, while slow, deliberate speech has a great many short groups.

There are two items of distributional interest about pause groups. First, every pause group has at least one heavy stress ([·]) (2.72); second, the three special intonations (fading, sustaining and increasing, cf. 2.73) are typically heard at the ends of pause groups. While increasing intonation is common enough medially, fading and sustaining intonations are almost
limited to final position. (In extremely rapid speech they do occasionally occur without an immediately following pause, but analysis of the material always shows that the speaker is actually running sentences together, and it is almost certain that if asked to repeat what he has just said he will make pauses at specifically these points.)

These matters are discussed further in 5.3, and it will be apparent that these pause groups are the larger building blocks of sentences (5.4).
CHAPTER 3

The Writing System

3.1. History. For over a thousand years (207 B.C. to 939 A.D.) the territory of the Vietnamese was a province of China. During this long period the semicivilized people whom the Chinese had come to dominate gradually became more and more influenced by the already extremely advanced culture of their conquerors. When the Vietnamese gained their independence in the tenth century it was mainly a political change, for they had been profoundly and lastingly affected by Chinese culture. Thus it is not surprising that Chinese long after remained the cultured language of the court, and the writing system which had been adopted along with other cultural elements was used for official documents of all sorts as well as for the considerable body of artistic literature produced during that period.

There are vague references to an earlier writing system, presumably of Indic origin, like that of Cambodian and Thai, but no real evidence seems to have survived. (Cf. Cordier 1932: 10; Nguyễn văn Liên 1934: 63. Both refer, the latter with a quotation, to Trương Vĩnh Ký 1883, which has not been available to consult.) In any case, it is most likely that Chinese characters came into extensive use in the country long before Vietnamese independence.

The pronunciation of the wealth of Sino-Vietnamese forms (that is, Vietnamese words of Chinese origin) indicates that around the ninth or tenth century these forms left the stream of development of Chinese dialects and joined that of Vietnamese phonetic evolution. From this it is clear that these words—and presumably their written forms—must have been in current use at that time.

It is impossible to say just when the Vietnamese began to write their own adaptations of Chinese characters to express native words. It is reasonable that the need may have arisen early to record some native place name or personal name which had no Chinese designation. And there may
well have been literary artists who were very early inspired to create in their native language as well as in the official tongue and who sought to write down their efforts in some way. On the other hand, it is clear that only Chinese enjoyed real prestige during that long period, even for several centuries after independence: Vietnamese was not considered a worthy vehicle for either literary efforts or official communications.

Nevertheless, a native Vietnamese adaptation of Chinese characters did develop. Whatever the impetus for its creation, it is clear that it had already evolved well before the mid-point of the fourteenth century: in Ninh-binh province of modern northern Viet Nam there has been discovered a stone inscription dating from 1343 listing in adapted characters the names of some twenty villages and hamlets. This stele at Hồ-thành-son is the earliest irrefutable piece of evidence of this writing system, which is called in Vietnamese chữ nôm (chữ ‘written word’, nôm ‘popular language’, probably ultimately related to nam ‘south’—note that the Vietnamese often call themselves simply người Nam ‘people of the south’ and their land nước Nam ‘southern country’). One estimate, on the basis of indirect evidence, places the beginnings of this system as early as the eighth century. In any case, the concrete evidence from 1343 suggests a system already well developed. By the early part of the next century there were manuscripts of literary compositions written in this fashion, some of which have survived to the present day.

The system of chữ nôm makes use of Chinese characters, either simply or in various combinations not occurring in Chinese writing. Sometimes the Chinese writing is used unchanged to suggest either the meaning or the pronunciation of a Vietnamese syllable. (Typically each Chinese character represents a syllable.) However, a large proportion of the characters combine two or more of the original Chinese elements together, one part suggesting the meaning, another the pronunciation. The principle is not new to the system, but this extension of it results in symbols which are quite unrecognizable to a Chinese reader. For a more detailed description of chữ nôm see Maspero 1912 (pp. 5-9), Dương quảng H Damn 1951 (pp. 100-104), and Nguyễn đinh Hòa 1959a.

Chữ nôm apparently existed for several centuries alongside the standard written Chinese of the royal court (called chữ nho ‘scholar’s characters’ or chữ hán ‘Han [i.e., Chinese] characters’). With increasing nationalism the native adaptation might well have replaced the Chinese writing, had it not been for a rival—although unrelated—development.

When Catholic missionaries from Europe began their efforts to Christianize the country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were very early concerned with establishing some sort of writing system which
could be easily taught to large numbers of people in order to extend their influence beyond the momentary reach of their voices. Again it is not very clear exactly how this work began, but by the 1620's there were certainly adaptations of the Roman alphabet in use to represent Vietnamese words. In 1624 Alexandre de Rhodes came to the Cochinchinese Mission, where earlier work had concentrated. He is reported to have learned the language with amazing rapidity and skill, speaking it fluently and idiomatically in a short six months. Later he went north to establish a new mission and continued his enthusiastic work on the language. It was he who assembled the efforts of earlier workers to develop an efficient writing system. He codified it and used it to produce extensive materials in support of his missionary activities. Most interesting from the point of view of the language is his monumental compilation, *Dictionarium annamiticum, lusitanum et latinum* (Annamese-Portuguese-Latin Dictionary), published in Rome in 1651. Such is the origin of the romanized writing system called *quốc-ngữ* (literally 'national language').

From that time on the romanized script was in increasing use among the missionaries and their followers, and gradually it spread beyond their ranks. It had obvious advantages over the official *chữ nho* and the semi-official *chữ nôm*—both of these systems were difficult to learn, involving long and careful study and extensive practice, while *quốc-ngữ*, because it made use of the alphabetic principle (each symbol representing for the most part a structurally significant phonetic entity—i.e., phoneme), was simple and direct, and it could be learned in relatively few hours without especially arduous practice. This is not to suggest that it swept the country like wildfire, taking over and replacing the other systems in a short time. Traditions are changed or eliminated only extremely slowly. So it seems not to have been until the first years of the present century that officials recognized and sanctioned what must have been by then a *fait accompli*: the earliest reference to official use of the system is a circular of 1910 in which the Résident supérieur of Tonkin (northern Viet Nam) required that all public documents be transcribed into *quốc-ngữ*. Nevertheless, the revolution, once accomplished, was complete. Aside from a small class of scholars, there are scarcely any Vietnamese today who read *chữ nôm*; and the few people who read Chinese characters generally have this proficiency because of some important connection with China rather than out of a primary concern for Vietnamese classical literature. There have been some changes in the system since de Rhodes' time, and it is unclear exactly how they came about. In a few cases they show historical changes in the language, but for the most part they have to do with the representation of vocalic elements which seem to have been very similar to those of the modern language.
The origin of the name for this script is also unclear, although it most certainly has some connection with the fact that the lingua franca of educated Chinese (fundamentally Mandarin, learned as a second language by educated speakers of various other Chinese dialects) is called kuo yu, for which the Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation is quốc-ngữ. Part of the regular education of Chinese children in the various provinces and in overseas Chinese settlements (including those in Viêt Nam) is learning to speak kuo yu. It goes hand in hand with their study of Chinese characters, and their texts regularly reflect this communal dialect rather than local divergent uses of the writing system. The Vietnamese feel that throughout the colonial period (which coincides roughly with the period of the spread of the romanized script) the French were eager to keep them aware of their local differences and disagreements, presumably on the basis of the theory of “divide and conquer.” Apparently dialect differences (which actually are only a little more pronounced than those of American English) were often cited in this connection. The writing system, then, may have become a symbol of Vietnamese unity, even as kuo yu—although in a different way, and for different reasons—is for the Chinese, whose mother tongues are often not at all mutually intelligible.

The nature and details of the system are discussed thoroughly in the following sections, but it remains to mention here something about the origin of its idiosyncrasies. The early missionaries who devised the script were extremely heterogeneous in background. It appears that the majority came from a variety of localities in Italy, Portugal, and southern France, although Spaniards and perhaps other nationalities were also represented. Spelling habits which have nothing to do with Vietnamese presumably relate to these diverse backgrounds. What is perhaps most puzzling is that Alexandre de Rhodes, who was responsible for the basic codification, was a native of Avignon in southern France, yet the writing system probably shows more oddities relating to Portuguese than to any other one language. In this connection, it is significant that de Rhodes’ dictionary included specifically Portuguese—besides the expected Latin—rather than French. Throughout this early period it was the Portuguese trading and shipping interests that represented the most considerable European commitments in the area, and as a result Portuguese was likely enough the most widely used European language of the time.

3.2. The Phonological System Implied by Quốc-ngữ. For the most part, the form of modern written Vietnamese represents the phonological system of a northern dialect at some period between the seventeenth century and the present. Its changes from the orthography of Alexandre de
Rhodes' dictionary (3.1) imply some alterations in the structure; yet the system does not fit exactly any modern dialect yet observed. The writing very likely demonstrates the "jelling" of a tradition more than a real dialectal stage, but it is nonetheless useful to guess at the kind of phonological reality which it seems to have represented. It is of course impossible to establish with certainty the phonetic facts of speech which can no longer be heard. So it is necessary to attempt to reconstruct a system on the basis of all the information available.¹

A careful philological investigation of writings at various periods may eventually make it possible to date this hypothetical dialect a little more precisely. It is fortunate that the seventeenth-century missionaries were as interested in the language and as careful observers as they were. Although by modern standards their phonetic training was limited, they were nevertheless enormously perceptive about the phonetic details they observed. A great deal of information about the language can be gleaned from the description of sounds (de Rhodes 1651b), as well as from the letters of the Roman alphabet which were used to represent the distinctive elements (phonemes). The writing system seems to have been very close to phonemic, which is little short of amazing for that period. To these sources can be added several kinds of indirect evidence: the presumed pronunciation of words borrowed from Chinese, the forms of words borrowed from Vietnamese into other languages of the area, the comparison of Vietnamese words with presumably related words in other languages, the dialectal variations evidenced in Vietnamese itself, and the phonetic reality of modern Vietnamese dialects. This task was undertaken by Maspéro in his monograph on the historical phonetics of the language (1912), and that work remains the most penetrating analysis of the subject to date.

More recently there have been some discussions of the background of the symbols chosen to represent Vietnamese sounds by the early missionaries (Haudricourt 1949, Emeneau 1951: 1, Nguyễn Khắc Xuyên và Phạm dinh Khiêm 1961, Nguyễn Khắc Xuyên 1963), but none of them appear to be definitive. Presumably a careful consideration of the earliest documents in romanized spelling and scrutiny of the accounts of pertinent dialects of the European languages concerned should reveal some interesting things—

¹ That is, unless there are recordings which can be listened to and studied by modern linguists, a language of the past is known only by written records, which represent only certain aspects of the total phonetic reality. The aspects represented often reflect the particular background or bias of the speakers who devised the writing system, or cultural influences under which they fell. Other aspects of the phonological reality either go unnoticed or are considered unimportant. Occasionally some of these factors are mentioned in descriptions of the sound pattern; again some of them may be deduced from various pieces of evidence—the symbols used to write certain sounds, comments which hint at a phonetic aspect which is not understood, features of distribution, relationship to forms in other languages, and so on.
3.2—3.21

not only about the written symbols themselves but hopefully about the pronunciation of this earlier period of Vietnamese.²

3.21. The Consonant System implies five main positions, as opposed to the four of Hanoi speech, and more distinctions of manner than in the Hanoi system. It apparently had two different positions in which the tongue tip formed consonants: one against or near the backs of the upper teeth, the other farther back in the mouth—around the alveolar ridge or even in back of it. It is more difficult to say exactly what the manners were, because some of the phonetic detail is lacking. In particular, it is not clear which sounds were fortis or lenis, although this may well have been as significant a distinction as it is today. The written symbols suggest an opposition between voiceless and voiced stops, accounting for two manners; voiceless aspirated stops and spirants seem to form a third manner; the fourth category was obviously nasals; the remaining consonants are voiced oral continuants. Table 1 shows the presumed system.

Many of the consonants were apparently very similar to those heard in Hanoi speech today: t, ch, k, th, h, g, l, m, n, nh, ng. In some other cases, however, it is clear that quite different entities were involved.

Of the labials, ph was probably bilabial, rather than labiodental as it is today (Maspero 1912: 46); the time of the change is difficult to estimate. It would appear that the distinction between orthographic p and b was no more a distinction even in the seventeenth century than it is today: p occurred only finally, b only initially. That both b and d were preglottalized and usually imploded at that time is not as certain, although this is also to be suspected from descriptions of the sounds. (These factors would, of course, lead to a reinterpretation of the system similar to that outlined in 2.15, but such considerations go beyond the purpose of this discussion. The intention of this treatment is to suggest what phonetic features underlay the choice of symbols of the writing system, since this will make the symbolization more understandable.)

The added position with the tongue tip approaching the roof of the mouth well in back of the upper teeth involves one sound which does occur in Hanoi speech—the one written d, in which the tongue tip forms its closure against the alveolar ridge. The other stop in this position, written tr, probably had a position still further back—the tongue tip presumably touched the back of the ridge, or perhaps the hard surface just behind it. In its production the tongue tip was most likely curled up and back toward

²Since this writing, Kenneth Gregerson has conducted a study of the de Rhodes dictionary and description of sounds (1651a and b) and has reconstructed a phonological system for the seventeenth-century language (Gregerson 1963).
the rear of the mouth (retroflexed). The stop was apparently released with a spirant (secondary articulation). A spirant in much the same position was written s; it may be assumed that it resembled the sh in English shirt except that again the tongue tip was curled back, not true of most pronunciations of the English sound. The r was apparently a tongue-tip flap or trill against the alveolar ridge; it has become [z] in the speech of Hanoi today.

In the other set of consonants produced by the action of the tongue tip, t, th, and l were probably much like their modern counterparts in Hanoi pronunciation. However, the sound represented by d (without a bar) was a sound outside the modern system—the descriptions indicate a stop formed by the tongue tip against the backs of the upper teeth with perhaps also the blade of the tongue against the ridge behind the teeth (secondary articulation, palatalization). At the time the writing system was created this sound was apparently more reminiscent of the d sounds in the Romance languages that the missionaries spoke than was the sound written d. This palatalized dental stop apparently extended over the northern dialect area (Tonkin) and the northern part of central Viet Nam. In the latter area Mascpero observed some dialects retaining this pronunciation in his day, but elsewhere it had disappeared; today in Hanoi and the surrounding area it has evolved to [z]. In careful speech it is often pronounced as a voiced spirant similar to the z in English azure in order to distinguish it from gi. The sound represented by n presumably had some variants formed by contact with the teeth (finally before t, th in an immediately following syllable), but elsewhere it was like d, alveolar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Aspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops and Spirants</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Oral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the laminal sounds, \textit{ch} and \textit{nh} were probably much like modern Hanoi \([\text{ch}, \text{nh}]\). The sound represented by \textit{x} was presumably similar to Hanoi \([\text{x}]\) as described in 2.35. However, the choice of representing this sound by the letter \textit{x}, in contradistinction to \textit{s} for the spirant formed by the tongue tip near the alveolar ridge, suggests that the early Vietnamese distinctions were similar to differences heard between Portuguese \textit{x} and \textit{s} of that period. The symbol \textit{gi} was borrowed from the orthography of Italian, and represented a sound heard as similar to that in Italian words like \textit{Giovanni}, \textit{giorno}, not unlike the consonant sounds in English \textit{judge}. This, like \textit{d}, came to be pronounced \([\text{z}]\) in Hanoi and much of the surrounding area. It is noteworthy that the space provided for a voiced oral continuant formed by the tongue blade is vacant: apparently no consonant of this category existed in the seventeenth-century language. It is, of course, specifically this articulation which characterizes modern Hanoi \([\text{z}]\), the sound to which older \textit{d} and \textit{gi} both evolved.

In the dorsal column, \textit{g} occupies both the space for voiced stops and that for voiced oral continuants: presumably it was earlier, as today in Hanoi, a stop in some situations, a spirant in others (cf. 2.38). The sound represented by \textit{kk} is generally described as a stop released with aspiration—that is, relating to \([\text{k}]\) as Hanoi \([\text{th}]\) does to \([\text{t}]\). If this is true, then it has since evolved to the spirant described in 2.37 in all dialects.

It is difficult to say whether glottal stop had a role in the earlier language similar to the one it plays in modern dialects. If it did, this fact was not understood by the creators of the writing system, which includes no suggestion of such an element as structurally significant.

\subsection*{3.22. Distribution of Consonants.} In the earlier language, consonants were apparently distributed in syllables in much the same way as they are in modern Hanoi speech. Initials are assumed to have included clusters with an element like Hanoi \([\text{w}]\) after initial consonants. The representation of this element by vowel symbols \textit{u}, \textit{o}, is undoubtedly derived from the usages in several Romance languages—cf. Italian \textit{buono}, Spanish \textit{muy}, Portuguese \textit{João}, and so forth. Table 2 shows the initials implied by the orthography. Finals are treated as part of nuclei (3.24).

In de Rhodes' time there were three additional initial clusters which have since disappeared from all the modern dialects recorded (although they appear in the Mường dialects, which constitute the only language clearly related to Vietnamese). These were written \textit{bl}, \textit{tl}, \textit{ml} (dialectal variants in \textit{mnh}). They have been replaced by other initials in all the modern dialects; for details, see Maspero 1912. For recent comparative work with Mường see Barker 1963.
Table 2. Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t(w)</th>
<th>tr(w)</th>
<th>ch(w)</th>
<th>k(w)</th>
<th>[w] (^1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th(w)</td>
<td>s(w)</td>
<td>x(w)</td>
<td>kh(w)</td>
<td>h(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d(w)</td>
<td>g(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>l(w)</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n(w) (^2)</td>
<td>nh(w)</td>
<td>ng(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.23. The Vocalic System was apparently not too different from that of modern Hanoi. However, the writing suggests that the sound written à was simply a short variety of that written a. Later descriptions seem to bear this out; they further say that à was the short variety of o. This notion is supported in both cases by the fact that the Vietnamese names for the “short” vowel letters are derived from the other letters involved: à is read (in spelling aloud) [á], â is read [á], while a is read simply [a], and o [ò]—in other words, high rising tone identifies the derived signs. This suggests a simpler system of vowels:

\[
i \quad u \quad u \\
è \quad o \quad ò \\
e \quad a \quad o
\]

In general, they may have been phonetically very much like those observed in modern Hanoi speech. The main identifiable differences from the modern system have to do with the distribution of vowels in clusters, which is treated in 3.24.

It seems likely that semivowels similar to those of modern dialects were present in the earlier language. That these should have been written with vowel letters is quite in keeping with the heritage on which the designers drew (cf. 3.22).

3.24. Nuclei. The official writing system suggests that there was a complex system of vowel clusters similar to that of modern Hanoi speech, but of still more regular and balanced pattern. The two- and three-element nuclei implied by quôc-ngû are shown in Tables 3 and 4 respectively.

---

\(^1\) The notation [w] suggests that orthographic initial vowel symbols may actually have represented syllables beginning with glottal stop before a vowel or [w] as in modern Hanoi speech. (If this was the case, a modern phonemic interpretation would recognize glottal stop as a phoneme, and the [w] would be part of the phoneme containing [v]: cf. 2.15.)

\(^2\) Initial [nw] was rare; cf. 2.81.
These may be compared with Tables 7 and 8 (Chapter 2) and the examples in 2.82. It is uncertain whether the simple final vowels i, ê, u, o, ō represented (as assumed here) diphthongs like those in Hanoi [ij, êj, ư, ô, ư, u̯, ôw] or simply long vowels in final position. The quality of the final -a following other vowels is also uncertain: the writing suggests that it is to be identified with [a], although it seems more likely that it was (as in modern Hanoi speech) a semivowel resembling [â].

The older system apparently had the sequences [uw, uow], which are replaced in Hanoi speech by [iw, iêw] respectively (see 2.51).

Note that Hanoi [iâk, iâng, uâk, uâng] have apparently replaced older [iêk, iêng, uök, uûng], which formed parallels to other three-element nu-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Two-Element Nuclei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FINALS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VOWELS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j  y  w  â  p  m  t  n  ch  nh  k  ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i  iê  iw  iâ  ip  im  it  in  ich  inh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê  êj  ëw  ëp  ëm  ët  ën  ëch  ënh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u  uj  uû  uw  urâ  ut  uk  ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o  oj  oû  op  om  ot  on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u  uj  uw  uâ  up  um  ut  un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ô  ôj  òw  òp  ôm  ôt  ôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e  ew  ep  em  et  en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o  oj  op  om  ot  on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â  âj  âw  âp  âm  ât  ân  âch  ânh  âk  âng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â  âj  âw  âp  âm  ât  ân  âk  âng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a  aj  aw  ap  am  at  an  ak  ang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Three-Element Nuclei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FINALS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VOCALIC SEQUENCES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j  w  p  m  t  n  k  ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iê  iêw  iêp  iêm  iêt  iên  iêk  iêng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uo  uôj  uow  uop  uóm  uôt  uôn  uök  uông</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
clei beginning in \([i, u, u]\). The nuclei \(\text{[āwk, ãwng, āwk, āwng]}\) were at some point interpreted as filling the positions of missing nuclei \([ōk, ōng, ōk, ōng]\), and thus are written \(ōc, ōng, oc, ong\). However, it is fairly clear from the earlier orthography that even in de Rhodes' day they were diphthongs. For example, the early notation for the word 'bee' (modern ong, Hanoi \([āwng]\)) was \(ao\). (This is reminiscent of the Portuguese writing \(āo\), which represents a nasalized diphthong.)

3.25. **Tones** in seventeenth-century Vietnamese apparently involved six distinctions. It is unclear whether these were primarily pitch height and contour distinctions or whether, as in modern Hanoi speech, they combined pitch with other factors. In any case, their status as elements functioning similarly to vowels and consonants was recognized—as opposed to the function of intonational pitch distinctions in typical European languages. The relationship of the written tones to their Hanoi pronunciations is presented in 2.71 and need not be repeated here.

3.3. **Spelling Conventions.** The spelling of various forms has been discussed in several connections earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 2. In general, sounds are written with the symbols used to represent them in 3.2 above. However, there are a few special cases, which are discussed in the following sections (see also 3.42). All pronunciations cited are those of modern Hanoi speech.

3.31. **Gi** is the basic symbol for what was apparently a voiced laminal (affricated) stop in de Rhodes' time. It has become \([z]\) in modern Hanoi speech. It has an alternant spelling \(g\)-, which appears only before \(i\) and \(iē\). \(G\)- before \(a, o, u\) represents \([g]\) (see 3.32).

This is presumably borrowed from Italian spelling. By the time Italian had developed, what had earlier been a voiced dorsal stop had developed into a palatal affricate not unlike the \(j\) in English *joke* or the \(g\) in *generous* when it preceded a high front vowel—written \(i\) or \(e\). Before other vowels, however, the dorsal stop survived. The result was that the spellings \(gi, ge\) really referred to a different initial consonant from that of the spellings \(gu, go, ga\). At the same time this \(j\)-like consonant also occurred before the vowels \(a, o, u\): these combinations were written \(gia, gio, giu\). In the Vietnamese borrowed spelling convention, \(gi\)- is now written before all vowels except \(i\), where the writing of two \(i\)'s together was avoided. Thus \(gi\) appears before \(e\), while the Italian system would suggest simply \(ge\) (which does, in fact, appear in older Vietnamese texts). The spellings for \([k, g, ng]\) relate to this and other similar developments in orthographies of Romance languages.
Spelling **g**: 浒 [ziı̂] what(ever), 浒特 [zię̂t] to kill

Theoretically, we might expect the writing gia to be ambiguous, representing either [za] or [zią̂]. In fact, the latter sound sequence occurs in modern Hanoi speech, but is always written dia or ria; apparently this nucleus did not occur with the old initial represented by gi-.

### 3.32. Dorsal Consonants

are for the most part represented by letters which vary in value in West European languages depending on what vowel they precede. The only exception is [kh], which is always written **kh**.

[k] is written **c** except when followed by i, è, e, in which cases **k** is written; or [w], in which case the combination is written **qu-**:

**Spelling c**: cua [kuą̂] to saw, có [kọ́] chess, cũng [kũŋ] also, có [kọ́] exist, cấp [kẹp] pilfer, cạn [kẹn] be needed, need, cá [kạ] fish, việt [vię̂t] affair, matter, hoc [hạ̃k] to study, sắc [sạ̃k] be sharp (Note that this **c** has no connection with the writing **ch**, which always represents the sound [ch].)

**Spelling k**: ki-lô [kị́ lọ́w] kilogram, kia [kią̂] over there, kỳ [kị́] fixed unit of time or space, kêu [kẹw] to shout, call, kẹo [kẹ́w] to pull, drag

**Spelling q**: quá [kwạ́] fruit, quyển [kwẹ̄n] volume (classifier for books), quệt [kwẹ́t] to sweep

The representation for [g] is **g** before u, o, u, ô, o, â, a, but **gh** before i, è, e. The combination **gi** represents another sound (see 3.31).

**Spelling g**: gôi [gọ́j] to send, gở [gọ́] disentangle, gốc [güąk] clog, wooden shoe, gở [gọ́j] pillow, gở to knock, rap, gập to pick up with chopsticks, gạn be near, gà chicken, hen, góa [gwạ́] be widowed

**Spelling gh**: ghỉ [gię̂] to record, ghề [gę́j] chair, ghệt [gę́t] to detest

The representation of [ng] is analogous to that of [g]: that is, **ngh** is written before i, è, e, even though there is no different sound represented by ngi; everywhere else **ng** is written.

**Spelling ngh**: nghỉa [ngię̆a] idea, nghề [ngę́j] profession, nghe [nge] to listen

**Spelling ng**: ngủ [ngyü̆] language, ngờ [ngọrą̂] to suspect,-ngủ [nguentŏ] to sleep, ng côt [ngọ́j] to sit down, ngọn be good tasting, ngạn be short, ngập be flooded, submerged, ngà ivory, xẻng shovel, dúng be correct, làng village

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3.33. [w] is not written at all after [u, ō] (ngũ [ngũw] to sleep, cô [kōw] father’s sister). Otherwise it is represented by either u or o in a complicated fashion. The initial cluster [kw] is always written qu: quy [kwí] demon, quét [kwé] to sweep, quân [kwán] army, quâ [kwâ] fruit.

Except after [k] it is regularly written o before e, ē, a, and after e: khœ [khwê] be healthy, hoać [hwák] or, tạo [twán] band, group, ơa [wà] to burst into tears, ngoânh [ngwânh] to turn [head] away, mèo [mèw] cat.

After a, [w] is written u to show that the a represents [ă], o to show that the a represents [a]: sau [xâw] afterward, sao [xaw] star. However, when the diphthongs [ăw, âw] precede final dorsals [k, ng], they are written o, ō, respectively: doc [dâwk] read, ong [âwng] bee, ơc [âwk] snail, hông [hâwng] rose.

holic beverage, dâu [zâw] oil.

3.34. i is the usual representation for [i] and [j]. However, y is also used—optionally in some cases, obligatorily in others. The use of y has spread since de Rhodes’ time, and it is uncertain what the exact timing of its extension or the reasons for it were.

Only y appears in the following situations: (a) as the first letter of a syllable followed by ē; (b) after [w] except in the combination qu (see 3.33); (c) after qu and followed by ē or nh in the same syllable; (d) after [â] (combination written ay) and [à] (ây):

(a) yeén [iěn] swallow [bird], yeû [ièw] to love, cherish
(b) úy [wîj] officer [of lower ranks], tuy [twij] although, khuya [khwîâ] be late at night, chuyên [chwîên] conversation, huýt [hwît] to whistle
(c) quyên [kwîên] volume [book], quyêt [kwîêt] to decide, quỳnh [kwînh] be nervous, upset
(d) máy [mâj] machine, dây [dâj] be full

tion, bài [bâj] lesson

Note that in two cases the written distinction between i and y actually serves to specify the value of the preceding vowel letter: u before i has
the value [u] (except after q), before y the value [w] (sui [xuį] be related through marriage, suy [xwįį] to consider); a before i has the value [a] but before y the value [ā] (mai [maj] tomorrow, may [māj] to sew).

Note also that [j] is not written at all following [i, ê]: di [dij] go, Mỳ [mįį] America, vē [vėj] to return.

In other cases there is no regular pattern for the writing of [i]. The spelling of each form must be learned. However, some generalizations about frequency may be helpful. Y is more common than i as the only letter in a syllable: y [ij] he, ų [iį] thought, idea, but i [iį] be motionless. Beyond this, with a few rare exceptions, y is limited to positions where it represents [ij] after the following initials: m, t, l, k, qu, h; and often after qu and h the words have an alternant spelling with i:

My [mįį] America, ty [tiį] bureau, office, lỳ [lįį] reason, common sense, kỳ [kįį] to sign, quỳ or quį [kwįį] demon, hy or hi [hįj] to hope

3.35. [ā] is written ā except before [j, w, ch, nh]. Before [ch, nh] it is always written simply a; there is no possible ambiguity because [a] does not occur in that position. Before [j] it is always written a, and the value [ā] is shown by using the letter y to represent [j] (while i is written to show the value [a]; cf. 3.34). Before [w] it is written a unless the [w] is followed in turn by [k, ng], in which case the cluster [aw] is written o. (The value [a] before [w] is indicated by using o to represent [w], while au means [aw]; cf. 3.33.)


Spelling o for [aw]: hoc [hawk] to study, ong [awng] bee

Spelling ā: sāp be on the point of, lām to a great extent, cát [kát] to cut, ăn to eat, bāc [bāk] north, vāng be absent

3.36. [å] is usually written â, but the combination [aw] before [k, ng] is written ò (parallel to the writing o for [aw] in the same positions; cf. 3.35).

Spelling ò for [aw]: òc [awk] snail, hòng [hawng] rose

Spelling â: lây [lāj] to take, dâu [zâw] oil, ngâp be flooded, dâm to stab, rât [zât] very, dân [zan] citizen, xâc [xâk] be ill-mannered, vâng to obey

The related semivowel [â] is written a after i, u, u.

Spelling a: nghĩa [ngĩą] idea, meaning, mua [muą] to rain, mua [muą] to buy
In Hanoi speech [â] occurs in the combinations [iâk, iâng, uâk, uâng],
which are written (respectively) iêc, iêng, uóc, uông:
viêc [viâk] affair, matter, tiêng [tiâng] noise, sound, language,
quốc [guâk] clog, wooden shoe, uông [uâng] to drink

3.37. Other Special Conventions Concerning the Writing of Vocalics.
Just as [j] is not written after [i, ê ] (3.34) and [w] is not written after
[u, ô ] (3.33), so [y] is not written after [u, o]: tu [tuby] fourth, so [soy]
be afraid.

The sound [o] is regularly written o. However, because of the special
use of o before c, ng to represent [âw] (3.35) the combination [ong] (rare,
occuring only in a few borrowed words) is written oong; boong [bong]
derock [of ship].

An analogous spelling ôong is reported for [ông], appearing only in the
form côong-kêng ‘to carry [a person] astride over one’s shoulders’ (Nguyễn
dinh Hòa 1955: 26; note that this unusual form contains also the only
occurrence of the combination [êng]). The letter o is also used to represent [w] in certain cases (3.33).

The sound [a] is regularly written a. However, the letter a also has
other values in certain positions—before ch, nh, y, u it symbolizes [â] (3.35); after i, u, u it represents [â] (3.36).

The word quốc [kwôk] ‘country’ represents the only case of an initial
[w] before a back rounded vowel (cf. 2.84). In the speech of many persons
it is [kwâk]. It is interesting to note in this connection that it appears
spelled cuóc in de Rhodes’ dictionary, while somewhat later the spelling
quóc is quite common. What this fluctuation in spelling means is not
clear, but it may be suspected that the rendition [kwôk] was originally a
spelling pronunciation.

The word cái (general classifier) is pronounced [káj] when accompanied
by heavy or medium stress but with weak stress it has the variant [kâj].

A very few forms spelled giê- represent [zê-], rather than the regular
[ziê- ] or [ziá-]: giên [zên] amaranth (quoted from Emeneau 1951: 30).

Here and there throughout the country are place names which reflect
by their spelling the fact that they are borrowed from other languages.
This is especially the case with Cambodian and Cham names in southern
Viet Nam.

3.38. Tone Marks are written with the vocalic portion of the syllable.
Where there is only a single vowel letter they appear over (or, in the case
of dau nông, under) that letter.

mâ tomb, nảng heavy, lăn instance, rể inexpensive, dên arrive, vĩ
because, *ngot* sweet, *hồ* lake, *phở* noodle soup, *dúng* correct, *nhưng* [plural marker], *Mỹ* America

Where there are two or more vowel letters the tone mark accompanies one of them according to the following principles:

1) If they include a letter with one of the other diacritics (denoting vowel quality differences), the tone mark accompanies that letter.


2) In the case of *vo* (where there are two letters with diacritics), the tone mark accompanies *o*.

   *đường* sugar, *mười* ten, *ruou* alcoholic beverage

3) Otherwise, the tone mark accompanies the letter which denotes the prominent vowel of the syllable, unless this is word final [see (4)].


4) Where the prominent vowel is represented by a word final vowel letter without diacritic, there is a strong tendency to place the tone symbol with the preceding vowel letter. Thus *u* and *o* are often found with tone marks, even though they may actually represent the [w] of an initial cluster. There is a good deal of variation in this matter, even in the writing of the same author or printing of a single work. However, tone marks are not shifted back to the *u* of the combination *qu-* or the *i* of *gi-.*

   *tụy* according to, *thủy* water, *khỏe* be healthy, *hòa* peace; *quả* de-
   mon, *qua* fruit, *già* old, *gió* wind

There is a strong tendency to omit tone marks with proper names. Names of well-known places often appear in print in the form they typically assume in ordinary French publications: e.g., *Hanoi*, *Saigon*. Place names of foreign origin are also apt to forego tone marks: e.g., *Sóc-trăng*, *Sa-dec* (towns in the south with names of Cambodian origin); *Dalat* (a well-known resort town of the south-central interior plateau—the name comes from the local mountain tribal language). In handwriting all diacritics are commonly omitted from individual personal names; this practice, however, does not extend to printed material.

3.4. Dictionaries list in alphabetical order meaningful units which for the most part are one syllable long. Longer items are usually listed as subentries to their first syllable. The kinds of units involved and their interrelationships are discussed in more detail in 5.5.

Lexicography in Viet Nam is much less developed than in Western Europe and America or in China and Japan. The student simply cannot ex-
pect to find a single reference work which will list all or even a large proportion of the forms he will meet in reading texts in the language. In fact, the wholesale coinage of new terms during the last decade makes recent texts quite difficult for foreign readers until they have acquired a deep sense of the wordbuilding habits of the language and the intimate knowledge of a large number of basic meaningful forms.

The most helpful work for American students is certainly Họa’s Vietnamese-English Dictionary (Nguyễn Đình Họa 1959b). Although it does not have a very extensive coverage, it provides a good deal of valuable information about the forms it does include. The most scholarly lexicographic work today remains Đào duy Anh, Pháp-Việt Từ-díền (French-Vietnamese Dictionary), 1936 (reprinted in 1950), but because of its nature it is really helpful only for the more advanced students. For other dictionaries see the Bibliography.

3.41. Alphabetical Order is in general based on the usual order of the Roman alphabet as in English and the various other European languages which make use of it. Because of the special extensive complications with diacritics, however, certain further conventions are needed. Letters without diacritics precede characters which have been modified: thus đ precedes đ; e precedes ê; o is followed by ô, then ơ, and so forth. The diacritics distinguishing vowel qualities have their own fixed order: the breve or short mark (as in ā) precedes the circumflex (as in ā, ê, ô), which, in turn, precedes the hook identifying unrounded vowels (as in ơ, ư). These principles establish the following basic order for alphabetization:

\[ a \, ā \, ĩ \, a \, b \, c \, d \, đ \, ē \, ĕ \, g \, h \, i \, k \, l \, m \, n \, o \, õ \, ò \, õ \, p \, q \, r \, s \, t \, u \, ũ \, v \, ṽ \, w \, x \, y \]

All this ordering is completed prior to the introduction of tonal distinctions. Then for each syllable type (without tone symbol) the various occurring combinations with tone marks are ordered according to any of several systems. These all agree in one respect: they list syllables with the unmarked tone first. The two most common orders for tone marks are ‘‘’’~’’ (e.g., in Nguyễn Đình Họa 1959b) and ‘‘’’~’’ (e.g., in Lê văn Hùng 1955). The following sample of alphabetical order uses Họa’s ordering:

\[ ma \, má \, mà \, mạ \, màc \, màc \, màch \, màch \, mai \, mái \, mài \, mái \, mài \]

In some works (e.g., Họa’s) two- and three-letter combinations representing unitary sounds are treated as if they were unit symbols when they appear first in an entry; these symbols are placed in order following the letter with which they begin. An entirely separate section is set up for words beginning with ch-, which follows the section containing all others
beginning with c-. Similarly, there are special sections for gi-, kh-, ng- (and ngh-), nh-, ph- (separate from a few rare entries with simple initial p-), th-, and tr-. For further alphabetization within sections, however, each letter is considered a separate entity. Other dictionaries (e.g., Hùng’s) follow the latter principle throughout, so that, for example, items beginning with ch- follow those beginning cå- and are in turn succeeded by those beginning co-, and so forth.

3.42. Spelling Variations in Dictionaries presumably represent forms of the same word from different dialects which over the years have undergone different phonetic development. In the written language many of these alternants have come to be used for stylistic variety, and some of them have passed along into the conversational usage of educated speakers. Until a great deal more careful research on Vietnamese dialects has been accomplished, it will be impossible to untangle many of the complexities which this situation presents.

Dictionaries frequently list alternants of this sort, sometimes relating them to one another, sometimes not. More often only one alternant appears in a given compilation. For this reason it is helpful for the foreign student of the language to have some knowledge of the possible alternations. The following lists are suggestive rather than in any sense complete. A great deal of further research must be done to identify and make more sense of the patterns of alternation and to understand their historical significance. (For a discussion of some of these matters, see Maspero 1912.)

The items treated here are considered acceptable in print. It is important to mention that there are many other variations occurring in printed materials, especially in newspaper copy, which are considered spelling errors. Beside genuine inaccuracies in setting type there are those erroneous spellings which a speaker of a particular dialect will produce because a distinction implied in the official writing system is absent from his own speech. Thus Hanoi speakers will sometimes confuse d- and gi- and r-, ch- and tr-; southern and central speakers will confuse the tones hōi and nga; and so on. The student will do well to familiarize himself with the dialect variations described in Chapter 4 as a basis for dealing with these problems. He should bear in mind that this sort of confusion operates in two directions: first, a speaker may write a form in the way that he hears it in his dialect area; second, he may write a form in a different way from what his hearing suggests, thinking that he is correcting himself, and arriving sometimes at a hypercorrection. For example, a Hanoi speaker might write the word trăng ‘master, expert’ with initial ch- because he pronounces it with the same beginning sound as in cha ‘father’, chua

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'not yet', cho 'give', and a host of other common words. Operating in the other direction, however, he might write tr- instead of the correct ch- in the word chiến 'to fight, struggle, make war', thinking that he was correcting himself on the analogy of trang, written with tr-. Such errors are especially frequent with words which fall outside everyday colloquial usage.

In the following list each alternation is exemplified only once under the letter which appears earlier in alphabetical order.

INITIAL ALTERNATIONS

c- : tr- cùi, triều sheep ng- : ngo- ngánh, ngoánh
ch- : x- chung-quanh, xung-quanh turn [head] away
    all around
nh- : r- nhức đầu, rúc đầu
    headache, nhám, rấm
d- : d- diâ, dĩa plate
    diâ, dĩa plate
    d- : gi- dây, giây string, wire
    s- : th- súng, thủng dropsy
    to close one’s eyes
    d- : nh- do, nho be dirty, dën,
s- : tr- sông, trơn male
    nhện spider
    s- : x- sèng, xẻng shovel
    th- : x- thanh, xanh be blue, green
    l- : nh- lầm, nhầm five (cf. 841),
lòi, nhói words, speech

Forms exemplifying these alternations are not necessarily interchangeable. They should be used for help in recognition, not for learning new forms.

VOWEL ALTERNATIONS

[a : iê ] an, yên be peaceful;
    doan, duyên fate, existence; trao, triều court
[â : iê ] nhâm, nhiem function,
    charge; tân, tiến advance;
    that, thiết be true
[â : ò] bàn, bồn origin
[â : o ] chân, chon foot, leg;
    nhân, nhom person
[â : i ] giói, the-giói world; đan,
    там, tim heart
    còn, đôn be simple
[â : u ] bàng, bưng carry in front
    with arms outstretched;
    nhắt, nhút first
[a : uo ] đang, dưng in the act of
[â : â ] đạo, dù although; thâu,
    ngàn, nghin thousand
    thu autumn
[ā : â ] bâu, bâu be master; tài,
    tau China; caryana to plow
[ā : i ] chánh, chinh to administer, govern; sanh, sinh
    be born
[ē : ù] bểnh, bính illness;
    bệnh, lỉnh order, command
[ē : iê ] dẻu, diệu matter, thing
[ē : i ] thi, tho poetry
[i : o ]
VOWEL ALTERNATIONS (continued)

[iɛ̂ : ə]  hiɛp, hop unite  [ɔ : uɔ]  cői, cuềi to mount
[o : u]  phở, phū give, bestow  [u : uɔ]  cucht, suç disposition
[ ödeme, huĩ group, society  [u : uɔ]  phúc, phươc happiness;
[ɔ : u]  tho, thu letter; gõi, gũi  phuncio, phươc phoenix
send

OTHER NUCLEAR ALTERNATIONS

[avg : ănh : ênh]  măng, manh, mềnh human life
[ăng : inh]  bãng, bính be equal
[âm : uk]  thạt, thực be true, real

3.5. The Writing of Larger Elements. Intonations are only imperfectly suggested by conventional symbols of punctuation (cf. 2.73), and stresses are not written at all. However, there are a number of conventions involved in writing elements larger than the syllable, which are summarized in the following sections.

3.51. Capital Letters (called chũ hoa ‘flower character’ or chũ cái ‘principal, largest character’) are used in much the same way they are in English, although there are certain special conventions and enormous variety in individual usage. The first word in a sentence begins with a capital letter. In titles of books, paintings, and so forth, the principal forms usually begin with an upper-case letter, although there is a good deal of variation. In the citation of a work in the body of a text, usually only the initial letter of the title is a capital unless there are other reasons to capitalize forms within. Some editors follow this principle even for titles appearing as headings. On the other hand, titles and authors’ names on the title page of books are most often in block capitals, and this principle often extends to headings of chapters and sections as well. The variety is so great that there seems little point in citing examples.

For names of places there is more of a basic pattern: only the first letter of the name is properly upper-case unless one of the succeeding syllables is itself a proper name in its own right:

Việt-nam, Trung-quốc China, Mỹ-quốc America, Pháp France,
Tây-ban-nha Spain, La-mâ Rome, Hà-nôi, Sai-gôn; but Bắc-Việt North Viet Nam, Trung-Việt Central Viet Nam, Nam-Việt South Viet Nam, Đông-nam-Â Southeast Asia (in which Việt, the word designating the Vietnamese people, and Â ‘Asia’ are proper names).

Personal names involve capital letters, but the usage is complex and is treated with other details about the names themselves in 3.52.
In the names of places, words specifying the kind of place are most often not themselves capitalized, even when they stand first:

đường Lê Lợi Lê Lợi Street, đại lộ Duy-tân Duy-tân Boulevard,
song Hồng-hà the Red River (note the redundant use of sông, the
native Vietnamese word for ‘river’ before the name, which contains
the Sino-Vietnamese borrowed element hà ‘river’), nước Tậu China,
hồ Hoàn-kiem Lake of the Returned Sword (in Hanoi)

This principle extends to the names of artificial entities such as shops, restaurants, temples: hiệu Hải-Anh (a restaurant), đền Ngọc-sơn Jade
Mountain Temple. In a few cases such elements are capitalized—they are
apparently felt to be part of the name, e.g., Hồ-tây West Lake (in Hanoi),
Song Ngân Silver River (the Milky Way), Chợ-lớn (suburb of Saigon, lit.
“big market”).

The names of dynasties (actually kings’ family names) and historical
periods begin with a capital letter: Lê, Lý, Trần, Nguyễn; Trung-cô
Medieval Period, Middle Ages.

The names of supernatural and personified entities start with an upper-
case character: Giới Heaven, To-hồng [Mr.] Pink-Thread (mythical being
who unites the life strands of married couples), Cốc Toad (as a character
in a fable).

The names of holidays (Nguyễn-dân New Year’s, Chúa Giáng-sinh
Christmas), religions (Công-giáo Catholicism), and various official enti-
ties (Quốc-gia the Nation) use capital letters.

However, the names of months are not capitalized, as they are in
English: tháng giêng January (or the first month of the lunar year), tháng
chap December (or the last month of the lunar year), tháng sáu June (or
sixth month of the lunar year).

In printing or writing, various terms of address or reference are often
capitalized to suggest courtesy, respect: Chào Ông! Good day, Sir! Cái
này có phải cửa Bà không? Does this belong to you? (addressing a lady).

As a result, the designations for kings and high-ranking officials are
very frequently capitalized—nearly always when they refer to specific
persons.

3.52. Personal Names nearly always contain at least two parts: the
family name (tên họ), which comes first when the full name is stated; and
the given name (tên đề ‘birth name’), which comes last. Either element
may be polysyllabic, although compound given names are by far the more
common. Many names have also a middle syllable (called tiếng lót ‘lining
word’ in Nguyễn Bạt-Tuy 1954 and typified as really not a name but rather
an indicator of sex or [dubiously] a euphonious device). Which syllables
are connected by hyphens and which are written with an initial capital
letter depends on their value as part of the name. In general, any syllable which itself is a name (rather than a noninitial part of a title) properly begins with an upper-case character; similarly, the initial letter of a title is a capital. Other elements, including the tiếng lót, usually begin with a lower-case letter. For the use of hyphens in personal names see 3.53(f).

Examples of names containing tiếng lót are Nguyễn văn Tổ, a famous twentieth-century scholar, president of the permanent committee of the first Viet Minh government parliament, 1946-47; Trần quốc Tuấn, the thirteenth-century general whose troops turned back the Mongols.

For very special reasons individuals sometimes acquire compound family names, and they are then, of course, passed along to their descendants. An adopted child, for example, typically adds the family name of his new family to his own surname (the new name preceding): Đặng-Trần Còn, a famous eighteenth-century author, was the adopted son of a family named Đặng; his original name was Trần Còn. On occasion a king gave a new family name to a man and allowed him to retain his old surname as the second element in a compound. Such, for example, is the case of Huỳnh Đức, who was given the name Nguyễn by the celebrated king Gia Long, becoming Nguyễn-Huỳnh Đức. Other reasons for double surnames include adoption of a second element following a very common name as a distinguishing element and the prefixing of a new name in order to disguise the original. (Examples are from Nguyễn Bạt-Tụy 1954, which may be consulted for further details on Vietnamese names.)

If compound given names are more common, their origin, on the other hand, is often more difficult to trace. Two main categories may be distinguished: those which are actually titles (in these, noninitial elements begin with a lower-case letter), and true given names (in which subsequent elements begin with a capital letter). Examples of titular given names are Lê Thái-tổ, royal name of the famous fifteenth-century king Lê Lợi, founder of the Later Lê Dynasty (1428-1793) (thái-tổ ‘dynasty founder’); and Trần Hưng-dạo, titular name (bestowed by the king) of Trần quốc Tuấn (see above) (hung-dạo from Hưng-dạo Vương ‘Prince [who] makes the way prosperous’, the full epithet).

Ordinary compound given names are chosen for a variety of personal reasons. Examples are Nguyễn Công-Trù, man of letters of the turn of the nineteenth century; Hồ Xuân-Hương, a brilliant poetess of the early nineteenth century; and Chu Mạnh-Trinh, late nineteenth-century poet.

3.53. Hyphens (called gạch nối ‘joining dash’, gạch giữa ‘dash between; or, more formally, ngang nối ‘joining horizontal’) have been used
widely in writing quốc-ňã forms. In general they signal combinations of syllables which form units from the point of view of their use in sentences. To some extent their use relates to the problem of just what a word is in Vietnamese (see 5.53 and 5.57). The recent trend is away from the extensive writing of hyphens, and it is possible to specify the cases where they are considered most appropriate in fairly rigorous terms. The general usage is (and is likely to remain) quite lacking in uniformity even within the body of single published works. At one extreme there are publications which do not use them at all.

Only rarely are more than two syllables linked by hyphens in most modern texts. The notable exceptions to this are place names (Thũ-dâu-môt, a town some 30 km north of Saigon; Phi-luật-tân ‘the Philippines’) and borrowed words (ca-lô-ri ‘calorie’).

The following kinds of two-syllable sequences are commonly written with connecting hyphen:

(a) Forms borrowed from foreign languages: ô-tô ‘automobile’, cà-phê ‘coffee’, va-li ‘suitcase’ (from French auto, café, valise). This includes an enormous number of forms borrowed from Chinese: quốc-ngãt ‘national language; the romanized spelling system’, phi-co ‘airplane’, sinh-viên ‘student.’ However, many of the syllabic elements borrowed from Chinese have become independent in Vietnamese and are used in sequences with native words. Some are used with other forms which were originally borrowed elements, but the new combinations are Vietnamese. Such forms are not generally written with hyphens: for example, tàu thủy ‘steamship’ contains the native element tàu ‘conveyance of relatively large proportions’ and the Chinese borrowed form thủy ‘water; bàn thân ‘close friend’ contains two Chinese loans, bàn ‘friend’ and thân ‘be intimate’, but the sequence is apparently a Vietnamese creation (a Chinese loan form would have the two elements in the reverse order; see 6.33-34).

(b) Forms in which at least one syllable has by itself no identifiable meaning related to the over-all meaning: vui-vẽ ‘be cheerful’ (cf. vui ‘be cheerful’, but -vẽ does not recur by itself with any meaning relatable to this form); rở-rắng ‘be clear’ (rở ‘be clear’ and dependent element -rắng) (see 7.56); think-linh ‘be sudden, unexpected’ (neither element occurs by itself with a related meaning).

(c) Sequences which denote a general category of things suggested by the meanings of the constituent forms (called generalizing compounds; 6.22): bàn-ghé ‘furniture’ (‘tables, chairs, etc.’), quần-ăo ‘clothes’ (‘trousers, tunics, etc.’), nhà-cửa ‘household’ (‘buildings, doors, etc.’), cày-cày ‘to engage in farming’ (‘to plow, plant, etc.’).

(d) Forms involving an exact repetition of the basic constituent where
this basic constituent is not a noun (8.63) or verb (9.55): luôn-làm ‘always’, thường-thường ‘usually’.

(e) Place names (both native and foreign): Việt-nam, Hà-nội, Sai-gòn, Ba-lê ‘Paris’, La-mã ‘Rome’. (Note, however, that very common place names are often written in the form they would have in French: Paris, Hanoi, Saigon.)

(f) Elements in personal names which are themselves units. This includes compound family and given names (for details about personal names and further identification of the following examples, see 3.52):

- Đăng-Trần Côn, eighteenth-century author; Nguyễn-Huỳnh Đức, mandarin at the court of Gia Long; Lê Thái-tổ, royal name of Lê Lợi;
- Trần Hưng-dạo, thirteenth-century general; Nguyễn Công-Trú, man of letters; Hồ Xuân-Huệ, poetess; Chu Hạnh-Trình, poet.

In older usage (which still survives in many contemporary publications) all the elements of a personal name were connected by hyphens. The recent tendency away from profusity of hyphenation has perhaps operated with less consistency here.

3.54. Clause and Sentence Punctuation makes use of the period (chấm), comma (phẩy or phết), colon (hai chấm), semicolon (chấm phẩy or chấm phết), parentheses (đầu ngược đơn ‘simple hook marks’), question mark (chấm hỏi), and exclamation point (chấm nhèu), much as does English or French. Only departures from this general similarity are mentioned here.

A comma is used to set off a phrase or clause which is parallel to the preceding element; however, there is generally no second comma to mark the end of such an element which is interposed in the middle of the sentence.

Tục chơi hoa thủy-tiện cũng phổ-thông như cảnh đạo, nhưng với hoa nảy đất quá, hằng năm phải nhập-càng từ bến Tàu sang nên chỉ những gia-dình giàu mối đắm chơi. ‘The custom of enjoying the narcissus [at New Year’s] is as common as the peach branch, but because this flower is very expensive, having each year to be imported from China, so only the wealthy families can permit themselves the luxury.’ (From the English point of view, a comma would be expected between sang and nennen.)

The question mark is often used to mark indirect questions, which in English would simply end with a period. (This usage is characterized as incorrect by some native grammarians, cf. Bùi Đức Tịnh 1952: 298.)

Tôi sẽ hỏi ông ấy có biết chàng? ‘I’m going to ask him whether he knows [about it] or not.’
3.55. Quotations are symbolized in several ways which are rather different from English usage. The most common device is a horizontal bar (called gach dài ‘long dash’) (usually called a dash in English) to mark the beginning of a speech which is reported in print. The end of the quotation is not marked but left up to the reader to deduce from the context. (This device is characteristic of French usage in similar instances.)

—Thưa thầy, côt to bằng này, câu Thanh vừa nói vừa cho dừa và quây trong cái liên dùng com. "Sir, the pillars [of the house] are this big," said Thanh, making a stirring motion with his chopsticks in the dish containing the rice as he spoke.'

Quotation marks, called đầu ngược kép ‘double hook marks’ (« ») are also borrowed from French: they symbolize elements borrowed from the speech or writing of others or singled out for special attention. They are sometimes used for a quotation within a quotation (the framing quotation symbolized by a gach dài), and around the titles of books, songs, and the like. Some type fonts have instead quotation marks like those used in American printing.

In newspapers occasionally a third device is used to signal a quotation (perhaps because the font of type in use lacks or has only a limited supply of the items described above): three periods (ba chấm or chấm chấm) on the line before an item single out the following phrase as a quotation. Again the reader must recognize for himself the end of the quoted element.

Chúng tôi nhận thấy một người đứng bên sau-soan cho tài-tử cái ... cứ to. ‘We noticed an actor sitting before a mirror, with one person winding a turban for him, and another standing to one side preparing to give him the “traditional bun [of hair]”.’

Both the dash and the three successive periods are also used in a way analogous to English usage. Dashes at the beginning and end of an element within a sentence signal a kind of parenthetical expression or aside. The three periods often have the value of suspensive points—signaling something omitted or expressly left to the reader’s imagination.

3.6. Reading Pronunciation, which gives a very different impression from ordinary speech, may be characterized as follows. In general, the stress pattern of ordinary reading pronunciation is a more or less regularly alternating succession of medium and heavy syllables, with a heavy syllable regularly terminating each pause group. Occasional syllables have weak stress, which seems to carry its normal value, but the alternation of medium- and heavy-stressed syllables certainly does not indicate any kind of emphatic distinction between the two types. In reading pronunciation each syllable is very distinctly pronounced, and tones tend to be
exaggerated. Each syllable with medium or heavy stress occupies approximately the same amount of time; weakly stressed syllables are considerably shorter. This gives reading its characteristic measured, rhythmic quality and makes it notably different from normal speech, where there is far more elasticity in the length of syllables and the stress distinctions are fully exploited.

A special kind of "reading pronunciation" with dramatic overtones is used in some theatrical productions in classical style: many lines are simply spoken, more or less as in ordinary conversation, but highly significant or dramatic lines are accompanied by instrumental music (one or more stringed instruments and sometimes a flute) and are spoken in this stylized fashion. The net effect is reminiscent of recitative in Western opera, but note that the utilization of this style corresponds rather to the aria, or to the song in Western musical comedy. The practice probably stems from the Chinese-inherited opera, where such passages are interspersed with lines which are sung—a tradition corresponding more nearly to Western opera but with less clear definition of arias.
CHAPTER 4

Dialectal Variations

4.1. Vietnamese Dialects were divided by Henri Maspero (1912) into two main groups: on the one hand, the Haut-Annam group, comprising numerous local dialects of the small villages stretching from the north of Nghệ-an province to the south of Thừa-thiên province; on the other, Tonkinese-Cochinchinese, encompassing all the remainder.

Haut-Annam dialects had been little studied at Maspero's writing, and so far as I can determine this is still the case today. (In addition to his own observations Maspero mentions Cadière 1902, which he characterizes as treating only the southern part of the area, and as having an unfortu-nately small number of examples, most of which are not related to specific places. Cadière 1958 gives extensive examples and emphasizes material collected in the region of Huế. While numerous individual dialectal forms are in evidence throughout, the general impression reasserts the basic unity of the language as a whole. Valuable as the work is for its penetrat-ing view of the syntax, it furnishes no real basis for serious dialectal study. In private correspondence with me in 1961 Nguyễn Bạt-Tuy indicated that he had been conducting instrumental phonetic studies on several dia-lects, including some of these, but to my knowledge he has not yet printed a description of this work.)

Certain things about Maspero's division are not too clear. The southern extremity of the Haut-Annam territory would include the city of Huế, and he mentions employing informants from that area. But the speech of present-day Huế seems quite inseparable from the complex of integrating dialects spoken from there on south to the southern tip of the country and in the Red River valley and delta in the north. And the Vinh language which M.B. Emeneau describes (1944, 1951) seems intermediate in many respects between Tonkinese and the speech of modern Huế. The most striking differ-ences in both Vinh and Huế are in the tones, and it may be that these
factors influenced Maspero to place both localities in his Haut-Annæm category. In both Huế and Vinh the influence of the literary standard language is to be reckoned with, and it may well be that those informants whose speech has been observed have actually altered their habits extensively in that direction.

On the other hand, the few details Maspero gives of the speech of the northern part of the Haut-Annæm area, which he himself observed while traveling there, suggest a form of the language quite distinct from that spoken at Hanoi, Vinh, Huế or Saigon. Judging from the comments of contemporary informants these divergent ways of speaking have not yet disappeared under the influence of the metropolitan standards, but only a thorough modern investigation of them will reveal their deeper natures and their relationships to one another and to the language as a whole. Such an investigation is especially important in connection with the effort to understand more about the history of the language.

For the rest of the speech area, if it is fairly clear that the whole represents a series of intergrading dialects—that is, ways of speaking in each village which vary in only a few slight details from the neighboring villages, but forming a gradually shifting picture such that remote points are very noticeably different from one another—it is none the less apparent that many interesting investigations of local speech remain to be made across the Vietnamese countryside in these regions as well.

There are several modern studies which provide the basis for perceiving the overall picture of gradually changing patterns from north to south. Hanoi speech has most often been the basis of descriptions of the language, although many of these—especially the earlier ones—seem to represent an idealization departing from the actual pronunciation of Hanoi natives in the direction of assuring all the distinctions implied in the official spelling system (3.2). Accounts of other dialects are less affected by normalizing tendencies. It seems useful to offer here a kind of general impressionistic description of several dialect areas and their interrelationships so far as it is possible. In this account innovations which are mentioned for each successive locality should be construed as part of the basic shifting pattern, except where they are specifically affected by subsequently mentioned differences; for example, the retroflexed consonants which are missing in Hanoi speech but clearly present in Vinh, remain characteristic of the speech of Huế, Dà-năng and Saigon. Such a survey is necessarily conjectural because there is insufficient information on most intermediate areas. The sources I have most relied on are Lê văn Lý 1948 (northern metropolitan speech, probably somewhat idealized), Emeneau 1944, 1951 (for Vinh and Tonkin), Smalley and Nguyên văn Văn 1954 (for Dà-năng speech), H. Maspero
1912 (for information on various dialects), Cadière 1911 (for Bas-Annam dialects), and my own observations (of speakers from Hanoi, Phát-diệm, Huế, Đà-nẵng, Dalat, Saigon, Gò-.levels, Mỹ-tho, Bến-tre, Trà-vinh).

Following this survey of the overall speech area Saigon dialect is described in greater detail (4.2) and a tentative chart of dialect correspondences is provided for some typical localities where descriptions are generally adequate for the purpose (4.3).

4.11. Tonkin. As the observer moves from Hanoi southward in the Tonkinese delta land he notices gradual changes in pronunciation and phonological structure. The clustered vowels of the Hanoi area shift almost imperceptibly in quality from village to village in the delta region itself: the second vowels in the Hanoi clusters [iè, uò, uô] tend toward [á]. Note that the beginnings of this tendency are already apparent in Hanoi—[ièw, ièp, ièm, ièt, ièn, uòj, uòm, uòt, uòn] but [iák, iàng, uák, uàng], while the official spelling suggests [ièk, ièng, uök, uòng].1 Also, the vowels [è, ò] as the second member of the clusters which do occur are centralized, noticeably different from their variants as simple vowels. The clusters beginning with [i] and [u] have [à] as second member in the speech of Phát-diệm on the southern margin of the delta. (And in this dialect this [à] is frequently more prominent than the preceding vowel.) In some localities of the delta the clusters [uw, uow] (written uw, uow) are to be found, while Hanoi replaces them by [iw, ièw].

4.12. Vinh. By the time Vinh is reached the retroflex position of tongue-tip consonants (tonguè curled back) has become distinctive: here speakers distinguish orthographic tr from ch, s from x, and r from d and gi. These distinctions almost certainly obtain in some areas in Tonkin, but there is so little detailed information on dialectal variations there that it is difficult to determine just which ones. Maspero 1912: p. 27, characterizes the area as pronouncing ch for tr everywhere except in a few small, clearly defined pockets. However, some of my informants have asserted that universal [ch] is a characteristic rather of the urban centers, while tr is distinguished in rural areas—here educated speakers often have a retroflexed stop, while uneducated people have [t]; e.g., trâu water buffalo: HN [châu], rural educated [trâu], rural popular [tâu]. Certainly the influence of the official spelling is a complicating factor. (Cf. also Lê văn Lý 1948: p. 14.)

For further details on Vinh pronunciation see Emeneau 1951. The presentation here involves a few reinterpretations from his phonemic system. There are a number of respects in which this dialect area seems to be quite

1 Whether such clusters are or were actually pronounced in some dialects or whether these writings represent a normalizing tendency on the part of the inventors of the writing system is of course not certain.
special, and it is interesting to note that Vietnamese from other regions frequently mention Vinh speech as “peculiar” or the subject of ridicule. The characteristics of the tones are particularly interesting and certainly merit further study. Those with glottal stricture might perhaps be analyzed as containing a glottal stop phoneme, like similar Hanoi sequences. However, from Émeneau’s description it appears that they do not fit very well with any other contours, and the glottal stricture affects most or all of the syllable, while there is apparently not usually a full glottal stop at any consistent point. These peculiarities tend to support the relationships of Vinh speech to Maspero’s Haut-Annam group, but many other characteristics place Vinh as simply intermediate between Hanoi and Huế.

Tr, s and r all have the tongue tip curled back; the first is a stop usually released with a spirant, the second a voiceless spirant, the third its voiced counterpart, although usually with less friction—r resembles English r in run to some extent, but lacks the English lip rounding and has somewhat more friction. In the distance from Phát-diệm to Vinh, too, the vowel clusters have lost their distinctive quality of vacillating prominence and become regular diphthongs—that is, the first vowel of the (orthographic) sequences iêu, iêp, iêm, iêt, iên, iêc, iêng, uoi, uou, uop, uom, uôi, uôm, uôt, uôn, uçc, uông, is regularly prominent. The second element is then a semivowel of the type of Hanoi postvocalic [j, w]. Of the simple vowels [ã] is replaced by [e] before [ch, nh]. Vinh tones are different from those of the Hanoi area, but there remain the six distinctions implied by the orthography (2.71, 3.25). Table 1 shows the consonant and tone systems of Vinh speech; the vocalic system is the same as that of Hanoi, although there are differences in distribution, as suggested above.

**Table 1. Vinh Consonants and Tonal Distinctions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>TONES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p t tr ch k</td>
<td>Sắc High rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b d</td>
<td>Ngang High level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph th s x kh h</td>
<td>Ngã Mid level with glottal stricture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v l r z g</td>
<td>Hỏi Mid dropping with glottal stricture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m n nh ng</td>
<td>Nãng Low level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huyễn Low falling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ORTHOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HANOI</th>
<th>VINH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>чуа</td>
<td>[чруа]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>трав</td>
<td>[чstaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>water buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORTHOGRAPHY</td>
<td>HANOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa</td>
<td>[xa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sách</td>
<td>[xâch]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>[za]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gì</td>
<td>[zìj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>[za]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiêu</td>
<td>[hiêw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biết</td>
<td>[biêt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>người</td>
<td>[nguôj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muốn</td>
<td>[muôn]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13. Huế. Passing the Haut-Annam area and arriving at Huế, the observer is confronted by a number of further differences. While the tones implied by the standard orthography are apparently all distinguished in some way or other throughout Tonkin and as far south as Vinh, Huế has only five distinctions—words written with hôi and ngã tones are pronounced alike with a long rising contour, beginning in lower mid range and accompanied by glottal stricture, which frequently interrupts the voicing about midway through the syllable. (In examples this tone is represented by the symbol for ngã tone.) Words with sàc tone have the same pitch contour without glottal stricture. Năng tone starts low, falls abruptly, and ends with glottal stop or one of the other stops. Huyën tone begins considerably higher than in Hanoi and Vinh and trails downward. It is often difficult for the foreigner to distinguish from the unmarked tone (năng), which is higher mid level. As in other dialects, the latter tone has a higher variant with sustaining intonation and a high falling contour with increasing intonation. With fading intonation it starts at higher mid and falls to the bottom of the voice range.

Hanoi and Vinh initial [z] are replaced in Huế by a semivowel [j], much like the y in English yes (and like the final [j] in this and other dialects of Vietnamese).

More outstanding are differences in final consonants. Final [ch, nh] of Tonkin and Vinh are replaced by [t, n]. Final t, n of the orthography correspond to Huế [t, n] only after [i, è] (not after iê-, which is pronounced [iê̞-]); elsewhere they are replaced by [k, ng].
Certain shifts in vocalic elements appear in Huế. The orthographic sequences iĕp, iĕm, uŏp, uŏm are usually pronounced with the first element most prominent; the second element, however, is not as clearly semivocalic as in iĕt, iĕn, iĕc, iĕng, uŏt, uŏn, uŏc, uŏng, where it is clearly the semivowel [ə] that is involved. Before -p, -m these second elements are vowels somewhat lower and more central than the first vowel (the prominent element). But the cluster uŏm belongs in the second category [uăm].

Before the final semivowels [j, w], the clusters iĕc, uoő, uô have lost their second element, so that the sequences iĕu, uoi, uoů, uoi (triphthongs in Vinh) are pronounced as diphthongs indistinguishable from iu, ui, uu, ui.

2 While this is reminiscent of Hanoi pronunciation, it also presses the treatment of these sequences farther south where the second element has disappeared entirely (cf. 4.16). I am indebted to Herbert Izzo for information on Hue speech from his unpublished field notes representing work he conducted in that city. (Mr. Izzo read a paper at the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America in December 1961 in which he characterized Hue speech as intermediate between Hanoi and Saigon.) This supplements and corroborates my own observations of the speech of several persons from Hue.
In citation forms, the prominent vowels representing the last clusters are often longer than the corresponding vowels in words with orthographic two-element nuclei. (This appears to be a kind of spelling pronunciation.)

Some other aspects of vocalic elements are elusive and need further study. Incomplete data make it impossible to state the entire pattern with certainty, but certain characteristics may be mentioned here. The diphthongization of e before [ng] which is already an alternate in Hanoi seems to have become a constant phenomenon in Huế: xéng [xêːŋ] shovel, sen [seːŋ] HN [xen] lotus. Sequences involving prevocalic [w] in more northerly speech have special treatments in Huế, which seem not to be duplicated in any other dialects, except for the special pronunciations of some Hanoi speakers in replacing [lw] clusters by [l] and a following vowel cluster. The orthographic sequence -uâ- seems regularly to be pronounced as a very rapid vowel cluster [uâ] preceded by strongly labialized initial consonants. Before front vowels [i, ë, e, ä], [w] appears much as in other dialects. But orthographic sequences with -oa- are pronounced in some cases as a vowel cluster [ōa], in which the second vowel is prominent (finally and before [ŋg]); in others as a diphthong [og](before [j]).

4.14. Đà-năng (formerly widely known by the name Tourane). Just south of Huế the tone system is different again: in Đà-năng sâc tone is again high rising (much like that of Hanoi and Vinh), and syllables written with
hội and ngã, although still pronounced alike with a long mid rising contour, lack the glottal stricture they have in Huế. (In all the dialects where hội and ngã tones are pronounced alike the tilde is here adopted to represent the fusion of the two tones in the transcription.) Nãng tone has glottal stricture, but it is less forceful and consistent than in Huế speech, and the pitch contour is different: low level with final stops, otherwise low dipping. Huyền tone is somewhat lower than in Huế, but not as low as in Hanoi.

The initial cluster [hw] has disappeared in Đà-năng speech, replaced by simple [w]. (These comments on Đà-năng speech are based primarily on Smalley and Nguyễn văn Văn 1954, supplemented by my own observations of Đà-năng speakers in Dalat and Saigon. Whether this initial [w] is regularly preceded by glottal stop, as in Hanoi, is not certain from either source.) After [w] the vowel [â] is replaced by [u] before [k, ng]. Before final [j, w] the vowel [â] is replaced by [a], so that forms in -ay and -au sound (respectively) exactly like those in -ai and -ao.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORTHOGRAPHY</th>
<th>HANOI</th>
<th>HUE</th>
<th>Đà-Năng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hội</td>
<td>[hwâj]</td>
<td>[hwâj]</td>
<td>[wâj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuất</td>
<td>[xwât]</td>
<td>[xuâk]</td>
<td>[xwûk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuân</td>
<td>[xwân]</td>
<td>[xuâng]</td>
<td>[xwûng]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>[maj]</td>
<td>[maj]</td>
<td>[maj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may</td>
<td>[mâj]</td>
<td>[maj]</td>
<td>[maj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sao</td>
<td>[xaw]</td>
<td>[saw]</td>
<td>[saw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>[xâw]</td>
<td>[sâw]</td>
<td>[saw]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this dialect there are some problems which cannot be resolved without further field work. Involved is the pronunciation of forms written with -ich, -inh; -ut, -un; -uc, -ung. Resolution of these apparent anomalies may shed interesting light on dialectal correspondences. (See Smalley and Văn 1954, book 2, p. 28, for phonetic details.)

4.15. Bas-Annam. The general characteristics of Đà-năng speech apply for the most part to the balance of the territory of south central Viet Nam. There are some interesting developments in local speech communities of the region, but their scope is limited, and the details are complex and not very thoroughly documented. The most significant of these developments is the simplification of various initial clusters with [w], a characteristic we shall observe again in the speech to the south of Saigon. Somewhere not far north of the Saigon region [v] disappears; it is replaced by [j], which everywhere from Huế south resembles English y in you, yes. An early picture of this area is presented in Cadière 1911. The correspondence of Cochinchinese [j] to [v] of other dialects is discussed historically in
Maspero 1912 (pp. 41-42, 70-74). A detailed treatment of [w] and related sounds is Cadière 1908-09.

4.16. Saigon. The difference between south central Viet Nam and the Saigon area has mainly to do with variants of the vowels. Saigon [i, ê] have some variants which are central, others which are strongly centralized front vowels. All vowels except [a] have lower variants with non-high tones tones (năng, huyền, and the fused hỏi-ngã tone); in the same positions [a] has variants which are further back in the mouth. The replacement of [â] by [r] before [k, ng] (occurring after [w] in Đà-nẵng speech) is extended in Saigon to syllables beginning with [ch, nh]. The tones themselves are very similar to those of Đà-nẵng, except that huyền is clearly lower than năng, and năng syllables end in glottal stop (if there is no other stop) but are not generally accompanied by glottal stricture. One difference has less to do with the characteristics of individual sounds than with the system they present: Saigon consonants involve a different kind of manner distinction from that of the dialects farther north (4.21).

The reduction of three-element nuclei to two elements (which begins at Huế) is carried still farther in Saigon: ièp, ièmes, uop, uöm, uöm are pronounced the same as ip, im, up, um, um. This leaves in the system only three-element nuclei ending in dorsals, except for the alternate pronunciation [o¿j] of the diphthong oi (cf. 4.26).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Hanoi</th>
<th>HUE</th>
<th>Saigon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiép</td>
<td>[tiép]</td>
<td>[típ]</td>
<td>[típ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tím kiêm</td>
<td>[tím kiêm]</td>
<td>[tím kíim]</td>
<td>[tím kíim]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uáp</td>
<td>[uáp]</td>
<td>[úáp]</td>
<td>[úáp]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luöm</td>
<td>[luöm]</td>
<td>[luüm]</td>
<td>[lём]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buöm</td>
<td>[buöm]</td>
<td>[bùâm]</td>
<td>[büm]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that educated speakers, wishing to distinguish, for example, a syllable in ièmes from one in im, produce a longer vowel in the first. This is intermediate between the usual Saigon pronunciation and that of Huế, where the second element is lower and centralized, but phonetically quite close to the first. Saigonese pronunciation is treated in greater detail in 4.2.

4.17. Southern Cochinchina. South of Saigon there are still further differences. Materials are lacking for a systematic description but some general observations can be made. In some rural speech initial ph is a lax aspirated [p]. All initial clusters with [w] are lacking (cf. 4.15): [kw, ngw] are replaced by [w]; [gw] does not occur; in all other cases [w]
has disappeared, leaving the single initial consonant. (The one word góa ‘be widowed’ which represents the cluster [gw] elsewhere, is lacking; it is replaced by [já], which seems not to be written. It is insufficient evidence for saying that SG [gw] is replaced by rural [j].) In some areas [x] is formed by the tongue blade, as in Hanoi, and it corresponds to both [x] and [s] in Saigon. There are fewer vowel distinctions in general and phonetically there are very few front vowels: [ä] is replaced by [â] except before [k, ng]; [i, è] are replaced by [u, o] before [t, n]; [o, o] are replaced by [ô] before [p, m]. On the other hand, diphthongs are more frequent and by and large they involve greater changes in position: for example, the words đi ‘go’, tư ‘fourth’ and ngủ ‘to sleep’ have diphthongs which start much lower than in Đà-nẵng or even in Saigon, and the [i] and [u] are strongly centralized. These remarks are based on limited observation of speakers from Gò-ông, Mỹ-tho, Bến Tre, and Trà-vinh. Thorough study should be made of these and other Cochinichinese dialects. See also Grammont 1909-10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORTHOGRAPHY</th>
<th>SAIGON</th>
<th>SOUTHERN COCHINCHINA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qua</td>
<td>[kwa]</td>
<td>[wa] cross over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngoài</td>
<td>[ngwâj]</td>
<td>[wâj] outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuàn</td>
<td>[twûng]</td>
<td>[tûng] week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoài</td>
<td>[xwâj]</td>
<td>[xâj] mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truyện</td>
<td>[trwîâng]</td>
<td>[trîâng] story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duyên</td>
<td>[jwîâng]</td>
<td>[jiâng] predestined affinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cấp</td>
<td>[kâp]</td>
<td>[kîp] piffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làm</td>
<td>[lâm]</td>
<td>[lâm] to a great extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sách</td>
<td>[sât]</td>
<td>[xât] book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lành</td>
<td>[lân]</td>
<td>[lân] be cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ít</td>
<td>[ît]</td>
<td>[ût] be a small amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đỉnh</td>
<td>[dîn]</td>
<td>[dûn] decide, determine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hét</td>
<td>[hêt]</td>
<td>[hôt] be used up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denounced</td>
<td>[dôn]</td>
<td>[lôp] arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lôp</td>
<td>[lôp]</td>
<td>[kôm] class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com</td>
<td>[kom]</td>
<td>[kôm] cooked rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cop</td>
<td>[kop]</td>
<td>[kôp] tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xóm</td>
<td>[xôm]</td>
<td>[xôm] neighborhood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.18. Summary. As can be seen from this survey the majority of Vietnamese dialects form a chain extending from north to south, each involving a few differences from the patterns of its neighbors to either side. The large urban centers (especially Hanoi, Huế and Saigon) stand out as sup-
porting rather special dialects, showing the influence of large classes of educated speakers and more extensive contact with other areas.

There are other differences among dialects—a few morphological and syntactic variations and numerous words and expressions with strongly local flavor. The most important special grammatical features typical of Saigon are dealt with in connection with related items in Hanoi speech. In addition there are examples cited from my Saigonese materials, and these are marked (S) wherever they seem alien to northern speakers. A few lexical items characteristic of Huế are also mentioned. It is not, however, the purpose of this work to treat systematically the differences of local usage.

4.2. Saigon Phonology involves rather different systems and arrangements of consonants, vowels and tones from those implied by the official spelling and especially from those of Hanoi speech. In one important respect the Saigonese consonants are closer to those of the writing system than their Hanoi equivalents: they show the distinction between plain and retroflexed sounds formed by the tip of the tongue.

Examples in the following sections are cited in the standard orthography. This is followed by a phonetic notation representing Saigon pronunciation where this is not clear from the quốc-ngữ form, and by a second phonetic notation marked HN when the Hanoi pronunciation differs.

4.21. The Consonant System makes use of the distinctions fortis vs. lenis, stop vs. continuant, and oral vs. nasal, and shows consonants primarily in five positions: labial, apical plain, apical retroflex, laminal and dorsal. Table 2 shows the elements, making use of the symbols of the standard orthography as far as it is possible. Comparison with 2.11 (Table 1) will make clear some of the differences in status of elements similar to those of Hanoi speech. Other details are discussed below.

**Table 2. Saigon Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORTIS ORAL CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Apical Plain</th>
<th>Apical Retroflex</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops, voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops, voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LENAIS ORAL CONSONANTS</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sounds \( [p, t, ch, k, b, d, th, m, n, nh, ng] \) are virtually identical with their Hanoi counterparts except for their distributions (cf. 4.25-26).

\( \text{cáp} \ [káp] \) pilfer, \( \text{tôi} \ [tôj] \) I, \( \text{ít} \) be a small amount, \( \text{cho} \) give, \( \text{các} \) [plural marker], \( \text{bài} \) [bâj] lesson, \( \text{dá} \) stone, \( \text{theo} \) [thew] follow, \( \text{mèo} \) [mèw] cat, \( \text{lâm} \) act, \( \text{nên} \) therefore, \( \text{nhà} \) house, \( \text{nghe} \) [nge] listen, \( \text{dúng} \) be correct

Fortis continuants \( [ph, x, s, kh] \) contrast with similar lenis sounds in Hanoi. Some of these sounds also involve differences in position. Saigon \( [x] \) resembles Hanoi \( [x] \), but is produced by the tongue tip rather than the blade. Saigon \( [s] \) is produced by the tongue tip curled back toward the roof of the mouth; it is reminiscent of the \( s \) in English sugar, or the \( sh \) in short.

\( \text{phá} \) destroy, \( xe \) vehicle, \( sō \) [sôw] HN [xôw] number, \( \text{khoai} \) [khwaj] potato

The lenis oral consonants in Saigon \( [v, th, r, l, g, h] \) are very noticeably more relaxed than their Hanoi counterparts. In addition there are a few other differences. Saigon \( [v] \) appears only before the semivowel \( [j] \) (4.22) and is itself palatalized in anticipation. Saigon \( [l] \) differs from its Hanoi counterpart in that it has approximately the vocalic coloring of \( [e] \) — that is, the front of the tongue is raised toward the roof of the mouth during its production—and the contact generally involves the blade against the alveolar ridge, rather than the tip. \( [r] \) is discussed in connection with \( [tr] \) below.

\( \text{vơ} \) [vjôj] HN [vôj] wife, \( \text{thu} \) [thuw] autumn, \( \text{lâm} \) act, \( gâ \) hen, chicken, \( hôm \) day

The initial cluster \( [vj] \) corresponds to Hanoi initial \( [v] \). Actually, this is a spelling pronunciation on the part of educated speakers in Saigon: the majority of the Saigonese (including many educated people) pronounce simply \( [j] \) in these forms. Some, then, add a \( [v] \) before the \( [j] \), knowing that the form is spelled with \( v \). There are a few who pronounce a \( [b] \) sound before \( [j] \) in the same forms; this sound is also lenis (quite unlike the sound heard in \( bài \) lesson).

The retroflex stop \( [tr] \) is formed by touching the under side of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge; it is usually slightly affricated—that is, released with a very short spirant. \( [r] \) has the same general position, but varies rather widely in manner—one hears interchangeably (sometimes in the speech of a single person) a flap or short trill, a voiced spirant (similar to the sound written \( z \) in English azure), or a combination of this spirant with a flap or trill. (Note that the position is similar to that of \( r \) in English run, but the concurrent lip rounding characteristic of
the English sound is lacking). Final [t, n] in a syllable immediately preceding [tr] have variants with the tongue tip touching the ridge, but only [n] is retroflexed in such cases.

\[ \text{trăng} \text{ HN [chăng]} \text{ be white, ít trata a small amount of tea (cf. HN ít chè), anh trà [ân trà] you pay (cf. HN anh giá [ânh zâ]), ra HN [za] go out} \]

4.22. The Vocalic System is similar in structure to that of Hanoi speech, but there are a number of differences in distribution (4.26), and the actual qualities of many vowels are noticeably different. Nearly all the vowels have more widely scattered variants—this fact accounts for a good share of the distinctive acoustic effect of Saigonese speech. Further, the two elements [ă, â] are paired together by two features—they are both relatively shorter than other vowels in comparable positions, and they are distinguished to a great extent by the presence (in [ă]) or absence (in [â]) of lip spreading. (This contrasts with the rest of the system where it is rather the presence or absence of lip rounding which is involved.)

With non-high tones (see 4.23) the vowel [a] has variants which are farther back than those occurring with high tones; with non-high tones other vowels have variants which are lower than those occurring with high tones.

\[ \text{ba three, bà grandmother, thi [thijective, thi [thij] then, cô [kôw] father’s sister, cô [kôw] be ancient, thù [thù] kind, sort, thú [thù] try out} \]

After initial [ch, j, nh] the vowels [i, u] have variants which are farther front than after other initial.

\[ \text{chi [chij] what(ever) [polite], di [dij] go, dip [jip] HN [zïp] [vehicle] spring, kip be urgent, nhu [nhu] similar to, tu [tui] fourth} \]

The vowels [i, ê] have central variants before [t, n]. (However, [i] is farther front after initial [ch, j, nh]; see above.)

\[ \text{ít be a small amount, in to print, chét to die, dên arrive} \]

Initially³ and after [th, ch, j, nh, h] before [p, k] the vowel [a] has variants which are very far front in the mouth and somewhat higher than in other positions.


Some occurrences of the vowel [â] are very difficult for English speakers to recognize: before final [j] there are variants which are central

³ Actually initial vowels are usually preceded by glottal stop, although smooth onset also occurs (see 4.25 end).
and somewhat higher than those which resemble the vowels in English *but, some*. The variation has two conditioning factors—the relative stress which accompanies the syllable and the initial which precedes the vowel. After labials [b, ph, v, m, w], laminals [ch, j, l, nh] and dorsals [kh, g, ng] (but not [k]) these central vowels occur, regardless of the relative stress; with medium and weak stress they occur after all initials.


Compare the following forms with heavy stress or other finals:


The vowel [á] has front variants before [k, ng], central vowels elsewhere; all are accompanied by strong lip spreading.


There are some other minute variations of Saigonese vowels, but their distributions are complex: it does not seem pertinent to cover them here.⁴

Final [w, j, y, ă] are as in Hanoi, except that there are some differences in distribution (cf. 4.26).


Prevocalic [w] is different in that it is not preceded by glottal stop in syllable initial; there are also some differences in its distribution in initial clusters (cf. 4.26). And in Saigon [j] occurs before vowels, replacing Hanoi [z] (written d- gi-): it is much like the y in English *yes, yacht*, although tenser than most pronunciations of this sound. It also occurs in the initial cluster [vj] (see above).


### 4.23. The Tone System

Involves three levels of pitch (high, mid, low) and rising and falling contours (with a few level contours as variants). There are five tones: as everywhere else in central and southern Viet Nam, the *hội* and *ngã* tones of the official orthography are pronounced alike.

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⁴ For further details on these and other features of Saigon phonology see Thompson 1959.
Very similar to their Hanoi counterparts are high rising (sắc) and low trailing (huyền) tones.

má cheek, mà but, ốc [áwk] snail, làng village

The fused hỏi-ngã tone has a long rising contour beginning in low mid range and rising sometimes as high as sắc tone, sometimes somewhat lower (depending on relative stress and intonation). With weak stress it is quicker and has a much sharper rise. (It is represented in transcriptions of pronunciation by the tilde ~.)


The nãng tone is quite low (although not so low as huyền most of the time) and is level with syllables ending in [p, t, k]; with other syllables (which all end in glottal stop) it dips slightly, then rises. However, with weak stress all syllables are level. The level contour gives a kind of “monotonous” acoustic impression.


The ngang tone (unmarked) has several variants depending on relative stress and intonation and the position of the syllable in the pause group. Within a pause group (that is, not accompanying the final syllable) it is level with medium or weak stress and about one fifth of the way down from the top of the speaker’s normal talking voice range. With heavy stress it starts a little higher and falls back to this level. With the final syllable of a pause group it has the same variants with decreasing intonation, but with fading intonation it begins lower, and with heavy stress falls to the bottom of the voice range; with medium or weak stress it falls somewhat below mid range. (In the latter case it is difficult to tell precisely what happens because the voicing fades so rapidly.) With sustaining intonation it starts a little higher, falls a short way and is maintained a short time at that level. With increasing contour it starts quite high and falls abruptly to the bottom of the voice range.

Khi nào ông đi, ... [khij năw âwng ′dí...:] Whenever you go, ...
Khi nào tôi đi, ... [khij năw ′tŏj ′dí ...:] Whenever I go, ...
Tôi không đi. [tŏj khâwng ′dí:] I’m not going.
Ông có biết không? [âwng 9kâ ′bîhk! khâwng.] Do you know (or just surmise)?
Di không? [dí ′khâwng?] Are [you] going [or not]?
Tôi không đi! [tŏj khâwng ′dí!] I’m not going!
4.24. **Stresses and Intonations** are very similar to their Hanoi counterparts (cf. 2.72-3). However, the variants of tonal contours which go with the various intonations are somewhat different for the unmarked tone (cf. 4.23 end). A noticeable difference in stressing habits in Saigon speech may be described impressionistically: there seems to be generally a much more pronounced difference in intensity or loudness between heavy and medium stresses; and weak stress is accompanied by very short syllables. This gives the typical conversational language a much more syncopated rhythmic impression than Hanoi speech.

It is convenient to mention one distributional feature here: syllables ending in [o] with medium or heavy stress are replaced by syllables ending in [â] under weak stress. (Aside from a few marginal exclamatory forms this is the only occurrence of final [â].)

\[ Dē tôi làm cho. \] [dē tôj lām 'cho.] Let me do it (for someone else).

\[ Dē tôi làm cho ông. \] [dēj tôj lām 'châ âwng.] Let me do it for you.

4.25. **Initials** are shown in Table 3, which may be compared with the Hanoi initials shown in 2.81 (Table 6). The clusters [vj, kw] seem obviously secondary introductions into the system based on knowledge of the spelling of the words involved; less educated speakers have simply [j, w] in these forms, and educated speakers, too, often use them in less careful speech. The [hw] of Hanoi is replaced by [w] in Saigon. None of the learned forms suggesting [nw-] (2.81) were recorded for this dialect. As in Hanoi, [gw-] is represented by the single form góa be widowed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Saigon Initials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivocalic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


ba three, dên arrive, đôn [dwâng] HN [dwán] to guess


---

5 Thompson 1959 posits four degrees of relative stress. I now think that for Saigonese speech, as for Hanoi, there are only three distinctions. What I earlier called extra-loud stress is an extra-loud variant of heavy stress accompanying increasing intonation.
vùa [(v)jùa] HN [vùa] to fit, suit, thò [thòŋ] to worship,
Mỹ [mīj] America, nũi [nũj] mountain, nhó [nhōj] remember,

Syllables which begin with none of these initials have either a direct vowel onset or a glottal stop, in free variation; this is different from the Hanoi habit, where glottal stop seems always to be present.
ai [aj] who(ever), vọt [u̯âk] be wet, em younger sibling

4.26. Nuclei follow patterns similar to those of Hanoi (2.82). Simple nuclei consist of one of the vowels [e, o, a].
nhê be light [weight], ho (extended) family, clan, ma rice seeding

Two-element nuclei are shown in Table 4, which may be compared with Table 7 in 2.82.

**Table 4. Two-Element Nuclei**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ə</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>ng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ij</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>iə</td>
<td>ip</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>êj</td>
<td>êw</td>
<td>êə</td>
<td>êp</td>
<td>êm</td>
<td>êt</td>
<td>ên</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uj</td>
<td>uw</td>
<td>uə</td>
<td>õp</td>
<td>om</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>õ</td>
<td>õj</td>
<td>õw</td>
<td>õə</td>
<td>õp</td>
<td>ôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ep</td>
<td>em</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ek)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>op</td>
<td>om</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aj</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td></td>
<td>ap</td>
<td>am</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ă</td>
<td>ăj</td>
<td>ăw</td>
<td></td>
<td>āp</td>
<td>ām</td>
<td>āt</td>
<td>ān</td>
<td>āk</td>
<td>āng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āj</td>
<td>āw</td>
<td></td>
<td>āp</td>
<td>ām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i:  di [dij] go, riu-rít [riw rít] to chatter, chirp, chia [chiₐ] to divide, kíp be urgent, lim [lim] ironwood, ít be a small amount, in to print, ích [it] be useful, lĩnh [lin] soldier  
è:  dè [dē] put, place, nêu [nēw] if, bèp kitchen, dem night, hét be used up, đen arrive, ếch [ēt] frog, lênh-bênh [lēn-bèn] [life] is unstable 
o:  mòi [mòj] invite, nóu [nòw] alveolar ridge*, mo [mû] to dream, lợp class, sãom be early, ót [òk] pepper, pimento, sơn [song] to paint  
ô:  tói [tój] I, cõ [kòw] father’s sister, hôp box, hôm day, môt [mók] one, bôn [bông] four  
e:  mêo [mèw] cat, dêp be beautiful, dem to carry, eng éc [eăng ēk] [onomatopoetic: squealing of pig]  

Three-element nuclei end in [k, ng] preceded by one of the sequences [iₐ, urₐ, uₐ, eₐ, âw, âw]. They are shown in Table 5, which may be compared with Table 8, in 2.82. Of these diphthongs, note that [eₐ, âw] occur only in these combinations.

* Not found in Hanoi colloquial usage.
Table 5. Saigon Three-Element Nuclei

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthong</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>ng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iâ</td>
<td>iâk</td>
<td>iâng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uâ</td>
<td>uâk</td>
<td>uâng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uâ</td>
<td>uâk</td>
<td>uâng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eâ</td>
<td>eâk</td>
<td>eâng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âw</td>
<td>âwk</td>
<td>âwng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âw</td>
<td>âwk</td>
<td>âwng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

âw: học [hâwk] to study, ong [âwng] bee
âw: ôc [âwk] snail, ông [âwng] grandfather

A number of the three-element nuclei implied in the orthography (and heard in Hanoi speech) appear simplified to two-element nuclei in Saigon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography Hanoi</th>
<th>Saigon</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hiêu</td>
<td>hiêw</td>
<td>understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiêp</td>
<td>típ</td>
<td>continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tim kiêm</td>
<td>tim kîm</td>
<td>to search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngôrêi</td>
<td>ngûrêj</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruôrû</td>
<td>rrûw</td>
<td>alcoholic beverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wôp</td>
<td>[ûp]</td>
<td>to scent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luôm</td>
<td>lilûm</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuôî</td>
<td>[tûj]</td>
<td>years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buôm</td>
<td>[bûm]</td>
<td>[ship’s] sail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two-element nucleus [øj] is replaced in some individuals’ speech by the three-element nucleus [oâj].

hôi [hôj, hôâj] ask a question, nói [nôj, nôâj] speak
4.27. Saigon Phonemics (Notes for Linguists). We may review here salient features of the structural analysis of Saigonese phonology presented in detail in Thompson 1959. As in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.15), this more systematic description was not chosen for the purpose at hand because its relationship to the standard writing system involves some confusing complexities for the non-linguist.

As in the Hanoi system, glottal stop appears as a phonemic entity, and preglottalized [b, d] are recognized as allophones of /p, t/, respectively, following initial [ʔ]. Although initial [w] is not distinguished from [v] by being preglottalized, the fact that [v] occurs only before [j], where [w] does not appear, places them together in a /w/ phoneme, as in Hanoi speech. (For those speakers who have a lenis stop before [j] this [b] clearly belongs to the /w/ phoneme, in place of the [v] just discussed). The semivowel [j] is seen to fill the empty position in the laminal column, and [y, â] may be interpreted as allophones of /g, h/ respectively, as in the northern dialect.

The tone system allows for little reinterpretation: glottal stop is connected only with năng tone, and the contour is not sufficiently similar to any other tone to suggest any phonemic identity.

Table 6 shows the results of this reanalysis, arranged so as to be comparable with earlier charts (cf. 2.15, 4,21).

**Table 6. Phonemic Reinterpretation of Saigonese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>VOCALICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p, t, tr, ch, k, ṭ</td>
<td>j, g, w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭp, ṭt</td>
<td>i, ŭ, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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**Explanation of Certain Combinations**

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4.3. Dialectal Correspondences are summarized in the charts on the following pages. The charts are arranged in alphabetical order for the key elements cited in the standard orthography with pronunciations for the
major dialects discussed in 4.1. Letter cues refer to notes at end of each table.

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**NOTES**

<sup>a</sup> Before -<i>, g = gi-.</n

<sup>b</sup> Does not occur before [w].

<sup>c</sup> The correspondence of HN [z-] (written gi-) to [tr-] (written tr-) elsewhere characterizes only certain words: for a further discussion of this, see Maspéro 1912. Some less extensive special correspondences e. g., [l-: nh-] are not included in these charts because their local distributions are not documented.
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**NOTES**

a After [w].

b After [ch, nh, w].

c Problematic in Đà-nẵng phonology; cf. 4.14 end. The notations [wk, wng] mean double closure (labial and dorsal), as opposed to simple dorsal closure [k, ng], for this dialect.

d Problematic in Huế phonology; cf. 4.13 end. Question marks indicate guesses based on the material available.

e No [w] after the initials [t, d, x, th, tr, s, ch, j, l, nh, kh].
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<th><strong>HANOI</strong></th>
<th><strong>VINH</strong></th>
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<th><strong>SAIGON AND TRA-VINH</strong></th>
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<td>Ngång</td>
<td>High trailing</td>
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<td>High rising (glottal stricture)</td>
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<td>Năng</td>
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<td>Low level</td>
<td>Low level or dipping (glottal stricture)</td>
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<td>Low level or dipping (stop final)</td>
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* Tones are characterized here on the basis of their variants occurring in isolated (citation) forms.
** Citation forms usually have high falling contour; occasional trailing (or even level) contour is probably an idealization of the tone, which is traditionally described as level.
CHAPTER 5

Grammatical Structure

5.1. Morphemes. Any utterance in a language may be divided into component parts, each of which carries an identifiable meaning recognizable as contributing to the meaning of the whole. Each of these parts, provided that it contains no smaller meaningful bits which contribute to the over-all meaning, is a morph. Every morph belongs to a morpheme—the class of all morphs having precisely the same meaning. Some morphs belonging to a particular morpheme sound alike, others sound different. Those which sound alike constitute a subclass called an allomorph. Different allomorphs of the same morpheme never contrast with one another: where one is found, others will never occur and vice versa.

For example, consider these English sentences:

The child played.
The child slept.

These sentences contain the morphs (minimum meaningful units) the, child, play, -ed, the, child, slept, and -t. None of these can be divided any further into meaningful units. Of these there are some which sound alike and have the same meaning: the and the, child and child. Play and slept have different meanings and belong to different morphemes. But -ed and -t, although they sound different, are recognized as belonging to the same morpheme, which means something like ‘past action.’ Each belongs to a different allomorph of that morpheme: -ed recurs in prayed, -t recurs in crept, but -ed is never found with slept or crept, and -t is never found after play or pray. Slept represents one allomorph of a morpheme which shows a different sounding member sleep in The child sleeps. Here again sleep appears before -s but not before -t, while slept precedes -t but not -s. This is called complementary (noncontrastive) distribution.

Vietnamese has a variety of morphs of the sort we have identified in English sleep, slept, -ed, -t, the, and so forth. They consist of consonants,
vocalics, and tones. In addition there are other meaningful elements which accompany them in sentences—the intonational elements, or features of phrase rhythm and melody. Technically, in the opinion of many linguists, these elements should also be analyzed as morphs belonging to special morphemes, but the technicalities need not concern us here. It is simpler to treat them as occurrences of stresses (2.72) and intonations (2.73) accompanying syllables which make up the vast majority of morphs. They single out certain elements for special attention and convey notions about the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying. Their functions in these connections are discussed in 5.2-3.

Usually in speaking about the composition of larger linguistic forms it is convenient to say that morphemes occur. Strictly speaking, on any one occasion only a morph occurs; this morph represents some morpheme. In the following discussion, however, the convention is adopted that morphs and allomorphs will be mentioned only where specifically pertinent to the matter at hand, otherwise the term morpheme will be used.

The overwhelming majority of Vietnamese morphemes are composed of allomorphs precisely one syllable long. It is for this reason that Vietnamese has often been described as a "monosyllabic" language. However, there are in addition some morphemes with allomorphs comprising less than a syllable, and others with allomorphs of two or three syllables.¹

Less than a syllable: d- (with first register tones) 'relative location' in d-ây 'here'
-ây (with even tones) 'near speaker' in d-ây 'here'
'just mentioned' in bâ (S) 'lady just mentioned, she' (cf. bà lady)

One syllable: sóm early, di go, có exist, ghe chair, tôi I
Two syllables: thình-linh sudden, Sái-gòn Saigon, va-li suitcase
Three syllables: Thủ-dâu-môt (town approximately 30 km north of Saigon), com-mi-nit (S) communist

5.2. Stresses (2.72) denote three degrees of emphasis, varying from very great to very little. Each syllable is accompanied by one stress. In cases where stress is pertinent to the discussion in this book it is marked by the symbols described in 2.72.

5.21. Degrees of Emphasis. Heavy stress singles out the syllable or syllables of each pause group which carry the heaviest burden of convey-

¹ For a more detailed discussion of this matter see Thompson 1963. Unfamiliar terms in the following examples are explained in 7.12.
ing information. **Weak stress** accompanies syllables which bear the lowest information conveying load in the pause group. They often refer to things which have been brought up earlier or which are expectable in the general context. Other syllables are accompanied by **medium stress**.

9Tôi **không** biế.t. I don’t know. [“I not know”]

9Không **biế.t!** Don’t know! (i.e., ‘stop asking me.’) [“not know”]

9Nói phải có người nói ‘di nói’ bất 0người 0ta ‘nói’ 0một mình ‘hoài!’ For a conversation [you] ought to have people talking back and forth, not make somebody talk alone all the time! [“speak ought exist person speak go speak come prohibit constrain someone (người ta) speak alone (một mình) continually”]

5.22. **Emphatic Patterning.** In noncontrastive situations, heavy stress typically accompanies a particular kind of element in each pause group. Certain other elements regularly have weak stress, the remainder, medium stress. This distribution of stresses constitutes the emphatic patterning of the pause group. Since emphatic patterning can only be described in terms of the elements which stresses accompany—elements which have not yet themselves been described—a detailed description must be delayed. Certain individual features of the system are discussed in connection with other items of the grammatical structure (Chapters 6-11); the over-all system itself is treated in 12.5.

5.3. **Intonations** (2.73) convey certain general attitudes of speakers toward what they are saying. The majority of syllables are accompanied by **decreasing intonation**, which signals primarily that the speaker intends to continue. It is basically distinctive only in contrast with other intonations, which for the most part accompany only final syllables in pause groups. The latter are **terminal intonations**.

5.31. **Decreasing Intonation** accompanies syllables which are not singled out for attention in intonational terms. A pause group ending with this intonation conveys the notion that the speaker has not completed his speech. At the end of an utterance it may mean that he has been interrupted by some thought or external stimulus; or simply that he is leaving something unsaid. Internally in an utterance it signals that the sentence continues in the following pause group. Pause groups ending with decreasing intonation are sometimes symbolized in print by a comma (,) at the end, and occasionally by a sequence of three periods (...).²

²This symbol also has other meanings; cf. 3.54.
5.31—5.33

Tôi 'đến nhà, mà tôi mở cửa 'ra, tôi 'vô. (S) I arrived at the house, my mother opened the door, and I went in. ["I arrive house, mother I open door exit, I enter"]

Nếu tôi không 'đi được ... If I can't go ... ["If I not go successfully"]

5.32. Increasing Intonation (spread tone) occurs occasionally with medial syllables, although it is more common with final syllables. Within a pause group it singles out a form which the speaker wishes to emphasize particularly, often in a contrastive way. It is sometimes suggested in printed texts by italicization or in writing by underlining or some other such device, but it is mainly a feature of conversation or expressive reading which goes unmarked in the written language.

Ông có 'biết không? Do you know (or just surmise)? ["gentleman exist know! not"]
Accompanying final syllables it signals a lack of concern for or a certain detachment from the result of the speech. It includes exclamative statements and commands, and questions to which the answer is of relatively small interest to the speaker. It is occasionally symbolized in the written language by an exclamation point (!); however, many sentences followed by a period or question mark might well be spoken with this intonation.

Tôi không 'đi! I'm not going! ["I not go!"]

Chúng nào có 'vợ làm cho 'người ta 'hay! (S) When you get married, let people know! (slightly annoyed) ["point-in-time whichever give-marriage-gifts-for wife act give someone (người ta) find-out!"]

Ông đi 'không! Are you going or not! ["gentleman go not!"]

Mường Hội 'về chuyển 'gi! What did you want to ask about? (I'm so tired of asking that I don't really care.) ["wish ask concerning conversation-topic whatever!"]

5.33. Fading Intonation (lowered tone) accompanies the final syllable (occasionally two or more syllables) of a pause group. It signals that the speaker assumes a certain result from his speech—that the hearer will react in a certain way. It includes commands, statements of fact which the speaker assumes the hearer will accept as true, and questions to which the speaker assumes the answer. In print the large majority of occurrences of the period (.) suggest this intonation. However, many questions (written or printed with question marks at the end) are spoken with this intonation.

Ông cho tôi 'coi. (S) Let me see. ["gentleman give I inspect."]
Tội đi Sài-gòn. I’m going to Saigon. [“I go Saigon.”]
Ông có biết không? Do you know? (assumes negative reply: i.e.,
‘I realize you suspect, but can you be certain?’) [“gentleman
exist know! not.”]

5.34. Sustaining Intonation (raised tone) accompanies the final syllable (occasionally two or more syllables) of a pause group. It signals that the speaker is unable or for some other reason fails to predict the result of his speech. It includes doubtful statements, emotionally colored and indecisive imperatives and exhortations, and informational questions. Questions are generally symbolized by the question mark (?); indecisive or doubtful statements are also occasionally so indicated. Other sentences of this sort are generally printed with a period at the end.

Chỉnh nào ông đi Sài-gòn? When are you going to Saigon? [“point-
in-time whichever gentleman go Saigon?”]

Tôi muốn hỏi ông. I’d like to ask you a question. (doubtful as to
whether the hearer is agreeable) [“I wish ask gentleman?”]

*Nói chuyện đi. Go ahead and talk! (impatient) [“speak conversation-topic go?”]

5.35. Other Intonational Features. Vietnamese speakers also make use of more exaggerated devices—as do speakers of most linguistic communities—for conveying a variety of emotional attitudes. Most common is the use of a generally higher level of pitch for an utterance—the entire range is raised. Several such successive levels may be observed in many speakers; it appears that the higher the pitch range of an utterance, the more emotional intensity is conveyed. None of these features is represented in any way in the written language. A detailed study of these phenomena remains to be accomplished.

A colorful device which is frequently heard in colloquial usage consists of the repetition of a key form in a very high register (and prolonged a good deal) immediately after its first occurrence, followed in turn by a second repetition in normal register.

Con ‘chó ạ, ‘to, ‘to! [very high pitch] ‘to. That dog’s big—oh, so
big! [“animal dog just-mentioned large large! large.”]

5.4. Constituent Analysis. Every utterance in any language may be analyzed into component parts. One type of analysis is extremely helpful in understanding the structure of utterances: it is the analysis into two or more parts which balance one another in the makeup of the whole. Each of these parts may then be subjected to similar analysis, and so on until the
level of single morphemes is reached and no further divisions can be made. The parts of a given section of an utterance in such an analysis are the **immediate constituents** of that section. For example, in the English sentence *John's brother is playing tennis* the immediate constituents are *John's brother* and *is playing tennis*. In turn, the immediate constituents of *John's brother* are *John's* and *brother*, and those of *is playing tennis* are *is playing* and *tennis*. *John's* has the immediate constituents *John* and *'s*; *is playing* has *is* and *playing*, and *playing* in turn is composed of *play* and *-ing*. Thus the sentence has been divided into immediate constituents in successive steps until only indivisible morphemes remain; these are the **ultimate constituents**. (For a native speaker of a language or for a linguist who knows the language well, division into immediate constituents seems relatively simple and straightforward in a majority of cases. They recognize intuitively that the analysis *John's plus brother is playing tennis* and *John's brother is plus playing tennis* are not as valid as the analysis *John's brother plus is playing tennis*. This intuition really represents a deep sense of the structure of the language. There are, of course, cases where it is difficult to choose between two or more apparently equally acceptable divisions. For a more detailed discussion of the subject and rigorous techniques for the application of the theory, see Hockett 1958, Chapter 17; and Wells 1947.)

All items isolated in this type of analysis are **constituents** of the passage in question. Constituents consisting of more than one word (5.53) are **phrases**.

In any passage of more than two forms there are sequences which, although they involve items in the order in which they occur in the passage at hand, are not constituents of that passage. For example, in the English sentence just analyzed such sequences as *is play-*, *'s brother*, *-ing tennis* are obviously not constituents; in the same way *John's brother is* is not a constituent of this sentence. *Playing tennis* is not a constituent of this sentence, although the identical sequence in the sentence *Playing tennis is fun* would be a constituent. In other words, a constituent of a given passage is one of the immediate constituents of the next larger constituent of that passage.

From the point of view of a particular constituent, the larger phrase of which it is one immediate constituent is its **constitute**, and each of the other immediate constituents is a **partner**. In the example cited in the preceding paragraph *John's brother* is one of the immediate constituents of the constitute *John's brother is playing tennis*, and *is playing tennis* is its partner. Similarly, *is playing* and *tennis* are the partner immediate constituents of the constitute *is playing tennis*. 

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5.41. **Sentences.** In spoken Vietnamese sentences are set off from one another by terminal intonations. The first sentence begins after silence on the part of a particular speaker and ends with the first terminal intonation. The next sentence begins immediately after this terminal intonation and ends with the next terminal intonation, and so on. In printed material, of course, sentences are marked with a capital letter at the beginning, and a period, question mark, or exclamation point at the end (3.54).

In immediate constituent analysis, intonations and stresses are isolated first, leaving the balance of the sentence. Since this part of the analysis does not add anything to the discussion of individual sentence analyses, it is presumed to have been already accomplished in the detailed discussions below.³

**Responsive utterances** are those in which a speaker responds to something in a directly preceding utterance by another speaker; speeches which are not thus characterized are **independent utterances.** Sentences which occur in at least some environments as opening sentences in independent utterances are **independent**; other sentences (that is, those occurring only as second or later sentences in utterances or as opening sentences in responsive utterances) are **dependent.** It is useful to make these distinctions in order to provide a firm basis for defining various sentence types. Certain constructions form independent sentences; others do not.

5.42. **Models.** The syntactic structure of any language is observable as a relatively small number of patterns in each of which the elements (although consisting of infinitely varied morpheme sequences) bear the same basic relationship to one another. Longer sequences are seen to have the same function as far shorter sequences—that is, a longer sequence bears the same relationship to its immediate constituent partner as a shorter sequence in the same position. This is conveniently described by saying that the shorter sequence is the **model**⁴ of the longer one, and that the longer one is an **expansion** of the shorter one. For example, in the English sentence analyzed in 5.4 (*John's brother is playing tennis*) a model for *John's brother is Jim*, as in *Jim is playing tennis*. Similarly, a model for *is playing tennis* is *works*, as *John's brother works*. Conversely, *John's brother* and *is playing tennis* are expansions respectively of *Jim* and *works*.

Often in Vietnamese one of the immediate constituents of a particular constitute is a model of that constitute. Such a constitute is a **nuclear**

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³ A similar preliminary analysis was likewise omitted from the English examples above.

⁴ This is a different use of the term 'model' from that in Wells 1947, although it is derived from the concept involved there.
model, provided that the referential relationship remains the same when
the model is substituted for its constituent in the context. To state it some-
what differently, a nuclear model is an immediate constituent which can
replace its constituent in the larger context, maintaining the same basic
grammatical and referential relationship to that context. Sometimes a con-
stitute has more than one nuclear model. The method of analysis into con-
stituents is illustrated in the following example.

Ngày xưa có người hiếu-loi, một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chiều phiên vui
dòng người đến buôn bán vừa lấm đó hàng. Once upon a time there
was a greedy person, [who] one day went out [into] the market
place on the day of a fair [when there were] both a great many
people who had come to do business and a great deal of mer-
chandise.

This sentence consists of the two immediate constituents Ngày xưa
có người hiếu-loi plus một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chiều phiên vui dòng người
dến buôn bán vừa lấm đó hàng. The first is a (nuclear) model of the sen-
tence as a whole, since it could replace the entire sentence in this con-
text—the beginning of a story.

Ngày xưa có người hiếu-loi is itself a constitute containing the imme-
diate constituents ngày xưa ‘days of old’ and có người hiếu-loi ‘there was
a greedy person.’ The second is a model, but its partner is not. The sen-
tence containing only this second element in this position occurs else-
where with the same relationship of parts: Có người hiếu-loi, một hôm ra
chợ ... (etc.) ‘There was a greedy person, [who] one day went out [into]
the market place ...’ The other constituent, ngày xưa, also occurs in this
position with the partner, but the relationship of the two parts is different:
Ngày xưa một hôm ra chợ... ‘once upon a time [someone] one day went
out [into] the market place ...’ Ngày xưa is analyzed into ngày plus xưa,
with the model xưa: this analysis is based on the existence of the consti-
tute xưa có người hiếu-loi ‘In former times there was a greedy person’ with
the same interrelationship of parts. Ngày ‘day’, however, does not occur
in this position.

The immediate constituents of có người hiếu-loi are có ‘exist’ and
người hiếu-loi ‘greedy person’; có is a model of the constitute: in the
phrase ngày xưa có ‘once upon a time there was’ the same basic relation-
ship of parts is preserved. (Such a constitute is possible as a whole sen-
tence, for example, in answer to another speaker’s question ‘Do you sup-
pose there ever was such a greedy person?’) Người hiếu-loi, however, is

5 In practical terms the analyst need not go through a large amount of material to find
such constitutes. He may simply ask an informant—a native speaker of the language—
whether a given constitute is possible.
not a model of this constitute; it does not occur with this same relationship to ngày xua. Nguời hiếu-loi itself contains the model người ‘person’ and hiếu-loi ‘greedy’ (not a model). Hiếu-loi is composed of hiếu ‘be fond of’ and lợi ‘profit’; neither is a model, since neither combines with người in this sort of constitute.

In the remainder of the sentence, which is itself not a nuclear model of the whole sentence, the first division is into một hôm ra chợ ‘one day went out [into] the market place’ and gặp ngày chợ phiên việc đông người đến buôn bán vèa làm đồ hàng ‘met with the day of a fair [when there were] both a great many people who had come to do business and a great deal of merchandise’, each of which is a model of the over-all constitute.

Một hôm ra chợ consists of một hôm ‘one day’ and ra chợ ‘went out [into] the market place’, and the latter is a model. Ra chợ has the model ra ‘go out’. Một hôm has the immediate constituents một ‘one’ and hôm ‘day’, neither of which is a model.

The balance of the sentence consists of gặp ngày chợ phiên ‘ran into a fair day’ (a model) and the rest of the phrase, which is not a model. The first phrase has the model gặp ‘meet up with’ and the non-model ngày chợ phiên ‘day of a fair’. Ngày ‘day’ is a model of its constitute; its partner, also a model, is further analyzable into chợ ‘market(place)’ and phiên ‘a turn in orderly succession’ (both models). (Chợ phiên refers to the fair which takes place at regular intervals at a particular market.)

Vèa đông người đến buôn bán vèa làm đồ hàng ‘both crowds of people arriving to do business and lots of merchandise’ has three immediate constituents: the correlative vèa ... vèa ‘both ... and’ (not a model), đông người đến buôn bán ‘teeming [crowds of] people arriving to do business’, and làm đồ hàng ‘many things and merchandise’ (both models). Đông người ‘teeming [crowds of] people’ is a model, while its partner đến buôn bán ‘arriving to do business’ is not. The former contains đông ‘be in crowds’ (not a model) and the model người ‘person’. Đến buôn bán ‘arrive to do business’ contains the models đến ‘arrive’ and buôn bán ‘do business’ (in which buôn ‘buy [for reselling]’ and bán ‘sell’ are both models). Finally, làm đồ hàng contains làm ‘much, many’ (not a model) and đồ hàng (a model), the latter containing đồ ‘thing’ and hàng ‘goods, merchandise’ (both models).

Some constituents are discontinuous; that is, they are in two or more parts which are separated by part or all of other constituents. In the example above the correlative vèa ... vèa ‘both ... and’ is such a discontinuous constituent.

⁶The translation of parts of the sentence under study are intended to point up the relationships of the parts. There are therefore some minor differences from the somewhat freer translation given earlier of the sentence as a whole.
Some constituents are models of their constitutes, others are not. It is
typical that constitutes which are themselves models nearly always are
analyzable into immediate constituents at least one of which is a nuclear
model. Non-models are frequently not so analyzable.

5.43. Heads and Complements. Nuclear models of those constitutes
which are themselves either nuclear models or complete sentences are
called heads. Non-model partners of heads are called complements. The
analysis of the sentence of 5.42 is repeated below in schematic form with
(nuclear) models, heads, and complements labeled.

Ngày xưa có người hiếu-loi (model, head)
   ngày xưa (complement)
   ngày 'day'
   xưa 'in former times' (model)
có người hiếu-loi (model, head)
   có 'exist' (model, head)
người hiếu-loi (complement)
   người 'person' (model)
hìeu-loi 'be greedy'
   hiếu 'be fond of'
   loi 'profit'
một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa đồng người đến bán vừa vừa
làm đồ hàng (complement)
   một hôm ra chợ (model)
   một hôm (complement)
   một 'one'
   hôm 'day'
ra chợ (model, head)
   ra 'go out' (model, head)
chợ 'market (place)' (complement)
gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa đồng người đến bán vừa vừa làm đồ hàng
   (model)
   gặp ngày chợ phiên (model, head)
   gặp 'meet [with]' (model, head)
   ngày chợ phiên (complement)
   ngày 'day' (model)
   chợ phiên (model)
   chợ 'market (place)' (model, head)
   phiên 'a turn in orderly succession' (model, head)
   vừa đồng người đến bán vừa vừa làm đồ hàng (complement)
việc ... việc 'both ... and'
dòng người đến buồn bán (model)
dòng người (model, head)
dòng 'be in crowds' (complement)
người 'person' (model, head)
dến buồn bán (complement)
dến 'arrive' (model)
buồn bán (model)
buồn 'buy [for reselling]' (model, head)
bán 'sell' (model, head)
làm đó hàng (model)
làm 'many, profuse' (complement)
dở hàng (model, head)
dở 'thing, item' (model, head)
hàng 'merchandise' (model, head)

5.44. Analysis of Complement Constitutes. Complements often have no nuclear models among their immediate constituents (e.g., một hôm 'one day' in the phrase một hôm ra chợ 'went out into the market one day' analyzed in 5.42). It is similarly true that the nuclear model of a phrase serving as a complement is sometimes different from the nuclear model of the same phrase with the same meaning when it is itself a model. Consideration of a large number of sentences shows that the kinds of elements which occur as complements are extremely varied. Thus nuclear models of complement constitutes reveal considerably less about the structure than nuclear models of larger nuclear models. For this reason complement constitutes are more meaningfully analyzed the same way as identical phrases occurring themselves as nuclear models.

In the sentence analyzed in 5.42-43 the following constitutes (among others) were identified as complements: ngày xưa once upon a time, người hiếu-loi greedy person, một hôm one day, ngày chợ phiên fair day. Each of these occurs elsewhere as a head, as demonstrated in the following sample analyses.

Ngày xưa ấy có người hiếu-loi. In those days of old of which we have been speaking there was a greedy person.

ngày xưa ấy 'days of old just mentioned' (complement)
ngày xưa (model)
ngày 'day' (model, head)
xứa 'in former times' (complement)
ấy 'just mentioned'

In this example the difference in analysis is important as exemplary of the
general principle: ngày xưa as a complement has the nuclear model xưa, which occurs by itself in this complement position; but the expanded constitute ngày xưa ấy reveals a different analysis of its nuclear ngày xưa: here ngày is model, since ngày ấy 'the days just mentioned' occurs, while *sự ấy does not.\footnote{Here and elsewhere the asterisk (*) is used at the beginning of a form which does not occur.}

Có người hiểu lời ấy. [There] existed the greedy person referred to.

- có 'exist' (model, head)
- người hiểu lời ấy 'greedy person just mentioned' (complement)
  - người hiểu lời 'greedy person' (model)
  - người 'person' (model, head)
  - hiểu lời 'greedy' (complement)
- ấy 'just mentioned'

The analysis of the constitute người hiểu lời as a complement in the original sentence happens not to be different from its analysis as a nuclear model, demonstrated here.

Một hôm lạnh ra chợ. One cold day [he] went out [into] the market place.

- một hôm lạnh 'one cold day' (complement)
  - một hôm 'one day' (model)
  - một 'one' (complement)
  - hôm 'day' (model, head)
- lạnh 'be cold'
- ra chợ 'went out [into] the market place' (model, head)

This example clarifies the analysis of một hôm, unanalyzable in the original sentence.

By this extension of the nuclear model principle all parts of all sentences can be analyzed down to the word level; the analysis of complex words (such as hiểu lời 'greedy') is discussed in 5.55.

5.5. Morphology. While morphemes are the smallest isolable units which convey meaning (5.1) and are the ultimate constituents (5.4) of any sentence in the language, it is difficult or impossible to understand the structure of sentences as simple sequences of morphemes. It is necessary to identify larger units, themselves composed of morphemes, which appear in varying relationships to one another as constituents of sentences. These larger units are words: they are the minimum freely distributed units of which sentences are composed.

Traditionally each Vietnamese syllable has been regarded as a word. As a matter of fact, a great proportion of Vietnamese words—especially
those most current in the spoken language—are just one syllable long. The generalization is presumably to some extent based on this fact. Probably equally strong in the traditional attitude is another factor: Vietnamese was first written with symbols borrowed from the Chinese, and Chinese characters typically represent one syllable each and are traditionally considered to represent as well one word each.

However, it is not really accurate to say that each Vietnamese syllable is a word or each word a syllable. In the first place, there are quite obviously indivisible forms—morphemes—consisting of more than one syllable: **thinh-linh** 'sudden', **Sài-gòn** 'Saigon', **va-li** 'suitcase', **Thư-dâu-môt** (name of a town about 30 km north of Saigon), **com-mi-nít** (S) 'communist', and so forth. Secondly, a far greater number of morphemes (which themselves do consist of one syllable each) behave in quite a different way from most of the minimum forms which were isolated as ultimate constituents of the sentences analyzed in 5.4. And finally there are a great number of polysyllabic forms containing elements which are described by native speakers as having no meaning by themselves (that is, outside the combination at hand). It is then obviously necessary to define words in reference to something other than syllables. It is also important to recognize different types of morphemes in terms of their relative freedom of occurrence.

The study of the makeup of various kinds of words is **morphology**. **Syntax** (5.6) is the study of arrangements of words in phrases and sentences. The word thus furnishes the line of separation between these two major divisions of grammar: morphology concerns the grammatical relationships of elements below the word level; syntax concerns the grammatical relationships of elements at the word level and above.

### 5.51. Basic Free Forms

**Minimum pause groups** are the smallest bits of a normal conversational speech which occur by themselves, isolated by preceding and following pauses (although not necessarily constituting whole sentences). Each minimum pause group includes one stress (5.2) for each of its syllables and one or more intonations (5.3). Beside these intonational elements there is at least one (ordinary) morpheme (5.1). Any pause group containing more than one morpheme is minimum if none or only one of those morphemes occurs in other speeches as a (different) minimum pause group. Any constituent which occurs on some occasion as a minimum pause group is a **basic free form**.

'Đi. Go [ahead]. (e.g., said to a child who has asked permission to go somewhere)

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8 Any syllable, of course, can be pronounced by itself, but this citation of individual forms is not part of ordinary conversation. For the purposes of this definition such speech events are excluded.
5.51—5.53

*Cũng 'đi. [He] went, too. (e.g., in answer to a question such as 'What happened to him?')

*L iênc-hiếp quốc. The United Nations. (e.g., in answer to the question 'What agency sponsored the conference?')

*Quốc-gia. The [federal] government. (e.g., in answer to the question 'Do you work for the government or a private company?')

Each of these examples is a minimum pause group and each morpheme sequence is a basic free form. In the first example, di 'go' is a single morpheme. The second contains two morphemes, cùng 'likewise' and di 'go', but only di occurs elsewhere (e.g., in the first example) as a minimum pause group (i.e., as a basic free form); cùng is not found in this position. The third contains three morphemes, liên 'unite', hiêp 'join', and quốc 'nation', of which only hiêp occurs also as a basic free form. The immediate constituents (5.4) of the third example are liên-hiêp 'unite' and quốc 'nation.' Liên-hiêp occurs elsewhere as a basic free form. In quốc-gia neither quốc 'nation' nor gia 'household; establishment' occurs anywhere as a basic free form.

5.52. Morpheme Types. A morpheme which occurs either as a basic free form or (on at least some occasions) as the partner of an immediate constituent which is greater than a basic free form is a free morpheme. Other morphemes (those which do not occur either as basic free forms or as partners of immediate constituents greater than a basic free form) are bound morphemes (called restricted words in Emeneau 1951).

In the examples of 5.51, di 'go' and hiêp 'join' (which occur as basic free forms) and cùng 'likewise' (which occurs as partner of immediate constituents greater than a basic free form) are free morphemes. Cũng, for example, occurs in the constitute cùng nhu cha tôi 'like my father'; here the immediate constituents are cùng plus nhu cha tôi, and nhu cha tôi 'like my father' is larger than a basic free form, since it contains two morphemes (cha 'father' and tôi 'I') which occur themselves in other situations as basic free forms. Liên 'unite' and quốc 'nation' (which do not occur either as basic free forms or as partners of constituents larger than a basic free form) are bound morphemes.

5.53. Words. Single free morphemes (5.52) and basic free forms (5.51) containing no more than one free morpheme (or none at all) are words. That is, words are either (1) single free morphemes such as di 'go' or cùng 'likewise' in the examples of 5.51; or (2) basic free forms consisting entirely of bound morphemes, such as quốc-gia 'nation, country' (containing the bound morphemes quốc 'nation' and gia 'household; establishment'); or (3)
basic free forms containing one free element and one or more bound morphemes, such as liên-hiệp ‘unite’ (bound morpheme liên ‘unite’ and free morpheme hiệp ‘join’), Liên-hiệp quốc ‘United Nations’, or rô-rêt ‘be very clear, obvious’ (containing the free morpheme rô ‘be clear’ and a bound morpheme denoting intensification in the allomorph -rêt). Words of type (1) are simple, containing only one morpheme; those of types (2) and (3) are complex, containing more than one morpheme.

Words are independent, occurring as basic free forms (e.g., đi go, quốc-gia nation, country, liên-hiệp unite); and dependent, not occurring as basic free forms (e.g., cưng likewise). Dependent words in general are relatively few, and only a handful of complex dependent words have been identified. Independent words, on the other hand, are extremely numerous, both simple and complex. The large majority of words in the everyday spoken language are simple, whereas complex words more frequently belong rather to written or formal style.

5.54. Simple Words are largely monosyllabic, consisting of morphemes with monosyllabic allomorphs (5.1), but there are also many polysyllabic simple words.

Some disyllabic simple words are reduplicative—their two syllables are similar in sound. There are perfect reduplicative words, consisting of two identical syllables, and partial reduplicative words, containing similar (but not identical) syllables. Those in which the similarity of syllables consists of identical initial consonants or clusters are called alliterative. Those in which the similarity lies in the nucleus (vocalic, with final consonant, if any) are called riming. Reduplicative simple words appear exactly like reduplicative complex words (7.11).

Many reduplicative simple words have onomatopoetic meaning. Many nonreduplicative polysyllabic simple words are place names. Trisyllabic simple words include a few place names and some common words (mostly borrowings from foreign languages).

Monosyllabic simple words: đi go, cưng likewise, sớm early, có exist, ghế chair, tôi I

Disyllabic simple words, nonreduplicative: Sài-gòn Saigon, va-li suitcase

Disyllabic simple words, reduplicative: cac-cac cry of a duck (perfect); thinh-thoảng now and then, oái-oăm be complicated in a strange way (initial [w-]) (partial, alliterative); thinh-lình sudden, đối-mời marine tortoise (partial, riming)

Trisyllabic simple words: Thu-dâu-môt (a town approximately 30 km north of Saigon), com-mi-nít (S) communist
5.55. **Complex Words** contain one or more bound morphemes and one free morpheme (or none at all). Bound morphemes having only a single monosyllabic allomorph each (5.1) are **pseudo-bases**. Other bound morphemes (having multiple allomorphs or allomorphs shorter than one syllable) are **affixes**. Words containing pseudo-bases are **pseudo-compounds**. Words containing affixes are **derivatives**.

Pseudo-compounds resemble compounds and their pseudo-bases resemble the bases of compounds (5.56). They often contain only pseudo-bases, but there are also many forms containing one free morpheme. Pseudo-compounds are treated in detail in Chapter 6.

Examples containing only pseudo-bases: **quốc-gia** nation, country (*quốc* 'nation' and *gia* 'household; establishment'), **bình-an** be well, safe (*bình* 'be calm, peaceful' and *an* 'be assured, peaceful, safe'), **tác-giả** author (*tác* 'create something artistic' and *giả* 'one who accomplishes something').

Examples containing a free morpheme: **Mỹ-quốc** America (with free morpheme **Mỹ** 'America'), **bình-yên** be well, safe (with free morpheme **yên** 'be calm, quiet'), **học-giáo** scholar (with free morpheme **học** 'study').

With a few important exceptions derivatives contain an affix as one immediate constituent and as the other an element which appears elsewhere as a basic free form (i.e., is a word by itself). The latter is the base of the derivative. Bases are of various sorts, as the examples below demonstrate. A very few derivatives have no base; they consist of two affixes each. Derivatives are treated in detail in Chapter 7.

Baseless: **dây** 'here': **đ-** (with first register tones) 'relative location', **-ây** (with even tones) 'near speaker'

Free morpheme as base: **rở-rết** 'be very clear, obvious': **rở** 'be clear'

Compound as base: **bàn-ghé**, **bàn-ghiéc** (S) 'any old sort of furniture': **bàn-ghé** 'furniture'

Derivative as base: **sạch-nhách**, **sạch-nhé** 'be completely clean; all finished, exhausted': **sạch-nhách** id.

It is likely that there are derivatives having pseudo-compounds as bases, but no examples have been recorded.

5.56. **Compound Words.** In general a sequence of two or more free morphemes (5.52) constitutes a sequence of two or more words (5.53). However, there are borderline cases where such sequences appear to be more like complex words (5.55). Such sequences are called **compound words** or simply **compounds**. The formal characteristics of compounds are not entirely clear, and in many individual cases it is difficult to determine whether a morpheme sequence constitutes a compound or a phrase. However, compounds are generally distinguished from phrases on the basis of
the following factors: compounds have only two immediate constituents; they regularly have a heavier stress (5.2) accompanying their final constituent except in circumstances where both constituents have medium stress; they are always themselves constituents and do not correspond to expanded forms with either of their constituents complemented by another element. Phrases are not limited in any of these ways.

For example, the sequence người ṣ consists of two free morphemes người ‘person’ and ṣ ‘be located, reside [at a certain place]’. The sequence occurs sometimes as a phrase meaning ‘person located (or residing)’, sometimes as a compound meaning ‘servant’. The sequence is ambiguous in the following sentence: Nhà này không có người ṣ. It may mean either ‘There is no one living in this house’ or ‘There is no servant in this house.’ However, a comparable phrase occurs with người modified by the demonstrative nào: Nhà này không có người nào ṣ. ‘There is no one (at all) living in this house’. The analysis of the constituent người nào ṣ is clearly người nào plus ṣ, and người is the nuclear model of người nào: thus the relationship of người and ṣ is similar. No such possibility exists for the compound. A sentence meaning ‘There is no servant (at all) in this house’ occurs—Nhà này không có người ṣ nào—with the element người ṣ still a constituent, modified by nào.

Người ṣ nhà này ḻ ‘ban tôi’ is similarly ambiguous: it means either ‘The person living in this house is my friend’ or ‘The servant in this house is my friend.’ However, with weaker emphasis on ṣ than on người it is clear that the phrase—not the compound—is involved: Người ḻ nhà này ḻ ‘ban tôi. ‘The person (living) in this house is my friend.’

Like compounds in English and other languages, Vietnamese compounds frequently have meanings which are recognizable as related to the meanings of their constituents but appear to involve specialized relationships of the underlying elements. Sometimes the meaning of the compound seems extremely remote from that of its constituents: người ta ‘one, someone, people in general’ contains the elements người ‘person’ and ta ‘you and I’; it contrasts with a phrase meaning ‘our people.’

Compounds are treated in detail in Chapter 6.

5.57. Vietnamese Designations for Meaningful Elements. There are a number of native forms which are used to refer to wordlike units. Since the definition of “word” provided here is outside the tradition, there is naturally no Vietnamese expression which fits it exactly. The forms which do occur lack precision in other ways as well. It will be helpful to discuss the more common elements here.

The free morpheme chũ most often refers to a written or printed syllable—the unit appearing with a space preceding and following—although it some-
times refers to a longer sequence, the syllables of which are connected by hyphens. In some contexts it means a Chinese-type character, in others a letter of the romanized script or some other written symbol (the latter use presumably derived from the former). As a bound element in many literary forms and in a few common words there is the pseudo-base tự with a similar range of meanings. These forms refer fairly regularly to monosyllabic elements identified here as morphemes.

For reference to elements of the spoken language there are more forms in everyday use. The most common is the free morpheme tiếng, which in some contexts means simply ‘sound, noise’ and in others ‘language, spoken language, dialect’. It is also widely used to refer to individual syllables as units in the spoken language, and sometimes to groups of syllables having much the same characteristics as the words defined in 5.53. The free morpheme lời ‘word, words, expression, speech’ generally refers to elements constituting the whole or a part of a particular speech act. (It thus contrasts with tiếng, which refers to the abstract entity that recurs in various speech acts.) Corresponding pseudo-bases are ngôn ‘speech, (spoken) word’ and tự ‘word, expression, part of speech.’

In this connection it seems important to suggest that the student should attempt to define precisely for himself the sphere of reference of each Vietnamese morpheme—especially of each pseudo-base—he meets with. For example, compare tự-diện ‘dictionary (containing citations of words and expressions)’ and tự-diện ‘dictionary of monosyllabic morphemes (with Chinese characters).’

The vague status of definable words is reflected in the written language by considerable vacillation about the writing of polysyllabic items. In general, the following kinds of polysyllabic words are hyphenated (3.53): (a) Sino-Vietnamese forms (pseudo-compounds) which have not become so common that their origin has been generally forgotten; (b) derivatives (5.55) containing syllables which are meaningless as isolated elements; (c) derivatives with the connotation of attenuation (7.43); and (d) compounds denoting collectives (6.22). Many other compound and complex words are written simply as successive (apparently independent) syllables. Of them the Vietnamese speaker will often say something like Hai (ba ...) chử (tiếng) này đi với nhau. ‘These two (three ...) words go together.’

5.6. Syntax is the study of the arrangements of words in phrases and sentences (cf. 5.5 and 5.53). Constituent analysis (5.4) makes it possible to identify interrelationships of words occurring in groups in the flow of speech. Certain words are so severely limited in distribution that they
provide a guide to more intricate relationships of other words. By means of these guide words and the relationships revealed by constituent analysis, classes of words are established, each class containing all those words which have the same grammatical function. This type of analysis replaces the traditional Vietnamese system of “parts of speech,” which clearly rests on the grammatical structure of other languages (primarily French). Since the grammatical classes thus established are necessarily somewhat different from the traditional ones, the formal grounds on which they are based will be clearly stated so that the student can learn to identify and classify forms for himself.

5.61. Phrases and Constructions. Phrases are constituents consisting of more than one word (5.4, 5.53). From the point of view of their own make-up, phrases are, of course, always constitutes. Phrases containing quite different words are, however, often comparable in a more general way: their constituents are identifiable as the same kind and they occur in the same order. That is, phrases are analyzed as shown in 5.43-44 into constituents which are either heads or complements. Phrases which have the same arrangement of heads and complements are formed by the same construction type.

In the sentence analyzed in 5.42-44 the elements ngày xưa có người hiểu loi ‘once upon a time there was a greedy fellow’ and một hôm ra chợ ‘one day [he] went out [into] the market place’ are each phrases. They have in common the fact that they are each analyzed into two immediate constituents, the first of which is a complement, the second a head. This similarity demonstrates that they are formed by the same construction type.

A construction which forms phrases with more than one head is coordinating. Other constructions (forming phrases containing only one head each) are subordinating. There are also mixed constructions, which are basically coordinating (they form phrases containing more than one head) but which also have a complement. Subordinating constructions are restrictive, forming phrases with the order complement-head, and descriptive, forming phrases with the order head-complement. All Vietnamese syntactic relationships may be understood in terms of these different kinds of construction: coordinating (including mixed), restrictive, and descriptive.

The over-all sentence analyzed in 5.43 is formed by a descriptive construction—the first immediate constituent is the head, the rest is the complement: Ngày xưa có người hiểu lời plus một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa đồng người đến buôn bán vừa làm đồ hàng. ‘Once upon a time there was a greedy person, [who] one day went out into the market place on the day of a fair [when there were] both a great many people who
had come to do business and a great deal of merchandise.’ Application of
the kind of analysis described in 5.44 reveals that the sequence về dòng
người đến buôn bán về làm đồ hàng ‘both teeming (crowds of) people
arriving to do business and many items of merchandise’ is a mixed coordi-
nating phrase: it contains the two heads dòng người đến buôn bán and làm
dồ hàng, and the complement về ... về ‘both ... and’.

The same sentence furnishes several examples of restrictive phrases,
for example:

ngày xưa (complement) plus có người hiếu lợi (head) ‘once upon a
time there was a greedy person’
một hôm (complement) plus ra chợ (head) ‘one day went out [into]
the market place’
một (complement) plus hôm (head) ‘one day’

Similarly, it contains many descriptive phrases, for example:

có (head) plus người hiếu lợi (complement) ‘[there] existed a greedy
person’
ra (head) plus chợ (complement) ‘went out [into] the market place’
ngày (head) plus chợ phiên (complement) ‘day of a fair’

5.62. Centers. In the analysis of sentences into smaller and smaller
constituents it is often the case that successive layers involve the same
type of construction. The resulting appearance is that of nested elements,
each head containing a head and complement in the same order as the next
larger constitute. In such nested sequences, called complexes, the small-
est head (containing no smaller constituents arranged according to the
construction of the complex) is the center. In such a complex, comple-
ments are relatively outer or inner as they are isolated early or late in
immediate constituent analysis. The first isolated is outermost comple-
ment, the last innermost.

con chó nhỏ này ‘this small dog’ (descriptive complex)
con chó nhỏ (model)
con chó (model, head)
con ‘animal’ (model, head, center)
chó ‘dog’ (innermost complement)
nhỏ ‘be small’ (inner complement)
này ‘this’ (outermost complement)

sẽ không đi chợ ‘won’t go to market’ (restrictive complex)
sẽ ‘subsequently’ (outermost complement)
không đi chợ (model)
không ‘not’ (innermost complement)
di chợ (model, head, center)
di ‘go’ (model, head)
chợ ‘market (place)’ (complement)
5.63. Markers. There are words in Vietnamese which are always complements, never heads (5.43). Some of them are independent, others are dependent (5.53). A few of these are severely limited in distribution: they are called markers. As complements they are limited not only in relative position to their heads; they appear only with some of the forms which regularly occur as heads in the general construction type involved. In other words, with markers only certain types of words and phrases occur. With reference to markers, then, it is possible to subdivide the three basic construction types into subtypes.

5.64. Word Classes. It was observed in 5.44 that complements are extremely varied: they are in general more varied than heads. And of complements, descriptive (i.e., following) complements are considerably more varied than restrictive (i.e., preceding) complements. In fact, literally all kinds of phrases that can be identified by other criteria appear in some contexts as descriptive complements. (This, however, is not true of individual words—certain types of words do not appear as descriptive complements at all.) It is this extreme variety of descriptive complements that gives the language the appearance of permitting a great deal of freedom in the selection of items for syntactic combination. And it is probably this feature, coupled with the limited amount of morphology, which often leads native Vietnamese speakers to say that their language "has no grammar."

On the other hand, there are severe limitations on the types of elements which are found together in other syntactic relationships. These limitations (often signaled by markers, 5.63) form the basis for definition of word classes. In certain positions some words are found to occur, while others do not: all the words that occur there belong to the word class defined by that position. Those word classes which involve the severest limitations are the most helpful in making clear the syntactic structure of the language. Such classes are described in detail in Chapters 8-11.

5.65. Sentence Structure is describable in terms of the types of constructions by which the sentences and their constituents are formed. On this basis it is possible to discern several kinds of sentences and observe something about their typical parts (Chapter 12). Beyond this level certain statements can be made about the relationships of sentences to one another and to the general context. For the most part these considerations belong to the realm of style, some aspects of which are treated in Chapter 13. Some other aspects of the choice of words and expressions within sentences are discussed in Chapter 14.
CHAPTER 6

Compounds and Pseudo-Compounds

6.1. General. In a language like Vietnamese, which is strongly syntactic or isolating (as opposed to synthetic languages like Latin or Russian or even English), it is not surprising that the distinction between the word and the phrase is not as clear as in languages where word boundaries are usually unambiguous. Every language seems to have some troublesome borderline cases (in English, for example, are jack-in-the-pulpit and jack of all trades words or phrases?). Perhaps there seem to be more problems of this sort in Vietnamese because investigation of them has been so limited to date. The pattern which emerges is not too clear, and precise definitions are difficult to make. However, it seems useful to present the salient facts here with the warning that this aspect of the language invites a great deal more study.

Although compounds and pseudo-compounds are different in underlying structure (5.55-56), they have many important similarities. And the dividing line between the two can be only vaguely defined, since pseudo-bases tend to become free forms—that is, many of them come to be used more and more widely, eventually appearing as dependent or independent words (5.53). (This is one of the apparent directions of evolution which the language shows.) It is for these reasons that they are treated together.

6.2. Compounds are morpheme sequences with two immediate constituents generally occurring with a heavier stress on the second constituent and never appearing in any environment in expanded form with one of their elements complemented by an additional element (cf. 5.56).

One kind of compound is further marked phonologically: idiom compounds have weak stress with their first syllable in ordinary (noncontrastive) contexts. All other compounds fall into two general categories: syntactic compounds typically are paralleled by syntactic phrases
which contain the same elements in the same order; nonsyntactic compounds have no such parallel phrases.

Syntactic compounds very frequently have weak stress with their first base, while the phrases they parallel more often have medium stress. They are conveniently divided into two types on the basis of the parallel phrases: generalizing compounds, paralleling coordinate phrases (8.33, 9.65); and specializing compounds, paralleling descriptive phrases (8.34, 9.62).

Nonsyntactic compounds are divided into two types on the basis of their apparent internal structure: reinforcing compounds appear to contain two heads; attributive compounds resemble sequences with the order complement-head.

Compounds are perhaps the least understood elements of Vietnamese grammar. Further analysis may well reveal further subtypes or a different basis for classification. It is expected that a deeper study of the stress system may clarify some of the points now in doubt. Details of the classes outlined here are presented in the following sections.

**6.21. Idiom Compounds** have weak stress with their first syllable in noncontrastive contexts. They often parallel syntactic phrases of quite distinct—often totally unrelated—meanings.¹ These compounds are also distinct from many other compounds in being extremely common in the everyday spoken language and less frequently found in more formal usage.

*bà con* [be] related; bà grandmother, con child; cf. phrase bà con [a] child’s grandmother.

*Ông ấy bà con* với tôi. (S) He’s related to me.

*Bà con* đi *chợ rẫi*. My grandmother’s gone to market (said by a child to its parent).

*một mình* alone; một one, mình oneself; cf. phrase một mình one body

*Tôi *đã* dâu *một mình*. I’m staying here by myself.

*Cơn trúng mồi thì có* một mình *khác nhau*. Each kind of insect has a different body. [“insect each sort exist one body different reciprocally”]

*người* ta one, someone, they, you, people (indefinite; similar to the French *on*, German *man*): người person, ta you and I; cf. phrase người ta our people

*Chìng nào* *cưới* *vô làm cho* *người* ta *hay!* (S) When you get married, let people know about it!

¹ Because of this irregularity in correspondence of meanings, these forms are not classed with syntactic compounds in which there appears to be a more or less consistent relationship between the meanings of the compounds and the phrases they parallel.
Người ta rất khỏe `mạnh và sung-`swông. Our people are very healthy and happy.

nhà nước (federal) government: (nhà building, establishment, nước country); cf. phrase nhà nước building belonging to the nation Ông ấy làm `cho nhà nước. He works for the (federal) government.

Nhà chúng tôi `ở là nhà nước. The house we live in is government property.

nhà quê countryside, rural area: (nhà building, establishment, quê native village); cf. phrase nhà quê country house Ông ấy `ở nhà quê mới `đến Hà-nội. He’s just come to Hanoi from the country.

Chúng tôi ở Hà-nội cũng `có nhà quê ở gần Nam-dình. We live in Hanoi, and have a country house near Nam-dình, too.

6.22. Generalizing Compounds are syntactic compounds paralleling coordinate phrases (8.33, 9.65). They are composed of bases denoting different items of reality; the forms have the general meaning ‘these two items and other similar ones, making up a general class’. Like idiom compounds, many generalizing compounds are common in conversational usage. However, there are members of this group which are quite bookish and others which hardly ever occur in conversation. These forms are very often written with a hyphen connecting their two parts. They frequently occur with weak stress on their first syllable, while the parallel additive phrases do not.

bàn-ghé furniture: bàn table, ghế chair; cf. bàn ghế tables and chairs
quần-áo clothes: quần trousers, áo tunic; cf. quần áo trousers and shirt
bát-dĩa dishes, dinnerware: bát bowl, dĩa plate; cf. bát dĩa bowl and plate
mưa-gió inclement weather; (fig.) vicissitudes, experience with the difficulties of life (somewhat bookish): mưa to rain, gió be windy; cf. mưa gió to rain and be windy
mua-bán go shopping: mưa buy, bán sell; cf. mưa bán buy and sell
giảng-trình stationery goods: giảng paper, trình writing instrument; cf. giảng trình paper and pencil
con-cháu youngsters, children: con child, offspring, cháu grandchild, nephew, niece; cf. con cháu children and grandchildren (of a particular person)
chải-chuột take great pains with one's appearance, be meticulous
(formal, unlikely to occur in conversation): chải to brush, comb,
scrub, chuột to polish; cf. chải chuột to scrub and polish
học-tập to learn: học to study, tập to practice; cf. học tập to study
and practice

This classification is troublesome in one respect: there are a number
of morpheme sequences of this general aspect which seem not to be par-
alleled by phrases with coordinating construction. In any case, since the
formal definition of compounds (5.56) involves an elusive distinction, it
is often difficult to establish whether one is dealing with a compound or a
phrase. The reality of the language as it is here viewed is that there are
many sequences like those listed above in which there seems to be a clear
and consistent distinction from nearly homonymous phrases; there are
many other forms where no such distinction is clear, and others where
obviously phrases with coordinating construction are involved. Some ex-
amples of borderline cases follow (those which are common with weak
stress on their first syllables are so marked):

⁰cây-cỏ vegetation: cây tree, plant, cỏ grass
⁰cây-cảy engage in farming: cây to plow, cảy transplant
buôn-bán do business: buôn buy for resale, bán sell
⁰án-e to live; behave: ăn eat, ở reside, be located
ai này everyone: ai anyone, whoever, này that very one (just
referred to)
le-túc ceremonies and customs, rites and traditions: lễ ceremony,
túc custom, tradition
sốt rét (pop.) malaria: sốt be hot, feverish, rét be cold, have chills
anh-hướng influence: ảnh shadow, image, hướng echo
giâng-hoa flirtation, ephemeral romance: giang moon, hoa
flower(s)

6.23. Specializing Compounds are syntactic compounds paralleling
descriptive phrases (8.34, 9.62). Their meanings are fundamentally re-
lated to the meanings of the corresponding phrases, but are generally
highly specialized in reference. In noncontrastive contexts their initial
syllable nearly always has weak stress.

⁰người o servant: người person, ở be located, reside; cf. phrase
người o person residing
⁰dây thẹp telegram: dây string, cord, wire, thẹp steel; cf. phrases
dây thẹp electric wire, and dây thẹp gai barbed wire (with gai
thorn)
lày việc to work: làm do, make, act; việc matter, affair; cf. phrase
lày việc to accomplish a [particular] thing

The status of this category is the most doubtful of all. The language is
rich in descriptive phrases (cf. 8.34, 9.62-63). Many of them describe quite
directly the entities referred to, others are obviously suggestive, involving
extended meanings:

lày ruộng engage in farming: làm do, make, ruộng rice field
ăn cơm have a meal: ēn eat, cơm cooked rice
nói chuyện converse, talk: nói speak, chuyện conversation topic
nhà thương hospital: nhà establishment, thương be wounded
dầu tàu locomotive: đầu head, tàu large conveyance

Still others designate a wide variety of phenomena by means of figurative
or suggestive extensions from the literal meanings of the individual words
involved. These are reminiscent of the kennings observed in many West-
ern languages. Some items are obviously loan translations from Chinese,
others apparently are native inventions.

nuóc đá ice: nước water, đá stone
chiếu bóng show movies; movies: chiếu to project, bóng shadow
xe lửa (railway) train: xe vehicle, lửa fire (cf. Chinese loan word
hỏa-xa train: hỏa fire, xa vehicle)

It may well be that the specialized forms recognized here as specializing
compounds are simply cases of descriptive phrases with extended mean-
ings. On the other hand, it must be recognized that even forms like ēn cơm,
nói chuyện, chiếu bóng, and nước đá (see above) are treated syntactically
as units and must at least be considered closely knit idioms.

6.24. Reinforcing Compounds are nonsyntactic compounds containing
two apparent heads; these two components usually denote identical or very
similar items of reality. The resulting forms often have a more figurative
or abstract reference than either of their bases. These compounds belong
almost wholly to the written or formal spoken language, although a few
occur now and then in conversation—even then they have a special formal-
istic flavor. Some also occur with their bases in reverse order.

sợ-hoảng be terrified: sợ be afraid, hoảng be panic stricken
bồn phẫn be distressed: bồn be sad, phẫn to bother, be bothered
bién-mất to vanish: bién to disappear, mất to lose, be lost
kến chọn choose carefully: kến choose, chọn choose
chọn lửa to select: chọn choose, lửa choose (also in reverse order:
lửa chọn)
quen biết have an acquaintance with: quen be acquainted with, biết know
	tim kiếm to search: tim to search, kiếm to search
biên-chêp to write down, transcribe: biên jot down, make a note of, chêp note down, copy
giầu có be wealthy: giầu be rich, có be existent
bên chật be lasting, enduring: bên be durable, firm, solid, chật be solid, secure, tight
tận tôi make progress: tận to advance, tôi to reach, attain
bồi vi because: bồi on account of, vi because
giúp dỗ to help: giúp to help, dỗ to help by taking on a burden
kỳ lả be extraordinary, strange: kỳ be extraordinary, strange, lả be different, strange, new
cả hát to sing: cả sing, hát sing
mưu-kế schemes and ruses, strategy: mưu scheme, plot, kế ruse, trick
da-thua be polite, address with respect: đa [polite responsive particle], thua [polite vocative particle]
ngày giờ time (in general): ngày day(time), giờ clock time, hour

For obvious reasons these forms are often called synonym compounds. There are some interesting features about synonyms in Vietnamese. On the surface, at least, it would appear that there are a great many—the impression of the foreigner learning the language is that there are more forms referring to more or less the same bits of reality than in other languages with which he has dealt. In any case, the reinforcing compounds add enormously to the number of synonyms. Often the native speaker finds it difficult or impossible to define differences of meaning among synonymous forms, but we may suspect that there are tiny nuances, suggestive overtones, which are different for each form. Such nuances seem especially likely in reinforcing compounds. For example, kỳ lả and kỳ-quái both mean 'be strange'; kỳ 'be strange', combines with lả 'be strange, unfamiliar' in the one instance, with quái 'be queer' in the other; kỳ lả seems to have overtones of 'unusual, unexpected', while kỳ-quái suggests something a little abnormal.

One type of reinforcing compound contains dialectally distributed forms—that is, each of the components is used by itself with the same meaning, but is characteristic of a particular locality. For example, the compound tìm kiếm 'to search' contains the bases tìm 'to search', which is used

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2 A careful study of this matter should be undertaken, but it is obviously a long and exacting project; I know of no thoroughgoing attempt, either completed or under way, to get to the bottom of its possible structural significance.
singly in Tonkin, and **kiêm** ‘to search’, which is the common form in Co-
chinchina. (**Tim** is understood in Saigon but is regarded as northern or
literary.) Other examples of such compounds are **hụ hông** ‘spoil, break
down’, in which **hụ** is southern, **hông** northern; **chọn lýa** ‘select’, in which
**chọn** is northern, **lýa** southern.

Another type of reinforcing compound joins synonyms which have re-
ference to two different kinds of thing belonging to the same general class,
or two different attitudes toward the same thing. The resulting form often
suggests a more general category including several similar things. In
this respect these forms are very similar to generalizing compounds, but
they seldom occur with weak stress on the first element.

**sưu soạn** make preparations: **sưu** arrange, repair; **soạn** prepare

The figurative or abstract meaning of many reinforcing compounds is
also an interesting matter. Many simple forms, of course, also have fig-
urative or abstract meanings; at the same time, many compounds are main-
ly concrete or direct in their reference. But the pattern of abstraction is
too common to ignore completely. Examples of figurative or abstract com-
ounds based on (more) concrete bases are:

**bến chất** be lasting, enduring: **bến** be durable, firm, solid, **chất** be
solid, secure, tight

**tân tói** make progress: **tân** to advance, **tói** to reach, attain

**chài-luôi** [occupation of] fishing: **chài** fish net, **luôi** net, netting

### 6.25. Attributive Compounds

are nonsyntactic compounds characterized by the apparent order complement-head. These compounds differ from (syn-
tactic) restrictive phrases (5.61)—the complement elements resemble greatly those elements generally found as descriptive complements, following their heads. This construction is the same as that of the vast majority of pseudo-compounds borrowed from Chinese, where the order complement-
head is the regular one (cf. 6.33). A great many of these compounds are, in fact, composed of Chinese borrowed elements which have come to be used individually as free forms in Vietnamese. Presumably the rest are recent coinages, formed on the analogy of the Chinese borrowed forms.

Some of these contain one form of Chinese origin and one native Viet-
namese form; others contain no Chinese borrowed forms. In the following
examples, Chinese borrowed elements are in boldface.

**hoc** trò schoolchild, pupil: **hoc** to study, **trò** school-age child

**chung cùng** together: **chung** be common, mutual, **cùng** to follow; and, with
6.3. **Pseudo-Compounds** are morpheme sequences with two immediate constituents at least one of which is bound (5.52). They are far more common than compounds, especially in more formal usage. They can be divided into subclasses partly on the analogy of the compounds which they resemble, but it must be borne in mind that this classification is based on semantic criteria rather than formal grounds. There are **generalizing pseudo-compounds**, which appear to contain two parts in coordinate relationship and have meanings very much like those of generalizing compounds; **reinforcing pseudo-compounds**, which appear to contain two parts in coordinate relationship and have meanings very much like those of reinforcing compounds; and **attributive pseudo-compounds**, which appear to have the relationship complement-head between their two parts, thus resembling attributive compounds. In addition there are **descriptive pseudo-compounds**, which resemble descriptive phrases (8.34, 9.62).

Historically the basis of this entire category lies in Chinese. It is the wealth of Chinese loan words which exhibit these relationships predominantly; and it seems likely that the similar compounds in Vietnamese constitute a spread of the principles from these borrowed elements. From the point of view of Vietnamese, however, pseudo-compounds are probably best understood in the way presented here—as collocations of bound forms which resemble true compounds.³

These bound elements borrowed from Chinese are reminiscent of similar elements in English borrowed from Greek. For example the English word *geography* is ultimately from a Greek word composed of two elements, one meaning ‘earth’, the other ‘writing; description.’ The element *geo-* is seen to recur in certain other words also borrowed from Greek, such as *geometry*. Further, it appears in words like *geology, geophysics, geocentric, geostatic, geothermic*, which, although they are composed of elements ultimately borrowed from Greek, are not traceable to words of this shape in the original language. The element -*graphy* appears in some other Greek borrowings, such as *biography, calligraphy*, and in many other words made up outside of Greek using Greek borrowed elements, such as *paleography,*

³ Some of the forms apparently belong to similar compound classes in Chinese, while others are syntactic phrases. However, the over-all aspect of compounding in Chinese is quite different. For a brief account of compounds in Mandarin see Chao 1948: 41-44.
ethnography. More recently it has come to be used with elements of non-Greek origin, as in roentgenography. The recognizably related element -graph- appears in many recently coined words like mimeograph and dictograph; and as the word graph, now a free form in English, it enters into regular syntactic relationships and into native English compounds like line-graph and bar-graph. The situation with Chinese borrowed elements in Vietnamese is very similar, with two important exceptions: the number of borrowed elements in Vietnamese is vastly greater; the complications of form (so characteristic of the Greek borrowed elements) are very few. However, the difficulty of defining precise meanings for elements that will fit all occurrences; their unpredictable appearances now as bound elements, now as free forms; their use in scientific and literary coinage; their predominantly formal, educated, or technical flavor—all these characteristics are very similar in the two cases. So in dealing with the enormous complexity of this aspect of Vietnamese, it may be helpful to keep in mind the parallel of Greek elements in English.

The four types outlined above are discussed in more detail in the following sections. In the examples, free morphemes are in boldface type, other morphemes are bound (pseudo-bases).

The stress patterns of pseudo-compounds need more careful study. For the most part they have medium stress on each syllable. When they have heavy stress, it generally falls on the final syllable; however, there are some forms which appear with heavy stress on the first syllable—in the following examples such cases of initial heavy stress are marked. In forms consisting of three syllables the initial syllable sometimes has weak stress. Otherwise weak stress is rare in pseudo-compounds: it occurs with the initial syllable of a few disyllabic forms which are current in conversational usage.

6.31. Generalizing Pseudo-Compounds contain elements which denote different items of reality and have the general meaning ‘these two items and other similar ones, making up a general class’.

\[ \text{thi-văn} \quad \text{literature (as a body): thi poetry, văn literature, especially prose} \]
\[ \text{ca-tùng} \quad \text{to praise, eulogize: ca sing, tung to praise} \]
\[ \text{xuất-nhập} \quad \text{go in and out: xuất put out, go out, nhập bring in, enter} \]

6.32. Reinforcing Pseudo-Compounds contain elements which denote identical or similar items of reality. Like the corresponding compounds, they often have an abstract or figurative reference; and some occur as

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well with their elements in reverse order. Such pseudo-compounds add to the stock of synonyms discussed in 6.24, and again the differences in meaning usually amount to subtle nuances.

 kinky be odd, strange, abnormal: kỳ be strange, dị be odd, different (cf. synonyms kỳ lả, kỳ-quái discussed in 6.24)
 liên-hiệp to unite, ally: liên unite, associate, hiệp unite, join together
daí-tinh romantic love: dài to love, tinh sentiment, love (also in reverse order: tinh-dài)
 nhân-dân citizenry, people (of a country): nhân human being, person, dân person, citizen
gia-tộc family, household: gia family, household, tộc family, clan
 thì giờ time (in general): thì time, giờ clock time, hour

6.33. Attributive Pseudo-Compounds contain elements in the apparent order complement-head. Of all pseudo-compounds they constitute the majority and lend the most characteristic formal or literary flavor to the contexts in which they occur. However, some of them have come into current conversational usage identifying concepts under current discussion.

-quốc-gia state, nation: quốc nation, gia household; establishment
-quốc-ngữ national language, romanized script: quốc nation, ngữ language
-quốc-văn national literature: quốc nation, văn literature
náo-động to stir up, agitate: nào be noisy, động to move, disturb
'Miệt-quốc America: Mỹ America, quốc nation
-liên-hiệp quốc United Nations: liên-hiệp unite (cf. 6.32), quốc nation
-sùng-suông be happy: sùng be abundant, complete, suông be happy
tác-giả author: tác to create, giả agent, actor, doer
-công-tác to collaborate: công be in common, tác to create
công-sản communism: công be in common, sản property
-thi-nhiên poet: thi poetry, nhiên individual, human being
-nhân-tạo be artificial, man-made: nhân human being, person, tạo to create

6.34. Descriptive Pseudo-Compounds contain elements in the apparent order head-complement, and their meanings are very similar to those of descriptive phrases (8.34, 9.62).

-hạ-thủy to launch [a ship]: hạ to lower, thủy water
6.34—6.5

xuất-cantidad to export: xuất put out, go out, cantidad port
nhập-cantidad to import: nhập bring in, enter, cantidad port

There are comparatively few of these pseudo-compounds. They represent a different kind of relationship in the Chinese language from which they were borrowed. However, there are members of this class that make use of Chinese elements which remain bound in Vietnamese but are found in the regular Vietnamese order for descriptive phrases.4

long-thỏ earthworm (lit. “earth-dragon”): long dragon, thỏ earth
lính thủy sailor: lĩnh soldier, thủy water
tàu thủy steamship: tàu large conveyance, thủy water

6.4. Interlocking Order of compounds and pseudo-compounds with other closely related forms is found in formal speech and writing. In conjunction with a monosyllabic form, this single form is repeated between the two immediate constituents of the compound or pseudo-compound. In conjunction with a dissyllabic form, the second syllable of one form appears between the two syllables of the other.

Hai vò chồng lấy vàng đưa về làm giàu làm có, ăn tiêu sung-
'suông. The husband and wife took the gold home with them, it made them rich, and they spent it with pleasure. (làm ‘do, make, act’, giàu có ‘be wealthy [a reinforcing compound, 6.24])

Trước thì còn riềng ở các cụ bồ-lão và quan-viện kỳ-cầu ‘hợp bàn
muu tìm ‘kế, sau phải hỏi toàn ‘đàn cũng không ai có’‘ý-kiến
ghi. First separately the village notables and elder officials get together to discuss strategy, later they had to assemble the entire populace, and still no one had any [constructive] idea. (bàn tìm ‘discuss in quest of’ [coterminous phrase, cf. 9.65], muu-kế
‘schemes and ruses, strategy’ [a reinforcing compound, 6.24])

Đều ai buôn đầu ‘bàn đầu, Mồng 10 tháng 8 chơi ‘trâu’ thì ‘về’. Wherever anyone may be doing business, come the tenth of August buffalo fight he returns home. (buôn bàn ‘do business’ [a generalizing compound, 6.22], đầu ‘anywhere, wherever’)

6.5. Polysyllabic Forms. Most of the compounds and pseudo-compounds cited thus far have been disyllabic, each base or pseudo-base comprising a single syllable. However, there are a few longer forms belonging to these classes. Both compounds and pseudo-compounds of three syllables are found. The four-syllable forms observed are all compounds.

4 Although a large proportion of the elements in such pseudo-compounds are of Chinese origin, they do not occur in these combinations in Chinese.
6.5—6.6

'Liên-hiệp quốc United Nations (attributive pseudo-compound): liên-hiệp unite, quốc nation

ngôn-ngữ học linguistics (attributive compound): ngôn ngữ language (reinforcing pseudo-compound containing the pseudo-bases ngôn ‘speech, word’, ngữ ‘language’), học to study

vô-tuyên dien-thoai radio telephone (attributive compound): vô-tuyên wireless (attributive pseudo-compound containing pseudo-bases vô ‘without, lacking’, tuyên ‘wire, line’), điện-thoai telephone (attributive pseudo-compound containing the free morpheme điện ‘electricity’ and the pseudo-base thoai ‘speech, conversation’)

There seems to be a tendency away from such forms in favor of dissyllabic forms (see also 13.5). Many two-syllable forms appear to be shortenings of less common trisyllabic forms with virtually identical meanings:

vô-nghĩa be meaningless, nonsensical (beside vô nghĩa-lý) (pseudo-compounds): vô without, lacking, nghĩa-lý meaning, good sense (extended from basic meaning ‘the right idea’: reinforcing compound of nghĩa ‘the right, justice’ and lý ‘common sense, justice’) (an alluding form, cf. 6.6)

6.6. Alluding Forms are compounds, pseudo-compounds, or phrases consisting of elements at least one of which carries with it connotations of homonymous morphemes or other complex forms of which it is a part. Such forms are relatively common in artistic literature; even many very common words have such overtones. This is one of the many techniques which have been borrowed from Chinese literary tradition.

truyền-túng ‘to pass on reverently by oral tradition something which is valued’: truyền ‘transmit’, tung ‘recite aloud’ and tung (pseudo-base) ‘to praise’; glossed in Vietnamese: ca-tưng, nhạc-nhã và truyền di xa ‘to eulogize, remind about and spread far and wide’ nghĩa-lý ‘meaning, good sense’: nghĩa ‘meaning, sense’ and nghĩa ‘the right, justice’, lý ‘common sense, justice’; glossed in Vietnamese: chính-nghĩa và công-lý; nghĩa bông: ý-nghĩa, nghĩa dung, họp theo với lẽ phải ‘righteous cause and justice; figurative sense: meaning, the correct idea, together with reason [i.e., common sense]’

hiền-hậu ‘be mild, kind, benevolent’: hiền ‘be good, gentle’, hậu ‘generous, good’; glossed in Vietnamese: hiền-lành trung-hậu ‘be good, gentle, and loyal’ (trung ‘faithful, loyal’)

(Vietnamese glosses cited in the above examples are from Thanh Nghị 1952)
The classification of many such forms is difficult because the status of the homonymous parts in the modern language is sometimes different. For example, the first form cited above analyzed as containing tung 're-cite aloud' (a free morpheme) would be classed as a descriptive phrase (9.62). But tung 'to praise' is bound; if this is the element involved, then the form is presumably a descriptive pseudo-compound. This points up the shifting lines between compounds, pseudo-compounds, and phrases (6.1, 6.3).
CHAPTER 7

Derivatives

7.1. General. The study of derivatives leads to classification according to the similarities of form which are involved. This classification has little consistent relationship to syntactic categories (Chapters 8-11). In fact, forms belonging to very different word classes often appear together in the same morphological class.

7.11. Formal Types. The great majority of derivatives are reduplicative: they are polysyllabic forms in which the affixal syllables have some kind of consistent phonetic resemblance to their bases. Such affixes, which appear in allomorphs directly dependent on the phonetic shape of bases, are chameleon affixes. They are of various subtypes, depending on the nature of the resemblance.

Perfect chameleon affixes have exactly the same phonetic shape as the bases with which they occur. (There are frequently differences in stress among the syllables, but these differences seem largely dependent on the position of the whole form in the pause group rather than on any internal structuring.) Because of this identity it is impossible to specify whether these affixes are prefixal or suffixal, and since other chameleon affixes are of both kinds, they offer no grounds for a decision.

nói nói keep talking and talking (base nói ‘talk’)
sach säch be rather clean (base säch ‘be clean’)

Tonal chameleon affixes differ from their bases only in tone. Both prefixes and suffixes are found.

bû-bû (S pop.) be very big (base bû ‘be big’ S pop.) (prefix)
dên dën be rather black (base deren ‘be black’) (suffix)

Vocalic chameleon affixes differ from their bases only in vowel. Both prefixes and suffixes are found.
lên-lão [lēn lāw] be ill-mannered (base lão ‘be impertinent, insolent’) (prefix)

mập-map be fat, chubby (base máp ‘be fat’) (suffix)

Riming chameleon affixes retain the nucleus of bases, which usually (but not always) includes the tone. Both prefixes and suffixes are found.

bôi-rôi be uneasy, troubled (base rôi ‘be tangled up’) (prefix)
khóc-lóc cry, whimper (base khôc ‘weep’) (suffix)
sạch-nhách be absolutely clean (base sāch ‘be clean’) (suffix, with different tone)

Alliterative chameleon affixes retain the initial of bases. Both prefixes and suffixes are found.

la-lêt do with much pain or difficulty (base lêt ‘drag about painfully’) (prefix)
rō-rēt be very clear (base rõ ‘be clear’) (suffix)

Bases written in the standard orthography with no initial consonant have initial glottal stop (regularly in some dialects, sporadically in others: see 2.11, 4.1-2). This is the alliterative element in affixes of this kind.

ông-â [ə̊̀w n̥ å] shine [of fabric] (base ông id.)

These should not be confused with bases having initial [w] (preceded in some dialects by glottal stop), which are written with an initial ơ-.
(Similar bases beginning with ū- representing [w] would be expected, but no examples occur in the material.)
oān-oái wriethe [as with pain] (base oān ‘bend down, as with heavy burden’)

Non-chameleon affixes are few, and without exception the derivatives in which they appear are limited to a few forms. However, some of the most common words in the language are involved. Two rather different formal types are observed: in the case of demonstratives (7.2) forms are made up of two elements, each consisting of less than a syllable, and only arbitrarily may one be designated as base; anaphorics (7.3), which seem limited to the southern speech area, involve a tonal affix.

7.12. Tone Alternations. Derivatives display special relationships of the various tones to one another. There are two registers and three types, as shown in Table 1. In the most common patterns the tone of the affix is in the same register as that of its base.

Traditionally the even tones (called thạnh bẳng) are distinguished from all the rest (called thạnh trách ‘uneven, slanting tones’), and this distinction is important in rules for versification. The further patterning of distinctions between short and long tones is not recognized in this tradition, and becomes clear only in the examination of derivatives.
Table 1. Tone Relationships In Derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTER</th>
<th>EVEN</th>
<th>SHORT</th>
<th>LONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>ngang</td>
<td>sác</td>
<td>hôi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>huyễn</td>
<td>nãng</td>
<td>ngã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.13 Consonant alternations. Limitations on the distribution of certain consonants in syllable final position (2.82) come into play in chameleon affixes. Final stops occur only with sác and nãng tones. In chameleon affixes involving other tones, these stops of bases are replaced by their corresponding homorganic nasals, as shown in Table 2. Final [ch, nh] occur only after [i, ē, ā]. In chameleon affixes involving other vowels, these sounds of bases are replaced by [k, ng], as shown in Table 3. On the other hand, [k, ng] do not occur after [i, ē]. In chameleon affixes involving these vowels, [k, ng] of bases are replaced by [ch, nh] as shown in Table 4.

Table 2. Replacements of Final Stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final of Base</th>
<th>Final of Chameleon Affix with Even or Long Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*dep* be beautiful: *đèm-dep* be rather pretty
*tót* be good, fine: *tòn-tót* be rather good
*sach* be clean: *sành-sach* be rather clean
*chắc* be certain: *chăng-chắc* be more or less certain

Table 3. Replacements of Final [ch, nh]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final of Base</th>
<th>Final of Chameleon Affix Vowel other than [i ē ā]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*lêch* be tilted, slanted: *lêch-lac* id.
*quýnh* be emotionally upset: *quýnh-quảng* be careless

Table 4. Replacements of Final [k, ng]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final of Base</th>
<th>Final of Chameleon Affix with [i ē]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*cuc* be crude, course, boorish: *cúc-kích* id.
*thùng* barrel, large container: *thùng-thình* be too large, fit like a barrel [speaking of clothes]
One consonantal alternation appears to be only sporadic. Vocalic chameleon affixes accompanying bases in [ɔ] often have [w] before the characteristic vowel where this forms a possible cluster with the initial consonant. However, forms without [w] are also found.

 söm be shaggy [of beard]: söm-soam id. (also söm-săm)
This is very likely a matter of dialect variation ([w] clusters are far less frequent in some dialects; see 4.1).

7.2. Demonstratives constitute a closed class of forms with some apparently related marginal elements. Traditional grammar regards them as single, indivisible words, but a division into smaller elements with recurrent meanings brings out more about their interrelationships. The basic forms are shown in Table 5. In the sections that follow, these and related forms are discussed in detail.

**Table 5. Basic Demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>Unspecified</th>
<th>Close to Speaker or Newly Introduced</th>
<th>Remote or Already Identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d̄</td>
<td>-ao/-āu (even)</td>
<td>-ay/-āy (even)</td>
<td>-ây/-o (short)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>náo</td>
<td>nay</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'whichever'</td>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>'(an)other, that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPORTION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b̄</td>
<td>bao</td>
<td>bày</td>
<td>bày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to whatever extent'</td>
<td>'to this extent'</td>
<td>'to that [such] extent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANNER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s̄</td>
<td>sao</td>
<td>vày</td>
<td>vày</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̄</td>
<td></td>
<td>'however'</td>
<td>'this way, thus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.21. Semantic Range. Note that the characteristic register of the tones of these forms is a property of the initial morpheme (the only inconsistent form in this respect is sao ‘however, in whatever way, for whatever reason’). On the other hand, the tone type is a feature of the nuclear morpheme.

The meanings of the nuclear morphemes are broad and difficult to define; some further characterization is in order. The forms in the first column have
in common an indefinite meaning. They are often called interrogative words (to be translated roughly ơi where? nào which? bao to what extent? sao how, why?), because they occur frequently with sustaining intonation and the resulting sentences are generally questions. However, they are also extremely common in sentences with fading intonation and go together with other forms to convey indefinite or negative notions. (These and other indeterminates are discussed more fully in 14.2). The forms in the second column share the notion of positional or conceptual proximity to the speaker. In many circumstances a special connotation appears: the speaker uses one of these forms to signal that something new is being introduced. Opposed to these forms are those of the third column, which suggest a certain remoteness from the speaker and often presuppose a basis for comparison or refer to an object or idea already identified.

The meanings of the initial morphemes are somewhat more specific. It is convenient to use them as a basis for the detailed description of individual forms in the following sections.

7.22. Place Demonstratives (see 10.46) share the notion of relative position. In addition to the forms in Table 5, there is a second form which belongs in the third column:

đó (S) 'there' (note formal similarity to nào) replaces ơi (and also to a great extent ấy) in southern colloquial usage; it has a limited independent use in northern speech.

Some examples of the use of these forms follow.

Ai ở ơi, thì ở ơi. Wherever someone is, he should stay there.
Ông ấy đi ơi? Where did he go?
Ông ấy có đi ơi không? Did he go somewhere?
Mọi Ông ngồi ơi. Please sit here.
Đây là nhà cửa tôi. This is [one of] my house [s].
Ông đi xuống ơi. You go down there [that way]. (giving directions)
Lúc trước tôi ở Sài-gòn lâu năm. Ông thì vui lắm. (S) Formerly
I lived in Saigon for many years. [We] used to have a fine time there.
Cô ở dó rồi mà Ông thấy. (S) She's over there already, as you [can] see.

A specialization of these forms appears in their use as descriptive complements very similar to contained postpositive particles (11.82). Their meanings in these cases are roughly as follows:
dầu [not] at all, at any cost, anyhow, whatever
dấy right here, as I'm showing you (less frequent in this use)
dấy (S dó) there, near hearer, as just shown, noticed (nearly
always with weak stress; southern form especially common)
Ông ấy không khỏi lại nhà tôi dâu. He mustn't fail to come to my
house at any cost.
Ông đi dâu dó? (S) Where are you going [now]?
Ai dó? (S) Who is it? Who's there? (the stock phrase used as initial
utterance in answering a telephone)
Ông làm gì dấy? What are you doing there? (emphasis on the
relationship of the activity to the hearer rather than on the
place)
Bà ấy không biết gì đầu. She doesn't know anything at all.
Sóm moí tôi giò anh làm chi chi dâu? (S) What in the world have
you been doing from morning till now?
Tôi có biết dâu. I have no idea. (How do you expect me to know?)
Tôi đi dâu. Why should I go? (I have no reason to go.)

7.23. Reference demonstratives are manner focuses (10.45) which are
very frequent as descriptive complements, marking substantival heads (8.1,
8.5). They indicate the relation of an object or idea to something in the
context or situation. They differ from place demonstratives in grammatical
function: as descriptive complements they appear only with substantival
heads, while place demonstratives are frequent in verbal phrases (9.62).

Of the basic forms in Table 5, nó ‘(an)other, that’ is relatively infre-
quent. It generally refers back to some entity already identified in the con-
text. Sometimes it has a vague reference: ‘somewhat remote from immediate
circumstances.’ Occasionally it means specifically ‘another than the one
mentioned.’

Năm ba mươi hai cóo Lan đi Hà-nội tham ban. Hỏi nó câu Ngọc mới
ra thủ-dổ học. In '32 Miss Lan went to Hanoi to visit a friend.

Just a little earlier young Mr. Ngọc had come to the capital to
study.

Hôm nó tôi gặp ông Lâm ở thư-viên. Lâu năm tôi chứng tôi không
gặp nhau. The other day I ran into Mr. Lâm at the library. It
had been years since we'd seen one another.

Mùa hè các bạn ở ngoài bể nghỉ mát, làm cái nó cái kia thì vui
lấm. In the summer the friends were at the seashore for a vaca-
tion—they had a fine time doing this and that.

Nạy làm nó chịu. (S) Some people suffer for others' misdeeds.
["this-one do, another suffer"]
The form **này** is found in a limited number of expressions replacing **này** or **nào** (S) ‘this’; it appears only as a descriptive complement.

**Ô bên]** **này** **sang** **bên** **kia.** [Someone] went over there from here.

Certain other forms are more common in situations where **nó** might be expected in relation to **này** and **nào**. In reference to some person or thing already mentioned **ấy** ‘just mentioned’ is far more frequent in northern speech. In the south the place demonstrative **dó** appears as an extremely common complement meaning ‘that, those; just mentioned’ (see also 7.3). In central colloquial usage the form **nó** is current (see below).

**Hai người đó** **khó** **quá!** (S) Those two people are very difficult!

**Ông Thanh có tiền** **nhieu. Ông đó luôn-luôn** **di** **choi.** (S) Mr. Thanh has a lot of money. He’s always going out to have a good time.

Northern **này** ‘this’ is **này** in the south.

**Khi nào ông sang** **bên** **này?** When did you come over here?

**Chỉng nào ông qua** **bên** **này?** (S) When did you come over here?

There is a presumably closely related form **nay** ‘present time’, a temporal focus (10.47) which appears as descriptive complement after certain substantives (8.1) denoting temporal categories. **Này** (S **này**) does not generally occur in these expressions.

- **bích nay** today (with a vague non-northern flavor)
- **ngày nay** today (reference to future)
- **hôm nay** today (northern in flavor)
- **năm nay** this year
- **sáng nay** this morning (S **sởm** **mói** **này**)
- **dêm nay** tonight
- **chiều nay** this afternoon
- **tối nay** this evening

However, unlike the principal reference demonstratives it is not limited as a descriptive complement to substantival expressions.

- **lâu nay** for a long time now
- **từ hôm ấy đến nay** from that day to the present time
- Phong-tonc thay đồi, trước khi nam nữ không được trò chuyện với nhau. Nay thì các bác phụ-huynh đã cho phép con gái được tiếp bạn gái ở nhà. Customs change; in olden times boys and girls were not permitted to have social relations. Nowadays elders have given permission to girls to receive their male friends at home.

In Huế popular speech both **này** and **nay** are rendered by **ni**. **Nào** and **dâu** are rendered by **mô. Nó** serves for **nô** and **ấy**.

- **bên ni** (H pop.) here, this place, this side
- **bệt ni** (H pop.) today

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Bũa ni mà o nhà hay đi mò rôi? (H pop.) Is [your] mother home today or has she gone somewhere already?

Ông nờ lấy cái mò? (H pop.) which one did he take?

Nấy (sometimes written nãy) '[time] just past, a moment ago, a little while ago' is presumably related to này 'present time.' It has a limited distribution, appearing after a few substantives denoting temporal periods:

lúc nãy, ban nãy, hỏi nãy just a little while ago
Lúc nãy Ông hỏi tôi ăn cơm chưa? A little while ago you asked me whether I'd eaten or not.

The form nãy 'specifically that one' is a correlative word referring back to an indefinite ai 'whoever' or nào 'whichever.'

Cha nào, con nãy. Like father, like son.

Mạnh ai nãy được. Whoever is strong [est] will get it.

Người nào, giữ phân nãy. Everyone should attend to his proper duty. (i.e., 'People should mind their own business.' Also

'People should keep their proper place in society.')

There is a word nào 'whichever' which appears only in poetry. Presumably it is an indefinite similar to não, but it seems to occur only or primarily in interrogative uses.

Đêm trăng nãy chàng nghỉ mặt phương nào? This moonlit night where is he taking his stroll, [I wonder]?—Đoàn thị Điểm

7.24. Proportion Demonstratives have a limited distribution and cover a semantic range which is more difficult to delimit than that of place and reference demonstratives. They suggest comparison in terms of quantity, extent, or (occasionally) a point in time with well-known standards or references in the context. Grammatically they are prepositive particles (11.81). They combine with a few other words: some of these combinations are extremely common, others are rare. Some occurring examples follow.

COMMON

bao giờ whenever, at some time
bao nhiêu however much
bao lâu however long

bây giờ now
bây nhiêu (L) this amount, demonstrable amount
bây lâu for that length of time

bây giờ then, at that time
bây Nhiều that much
LESS COMMON

bao năm however many years
bao ngày however many days
bao thứ at whatever time
bao lớn however big
bao xa however far
bao lần however many times

bây năm for so many years
bây ngày that many days; that day
bây thứ (L) at that time
bây lớn that big
bây xa that far
bây lần that many times
bây chạy (L) for a long time

Có bao nhiêu, xài bấy nhiêu. Whatever [you] have [you] spend.
Bây giờ mấy giờ? What time is it now?
Chúng nào ông về Mỹ, bày giờ tôi sẽ về Sâi-gòn. (S) Whenever you go back to America, I’ll go back to Saigon then.
Tôi thấy tình cảnh đó, sânh lòng thường bày. (S) When I saw that scene I was so moved by pity.
Bao nhiêu cũng được. Any amount will do.
Bao ngày Ông đi khách, tôi vẫn ở nhà. However many days you’re away, I’ll still be at home.
Việc đó không ích gì bao. (S) That thing isn’t very useful.
Con ănh năm nay bao lớn? (S) How old is your child this year?
Công việc đó tốt biết duồng bao. (S) That business—it’s really impossible to say how good it is. [“abstract-unit affair there good know manner however”]
Bao nhiêu nhà ở trong làng chạy hết. All the houses in the village were burned. [“However many houses there were in the village, they burned completely.”]
Ông có bao nhiêu mầu ruộng? How many [Vietnamese] acres of rice land do you have?
Cử chỉ cửa anh đăng khen biết bao nhiêu. Your attitude deserves a good deal of praise.

7.25. Manner demonstratives (cf. 10.45) refer to the way something is accomplished. This portion of the paradigm seems to involve suppletion: the word sao ‘however, in whatever way, for whatever reason’ also has a broader semantic range than either vây ‘this way, thus, as I am demonstrat-
ing (or about to demonstrate)' (rare in Hanoi, but common in many other areas) or vây 'that way, so, as was demonstrated (or mentioned).'

*Có làm sao, nói làm vây.* Whatever [you] do, [you] should make it known.

*Có nói sao, phải làm vây.* Practice what [you] preach.

*Con chó đói dữ lắm, con chó này thật cũng dữ như vây.* (S) That dog is very vicious, this dog is really just as bad.

*Cái xe hỏng rồi. Ông phải làm sao?* The car has broken down. What are you going to do about it?

*Sao Ông không đến nhà tôi chơi?* Why don’t you come to see me?

*Ông đi cho sao?* Oh, so you’re going to market! (surprised)

*Sao cũng từng gọi cho tôi.* (S) Whatever happens, try to send it to me anyhow.

*Tái sao bèn nay anh đi lại trẻ hơn hôm qua?* (S) Why did you come later today than yesterday?

*Sự này xảy ra như vây: anh Bình mất làm, thì lại xe không có chúng. Còn có một cái xe khác đi mãi làm, hai cái đúng nhau.* (S) It happened this way: Bình was very tired and drove carelessly. There was another car going fast, the two [cars] collided.

In Hanoi vây is generally replaced by như thể (này), and thể alone is extremely common in expressions which generally involve vây in other dialect areas.

### 7.3. Anaphorics

(S) are formed from a limited number of words; they belong to the spoken language and are to be heard very commonly in the southern and south central dialect areas. (The dividing line seems to be somewhere just north of Đà-nẵng, where they are recorded by Smalley and Văn 1954: they are not used in Huế. They refer back to a person, time, or place which has just been mentioned or somehow otherwise called to attention (e.g., shown in a photograph, observed on the street, etc.)

Bases of anaphorics are mostly general categoricals (8.62), but words of a few other classes are found as well. The most common forms are those based on categoricals that are basically kinship terms, many of which have

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1 Henderson 1961 discusses problems of interpretation of these forms. Although the forms cited cover a good deal of the same ground as those reported here, the interesting examples which are included emphasize some rather special limitations of usage with reference to formality and courtesy. The forms which I collected in Việt Nam, while certainly colloquial and not regarded as appropriate written style, did not have any unusual connotations of discourtesy or lack of respect. I suspect that possibly Miss Henderson's examples suggesting rudeness may be a product of the contexts in which they came to the informants' minds rather than a necessary concomitant of the forms themselves. Certainly the forms I recorded were in everyday use in quite polite situations. This phenomenon invites a good deal of study.
extended uses for reference to persons unrelated to the speaker (13.2). However, relator nouns (8.63) are also extremely common. In the following list, kinship terms have been separated and listed first.

KINSHIP TERMS

anh elder brother, male equal: ânh he
bà grandmother; lady: bà she
câu mother’s brother: câu he
cha father: cha he
chị elder sister; female equal: chị she
cụ great-grandparent; elder venerated person: cụ he or she
cô father’s sister; young unmarried lady: cô she
dì mother’s sister: đi she
dương aunt’s husband: dương he
mẹ mother: mẹ she
mơ mother’s brother’s wife: mơ she
ông grandfather; gentleman: ông he

OTHER WORDS (categoricals except where otherwise indicated)

bên side, area: bên that side, there
cưa (negative) not yet: cưa likewise not yet
chùng certain amount, extent, limit measure: chúng to that extent, that much, then
dáng location: đang there
hôm day: hôm that day, then
không (negative) not: không also not, likewise not
ngoài (relator noun) outside, exterior, out: ngoài outside there, outside [of it]
thằng inferior person (male): thằng he
trên (relator noun) top, upper surface: trên on top [of it]
trong (relator noun) inside, interior: trong inside [it]

No anaphorics have been observed based on forms ending in stops. None at all have been recorded with bases having sâc tone. These forms correspond for the most part to phrases consisting of the base followed by ây in the northern dialect. In fact, a similar phrase type is found in the south alongside these derivatives; however, dô is generally used rather than ây. It has been suggested that the southern derivatives with mid-rising tone represent an anticipation of the high-rising tone of ây in words directly preceding it at an earlier stage of the dialect when ây was used as it is in the north today; later the ây was dropped, leaving the preceding word with modified tone. Presumably words having sâc tone (like ây) were not affected in this position; thus there are no derivatives having bases with sâc tone, although there are examples of sentences having words with sâc tone in the same syntactic functions as these derivatives. (If this is
Indeed the origin of the formation, the principle has since been extended to forms without corresponding phrases; e.g., không, chưa.

Hôm qua ông Lâm đến nhà tôi. Ông sung-sương làm. Yesterday Mr. Lâm came to my house. He was very happy.

Hôm qua tôi làm một cái chuông cho con chim. Bụa nay nó ở trong. Yesterday I made a cage for the bird. Today he’s in it.

Ông không trả tiền, tôi không làm nữa. If you don’t pay [me], I won’t work any more.

Ông tên chí? What’s your name? Ông tên chí? What’s his name? (Cf. [N] Ông ấy tên gì?)

Ho đọng làm gì ở ngoài vườn?—Ho đọng ăn cơm ở ngoài dō. (or... ở ngoài dó.) What are they doing out in the garden?—They’re eating out there.

Ô dăng này có tiếng an không?—Đã không. Ông dăng mới có. Is there a restaurant over this way?—No, only over there (place already identified).

Ô đưới cái tách có gì?—Ô đưới có cái địa. What’s under the cup?—There’s a saucer under it.

Ô dấy không có nhà ở, chúng nào lên trên? [Since] there’s no house to live in here, when are you going up [to a place in the mountains]? (referring to a place already mentioned)

Ông chưa nói, tôi chưa làm. You haven’t said [anything about it] yet, [so] I haven’t done [it] yet.

Tôi có chúng ấy, ông cũng có chúng. I have so much, you have just as much.

Chúng hai muối làm người đi Sài-gòn, phải không?—Chúng. [There were] about twenty-five people going to Saigon, weren’t there?—About [that].

7.4. Specializing derivatives are formed from a great variety of bases with perfect chameleon affixes. It is a productive formation—new derivatives are coined freely.

The meanings of these derivatives vary a good deal from form to form and from context to context. They have in common a specialization or limiting in applicability of the semantic range of the base. To some extent the varying meanings among forms may be distinguished along the lines of the syntactic classes to which the bases belong, but there are intermediate and conflicting cases.

Roughly four semantic centers are identifiable, and it is most useful to consider the majority of forms in relation to these. Problematic forms are treated in a separate section (7.45). Distributives (7.41) are formed nearly
exclusively from substantives (8.1): they have in common the notion 'each unit or group in turn.' *Iteratives* (7.42) are based on verbs (9.55); they convey the notion '...continually or repetitively.' *Attenuatives* (7.43) are for the most part based on verbals (9.5), especially those denoting states; they weaken the force or scope of the base: 'more or less..., rather..., somewhat..., ...-ish' and the like. *Intensives* (7.44) are formed from a variety of miscellaneous bases; they strengthen the force or scope of the base: 'exceedingly..., definitely..., completely...,' and the like.

Noun and verb derivatives are usually written without hyphens; other derivatives are often hyphenated (3.53d).

7.41. **Distributives** are based on substantives (8.1). They establish plural reference and suggest further 'each unit or group individually, or in turn.'

Chi chi rôi cùng vậy. (S) No matter what [you do—you try one thing after the other], it turns out the same.

Nhà nhà đều treo cò, khi lề độc-lập. (S) All the houses hang out flags on independence day.

Tôi vô nhà ỏm, thấy sách sách không biết bao nhiêu. (S) I went into his house and saw book after book—I don't know how many. Trong tủ tôi có nhiều sách; cuốn-cuốn đều (duợc) giữ kỹ-lượng. (S) In my bookcase there are many books; each volume is kept in its place [carefully arranged].

Tết người ta đi chợ từng tốp hai-hai ba-ba vui lây. (S) On New Year's people go to market in groups of two or three [and] have a fine time.

Mỗi-mỗi người đều phải lo ăn Tết. (S) Each person individually is supposed to occupy himself with celebrating the New Year.

Ông hén với tôi mai mai một hôm, không bao giờ làm xong. (S) You keep promising me tomorrow or the next day and never finish [some work I've given you to do].

Chúng ta đi xem lẻ. Họ họ đều vui, ta ta cùng thích. We [you and I] will go watch the ceremony. They'll all enjoy it, [and] we'll all like it [too].

Khi vui thì gọi anh anh em em, khi giận thì nói tao tao nó nó. When they're happy [people] use [polite terms] anh and em, when they're angry they say tao and nó.

Sao-sao cùng rằng gọi cho tôi. (S) No matter what happens, try to send it to me.

Đêm cái gì năm-năm bày-bày hoài mà không rôi? What are you counting by fives and sevens and never finish?
7.42. **Iteratives** are based on verbs (9.55). They establish unusual extension or repetition of some action or state, often with an added connotation of undesirability.

\[
\text{Tôi đi chợ cói cói dañ, rôi sê mua. (S) [Let] me go to market and look around, [if there are any of those things you want, I] will buy [some].}
\]
\[
\text{Bô! Dùng dô cói cói hoài, không làm công việc! (S) Hey, boy [speaking to servant]! What are you doing standing there gawking and not working?}
\]
\[
\checkmark \text{Ông ô dô làm làm hoài. (S) You’re still working there [should be finished].}
\]
\[
\text{Tôi hay quên quên hoài. (S) I’m always forgetting.}
\]
\[
\text{Ông dô đau đau hoài, không làm gì hết. (S) He’s always sick, never does anything.}
\]

7.43. **Attenuatives** are based mostly on verbals (9.5), especially those denoting states and conditions. Sometimes they clearly indicate reduced force or scope, but often they simply achieve a more cautious, less definite statement, a vaguer kind of assertion.

- **dep** be beautiful: **dep** **dep** be rather pretty
- **nhiều** be a large amount: **nhiều-nhiều** be a rather large amount
- **cười** laugh: **cười cười** laugh a little
- **dơi** wait: **dơi dơi** wait a little while
- **nho** be small: **nho nhỏ** be rather small
- **tránh** be white: **tránh trắng** be whitish

\[
\text{Hai bên đường có nhà cắt đều đều. (S) On the two sides of the street there were houses built [spaced] more or less equally [from one another].}
\]
\[
\text{Cái hộp dô hoi không không. (S) That box is more or less empty.}
\]
\[
\text{Công việc dô vây-vây. (S) That’s more or less the way things are.}
\]
\[
\text{Ô dáy người ta chơi chơi môt chút. Amusement is mediocre here.}
\]
\[
\text{Hôm qua tôi dâu ít, bữa nay tôi dâu hơn hơn môt chút. (S) Yesterday I was a bit sick, today I’m a little sicker.}
\]
\[
\text{Tôi quen quen cô ấy. I know her slightly [we are casually acquainted].}
\]
\[
\text{Cái gi dém dém trong tủ áo. Something’s moving a little in the wardrobe.}
\]
\[
\text{Lá rung rung trên ngọn cây. Leaves were gently rustling in the tree-tops.}
\]
Cánh hoa rơi rơi xuống trước nhà. Flower petals were falling, a few at a time, down in front of the house.

These forms are sometimes preceded by the prepositive particle hói 'slightly' (11.81).

Tôi chữa mải, máy xe hói chạy chạy rơi lại đùng hấn. I kept repairing [it]—the car’s motor ran for a little while then stopped again entirely.

Cô ấy ốm nặng, hôm nay mới hói cười cười. She’s gravely ill—today only smiled a little bit.

Some forms seldom occur without this particle; for example,

hói dau dau (S) be rather sick
sai sai be rather incorrect
rở rở be rather clear
dùng đúng be fairly correct
nước nước be rather warm [weather]

This use of hói is one way of eliminating the inherent ambiguity of certain forms, since there are in some cases homonymous forms with iterative meaning (7.42). There are also attenuatives formed with a tonal chameleon affix which lack this ambiguity (7.61).

7.44. Intensives are formed from a wide variety of bases, although less commonly from substantives or verbals. They strengthen the force or scope of the base.

- thường often: thường-thường usually, regularly
hội continually: hội-hoại incessantly
- mau (S) rapidly: mau-mau (S) very rapidly
vận in small pieces: vận-vận in very small pieces
lụn still continuing [without break]: lụn-lụn always, forever
không not: không-không definitely not
dã previously (anterior marker): dã-dã ages ago
dời life, generation, period of existence: đời-dời eternity
rồi be finished, over with: rồi-rồi be completely finished
hết be used up: hết hết be completely used up

Tôi thường đi chợ. (S) I often go to market
Tôi thường-thường đi chợ, không lỡ một ngày nào. (S) I go to market regularly, never miss a day.
Tôi đi chợ luôn. I’m continuing to go to market [anyway, although it was suggested that I not go any more].
Tôi đi chợ luôn-luôn. I always go to market [every day, every week, etc.].
7.44—7.5

Tôi không ở Đà-lạt luôn-luôn, phải đi về Sài-gòn mỗi tháng. (S) I’m not in Dalat all the time, I have to go back to Saigon each month.

Mau-mau, chứng ta phải đi. (S) Hurry up, we should be leaving.
Bây giờ việc đó đã rồi rồi. This business is completely finished now.
Nói lớn lớn một chút đi! (S) Speak a little louder.
Đường hết hệt rồi. The sugar is absolutely all used up.
Công việc đó tôi đã-dâ otraí rồi. That matter I mentioned ages ago already.
Tôi không-không hè nói lão. I never, never lie.

7.45. Miscellaneous Forms with intermediate, imprecise, and conflicting meanings are frequently found among specializing derivatives. In some sentences, the emotional attitude of the speaker seems to be the main issue.

Anh nói gì gì đó? (S) What are you saying? (annoyed)
Sốm mới tôi giờ anh làm chi chi đâu? (S) What in the world have you been doing from morning till now?
Sometimes it is difficult to tell which of two or more different implications may be involved.

Việc dò dê, lẫn như chơi chơi. (S) That work is easy, [you] work as if you’re amusing yourself. (‘keep on enjoying’ or ‘play a little’?)

Máy này chạy đều đều không hư. (S) This machine runs normally without breaking down. (đều ‘be even, regular, steady’, đều ‘be more or less steady’ or ‘be absolutely regular’?)
Tôi đi chợ mau-mau, sợ trễ giờ. (S) I’m going to market soon, [I’m] afraid it’s late. (‘very soon’ or ‘rather soon’?)

7.5. Emphatics are formed with extremely diverse affixes. Their meanings range over a large semantic area from simply stylistic variants with a slightly more picturesque flavor through directly attenuative and intensive forms to derivatives with highly specialized, figurative, or extended connotations. There seems to be no clear limitation on the kinds of words which serve as bases, but verbs are overwhelmingly predominant. Any attempt to classify these forms according to common semantic elements inevitably cuts across the formal lines. It is more useful to consider the various forms involved. They have in common the feature that all the affixes involved are of the partial chameleon type. The derivatives are all regularly written with hyphens.

The formations are for the most part nonproductive: there seem to be no cases of new forms being coined by analogy with existent derivatives.
There are, however, two productive types, which are discussed in 7.6.

Often the meaning of a derivative is roughly the same in one or more respects as that of the base, but the special uses of the two forms differ. This is especially true of the extended or figurative uses of forms. However, for the sake of simplicity in the following exemplary material, where there is a common core of meaning this is presented as the gloss of the base and the derivative follows it without a gloss.

The forms cited below are presented to demonstrate the types of affixes involved: no attempt has been made to treat the material exhaustively. The systematization offered here differs considerably from that of Emeneau 1951 (Chapter 5), which describes the patterns exemplified by reduplicative forms taken as a whole, whether or not the clear designation of a base and affixal element is possible. The reader is referred to this work for the difference in approach and for the wealth of examples, including many isolated forms which appear to suggest patterns outside the main scheme but which afford too meager a basis for setting up new categories.

This portion of the language invites a good deal more study. Three factors make investigation especially difficult and time consuming. First, many of the forms belong rather to the written language than to ordinary speech and there is evidence of considerable dialectal variation as well. Second, the meanings and usage of the forms are very difficult to get at: dictionary glosses tend to be misleading, and informants are very often hard put to it to explain the subtle connotations. A thorough consideration would necessarily involve the scrutiny of a very large body of texts, and this should be an important part of the creation of a comprehensive dictionary. Third, many forms which look very much like reduplicative derivatives turn out to be compounds, phrases, or single morpheme words (see also 7.58).

Some examples of the use of a few of these forms appear in 7.8.

7.51. **Emphatics with tonal affixes** are formed with tonal chameleon prefixes (derivatives have in their initial syllable a tone different from that of the base) and suffixes (derivatives have in their final syllable a tone different from that of the base). A productive prefix of this type is treated in 7.61. The remaining forms are suggestive of some minor types of tonal alternation in which the affix regularly has a tone of the opposing register. This is different from the pattern exhibited by the majority of reduplicative derivatives, the common tone relationships of which are described in 7.12. The patterns involved here may be regarded as basic for the treatment of some other reduplicative material omitted from this treatment as marginal (cf. Emeneau 1951: 5.5.4.3). Of this relatively limited material by far the predominant patterns are those which create forms having sāc tone in the
first syllable, năng tone in the second; thus bases with năng tone have
prefixes with sác tone, while bases with sác tone have suffixes with năng
tone.

Short tone of opposing register:

**PREFIXES**

✓ by (S pop.) be big: bú-by (S pop.) be very big
  xếp be flattened, become flat: xếp-xếp be completely flattened
✓ mét be tired: mêt-mêt be somewhat tired, vague
  kích sound of something moving, striking against something hard:
    kích-kích

**SUFFIXES**

✓ cứng be hard: cúng-cúng (pop.) be very hard
  khét have odor of something burning: khệt-khệt have odor of some-
  thing badly burned
  xốp be spongy: xốp-xốp be very spongy
  nhọt be viscous: nhọt-nhọt be very viscous
  rít be rough [because dirty]: rít-rít be very rough
  sít be close together: sít-sít be very close together

A single form in the material suggests that this pattern may also have
bases with other tones:

**PREFIX**

ngâm do something in secret: ngâm-ngâm

Another single form suggests an opposing pattern:

Even tone of opposing register:

**PREFIX**

teo be extremely lonely, sad: teo-teo [rejected by some informants]

A number of forms show hồi tone in the affix:

**PREFIXES**

con be small: côn-con be very small
  teo be shrikeled: teo-teo be very shrikeled
  lạng be quiet: lạng-lạng be very quiet
  vến be finished, perfect, complete: vến-vến be completely finished;
  only, just
  hoài constantly: hoài-hoài incessantly

**SUFFIXES**

thâm be deep: thâm-thâm be very deep, far
  đen be black: đen-dên be rather black (S)

A single form has a base with hồi tone and a suffix with ngang tone:

mấy a tiny amount: mayoría
The material also has two three-syllable derivatives:

*hốm* be hollow, recessed: *hốm-hốm-hốm*
*sạch* be clean: *sạch-sành-sanh* be very clean (cf. 7.61 and 7.13)

The majority of these forms seem marginal to most informants and there is a good deal of disagreement on the validity of some.

### 7.52. Emphatics with vocalic affixes

Emphatics are formed with prefixes (derivatives have in their initial syllable a vowel different from that of the base) and suffixes (derivatives have in their final syllable a vowel different from that of the base). Prefixes are extremely rare, but the suffix type with *-a-* is quite common.

#### Prefixes

- **ê-**
  - *rao* to announce, make known: *rêu-rao* spread scandal
  - *oãi* be tired, worn out: *uê-oãi* [wêj wâj] be tired, lazy

- **u-**
  - *nhât* be cowardly: *nhút-nhât* be timid, shy

#### Suffixes

- **a-**
  - *hốc* hole, hollow: *hốc-hác* be
    - **êm** emaciated, gaunt
  - *sôm* be shaggy [of beard]: *sôm-soâm* (or *sôm-sâm*)
  - *mon* to caress: *mon-man*
  - *dê* be easy: *dê-dãi* [zêj zâj] be easy-going, generous
  - *rôi* be unoccupied: *rôi-rãi* have
    - **êm** leisure time
  - *mêu* screw up mouth to cry, weep:
    - *mêu-mào* [mêw mâw]
  - *hêu* be credulous: *hêu-hào*
  - *máp* be fat: *máp-máp*
  - *vút* be wet: *vót-át*
  - *mât* lose: *mât-mât*
  - *váp* hit obstacles: *váp-váp*
  - *quỳnh* be emotionally upset:
    - *quỳnh-quàng* be careless
  - *khêu* be clumsy: *khêu-khoào*
  - *deyJ* speak unclearly: *dố-D '~/t*
  - *mût* to suck: *mût-mât*

- **ênh** stick one’s nose up, be
  - **ênh-vang** haughty

- **ã-**
  - *lêch* be tilted, slanted: *lêch-lach*
  - *chûn* be ripe: *chûn-chân* be very
    - **ênh** ripe
  - *hung* be bad, wicked: *hung-hâng*
  - *vûng* shake: *vûng-vàng* be shaking
    - **ênh** with anger

- **ê-**
  - *mûp* be hollow, flattened: *mûp-mûp* be flattened, deformed
  - *môm* be toothless: *môm-mêm* chew
    - **ênh** without teeth

- **êm**
  - *mûp* be fat: *mûp-mûp* be fat, plump
  - *cúc* be crude, coarse, boorish:
  - *cúc-kích*
  - *thùng* barrel, large container: *thùng-thính* be too large, fit like a
    - **ênh** barrel [speaking of clothes]
Emeneau 1951 describes disyllabic forms of this type as involving alternations of back and front vowels at the same level: uːi, ōːē, oːe (5.5.6.34). A large proportion of the forms cited appear to be single morphemes, and this description fits them well. The suffixes with -e- and -i- exemplified above create forms which look very similar. However, the formations with -a- and -ă- seem unrelated. (See also 7.58.)

7.53. **Emphatics with riming prefixes** have initial syllables which rime with their bases but have different initial consonants. Most common are b- and l-, but there are also examples with ch- and t-.

b-

ngủi* be moved [emotionally]: bủi-ngủi be very much moved
nhâu be wrinkled [cloth]: bâu-nhâu be very wrinkled
hoái* (S) be nervously tired: bái-hoái (S) be very tired
rồi be confused: bồi-rồi be troubled, perplexed, upset
thùng be roomy [of clothes]: bừng-thùng be too large, ill fitting
thùng barrel, etc. [large container]: bưng-thùng be ill fitting [like a barrel]

ch-

rộn be noisy, troublesome, disorderly: chộn-rộn be agitated, troubled, anxious

l-

nhằng be trailing behind: lằng-nhằng

quỳnh be emotionally upset: lính-quỳnh be in awe
vọn be in small pieces: lyun-vọn
choi* be unstable: loi-choi jump around, unable to be still
túng be reduced to poverty: lúng-túng not to know what to do to get out of a situation
mò grope for [in dark or water]: lờ-mò grope feverishly
thwa be thin, sparse [vegetation, growth]: lua-thwa
mờ be dim, vague, unclear: lờ-mờ
thùng be roomy [of clothes]: lùng-thùng be too big [of clothes]

t-

mò grope for [in dark or water]: tờ-mò be curious, want to know all
mờ be dim, vague, unclear: tờ-mờ
mò-măn grope a long time: tò-mò tăn-măn (cf. 7.72)

7.54. **Emphatics with riming suffixes** have final syllables which rime with their bases, but have different initial consonants. A few suffixes also have different tone from the base.

* Free morpheme of severely limited distribution.
h-  
ten be torn: ten-ben

ch-  (with different tone)  
méét (S) be pale: mét-chét be very pale
lùn be short [not tall]: lùn-chün be very short, dwarfed

l-  
khóc weep: khóc-lóc
tham be greedy: tham-lam be greedy, covetous
khéo be skillful, dexterous: khéo-léo

ng-  (with different tone)  
khét have odor of something burned: khét-nghét (S) have odor of something very badly burned
cüt be short or lacking: cüt-ngút be very short, cüt-ngün id.

nh-  
tap be mixed, miscellaneous: tap-nhap be mixed
 cuòi to laugh: cuòi-nhuòi to tease, joke

qu-  (with different tone)  
sach be clean: sach-nhách be completely clean; all finished, exhausted

7.55. Emphatics with alliterative prefixes have initial syllables which begin with the same consonants as their bases but have different nuclei, often also different tones. Tone relationships are regular as described in 7.12.

-a  (with even tone)  
(common with disyllabic bases)  
thiệt have an interest in: thà-thiệt be earnest, insistent
lết drag about painfully: la-lết do with much pain or difficulty
lung-thúng be too big [of clothes]  
lung-thà lung-thúng
dũng-dính go slowly, leisurely:  
dũng-daũng-dính
ông-éo behave affectedly: ông-à ông-éo
nhí-nhạnh be lively, sprightly: nhí-nhà nhí-nhạnh
dống-dành be difficult, exacting  
(7.56): đồng-da đồng-dành

E-  (with different tone)  
tít be plugged up: tít-mít remain silent

ng-  (with different tone)  
khét have odor of something burned: khét-nghét (S) have odor of something very badly burned
cüt be short or lacking: cüt-ngút be very short, cüt-ngün id.

nh-  
tap be mixed, miscellaneous: tap-nhap be mixed
 cuòi to laugh: cuòi-nhuòi to tease, joke

nh-  (with different tone)  
sach be clean: sach-nhách be completely clean; all finished, exhausted

qu-  (with different tone)  
sach be clean: sach-quách be completely clean; cleaned out, all gone

-ai  (with even tone)  
láng abound: lai-láng overflow

-ao  (with even tone)  
khát be thirsty: khoa-khát

-ăc  
roǐ be mixed up, tangled: rąc-rōi be complicated, intricate

-ăn  (with short tone)  
do to measure, gauge: dăn-do weigh both sides of a question

-ăm  (with short tone)  
ngủ* be moved [emotionally]: ngăm-ngủ be grieved

* Free morpheme of severely limited distribution.
- âm
tắc to click [tongue]: tâ-m-tắc
    click tongue in sign of
    admiration
- áp
phông swell up, inflate: phâp-
phông swell up and deflate
alterately; be worried
ngùng to stop, interrupt: ngâp-
ngùng hesitate
- i (with even tone)
côp* gather, collect: ky-côp build
    up bit by bit, economize
ngút* to rise [of smoke]: nghi-ngút
    rise in curls [of smoke]
thùng sound of drum: thi-thùng
- ôn (with short tone)
dau be painful; sorrowful: dön-dau
- u (with even tone)
khờ be gullible, naive, dull: khù-
khờ be slow-witted
rò feel one’s way: rù-rò be slow
7.56. Emphatics with alliterative suffixes are by far the most numerous and diverse. They have final syllables which begin with the same consonants as their bases but have different nuclei, often also different tones. Tone relationships are regular as described in 7.12.

- a (with even tone)
nôm demotic script: nôm-na
    popular language
nguy be high, steep: nguy-nga be
    grandiose, impressive
rây annoy, pester: rây-râ be
    troublesome, complicated
mân be salty; hearty, kindly: mân-
    mâ be cordial
nêt morals, [good] manners: nêi-
    na be well behaved
thiết have an interest in: thiết-tha
    be earnest, insistent
xâu be bad, ugly: xâu-xa be
    wicked
dây be stocky, fat: dây-dâ be
    very fat
- a (with long tone)
hơi be in a hurry: höi-hâ
    dôi be false: dô-dâ
buôn* hurry toward: buôn-bâ
    giúc urge, stimulate: giúc-giâ
rông* throughout: rông-râ through-
    out, unceasingly
êm be tranquil: êm-â
nong to force, squeeze into: nong-
    nâ
nhan be idle; leisurely: nhân-nhâ
nhúc be disgraced: nhúc-nhâ
oi be hot and muggy: oi-â
ông shine [of fabric]: ông-â
rön be noisy, disorderly: rôn-râ be
    vehement
rôi come unstuck: roi-rä
vôn* to hurry: von-vâ
buôn be sad: buôn-bâ
- ac
dinh be extraordinary: dinh-dac

*Free morpheme of severely limited distribution.
-ac (continued)
bàn discuss, deliberate: bàn-bać
dõ thing, object: dõ-dac thing,
tool, utensil
ngo ignore: ngo-ngác be stupefied,
unable to pay attention
nháo be in disorder: nháo-nhác be
distraught, frightened
rãi spread, sow, distribute: rãi-rác be scattered around
rõi come unstuck: rõi-rác be dis-
continuous, inharmonious
tron* be wide-eyed: tron-trác give
a menacing look
xao* be in motion: xao-xác make
noise
-ach
phá destroy, demolish: phá-phách
plunder, pillage
hiện be clear, obvious: hiền-hách be
illustrious
-ai (with even tone)
dát land: dát-dai territory
rác be exhausted: rác-rài
-ai (with short tone)
hãng be ardent, eager: hằng-hài be
enthusiastic
mem be soft, flexible: mem-mai be
very soft; supple
quan be bent under heavy burden:
quán-quai squirm, writhe
oân bend downward [as with heavy
burden]: oân-oai writhe [as
with pain]
-ai (with long tone)
rõng be wide, spacious: rõng-rãi
bùa be disorderly, untidy: bùa-bãi
mảnh be slender: mảnh-mãi
-am (with short tone)
hợi to stink: hợi-hãm
diễm be calm: diễm-dam
- an (with even tone)
khô be dry: khô-khan
mê be unconscious: mê-man
nông be intense [of feelings]:
nông-nàn
tôi be bad, mediocre: tôi-tân be
dilapidated
-ang (with even tone)
nô to blossom: nô-nang be full-
blown
cũ be old: cũ-cằng
gôn arrange with care: gôn-gàng
sần be ready: sần-sàng
sữa prepare: sữa-sang
trẻ be late: trẻ-trãng
bôn be numerous, encumbering:
bôn-bàng
dẽ be easy: dẽ-dàng
nhẹ be light [weight]: nhẹ-nhàng
khoe to boast: khoe-khoang be
boastful
rõ be clear: rõ-ràng
rôn be noisy, disorderly: rôn-ràng
bother, disturb
giói be good, skillful: giói-giang
-ang (with short tone)
bí make fun of: bí-bàng
- anh (with even tone)
sắm make preparations: sắm-sanh
táp to practice, exercise: táp-tánh
dõ to coax: dõ-dánh
- anh (with short tone)
nhạt pick up, glean: nhạt-nanh
vật be miscellaneous: vật-vanh
so compare: so-sành
- anh (with long tone)
vật be miscellaneous: vật-vành
dông* be difficult, exacting: dông-
dánh

*Free morpheme of severely limited distribution.
- ao (with even tone)
gắt be strong, harsh, violent: gắt-gao be keen, intense
lớn be big, great: lớn-lao be grandiose
khát be thirsty: khát-khao
nghen be choked: nghen-ngào be choked with tears
nôn vomit: nôn-nao be nauseous
xanh be blue, green; pale, sickly: xanh-xao be pale, sickly
hồn be impolite, rude: hồn-hào
bánh be attractive, elegant: bánh-bao be elegant, well adorned
- ao (with short tone)
khờ be gullible, naive, dull: khờ-khao
tỉnh to wake up: tỉnh-táo be wide awake
trộn to mix: trộn-trảo
vênh stick one’s nose up, be haughty: vênh-vào
- ao (with long tone)
dông be crowded [with people]: dòng-dâo
sắc be sharp: sắc-sâo be keen, smart
- ap
âm be warm: âm-áp
cứng be hard: cứng-cáp
chậm be slow: chậm-cháp
nham to sample, taste, snack:
   nham-nháp
- at
cứng be hard: cứng-cát
to be large: to-tát
xô push, shove: xô-xát to scuffle, brawl
- ay (with short tone)
do be dirty: do-dáy be filthy
- ay (with long tone)
bóng be bright: bóng-bây be shiny
nồng be hot: nồng-nây be irritable, easily angered
- ac
lâu be a long time: lâu-lâc be a very long time
nồng be strong, intense: nồng-nâc be penetrating [of odor]
sâu be deep: sâu-sâc be very deep
- ăm (with even tone)
tối night; be dark: tối-tâm be dark
xa be far: xa-xâm be very far
- ăm (with short tone)
rôi be mixed up, tangled: rối-râm be complicated
- ân (with even tone)
muôn be slow, late: muốn-mản be late [in having a child]
côc be easily angered, vicious:
   côc-cân be boorish
nhọc be tired: nhọc-nhân
khó be difficult: khó-khăn
- ân (with short tone)
chắc be solid, sure: chắc-chân
do to measure, gauge: đo-dân
   weigh both sides of a question
dày be full: dày-dân
dêu be equal, regular: dêu-dân
già be old: già-gián be experienced
giỏi be good: giỏi-gián (S)
may be lucky: may-mán
tươi be fresh: tươi-tân be smiling
nhỏ be small: nhỏ-nhân
khỏe be healthy: khỏe-khoắn
nhan be courteous, polite, humble:
   nhân-nhân
dày be thick: dày-dân
mau be rapid, prompt: mau-mán
tрôn be round: trón-trân be perfectly round
vuông be square: vuông-vân

*Free morpheme of severely limited distribution.
- ǎn (with long tone)
mò grope for [in dark or water]:
  mò-măn grope for a long time
- āng (with even tone)
nòi to talk: nòi-nāng
lố be ridiculous in appearance:
  lố-lăng
- ǎng (with short tone)
sót be hot: sót-sâng be fervent
- ạt
quâ exceed, surpass: quâ-quát be very excessive
khuya be late at night: khuya-khọt
thêm to augment: thêm-thạt
dè be moderate: dè-dât be reserved
- âm (with short tone)
bui dust: bui-bâm be dusty
- ām (with long tone)
mò grope for [in dark or water]:
  mò-măm
râ grope, feel one's way: râ-răm
rò grope, feel: rò-răm
số feel of, test by touch: số-sâm
grope one's way
- ân (with long tone)
dô be indolent: dô-dăn be slow, stupid
mê be unconscious: mê-măn be bewitched
- âp
nguông be clumsy: nguông-ṅâp
răm make a heavy noise: râm-râp be noisy
- āy (with short tone)
dông to move: dön-dây
- ē (with even tone)
hăm threaten: hăm-he
lông be fluid: lông-le be very fluid
rut withdraw, pull back: rut-rề be retiring, timid
mâu (S) color: mâu-mề (S) flavor;
  beautiful appearance
nhăn send a message by someone:
  nhăn-nhé
- ē (with long tone)
mât be cool: màt-mề
sạch be clean: sạch-sế
mạnh be strong: mạnh-mề
vui be pleasant: vui-vẻ
chát be tight: chät-chề
đẹp be beautiful: đẹp-dề
móì be new: móì-mề
nhỏ be small: nhỏ-nhé be soft [of voice]
suôn (S) go smoothly: suôn-sế
sạch-nhách (S) be completely clean; all finished, exhausted
  (7.54): sạch-nhách sạch-nhé (S)
- ēm (with short tone)
gói to wrap, package: gói-ghém
- ēn (with even tone)
nhỏ be small: nhỏ-nhen be pretty
rôi be mixed up, tangled: rôi-ren be in confusion, disorder
- ēo (with even tone)
bung be jaundiced: bung-beo
ngắt be severe, stern: ngắt-nghéo be very difficult
nhăn be wrinkled, shriveled: nhăn-nheo
phi exhale: phi-phéo inhale and exhale, puff, smoke
răn be wrinkled, shriveled: răn-reno
- ēo (with even tone)
ngoât turn around quickly: ngoât-ngoëo be sinuous; complicated, tricky
tru to howl: tru-trêo yell
uôn to stick out [of part of body]:
  uôn-ēo wriggle, swing hips
- cô (with long tone)
bac be ungrateful: bac-bọ
lạnh be cold: lành-lẹọ be very cold
trằng be white: trằng-tréo be very white
trong be clear, transparent: trong-tréo be very clear, unclouded
lồng be loose, not tight: lồng-lẹọ
- ê (with even tone)
ru invite, urge: ru-rẹ inveigle
dăm to dip, soak: đăm-dẹ be soaked, drenched
nào suffer, be sorrowful: nào-nẹ be very sad
nằng be heavy: nằng-nẹ be very heavy
no be replete: no-nẹ be very full from eating
- è (with long tone)
ngao mock, scoff at: ngao-nghé be arrogant
- ech
khô be gullible, naive, dull: kho-khéch be dull, stupid
ngọ to doubt, be suspicious: ngọ-nghéch
- ênh (with even tone)
họ be inexperienced, imprudent: họ-hẹnh be indiscreet
- et
mẹ be unconscious; infatuated:
mẹ-mẹt be very enthusiastic
rọ be clear: rọ-rẹt be very clear
sọ be afraid: sọ-sẹt
- i (-y) (with even tone)
am be noisy: âm-i (or âm-y) be a prolonged weak noise
sàn be angry: sàn-sị be quarrelsome
- i (-y) (with short tone)
nhăm be outside the regular order of things: nhăm-nhi
xấu be bad; ugly: xâu-xị be very ugly
mộng dream: mộng-mị
- i (-y) (with long tone)
củ be old: củ-kụy be [rather] old
 harmed be noisy: ảm-i (ảm-y) be a very loud noise
rên to groan: rên-rị
râu be very sad: râu-rị
sáp be all the way up to: sáp-sị be nearly, approximately
- ia (with short tone)
chắt be tight: chắt-chịa
dọc be poisonous; cruel: dọc-dịa be cruel
tròn be round: tròn-trịa be perfectly round
- iêm (with short tone)
giấu to hide: giấu-giẻm
- in (with short tone)
rù to rock [cradle]: rù-rịn sing a lullaby
- inh (with long tone)
tròn be round: tròn-trinh be roundish, plump
khô be gullible, naive, dull: khô-khénh
buông be headstrong, stubborn:
buông-bình
ngọ be strange; cute: ngọ-nghénh
tuôi be gay, merry: tuôi-tinh be joyous
- ip
rịn be noisy, disorderly: rịn-rip be bustling, busy
- it
rọi be mixed up, tangled: rọi-rịt be perplexed
chăng to tie up: chăng-chít
be intertwined
hôn to kiss: hôn-hít
bận be busy: bận-bìt
-
-i (with even tone)
nặng pick up and support: nặng-niú
pamper
phẳng be even, level, smooth:
phẳng-phiu
-
-i (with short tone)
bận be busy, occupied: bận-biú
mắc be caught in: mái-miu
quấn be curled: quấn-quyú be
twisted
núng be wheedling: núng-niú
-
-i (with long tone)
túc be vulgar, obscene: túc-tiú
-
-o (with even tone)
hay be good, well done: hay-hón
gầy be thin: gầy-gò
rủí be unlucky: rủí-ro
thom be sweet-smelling: thom-thò
then be ashamed: then-thò
liú be tongue-tied, embarrassed:
liú-lo jabber, speak indistinctly
-
-o (with short tone)
rần be wrinkled: rần-ró be very
wrinkled
veo be twisted, crooked, distorted:
veo-vo
méo be out of shape: méo-mó
-
-o (with long tone)
mất (S) be expensive: mất-mợ (S)
xin to beg for: xin-xợ bother with
requests
-
-o (with even tone)
gan be courageous: gan-góc
mời invite: mời-móc
-
-oi (with even tone)
họp be narrow; stingy: họp-hói be
stingy
hạn be thorough, complete: hạn-hoi
be correct, proper
ít be a small amount: ít-óí be a very
small amount
mặn be salty: mặn-m
-
-oí (with long tone)
cứng be hard, stiff: cứng-cовать be
firm
lọc to filter: lọc-lợi be experienced
-
-om (with long tone)
nhẹ be light [in weight]: nhẹ-nhôm
be very light [in weight]
nhắc to recall: nhắc-nhôm to recall
frequently
-
-on (with short tone)
hay be good, well done: hay-hón
-
-ong (with short tone)
rết pull tight; be stingy: rết-rộng
be stingy
-
-ong (with long tone)
gạt be violent; grumble: gạt-gông
lose one's temper
ghé to hate, detest: ghét-gông
-
-ot
nần to model [e.g., with clay]:
nần-not
nhảy to jump: nhảy-nhót to jump
around
trồng (S) to plant: trồng-trotch (S) to
cultivate
sai be false, wrong: saí-sót
nần to put back into shape: nần-
nót to form carefully
-
-ô (with even tone)
lộa be naked: lộa-lô
xì leak out; fizzle [out]: xì-xợ
speak incoherently and be un-
able to understand
-
-ô (with short tone)
rầm be noisy: rầm-ró
- ơc
ghì stick, cane: gậy-ôc sticks
(coll.)

- ỡ (with even tone)
nắng to be warm, sunny: nắng-nôi

- ôi (with short tone)
bufc be displeased, annoyed: bufc-bôi
lầy be swampy, miry: lầy-lôi be muddy
nhúc to ache: nhúc-nhôi

- ơn (with short tone)
thieu to lack, be insufficient:
thieu-thôn lack money

- ợt
hoảng be afraid: hoảng-ợt be terrified
dai be stupid, foolish: dai-ợt be very stupid
hu to spoil, break down: hu-ợt deteriorate

- ơ (with even tone)
xác be poor: xác-xô to destitute
lặng be flirtatious: лảng-lơ
gạt to nod: gạt-gô to balance, nod back and forth

- ô (with short tone)
bắt to seize, arrest: bắt-bô to arrest

- ơ (with long tone)
gặp to meet: gặp-gô meet unexpectedly
nhąc to recall: nhắc-nhớ to remind
[of something]

- pgsql (with even tone)
vẽ draw, sketch: vẽ-vội create, invent

- ơ (with short tone)
ghi think: ghi-ngoài think, be pensive
phất to wave: phất-phôi to flutter

- ơn (with short tone)
nhắc be lazy, negligent: nhắc-nhóm
lị be stubborn: lị-lơn

- oun (with short tone)
dau be painful; sorrowful: dau-dôn

- 滘
hội be inexpensive: hội-hốt be frivolous
non be tender, young: non-nốt be very tender, young
rã be broken up, dispersed: rã-rot
be completely broken up

- ụ (with even tone)
gạt to nod: gạt-gù nod one’s head with contentment

- ọa (with even tone)
gày be emaciated: ngày-gùa
sôm early: sôm-sua

- ọa (with short tone)
giầy (or giấy) to struggle: giầy-già
(or giấy-già)
nhẩy be viscous, gluey: nhẩy-nhua
be covered with sticky substance
nhớp be dirty, disgusting: nhớp-nhua
sắc give off strong odor: sắc-sua
smell of, reek

- ọa (with long tone)
sáng be bright, shine: sáng-súa

- uc
nhìn put up with, endure: nhìn-nhuc

- ủi (with even tone)
sản be rough: sản-sủi

- ủi (with short tone)
gàn be near, beside: gàn-gui
nhân be smooth: nhân-nhủi

- ủi (with long tone)
den be black; unlucky: den-dủi be unlucky

ngàn be short: ngàn-ngủi be very short
gàn be near, beside: ngàn-gủi
- um (with short tone)
dè be moderate: dè-dum economize

- un (with short tone)
mắm chew into small pieces with front teeth: mám-mún be in tiny pieces

- ung (with even tone)
ño to remember; miss: nho-nhưng to miss
labe strange: la-lùng
nào suffer emotionally: nào-nùng be sorrowful
lành be cold: lanh-lùng be cold, indifferent

- ung (with short tone)
nao be stirred, moved: nao-nùng
rẻ be inexpensive; despicable: rể-rúng belittle
lắm do, make; work: làm-lúng toil

- ut
côi be orphaned: côi-cút
lăn to hide: lân-lút

- uf (with even tone)
lắc shake from side to side: lắc-lư swing, sway
trù be undecided, vacillate: trù-trù

- ua (with even tone)
say be drunk: say-sua

- uc
cùng end; be destitute: cùng-cięc
nào make noise: nào-núc be excited
rôn be noisy, disorderly: rôn-rúc be enthusiastic

- uoi (with short tone)
rách be torn: rách-róni be ragged
dā to sap strength: dā-duongi be worn out, tired
rũ droop: rũ-róni droop, be disheveled

7.57. Contrastng forms are common among these derivatives. Sometimes there seems to be little difference in meaning, but often the connotations or even the principal references are entirely different. The following examples furnish some notion of this variety. (Forms without glosses have meanings very similar to those of immediately preceding forms.)

chắt be tight:
  chắt-chẻ (7.56)
  chắt-chịa (7.56)

cùng be hard:
  cùng-cáp (7.56)
  cùng-cát (7.56)
  cùng-côi be firm (7.56)

để be easy:
  đê-dâi be easy-going, generous (7.52)
  đê-dàng be easy (7.56)

khát be thirsty:
  khao-khát (7.55)
  khát-khao (7.56)

khờ be gullible, naive, dull:
  khù-khờ be slow-witted (7.55)
  khờ-khao be gullible, naive, dull (7.56)
  khờ-khêch be dull, stupid (7.56)
  khờ-kính be gullible, naive, dull (7.56)
mò grope for [in dark or water]:
   mò-măm (7.56)
   mò-mần grope for a long time (7.56)
   lò-mò grope feverishly (7.53)
   tö-mò be curious, want to know all (7.53)
   nhở be small:
   nhở-nhan (7.56)
   nhở-nhẻ be soft of voice (7.56)
   nhở-nhen be pretty (7.56)
   rối be mixed up, tangled:
   rắc-rội be complicated, intricate (7.55)
   rối-rił be perplexed (7.56)
   rối-răm be complicated (7.56)
   rối-ren be in confusion, disorder (7.56)
   rộn be noisy, disorderly:
   rộn-rã be vehement (7.56)
   rộn-ràng bother, disturb (7.56)
   rộn-riép be bustling, busy (7.56)
   rộn-rúc be enthusiastic (7.56)
   rörü come unstuck:
   rörü-rã (7.56)
   rörü-rác be discontinuous, inharmonious (7.56)
   sách be clean:
   sách-sẽ (7.56)
   sách-nhách be completely clean; all finished, exhausted (7.54)
   sách-nhách sách-nhẻ (7.56)
   sách-quách be completely clean; cleaned out, all gone (7.54)
   sách-sành-sanh be very clean (7.51)
   tròn be round:
   tròn-trăn be perfectly round (7.56)
   tròn-trịa (7.56)
   tròn-trinh be roundish, plump (7.56)
   vật be miscellaneous:
   vật-vanh (7.56)
   vật-vánh (7.56)

7.58. Problems. Just what the origin of these extremely varied formations may have been remains a difficult question. The surface of the modern language shows dissyllabic reduplicative elements of four different internal structures:

(1) single morphemes:
   năn-ná procrastinate
   nhí-nhánh be lively, sprightly
   söst-sat rustle [paper or cloth] (also söst-soat)
   khát-khé (or khe-khat) be stern
   chu-chério to yell
   dùng-dính go slowly, leisurely
   thinh-lính be sudden
   thinh-thoáng from time to time
   lợi-thot be complicated
   döst-ngôt be sudden, unexpected
(2) derivatives (like those cited in the preceding sections)

(3) compounds and pseudo-compounds:

xéo-xẹo be indirect, not quite straight (xéo be slanting, oblique, xẹo id.)
tréo-trẹọ be completely intertwined (tréo be crossed, at an angle, trẹọ be off natural position, dislocated, out of joint)
cẫy-cẫy engage in farming (cẫy to plow, cẫy transplant)
bộn-rộn be troubled, agitated (bộn be in a mess, disorderly, rộn be noisy, troublesome, disorderly)
tẻ-mẻ give oneself to an activity uninhibitedly (tẻ be anaesthetized, in a stupor, mẻ be unconscious; infatuated)
dẹo-dái be pliable and durable (dẹo be soft, pliable, dái be durable)
khăn-khoản insist [in inviting] (khăn be earnest, khoản insist)
sứa-soạn prepare (sứa prepare, soạn id.)
rẫ-rặc sow, disseminate (rẫi distribute, sow, rặc sow)
mộc-méo be mildewed (mộc be mildewed, meo id.)
khôn-khéo be smart, artful (khôn be clever, shrewd, kéo be skillful)
trằn-trường be naked (trằn be half naked, trường be naked)
ngu-ngộc be stupid (ngu be stupid, ngộc id.)
béo-bỏ be advantageous (béo be fat, bỏ be profitable)
lêu-láo be insolent (lêu be insolent, negligent, láo be insolent)
dần-dọn be stupid (dần be stupid, dọn id.)
chùa-chiên temples (coll.) (chùa Buddhist temple, chiến pagoda)

(4) phrases:

đề day be obedient, docile (đề be easy, day teach, instruct)
ông ánh be shiny (ông be shiny, ánh ray, beam)
con cái female child (con child, cái female; cf. the apparent
derivative con-cái children, -ai [with short tone])
rồi rồi be already clear (rồi be clear, rồi be completed, over with)

The fourth category is generally quite separate from the first three—forms which are in syntactic relationship and happen to have some element in common seem easy for native speakers to separate from sequences having more intimate internal relationships. Of the examples cited above only ông ánh seems somewhat unclear—it may perhaps be a compound. However, to decide among the other three possibilities for many individual forms is
exceedingly difficult. For example, thông-thâ ‘be free, act leisurely’ may be a single morpheme, unanalyzable; it may contain the element thông which recurs in thông-dông ‘be at one’s ease’ (which otherwise appears unanalyzable; it may involve a riming suffix beginning with d-); it may be a pseudo-compound containing this bound element thông and the free form thâ ‘throw; release, set free.’

A more complicated case is that of words meaning ‘immense.’ The following dissyllabic forms appear in the material studied:

- mang-duong be immense, huge
- mang-mang be immense, vast
- mênh-mang be immense, infinite
- mênh-mông id.
- mông-lung id. (lung be wicked; very, very much)
- mông-mênh id.
- mông-quanh be vast and deserted (quanh be solitary, deserted)
- mình-mông be immense, infinite

The constituents mang, mênh, mông, mình are each listed in Thanh Nghĩ 1952 with the notation khd. (không dùng một mình ‘not used alone’); that is, they are presumably bound forms. From the forms recorded it seems impossible to arrive at a clear base for the several forms as derivatives. The Chinese borrowed elements which may possibly be involved are: duong ocean, mang water overflowing, mang large, mình dark, hidden, mông dark, obscure. However, it is noteworthy that Đào duy Anh 1951 gives rather different glosses for the complex elements, which may only be homonymous Chinese borrowed forms:

- mang duong ‘mênh mông lai lâng’ (‘immense, overflowing, full’)
- mang mang ‘xa xôi; mênh mông’ (‘distant; tired’)
- mang mang (with the character glossed ‘large’) ‘xa xôi; mênh mông; không biết gì; nhiều lám (‘... ignorant; a great deal’)
- mang mang (with the character glossed ‘busy’) ‘việc nhiều bạn ròn’ (‘having many things to do, busy’)
- mình mông ‘mò hố không rò’ (‘imprecise, unclear’)
- mông lung (with character glossed ‘dark’) ‘che láp cå’ (‘conceal completely’)
- mông lung (with character not separately glossed) ‘lúc mặt trời chưa mọc, trời còn tối’ (‘before sunrise, sky still dark’)
- mông lung (with character not separately glossed) ‘lúc mặt trời gần lăn’ (‘close to sunset’)

Đào duy Anh 1951 also lists three forms mông mông:

(with character glossed ‘drizzle’) ‘mưa đầm đầm’ (presumably a misprint for mua đầm đầm ‘a rather persistent rain’)

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(with character not separately glossed, refers only to this form) ‘không rõ ràng’ (‘not very clear’)
(with character glossed ‘dark’) ‘mò tôi; phiền; thịnh’ (‘dim, dark; disturb, bother; flourishing, a large amount’)

This case is exemplary of the kind of problem involved in a careful interpretation of the material. It is obvious that a great deal of philological study is often necessary to arrive at an understanding of the interrelationships of forms.

It might be speculated that in the dim past compounds and phrases which involved alliteration, rime, or other similarities were considered of high literary merit. On the basis of many such forms, new derivatives might have been formed which resembled such compounds and phrases, but which contained elements that were by themselves meaningless. In this way reduplicative derivative patterns may have been born. Single-morpheme forms may involve either the loss of the base as an individual recurrent element or the imitative creation of new dissyllabic elements on the analogy of patterns already found.

On the other hand, it may be argued that at an earlier stage of the language there was an elaborate morphological system, involving many types of chameleon affixes with more or less consistent meanings. These may or may not have been related historically to a variety of onomatopoetic and other single-morpheme forms of reduplicative type. Modern compounds, pseudo-compounds, and phrases of reduplicative appearance may have been partly coincidental, partly coined on the basis of their resemblance to the derivatives. Or, possibly, many monosyllabic morphemes which are free in the modern language, and thus appear now as elements in compounds or phrases, may originally have been bound elements in earlier derivatives. (A similar development of monosyllabic elements from dissyllabic originals may well have taken place with nonreduplicative materials as well. The great number of compounds and pseudo-compounds containing synonymous elements would seem to support such a theory. See 6.24, 6.32.)

A third possibility is that reduplicative patterns may have been borrowed along with some large-scale borrowing of forms from other languages of the area, with subsequent imitative extension. In this connection it should be noted that the wholesale borrowing of dissyllabic forms from Chinese seems not to have included many such elements. However, the Chinese borrowed material enormously complicates the investigation of reduplicative forms.

A meaningful solution to this puzzle can be hoped for only after very extensive analysis of the variety of materials involved. On the basis of the limited examination which has been possible, the second explanation
seems to me most likely. This opinion takes into consideration the divers-
ity of the forms involved, the lack of consistent correlation between form
and meaning among the derivatives, the existence of multiple contrasting
forms from the same bases, and the regularity of tonal patterning for most
of the material. This view seems to fit best with the suggestions about the
history of the language which have been published (esp. Maspero 1912,
Haudricourt 1954).

7.6. **Productive Emphatics** are similar to the forms described in 7.5, but
they have a consistent correlation between form and meaning and new forms
seem to be coined readily. The first type involves a chameleon tonal pre-
fix which adds a connotation of attenuation; the formation seems general
for the language as a whole. The second is apparently limited to the south-
ern dialect: a chameleon alliterative suffix adds a heavy touch of irony or
scorn to the meaning of the base.

7.61. **Attenuative Emphatics** are slightly more picturesque and stylisti-
cally more vivid than simple attenuatives formed with the perfect chameleon
affix (7.43). The prefix has the even tone of the same register as the base,
except that the very few bases in the material with nänd tone have deriv-
avitives with ngand tone in the prefix (where huyën would be expected in keep-
ing with the regular alternation types). It is noteworthy in this connection
that some informants pronounce these forms with a huyën tone (especially
southern speakers). It is particularly interesting that this distinction between
bases with hōi and nänd tone should be made in the south where the tones
themselves have fallen together. Derivatives from bases with even tones
are homonymous with the corresponding simple attenuatives.²

biêt disappear, be lost: biën-biêt lose track of, lose sight of
bót diminish: bon-bót be somewhat less
- cut be short: cùn-cut be rather short
- mét be pale: men-mét be rather pale
ngót taper off, become less: ngon-ngót taper off somewhat
phôt be light [of color]: phon-phôt be rather light
sach be clean: sánh-sach be rather clean
sét be viscous: sánh-sét be somewhat viscous

² Another way of describing the circumstances would be to say that for bases with
even tones there is a single attenuative formation, while for bases with short and long tones
tere are two possibilities—derivatives with tonal prefix are slightly more emphatic and pic-
turesque than those with perfect chameleon affix. The derivatives discussed here might of
course also be considered as based on simple attenuatives, with a first-syllable tonal super-
fix. However, the over-all pattern of derivatives in the language weighs against such a de-
scription. Other derivatives with disyllabic bases are tetrasyllabic (cf. 7.7), and there are
virtually no other instances of derivative superfixes (the anaphorics discussed in 7.3 are
the only possible parallel).
cũng be tough: cung-cừng be somewhat tough
ánh ray of light: anh-ánh be rather luminous
giận tremble with fear: giôn-giôn be rather fearful
khá be rather good: kha-khá be rather mediocre
lạnh be cold: lạnh-lạnh be a bit cold
nề be light [in weight]: nề-nề be rather light [in weight]
khăm be full, loaded to capacity: khăm-khăm be fairly full
lồng be fluid, liquid: lồng-lồng be somewhat fluid
nho be small: nhỏ-nhỏ be rather small
rõ be clear: rõ-rõ be rather clear
sẽ be soft, gentle [of voice]: sẽ-sẽ be rather soft, gentle [of voice]

7.62. Ironic Emphatics (S) are formed with an alliterative chameleon suffix with the key shape -iêc [-iɛk] and sắc or nằng tone according to the regular pattern. This affix adds a high emotional coloring to the meaning of the base; it generally suggests annoyance, disapproval, disinterest (perhaps feigned), irony, disparagement, and the like, on the part of the speaker, or in some instances simply a refusal to assume any responsibility in the matter at hand. These derivatives are apparently heard only in the southern dialect area, and are highly colloquial, seldom written. (This formation is extremely common with polysyllabic bases; see 7.75.)

Không có điện-diêc gì đâu. No electricity at all! (annoyed)
Không có sách-siêc gì đâu. There are no books worth anything.
Trong nhà ông đỗ không có tú ghếianne bàn-biêc gì đâu. In his house there’s no furniture at all!
Trong nhà ông đỗ không có bàn-biêc ghế-ghiêc gì hết. In his house there are no tables or chairs at all! (compound of two derivatives; cf. 7.8)
Tôi mắc công việc nhiều quá, rôi-riêc gì mà đi chơi. I’m terribly busy with many things, never have time to go out for a good time.
Cuốn sách cuốn siêc đây nè, lấy-liêc gì lấy đi! If you want this damned book, then take it! (angry)
Người đó không có dau-diêc gì đâu! That person’s not sick at all [he just says he is to attract attention]!

7.7. Derivatives with Polysyllabic Bases are fairly common. However, they belong to the rhetorical phase of usage rather than to the language of everyday conversation. There are few enough examples in the material studied so that the analysis reflected here may need modification in the
light of new forms. In general the resulting forms consist of four syllables, but there are also some of six syllables (cf. the much rarer three-syllable derivatives formed on monosyllabic bases). For the most part the forms may conveniently be described in the same framework as that provided for non-productive emphatics (7.5), although no vocalic affixes are evidenced and there are no rining suffixes. Some of the forms have been listed as examples of formations in that section. They share with the simpler forms a similar variety of meanings and a similar number of contrasting forms from the same bases. These forms are grouped under the heading *dramatics*. They add to the basic meaning of their bases strong dramatic overtones. Glosses have been supplied only in cases where the meaning of the derivative differs in some other way from that of its base. The few apparently productive formations are discussed in 7.75. Again, as in 7.5, some marginal material which is problematic in various ways has been omitted (for some discussion of this see Emeneau 1951: 5.5.7.2, 5.5.7.4, 5.5.7.6).

7.71. **Dramatics with Tonal Affixes** demonstrate the common patterns found in emphatics and some analogous ones. In the majority of cases both prefixes and suffixes of the same shape were recorded with no apparent gross difference in meaning. Six-syllable forms, which seem to be rather bombastic and are seldom used, combine the same elements in various orders. The following examples are representative of the material as a whole, which is limited. In each case the affixal syllables both have the characteristic tone; the only other difference from the base syllables are automatic (morphophonemic) alternations described in 7.13.

**Hỏi tone**

*bői-rői* be troubled, upset, perplexed: *bői-rői* bői-rői, bői-rői bői
rői

lői-thọi be complicated: lői-th стоим lői-th стоим lői-th стоим
lốp-cốp [sound of wooden sandals] clop-clop: lóm-cöm lốp-cốp,
lốp-cốp lóm-cöm

côm-rõm be emaciated: cóm-rôm cóm-rôm, cóm-rôm cóm-rôm

**Even tone of same register:**

*bái-hoái* be nervously upset: bái-hoái bái-hoái, bái-hoái bái-hoái

**Even tone of opposing register:**

*bői-rői* be troubled, upset, perplexed: *bői-rői* bői-rői, bői-rői
bői-rői

lôi-th理事长: lôi-th理事长 lôi-th理事长 lôi-th理事长
lốp-cốp [sound of wooden sandals] clop-clop: lóm-cöm lốp-cốp,
lốp-cốp lóm-cöm

côm-rõm be emaciated: com-rôm cóm-rôm, cóm-rôm cóm-rôm
Short tone of opposing register:

phúc-phích be fat and clumsy: phúc-phích phúc-phích, phúc-phích
phúc-phích
rút-rít move around a great deal: rút-rít rút-rít, rút-rít rút-rít
bái-hoại be corrupted: bái-hoại bái-hoại, bái-hoại bái-hoại

Six-syllable combinations:

bội-rồi bội-rồi bội-rồi bội-rồi, bội-rồi bội-rồi
bội-rồi, bội-rồi bội-rồi bội-rồi, bội-rồi bội-rồi bội-rồi,
bội-rồi bội-rồi bội-rồi
lởm-cộm lởm-cộm lởp-cộp, lởp-cộp lởm-cộm lởm-cộm, etc.

7.72. Dramatics with Riming Affixes are relatively rare. No suffixes have been observed, and only prefixes with l- and t- were recorded. In these forms the prefix appears in interlocking order with the syllables of the base: the first syllable of the four-syllable form is the first syllable of the prefix, followed by the first syllable of the base; then comes the second syllable of the prefix, followed by the second syllable of the base.

quýnh-quảng be careless: linh-quýnh lăng-quảng
tùng-tiú be reduced to poverty: lùng-tùng liu-tiú be caught in a situation without recourse
mờ-mận grope for a long time: tò-mờ ñăn-mận

7.73. Dramatics with Alliterative Prefixes are most common in the material studied, except for the productive formation described in 7.75. In the four-syllable forms the prefix reproduces the base exactly through the initial of the second syllable, replacing the vowel and final of that syllable with the even tone of the same register.

-a (with even tone)

khóc-lóc weep, cry: khóc-la khóc-lóc
ky-côp collect bit by bit: ky-ca ky-côp
lung-thùng be too big [of clothes]: lung-thà lung-thùng
dǒng-dình go slowly, leisurely: dǒng-da dǒng-dình
öng-ôo behave affectedly: öng-à öng-ôo
dǒng-dành be difficult, exacting: dǒng-da dǒng-dành
nihí-nhành be lively, sprightly: nihí-nha nihí-nành

7.74. Dramatics with Alliterative Suffixes only vaguely suggest the enormous variety of the formations with monosyllabic bases. In the tetra-syllabic forms the suffix reproduces the base exactly through the initial
of the second syllable, replacing the vowel, final, and tone of that syllable with one of the elements reported in 7.56. (Note that the tone register of the suffix depends on the tone of the second syllable of the base.)

sach-nhách be absolutely clean: sach-nhách sach-nhé
trong-sach be clear: trong-sach trong-sê
cút-ngûn be very short: cút-ngûn cút-nghiû
tháp-xûn be very short: tháp-xûn tháp-xiu
nhot-nhot be very viscous: nhot-nhot nhot-nho
truí-luí be completely denuded: truí-luí truí-lo
xa-lâc be very distant: xa-lâc xa-lo

Many of the bases here are compounds or pseudo-compounds; of the ones cited above only sach-nhách and nhot-nhot are derivatives. The same patterns extend to phrases (see 7.8).

7.75. Productive Derivation with Polysyllabic Bases involves the chameleon alliterative suffix -iêc, limited to the southern dialect. It might well be expected that the productive attenuative affix (7.61) would form derivatives on polysyllabic bases, but no such forms occur in the material.

khóc-lóc weep, cry: khóc-lóc khóc-liêc be a cry-baby
Đúng khóc-lóc khóc-liêc hoài nhu thế! Don’t be such a cry-baby all the time!
Người dó không khóc-lóc không khóc-liêc gì đâu. That person won’t weep at all [don’t be ridiculous].
Em dó hay khóc-lóc hay khóc-liêc, không bao giờ nữa. That child cries continuously, never stops.

Note the interlocking order in the last two examples. This shows the extension of the principle of reduplicative derivatives based on polysyllabic forms to phrases (see 7.8).

7.8. Derivatives and Phrase Structure. The same vagueness of the line separating words from phrases which we have noted in connection with compounds and pseudo-compounds (6.1) can be observed in derivative formations as well. Many of the derivatives described in the preceding sections occur in prose more often than not in interlocking order with the immediately preceding word and its repetition. In the case of alliterative suffixes there is no formal difference between the resulting sequence of forms and similar sequences involving derivatives based on other derivatives or compounds or pseudo-compounds. Examples with the ironic suffix -iêc are extremely common in southern speech.

3 We might expect cases when it is rather the word following the derivative that is involved, but examples are lacking in the material.
Cuốn sách cuốn siéc đây nẻ, lạy-liéc gì lạy đi! If you want this damned book, then take it!

Người dó không đau kvinde gì đâu! That person’s not sick at all [he just says he is to attract attention]!

In some cases, this interlocking order is the only one possible. This suggests that the syntactic relationships involved are somewhat closer in such cases. The first example above involves such a sequence: when the classifier cuốn is used with sách-siéc it is always repeated between the two syllables of the derivative. In other cases, where this construction is optional, the interlocking order achieves a more emphatic or picturesque effect.

There are also differences between compounds or phrases made up of derivatives and derivatives based on phrases or compounds: bàn-ghẻ bàn ghiec ‘any old kind of furniture’ is a derivative based on the compound bàn-ghẻ ‘furniture’; bàn-biec ghê-ghiec is a phrase or compound made up of derivatives. The phrase means something like ‘any old tables and chairs’; the compound means something barely distinguishable from the preceding example—here there is a heavier emphasis on disapproval of the items composing the furniture, while in bàn-ghẻ bàn-ghiec there is more emphasis on disapproval of the furniture as a whole.

Further examples of derivatives of various sorts in interlocking order with preceding repeated elements follow.

Việc dó tôi làm không lính không quánh gì, ty-nhien. (S) I took care of that matter myself without fearing anything.

Người dó làm việc hay lính hay quánh qua, nên không được gì hết. (S) That fellow works with such a fearful attitude that he can’t do anything.

Ông làm ơn nói cho ránh cho rẹ ra đăng tôi hiểu cho rõ. (S) Please speak very distinctly [separating words] so that I can understand clearly.

Ông ăn thật no thật nê đi, rồi sẽ làm. (S) Go ahead and eat really heartily, then work afterwards.

Ông ăn no ăn nê đi! Eat heartily

Người dó nga mé ngù man nhu chết. (S) That person is sound asleep—dead to the world.

Nó đi chăm đi chipset quá. It [a child or animal] walks very slowly.

Việc dó làm cho tôi phải bùi phải ngùi luôn-luôn. (S) That [sort of] thing makes me feel melancholy all the time.

Cái áo này tho may cắt cho cụt-nggün cho cụt-nghiù. This tunic the tailor cut terribly short.

Thằng nhớ này thấp lừa thấp xùn quá đổi. (S) That child is short beyond imagination!
Công việc đồ làm cho bái-hoai cho bái-hoại mọi người. (S) That affair enervated everyone.

Người đồ không có đất có đại gì hết. (S) That person has no land whatsoever.

Cái đồ không buộc không bụi gì. (S pop.) That’s not big at all.

Cái ruột xe đồ không xếp không lép chút nào. (S) That inner tube isn’t at all deflated.

Tôi có một số tiền rất còn rất con. I have a very small sum of money.

Hãy làm lịa làm lịa đi! Go ahead and get it done quickly!

Because of this difficulty in drawing the line between derivatives and phrases involving them, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given sequence is a complex derivative (that is, based on another derivative or compound) or an instance of a phrase involving one or more derivatives. A few examples of questionable cases follow:

-xéo-xèo xéo-xèo ‘be very deformed’ may be a phrase containing the compound xéo-xèo id. and the derivative xéo-xèo id.; or it may be a complex derivative based on xéo-xèo.

khóc-la khóc-lết ‘drag oneself along crying’ may be a phrase containing khóc ‘weep’ and la-lết ‘drag oneself along’ (derivative based on lết, or possibly a compound containing la ‘cry out’); or it may be a derivative based on khóc-lết ‘drag oneself along crying.’

It is interesting to note that derivatives of the type described in 7.61 (attenuative emphatics) do not occur in interlocking order.

Anh ấy chưa làm việc nhiều, nhưng hồi men-mẹt rồi. He hasn’t been working long but he’s a bit tired already.

There are also some derivatives which only rarely appear in interlocking order. It has not been possible to identify any controlling factors.
CHAPTER 8

Substantival Elements

8.1. Substantives. There are two sets of markers (5.63) which help identify substantival elements. They are plural markers (appearing as restrictive complements) and demonstrative markers (appearing as descriptive complements).

\begin{itemize}
  \item Plural markers (8.2)
    \begin{itemize}
      \item **những** plural
      \item **các** plural (all of a given set)
      \item **mỗi** every
      \item **môi** each
      \item **tùng** each (in turn)
    \end{itemize}
  \item Demonstrative markers (8.5)
    \begin{itemize}
      \item **nào** which(ever)
      \item **này** (S **này**) this
      \item **nổ** that, (an)other
      \item **áy** [the one] just referred to
      \item **này** this [one] just mentioned
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

All those words which are found in some instances directly following a sentence initial plural marker and/or which occur as head with a demonstrative marker as complement are substantives.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Môi **người** ... Each person ...
  \item Môi **sáu người** ... Each six people ...
  \item Môi **trăm người** ... Each hundred people ...
  \item Môi **mấy người** ... Each few people ...
  \item Những **chó** ... Dogs ...
  \item Những **con chó** ... The dogs ...
  \item Những **gì** ... Things ...
  \item **sữa** này this milk
  \item Trọng **áy** Inside there
\end{itemize}

A phrase containing a substantive as center (5.62) is a substantival phrase. Such phrases are formed by various subtypes of the three basic construction types (5.61): they are called substantival constructions, and are discussed in detail in 8.3.
8.2. **Plural Markers** convey, in addition to the notion of plurality, some special connotations. We have used their occurrence at the beginning of sentences to define substantives, but they are all common in other positions as well.

Những ‘some, several [of the same category]’ has a slightly literary flavor and is less common than **các** in ordinary speech. **Các** implies that all of a given set of entities are involved, while **những** suggests that only certain of the total possible number are referred to.

Những cái đèn trong nhà này tối quá. (S) [Some of the] lights in this house are terribly dim.

Các cái đèn trong nhà này tối quá. (S) The lights in this house are terribly dim [all of them].

Nhu vậy các ông đến nơi thì gặp những ngày cuối năm âm lịch.
In this way they [“the gentlemen”] [would] arrive there [and] run into some of the final days of the year [according to] the moon calendar.

Những lần sóng lớn bị tàu cắt đôi, đập vào hai bên màn tàu, tung lên những bọt trắng-xóa. Large waves were cut in two by the ship, [they] struck against the two sides of the ship [and] threw up bubbles of glistening white spray.

Anh ấy ăn những tấm bát cơm. He ate some [i.e., as many as] eight bowls of rice.

Ngoài cửa là dại nhà dỗ-sờ, mặt bên thì bày những ảnh các tài-tử và những ảnh chụp các đoàn phim đã quay. Outside [the door] was a row of imposing buildings, on one side [there were] displayed some portraits of the actors and some shots from completed films. [“...portion film already turn”]

It has been asserted (e.g., Lê văn Lý 1948, p. 174) that **các** serves to distinguish second person reference (the persons addressed) from third person reference (forms pluralized with **những**). This formulation is misleading, since **các** often appears pluralizing forms referring to third person entities (as in the second example above). **Những** is uncommon in conversation; moreover, in addressing persons a speaker almost inevitably includes all of a certain category in his reference. Thus **những** would hardly be expected in direct address.

The three remaining forms all carry some connotation of individuality of the entities pluralized; they differ in emphasis. **Mỗi** ‘every’ stresses the totality of the category referred to. Jones and Thong 1960 notes (p. 190) that with words denoting units of time **mỗi** refers to past time. Presumably this is simply a consequence of the connotation of totality or completeness which it bears. The notion ‘every item of a complete set’ must presume that the set is a closed class, thus naturally referring to something in the
past. Mới ‘each’ emphasizes rather the identity of individual members of the class. Tùng ‘each (in turn)’ adds the notion of individual entities following one another rather than engaged in concerted activity.

Mỗi năm các bạn lên Đà-lạt ở hai tuần nghỉ mát. Every year the friends went up to Dalat for their two-week vacation.

Tôi sẽ lo mọi việc. I’ll take care of everything.

Tôi sẽ lo mỗi việc mỗi lúc. I’ll take care of one thing at a time.

Hôm qua mỗi người có mật. Yesterday everybody was present.

Hôm qua mỗi người có mật đều cho tiền. Each person present yesterday gave money.

Tùng gia đình một đi bỏ phiếu. Family by family they went to cast [their] votes.

Tùng ba người một chạy thi. Three by three they ran races.

Công an đi đến tung nhà mà điều tra. The police went from house to house investigating.

Phrases with mỗi are nearly always followed by phrases later in the sentence in which a specific quantity or individual item is mentioned. In cases where a speaker does not wish to mention such a specific quantity, he uses a different kind of expression, with an indefinite word and either cùng ‘likewise’ or đều ‘equal(ly)’ (see 14.2).

Mỗi ngày tôi ăn hai quả trứng. Each day I eat two eggs.

Ngày nào tôi cùng (or đều) ăn trứng. Every day I eat eggs.

Expressions with tùng are regularly closed by the word một ‘one’ as a final descriptive complement when they come first in the sentence (as focal complements, cf. 10.1-2). This usage is also common in other positions. For further discussion and examples see tùng in Appendix A.

8.3. Substantival Phrase and Word Classes. All three of the basic construction types are well represented in phrases having a substantive as center (5.62). These constructions are discussed in the following sections, together with the special features which make clear the different grammatical functions of the various subtypes of substantives.

8.3.1. Numerative Phrases are formed by a restrictive construction with a substantive or substantival phrase as head. The first element of such phrases (the restrictive complement) is the numerator; it is often itself a numerative phrase, although other phrase types also occur in this position (8.32-33).

The plural markers are numerators. Substantives which serve as numerators are numerals (8.4). Other substantives are nominals (8.6).
There are certain kinds of phrases in which a numeral appears as head: these are numeral phrases (distinct from numerative phrases, as defined above: some numeral phrases are also numerative phrases, formed with the restrictive construction, but others have a coordinating construction). The more complicated numbers involve such numeral phrases (cf. 8.45). A nominal phrase, on the other hand, has a nominal as head (for examples, see 8.34).

**Numerals**

- sáu người six people
- trăm năm a hundred years
- nửa giờ half an hour

**Numeral Phrases**

- hai trăm two hundred (numerative)
- năm sáu five or six (approximative, with coordinating construction)
- mười hai twelve (additive, with coordinating construction)

A few nonsubstantives occur as numerators. The most common are quantifiers (9.53). However, not all restrictive complements of substantives are numerators (see 8.35).

8.32. Approximative Phrases have two or more heads in a coordinating construction. These heads are generally numerals denoting successively larger quantities. Such phrases most commonly serve as numerators (8.31).

- Sáng nay có ba bốn người đến hỏi thăm. This morning three or four people came to inquire.
- Tôi có thể tới три năm mười phút được không? If I should arrive five or ten minutes late, will it be all right?
- Nhớ lúc rượu ngon năm bàu chén ... Remembering the occasion of five or [six or] seven glasses of good wine ...—Tân-Dạ
- Sau lung theo một vài tháng con. Behind him ["behind back"] followed a few ["one or a couple"] small boys.

Note in the second example that năm mười means 'five or ten', as opposed to năm mười 'fifty', a numerative phrase with năm as numerator (8.31). (For the special allomorph mười see 8.43.)

This construction appears occasionally with focuses (10.4) as heads.

- Mai một ông đó lên Đà-lạt. (S) Tomorrow or the next day he’s going up to Dalat.

8.33. Additive Phrases are other substantival phrases formed by a coordinating construction. Like approximative phrases they involve two or more heads; when the heads are numerals, the earlier ones denote quantities larger than the later ones. In phrases containing nominals, the first head often denotes a larger or more important entity than the second, and
so on. But there are phrases where there is little indication of any priority for any of the heads. As is the case with phrases of similar function in English and other languages, there are a number of common expressions with a fixed order, while other collocations of heads are found in different orders. Phrases of various other constructions are common as heads.

**VARIABLE**

✓ *cam, quýt, chuối* oranges, tangerines, and bananas  
  *cam, chuối, quýt* oranges, bananas, and tangerines

**FIXED**

✓ ông bà Mr. and Mrs., a gentleman and a lady (his wife)  
✓ vợ chồng husband and wife ["wife husband"]  
✓ cha con father and son  
  hai đồng rubi two and a half piastres  
  ba trăm sáu mươi bảy three hundred sixty-seven

_Hai vợ chồng lấy vàng dua về làm giàu làm có, ăn tiêu sung-sướng_. The two of them, husband and wife, took the gold home, it made them rich and they spent it happily.

Các ông bà là ai? Who are you people ["plural gentleman plural lady"]?

Đêm ngày tôi thường cấu nguyễn đề xin Thương-dế cho cha tôi sinh may đứa em nữa đề chúng nó chơi với tôi cho vui. Night and day I (often) pray (in order to beg) God to let my father give birth to some younger brothers and sisters so they [could] play with me and [we all would] have a good time.

8.34. Descriptive Phrases are extremely common with a nominal or nominal phrase as head. Complements are of the most varied sorts: nearly every type of phrase and a great many individual word types appear as descriptive complements to nominal heads.

✓ người bạn a friend ["person friend"]  
✓ số mười ten  
✓ số mười hai number twelve  
✓ cái bàn the table ["object table"]  
✓ tiếng Việt-nam the Vietnamese language  
✓ cha tôi my father ["father I"]  
✓ nhà tôi ở the house I live in  
✓ nhà thương hospital ["building be-wounded"]  
✓ nhà thương-binh military hospital ["building wounded-soldier"]  
✓ hôm nay today ["day now"]  
✓ áo mưa raincoat ["tunic rain"]

As can be seen from the examples above, descriptive complements regularly
make more specific the reference of their heads. This has to do with important differences in the class meanings of different types of nominals (8.6).

Complexes (5.62) with descriptive construction and nominals as centers are common, especially two or three layers deep.

người bạn tôi my friend
nha thuong-binh Da-lat the Dalat military hospital
cot ang-tien vo-tuyen trong-hinh o cac lang My television antennas in American villages ["pole antenna without-wire transmit-picture located plural village America"]

Demonstrative markers serve primarily as descriptive complements, and in general they are outermost in substantival descriptive complexes. For details see 8.5.

8.35. Other Substantival Phrases are restrictive phrases with a complement other than the usual numerators (8.31). These restrictive complements are to be separated from numerators on the basis that they occur on occasion with heads consisting of nominative phrases in which the numerator is a plural marker or a numeral. The most common of these restrictive complements are prepositional particles (11.82) and predicative markers (see 9.1), but negatives are also found in this use (9.4).

nhu cac ban cua ong Lam like Mr. Lam’s friends; nhu cha toi like my father (prepositional particle)
Ho la cac nguoיכung lam mot so voi toi. They are the people who work in the same office I do. (predicative marker)
Bay gio da hai gio. It is already two o’clock now. (predicative marker)
khong ai no one; khong moi ngay not every day (negative)

8.4. Numerals are substantives which occur as numerators. Some numerals also occur as heads of nominative phrases; they are multiple numbers (8.43). Others do not occur in this position; they are unit numbers (8.41). One unit number has a special limited distribution: may ‘an unspecified number (generally less than ten)’ serves as a numerator like other unit numbers and occurs in most other positions as they do, but in additive phrases it occurs only as the final head or as the numerator of a nonfinal head which is followed by heads containing recurrences of may. This is the indefinite number (8.42).

8.41. Unit Numbers are numerals which do not occur as heads of nominative phrases. They appear as simple numerators (8.31), as heads in ap-
proximative phrases (8.32), as the final head in additive phrases (8.33), and as descriptive complements (8.34). In these positions some unit numbers have special forms, which are listed below. There is also a good deal of dialectal variation in the use of numbers. The most important variants in current use are included in the list. Those which are geographically determined are shown in parentheses after the form regarded as standard. Some variants appear to be optional (further study may well reveal that many or all of these have distributions determined by geographical region or social class): these are listed separated by diagonals, with the most common form first; geographical identification is included in parentheses where it is determinable. The special forms have limited distributions which are only suggested by the column headings; these distributions are detailed in the discussion following the list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIC FORM</th>
<th>FINAL ADDITIVE HEAD</th>
<th>DESCRIPTIVE COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>một one</td>
<td>một</td>
<td>nhạt (S nhạt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai two</td>
<td></td>
<td>nhĩ/hai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vài a couple, two or three, a few</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba three</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bốn four</td>
<td>bốn/tư (N)</td>
<td>tuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>năm five</td>
<td>lăm/nhậm (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáu six</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bảy (S bảy) seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tám eight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chín nine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Một occurs as final additive head in mười mười ‘eleven’, mười trăm mười ‘one hundred one’, mười năm mười ‘one thousand one’, mười giờ mười ‘one hour and one minute; one minute past one’; but elsewhere we find mười: hai muội mười ‘21’, ba muội mười ‘31’, mười trăm mười ‘110’, mười ngàn mười ‘1,100’, mười đồng mười ‘1.1 piastre’, etc.

The special forms as descriptive complements occur after thứ ‘ordinal designator, -th’ (8.45), phân ‘fractional denominator’ (8.44), and in a few other cases. They do not occur after the general categorical số ‘number’, which is used most commonly to introduce numbers as descriptive complements. Thứ nhĩ has a more literary flavor than thứ hai ‘second.’ However, only thứ hai occurs as the form meaning ‘Monday’ (second day of the week).

As an alternate for bốn as final additive head, tư occurs after muội (8.43) in muội tư ‘fourteen’, and is quite common in higher numbers: hai muội tư ‘24’, ba muội tư ‘34’, etc. However, bốn is also common in this use throughout the country, and is the regular form in the south.

Lăm replaces năm everywhere after mười and mười (8.43): mười làm
'15', hai muỗi làm '15', etc. In the north nhăm is also heard beginning with hai muỗi nhắm '15' (but nhắm is not used after muỗi in the expression for 'fifteen'). Both of these forms are often replaced by ruồi 'and one half' (8.43): mốt trăm ruồi '150', hai ngàn ruồi '2,500' ['a hundred and a half', 'two thousand and a half'].

Một has a number of special uses which set it apart from other numerals. Note, for example, its appearance in expressions with từng (8.2 end). Only one case, however, is of special consequence: this is the fact that nominals which are not numerated by other numerals do appear on occasion with môt as numerator (cf. 8.6).

Anh sống môt đời giản dị và chết đi không nhờ tiếc môt ai. He lived a simple life and died not recalling with regret a single person [i.e., he died happily].

It is also clear that môt has a far less specifically numerical value than other numbers. In many contexts it functions much like the indefinite article in English. In some cases it emphasizes the notion of identity: 'one and the same.'

Anh tự nghĩ anh là môt người sung-sướng. He considers himself a happy person.

Hai ông cùng có chung môt ý- tưởng. The two men both had the same idea.

Trước đến nay, người ta vẫn tin rằng ch, nh, cuối trong các tiếng anh, ăch, ênh, ích, inh, ích là môt với ch, nh đâu trong cha, nha... (From an earlier period) up to the present time people still believe that final ch, nh in the words anh, ăch, ênh, ích, inh, ích, are identical with initial ch, nh in cha, nha...

8.42. The Indefinite Number. Máy 'an unspecified number (generally less than ten)' has the regular semantic range and variety of uses of indefinites (14.2). In additive phrases it occurs only in the final head or in a nonfinal head which is followed by heads containing recurrences of máy.

máy ngàn máy trăm máy muỗi máy a few thousand odd

≥ hai muỗi máy twenty-odd
≤ máy trăm a few hundred
≥ máy người? how many people?

8.43. Multiple Numbers are numerals which occur as heads of nominative phrases. They are listed below, with special forms and dialectal variations noted.
### Basic Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>half</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>mười (mười)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>trăm (bắt hoặc trăm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thousand</td>
<td>nghìn (nghìn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten thousand</td>
<td>vạn (vạn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred thousand</td>
<td>triệu (miền)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>million</td>
<td>triệu (miền)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billion</td>
<td>tỷ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Special Forms and Variants

- **ruồi** (second head in additive phrase with a numeral as first head)
- **ruơi** (second head in additive phrase with a non-numeral as first head)
- **muố (head of numerative phrase)**
- **ngận** (nghìn) (N)
- **muôn** (S)

Numbers larger than **vạn (S muôn)** are seldom used. In many local dialects the distinction between **ruồi** and **ruơi** has disappeared—**ruơi** occurring in all cases. There is frequent confusion in print because of this. (Of course, in the dialects where **hối** and **ngã** tones have coalesced the forms cannot be distinguished in any case.) **Muôn**, in addition to being a southern dialectal form, also occurs frequently in poetry.

The word **chúc** (a classifier, 8.61) basically refers to ten items considered as a group or collection. However, in colloquial speech in many areas it virtually replaces **muố** in the designation of approximately even groups of ten.

- **hai chúc** ‘group of (about) twenty’ replacing **hai muố** ‘exactly 20’
- **bốn chúc** ‘group of (about) forty’ replacing **bốn muố** ‘exactly 40’
- **sáu nhân** ‘group of 55’

### 8.44. Other Numerators

Other numerators are a few nonsubstantives (cf. 9.53 and 11.82) and phrases of various sorts. The more complex numbers have numerators which are themselves numerative phrases (8.31) or additive phrases (8.33) or combinations of the two. Approximative phrases (8.32) also occur. Some complex numerators involve phrases containing non-numerals.

**Fractions** smaller than one half are phrases with the general categorial (8.62) **phận** ‘part’ as ultimate head. At simplest, **phận** is followed by a descriptive complement denoting the denominator, and no numerator is stated. In the more complex forms the phrase with **phận** becomes the head of a numerative phrase. With the word for ‘hundred’ the form also designates percentages.

- **phận** tu a fourth
- **phận muộ** a twentieth
- **phận trăm** a hundredth; percentage
- **một phần** tu one fourth
- **hai phần** ba two thirds
- **sáu phần** muộ six tenths
- **chín phần** ba muô hai 9/32
- **tám muộ** làm **phận** trăm 85/100; 85 percent
In southern colloquial usage the general categorical **gốc** ‘corner’ replaces **phận** in the more frequently used fractions (involving low numbers).

- **một gốc** tu = one fourth
- **hai gốc** ba = two thirds

8.45. The **Number System** is based on decimal distinctions. The unit numbers represent quantities less than ten; multiple numbers denote groups beginning with ten and increasing by a factor of ten: hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, hundred thousands, millions, billions. The higher numbers consist of additive phrases in which each head denotes a successively lower level in this decimal system. Unless some device makes it clear that something else is to be understood, the final head in such phrases refers to the next lower level in the system. Thus **hai trăm hai** means 220, **hai ngàn hai** means 2,200 (2,020 is **hai ngàn hai mươi**), and so on. The prepositive particle (11.81) **lê** (N **linh**) signals that one or more levels are skipped: **hai ngàn lê** (or **linh**) hai ‘2,002’, **hai trăm lê** (or **lê**) hai ‘202’, etc. Actually the phrase **hai ngàn hai** is ambiguous. Although it usually would be understood to mean ‘2,200’, it could be understood as ‘2,002’. It is thus much like the American English usage **seventeen thousand** (five meaning 17,500, which could also be understood as 17,005 (or, without the word **thousand**, as 1705). After **linh** and **lê** only the basic forms of unit numbers are found.

There are two common abbreviated (contracted) forms in the spoken language which are sometimes also written: **hẵm** for **hai mươi** (before another additive head), **bắm** for **ba mươi** (similarly).

- **hẵm** mươi 21, **hẫm** chín 29, **bẳm** hai 32, **bẳm** bảy 37

Beginning with the forties the word **mươi** is often simply omitted in rapid speech before a following additive head (these forms are also occasionally written).

- **bốn hai** 42, **năm ba** 53, **sáu tám** 68, **bảy tu** 74, etc.

There are a number of cases of alternate forms in current use. The overall system is outlined below. It is interesting to note that there seems to be no primary word for zero; where this concept is discussed it is designated **số không** ‘empty (or perhaps “negative”) number.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td><strong>số không</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td><strong>nin, rưỡi, rưỡi</strong> (8.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>một, một</strong> (8.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>hai, nhì</strong> (8.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>ba</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><strong>bốn, tư</strong> (8.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><strong>năm, lăm</strong> (N <strong>nhăm</strong>) (8.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>sáu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><strong>bảy (S bảy)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><strong>tám</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>chín</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><strong>mười</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>mười một</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><strong>mười hai</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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One of the forms cited above merits a special note. Đối mùi is a descriptive phrase: 'a pair of tens.' Đối ‘couple, pair’ is a general categorical (8.62). However, it must be recognized that this expression involves a special case of mùi as a complement; otherwise it occurs only as head of numerative phrases with unit numbers. For this reason
đôi might be regarded as a kind of numeral, although it also occurs in positions (e.g., with a demonstrative marker as descriptive complement) where no other numeral occurs.

Sino-Vietnamese numerical forms are frequent in literary texts. They combine with other pseudo-bases (5.55) of Chinese origin. The basic forms are shown below with enough examples to make the system clear. Note that the elements meaning ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘four’, and ‘ten thousand’ appear in (or are very similar to related forms in) the regular system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nhat (S nhut)</td>
<td>S thap nhat (S thap nhut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nhi</td>
<td>nh thap nhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tam</td>
<td>tam thap tam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu bach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ngu</td>
<td>ngu bach ngu thap ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>luc</td>
<td>luc trien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>that trien nhut bach tu thap tam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>7143 that trien nhut bach tu thap tam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>cuu</td>
<td>8000 bat van</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>thap</td>
<td>9070 cuu van that bach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>(nhat) bach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>(nhat) trien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000</td>
<td>(nhat) van</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.46. Other Uses of Numerals and Numeral Phrases. Both individual numerals and approximative and additive numeral phrases are common as descriptive complements. First of all, the equivalents of English ordinal numbers are formed as descriptive phrases with the ordinal general categorical (8.62) thứ as head (for special allomorphs, see 8.41).

- thứ nhất (S thứ nhut) first thứ mười tenth
- thứ nhì second thứ mười một eleventh
- thứ ba third thứ mười lăm fifteenth
- thứ tư fourth thứ ba mươi thirtieth
- thứ năm fifth thứ mười trăm mươi hai 152d

Another common descriptive complement position for numerals is after the general categorical số ‘number.’ Descriptive phrases of this sort handle most instances where specific cardinal numbers are called for.

duong Lê Lợi số 182 (read: mọt trăm tâm mươi hai) 182 Lê Lợi Street số 31 (read: ba mươi mọt) No. 31

Numerals appear as complements in predicative descriptive phrases (9.62) as well as in their substantival counterparts.

Chia ra làm ba. Divide [it] into three [parts].
8.5. Demonstrative Markers are manner focuses (10.45; see also 7.23) which are far more frequent as descriptive complements to nominals and nominal phrases (8.31, 8.6). In descriptive complexes (8.34) a demonstrative marker usually appears as outermost complement.

nào whichever (indefinite, see 14.2)
này (S này) this
nọ (an)other, that
áy just mentioned or referred to

Phải của trôi cho thì địa nào lấy được. [If it's] really given by heaven, then whoever could take it [away]!
Những chiếc phi cơ này bay nhanh quá. These (several) airplanes are flying very fast.
Di qua một cổng to lại đến một cổng nữa, từ cổng nọ đến cổng kia là những ngôi nhà mới cong. Passing by one large main entrance [and] coming to yet another, [one sees that] between those main entrances are sumptuous buildings with curved roofs. ["go pass one main-entrance large contrary-to-expectations arrive one main-entrance in-addition, from main-entrance that arrive main-entrance yonder identification-marker plural sumptuous-structure building roof be-curved"]
Nó còn bán cái xác chết áy cho ai được mà bác sợ? Who in the world else do you suppose he can sell that dead body to? (So what are you worried about?) ["he remain sell object corpse die just-referred-to give whoever possible descriptive-marker father's-elder-brother be-afraid?"]

nhà này this building
nhà thương näy this hospital
nhà thương-binh này this military hospital ["...wounded-soldier..."]
nhà thương-binh Đà-lạt này this Dalat military hospital

Occasionally there are descriptive complements appearing as outer elements beyond demonstrative markers; they are most often clauses, sometimes introduced by the subordinating particle mà (11.52 and Appendix A).

Cái nhà trắng áy mà ông đứng đây thấy là của ông Lâm. That white house that you [can] see [from a position] standing here is Mr. Lâm's.
8.6. Nominals are those substantives which do not occur as (single-word) numerators (8.31). (Some of them do occur as parts of phrases serving as numerators; cf. 8.44.) On the other hand, they are frequently heads of descriptive phrases, where numerals do not occur.

Categoricals. Some nominals occur freely as heads of numerative phrases, with all kinds of numerators. They are categoricals, of two subtypes—general categoricals (8.62), which occur as single-word descriptive complements; and classifiers (8.61), which do not.

General categorical: người person

hai người two people

Không nên đánh người. [One] shouldn’t hit people.

Classifier: quyển volume (speaking of books)

hai quyển two volumes

Tôi lấy một quyển. I’ll take one volume.

Tôi lấy quyển ấy. I’ll take that volume.

In the last two examples quyển is part of a phrase serving as descriptive complement, but it does not occur in this position by itself.

Nouns. Other nominals do not appear as head when a numeral (except một; cf. 8.41 end) is numerator. They are nouns, of several subtypes, depending on certain other special features of distribution. Relator nouns (8.63) are not numerated at all. Mass nouns (8.64) are not preceded by any of the usual numerators, but commonly appear with quantifiers (9.53) in that function (cf. 8.31). Indefinite nouns (8.65) are numerated with những (and occasionally with một). Others are item nouns (8.66), which occur with all kinds of numerators except numerals (other than một).

Relator noun: trong interior, the inside of something

trong ấy inside that, inside there

Mass noun: sữa milk

sữa ấy that milk

nhieu sữa a lot of milk

baốc sữa three glasses of milk

Indefinite noun: ai who(ever)

những ai what(ever) persons

Item noun: bàn table

bàn ấy that [sort of] table

những bàn tables

các bàn the tables

mỗi bàn each table

hai cái bàn two tables (bàn is descriptive complement to classifier cái; the phrase cái bàn is head of numerative phrase)
There are important differences in the class meanings of different kinds of nominals. Categoricals refer to general classes or categories of things, while nouns refer to more specific kinds of things. On the other hand, categoricals generally designate particular individual items (although they do not describe them specifically), while nouns (at the same time that they describe items more specifically) are vague about the exact number of items involved and about which ones are referred to. Thus in the phrase cái bàn ‘the table’, cái ‘object’ makes clear that one particular object is involved, although it does not specify what kind of object; bàn ‘table’, on the other hand, describes a specific sort of object, but by itself it might refer to any number of tables, or tables in general, but none in particular. It is especially important for English speakers to keep in mind that Vietnamese nouns do not in themselves contain any notion of number or amount. In this respect they are all somewhat like English mass nouns such as milk, water, flour, etc.

8.61. Classifiers are categoricals which do not occur as single-word descriptive complements. They are most common as heads in descriptive phrases. In many instances a classifier is head of a descriptive phrase which in turn is head of a numerative phrase. In fact, this is perhaps the most typical of all Vietnamese substantival structures—a numeral as numerator with a head consisting of a classifier complemented by a following noun (e.g., một con chó a dog, ba cái ghế three chairs). In this position a classifier is nearly always accompanied by weak stress.

Classifiers have an important class meaning: while they usually refer to rather general categories of objects or concepts, they are specific in identifying single, individual units; without a preceding number to specify a given quantity the meaning is clearly one unit. (In this they are much clearer than general categoricals [8.62].)

One classifier is distinguished from all the rest in that it is found as head of descriptive phrases in which the complement is itself a descriptive phrase with another classifier as head; this is cái, the general classifier. In such phrases, where cái is followed by another classifier (any one but cái itself), there is often a connotation of deprecation, especially if persons are referred to.

Most other classifiers typically go with a particular group of nouns, thus setting off subclasses of classified nouns. To some extent there is apparent logic in these classifications, but there are often anomalous items which can be explained only in fanciful terms. This usage in Vietnamese is not unlike a far less extensive classification system in English, where we say, for example, a flock of sheep, a herd of cattle, (so many) head of cattle (note that cattle really has no singular), a school of fish,
and so on. In Vietnamese the system is simply much more extended; it embraces all nouns in the language.

The following list sets forth a few common classifiers together with the general categories they serve and some examples. Many of the examples are from Emeneau 1951 (pp. 100-113), and Nguyễn Đình Hào 1957a. They all have been rechecked, some reanalyzed, and a number have been glossed differently. Note that many words listed as classifiers by other grammarians do not appear here because they are, rather, general categoricals (8.62) in terms of this analysis.

bọ set (with things made up of more or less specific parts, composite entities): bọ bài pack of cards, bọ bàn ghé set of table and chairs, bọ lồng giblets, innards, intestines, bọ máy machine (also ông máy), bọ ngực chest [part of body], bọ óc brain(s), bọ quấn áo suit (of clothes), bọ râu mustache (cf. râu facial hair), bọ ruột intestines, bọ xa-lông living room furniture (cf. Fr. salon living room), bọ xương skeleton (xương bone)

búc flat rectangular object (with relatively thin, flat rectangular objects, of fairly large size): búc ảnh (large) photograph, búc màn curtain, window shade, búc phên wall of bamboo or leaves, búc sáo bamboo blind, búc tường wall (brick, stone or solid wood), búc tranh painting, búc vách wall (wood or mud)

cặp couple, pair (with items occurring in sets of two, naturally connected or inseparable; cf. đôi ‘separable pair’, a general categorical): cặp mắt eyes, cặp mắt kính pair of glasses, spectacles, cặp ngà [elephant’s] tusks, cặp vợ chồng married couple (also đôi vợ chồng married couple), cặp bàn lề hinge

chiéc individual item (with things which usually come in sets of two or more; extended to a large number of manufactured or constructed items, of which there are generally produced a great number more or less the same): chiéc dũa chopstick, chiéc giày shoe, chiéc ngà [elephant’s] tusk, chiéc tất sock, stocking; chiéc cầu bridge, chiéc chiếu mat, chiéc dò small boat, chiéc ghe junk, sampan (in northern Viet Nam speakers tend to avoid this form because of its proximity to cái ghe vulva), chiéc lá leaf, chiéc nhẫn ring, chiéc máy bay airplane, chiéc tàu ship, chiéc thuyền junk, sampan, chiéc xe vehicle, chiéc chiến-xa armored vehicle

In the many cases where chiéc contrasts with some other classifier it stresses the notion of an individual item separated from the set, series, mass production line, or category of which it is usually considered a part.

con living being (impersonal) (with animals, with human and supernatural beings in a few instances without personal reference, and with a number of other words): con bò bull, ox, cow, con bộ insect,
con bek calf, con cua crab, con cop tiger, con chó dog, con éch frog, con gà fowl, chicken, hen, con nhện spider, con giun earthworm, con mèo cat, con vật animal; con người human being, con bạc gambler, con buôn merchant, con hát actor, con tin hostage, con ma ghost, con quái monster, con quỷ devil, evil spirit; con bài playing card, con chèo oar, con cò (S) postage stamp, con cò trigger, con cờ chessman, con dao knife, con dậu seal, stamp, con dere, con đường road, street, con mắt eye, con người pupil (of eye), con muc stick of Chinese [solid] ink, con quay (spinning) top, con sào pole (for punting), con số digit, figure, number, con sông river, con sắc-sắc die, dice, con tàu (S) boat, ship, con tem postage stamp (cf. Fr. timbre), con thuyền boat, craft, con thoi shuttle, con to hank, skein of silk

con sudden violent state (with states of weather, emotions, and bodily conditions which are sudden and more or less violent): con bão typhoon, con gián fit of anger, con gió gust of wind, con giông gió heavy wind storm, con mưa squall (with rain), shower, con nắng burst of sunlight [on a dark day], con rét sudden fever chill, con sốt sudden fever wave

củ bulb, tuber (with roots used as food): củ cà-rốt carrot (cf. Fr. carotte), củ hành onion, củ khoai (sweet) potato, củ lạc peanut, củ sánh manioc, củ tỏi garlic

cuộc entity involving interaction (generally competitive) (with games, contests, meetings, parties, struggles): cuộc cờ game of chess, cuộc chiến-tranh war, cuộc đời life, cuộc hòa-bình peace, cuộc Hội-dổng committee meeting, cuộc Cách-mạng revolution, cuộc Sê-môn-bính champagne party, (cf. Fr. champagne) cuộc tuyển-cử election


dám mass, compact item (with entities characterized by a rather amorphous mass of individual similar parts): đâm bụi cloud of dust, đâm cháy fire, conflagration, đâm cỏ field, meadow (cỏ grass), đâm đất plot of land, đâm đồng cultivable field, đâm ma funeral (procession) (cf. ma ghost, spirit of dead person), đâm may cloud, đâm tương field for dry cultivation, đâm người crowd of people, đâm rừng field for wet cultivation, đâm rừng jungle, forest, đâm vườn garden

hòn rock, stone (with stones, stonelike objects and islands): hòn cù lao island (in a river or lake), hòn đá stone, hòn đảo island (in the sea), hòn kim cương diamond, hòn nước đá piece of ice (nuóc đá is a descriptive phrase, literally “water [which is like] stone”), hòn ngọc precious stone, hòn sỏi pebble; note hòn gạch piece of (broken) brick, in contrast to viên gạch a brick
tâm rectangular flat piece of material (with cloth, boards, and various other materials in more or less rectangular shapes) (generally connotes something smaller than biển): tâm bảng placard, blackboard, tâm da hide (da skin), tâm địa-dĩ map, (also classified with bàn ‘something printed’), tâm gấm tapestry, tâm gương mirror, tâm gỗ flat piece of timber, tâm hình photograph, drawing or painting of a person (cf. cái hình likeness, appearance, image), tâm kính pane of glass, tâm lưới net, screen (cf. cái lưới spider web; net, screen), tâm lựa bolt or piece of silk, tâm thiệp (or thiệp) visiting card, tâm vải bolt or piece of cotton, tâm ván plank, board
tờ sheet of paper, document (with blank paper and a variety of unbound written and printed items): tờ giấy sheet of paper, tờ giấy bạc currency note (bạc silver), tờ báo newspaper, journal, tờ giao kèo contract, tờ lý lịch curriculum vitae, tờ lệnh written order, tờ hiệp ước treaty, pact
trái fruit; roundish object (with fruits of various plants and relatively small roundish objects; replaced in the north by the general categorical quả): trái cam orange, trái buồm pomelo [large grapefruit-like fruit], trái chuối banana, trái dưa melon, cucumber, trái dứa (S trái thom) pineapple, trái dứa coconut, trái xoài mango; trái bom bomb, trái dôi hill, trái núi mountain (latter two also with cái or the general categorical ngôn), trái tim heart, trái đất the earth, globe, trái cát, trái thận kidney

The classifier thứ ‘kind, sort’ is used with a large variety of words; it does not seem limited in any obvious way, as are most other classifiers. One might logically expect it to be a general categorical, but grammatically it belongs here since it does not occur as a descriptive complement.

thứ cá kind of fish, thứ cây kind of plant, thứ hoa kind of flower, thứ nhà kind of building, thứ tiếng kind of sound, thứ xe kind of vehicle

In modern Vietnamese the general classifier cái is coming to be used more and more at the expense of other specific classifiers, especially with nouns denoting inanimate objects which in traditional usage go with one of the rarer classifiers. Phrases with cái are less colorful and interesting than corresponding phrases with the more specific classifiers.

The phenomenon of classification extends beyond the elements identified by classifiers in this system. In many instances general categoricals serve much the same function (8.62). Both classifiers and general categoricals are frequently complemented by words other than nouns—sometimes by other substantives, and frequently by verbals (9.5) or complete predications.

Tâu càng vào gần Säu-kho thì càng làm thuyên, thứ to thứ nhỏ, cái đi vào cái đi ra. The nearer the boat got to Säu-kho the
more junks there were—some large, some small, some coming in, some going out. (*thú to a large kind, thú nhỏ a small kind, cái đi vào one going in, cái đi ra one going out*)

8.62. General Categoricals occur as single-word descriptive complements. They also appear as heads of descriptive phrases with a wide variety of complements. Like classifiers, general categoricals usually refer to a single entity, but this reference is less specific and definite, except where a restrictive complement (i.e., a numerator) makes it clear. Like classifiers, too, they refer to entities as members of general classes rather than as specifically characterized concepts.

người  person

- hai người two people, người đánh cá fisherman (dáníh cá catch fish), hai người đánh cá two fishermen

Không nên đánh người [One] shouldn't hit a person (or people).

(descriptive complement to verb; see 9.62)

con người human being (descriptive complement to classifier)

While classifiers constitute a rather small class of words which tend to be relatively colorless, categoricals include a great number of words which are translated by English nouns; they are generally more specific than classifiers in reference to type, more descriptive, more colorful. They furnish the wide variety of units of measure for the generalized entities designated by nouns; they also have as descriptive complements a host of other elements ranging from substantival and verbal phrases to whole clauses.

Many general categoricals are common as descriptive complements to classifiers. In this position they seem to function very much like classified nouns. This feature of structure suggests for at least these general categoricals a status intermediate between that of classifiers and that of nouns. It also makes it seem likely that the position directly after a numeral contrasts with the position once removed from the numeral in precisely the terms that classifiers have been described as contrasting in class meaning with nouns (8.61). There are a good many examples showing that the same general categorical serves to designate a specific item (especially a container) when it appears as descriptive complement to a classifier. When it occurs directly after a numeral, however, it designates rather the quantity or amount generally contained in the item involved.

hai cái hộp sữa two milk cans; hai hộp sữa two cans of milk

mười cái chai ten bottles; mười chai rượu ten bottles of wine

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Sometimes the reference differs in other ways as well, the position directly after the numeral generally connoting a more technical kind of entity.

năm cài đèn five lamps: năm đèn five tubes (for a radio)
ba cái nhà three houses: ba nhà chợ three market stalls

In connection with this apparent designation of function by position, it should be noted that verbals (9.5) are common as descriptive complements to general categoricals. Often the resulting phrases seem very similar to phrases containing nouns as complements.

người ban a friend
người sinh viên a student
người lớn an adult (verb)
người mua the buyer (verb)

General categoricals include the following important semantic groups: kinship terms, a number of other terms of reference for human beings, containers, grades and classes, meals and dishes, various measuring units (of time, space, money, quantity), items of discourse (sound, word, sentence). The following list is suggestive rather than in any sense exhaustive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMAN REFERENCE TERMS (see also 13.2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anh elder brother; male familiar or inferior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chị elder sister; female familiar or inferior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em younger brother or sister; child (non-adult human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bà grandmother; female rating respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ông grandfather; male rating respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mẹ mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con child (offspring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cháu grandchild, niece, nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cấu mother’s brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chú father’s younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bác father’s elder brother or his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mẹ aunt (uncle’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cụ great-grandparent: person rating great respect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMAN REFERENCE TERMS (continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngài person rating highest respect short of king or emperor (cabinet minister, president, etc.) thợ artisan, workman of a particular trade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTAINERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hộp box, can, jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chai bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọ vial, small bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cốc (N) glass (S ly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bát (N) bowl (S chén)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chén (N) cup (S táčh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thùng barrel, cask, keg, packing case, carton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ấm kettle, (tea)pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giỏ market basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bao bag; envelope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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GRADES AND CLASSES
✓ bắc category, rank; step [of stair
    stairs], rung [of ladder]
loài kind, species [of beings]
✓ loại kind, sort (L)
✓ hàng [socially, economically or
    qualitatively determined] clas
✓ lớp class [group of students]

TIME UNITS (see also 14.5)
✓ buổi day (also ‘meal’)
✓ khi time [brief extent]
✓ lần time, instance
✓ giờ hour
✓ phút minute
✓ giây second
✓ hôm day [time when]
✓ ngày day [one of a series]
✓ buổi portion of a day
✓ đêm night
✓ mùa season
✓ tháng month
✓ tuần(-lê) week
✓ năm year
✓ tuổi year (of age)

SPATIAL UNITS
✓ chổ place
✓ làng village
✓ thành city (wall, fortification);
    city
✓ phố street
✓ lớp layer, stratum
✓ Gian interval, space [between
    two pillars of old-style
    house]
✓ gang span [distance measured
    by spread of thumb and
    middle finger]
✓ phòng room
✓ châu continent
✓ nước country, state
✓ sở office, service, place where
    one works

SPATIAL UNITS (continued)
✓ trời (N griev) heaven, sky
✓ góc angle, corner
✓ mậu acre (one and one-third
    English acres)
✓ tác decimeter
✓ cây số kilometer
✓ sào one-tenth of a mậu
✓ thước meter
✓ vườn garden
✓ bờ edge, border

UNITS OF QUANTITY AND VALUE
(see also 14.6)
✓ đồng piastre [sometimes extended
to basic unit of other currencies]
cadc dime (one-tenth of piastre)
giác (N) (L hào) dime (one-tenth of
piastre)
xu cent (one-hundredth of piastre)
giá price
cân pound (approximately one and
one-third pounds avoirdupois);
(also used loosely for ‘pound’
and ‘kilogram’)
dôi pair (of separable items) (cf.
classifier cặp pair of inseparable
items)
✓ giọt drop (of liquid)
✓ ki-lô kilogram
✓ lượng ounce (one-sixteenth of a
cân)
số number, sum (of money)
món dish, course (in a meal);
specific amount (of money)

UNITS OF LANGUAGE (see also 5.57)
✓ chữ (written) word, character,
    letter
✓ tiếng (spoken) word (also ‘sound,
    noise; language’)
câu sentence, clause
✓ lời (spoken) word, phrase, saying
✓ logi-tù word class
The very important general categorical cưa ‘possession, belonging, property’ has been widely designated as a verb, presumably because of its frequent appearance in expressions identifying the owner of something or the responsible party in some matter. The predicates involved are often of the substantival type (9.11), and cưa appears in a position where a verb might be expected. Since it is less frequent in unequivocal substantival positions, it is not surprising that it has been mistaken for a verb-like word. Note, however, that negation of these expressions establishing ownership or responsibility involves the expression không phải (14.33). (See also Appendix A.)

Cái này cưa tôi. This belongs to me. ["object this possession I"]
Cái này không phải cưa tôi. This doesn’t belong to me. ["object this not true possession I"]
Tờ bị nhà tôi cháy, nên mất cưa hết. My house burned, so I lost all my belongings.

Descriptive phrases with cưa as head are extremely common as descriptive complements to other nominals.

quyền sách cưa tôi my book ["volume book possession I"]

mấy lời tôi y khen người cưa thầy giáo a few words of congratulation from the teacher ["however-many words express idea commend praise possession master instruct"]

It needs to be recognized that many such occurrences of cưa involve quite complex descriptive complements, and there are a good many signs that the word is fast passing to the status of a prepositional particle (11.81).

Các ông các bà là ai? Nếu cơ phải là chủ cưa các hàng-hóa này thì cù đẻ cho tôi dùng, sau này tôi giàu có, tôi sẽ đem tiền lại giá. Who are you ladies and gentlemen? If it’s true [you are] the owners of these pieces of merchandise, then go ahead, let me use [them]; later on I’ll be wealthy, [and] I’ll bring the money back and pay.

8.63. Relator Nouns never occur as heads of numerative phrases. They occasionally appear as heads of restrictive phrases in which the complement is not a numerator (8.35). Many of the members of this small class appear superficially to resemble the prepositions of languages like English or French. This has to do with the fact that they all express position (in space or time) or some vaguer dimension in relation to something else. Although many expressions containing these words are best translated by prepositional phrases in English, the understanding of their basic nominal meanings will help remove some of the puzzling aspects of their uses.
Emeneau 1951 (e.g., p. 51) and Jones and Thông 1960 (e.g., p. 139) treat most of these words as verb-like elements. For a discussion of this problem see Martini 1958. Note that he specifically mentions the possibility of considering them nominal entities (p. 341). Following is a complete list of the relator nouns which have been identified in the material studied. There may well be others.

- **bằng** a demonstrated quantity or proportion
- **duôi** place at bottom or beneath
- **giữa** place between
- **ngang** place across or opposite (directly in line with a particular referent)
- **ngoài** place outside, quantity beyond
- **quanh** place surrounding
- **sau** place behind or time after
- **trên** place on top, above, or high in or on
- **trong** place inside, time within which, or total capacity
- **trước** place in front or time before

Bằng ấy đủ chưa? Is that enough? ["proportion just-referred-to be-enough not-yet?"]

Cột to bằng nào? How big are the pillars?

Duối triền núi at the foot of the mountain

Để cả duôi gầm phàm. Put [them] all in the space under the camp bed. ["to-place inclusive-particle place-at-bottom space-beneath wooden-camp-bed"]

Con mèo ở dưới cái bàn. The cat’s under the table.

Lính cảnh sát đứng ở giữa đường. The policeman is standing in the middle of the street.

Giữa giờ right out in the open

Ngang đường có một cây lớn. (S) There’s a big tree across the road.

Cái nhà đó ngang nhà tôi. (S) That house is opposite mine.

(Ngọai vươơn tung dần buôm-buôm luôn quanh hết khóm hòn này lại đến cụm cục kia. Out in the garden various kinds of butterflies were flitting all around from this clump of roses to that cluster of chrysanthemums. ["place-outside garden each-in-turn group butterfly flit place-surrounding be-all clump rose this resuming arrive cluster chrysanthemum that"]

Ngoài ba vật này ra besides [i.e., in addition to] these three things

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Hồ xùm đông quanh cái xe buýt. The crowd gathered around the bus. ["they gather-in-crowd be-in-crowds place-surrounding object vehicle bus"]

Sau nay tôi giàu có, tôi sẽ đem tiền lại giàu. After this I'm going to be rich, I'll bring the money back and pay.

Trên cây khế máy con chim vưa nhảy-nhót tim sau vưa rỉu-rỉt hót. Up in the carambola tree a few birds were hopping around looking avidly [for fruit] and chirping away.

Anh ấy đi đường trên. He went by the upper road.

Tôi đẻ quyên sách trên bàn. I put the book on a table.

Trong hai người ấy, ai giàu hơn? Of those two people which is wealthier?

Nhu thế chúng ta tới Hà-nội trước Tết niche. This way we’ll arrive in Hanoi a long time before the [New Year] holiday.

Trước cái nhà kia có máy cây chuối. In front of the other house there were a few banana trees.

8.64. Mass Nouns are generally numerated only by quantifiers (9.53). Like relator nouns they also occasionally appear as heads of non-numerative restrictive phrases (8.35). This class includes the great majority of words denoting substances which are not measurable or are measured only in arbitrary quantities, entities without typical shape or size, qualities and abstractions of various sorts. A few examples are nước water, liquid (cf. general categorical nước country), đường sugar (cf. item noun đường road, street), sữa milk, gạo husked rice, com cooked rice, lúa rice growing, trà (N chè) tea, tiền money, vàng gold, lụa silk, cỏ grass, củt firewood, đông winter, xuân spring, hạ (or hè) summer, thu autumn, thì giờ time (in general) (reinforcing pseudo-compound, 6.32).

Mỗi ông xôi com nưa. Please have some more rice.

Cám ơn ông, tôi đã ăn nhiều com rồi. Thanks, I’ve already eaten a lot of rice.

Com nay ngon lắm. This rice is delicious.

Thị giác thấm-thoát mới ngày nào dân-chủng Hà-thành đang rộn-rip sữa-soan đơn xuân thì hai ông Đông và_VF đến, nay mưa xuân đã qua, mưa hạ đã đến và cùng đã sắp hết. Time had flown [so] fast [it seemed] only a few days [before] that, with the populace of the city of Hanoi busy getting ready to greet spring, the two fellows Dong and Vỹ had arrived; now spring had already passed, summer had come and very soon would be over.
Mass nouns appear with various categoricals as measures. General categoricals are most common, although some classifiers also occur.

- ba cốc sữa three glasses of milk
- chín hộp sữa nine cans of milk
- hai bát cơm two bowls of rice
- mười lăm kilô gạo fifteen kilos of [husked] rice
- một con mưa a squall (with rain)

Although the classification system (8.61) is mainly effective in connection with the item nouns (8.66), it does touch on mass nouns. For example, the seasons regularly appear as descriptive complement to the general categorical mùa ‘season’: mùa đông ‘winter’, mùa xuân ‘spring’.

There are exceptions to the general limitations on numerators of mass nouns. Occasionally the plural marker những and the number một appear with them, much as in English one sometimes hears such expressions as a milk of fine quality, French wines, etc.

- những rượu có tiếng culpa nước Pháp famous French wines
- một lụa thanh-nhã a fine [“elegant”] silk

With the names of the seasons the plural marker mỗi ‘each’ and the indefinite numeral mấy are also found. The resulting phrases are often poetic in flavor (as are phrases where these words are numerated by một and những), and in them the season frequently refers by synecdoche to the year as a whole.

- những đông lạnh-lạnh, những xuân dâng hoa cold winters and flower-filled springs
- một hè nóng nực, một vùng khô-khan a sweltering summer, an arid region
- mỗi xuân each spring (i.e., each year in the spring)
- mấy thu a few autumns (i.e., a few years)

8.65. Indefinite Nouns generally occur as heads of numerative phrases only when the numerator is the plural marker những. They are also set apart from other nouns by the fact that they are not frequently heads of descriptive phrases in general and do not appear at all with demonstrative markers as descriptive complements. They are three: gì anything, something, what(ever), chi anything, something, what(ever) (polite), ai anyone, someone, who(ever)

- Gì có cánh đêu bay được. (S) Whatever has wings can fly.
- Những gì trong thung tôi cũng không biết. Whatever things [may be] in the crate I don’t know.
- Ai nói bây giờ? Who’s going to talk now?
8.66. Item nouns constitute the largest number of substantives in the lexicon. They differ from other nouns in occurring with all the plural markers, as well as with quantifiers (9.53) as numerators. In general they denote entities of rather specific shape and size, and they are measured as individual items (through the use of categoricals), rather than in arbitrary amounts, as are mass nouns. On the whole, it is with these item nouns that classifiers are characteristically found. For some notion of the extensive system of subclasses of item nouns in their relationships to classifiers, see 8.61. For the most part the various combinations of nouns and classifiers must simply be learned. A few examples of item nouns follow:

- bàn table: cái bàn the table, hai cái bàn two tables
- ghế chair: các ghế the chairs, bốn cái ghế four chairs
- giấy paper: một tờ giấy a (piece of) paper, những giấy papers
- sách book: nhiều sách many books, mấy quyển sách a few books
- chó dog: mỗi chú each (kind of) dog, mỗi con chú each (individual) dog

Although item nouns refer to quite specific kinds of entities, they do not themselves designate specific individual items. Reference of this sort is accomplished by the categorical to which the noun appears as descriptive complement. In addition, the reference of item nouns is vague as to number: sách may mean a book or several books or books in general. In many cases, however, an unclassified noun does refer to a specific item that is clear in the context. Note the varying reference of tàu (họa) ‘train’ in the following passage:

Tàu chuyên bánh và bất đâu tụt tụ chạy ra khỏi ga, ông Võ hỏi: -Tàu chạy chậm như thế này thời aleza?

Người hành khách: Vâng, tàu hỏa chúng tôi chỉ chạy từ 30 đến 35 cây số một giờ.

The train [the one the passengers were on] started up and began to move slowly out of the station; Mr. Võ asked: “The train only runs this fast, eh?”

Passenger: “Yes, our trains [those in Viet Nam in general] run only from thirty to thirty-five kilometers an hour.”
That item nouns denote very specialized entities from one point of view while remaining vague from another is well demonstrated by the case of botanical items. The words which specify the species are item nouns, but only classifiers or general categoricals make entirely clear whether the plant or tree, the flower, or the fruit is referred to.

*chuỗi* banana: *cây chuỗi* banana tree, *trái* (or *quả*) *chuỗi* banana (fruit)

*cam* orange: *một cây cam* an orange tree, *hai trái* (or *quả*) *cam* two oranges (fruit), *mây* (cái) *hoa cam* a few orange blossoms

*hồng* rose: *năm cây hồng* five rose bushes, *hai* (cái) *hoa hồng* two roses (flowers)

This is much the same as the use in English of certain words like *walnut* now to designate the nut itself, sometimes to refer to the tree, and very often to specify the kind of wood of which something is made. The Vietnamese classification system allows somewhat more range.

As with certain other nouns there are occasional occurrences of item nouns numerated by the number *một* ‘one’; in these cases the forms convey the notion ‘a kind of, one sort of.’

*một chó tốt đẹp* a handsome (breed of) dog

*một cam ngon ngọt* a good, sweet (kind of) orange

*Some linguists consider this phenomenon to be ideolectic.*
CHAPTER 9

Predicative Elements

9.1. Predications. The head (5.43) of an independent sentence (5.41) is a predication. Many independent sentences contain two or more heads; each is a predication. Each such predication either is itself a predicate, or else contains one or more predicates as heads. Predicates are of three kinds, identified in the terms defined in the following paragraphs.

The word là 'be, which is (are), that is, namely' is an identificational marker. It occurs as restrictive complement signalling that its constitute is identified with some immediately preceding element. Such phrases are identificational predicates. They are of extremely varied structure: là occurs with nearly all phrase types and a large number of individual word types. Because of this diversity of structure identificational predicates will be treated at length after the discussion of other predicate types and their elements (9.7).

The words dā 'anterior' and sē 'subsequent' are tense markers. They occur as restrictive complements in phrases which are thus marked as temporal predicates. (Dā also occurs as a descriptive complement: see Appendix A.) Each temporal predicate is paralleled by a similar sequence differing only in the absence of a tense marker; such sequences are unmarked predicates. In addition there are a number of sequences which are the same in structure as (but are not paralleled by) predicates containing dā or sē; it is convenient to regard them also as (unmarked) predicates. In most instances nonoccurrence of parallels with dā or sē is a matter of logically unlikely situations. Rigorously we might well not admit such elements to the class of predicates. In practical terms, however, these

1 Actually there occur some very short independent sentences which do not constitute predications. These are forms which do not combine with other linguistic elements in the regular constructions or at best appear in such combinations only as complements, not as heads (interjections and exclamative substitutes, 11.2). Such elements are excluded in this definition of predication.
sequences are identified by their structural similarity to regularly defined predicates. Temporal and unmarked predicates are generally heads of the larger elements of which they form one part. However, they also occur as complements, especially in descriptive (following) position. In many cases, especially when they are comparatively long, they are emphatically marked by the identificational marker là.

Temporal predicates are of two types, depending on their structure: those consisting of a substantival phrase are substantival predicates; others are verbal. Unmarked predicates are of the same two types. In the following examples pertinent predicates are in boldface type.

IDENTIFICATIONAL PREDICATES:

Ông ấy là lính. He’s a soldier.
Ông Lewis và ông Johnson là hai sinh-viên Mỹ. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Johnson are two American students.
Cùng như các sinh-viên khác, hai ông được giáo-su cho tên Việt là Lê Vỹ và Trần Dong. Like the other students, the two of them were given Vietnamese names by the teacher—Lê Vỹ and Trần Dong.
Hai ông là bạn thân và cùng có chung một ý-ước là đi sang Việt-nam du-lịch. The two fellows were close friends, and they both had the same idea—to take a trip to Vietnam.

TEMPORAL PREDICATES:

Tháng tới tôi sẽ hai mươi năm tuổi. Next month I’ll be twenty-five years old. (substantival)
Tôi sẽ đi. I’ll go. (verbal)
Chị ấy đã quên. She’s forgotten. (verbal)

UNMARKED PREDICATES:

Tôi hai mươi năm tuổi. I’m twenty-five years old. (substantival)
Tôi đi. I’m going. (verbal)
Chị ấy quên. She forgets. (also ‘She’s forgotten’ or ‘She’ll forget.’

Temporal reference in such sentences is clear only in context; see 9.3.) (verbal)

In intimate conversation there occur occasional independent sentences of types which otherwise appear only as dependent sentences (5.41). Since they are relatively rare they need not concern us here, but in theoretical terms they present a problem. For example—

Chum vàng đâu? Where’s the pot of gold?
Chum vàng đãy rỗi. The pot of gold is already here.
beside more usual independent sentences with the same general meaning—

Chum vàng ở đâu?
Chum vàng ở đãy rỗi.
It is not clear how these are best treated, but it is possible that they contain a third type of unmarked predicate which might be called locational and defined as consisting of a place demonstrative (7.22). Such sentences in the spoken language are similar to elliptical sentences of colloquial English like Been dancing? Finished yet? which occur as opening speeches but obviously presume a clearly defined (non-linguistic) context. These unusual predications will not be considered further here.

9.11. Substantival Predicates are temporal or unmarked predicates consisting of substantival phrases—numerative or descriptive—and these phrases are themselves often composed of smaller phrases of the various sorts described in Chapter 8. Of numerative phrases only those containing a numeral as numerator occur commonly, but a wide variety of descriptive phrases are found.

Mấy giờ rồi? What time is it (already)?
√ Em ấy mấy tuổi? How old is that child?
√ Cái này của ai? Whose is this?
Thế cột bằng nào? Then how large are the pillars [supporting the house]?
Ông ấy thấy thuốc. (S) He’s a doctor.

9.12. Verbal Predicates are temporal or unmarked predicates which are not substantival phrases. They vary from single words to long phrases of complicated structure. Words which occur singly as heads of verbal predicates are predicatives. Independent words which are not substantives (8.1) and which occur between a tense marker and the predicate center are also predicatives.

Sẽ đi. [I, you, he, they, etc.] will go. (reference clarified only by context)
Hiểu. [I, you, he, etc.] understand.
Tôi hiểu. I understand.
√ Tôi không hiểu. I don’t understand.
√ Ông ấy sẽ đi Sài-gòn. He will go to Saigon.

In the above examples the words đi ‘go’, hiểu ‘understand’, and không ‘not’ are predicatives.

9.2. Predicatives are words which occur as heads of verbal predicates and independent words (not substantives) which occur between a tense marker and the predicate center. They belong to two subclasses: verbals (9.5), which occur as heads of descriptive phrases; and negatives (9.4), which do not.
9.2—9.3

- Ông ấy sẽ không đi. He won’t go.
- Tới chưa hiểu. I don’t understand yet.
- Tới đã hiểu. I’ve (already) come to understand.
  Di Sài-gòn. [I’m] going to Saigon.
  Tới hiểu câu này. I understand this sentence.

In the above examples, the words không ‘not’ and chưa ‘not yet’ are negatives; đi ‘go’ and hiểu ‘understand’ are verbalss.

9.3. Tense Markers. Without specific indications to the contrary a sentence refers to the basic time of the context—that is, the time which has been made clear in the context up to that point. The principal predicate of a sentence often denotes an action or state which begins or is about to begin during the basic time. The tense markers announce or emphasize a situation obtaining at a time different from this basic time. Đã ‘anterior’ identifies an action or state at least the beginning of which precedes the basic time; sẽ ‘subsequent’ identifies an action or state which begins later than the basic time. In more complicated circumstances a subordinate marked predicate often modifies the temporal reference in relation to the principal marked predicate.


Now they had only to make plans for the trip—how they should go, by plane, or by ship; how long they would go for and what time they would start out. After talking things over and requesting necessary information at the Vietnamese Embassy in Washington, the two of them decided to travel for six months. The trip would begin following the day they finished celebrating Christmas this year.

Predicates marked by tense markers appear in boldface type in the text and corresponding translation. Actually, the predicate beginning sẽ khởi-hành... comprises all the rest of the sentence; the final predicate indicated (đã ăn mừng ...) is contained within it as the head of a sequence which serves as complement to ngày. In this latter case the đã predicate refers to a state of affairs preceding that of the main predicate (which is marked by sẽ), although both are later than the basic time of the passage.

In this way the tense markers substitute for the system of verbal tenses familiar to speakers of Western languages. There are cases where đã in-
roduces a kind of hypothetical predicate with past reference (roughly equivalent to a conditional in English).

(Nếu) ông nói với tôi sớm hơn thì tôi đã sẵn sóc đến việc ông.
If you had told me [about it] earlier I would have taken care
that business of yours.

✓ (Nếu) ông thấy thuốc không đến tôi đã chết rõ. If the doctor
hadn't come I'd be dead already.

Due to the lack of specificity about temporal references the device
known as the historical present in Western languages is less obvious in
Vietnamese. However, there are many cases where the focal elements (see
Chapter 10) that generally specify present time appear in the telling of a
story. Such cases are probably best considered instances of a similar his-
torical or narrative present (referring to the past) for Vietnamese.

Hai người nói chuyện vui-ve không còn nhớ gì đến thời-giờ. Trời
hôm nay nắng amigo đẹp quá... The two people talk pleasantly
[and] no longer remember (anything about) time. The weather
today is sunny and warm, very lovely...

9.4. Negatives are predicatives which do not occur as heads of descript-
tive phrases. Typically they are restrictive complements but in dependent
sentences (especially in responsive utterances, 5.41) they are common as
heads of restrictive phrases. In no case, however, do they appear as head
with another negative as restrictive complement.

There is a partially consistent pattern in the semantic coverage of these
forms, as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTIC COVERAGE</th>
<th>MILD</th>
<th>EMPHATIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denial</td>
<td>không</td>
<td>chẳng (or chà) definitely not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition</td>
<td>chô</td>
<td>đừng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay</td>
<td>chưa</td>
<td>vào on the contrary, not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contradiction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form chẳng, as well as being stronger than không, sometimes also
suggests impossibility or a wish to the contrary. As second head in choice
questions (9.67) it has the special allomorph chăng (with ngang tone).
Chà seems to be a less frequent variant; it is not found as second head
in choice questions (9.67, 13.32). Some sources cite it as an abbreviated
form of chăng. Both words have a somewhat more literary flavor than
không.

The prohibitives chô and đừng are rare with preceding tense markers,
and it may be that they would be better treated structurally as preverbs
(11.72). Because of their semantic connection with other negatives it has
9.4—9.5

seemed most useful to handle them here. Chó should not be confused with the coordinating particle (11.51) and the final particle (N chú) (11.4), although the meanings of the three forms seem related (see Appendix A). The form nào is relatively rare.

✓ Tôi không hiểu. I don't understand.
✓ Chàng thấy gì hết. Can't see a thing.
✓ Nó chưa hát. He won't sing.
✓ Chó uống rượu. You shouldn't drink alcoholic beverages.
✓ Anh đừng sợ. Don't be afraid.
✓ Sông sâu chó lội, dò đây chó đi. [When the] river is deep, better not swim; [if the] ferry is full better not go [aboard].—Folk saying.
✓ Mỗi ông lại nhà chúng tôi xoi com. Ông sẽ đừng làm khách.
   Please come to our house for a meal. [And] don't stand on ceremony.
✓ Ông ấy chưa về. He hasn't returned home yet.
✓ Tôi đã nào ngủ. I certainly didn't sleep [contrary to what you suggest].

The negatives không, chẳng and chưa are fairly common as restrictive complements to substantives and substantival phrases, although this is clearly a secondary function.

✓ Ông ấy không tiền. He has no money.
✓ Không ai thấy con chó ở đâu? No one has seen where the dog is.
✓ Chàng chưa, chẳng chén sao say./ Chàng thương, chẳng nhớ sao hay đi tìm? No drink, no cup, how [can one] be drunk?/ [If you] don't love, don't recall nostalgically, why so often [do you] go looking [for someone]?—Folk saying.
✓ Bây giờ chưa ba giờ. It's not three o'clock yet.

Negatives appear as heads in secondary main clauses (12.21), in minor sentences (12.42), and in second position in phrases with coordinating construction (choice questions; see 9.67).

✓ Ông đi chợ, còn tôi không. You're going to market, but I'm not.
✓ Anh làm xong chưa?—Chưa. Have you finished [it] yet?—No.

9.5. Verbals are predicatives which occur as heads of descriptive phrases. They are also common with negatives (9.4) as restrictive complements. A few have special distributions which set them apart from the great majority. The definitive (9.51) never has another verbal as descriptive complement. Similarly, comparatives (9.52) have non-verbals as descriptive complements, but of verbals generally only the definitive appears. Quantifiers (9.53) have comparatives and the definitive (as well as certain non-verbals)
as descriptive complements, but no other verbals. A few verbals serve frequently as restrictive complements of other verbals: they are auxiliaries (9.54). These special subclasses aside, the great majority of forms in the class are verbs (9.55). A phrase with a verbal as head is a verbal phrase (see 9.6).

9.51. The Definitive. Ròi 'to be over and done with' is a verbal which occurs with non-verbals as descriptive complements, but never has another verbal as partner in such constructions. Actually, it appears less frequently as predicate center than as a descriptive complement in predicates with other predicative elements or substantival elements as heads. In this very common use it marks a terminated action or condition.

- Tôi rồi việc đó, tôi làm việc khác. (S) [When] I finish this business I'll do something else.
- Việc này đã rồi. This matter is over and done with.
- Việc kia chưa rồi. The other business isn't finished yet.
- An rồi. [We've] already eaten.
- Mấy giờ rồi? What time is it (already)? (i.e., What time has it gotten to be?)
- Anh ta lấy đây túi rồi lại cười lên mình chim mà vể. He filled the pouch, then again mounted astride the body of the bird to return.

9.52. Comparatives are verbals which occur with non-verbals as descriptive complements, but of verbals generally only the definitive ròi appears. They are themselves often descriptive complements of other verbals. Two words have been identified as members of this class.

hon be greater, more (than)

- Tiền Việt-nam hơn ròi. Vietnamese currency is worth more [now].
- Tiền này hơn tiền của tôi. This [sum of] money is greater than mine.
- Ông ấy ốm hơn. He is sicker.

quá exceed, be excessive

- Ông ấy quá tôi. He surpasses me [in doing something].
- Đẹp quá. [It's] exceedingly beautiful.

Note that with comparatives the amount by which something exceeds is expressed by a (following) descriptive complement.

- Cô Lan mua hơn Cô Hồng bốn quả cam. Miss Lan bought four more oranges than Miss Hồng. ["young-lady Lan buy more-than young-lady Hồng four fruit orange"]

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A special exception to the general observation on the distribution of comparatives is that **hơn** appears with the verb **hết** ‘be completely finished, all used up’ (see Appendix A) as descriptive complement. The resulting phrases translate superlatives of western languages.

> Cô ấy dep **hơn hết**. She’s the prettiest (of all).

9.53. **Quantifiers** are verbals which occur with certain non-verbals (notably the contained postpositive particle **lắm** ‘to a great extent, very much’, 11.82) and with the definitive and comparatives as descriptive complements. Four words have been identified as members of this class; there may be others. All are common themselves as descriptive complements.

**nhỉu** be a large amount, much, many

> Bạn tôi **nhỉu**. My friends are many.
> Ở đây người **nhỉu quá**. There are a great many people here.
> Em ấy khóc **nhỉu**. That child cries a lot.
> Ông ấy làm việc **nhỉu**. He works a lot.
> Tiền ấy **nhỉu** rồi. That’s already a great deal of money.

**ít** be a small amount, little, few (cf. **ít** seldom 9.54)

> Bạn tôi **ít**. My friends are few.
> Ở đây người **ít lắm**. There are very few people here.
> Tôi học **nhỉu**, anh ấy học **ít**. I study a lot, he studies little.
> Tiền **ít** rồi. There’s little money [left] already.

**dòng** be many together, in a crowd (generally connoting people)

> Thành -phố này **dòng dân-cư lắm**. This city is very crowded.
> [“city this be-in-crowds citizen great-extent”]

> Họ **dòng** con lắm. They have too many children.
> Làm gì mà **dòng** thế này? What brought this crowd here? [“do whatever descriptive-complement-marker be-in-crowds fashion this?”]

> Họ xům **dòng** quanh cái xe buýt. The crowd gathered around the bus. [“they gather-in-crowd be-in-crowds place-surrounding object vehicle bus”]

**dây** be full [of], filled [with]

> Cái hộp này **dây** rồi. This box is already full.
> Chai **dây** rượu. The bottle is full of wine.
> Máy **dây** giỏ cá, tao **dây** giỏ tôm. You have a basket full of fish, I have a basket full of shrimp. [familiar]
> Anh ta lấy **dây** túi rỗi lại cười lên mình chim mà vè. He filled the pouch, then again mounted astride the body of the bird to return. [“...take full...”]
The first three words occur rather frequently as numerators (8.31); **đãy** has not been observed in this function. Numerative phrases appear in boldface in the following examples.

 Thu-viên **này** **có** **niều** sách **Việt-nam**. This library has many Vietnamese books.

 Còn **ít** đường **lặm**. There’s very little sugar left.

 **Đồng** người **đến** buôn **bản**. Lots of people came to do business.

 Of the four, **đồng** and **đãy** resemble verbs (9.55) more than the other two: they have a wider range of substantival expressions appearing with them as descriptive complements.

 **Niều** frequently serves as descriptive complement to the proportion demonstratives (7.24) **bao** ‘to what(ever) extent’ and **bây** ‘to that extent’ (more rarely, and in literary usage, to **bây** ‘to this extent’). In these positions it has an allomorph with **ngang** tone: **niều**.

 **Có** **bao** **niều**, **xài** **bây** **niều**. Whatever [you] have [you] spend.

 9.54. **Auxiliaries** are verbals which occur as restrictive complements of other verbals. They differ from negatives (9.4) in that they do occur as predicate centers in independent sentences (5.41) and in that they do occur as heads of descriptive phrases. They also appear with negatives as restrictive complements. The following verbals have been identified as members of this class; more extensive analysis may well reveal others. In order to give a more specific notion of the semantic content of these words they are glossed first in a general way, then, following a semicolon, with an English equivalent which suggests their range as restrictive complements.

 **bôt** diminish; be less

 Ho **bôt** cho tôi năm phần trăm. They gave me a five percent discount. (More literally: “They diminished for me [by] five percent.” For use of **cho** see 9.66.)

 Lúc này tôi **bôt** đi Sài-gòn rồi. (S) Now I go to Saigon less.

 **có** exist; be definitely

 Ô **Việt-nam** **có** hai muỗi chín triệu mày ngàn người. In Viet Nam there are twenty-nine million-odd people.

 Ông Hiền **có** nhà không? Is Mr. Hiền at home? [“gentleman Hiền exist (with respect to his) house (or) not?”]

 Tôi nói chắc ông khó tin, nhưng **có** đi sầu vào xã-hội **Việt-nam** thì mới thấy rõ. [What] I say you probably find hard to believe, but [if you] go deeper into Vietnamese society, then (only) [you’ll] see [it] clearly.

 **Có** hai người **đến** **đãy** **hội** **thăm**. There were two people [who] came here inquiring. (Here **có** is predicate center; the predicate **có** hai người has the balance of the sentence as descriptive complement.)
còn remain, be left; still

- **Durong còn.** There is still [some] sugar left.
- **Anh ấy còn ở Hà-nội.** He's still in Hanoi.
- **Đói sông hàng ngày của thủ đô Hà-nội ấy còn rôi-rac.** The everyday life of the capital Hanoi is still disrupted.

gần be close, near; nearly, almost

- **Làng ấy gần lắm.** That village is very near.
- **Tôi gần đi Sài-gòn.** I'm on the point of going to Saigon.
- **Tôi gần muốn khó ở.** I'm almost sick. (Note that muốn ‘wish, want, feel like’ is often used to indicate immediacy of an undesirable condition.)

hết be completely finished, used up; no longer (cf. Appendix A)

- **Durong hết rôi.** The sugar is all used up.
- **Lúc này tôi hết đi Sài-gòn.** (S) I no longer go to Saigon now.

lâu be a long time; (already) for a long time (rare as a main predicate center)

- **Trăm năm thì lâu lắm.** A hundred years—that's a long time!
- **Ông ấy lâu ở Đà-lạt rôi.** He's been away from Dalat for a long time. (Cf. with descriptive phrase, 9.62, Ông ấy ở Đà-lạt lâu rôi. He's lived in Dalat for a long time already.)

ít be infrequent, uncommon; seldom (cf. ít little 9.53)

- **Dòp nói chuyển với bạn thì ít lắm.** Opportunities to talk with friends were very infrequent.
- **Tôi ít đi Sài-gòn.** I seldom go to Saigon.
- **Sinh viên ấy ít học.** That student seldom studies.

mau be fast, quick; soon

- **Xe lửa này mau lắm.** (S) This train is very fast.
- **Mực này mau khô.** This ink dries quickly.
- **Chúng ta mau đi đi!** Let's get on our way soon.

In northern speech mau is most common as auxiliary; as predicate center it is replaced by nhanh ‘be rapid.’ Note that mau often conveys the notion ‘status soon to change:’

- **Ông ở đây lâu mau?** How long are you here for? [“gentleman located here long-time (or) soon (depart)”]

nên be appropriate; necessarily, must, obliged to (cf. Appendix A)

- **Nên chang? Is it appropriate?**
- **Chúng ta nên tập thể-thao.** We should have physical exercise.

thật be real, true; really, truly (S thiết)

- **Câu chuyện này thật.** This story is true.
- **Câu chuyện này thật lỳ-thú.** This story is really interesting.
- **Con chó đó thiết dữ.** (S) That dog is really vicious.
thêm to add, increase; more, in addition

✓ Ông cho tiên ít quá! Xin ông thêm một chút đi! You’ve given [me] very little money. Please add a little more.

✓ Tiếng âm-nhạc du-đường ở góc phòng do một máy phông-thanh tung ra càng làm cho câu truyện ba người thêm vui-vẻ. The sound of harmonious music produced by a loudspeaker in the corner of the room made their (the three people’s) stories still more pleasant.

thường be common, frequent, ordinary; often, usually

✓ Ông ấy thường làm. That man is very ordinary [i.e., he has nothing in particular to recommend him].

✓ Tôi thường đi Sài-gòn. I often go to Saigon.

The auxiliary có is especially important. It is in many ways similar to the English auxiliary verb do: it is less frequent in ordinary affirmative sentences, and in those cases it denotes a kind of emphasis of the verb it precedes; it is almost indispensable in interrogative sentences, just as do is in English. In negative sentences it frequently occurs, but not as frequently as do in English. It is this có which appears as the short affirmative answer. (Cf. also the use of có phải in questions, 13.32.)

✓ Ông có đi không?—Có. Are you going?—Yes.

✓ Tôi không có đi. I’m not going. (less common than Tôi không đi.)

✓ Các ông các bà là ai? Nếu có phải là chủ cửa các hàng-hóa này thì cú đỷ cho tôi đừng, sau này tôi giàu có, tôi sẽ đem tiền lại già. Who are you ladies and gentlemen? If it’s true [you are] the owners of these pieces of merchandise, then go ahead, let me use [them]; later on I’ll be wealthy, [and] I’ll bring the money back and pay.

✓ Hôm qua tôi có đi săn. Yesterday I did go hunting.

✓ Sáng mai có đi thì đi! Tomorrow morning if you [insist on] going, then go ahead.

✓ Nó có gõ, cùng đúng có mở. Even [if] he raps, don’t open [the door].

In a specialized usage, a predicate with có as center followed by a substantival element as descriptive complement (9.62) appears as a descriptive complement itself with the meaning ‘just this and nothing more, only...’

✓ Tôi lấy có một cái bánh. I’ll take just one cake.

✓ Nó làm có hai ngày. He’s worked only two days.

It has been suggested (e.g., Bulteau 1950, p. 125; Jones and Thông 1960, pp. 133-34) that có is used to specify action in past time. It seems more likely that anterior reference in the cases involved is rather either clear
from the context or specified by some other means, while có has the emphatic function described here.

As a predicate center có very frequently corresponds to the English verb have, and for this reason it is generally translated in this manner. However, an understanding of the structure of Vietnamese predicates and their complements (9.62-63 and especially 10.5) makes clear that the gloss ‘be [definitely] existent’ is more suggestive of the basic meaning.

The auxiliary còn is important as a predicate center with a descriptive complement announcing an additional (often contrary) factor. And it often signals the final item in a series.

Còn tôi không muốn đi. As for me, I don’t care to go. [“remain I not want go”]

Chuyến thứ nhất thì bảy giờ sáng. Chuyến thứ nhì thì mười hai giờ trưa. Còn chuyến thứ ba thì tám giờ chiều. The first [train] is at seven in the morning. The second is at twelve noon. And the third is at eight in the evening.

Còn việc làm chiều, nên hỏi ông Nam. On the matter of making mats better ask Mr. Nam.

9.55. Verbs are verbals which do not appear as restrictive complements and do occur as heads of descriptive phrases with a variety of verbal descriptive complements (i.e., in addition to the definitive, 9.51, and comparatives, 9.52). Several features of Vietnamese verbs are quite different from what we call verbs in English. The class does include a great majority of words which may be translated by English verbs. However, it also includes a very large number of forms which are most conveniently rendered by English adjectives following some form of the verb be: thus Tôi mệt means ‘I am tired’, Ông ấy già ‘He is old’, and so forth. The meaning ‘be’ represents an integral part of the semantic range of this sort of verb.

An important way in which Vietnamese verbs differ from English verbs is that they do not in themselves imply a clear notion of “voice” in the grammatical sense. In English a (transitive) verb must be either active or passive. No such distinction is necessary in Vietnamese. As a matter of fact, the actor and the goal or object of Vietnamese verbs are regularly not formally marked; these relationships are generally clear from the context, and if they are not there are ways in which they can be made clear; the point is that they need not be, and in the vast majority of Vietnamese sentences such clarifying devices are not used. The device which indicates that a preceding focal complement (10.2) is actually a goal or object of the action we shall call the logical passive; expressions of this sort are discussed in connection with verbal phrase types (9.64). Following are some examples of verbs which demonstrate the lack of specific distinctions of voice.

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Làm việc này rồi. [We’ve] already done this.
Việc này làm rồi. This has already been done.
Những bức vẽ này thường dán ở cửa ra vào. These drawings are often pasted on entrances and exits.
Hai thang trôm với ra bò ruộng và khống chum vàng về nhà định mò ra chia nhau. Nhưng vàng chả thấy đâu chỉ thấy toàn là rắn độc. The two robbers hastened out to the edge of the field and brought back home the pot of gold [carrying it between them], determined to open [it] up and divide [it] between them. But no gold was to be seen anywhere; [they] only saw [that] it consisted entirely of poisonous snakes.
Ông ấy cắt nhà ở gần trường học. He’s building a house near the school.
Hai cái nhà kia cắt gần nhau cùng trên một miếng đất. Those two houses are built close together on the same lot.
Anh ấy dùng một chữ ít lé-phép. He used a word that was not very polite.
Chữ này không dùng một mình. This word is not used by itself.

Vietnamese verbs are in themselves also timeless. They establish only the fact that a particular action, series of actions or state of affairs is in effect. They depend entirely on the linguistic and situational context for their reference to relative time (see also 9.3). However, we may distinguish semantically two types of verbs:

(1) **momentary action verbs**, referring to specific actions which take a more or less definable amount of time: đi go, làm do, make, hát sing, ở be located, stay, ān eat, ướp drink, đánh hit, đọc read, ngồi sit, đậu moor a boat

(2) **extended state verbs**, referring to states of affairs, attitudes, feelings, wishes, mental processes, etc., which extend over an indefinite period of time: khó be difficult, tốt be good, attractive, hay be interesting, attractive, appealing, xấu be bad, ugly, biết know, hiểu understand, đúng be correct

Extended state verbs when not specifically marked for temporal reference in some way, refer to states obtaining at the basic time of the context. Momentary action verbs operate in the same way in narrative contexts, but in conversational situations those which are not otherwise temporally distinguished refer to the immediate future.
Trương-Tri was the name of a young fisherman. He had a splendid way of singing, but a very ugly face. Every day after he finished fishing he would moor his boat at a fork in the river under a row of pale green willows.

CONVERSATIONAL SITUATION
Bà Lan drops by the house of her friend Bà Hồng. They meet outside and talk for a few minutes about both families’ health. Then, as Hồng invites Lan inside, Lan says—

Lan: Chí đi chợ không?
Hồng: Không. Tôi ở nhà. Chí uống nước không?
Hồng: Tôi nghe nói rồi. Chí dùng à?

Are you going to market?
No. I’m going to stay home. Will you have some tea?
Yes, thanks. (Changing subject:) Do you know that (Miss) Kính is getting married?
I heard (someone) say (so). It’s true, is it?

Extended state verbs rather often carry a connotation of augmentation, increase. It may well be that this is the counterpart of the momentary action verb’s reference to the immediate future.

Ba người cùng nâng mặt lên xem đoàn phi-co bay cao, cao mãi.
The three people (together) raised [their] faces (upward) to watch the group of airplanes flying higher, ever higher.

In any case, this feature is clearly utilized whenever two or more entities are compared: the extended state verb designates which of the entities is most endowed with the quality involved.

Hai cái bàn này, cái nào dài?
[Of] these two tables, which [one] is longer?
Các quả kia, thứ nào ngon?
[Of] those fruit, which are the tastiest?

There seems to be no formal way to distinguish momentary action verbs from extended state verbs. In general, the latter include those forms which appear after the preverb rất ‘very’, but in the long run this appears to be an inadequate criterion for separating them from other verbs. It is likely that further research will reveal some formal subclasses of verbs. This problem has been studied in some recent Soviet publications: Bystrov 1961 separates from verbs a class of adjectives, which do not occur after the
prohibitives dựng and chó (p. 4). Stankevič 1961a studies the question in
detail and is responsible for the specific distinction cited by Bystrov, as
well as some other differences between his verbs and adjectives. However,
these categorizations seem to rest on quite tenuous non-occurrences and
some rather rare forms. For example, he identifies a ‘sign of the past
tense’ tùng, after which his adjectives do not appear (p.45). Actually, this
seems to be rather a verb meaning something like ‘to experience, have an
experience’, and following elements are descriptive complements (9.62).
Considerable further work is needed.

It is important to note that the familiar dichotomy of English verbs
between those which “take objects” and those which do not is absent in
Vietnamese. Logical goals and objects are discussed in 9.63. Here it will
suffice to cite a few examples involving elements similar to goals or ob-
jects with verbs whose English counterparts are intransitive. In Vietnamese
these elements are descriptive complements.

Tôi đi Hà-nội. I’m going to Hanoi.
ông xa nhà. You’re far from home.
Tôi buồn ông. I [feel] sorry for you. [“I sad gentleman”]

This feature is, of course, consistent with the lack of specific active-
passive reference in Vietnamese verbs (see above).

Vietnamese verbs lack the “modal” distinctions which characterize
verbs in many Western languages. This means that there are no such forms
as infinitives, subjunctives, and so forth. It is particularly important to
note in this connection that commands and injunctions (which in many
languages make use of a special imperative form) are not markedly distin-
guished from statements and questions. They occur with and without focal
complements specifying the person (resembling subjects in English; cf.
10.5); those without are generally somewhat less polite.

Anh lấy cái va-li này. Take this suitcase. (polite to servant)
Lấy cái va-li này. Take this suitcase. (less polite)

In other contexts the first example might mean ‘You’ll take this suitcase’,
‘You took this suitcase’ or ‘He took this suitcase.’ The second example
has an even wider range of meanings in other contexts, including, for
instance, also ‘I’ll take this suitcase’, ‘Let’s take this suitcase’, etc. In
other words, the identification of a sentence as expressing a command in
such cases depends entirely on the context. Or, to state it another way,
Vietnamese does not distinguish commands and injunctions from state-
ments. Even the preverb hãy (11.72 and Appendix A), which is often cited
as a mark of the imperative, is ambiguous: it frequently has the force ‘one
should...’, ‘let’s be sure to...’

Hay đi sớm. Better go early. or Let’s go early.

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However, the prohibitives **đừng** and **chớ** often correspond to English negative imperatives, and the momentary action verb **đi** ‘go’ appears as a descriptive complement (9.62) with the force ‘go ahead...’

**Chớ uống rượu.** [You] shouldn’t (or Don’t) drink alcoholic beverages.

**Anh đừng sợ.** Don’t be afraid.

✓ **Anh nói đi!** Go ahead and talk.

Verbs are extremely common as descriptive complements, both in substantival and verbal phrases.

**SUBSTANTIVAL**

- **người** to a big person
- **nhà nhỏ** a small house
- **nhà ở** a residence [“building to-live-in”]
- **chuyến đi** **chuyến đến** departures and arrivals (e.g., of trains)
  [“scheduled-run go scheduled-run arrive”]
- **bàn ān** dining table [“table eat”]

**VERBAL**

✓ **khó hiểu** difficult to understand
- **ăn sống** eat [something] raw [“eat be-alive”]
- **chạy đi** set out, start up (speaking of vehicle or machine)
  [“run go”]
- **muốn học** want to study
- **nói giới** say [something] well

9.6. **Verbal Phrases.** Predicatives enter into a variety of constructions. Their relationships are not so well understood as those of substantives, and some of the apparent subtypes of verbal phrases cannot be clearly justified on formal grounds. However, it is important to present the patterns which emerge in order to afford a better picture of the structure of predications, even though certain difficult formal points may need revision in the light of further research.

The distinction between subordinating and coordinating constructions is clear, and **restrictive phrases** (9.61) are easily distinguishable from **descriptive phrases** (9.62-64). The difficulties arise with the separation of different types of coordinate phrases. To some extent the difficulties stem from the lack of a firm criterion for defining extended state verbs as a class apart from momentary action verbs (9.55), but there are other problems as well. However, one type of coordinate phrase is set apart by its usual intonational accompaniment: **alternative phrases** (9.67) have two heads (expressing semantically opposite points of view), most often with sustaining intonation (5.34) accompanying the second head. In other co-
ordinate phrases the two or more heads represent either several actions or states obtaining at the same time (coterminous phrases, 9.65), or situations which follow one another (sequential phrases, 9.66). The latter are by far the more common, and it may well be that only logical differences of meaning separate the two.

Predicates are themselves often the heads of restrictive phrases formed by the focal construction (Chapter 10). Focal complements are distinguished from restrictive complements within predicates in that they precede the position of tense markers (see definition of predicates in 9.1).

9.61. Restrictive Phrases contain a single predicative or a verbal phrase as head and as complement a negative (9.4), an auxiliary (9.54), or one of certain kinds of particles (11.7-8) (including predicative markers, 9.1). In a few instances complex complements appear, usually themselves restrictive phrases containing a prepositional particle (11.81). In the following examples complements appear in boldface and are identified in parentheses.

```
Tối sẽ đi. I'll go. (tense marker)
Tối chưa đi. I haven’t gone yet. (negative)
Tối ít đi. I seldom go. (auxiliary)
Tối vừa đi. I just left. (preverb)
Tối cũng đi. I'm going too. (prepositional particle)
Tối rất vui. I'm very happy (preverb)
Tối rất ít đi. I very seldom go. (restrictive phrase rất ít)
Ông ấy đã không có ổn nhiều. He's already not very sick now.
(restrictive complex with successive complements đã, không, có; and the descriptive phrase ổn nhiều as center)
```

9.62. Descriptive Phrases contain a verbal or verbal phrase (9.5) as head; complements are other verbs and verbal phrases, substantives and substantival phrases (Chapter 8), certain focuses (10.4), certain particles (11.7-8), and sometimes entire clauses (9.8).

```
Ông ấy ôm nặng. He’s seriously ill. [“gentleman just-referred-to ill heavy"] (verb)

✓ Đi không được. Can’t go. (verbal restrictive phrase)
...đi sâu vào xã hội Việt-nam... [if you] go deep into Vietnamese society (đi ‘go’ as head; complement: sâu vào xã hội Việt-nam, verbal descriptive phrase, consisting of verb sâu ‘be deep’ and complement vào xã hội Việt-nam, verbal descriptive phrase, in turn consisting of verb vào ‘enter’ and complement xã hội Việt-nam ‘Vietnamese’society’, substantival phrase)
```
v. Ông ấy ngắn tay. He has short arms. (substantive)
v. Chị ấy đau bụng. (S) She has a stomach ache. (substantive)
Lý-thù lâm. Very interesting. (postpositive particle)
Hay quá! Marvelous! (comparative)
Vi thể mà người ta tin là đã có duyên-khiếp lấy nhau thì thể nào
cũng phải kết-hợp một lần không sao tránh được. And so it is
that people believe that if two people are destined to be lovers
they must in any case unite at least once—there’s no way to
avoid it. (The clause beginning with the identificational marker
là is complement to the verb tin ‘believe.’)
v. Chợ vắng người. The market is empty of people. (general categorial)
v. Nó giàu của những nghèo con. He’s rich in possessions, but
poor in children [i.e., he has many inanimate possessions
but few children]. (general categoricals)
Cái nhà này cắt tiền làm. This house cost a lot of money
to build. (Complement is itself a verbal descriptive phrase
with the head tiền and the postpositive particle làm as
complement. Tiền is also a descriptive phrase with the
extended state verb tiền ‘be costly’ as head, and the mass
noun tiền ‘money’ as complement.)
Tôi thả con mèo ra ngoài, lạnh nó làm. I let the cat out of doors;
it was] very cold for it. (The final predicate has the head
lạnh nó with the complement làm; lạnh ‘be cold’ has the com-
plement nó ‘it’, a pronoun, 10.43.)
Mắt trời lạnh, mau dò đèn. [When] the sun goes down lamps are
quickly lighted. [‘face sky dive, soon be-red lamp’]
Tôi không thích lạnh ở Đà-lạt. I don’t like the cold [weather]
in Dalat. (Descriptive complement lạnh ở Đà-lạt is itself a
verbal descriptive phrase with head lạnh ‘be cold’, and, in
turn, the verbal descriptive phrase ở Đà-lạt as complement.)
Xe lửa đến sớm ba phút. The train arrived three minutes early.
(The descriptive complement sớm ba phút is itself a verbal
descriptive phrase with the head sớm ‘be early’ and the com-
plement ba phút ‘three minutes’, a numerative phrase.)

Some descriptive phrases of this type seem to appear primarily or only as
focal complements (10.2).

v. Thường ngày tôi đi chợ. I go to market daily. [‘be-common day
I go market’]
Thường khi tôi thích ăn ở ngoài. I usually prefer to eat out.
Probably the most common complements are substantives and substantival phrases. Many of these seem from the English point of view to be goals or objects (see 9.63). Of verbals, the definitive (9.51), comparatives (9.52) and quantifiers (9.53) are very common. Of verbs, extended state verbs are probably most common complements to momentary action verbs:

- **di châm** go slowly
- **hiểu rõ** understand clearly
- **ăn ngon** eat [things that are] tasty; make good eating
- **bán rẻ** sell cheaply

Less frequently a momentary action verb is found as complement to an extended state verb:

- **khó nói** difficult to say
- **để thương** lovable ["easy to-love"]
- **muốn làm** want to do [something]

Rather rarely a momentary action verb appears as complement to another momentary action verb:

- **hỏi thăm** to inquire ["ask-questions to visit," i.e., ‘to ask for information while visiting’]

Descriptive complements generally involve an obvious or not very startling contrast with preceding complements which are restrictive (focal complements, 10.2). They offer more specific or detailed information about the head, but do not in principle limit it. However, there are a few cases in which some special contrasts are involved. In reference to time and space, descriptive complements suggest expansion, extension, duration—in contrast to focal complements, which signal points in time or space (10.21).

*Mỗi ngày tôi làm việc tüm giờ.* I work eight hours each day.

Cf. (with focal complement) *Mỗi ngày làm giờ tôi làm việc.* I [begin] work at eight o’clock each day.

*Xe sẽ phải lên giọc ba cây số nưa.* The car has to climb a slope for three more kilometers. Cf. (with focal complement)

*Ba cây số nưa xe sẽ phải lên giọc.* Three kilometers further on the car has to climb a slope.

Without other indications to the contrary, descriptive complements specifying time refer to the past, while similar focal complements refer to the future (10.22).

*Ông đi hôm nào?* What day did you go? Cf. (with focal complement)

*Hôm nào ông đi?* What day are you going to go?

The extended state verb with a substantive as complement is sometimes considered in traditional grammar as a sort of preceding modifier with special idiomatic meaning (e.g., Trần Trọng Kim et al 1950, p. 88). It seems
clear, however, that even these cases are better understood in the terms described here (i.e., the following substantive is complement to the verb, which is head), and the idiomatic meanings are simply the result of specialization.

mặt đẹp a beautiful face: đẹp mặt be glorious, honored (esp. in làm đẹp mặt do honor to) ["beautiful of face"]
người lớn adult, grownup: lớn người (be) a tall person ["large of person"]

táy mắt a cool hand: mắt táy be skillful ["cool of hand"]

răng trắng white teeth: trắng răng be still young ["white of tooth"]

người đúng a "correct" person (i.e., meritorious): đúng người the very person [I wanted to see] ["correct as to person"]

There are cases where it might appear that a "subject" (from the English point of view) appears following its predicate. These are rather verbal descriptive phrases of the same type.

Người chồng thật là đầu-dũi, lực vắng vợ thì hết sức lấy lời ơn-tôn nói với me, lực vắng mẹ thì nghiêm-nghĩ khuyễn-can vợ. The husband was really worried; when [his] wife was out he put a lot of effort into talking kindly with [his] mother; when [his] mother was out he was stern in warning [his] wife.

(vàng vợ “deserted from the point of view of the wife,” vắng mẹ “deserted from the point of view of the mother”)

Cái xe máy dâu culpa tôi hôm trước hư, chết máy. (S) My motor-bike went out of commission the other day—the motor died. ["object vehicle machine oil possession I day time-before spoil, die machine"]

Dau con mèo. (S) The cat’s hurt.

Phrases of this type are frequent as descriptive complements to the verb làm ‘do, make’; the result is a kind of causative expression, with the overtone ‘unintentional.’

Tôi làm chết máy. (S) I killed the motor.
Tôi làm dau con mèo. (S) I hurt the cat [unintentionally].

Chị ấy làm vỡ cái đèn. She broke the lamp.

(A causative expression with intentional implication involves the sequential construction; phrases have second heads which are descriptive phrases headed by the verb cho ‘give’; cf. 9.66.)

9.63. Logical Goals and Objects. In a large majority of the cases where a verbal is complemented by a following substantive or substantival
phrase it will appear from the English point of view that it is a matter of verb and object or goal. However, it is especially important to realize that in the over-all scheme of Vietnamese grammar this English category has no real counterpart. There seems to be no difference in structure between a phrase which is translated in English by a verb plus an object and one which is translated as an adjective or sometimes a verb with some kind of modifier. Thus đi Sài-gòn ‘go to Saigon’, ăn cá ‘eat fish’, hỏi ba câu ‘ask three questions’ and làm gì? ‘what [are you] doing?’ have exactly the same structure as ngắn tay ‘short of arm’, ăn cao-lâu ‘eat [at] a restaurant’, nói ba lần ‘say [it] three times’, đi đường này ‘go [by] this street (or this way)’, lâu ngày ‘for a long time [in terms of days passing]’, làm lính ‘be a soldier’ (more literally ‘act as a soldier’), xin lỗi ‘beg pardon’ [‘beg (from point of view of) error’], buồn gì? ‘what [are you] sad about?’, xa nhà ‘far from home’, tốt đói ‘making a good pair’, vui tai ‘pleasing to the ears’, vui tinh ‘pleasant by nature’, and so on. In each case the phrase is an expansion (5.42) of the verbal and this verbal is thus the head of the phrase; when this aspect of the system is understood and is considered together with another difficult matter—the lack of a grammatical subject (in the English sense) for predications (cf. 10.5)—a much deeper insight into the structure of the language is achieved. The opposition of subject and object—so important in English—is simply not part of the Vietnamese system. This fact is clearly connected with the lack of grammatical “voice” connotations in the verb (9.55, 9.64).

This understanding of the relationship of verbals with following substantival complements makes clear the central meaning of the important auxiliary có ‘be (definitely) existent’ (9.54) and unites its many (superficially varied) uses.

1. Dây có nhiều người. There are many people here.
2. Việt-nam có nhiều người. Viet Nam has many people.
3. Ô Việt-nam có nhiều người. In Viet Nam there are many people.

Hành-khách không ai được lên bờ vì đang có cuộc định-công của các phi khuân vắc làm ở bến tàu. None of the passengers got to go ashore because there was a strike by the coolies working at the dock.

Hai ông có thể cho tôi biết tên các vị ấy được không? Could you two let me know the names of those (distinguished) gentlemen?

Giáo-su chúng tôi có dẫn là các bạn khác ở xa Hà-nội thì ba ông Thái, Cúng hay Chữ sê dua chúng tôi đi thám. Our teacher did advise us that as for the other friends far from Hanoi, Mr. Thái, Mr. Cúng or Mr. Chữ would take us to visit [them].

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Cuối mùa đông ở Bắc-Việt có nhiều sương mù. At the end of winter in North Viet Nam there is a great deal of fog.

Kia, hai ông trọng chỗ có nhiều tàu, thuyền dỡ và có sàu cái khó hàng to kia là bên Säu-kho đày. Way over there you two see the place [where] there are a lot of ships and small boats moored and there are six large warehouses—that’s the port of Säu-kho there.

An có nhai, nói có nghĩ. For eating there is chewing, for talking there is thinking. (Rough equivalent of the American aphorism: ‘Before opening mouth make certain mind is in gear.’)

Ông Hiền có nhà không? Is Mr. Hiền at home?

The last sentence exemplifies a type often explained by grammarians as involving omission of the principal verb ở ‘be located.’ This may well be the historical explanation, but the phrase occurs frequently as it is and must be explained without resort to missing elements. If we were to allow missing elements there would be no end of them and we would very shortly have projected the prejudice of a foreign grammar onto the language. It must also be mentioned that there is a homonymous phrase meaning ‘Does Mr. Hiền have a house?’ although it is a less likely Vietnamese sentence.

Sometimes there are two descriptive complements which resemble goals or objects. In this case the second element complements the phrase consisting of the verbal head and the first complement. In its simplest form the sequence involves a first complement which generally identifies a personal beneficiary or agent, and a second denoting the concrete objects, abstract ideas, actions or states affected.


Say this sentence three times.

Tôi cho anh xích-lô năm dông. I gave the cyclo-driver five piastres.

Tôi muốn hỏi ông một câu. I want to ask you a question.

✓ Ông làm ơn giúp tôi công việc này. Please help me with this task.

Here, as in other cases, the descriptive complement is often another verbal or verbal phrase.

✓ Ông để tôi làm. Allow me to do [it].

Ông ấy mới tôi đi xem hát. He invited me to go to a play. (In this sentence the second complement di xem hát is a sequential phrase [9.66] of which the second head, xem hát, is also a verbal descriptive phrase with head xem ‘watch’ and complement hát ‘sing, act on stage.’)

2 Sentences of this type have elsewhere (Gage and Jackson 1953, p. 13) been analyzed as containing a “pivot”—a word which is at the same time object of one verb and subject of another. The understanding of these elements as complements in a descriptive complex rather than as objects in the English sense removes the quandary.
9.64. Logical Passive Expressions. There are three common momentary action verbs of very generalized meaning which most frequently appear with a descriptive complement, often itself a clause:

*bị* suffer, undergo, be affected adversely by some action, state or factor
do be accomplished, caused, effected by, be dependent on, the result of
dược receive, get, obtain; be benefited by, affected favorably by some action, state or factor, be permitted (see also Appendix A)

Predicates containing one of these verbs as head and a clause as descriptive complement resemble English passive expressions and the phenomenon is so labeled in traditional grammars. However, it is important to remember that basically Vietnamese verbs are neither active nor passive (9.55). In the following examples the nature of descriptive complements (in boldface type) is indicated in parentheses.

√ Ông ấy bị bệnh. He has a disease. (general categorical)
√ Anh ấy bị người ta đánh. He has been beaten by someone. (clause)

Trong khi bị giam, Trê bị khổ sở, ăn uống thiếu thốn, sáng bị đòn, tôi bị tra. While he was detained [in police custody], Catfish suffered hardships—his food and drink were entirely insufficient, by morning he was flogged, by night he was interrogated. (verbs)

Xe anh ấy bị hỏng những gì? Bị vỡ kính, vỡ đèn và hỏng cửa. What was damaged on his car?—The windshield was broken, the lights smashed and the door damaged. (verbal descriptive phrases)

Tiếng âm nhạc du dương ở góc phòng do một máy phóng-thanh tung ra càng tốt cho câu chuyện người thềm vui vẻ. The sound of harmonious music produced by a loudspeaker in the corner of the room made their (the three people’s) stories still more pleasant. (clause)

√ Ông giàu do sự làm lung k hô nhoc. You are rich due to the fact that you toiled arduously. (substantival phrase, sự as head)
Xe ấy do một cô gái lái. That car is driven by a girl. (clause)
Nguyễn xưa ở Việt-nam việc hôn-nhấn là do ông mẹ khen chọn cho con cái. In olden days in Viet Nam marriages depended on the parents’ choosing for [their] children. (clause)

Sáng nay chị tôi được thư. My [elder] sister got a letter this morning. (item noun)

Em được mấy tuổi rồi? How old are you? (speaking to child)
(substantival phrase)

√ Hôm nay tôi được bố dâu. (S) I’m less ill today. (verbal predicate)

√ Tôi được ăn. I am permitted to eat. (verb)
√ Tôi được ông thương yêu vì tôi siêng-nâng. I am esteemed by you because I am diligent. (clause)
Tôi không được đi. I was not permitted to go. (verb)
9.65. **Coterminous Phrases** are coordinate phrases presenting two or more actions or states obtaining at the same time. Extended state verbs are most common as heads although momentary action verbs also occur. There is no formal way of separating such phrases from sequential phrases (9.66), and it may well be that only a semantic specialization is involved.

*Mây con chó con này tốt đẹp để thường.* These puppies are cute and lovable. ["indefinite-number animal dog offspring this good beautiful easy love"]

*Chúng ta cũng nhau đi chợ.* Chị mua rau cái, tôi mua thịt. Let’s go to market together. You buy vegetables, I’ll buy meat.

*Trước thì còn riêng các cụ bố-lão và quan-viên kỳ-cuusher bàn muu tim ké, sau phải hội toàn dân cùng không ai có ý-kiện gì.* First separately the village notables and elder officials got together to discuss strategy, later they had to assemble the entire populace, and still no one had any [constructive] idea. (*Bàn tim* ‘discuss in quest of’ is a coterminous phrase, appearing in interlocking order with the reinforcing compound *muu-ké* ‘strategy’; cf. 6.4.)

*Các người ấy biết ăn biết nói.* Those people know how to get along. [“plural person just-referred-to know eat know speak”]

*Thua thấy tốt lắm a, nhà ngói năm gian, cột bằng lim, cửa bằng gụ và cốt cũng khá to.* Oh, it’s a very good one, sir—[it’s a] five-section tiled roof house, ironwood pillars, hard-wood doors—and the pillars are pretty good size.

*Hai người nói chuyện vui vẻ không còn nhớ gì đến thi-gió.* The two people were conversing happily [and so] forgot completely [“no longer remembered anything”] about time.

That the dividing line between coterminous phrases and sequential phrases is impossible to draw clearly is exemplified by the following sentences, which could be analyzed as containing either.

*Vì sức yếu nên nhỏ cây gậy chống đói.* Because he is weak he has to walk leaning on his stick. [“because strength weak therefore depend-on stick cane lean-on go”]

*Tôi đi ra về.* I’m going home. [“I go go-out return-home”]

9.66. **Sequential Phrases** are coordinate phrases presenting situations which follow one another. Heads vary from single verbals to lengthy clauses.

*Ông ấy ở Sài-gòn ra Hà-nội thú hai.* He left Saigon for Hanoi on Monday. [“gentleman just-referred-to located Saigon go-out Hanoi Monday”]
Tôi đi chợ mua đồ. I'm going to market to buy some things.

Ông chủ nhà thấy liền hết cơm, với gọi người nhà lấy thêm. Com đa lên cảu Thanh lại tiếp-tục ăn và nói chuyện vui-vẻ như thường. The host saw that the serving dish was empty of rice [and] hastened to call the servant to get more. [When] the rice was brought Thanh again resumed eating and talking happily as usual. (Ông chủ nhà thấy liền hết cơm is first head of a sequential phrase; the balance of the sentence is the second head. In the second sentence the first sequential head is Com đa lên; the second head is again the balance of the sentence.)

Sometimes a cause-and-effect relationship is implied.

Muốn có ăn phải đi làm. [If you] want to have [anything] to eat, [you] have to go to work.

Muốn biết được thuở phải đi hỏi. [If you] want to know [whether you] won [or] lost [you] have to go ask.

Tôi nghỉếp cho anh ta, lúc trở về, trong khi bay qua bể, chim bị nảng quá không công nói, liên đế anh theo với tụi vàng rơi tóm xuống bể. Unfortunately for him, on the way back, while flying across the sea, the bird found [its load] too heavy [and] could not carry [it], [so] promptly let him and the pouch of gold fall down into the sea. [“too-bad give elder-brother you-and-1, time return return-home, inside time fly cross sea, bird undergo heavy exceed not carry-on-back capably, directly leave elder-brother follow with pouch gold fall kerplop go-down sea”]

As can be seen from some of the above examples, this construction is exceedingly common, and it often appears where from the point of view of English usage we should expect some kind of subordinate clauses with adverbial elements clarifying the relationships. As common as the sequential construction is, it is not surprising that a number of high-frequency verbs appear with rather specialized meanings as second head in sequential phrases. In the following examples the basic meaning of each verb is covered first.

bằng be equal, even, flat; as...as (not to be confused with the relator noun
bằng ‘a particular quantity or proportion’, 8.63; or the extended
state verb bằng ‘be the essential substance of’—làm bằng gỗ made
of wood, di bằng máy bay go by plane)

✓ Hai phân-số ấy bằng nhau. Those two ratios are equal (to one
another).

✓ Cái ghế này to bằng cái kia. This chair is as big as the other one.
cho give; for the benefit of, that, for the fact that, so that, in order to
Óng làm ơn cho tôi hai đồng. Please give me two piastres.
✓ Tôi sẽ làm cho ông. I’ll do [it] for you.
Vợ ông chỉ biết khóc mà thương chọn duyên-kỳếp mình không ra gì,
không hề oán-trách chồng. His wife was of such a personality
[that she] only wept, regretting [the fact] that her predestination
turned out to be so disappointing [“came to nothing”];
she never reproached [her] husband.
✓ Tôi làm cho con mèo dầu. (S) I hurt the cat [on purpose]. (cf.
9.62 end)
Tôi mài dao định giết mẹ đi cho rồi. I’m sharpening the knife
[having] decided to kill mother off and get it over with.
Hai họ thường nói chung để nói chuyện chọn dễ. The two families
usually sit together to allow for easy conversation.
✓ Chia hai bánh này chọn đều. Divide these two cakes equally.
Tôi nghĩ chọn ấy là một người học giỏi. I thought he was a
good student.
✓ Ông ấy đã bán nhà chọn tôi. He sold me a house. (Note that in
some contexts this means ‘He sold a house for me.’)
dến go to, arrive at; all the way to, up to; concerning
✓ Lúc nào ông đến? When will you arrive?
✓ Anh ấy làm đến hai giờ rưỡi. He worked up to two-thirty.
Chúng tôi nhớ đến cô. We remember you.
Tôi nghĩ đến anh xuống làm việc này. I think about you doing
this work.
✓ Việc này thuộc đến ông Lâm. This matter concerns Mr. Lâm
[superficially]. (cf. vế)
di go; away, completely [destroyed]
✓ Tôi đi chợ. I’m going to market.
✓ Xin anh đem cái vali này đi. Please take this suitcase away.
Ây là những giấy tờ cũ, nên hủy đi. Those are some old papers,
it’s appropriate to destroy them.
Tôi mài dao định giết mẹ đi cho rồi. I’m sharpening the knife
[having] decided to kill mother off and get it over with.
lên go up; raising, increasing
✓ Lúc nào ông lên Đà-lạt? When are you going up to Dalat?
✓ Chúng ta mau lên, kéo bi chết! We’d [better] hurry up, or else
[we’ll] be dead!
mất lose; use up, take; completely
✓ Bà ấy mất hai trăm bạc. She lost two hundred [piastres] (in
silver).
Làm việc này mất mấy ngày? How many days will it take to do this job?
Cái xe của Bính hỏng mất. Bính’s car was a total loss.
Nếu ông không uống thuốc này thì ông chết mất. If you don’t take this medicine you’ll die.
ra go out; open, separate, changed
Con tàu càng ra xa càng chạy nhanh hơn. The farther the ship got from the shore the faster it went. ("classifier" ship the-more go-out far shore the-more run rapid more”)
Mở cửa ra. Open the door.
chia ra làm ba. Divide [it] into three [parts]. ("divide go-out make three”]
Mây hóa ra mưa. The clouds were transformed into rain. ("cloud transform go-out rain”)
thấy perceive (used mainly as second head in sequential phrases referring to perception via one of the physical senses)
Tôi nghe thấy tiếng người kêu. I hear the sound of someone calling (nghe listen, hear)
Ô dài người thấy mùi hoa huệ. Here [you can] smell the odor of lilies. (ngửi ‘sniff’)
ông Yến rất mừng khi trông thấy quyên sách ông cụ cầm tay là một quyên tiêu-thuyệt Việt-nam. Mr. Yến was very pleased when [he] saw [that] the book the old gentleman was holding in his hand was a Vietnamese novel. (trọng ‘look’)
theo follow; after, according to, accompanying, along with
có ba đứa theo chúng ta. There are three rascals following us.
anh làm theo mẫu này. Make [it] according to this model.
Tôi-nghịp cho anh ta, lúc trời về, trứng khi bay qua bè, chim bị nặng quá không còn nổi, liên đê anh theo với tui vàng roi tôm xuống bè. Unfortunately for him, on the way back while flying across the sea, the bird found [its load] too heavy [and] could not carry [it], [so] promptly let him and the pouch of gold ("leave elder-brother follow with pouch gold") fall down into the sea.
vào go in; attached directly to, onto
mời ông vào. Please come in.
người ta cũng treo vào cảnh đạo một tờ giấy bửu. They also hang an amulet onto the peach branch.
sau này nhiều nhà không có cảnh đạo thì họ về cảnh đạo vào tờ giấy bửu. Lately many families do not have a peach branch, so they draw a peach branch on a (paper) amulet.
về return home; toward, concerning, about

Mai tôi về nhà quê. Tomorrow I’m going home to the country.
Làng tôi ở về phía tây một ngọn núi. My village is situated to the west of a mountain.
Việc này thuộc về ông Lâm. This matter concerns Mr. Lâm
[intimately]. (cf. đến)
Bây giờ tôi nói về sự kỳ. Now I’m speaking of history.

9.67. Alternative Phrases constitute for the most part choice questions—
the most common form corresponding to English yes-or-no-answer questions.
The first head is a verbal phrase (lengthy ones are common); the second
head is always a single predicative, most often one of the negatives (9.4)
không ‘not’, chẳng (special form of chẳng ‘definitely not’ for this position),
chưa ‘not yet’, or (in southern usage) chờ ‘better not.’ A few other verbals
occur as second head: such a verbal is always diametrically opposite in
meaning to that of the center of the first head. With the final head không
the first head very often (but not invariably) has the auxiliary có; it is
less frequent with other final heads. The final head is most often accom-
panied by sustaining intonation (5.34).

Ông đi không? Are you going?
Ông có đi không? Are you going? (This is a somewhat more
insistent question than the preceding. Still more intricate
shades of insistence in such sentences involve the differences
in the stress pattern. The auxiliary có very often has weak stress,
stress, much like English do, but also occurs with heavier
stresses.)

Ông (có) ăn chưa? Have you eaten yet?
Ông biết chẳng? Do you know?
Thua cứ, the câu truyện bán nhà cứ định kể cho chúng tôi nghe
có liên-quan đến việc làm rè không? Well, sir, then does the
story [about] selling a house [which] you have decided to
tell us have a connection with the business of being a suitor?

Ông ở đây lâu mau? (S) Will you be here long?
Ông sẽ ở đây lâu nữa thôi? Will you stay here a good deal longer
(or leave shortly)?

Ông đi Sai-gòn chờ? (S) Are you going to Saigon?
Ông có biết nói tiếng tây không? Do you (know how to) speak
French? (tây ‘west’ has come to be a synonym for Pháp ‘France’)

Substantival and identificational predicates are not negated directly
(cf. 14.3); similarly, an alternative question based on a substantival
predicate has the verb phải ‘be true, real, definite’, nearly always preceded
by the auxiliary có (cf. 13.32). Phải appears either directly before a
predicative marker or in a position where a predicative marker could occur,
or preceding one or more focal complements (10.2-3).

Thưa cụ, người thông-thạo pháp-luat cụ vừa nói có phải là trang-
su không? (Sir), is the person experienced with [matters of]
law you just mentioned a lawyer?

Có phải Ông là người Mỹ không? Are you an American?
Có phải bây giờ là mùa cuối không? Is now the season for
marriages?

Alternative questions often constitute the final head of a sequential phrase:
the first head of the sequential phrase is a statement (often relatively
long) which is then more or less summed up in a single verbal or brief
verbal phrase followed by a negative.

Mai đi đám cuối có xa không? Is the wedding we’re going to
tomorrow far away?

Hải ông có thể cho tôi biết tên các vị ấy được không? Could you
let me know the names of those gentlemen?

Năm nay hai bậc ăn têt có to không? Are you having a big New
Year’s celebration this year?

The latter device is used in the very familiar formula ...phải không? the
equivalent of the French n’est-ce pas? and similar English final question
tags modeled on the verb (...isn’t it...don’t you? etc.). The meaning of
the Vietnamese formula is analagous: it indicates that the speaker expects
his hearer to confirm what he has just said.

Cụ là người Việt, phải không? You’re Vietnamese, aren’t you?
Ai đây, tiếng ai nghe như tiếng có Hồng phải không? Who’s
there? Someone’s voice sounds like Miss Hồng’s—am I right?

Not all alternative phrases have sustaining intonation with the second
head: choice questions with increasing and fading intonations are also
common (cf. 5.3). In addition there are occasional alternative phrases
which carry roughly the notion ‘whether...or’—they are generally short and
might be described as indirect questions embedded in longer phrases.

Muốn biết được thua phải đi hỏi. [If you] want to know [whether
you] won [or] lost [you] have to ask.

On occasion the second head in an alternative phrase is marked by the
prepositive particle hay ‘or’ (11.81). The result is much like the alter-
native type question in English (Are you going or not? Are you glad or
sorry?), whereas the regular Vietnamese alternative phrase corresponds to
the average colorless question in English.

Xoài ngon không? Is the mango good (tasting)?
9.7. **Identificational Predicates** are those introduced by the identificational marker là (9.1). Potentially any independent word or phrase in the language may occur after là as such a predicate. It is thus marked specifically as a predicate which is to be identified with (considered in some way the equivalent of) an immediately preceding item—either in the same speech, or, occasionally, in the speech of another person. In rare circumstances it may refer in a similar way to some element in the physical surroundings or the sociocultural situation which has been identified in some nonlinguistic way (for example, by pointing to or holding up an object, by exhibiting surprise about a turn in the weather, etc.). In many cases the words of phrases marked by là would not be predicates without it. In those cases where là marks a temporal predicate special attention is called to the identification of this predicate with the preceding element; such predicates often appear in emphatic sentence-final position (12.62).

Identificational predicates are often heads of larger phrases; in these cases they most often constitute the final element of a sentence, with preceding (restrictive) complements (see Chapter 10). They also occur, however, as descriptive complements; in this use they are sometimes nonfinal, but the end of the identificational predicate is usually followed by a pause.

**IDENTIFICATIONAL PREDICATES AS HEADS**

- Ông Lewis và ông Johnson là hai sinh-viên Mỹ. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Johnson were two American students.
- Chị còn một tuần-lẻ nữa là tàu đi. It’s just one more week until the boat leaves.

**Điều mà các ông chủ-trọng đến nhất là dem theo máy ảnh và máy quay phim đi.** The matter they paid the most attention to was taking along a [regular] camera and moving-picture camera.

*Còn gì bằng là hai ông đang đi sang Việt-nam du-lịch mà được nghe một cử giả lịch-duyệt kể chuyện về Việt-nam.* What could be better than that two gentlemen on their way to Viet Nam for a trip should get to hear an experienced old gentleman tell stories about Viet Nam!

*Tôi hút thuốc là tôi làm giàu cho hãng thuốc.* (S) I smoke [and the result is] I make the tobacco companies rich. (sarcastic)
IDENTIFICATIONAL PREDICATES AS DESCRIPTIVE COMPLEMENTS

Cùng như các sinh viên khác, hai ông được giáo sư cho tên Việt là Lê Việt và Trần Đông. Just like the other students the two of them had been given Vietnamese names by the teacher—Lê Việt and Trần Đông.

Như vậy các ông đến nơi thì gặp những ngày cuối năm âm lịch là dịp dân-chủng rộn rỉp dua nhau sắm sửa ăn tết. In this way they would get there and experience [“then meet”] the last few days of the year [according to] the moon calendar, which is the occasion [when] the people are bustling, competitively preparing to celebrate the [New Year] holiday.

Vì thế mà người ta tin là dâ có duyên-kiếp lấy nhau thì thể nào cùng phải kết hợp một lần không sao tránh được. And so it is that people believe that if two people are destined to be lovers they must in any case unite at least once—there’s no way to avoid it.

Vì thân ấy gọi là ông To-hồng. That benevolent spirit is called Mr. Pink-Thread.

✓ Tiếng Việt gọi cái này là cái bàn. [In] Vietnamese (language) [they] call this cái bàn [the table].

✓ Con chó này tốt thích làm, vì là tôi dấy nó công-phu làm. (S) This dog I like a lot because I spent a lot of effort training him.

Tôi thích cái nhà này vì là của tôi. I like this house because it’s mine.

Identificational predicates are not negated directly; the verb phải ‘be correct, true’ is introduced in the creation of corresponding negative sentences (cf. 14.33).

✓ Tôi không phải là người nghèo. I’m not a poor person.

Similarly, phải is used in the choice questions created with the alternative construction (9.67).

Thưa cu, người thông-thạo pháp-luat cu vía nói có phải là trang-su không? (Sir), is the person experienced with [matters of] law you just mentioned a lawyer?

Identificational predicates occasionally appear marked by a tense marker, making then temporal predicates with a là predicate as head.

✓ Hôm nay đã là mồng mười tết. Today is already the tenth day of the New Year.

Because of this identificational (often equational) function the word là is termed the verb ‘to be’ in traditional Vietnamese grammar. As can be seen from the foregoing examples this view is somewhat misleading. The analysis presented here seems to cover all occurrences and provide a deeper understanding of sentence structure.

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9.8. Uses of Predicates. Like most other Vietnamese grammatical elements, predicates often occur as descriptive complements. However, more frequently a predicate is head of the next larger phrase of which it is a part.

Ông Vỹ đang hút thuốc lá, mắt nhí nhây con hải-âu bay theo tàu thì có một cụ già dỗ ngoài 60 tuổi tay cầm một cuốn sách đến xin ông một que điểm để hút thuốc lá. Vỹ was smoking a cigarette, (eyes) watching some seagulls flying after the ship, when an old man over sixty years old, holding a book in his hand, came and asked him for a match to light a cigarette.

In this example đang hút thuốc lá 'in the act of smoking a cigarette' (in which đang is a prepositive particle, 11.81) is head of the phrase Ông Vỹ đang hút thuốc lá. Similarly, nhìn may con hải-âu bay theo tàu 'watch some seagulls flying after the ship' is head of the phrase mắt nhìn may con hải-âu bay theo tàu. (Within this predicate there is the predicate bay theo tàu 'fly following the ship', which serves as descriptive complement to may con hải-âu.) Cầm một cuốn sách 'hold a book' is head of the phrase tay cầm một cuốn sách. In each of these cases the first element is a focal (restrictive) complement (10.1). The predicate (thì) có một cụ già dỗ ngoài 60 tuổi tay cầm một cuốn sách 'then there was an old man (approximately) more than sixty years old holding a book in his hand' is a head, with the descriptive complement đến xin ông một que điểm để hút thuốc lá 'who came [and] asked him for a match to light a cigarette.' (Thì is the isolating particle, 11.51, which often marks the heads of focal phrases, 10.24.) In turn để hút thuốc lá 'permit to smoke a cigarette' is a descriptive complement to đến xin ông một que điểm. Note that the phrase tay cầm một cuốn sách 'with his' hand holds a book' is a descriptive complement to có một cụ già dỗ ngoài 60 tuổi 'there was an old man (approximately) over sixty.'

A predicate, together with any complement it may have, viewed as one of the constituents of a sentence, is a clause. Clauses are discussed further as sentence constituents in 12.2.
CHAPTER 10

Focal Elements

10.1. The Focal Construction forms restrictive phrases with predicates (9.1) as head or center (5.62). Various kinds of substantives, substantival phrases and even predicates occur as focal complements (in boldface type in the following examples).

Nhà cháy rỗi. The house has burned already.
Ban đã làm cho tôi. A friend did it for me.
Liesta hết cơm. There's no more rice in the serving dish.
Com đã lên. Rice was brought up [i.e., from the kitchen to the table].
Người ấy là bạn tôi. That person is my friend.
Con chó bị chết. The dog died.
Hai ông ấy học tiếng Việt-nam. Those two gentlemen are studying Vietnamese.
Trên bàn có nhiều cây bút chì. On the table there are a lot of pencils.
Hôm qua mưa to quá. Yesterday it rained hard.
Thế-gian còn nhiều kẻ hiếu-loại hơn ta. In the world there are still many people greedier than I. (arrogant)
Hai bên cùng chưa có vợ có chồng. Neither of them was married.
[“two sides likewise not-yet exist wife exist husband”]
Ô bên nam nóng lắm. In the south it's very hot.

There are also single words occurring as focal complements which are neither substantives nor predicatives: they are focuses of several types, distinguished by the positions in which they occur (10.4).

Mai đi Hà-nội. Going to Hanoi tomorrow.
Tôi sung-sướng lắm. I'm very happy.
Sao ông không đến nhà chơi. Why don’t you come to [my] house for a visit?
Đây ông thấy làng Phát-diệm. Over there you see the village of Phát-diệm.

Focal phrases occur as heads of larger focal phrases; often there are several nested layers (5.62) of the construction—focal complexes.

Nay thiên-ha chẳng ai làm việc nghĩa. Today no one in the world [is concerned with] doing good deeds.

nay present time (focal complement)
thiên-ha chẳng ai làm việc nghĩa in the world no one does good deeds (focal phrase)
thiên-ha below heaven (attributive pseudo-compound; focal complement)
chẳng ai làm việc nghĩa no one does good deeds (focal phrase)
chẳng ai definitely not anyone (focal complement)
làm việc nghĩa accomplish righteous works (predicate)

There are certain restrictions on the kinds of elements which occur in some positions of focal complexes (see 10.3).

10.2. Focal Complements establish for their predicates points of reference in terms of the specific person, thing, or concept, the exact place, the point in time, the precise quantity, the distinctive manner.

Cái này tôi ăn được, cái này tôi mặc được, cái này tôi dùng được, cái này tôi thích làm. This I can eat, this I can wear, this I can use, this I like very much. (said by a person picking things up at market) (Each of the four parts of this sentence is a focal complex, containing first the focal complement cái này ‘this’ and a smaller focal phrase with tôi ‘I’ as complement.)

Từ nhỏ đến lớn ít khi đi ra khỏi làng. From [the time they are] small till [they are] grown up [they] seldom go outside of [their] village. (focal complex with two focal complements: từ nhỏ đến lớn ‘from small to big’ and ít khi ‘few times’; the first is itself a focal phrase with the complement từ nhỏ and the predicate đến lớn ‘arrive at being big’ as head)

Cái cột đồng ấy nay dã mất mà Tây-hồ vẫn còn. That bronze pillar today is lost, but East Lake still exists. (focal complex with two complements: cái cột đồng ấy ‘that bronze pillar’ and nay ‘present time’; the second part of the sentence contains the predicate vẫn còn ‘nevertheless remains’ with the focal complement Tây-hồ ‘East Lake’)

Hai ông Đông và Vỹ ngày thì đi xem thành phố, tôi về nhà cụ Đàm đọc báo và nói chuyện với gia-dinh cụ như người trong nhà. The two fellows Đông and Vỹ by day went to see the city, in the evening returned to Mr. Đàm’s house to read the news-
paper and talk with his family like [regular] people of the household. (contains two focal phrases, of which the first is a complex with complements hai ông Dong và Vỹ ‘the two gentlemen Dong and Vỹ’ and ngày ‘day [time]’; the second contains the focal complement tối ‘night, evening’)

Nói phải có người nói đi nói lại chứ bất người ta nói một mình hoài! (S) For a conversation [you] ought to have people talking back and forth, not make somebody talk alone all the time! [“speak ought exist person speak go speak come prohibit constrain someone speak alone continually”] (nói ‘speak, talk’ is focal complement)

Những gì trong thùng, tôi không muốn khui ra. [No matter] what things are in the crate, I don’t want to open it. (focal complex with complements những gì trong thùng ‘whatever things in large container’ and tôi ‘I’)

Thế này làm không được. This way it’s impossible.

10.21. Integral Emphasis. In contexts where no specific reference indicates otherwise, focal complements denoting time or space emphasize the point in time or space at which something occurs, rather than the extent or duration. In this respect some focal complements contrast with descriptive complements containing the same elements, with the same internal structure but occurring after the predicate (9.62).

/ Ba giờ đi Hà Nội. At three o’clock [we’re] going to Hanoi. Cf. (with descriptive complement) Đi Hà Nội ba giờ. [It takes] three hours to go to Hanoi.

Hai ngày nữa tôi làm cho ông. Two days from now I’ll work for you. Cf. (with descriptive complement) Tôi làm cho ông hai ngày nữa. I’ll work for you for two days more.

Ba cây só nữa xe sẽ phải lên giống. Three kilometers further on the car has to climb a slope. Cf. (with descriptive complement) Xe sẽ phải lên giống ba cây só nữa. The car has to climb a slope for three more kilometers.

10.22. Basic Future Reference. Focal complements which are not specifically qualified temporally refer to a time later than the basic time of the sentence. In this respect they contrast with descriptive complements containing the same elements, with the same internal structure but occurring after the predicate (9.62).

/ Bao giờ chỉ đi chợ? When are you going to market? (e.g., speaking to female servant) Cf. (with descriptive complement) Chỉ đi chợ bao giờ? When did you go to market?
Hôm nào anh làm xong? What day will you finish [a particular job]? Cf. (with descriptive complement) Anh làm xong hôm nào? When did you finish?

10.23. Contextual Dependence of Reference. The basic meanings described in the preceding sections apply in cases where the context does not make the reference clear, but in many circumstances the previous speeches in a conversation or the preceding lines in a written passage set up the basis for identifying the reference of the focal complement. For example, a man has just told an acquaintance that he has made a trip to the the country, staying in a small village for several days. His acquaintance might well ask: Máy ngày ông ở làng? How many days did you stay in the village? or Hôm nào ông về Hà-nội? When did you return to Hanoi?

Even more often the predicate which is head of the focal phrase contains an element which controls the reference of the complement.

Thứ tư tôi đã làm xong. On Wednesday I finished [a particular job].
Ba giờ chỉ ấy dương nội nội hỏi, không bao giờ nín. For three hours she kept talking and talking continually, never stopping.

It is also extremely common for the focal complement to contain within itself specific elements which signal its reference.

Hôm qua tôi đến thầm ông Nam. Yesterday I went to see Mr. Nam.
Năm ngoái anh tôi sang bên Pháp. Last year my [elder] brother went to France.
Ngày mai chúng ta đi xem hát đi. Tomorrow let’s go see a play.

10.24. Kinds of Focal Complements. All types of substantival phrases occur as focal complements.

NUMERATIVE

Hai ông đi đâu? Where are the two of you going?
Các bạn đi cao-lầu ăn cơm. The friends went to the restaurant to eat.
Nhieu khi tôi ăn ở ngoài. I often eat out.
Hai bên cùng chửa có vợ có chồng. Neither of them was married.
[“two sides likewise not-yet exist wife exist husband”]

DESCRIPTION

Người ấy là bạn tôi. That person is my friend.
Con chó bị chết. The dog died.
Trên bàn có nhiều cây bút chì. On the table there are a lot of pencils.
Beside focuses (10.4), various kinds of nominals are common as single-word focal complements. Of these, mass nouns, item nouns and general categoricals are most common; classifiers (by definition) do not occur at all.

**ITEM NOUNS**

Bản ɗa làm cho tôi. A friend did it for me.
Liễn hết cơm. There’s no more rice in the serving dish.

**MASS NOUNS**

Com dua lén. Rice was brought [to the table].
Sữa hết ròi. There’s no more milk.

**RELATOR NOUNS**

Trên có nhiều người. Up above there are a lot of people.

**INDEFINITE NOUNS**

Ai biết? Who knows?

**GENERAL CATEGORICALS**

Ông đi đâu? Where are you going?
Ngày đi chơi, đêm ngủ ngon. In the daytime [they] went out and had a good time, at night [they] slept well.
Nhà cháy ròi. The house has burned already.

A few predicates appear as focal complements, principally with certain verbs denoting location or position. (Predicates as focal complements are rare, because most often a predicate is itself a head and when followed by another independent predicate the sequential construction is usually involved.)

Ô bèn nam nóng lắm. In the south it’s very hot.
Gần chợ có nhà cũ của ông Lâm. Near the market there’s an old house belonging to Mr. Lâm.
Di xe cùng duoc. [You] can go by car, too. [“go vehicle likewise possible”]
Đổ đèn, tôi sẽ đến đây. When the lights glow [i.e., in the evening] I’ll come here.
Trời mưa tôi thích ở nhà đọc sách. When it rains I prefer to stay at home and read.

Examples in this category make clear that there is no possible sharp dividing line between the focal construction and the sequential construction (9.66). Many sentences seem to permit either analysis with slight possible difference in meaning. For example, in the last sentence cited above the analysis with a focal complement suggests that a particular time is in focus—the time when it is raining; considering this first element rather than the first head in a sequential phrase suggests that first it rains, then the speaker decides to stay at home. This overlap is important to note: the
same feature is probably at the bottom of the future reference specialization in focal complements (10.22).

On many occasions focal complements are marked as such by a restrictive subordinating particle (11.52) such as Nếu ‘if’, vì ‘because’. Still more frequent is the marking of the head of a focal phrase by the isolating particle thì ‘then, in that case’ (11.51).

Khi thì ba người dàn-luận trong phòng ngồi chơi cầu tàu. At times the three people had discussions in the lounge of the ship.

Sau khi cụ Đàm ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu thì gặp hai ông Vỹ và Đặng. After cụ Đàm ate breakfast and went out on the deck of the ship, [he] ran into the two fellows Vỹ and Đặng.

Rừng thì rậm, đường lối đi lại thì khó-khàn. The forest was dense, the routes of communication difficult.

Clauses are common as focal complements: see 12.23.

### 10.3 Focal Complexes

Show elements in certain rather consistent orders. Three general types are observed: those displaying the relative order **manner-time-place-topic**; those in which outer complements are more general and inner complements more specific; and those in which the outermost complement is the central topic of discussion for the sentence. Each type is discussed separately with examples in the following sections. These differences are largely semantic rather than formal; however, it seems useful to separate the semantic types involved in order to provide a better notion of the range covered by complexes of this sort.

#### 10.31. Normal Order

Places a complement designating a topic in innermost position, one designating place in next outer position, one designating time at next level, and one designating manner in outermost position. In general, these relative positions are observable only in the comparison of many sentences containing complexes of two or three complements. Phrases with all positions filled are relatively rare. In particular, focal complements of manner are infrequent. This order is diagrammed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Như thế</td>
<td>hôm qua</td>
<td>tại chợ</td>
<td>tôi</td>
<td>mua nhiều đồ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So it was that yesterday at market I bought a lot of things. [*như thế ‘thus’ (manner), hôm qua ‘yesterday’ (time), tại chợ ‘at market’ (place), tôi ‘I’ (topic)]

Hôm nay tôi quên làm. I forgot to do it today.

Vậy hôm nay nóng quá. So [it is that] today it’s very hot.

Ngày xưa ở Việt-nam việc hôn-nhân là do ông nội kén chọn cho con cái. In the old days in Viet Nam the business of marriage depended upon the parents’ choosing for the daughter.
10.32 Specializing Focal Complexes have as outermost (first) complement some general element which is more specifically identified by an inner complement.

Hai ông xem, các bà và các cô Việt-nam mới lúc nào cũng đó mà không cần dùng sáp môi, chỉ nhai một miếng giấu là đủ môi đó cả ngày. The two of you notice [that] Vietnamese women and girls [have] lips [which are] always red without needing to use lipstick, [they] just chew a portion of betel, which is enough [so that their] lips are red all day long. (The sequence các bà và các cô Việt-nam mới lúc nào cũng đó... is a focal complex with the outer complement các bà và các cô Việt-nam ‘Vietnamese women and girls’, followed by a more specific referent môi ‘lips’, followed by a temporal complement lúc nào ‘[on] whatever occasion’. The first two complements are emphatic topics; see 10.33.)

Ông ấy tận vua sung-suong. (S) He’s of a happy disposition.
(focal complex with outer complement ông ấy ‘he’, followed by a more specific referent tậnh ‘personal character, disposition’)

Trên lâu tại bàn viết tôi có hai cây viết. (S) Upstairs on my desk there are two pens. (outer complement trên lâu ‘upstairs’ followed by a more specific place referent tại bàn viết tôi ‘on my writing table’)

Người Việt-nam ai ai cũng biết truyền này. All Vietnamese know this story. [“Vietnamese people whoever whoever likewise know story this”]

Côn-trùng mỗi thứ có một mình khác nhau. Each kind of insect has a different body. [“insect each sort exist one body different reciprocally”]

10.33. Emphatic Topic Complexes have as outermost complement a word or phrase which identifies the principal topic of the sentence.

Cái này tiếng Việt gọi chi? (S) What is this called in Vietnamese?
Mỗi người lính nằm nhà thương bình Đà-lạt-ông đó cho ba cuốn sách. (S) To each soldier lying in the Dalat military hospital he gave three books.

Di Sài-gòn, tôi đi mỗi tuần ba lần. As for going to Saigon, I go three times every week.

Such emphatic topics as outermost complements account for apparent irregularities in the normal order described in 10.31.

Hai ông Dong và Vỹ ngày thì đi xem thành phố, tôi về nhà cụ Đàm đọc báo và nói chuyện với gia-dinh cụ như người trong nhà.
The two fellows Dong and Vỹ by day went to see the city, in
the evening returned to Mr. Dảm’s house to read the newspaper and talk with his family like [regular] people of the household.

Cái cột đồng ấy nay đã mất mà Tây-hồ vẫn còn. That bronze pillar today is lost, but West Lake still exists.

10.4. Focuses are independent words which are neither substantives nor predicatives and which occur by themselves as focal complements.

Focuses which appear in innermost (topic) position in normal order (10.31) are topic focuses. They are further of two types: proper names (10.41), which occur with a few types of descriptive complements; and pronouns, which never occur as heads of descriptive phrases at all. Pronouns are subdivided into three classes: the collective (10.42), which occurs as a restrictive complement (numerator) of certain other pronouns; personal pronouns (10.43), which occur with the collective as numerator; and absolute pronouns (10.44), which do not occur with the collective as numerator.

Focuses which appear in outermost (manner) position in normal order are manner focuses (10.45). Occurring between innermost and outermost position in normal order are locational focuses (10.46), which are also found as descriptive complements to verbs; and temporal focuses (10.47), which do not serve as descriptive complements to verbs.

Like substantives, focuses occasionally occur in coordinate phrases, with additive (8.33) or approximative (8.32) meaning.

Xua nay ai cũng nói chỉ có phải hay sai. Since time immemorial everyone says [things] are only [either] right or wrong. [“in olden times (and) nowadays ...”]

Xua kia có hai người, người con gái tên là Văn-Mài, người con gái tên là Thị-Mật. Once upon a time there were two people, a boy named Văn-Mài (Yam), a girl named Thị-Mật (Honey). [“long ago (and) far away ...”]

Mai molt ông đó lên Đà-lạt. (S) Tomorrow or the next day he’s going up to Dalat.

10.41. Proper Names are topic focuses which appear as heads of descriptive phrases, although the kinds of complements which occur with them are quite limited. Included are personal and place names, as well as the designations of some other entities, such as supernatural beings and holidays. They themselves appear frequently as descriptive complements.

Nguyễn Công-Trú von thích chơi bơi nên không đề trí gì đến sách-dên. Nguyễn Công-Trú at heart liked to lead a care-free life, so did not apply himself at all to [his] studies.
Sài-gòn hiện-day là thành-phố dân-cư gần hai triệu người. Modern Saigon is a city of nearly two million inhabitants.

Tháng tới chúng tôi đi Sài-gòn chơi. Next month we [exclusive] are going to Saigon on a pleasure trip.

Vị thần ấy gọi là ông Tố-hông. That benevolent spirit is called Mr. Pink-Thread.

Cuộc hành-trình sẽ khởi-hành sau ngày các ông đã ăn mừng xong lễ Chúa Giáng-Sinh năm nay. The trip is to begin after the day the fellows finish celebrating Christmas this year.

Proper names are common as descriptive complements to nominals and the whole phrase is then often head of a larger restrictive or descriptive phrase. Such phrases replace individual proper names which might be expected to appear themselves as heads in such circumstances, not only where they are structurally impossible in the language (with numerals as numerators or demonstrative markers as descriptive complements) but also in cases where they are theoretically possible.

Ngày mai là ngày cuối anh Trần Ngọc bạn học của tôi. Tomorrow is wedding day for Trần Ngọc, a school friend of mine.

Thủ-dố Hà-nội thế-kỳ thủ mưu của chính... The capital Hanoi of the nineteenth century...

In this connection it is important to note that some place names, as well as some titles of persons and designations of supernatural beings, are simply substantives or substantival phrases and behave grammatically as such.

Hồ Hoàn-kiếm này ở ngay giữa thành phố Hà-nội. This Lake of the Returned Sword is right in the middle of the city of Hanoi.

10.42. The Collective chúng 'group of animate beings' occurs as restrictive complement in phrases with other pronouns as head. It serves to pluralize these forms. (It is also found as restrictive complement in phrases with certain general categoricals as head when they are used as substitutes for first person pronouns; see 13.22, 13.24.) In fact, it is considerably more common in this role as restrictive complement to these limited other forms than as a simple focal complement.

Nếu ông muốn xem kỹ, tôi sẽ gọi một em lại, thường thì chúng chỉ bán cho hàng-khách ở hàng tư tôi. If you want to examine [one] closely I'll call one of the youngsters over; usually they only sell to passengers in fourth class [railway carriages].

✓ Chúng đã đi rồi. They've gone already.

✓ Chúng tôi ở đây lâu làm rỗi. We [exclusive] have lived here for a long time.
✓ Chứng ta không thường gặp nhau. We [inclusive] don’t meet one another often.

✓ Chứng con làm xong rồi. We [children] have finished it.

In a very few instances phrases consisting of chúng and a following pronoun head occur with a numeral as numerator.

✓ Nay hai chúng tôi cùng sang Việt-nam du-lịch. Now the two of us [exclusive] are taking a trip to Viet Nam together.

It is important to note that chúng refers only to animate beings, primarily people. Thus, although nó (10.43) on occasion refers to things as well as people, chúng nó refers only to people or animals.

Tôi đeo nó trên bàn. I put it on the table [e.g., the book].
Tôi đeo mấy quyền ấy trên bàn. I put them on the table [the books].

10.43. Personal Pronouns occur with chúng as numerator. They may be tabulated in terms of persons and courtesy levels (13.1). In addition to their function as focal complements, they are extremely common as descriptive complements.¹

✓ Table 1. Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>FIRST (Speaker)</th>
<th>SECOND (Hearer)</th>
<th>THIRD (Referent)</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RESPECTFUL</td>
<td>tớ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPERIOR</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILIAR</td>
<td>táo</td>
<td></td>
<td>máy</td>
<td>nó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABRUPT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bay (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the speaker in most polite situations the form tớ is appropriate; it seems to be the form which originally meant something like ‘subject of the king.’ There are no corresponding pronouns for the hearer(s) and referent(s); instead general categoricals or nouns are used (cf. 13.22). The plural form chúng tớ refers to the speaker and one or more other people, excluding the hearer. (It is also occasionally used by a speaker to refer to himself alone when he wishes to express still greater respect for the hearer than tớ alone suggests.)

Tôi rất hân-hạnh được gặp ông. I’m very pleased to meet you. [“I very have-honor receive-benefit meet gentleman”]
Thuở cụ chúng tôi ăn quà sáng rồi a. We’ve already had breakfast sir.

¹ The analysis presented here differs in certain respects from that of Emeneau 1950; see also 13.2.
Thưa ông, chúng tôi chưa hiểu rõ a. Sir, I don’t yet understand clearly. (e.g., servant speaking politely to employer)

Người Việt chúng tôi rất chắt-chiTắc. We Vietnamese (or Our Vietnamese people) are very simple.

On rare occasions (especially in old folk tales) tôi appears with a plural exclusive meaning ‘we, our family.’

Thưa ông tôi ở đây đã ba đời. Ông tôi bị hồ cán chết, bố tôi và chồng tôi cùng bị hồ và thiết-mang. Nay lại đến con tôi.

Sir, we have lived here for three generations. My grandfather was bitten to death by a tiger, my father and my husband were both caught by tigers and lost their lives. Now it’s happened to my child too.

The form ta is used by speakers who assume a certain superiority over the persons to whom or about whom they are speaking. It is also commonly used by a person alone talking to himself.

Thế Gian còn nhiều kẻ hiếu-loi kon ta. In the world there are still many people greedier than I. (arrogant)

Và đây đường-sá xa-xội, / Mả ta bất động nữa người sinh nghi.

Besides, [if] here on the road far from home I don’t touch [her] either, she’ll become suspicious. [“besides here roads be-distant, / but I not touch in-addition person produce suspect”] - Kim-Vân-Kiều.

Ta also appears with the meaning ‘you and I.’ This is precisely the meaning of the plural form chúng ta ‘you and I, we [inclusive],’ and we may suspect that the contrast between chúng tôi ‘we [exclusive]’ and chúng ta ‘we [inclusive]’ arose from an earlier use where a person used chúng tôi to designate himself and his colleagues humbly, but chúng ta to provide a measure of respect for his hearer, if he was included.

Ta về ta tắm ao ta, / Dù trong, dù dâng, ao nhà dâng quen. We go home and bathe in our own pool—whether it’s clear or muddy, [our] home pool is familiar [to us].—Folk saying

The abrupt forms tao ‘I’, chúng tao ‘we (exclusive),’ mà (or mà) ‘you’, chúng mà (chúng mà) ‘you (pl.),’ bay (or bây) or chúng bay (chúng bày) ‘you (pl.)’ express either a deep familiarity between the speaker and hearer or signal that the speaker considers the hearer grossly inferior. In the latter use the forms are usually arrogant, and this connotation colors them generally so that they seem to be little used today in most conversational situations.

Nay mình ơi! Hôm nay tao lại thấy chum vàng ở bona ruộng rồi, tao mở xem Hãy còn nguyên. Say, there! (farmer calling wife) Today I saw the pot of gold already back again on the edge of the [rice] field; I opened [it] to see [and it] was still all there.
Tao không tha mỹ vì mỹ đã ăn cập của người hàng xóm. I won’t let you go because you stole something from a neighbor. (depreciating)

Chúng mỹ là dở vô lại. You’re some kind of hoboes. (insulting)

Bây vượt hết! (S) You’re all wet! (speaking to dogs)

Chúng bây vượt hết! (S) You’re all wet, the whole bunch of you! (speaking to dogs and emphasizing that they form a group)

Chúng tao đi chợ về rồi. We’ve been to market and gotten back already. (depreciating)

Nó ‘he, she, it, him, her’ and chúng nó ‘they, them’ (referring only to animate beings, cf. 10.42) carry the overtone that the speaker considers himself unquestionably superior to the referent(s). These forms are at the same time superior and familiar. In some circumstances there is a connotation of arrogance, but the forms are extremely common in situations where there is no question of deliberately refusing to treat someone respectfully and seem not to carry any general arrogant overtones, as do tao, mỹ, bay (see above). They are used in referring to animals, children whose mention does not demand any particular respect on the part of the speaker or hearer, and unadmirable people of various sorts (criminals, objects of social humiliation, etc.). Nó in the singular is also used to refer to inanimate objects.

Nó đi ra ngoài chơi. He [a child] went outside to play.

Chúng nó đánh nhau luôn. They’re always fighting. (e.g., speaking of children)

Nó không kính những người già. He doesn’t respect old people.

(Note that, perhaps as a result, he deserves no respect himself, in the mind of this speaker.)

Chúng nó hờn lớn lớn. They’re extremely rude [impudent].

Con bò này sao nó gay thế. This cow, why it is so thin?

Thằng kia, tôi bảo nó làm việc ấy mà mải nó không làm. That rascal—I told him to do that work and he still hasn’t done it.

Tôi có thấy quyen sách ấy. Nó đã cụ rói. I have indeed seen that book. It’s old already.

Tôi rất thích thế hoa ấy; sắc nó thanh mà hương nó duơm. I like this kind of flower; its color is pale but its fragrance is strong.

The pronoun mình is a familiar form which does not carry any connotation of arrogance, although its improper use (with someone whom one does not really know well enough) may be offensive (see also 13.22). It is used to refer to the speaker or hearer in a variety of circumstances; it signals great intimacy. It is used especially often in calling one’s spouse. In descriptive complement position it is very common in the meaning ‘oneself,
himself, herself, myself, yourself.’ Chừng mình is far less common but serves generally as a plural for mình. It most often means ‘you and I.’

Này mình ơi! Say, there! (farmer calling wife)

Mình nói đưa mà ai cũng tưởng thật. I said [it] in jest but everyone took it seriously. [“self speak tease but whoever likewise think true”]

Chừng mình đi xem hát đi. Let’s go see a play.

Anh đánh nó, nó phải giữ mình. You hit him, he has to defend himself.

Certain of the personal pronouns occur on rare occasions directly preceded by a numeral as numerator. However, such phrases are less common than corresponding ones with the pronoun serving as descriptive complement to a numerative phrase (consisting of the numeral with some appropriate categorical).

hai tôi (rare) we two (usually husband and wife) (more common:

hai đêa tôi we two, đôi đêa tôi the pair of us or hai người

chúng tôi we two persons)

/ hai tôi đây the two of us here

Nếu tiêu-thuần-tinh thì chúng ta sẽ kết làm vợ chồng, bằng
không thì với lưu kiêm này hai ta cũng chết. If you (young lady of good family) consent, then we’ll join together as husband and wife; if not, then with this sword the two of us will both die. (more common: hai người chúng ta we two persons)

10.44. Absolute Pronouns are pronouns which do not occur with chúng as numerator. A few, all signalling third person referents, are fairly common; the rest are primarily archaic and literary. It is beyond the purposes of this work to exemplify the latter, but they (marked L) are listed with the others in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>FIRST (Speaker)</th>
<th>SECOND (Hearer)</th>
<th>THIRD (Referent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILIAR</td>
<td>min (L)</td>
<td>mi (L)</td>
<td>người ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qua (L)</td>
<td></td>
<td>y, hắn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thếp (L)</td>
<td></td>
<td>nghi (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chua (L)</td>
<td></td>
<td>va (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In addition to these, there is the archaic form Trăm ‘I, we’, used only by a king or emperor to designate himself.

Người ta ‘one, we, they, someone, people in general’ has a wide variety of uses resembling the French on or the German man.

Chúng nào cười với làm cho người ta hay, đang người ta sửa soạn người ta đi uống rượu chòe! When [you] get married, let somebody know so people can set up a party! [“approximate-time whichever marry wife act give someone be-informed, permit someone make-preparations someone go drink wine contrary-to-foregoing”]

✓ Người ta nói với tôi, ông qua bên Mỹ. Someone told me you were going to America.

Người ta phải làm việc bốn phần. A person should do his duty.

The other two common third person forms, y and hắn, are probably used far more frequently for male than for female referents. They are personal and do not refer to inanimate objects. Of the two y is more common, and in the the southern dialect area it is sometimes pluralized with chúng: in such dialects it forms part of the personal pronoun system (10.43), replacing nó in familiar reference to adult persons. It connotes more respect than nó but less than ông, bà, etc.

✓ Y có tiền nhiều. He [or she] has a lot of money.
Lâu làm tôi không gặp y. I haven’t run into him [or her] for a long time.

Miệng đất đo của y, nên y được phép bán, cất nhà. (S) That piece of land belongs to him, so he has the right to sell [or] build a house.

Không nên chơi với hắn. [You] shouldn’t play with him [or her].

Chúng y ở gần bờ sông. (S) They live near the bank of the river.

Hãy thông thả. Nhưng phải luôn đề ý đến hắn. Take it easy. But [you’d] better watch [“put mind to”] him all the time.

10.45. Manner Focuses appear in outermost position in normal order (10.31) of focal complexes. They also occur as descriptive complements. The class includes manner demonstratives (7.25) and reference demonstratives (7.23) and a few other forms. (It might be expected that vây ‘this way, as follows’ would appear in the category of manner demonstratives, but there are no examples in the material. Its usual reference to an immediately following element may naturally exclude it from this position.)
Sao cũng rằng gọi cho tôi. (S) Whatever happens, try to send it to me anyhow.

Vậy ông sẵn lòng cho. So [in view of all just said], you be ready for [what you’re expected to do]. [“that-way gentleman be-prepared intestines (i.e., feelings) give”]

Thưa cứ, hôm trước cứ dạy là phong-tục Việt-nam không cho phép con trai, con gái nói chuyện với nhau. Vậy khi chúng tôi sang Việt-nam có được hành hành gặp các cô, các bà không? Sir, the other day you said that in Vietnamese custom permission isn’t given for boys and girls to converse together. This being the case, when we get over to Viet Nam will [we] get to have the pleasure of meeting girls and [married] women?

Này hai ông a, tôi trông thấy những vẻ trắng trên terminate kia sắc nhở đến truyền thì về nhanh của trang Việt-nam đi sứ Tàn ngày xưa. There now, you two, I saw the white lines up in the sky there [and] suddenly remembered about the story ‘Contest [to see who who could] Draw Fastest’ [told about] a Vietnamese scholar [who] went as representative to China in olden times.

Này tôi nói vậy... (S) In these circumstances I say as follows...

Kia thì bất, nó thì tạng. (Describing a monastery:) In one place a Buddha, in another a monk.—Phan Trần

Nào hãy đi hỏi thẳm. Whatever [may be involved] we’d better go and inquire.

Áy là tiền của tôi. That’s my money.

Kia ông ấy làm gì? [Look] over there, what’s he doing?

This category has certain troublesome features. First of all, the words in the class are far more common as descriptive complements. In fact, with the exception of sao and vậy these words are so limited in the kinds of circumstances in which they occur that they serve as markers of the class of substantives (8.5). From this point of view it would seem a more meaningful description of the facts to treat these words as occurring unusually in focal complement position. However, there seems to be no formal basis
for classifying them other than as focuses. The class meaning also involves some difficulties. The notion of manner should not be taken too strictly. However, it is important to emphasize that the focuses appearing in this position do not have the clear sort of locational or temporal notions which can be established for other focuses (10.46-7) or the specific kind of topic function of pronouns and proper names (10.41-4). The class meaning may perhaps best be understood as a relational one: the speaker establishes the way in which events or conditions are related to him.

10.46. **Locational Focuses** occur between outermost and innermost position in normal order (10.31) of focal complexes; they also appear as descriptive complements of verbs (9.62). The members of this class are the place demonstratives (7.22).

- **đâu** wherever
- **dây** here
- **dây (S dô)** there

Đây là nhà của tôi, đâu là nhà của ông? Here’s my house, where’s yours?

Đây đã đến nơi rồi. Here [we] are, we’ve got [where we’re going] already.

Đáy ông thấy một người hiện lành. There you see a good person.

Đáy chỉ là một người thường. He [that one] was just an ordinary person.

Đó có ai phiền ông. (S) Who’s there to bother you? (i.e., there’s no one)

✓ **Kia dây** là kẻ trộm! Over there, that’s the robber!

Đáy hai ông xem quan-nha chúng tôi như thế dây. So there you (two) see our mandarin’s office [i.e., the bureaucratic system] is like that [as just described].

✓ Ông đi đâu? Where are you going?

✓ Mỗi ông ngồi dây. Won’t you sit here? [“invite gentleman sit here”]

Cô ấy thích làng nhiều, nhưng không muốn ở dây luôn. She likes the village very much, but [she] doesn’t want to live there all the time.

Chúng nào ông nghi sê đến đó? (S) When do you think you’ll get there?

Locational focuses also occur as descriptive complements with substantive heads. Especially noteworthy is the usage in the southern dialect area, where đó is the most common form meaning ‘that’ corresponding to này ‘this’ (cf. 7.22 and 8.5). (In those dialects it largely supplants ây, as well as dây.)
10.47. Temporal Focuses occur between outermost and innermost position in normal order of focal complexes, as locational focuses do; however, they are distinguished from the latter by the fact that they do not appear as descriptive complements to verbs. On the other hand, they are frequently descriptive complements to substantives. It is a small class, although its limits are not clear. The forms exemplified below are common.

xuã formerly, in former times, long ago
nay present time, now, today, nowadays
mai tomorrow
mốt (S) day after tomorrow

✓ Xưa có người học trò rất thông-minh. Long ago there was a very intelligent student.
Sách xuã chép mốt truyện thật lý-thú về hai cái phải. Old time books record a really interesting story about the two truths.

✓ Nay hai chúng tôi cùng sang Việt-nam du-lịch. Now the two of us are taking a trip to Viet Nam together.
Tết năm nay nằm ngay mồng hai tháng hai dương-lịch. The [New Year] holiday this year falls on the second day of the second month of the solar calendar [i.e., February 2d].
Sao mai anh không đi? Why won’t you go tomorrow?
Mai chúng ta làm xong được. Tomorrow we’ll be able to finish.

✓ Ngày mai ông đi đâu? Where are you going tomorrow?
✓ Mốt ai cùng có lễ. (S) Day after tomorrow everybody has a holiday [“ceremony” (to perform)].
Bữa tiệc mốt là do ông bà Nam sẽ soan. Day after tomorrow’s banquet was prepared by Mr. and Mrs. Nam.

10.5. Logical Subjects. By far the most common focal complements are those in topic position (10.31). In a large number of cases these resemble the subjects of sentences in English and other western European languages. However, although a simple subject-predicate (actor-action) kind of translation is appropriate for many such sentences, it is important to remember that the relationship between the focal complement and its predicate head is fundamentally different from the relationship between subjects and their predicates in English. Topic focal complements appear in boldface type in the following examples.

✓ Nay hai ông muốn biết người nhà quê nghĩ gì, tôi kể truyền sau đây, hai ông sẽ rõ. Now you two want to know what the country people think, I’ll tell the following story, you will [see] clearly. (The meaning of hai ông sẽ rõ is something like ‘it will be clear for the two of you,’ the relationship of
hai ông and rể is unlike that of an English subject and predicate. The relationships of the other topic focal complements with their predicates in this sentence are similar, although on the surface they look more like English subjects.

Hai thằng trộm với ra bò ruộng và khôi chum vàng về nhà định mở ra chia nhau. Nhưng vàng chưa thấy đâu chỉ thấy toàn là rắn độc. The two thieves hastened out to the edge of the [rice] field and together carried the pot of gold back home, determined to open [it] up and divide [the gold] between them. But gold [they] saw nowhere—[they] only saw that [it] was entirely [full of] poisonous snakes.

Sau này nhiều nhà không có cạnh đao thì họ về cạnh đào vào tổ giấy bò rå và về cả một hai thần Trà và Nhất Lợi. Những bức vẽ này thường dán ở cửa ra vào. After this many families [if they] didn’t have peach branches, (they) drew peach branches on amulets and drew also the faces of the two [benevolent] spirits Trà and Nhất Lợi. These drawings were often pasted on doors [where people] (were going out and coming in).

Ai đây, tiếng ai nghe như tiếng có Hồng, phải không? Who’s there? Someone’s voice sounds [“listen”] like có Hồng’s, [am I] right?

In many cases the categorization of a focal complement as topic (as opposed to one of the other types) would be artificial: the context justifies no such clear division. It is only the need arising in English translation which forces a decision to treat an element as similar to an English subject or an English preposed adverbial modifier of some sort. Focal complements of this sort appear in boldface in the following examples.

Đồng-hỡ ông mấy giờ rồi? What time is it by your watch? [“time-piece gentleman indefinite-number hour already”]

Vùng này lắm voi. This area has plenty of elephants.

Ngoài cửa là dải nhà dớ-sợ, một bên thì bày những ảnh các tài-tử và những ảnh chụp các đoạn phim đã quay. Outside (the door) was a row of imposing buildings, on one side [there were] displayed some portraits of the actors and some shots from completed films.

Thì giờ thảm-thoát mỗi ngày nào dân-chúng Hà-thành đang rộn-rimp sữa-soạn đơn xuân thì hai ông Đông và Vỹ đến, nay mùa xuân đã qua, mùa hạ đã đến và cùng đã sắp hết. Time had flown [so] fast [it seemed] only a few days [before] that, with the populace of the city of Hanoi busy getting ready to greet spring, the two fellows Đông and Vỹ had arrived; now
spring had already passed, summer had come and very soon would be over.

*Chàng y phục nái nit gon gàng, đầu đội nón lông den, chân đi hia chăn cỏ quần một cái khăn lụa trắng thất lông, mỗi bờ rủ sau lung.* His clothes were neat battle dress—[his] head (wearing) a black fur hat, feet (walking in) tight mandarin boots, [around his] neck [there was] rolled a scarf of white silk, knotted loosely, the end allowed to hang behind [his] back.—Khái Hùng

For the implicit lack of a regular distinction between active and passive verbs, see 9.55. This is consistent with the character of topic focal complements as described here. That Vietnamese grammar groups focal complements into one large class (with little to distinguish subject-like entities from temporal, locational and manner complements) is emphasized by the fact that the focal head particle thì (11.51) appears as often setting off a topic focal complement as it does with other types.

*Rừng thì rậm, đường lối đi lại thì khó-khăn. Chim rừng, thú dữ thì nhiều còn bóng người thì thất là hiềm.* The forest was dense, the routes of communication difficult. Forest birds [and] wild animals were abundant, while the shadows of human beings were truly rare.
CHAPTER 11

Particles

11.1. General. Words which do not belong to any of the classes described thus far (substantives, predicatives or focuses) are particles. In some cases the border line between particles and members of other word classes is not too clear. In general, particles are less restricted than the words of other classes which they resemble. On the other hand, some particles (especially those already identified as markers, 5.63) are in at least some respects quite limited in distribution. The majority of particles are dependent words, but there are important exceptions. The most meaningful classification of these forms is to be made in terms of their positions with respect to the other sentence elements—on the basis of the types of immediate constituent partners with which they appear.

The least restricted of particles (in fact, the least restricted of Vietnamese words) are interjections (11.2), which form their own pause groups, and appear with nothing at all or any type of phrase as sentence immediate constituent partner. Other particles are restricted in various ways as to partner, and this provides a basis on which to define several subtypes (11.3-8). These make up the balance of the grammatical machinery of the language, signaling the interrelationships of sentences and their parts.

11.2. Interjections are particles which occur consistently as the whole of a pause group; they are regularly in coordinate construction with the rest of a sentence or utterance of which they form one immediate constituent. They are so independent that they are in a sense at the margin of the linguistic material of the language: they resemble more the non-linguistic gestures used in the culture. They seem to have been little studied, but their general expressive function is quite clear. Far more difficult is the task of defining the precise province of individual forms. Only suggestive examples can be given here (interjections in boldface type).
11.2—11.3

Ái! Dau quá! Ow! [That] really hurts!
Chà, có ỡy đẹp quá. Gee, that girl is pretty!
Chà, mất rồi. Gee, [it] got lost already.
Ói! Thất thế phải không? Oh [surprised], is that really the case?
Ói. Trẽ rẽi. Alas, it’s too late.

Many forms which are often called interjections in particular uses are simply words (or phrases composed of words) of other classes isolated as pause groups with increasing intonation and exclamative meaning. Informal vocatives (11.63) are especially common in this use.

Tời-nghiệp! Chệt non thể! What a pity! To die so young! (tời-nghiệp ‘something or someone pitiable’, mass noun)
Nây! Anh hỡi ơi? Hey! Who is it you’re asking for? (này ‘this’, manner focus [demonstrative marker])
Giói dạt ơi! Chùng ta mau lên, kéo bị chết! Heaven [help us]!
We’d [better] hurry up, or else [we’ll] be dead! (additive phrase with vocative particle)

Occasionally exclamatory pause groups occur which contain in coordinate construction a series of interjections, sometimes mixed with a word (or phrase composed of words) of some other class—the same elements which frequently appear alone in exclamative usage.

Trời ơi! Nở mình giết tôi! Heaven [help me], alas! He’s determined to kill me! (trời ‘heaven’, general categorical)
Ói giói ơi! Nhà cháy rồi! Good Lord! The house has caught fire!
(giói ‘heaven’ [N], general categorical; giói ơi, informal vocative)

11.3. Initial Particles appear as the first element in utterances or utterance portions. They sometimes have as immediate constituent partner the entire remainder of their utterance; more often it is the balance of the first sentence of the utterance. They differ from interjections, however, in two respects: they frequently appear as part of pause groups comprising regular sentence elements, and they are always complements (interjections are always heads). They are important in that they signal the overall function of utterances. Four forms have been identified, all belonging primarily to the spoken language. There may be others.

à [general introductory particle, announcing beginning of speech on new or revived topic]

A ông dê xây gì dó? (S) What have you put on [the tape recorder] there? (opening conversation) [“introductory-particle gentleman put turn whatever there?”]
da [polite responsive particle, signalling a courteous reaction to the speech of another speaker]

Người ấy là ai?—Đa tôi không biết. Who is that person?—I don’t know. (deferent answer) [“person just-referred-to identification-marker whoever?—polite-responsive-particle I not know”]

ũ [familiar particle, signalling a speech addressed to someone with whom the speaker is on familiar terms, or one whom he considers inferior; occurs both in introductory and responsive situations]

ũ, may làm gì đây? Hey, what are you doing there? (rude)
Đi không?—ũ, đến giờ rồi. [Shall we] go?—Yeah, it’s already time.

nào [exhortative particle] come on!...

Nào làm đi xem! Come on, do it [and] see [what happens]!

Of these, the particle đa is extremely common, especially in the more southerly dialects. In the Saigonese materials it was recorded on several occasions in the middle of a sentence where it served as partner to an immediately following clause rather than to the entire sentence. (This use would place it as a clause particle, 11.5).

Nếu ông muốn, đa tôi đi. If you wish, I’ll go.
Ông kể, đa tôi không nghe. You called, [but] I didn’t hear.

11.4. Final Particles appear at the ends of sentences. A final particle is one of the two immediate constituents of its sentence or of the remainder of a sentence serving as partner to an initial particle (11.3). They are dependent words and often are accompanied by weak stress (5.21). They cover a variety of meanings, usually conveying primarily some attitude or mood of the speaker.

ạ [deferent speech]

Ông ở đây mấy năm rồi ạ? How many years have you lived here? (deferent)

à [mild surprise]

Không đi à? Oh, you’re not going?

chú (S chó) [mild contradiction] contrary to what is suggested or stated or might be expected; of course, as you ought to know (see also Appendix A)

Ông chú không có nhà à?—Đacó chú. Oh, the boss isn’t home, eh?—Oh yes, he is.

Di đâu đó?—Di làm chó. (S) Where are [you] going?—To work, of course. [How come you didn’t guess?]

mà [strong contradiction] (see also Appendix A)

Làm không được.—Được mà! [It’s] not possible to do.—Oh, yes it is!
nhé [expecting agreement] all right? O.K.?
✓ Chúng ta đi bây giờ nhé? Shall we go now?

11.5. Clause Particles serve as one of the immediate constituents of clauses (9.8, 12.2). They differ from initial and final particles in that they often appear in phrases which constitute only a part of a sentence, while initial and final particles operate regularly at sentence level. They are of two types: principalizing particles, signalling that their clause is a head; and subordinating particles, signalling that their clause is a complement. They appear regularly at the beginning of their clauses.

11.51. Principalizing Particles are clause particles which identify their clauses as heads. They are further of two types: coordinating, marking clauses whose partners are also heads; and isolating, marking clauses whose partners are not necessarily heads. Two isolating particles have been identified:

thì ‘then, in that case’ (the partner of its clause is marked as a focal complement; cf. 10.24)

Khi thì ba người dăm-luận trong phòng ngồi chơi của tàu. At times the three people had discussions in the lounge of the ship.
Sau khi cụ Dâm ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu thì gặp hai ông Vỹ và Đông. After cụ Dâm ate breakfast and went out on the deck of the ship, [he] ran into the two fellows Vỹ and Dong.
Rừng thì rậm, đường lối đi lại thì khó-khăn. The forest was dense, the routes of communication difficult.
Một giờ sau tôi vào trong phòng chè, thì ông ấy đã bỏ đi rồi. An hour later [when] I went into the drawing room, he had already left.

nên ‘therefore, so, as a result’ (see also Appendix A)
✓ Tôi bị nhà tôi cháy, nên mất cả nhà hết. My house burned, so I lost all my belongings.

Xua ngày không có cái gì là thật thường định. Vậy nên ta cử phải tìm cách theo thời mà sủa-dồi sự sinh-hoat của ta. Since time immemorial [“in-former-times (and) now”] nothing has [ever] been really fixed [i.e., unchanging]. [Since this is] so, therefore we must in spite of this find a means of keeping up with [“following”] the times by modifying our way of living.
Trời còn sớm, nên tôi dế anh ngủ. It was still early—that was why I let you sleep.
Nên clearly often occurs with clauses whose partners are themselves heads, and is thus more like coordinating particles (see below) than thì. However, this distinction in the uses of the two particles is difficult to justify on formal grounds.

Coordinating Particles frequently occur with clauses which themselves constitute full sentences, although they are also common in clauses with a preceding head clause in coordinate constructions.

nhưng but, however

✓ Tôi muốn đi xem hát, nhưng không có tiền. I’d like to go to see a play, but [I] don’t have the money.

Tôi bàng lòng đi, nhưng cha tôi không cho phép. I’d be happy to go, but my father won’t give [me] permission.

Vua cha thấy thế lién cho tìm anh thuyết chia vao và bảo nàng công-chúa mới muốn kết-hôn, vua sẽ cho phép. Nhưng một sự bất-ngo dễ xảy ra. Lúc trước thấy mặt anh Trương-Tri, nàng công-chúa đã thất-vọng vì anh xấu quá. The king [her] father, seeing [that things were] that way, immediately sent for the fisherman to come in and told the princess if she wished to marry [him] he (the king) would give permission. But an unexpected thing took place. When [she] saw Truong-Tri’s face, the princess despaired, for he was very ugly.

song however (also song le, with the bound morpheme le, which seems not to occur elsewhere) (primarily written)

✓ Tuy cuộc đời có thay đổi, song cái lòng ái-quốc vẫn còn. In spite of the fact that life does change, still patriotism remains [the same].

✓ Tôi chờ nó, song le nó không đến. I waited for him; however, he didn’t come.

mà but (often accompanied by weak stress) (Note that this is different from mà [descriptive complement particle], 11.52; see also Appendix A.)

✓ Tôi muốn được gặp ông ấy, mà ông đi rồi. I wanted to get to meet him, but he’s left already.

chú (S chó) and [not], [but] to the contrary, still, as a matter of fact (see also Appendix A)

✓ Cái này của tôi, chú không phải là của anh. This belongs to me and not to you.

Lúc ấy cả quan và nhà chỉ giương mặt ra mà nhìn sự thật chú còn hống-hách gì được nữa. Then both the mandarin and [his] office staff will just be wide-eyed and stare at the truth, and no more intimidation of any sort will be possible.

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11.52. **Subordinating Particles** are clause particles which identify their clauses as complements. They are **focal** (introducing focal complements) and **relative** (introducing descriptive complements).

A single **relative particle** has been identified: it is regularly accompanied by weak stress (5.21) and marks its clause as a **descriptive complement** (12.22).

**mà** [descriptive complement particle] (Note that this is different from the coordinating particle mà ‘but’, 11.51; see also Appendix A.)

- Nói sọ mà chạy trốn. He was [so] frightened that [he] ran away.
- Ảnh mà không giúp nó, thì việc ấy hỏng. If you don’t help him, it’ll be a failure. [“elder-brother descriptive-complement not help him, then affair just-referred-to fail”: focal phrase with ảnh and its descriptive complement clause (introduced by mà) as focal modifier]

- Tôi đã tìm thấy quyển sách mà anh nói hôm nọ. I found the book you were talking [about] the other day.

**Focal Particles** identify clauses serving as focal complements.

**néu** if

- Nếu không trông thấy tre và cau thì là cảnh dòng lưu mông-mên. If [they] weren’t seeing bamboo and areca palms, then it was endless rice-fields.

**ví** because

- Vì tàu sể dời ở Nhật-bàn và Hồng-kông nên hai ông cùng xin cả chủ chiều-khản của sự-quán Nhật và Anh nữa. Because the boat would dock in Japan and Hong Kong, the two fellows also requested visas from the Japanese and British embassies as well.

**dù** (or **đâu, **dâu) although; whether, whatever, however, even ...

- Dù ông hết sức muốn đi, người ta không cho phép. Although you want very much to go, they won’t give [you] permission.
- Dù ai buôn dâu, bán dâu. / Mộng muốn tháng там chơi trâu thì vế. Wherever it is that someone may be doing business, on the tenth of the eighth month he returns home for the buffalo contest.—Folk saying

**tuy** although (somewhat more literary than dù in flavor)

- Tuy không có tran-chiên ở đây, nhưng chúng tôi vẫn còn trong tình-trạng chiến-tranh. Although there is no battle [going on right] here, still we remain in war [time] circumstances.
Focal complement clauses thus marked often appear following the head clause. There is an obvious difference in emphasis in such sentences, but it is difficult to say whether the subordinate clause has rather more of a descriptive than a restrictive function.

*Không nguy hiểm làm vì suốt Đọc được đều cố đồn bình đẳng.*

[It's] not very dangerous because all along the road at regular intervals military posts have been set up.

11.6. **Substantival Particles** are used only or primarily with immediate constituent partners which are substantives or substantival phrases. They include the **plural markers**, which occur only before substantives and substantival phrases (8.1); **descriptive particles**, which occur only as descriptive complements following nominals (8.6); and **vocative particles**, which form elements appearing only as initial or final complements in sentences, or as separate sentences by themselves (cf. 12.41).

11.61. **Plural Markers** help define the class of substantives (8.1). They include the forms *những* ‘plural’, *các* ‘plural [implying all of a given set]’, *mỗi* ‘each’, *mỗi* ‘every’, and *từng* ‘each [in turn]’. For examples, see 8.2.

11.62. **Descriptive Particles** are substantival particles which occur only as descriptive complements following nominals (8.6), or rarely following verbals (9.5) or certain other particles. They form a small class of forms with specialized meanings, each fairly restricted by virtue of this specialization. However, most forms serve on at least some occasions as complements to classifiers, as well as to general categoricals and nouns. In the material studied forms belonging to some minor semantic sets have been identified. There may well be others.

A set of sex gender forms is conveniently further categorized in terms of their usage with humans, animals in general, or birds in particular.

<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>dực</td>
<td>Trọng</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>nữ</td>
<td>cái</td>
<td>Mái</td>
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*phái nam* the male sex, *phái nũ* the female sex [referring to humans], *bò dực* steer, *bò cái* cow, *con dực* [the] male [of an animal], *gà Trọng* rooster, *gà Mái* hen, *chim Mái* female bird

The forms *trai* (N gai) ‘boy, male’, *gái* 'girl, female' are general categoricals: cf. *một trai* ‘a boy’, *một gái* ‘a girl’. In the spoken language they are far more common than the forms of Chinese origin (*nam*, *nũ*) which belong to this class. The recurrence of the element *-ái* in the words denoting females is interesting.

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A set which may be termed directional includes the names of the points of the compass and the designations for right and left. They occur occasionally as descriptive complements to verbals (9.5) and with certain other particles, notably the postpositive noncontained particle tụ ‘departing from’ (11.82).

bắc north               đông east               phải right [side]

nam south                tây west                trái left [side]

phương bắc north [as a region or direction]
phía nam south [as a cardinal point or direction]
người tây westerners, esp. Frenchmen
bên đông the east side, the East [as a region]
tay phải the right hand
bên trái the left side, to the left
từ bắc đến nam from north to south

It should be noted that the compound compass designations involve an order of elements different from that of English: đông bắc northeast, đông nam southeast, tây bắc northwest, tây nam southwest.

The remaining forms include a set distinguishing relative size or age and a temporal element denoting present time.

cải immense, large; eldest               nay now, present time, today (cf. the
tút smallest, youngest                  temporal focus nay ‘present time’)

anh cãi eldest brother
con út youngest child

Rày has an extremely limited distribution, occurring apparently only with ngày ‘day’, dố ‘approximate time’, and tụ ‘departing from.’

Ngày rày nó dâ châu học. He’s managing to study these days.

Đô rày thác gào cao làm. Right about this time rice is very high
[i.e., expensive].

từ rày (trở đi) from now on

In the last case (following tụ ) it appears to fill a head position with the prepositive particle (11.81), but since its occurrence is otherwise limited to complement positions, this case is probably best considered a compound (cf. 11.92).

11.63. Vocative Particles accompany a small class of substantivs forming phrases which appear as complements with heads varying from interjections (11.2) to all types of sentences; these phrases also occur on occasion as complete sentences by themselves (12.41). The order of elements distinguishes two types: formal vocative particles precede their heads and the phrases they form appear as preceding (restrictive) complements to their heads, which comprise the balance of the sentences involved.
Informal vocative particles follow their heads and the phrases they form appear as following (descriptive) complements to their heads, which again comprise the balance of the sentences involved.

Formal vocative particles also occur by themselves as the whole of vocative elements. The two forms exemplified below are the most common, but there are a few others, notably special honorifics. (In the examples the entire vocative elements are in boldface type.)

bảm [subservient vocative particle, used in deference to social superiors]

- Bảm công-từ có mực Bác Hải ngon lắm. (In former times, waiter in a restaurant addressing mandarin’s son): Sir, there’s Bác Hải squid [which is] very tasty.—Khải Hùng.
- Anh có xem quyển sách ấy không?—Bảm có. Have you read that book?—[Yes, I] have, sir.

thưa [polite vocative particle, used with courtesy to social equals and superiors]

- Thưa cụ chúng tôi ăn quà sáng rồi a. Còn cụ dà đừng chua?—Thưa dà, bày giò hai ông định làm gì? (young man speaking to considerably older man:) (Sir,) we’ve had breakfast already. How about you, have you eaten yet?—[Yes, I] already [have]; what have the two of you decided to do now?

Informal Vocative Particles do not appear as the whole of vocative elements, although the form oi does occur by itself as a responsive sentence. They are also used with proper names (10.41). They are regularly accompanied by heavy stress (5.21). Two forms have been identified in this category. (In the examples, vocative elements are in boldface type.)

à [casual vocative particle, implying a minimum of insistence]

- Di chợ chua, bèp à? Have you been to market yet, cook?

oi [informal vocative particle, implying somewhat more insistence]

- Ông đẻ tôi làm, ông oi. Let me do it, sir.

These informal vocative elements are very common by themselves (especially those containing oi) in situations where the function is to call the attention of a person at some distance.

Ông oi! Sir! Say, Mister! (somewhat less formal than these glosses imply, but more polite than ‘Hey, there!’)

Hiền oi. Say, Hiền ...

Informal vocative elements at the ends of sentences are also quite common without any identifying particle.

Bây giờ mấy giờ, ông? What time is it now, sir?
Mạnh gìơi, ông? (S) How are you, sir?
11.7. Predicative Particles are those particles which are always part of predicates. They are predicative markers (11.71), which have the balance of an entire predicate as immediate constituent partner and occur with substantial as well as verbal predicates; and verbal particles, which occur only in verbal predicates. Verbal particles are further preverbs (11.72), preceding their head; and postverbs (11.73), following their head.

11.71. Predicative Markers are the defining elements for predicates (9.1). They include the identificational marker là ‘be, which is (are), that is, namely’ (for examples, see 9.7); and the tense markers dâ ‘anterior’ and sê ‘subsequent’ (for examples, see 9.3).

11.72. Preverbs are verbal particles which precede their head. The following are examples of this small class. (In the examples boldface type marks the particles with their heads.)

rất very

Anh này có một giọng hát rất hay, nhưng mặt thì rất xâu. This fellow had a very beautiful singing voice, but [his] face was very ugly.

Cô ấy rất có tiếng. She is very famous. [“unmarried-lady just-referred-to very exist fame”]

hoi slightly, somewhat, rather

Tôi hoi hiểu cái thuyết ấy. I understand that theory slightly.

Cô ấy ôm nằng, hôm nay mới hoi cuoi cuoi. She’s gravely ill—only smiled a little bit today.

vùa only just, right now (then) (see also Appendix A)

Hôm qua nó vùa làm xong bài, thì tôi đến. Yesterday he had just finished doing [his] lessons when I came.

cư continuing without interruption, definitely, insistently, in spite of adverse circumstances (see also Appendix A)

Tôi dấy cảm mà anh cú̃ làm. I forbade [it], but you did [it] anyway.

Cú̃ làm lấy bài cửa mình, dẫng nhờ ai giúp. Go ahead and do your lessons by yourself, don’t rely on anyone to help.

hay often, frequently, customarily (see also Appendix A)

Ông hay đi Đà-Lạt không? Do you go to Dalat often?

Chúng tôi sẽ không hay đi thăm ông Bình. We shan’t go to visit Mr. Bình often.

Người Việt-nam hay uống nước chè. The Vietnamese [as a custom] drink tea.

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mới [after something just mentioned is accomplished] only then, now, recently, just; [if something just mentioned is true] only then; [in contrast with preceding] really, truly (see also Appendix A)


Éch-Hoa thuong Cóc làm, nhưng vì không quen việc luật-pháp mới bảo Cóc đi tìm Nhái Bén giúp đỡ công việc. Leopard-Frog was very fond of Toad, but because [he] was not acquainted with legal matters—for that reason alone [he] told Toad to go look for Tree-Frog to help with the matter.

Tôi còn truyền này mới thật Mia-mai. I have this other story which is really ironic [if you thought the last one was].

sắp on the point of, about to

Xe hỏa sắp chạy. The train is about to leave.

Vô đang sắp vào thị anh ra. He was just coming in when you went out.

Sắp mưa. It's going to rain [right away].

11.73. Postverbs are verbal particles which follow their head. Four forms have been identified; there may well be others. (Particles and their heads are in boldface type.)

lấy [by or for] oneself

Cú làm lấy bài của mình, đừng nhờ ai giúp. Go ahead and do your lessons by yourself, don't rely on anyone to help.

thay to a surprising or unusual extent (mildly exlamative)

Là thay! How strange!

Dau-dón thay phân dàn bà. How painful is the lot of women!

—Nguyễn Du

lại repeating, doing over [generally with notion of attempted improvement], continuing [uninterruptedly] (see also Appendix A)


Lúc ban tôi ra Hà-nội tôi ốm lại Sai-gòn làm việc. At the time my friend went to Hanoi I remained in Saigon working..

luôn directly, without break, all at once, in a single operation, without stopping, extending to another situation or person (see also Appendix A)

Ban tôi bị ốm đi luôn nhà thương, không được về nhà lấy đỏ. My friend got sick and went directly to the hospital—[he] wasn't permitted to go home to get [his] things.
Thầy thuốc chưa bình truyền-nhiễm bị đau luôn nữa. (S) Doctors treating contagious diseases [sometimes] take sick themselves.

11.8. Movable Particles are the particles which remain. They are less limited than other particles in the positions in which they occur, although they generally have as immediate constituent partner a single word or short phrase. The important difference of these elements from more specialized particles, especially preverbs and postverbs, is that their immediate constituent partners are not limited to particular word classes, and these partners frequently are phrases containing other particles. They are subdivided according to position relative to their partners: prepositive (11.81), preceding their partners; postpositive (11.82), following their partners; and versatile (11.83), occurring either before or after partners, sometimes with slight differences in meaning.

11.81. Prepositive Particles are movable particles occurring before their immediate constituent partner. Several are exemplified in the quotation which follows. (Particles and their partners are in boldface type. In one case a pertinent phrase includes a smaller one, which is shown by underscoring. Sentences are numbered correspondingly in the text and translation.)

- chỉ only (see also Appendix A)
- cùng likewise, still, nevertheless
- và and
- hay or (see also Appendix A)
- như like, similar to

(1) Bạn chỉ là một anh nghèo xác, ngày ngày lang-thang khắp xóm này qua xóm khác xin ăn. (2) Quân áo rách-muộp Bạn cùng chả có sao, chán không có giầy và đâu cũng chẳng có mủ. (3) Gió nást hay giới mưa Bạn không báo gió quan-tâm. (4) Một người như Bạn thì ai cũng tưởng là không

(1) Bạn was just a very poor fellow [who] day after day wandered about from one place to another ["all-over neighborhood this cross-over neighborhood different"] begging food. (2) [His] clothes were tattered and torn [but] Bạn didn’t care, [on his] feet were no shoes and [on his] head likewise there was no hat. (3) [Whether] it was sunny or rainy Bạn paid no attention. (4) A person like Bạn everyone believes has nothing left that he values ["identificational-marker not remain exist whatever identificational marker precious-object any-more"]. (5) [That may be the] way [it seems], but we’re mistaken because Bạn has [his] areca-palm fan [which]
Some other important prepositive particles are exemplified below. They include the proportion demonstratives (7.24).

bao to whatever extent, bày to this extent, bày to that [such] extent.

Có bao nhiêu, xài bấy nhiêu. Whatever [you] have [you] spend.

Bây giờ mấy giờ? What time is it now?

dương (N dang) in the act of, during, while

Nó đang sắp vào thì anh ra. He was just coming in when you went out.

Xuân dương tới, nghĩa là xuân dương qua. Spring is coming, [actually that] means that spring is passing.—Xuân-Diều

Đang lúc giới mua các cô ở nhà đọc sách. During the time it was raining the girls stayed at home reading.

từ starting from, since (cf. Appendix A: từ 2.)

Từ đây lên Đà-lạt độ chứng hai trăm cây só. From here up to Dalat [is] about two hundred kilometers.

Từ ngày hai ông Vỹ và Đông gặp cụ Dâm, ba người thường thường nói chuyện với nhau luôn. From the day the two fellows Vỹ and Dong met cụ Dâm, the three of them were continually talking together.

The particle như ‘like, similar to’ is special in two ways: it sometimes introduces a clause, and it occasionally appears with the postpositive contained particle nhau (11.82) following it. In the latter respect it appears much like the postpositive noncontained particle với ‘with’, but seems not to occur as a descriptive complement by itself. The sequence như nhau ‘like each other’ is here treated as a compound particle (11.92).

Tiệm này nhỏ làm như ông thấy. (S) This ship is very small, as you see.
Postpositive Particles are movable particles occurring as complement after their immediate constituent partner. There are two types: non-contained postpositive particles sometimes have their own following complements, while contained postpositive particles do not.

Contained Postpositive Particles include some very common and important forms. (Particles and their partners are in boldface type in the following examples.)

nhau reciprocally, one another

✓ Hai dưa con đánh nhau. The two children are fighting ["hit one-another"].
✓ Mây cái nhà kia sát gần nhau. Those houses are built close together ["near one-another"].

nưa any more, in addition, further

ông dùng cơm nưa thời? Are you going to eat any more rice?

ít lâu nay ăn ta không được bán khể nưa vì hễ có quá nào chỉn thỉn đến ăn hết. Not long after this he could not manage to sell any more carambola because whenever there was any fruit ripe the birds came [and] ate it all up.

✓ Hôm qua tôi hút tàu, bữa nay tôi còn gần hút máy bay nưa. (S) Yesterday I missed the boat; today I nearly missed the plane, too.

hoài continually, incessantly, without stopping

nói phải có người nói đi nói lại chờ bất người ta nói một mình hoài! (S) For a conversation [you] ought to have people talking back and forth, not make somebody talk alone all the time.

✓ Dừng Koch-lóc Koch-liéc hoài như thế! (S) Don’t be such a crybaby all the time!

ngay directly, right away, straightaway

✓ Tôi nghe ông bị ốm, nên tôi đến ngay. I heard that you were sick, so I came right over.

Dịch-thần tôi vô ngay trong rừng tìm-kíem, nhưng không thấy tấm dảng con chờ nào hết. (S) I myself went right into the forest to search, but found neither hide nor hair ["trace (or) form"] of any dog at all.

làm to a great extent, very much

Con chó la làm. The dog barks a lot.

Cô ấy đẹp làm. She’s very beautiful.

Ông ấy đem đồ đi Sai-gòn nhiều lần làm rồi. He has already taken things to Saigon very many times.

The particle làm also appears as a numerator (8.31) on a few occasions:

Lắm người có hằng-tâm mà không có hằng-sần. Many people have generous hearts but no property.

Noncontained Postpositive Particles differ from most other particles in that special capacity of introducing descriptive complements in which they themselves serve as head. Some of them introduce clauses as descriptive complements in these positions; others do not. (In the example particles and their partners are in boldface type. In cases where particles have following complements, they appear in roman type.)

với along with, in company of

✓ Anh đi chơi, tôi cũng đi với. [If] you’re going [off to] have a good time I’m going along. [“elder-brother go do-something-for-pleasure, I accompany go with”]

Thua cũ, tên Việt tôi là Lê Vỹ cùng học tiếng Việt-nam với ông bạn tôi là Trần Đông. Sir, my Vietnamese name is Lê Vỹ, [I] studied Vietnamese together with my friend Trần Đông. [“polite-vocative venerable-old-person, name Viet (Nam) is Lê Vỹ accompany study language Viet Nam with gentleman friend I is Trần Dong”]

luôn always, continually, anyway (less common with following complements) (independent) (see also Appendix A)

Tôi ở Đà-lạt luôn-khi. (S) I stay at Dalat all the time.

Hãy ăn cơm luôn đi cho rồi. Go on, keep eating so as to finish.

Ông làm công việc này rồi luôn không?—Luôn. (S) Will you finish this work anyhow?—Just the same.

cả all of, also, including, as a whole, at all (see also Appendix A)

Không ai đến cả. No one at all arrived.

✓ Tôi uống cả một cốc rượu rồi. I’ve drunk a whole glass of wine.

The noncontained particle rằng ‘to the effect that, as follows, saying’ is used in modern formal prose to introduce direct or indirect quotations and other similar elements. Earlier literary usage suggests that it was originally a verb meaning something like ‘to say [that], speak as follows.’

Anh ta bảo rằng: Cú yên-tầm. He said: ‘Don’t worry.’

Không-tù nói rằng những người xảo ngôn lệnh sắc là ít có nhân.

Confucius said that people of clever words and great beauty are not very kind-hearted.
These noncontained particles, together with their following complements are occasionally found as focal complements.

Nàng luận miệng ca-tùng những buổi chiều yếu-dương ấy. She had constantly in her mouth a song of praise for those much loved afternoons. ["young-woman constantly mouth sing-praise..."]

Nếu tiêu-thựu thuận-tình thì chúng ta sẽ kết làm vợ chồng, bằng không thì với lưới kiểm này hai ta cùng chết. If you (young lady of good family) consent, then you and I will unite as man and wife; if not, then with this sword the two of us will die together.

Cả nhà này làm bằng cây. (S) This whole house is made of wood.
Cả mười người này đi Sài-gòn. (S) All these ten people are going to Saigon.

Note also that contained particles sometimes occur as complements to noncontained (and perhaps other) particles.

Chúng ta cùng đi chợ với nhau. You and I will go to market together [...with one-another]

11.83. Versatile Particles are movable particles occurring either before or after their immediate constituent partners, sometimes with slight differences in meaning. In the following examples particles and their partners are in boldface. Only a few have been isolated, but it likely there are others.

hăn [preceding head] definitely, certainly; [following head] completely, thoroughly

Ông ấy hăn thích ở Đà-lạt. He certainly likes living in Dalat.

Cảnh nào-nhiệt ngày thượng đóm nay mặt hăn di. The usual daily bustle this evening is entirely missing.

Sao anh biết chúng tôi là Mỹ?-Có khó gì mà không biết, quân-áo các ông mặc giống trong mạn anh làm, cà mão lần kiều khác hăn người Âu-chau. How did you know we’re Americans?—Nothing hard [about it] (so that [I] wouldn’t know): the clothes you’re wearing are very much like [those we see] in the movies, then, [your] color and manners are completely different from [those of] Europeans.

luôn-luôn always, continuously (see also Appendix A)

Tôi ở Đà-lạt luôn-luôn. I’m always in Dalat.

Tôi luôn-luôn ở Đà-lạt. 
bỗ [preceding head] apparently, manifestly, seemingly; [following head]
making a pretense, leading one to believe

Anh ấy bỗ làm linh. He seems to be a soldier.
Anh ấy làm bỗ linh. He pretends to be a soldier.

11.9. Special Features. Particles are the most difficult forms in the
language to describe, partly because their meanings are not easy to define
precisely, partly because positional frames in the language are so elusive.
The picture is further complicated by the utilization of words of other clas-
ses in positions where they greatly resemble particles (11.91), and by some
apparent cases of compounding of particles and similar elements (11.92).
It is also important to note that a few particles appear in correlative uses
(11.93).

11.91. Other Words in Uses Resembling Particles. A variety of sub-
stantives and predicatives appear as complements in stylized circumstances
in which they very much resemble certain particles. In some cases, it may
be that they would be better treated as separate words, but where the mean-
ings are clearly related there is usually an advantage in considering spe-
cial uses as extensions of the basic form.

Words resembling interjections are discussed in 11.2. Note also that
auxiliaries (9.54) in some ways resemble preverbs (11.72). However, pre-
verbs are dependent words, while auxiliaries are independent.

A few examples of other forms follow.

Khi tôi đi chợ, thì giời mưa. When I went to market, it rained.
(khi ‘time when’ is a general categorical: cf. mây khi ‘a few
times’, khi nào ‘when, whenever.’ Here it resembles focal
particles like nếu ‘if.’)

Ông ấy đi về rồi. He’s gone home already. (The definitive rồi ‘be
over and done with’, 9.51, resembles postverbs like lạy ‘[by
or for] oneself.’)

Ông ấy không khỏi lại nhà tôi đâu. He mustn’t fail to come to my
house at any cost. (The locational focus đâu ‘where, wherever,’
7.22, 10.46, resembles contained postpositive particles like
lắm ‘very much.’)

11.92. Compound Particles are quite common with a few basic forms.
Sequences of interjections of this sort are discussed in 11.2. Focal par-
ticles (11.52) frequently are followed by the relative particle mà (11.52),
which adds a note of specialization: ‘only in the case at hand, just in this
way’, etc. In some cases it seems merely to lend a kind of emphatic or

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special stylistic touch. (This usage may very well reflect the stylistic preference for disyllabic elements; cf. 13.5.)

✓ Nếu mà kiểm được cuốn sách đó, thì tôi sung-sướng lắm. (S) If only I can find that book, I'll be happy.

Certain focal and coordinating (11.51) particles occur compounded together. It may be significant that these double forms appear to be more common when the clauses they introduce are transposed to the position following the head clause.

Tôi không biết chỗ ở người này, bởi vì người này đối chỗ ở luôn luôn. (S) I don’t know where this person lives because he’s always moving.

✓ Hôm qua tôi có ý mua quyền sách ấy, nhưng mà có ban đến nhà thấm, tôi quên. Yesterday I intended to buy that book, but a friend dropped by [and] I forgot.

Movable particles (11.8) frequently seem to be compounded.

Nó ăn tát-cả. He ate the entire thing.

Tạp giấy này với tạp giấy kia cũng như nhau. (S) This notebook and that one are alike. [...]like one-another

Some cases which must be treated as compound particles suggest that one or other of the entities involved may originally have had a less restricted distribution and may have belonged to one of the major word classes (i.e., substantives, predicatives or focuses).

từ đây (trơ đi) from now on (rày otherwise has been observed only as a descriptive particle, 11.62, but may earlier have been a focus like nay ‘present time’)

Still other cases show particles of various sorts apparently compounded with words of other classes in uses resembling particles.

Hãy còn sớm. It’s still early.

Chúng ta ít có thời giờ, để cùng nhau nói chuyện ở phòng giấy, cho nên tôi muốn gặp hai anh ở nhà tôi. We rarely have time to converse with one another at the office; that’s why I wanted to have [“meet”] the two of you over at my house.

11.93. Correlative Particles. A few particles appear only or predominantly in correlative uses.

và...và both...and (prepositive, 11.81) (see also Appendix A)

✓ Ngày xưa có người hiểu-loi, một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa đồng người đến buôn bán vừa làm đồ hàng. Once upon a time there was a greedy person, [who] one day went out into
the market-place on the day of a fair [when there were] both a
great many people who had come to do business and a great
deal of merchandise.

nào...nào...(nào...) not only...but also..., ...all these (prepositive, 11.81)
(see also Appendix A)

✓ Nào tiền, nào tình, nào hạnh-phúc... Money, love, happiness—all
these...
CHAPTER 12

Sentence Structure

12.1. Sentences in spoken Vietnamese are separated from one another by terminal intonations (5.3). A sequence of one or more pause groups ending with a terminal intonation and preceded by silence or by another such sequence is a sentence (5.41). The autonomy of such elements is symbolized in writing by the use of a capital letter at the beginning and a sentence end sign (period, question mark or exclamation point) at the end (3.54).

The structure of sentences is varied, but one type is overwhelmingly predominant—the sort of sentence which consists of a clause (9.8, 12.2) or series of clauses, at least one of which is a head. Such sentences are major (12.3); others are minor (12.4). This structural classification is intersected by one based on relative autonomy—dependent sentences occur only as second or later sentences in utterances or as opening sentences in responsive utterances, while independent sentences appear as opening sentences in independent utterances (5.41).

By the patterning of stresses (5.2) speakers signal elements of greater or lesser informational importance in their sentences; the general principles of this system are discussed in 12.5. Positionally emphatic elements are discussed in 12.6.

12.2. Clauses. A clause is a predicate (together with any complement it may have) viewed as a sentence constituent (9.8). In other words, each time a predicate occurs, from the point of view of the sentence in which it stands, it is a clause (or, if it has complements, the head of a clause). Some clauses contain restrictive or descriptive complements which are themselves smaller clauses. Like other sentence elements, clauses are sometimes heads, sometimes complements.
Ong Vị đăng hút thuốc lá, mắt nhìn may con hải-ahu bay theo tàu
thì có một cụ già đó ngoài 60 tuổi tay cầm một cuốn sách đến
dến xin ông một que diệm để hút thuốc lá. Vị was smoking a
cigarette, (eyes) watching some seagulls flying after the ship,
when an old man over sixty years old, holding a book in his
hand, came and asked him for a match to light a cigarette.

Each clause in this example is listed below with a notation in brackets of
of its function (see 5.4ff for type of analysis used):

Ong Vị đăng hút thuốc lá Vị was smoking a cigarette (head)
mắt nhìn may con hải-ahu bay theo tàu [with his] eyes watching some
seagulls flying after the ship (descriptive complement to preceding
clause)
bay theo tàu fly after [the] ship (descriptive complement to may
con hải-ahu)
bay fly (head)
theo tàu follow ship (head)

thì có một cụ già đó ngoài 60 tuổi tay cầm một cuốn sách (then) there
was an old man (approximately) more than sixty years old holding a
book in his hand (head)
tay cầm một cuốn sách [with his] hand holding a book (descriptive
complement to có một cụ già đó ngoài 60 tuổi)

dến xin ông một que diệm để hút thuốc lá [who] came and asked him
for a match to light a cigarette (descriptive complement to thì có một
cuỗi...sách)
dến xin ông một que diệm arrived [and] asked him for a match (head)
dến arrive (head)
xin ông một que diệm ask him for a match (head)
dế hút thuốc lá permit to smoke a cigarette (descriptive complement
to đến xin ông một que diệm)

Clauses are of two principal types: main clauses (12.21) appear as
heads or as the whole of certain sentences; other clauses are subordinate,
appearing as complements to other sentence elements. Subordinate clauses
are further descriptive, following their heads (12.22); and restrictive,
preceding their heads (12.23).

12.21. Main clauses occur both marked and unmarked. Marked clauses
are introduced by principalizing particles (11.51); they appear as second

1 This same sentence is discussed in 9.8 from the point of view of the uses of its
predicates.
or later elements in independent sentences, but sometimes constitute the whole of a dependent sentence (5.41, 12.1). Main clauses appear in boldface type in the following examples.

**UNMARKED MAIN CLAUSES**

_Nguời nhà giàu xin chuộc, người kia đòi nhiều tiền._ The person from the rich family asked to buy back [something he had lost], the other person [who had found it] demanded a great deal of money. (two main clauses separated by comma)

_Tuy thế ấm-hướng xua vẫn còn an sâu trong đầu óc các bạn thanh-niên nam nữ._ Although this is the case, the influence of former times still penetrates [“eats”] deeply in the minds of young friends of the two sexes. (*Tuy thế* is a marked restrictive clause [focal complement] containing the unmarked predicate _thể._)

**MAIN CLAUSES MARKED BY COORDINATING PARTICLES**

_Tối bằng lòng đi, nhưng cha tôi không cho phép._ I’d be happy to go, but my father won’t give [me] permission.

_Vua cha thấy thế liền cho tìm anh thuyên chai vào và báo năng công-chúa nếu muốn kết-hôn, vua sẽ cho phép._ Nhưng một sự bất-ngo dại xảy ra. Lúc Trọng thấy mặt anh Trọng-Tri, nàng công-chúa dại thất-vọng với anh xấu quá. The king [her] father, seeing [that things were] that way, immediately sent for the fisherman to come in and told the princess if she wished to marry [him] he (the king) would give permission. But an unexpected thing took place. When [she] saw Trọng-Tri’s face, the princess despaired, for he was very ugly.

**MAIN CLAUSES MARKED BY ISOLATING PARTICLES**

_Nay thì các bậc phù-huynh đã cho phép con gái được tiếp bán giai ở nhà._ Nowadays the elders [of the family] have given permission to girls to receive their boy-friends at home.

_Anh muốn đi bây giờ, thì đi đi._ You want to go now, so go ahead.

_Tối bi nhà tôi cháy, nền mắt của hết._ My house burned, so I lost all my belongings.

_Tại nội an bày nền đau._ (S) He’s sick because he’s eaten hap-hazardly [off unclean dishes, etc.].

_Nếu tiêu-thu thuận-tình thì chúng ta sẽ kết làm vợ chồng, bằng không thì với luổí kiểm này hai ta cùng chết._ If you [young lady of good family] consent, then you and I will unite as man and wife; if not, then with this sword the two of us will die together.
Ba giờ tôi phải đi làm. — Thi nên mau lên! I am supposed to go to work at three. — Then [you’d] better hurry up!

Thì nếu ông muốn đi bây giờ tôi cũng được. [So] then, if you want to go now I can go along [with you].

A few unmarked main clauses are not found as the opening clause of an independent sentence: they appear only in dependent sentences or as non-initial clauses in independent sentences. They are secondary main clauses.

Ông đi chợ, còn tôi không. You’re going to market, but I’m not.
Tôi đi chợ. — Còn tôi không. I’m going to market. — I’m not.

12.22. Descriptive Clauses are common as complements both of other clauses and of shorter sentence elements. Especially when they complement single words or (non-clause) phrases they are very frequently marked by the relative particle mà (11.52). Clauses consisting of identificational predicates with là are also common in this use. Descriptive clauses are in boldface type in the following examples.

Xưa có người họ trò đi đam võ. Long ago there was a student [who] went to bargain for a wife. (complement to main head clause)

Ngày xưa có người hiểu-loi, một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày cho phiên vua đồng người đến buôn bán vào làm đồ hàng.
Once upon a time there was a greedy person, [who] one day went out into the market-place on the day of a fair [when there were] both a great many people who had come to do business and a great deal of merchandise. (The long element in boldface type is a clause sequence serving as descriptive complement to the main head clause of the sentence; it contains two coordinate clauses. Within the second a shorter clause đến buôn bán complements đồng người. For a detailed analysis of this sentence see 5.4ff.)

Nó sợ mà chạy trốn. It [an animal] was so afraid it ran away. (complement to the main clause)

Anh mà không giúp nó, thì việc ấy hỏng. Unless you help him out it’ll be a failure. [elder-brother relative-particle not help him, then affair just-referred-to spoil] (complement to anh)

Tôi đã tìm thấy quyển sách mà anh nói hôm nó. I found the book you were talking about the other day. (complement to quyển sách)

Điều mà các ông chú-trong đến nhất là dem theo máy án và máy quay phim đi. The thing they attached the most importance
to was bringing along a [still] camera and a movie camera. ["detail relative-particle plural gentleman consider-important arrive-at first..." ] (complement to diệu)

Hai ông là bạn thân và cùng có chung một ý-tưởng là đi sang Việt-nam du-lịch. The two fellows were close friends and had the same idea—to go over to Viet Nam on a trip. (complement to preceding clause và...ý-tưởng)

12.23. Restrictive Clauses are focal complements containing a predicate as head, or consisting of a predicate alone. Lone (unmarked) predicates are rare in this use (see 10.24). More often restrictive clauses are marked by focal particles (11.52).

Tuy thế ấn-hương xưa vẫn còn ăn sâu trong đầu óc các bạn thanh-nién nam nữ. Although this is the case, the influence of former times still penetrates ["eats"] deeply in the minds of young friends of the two sexes. (thế is an unmarked substantive predicate; cf. 9.1.)

Nếu tiêu-thuận-tình thì chúng ta sẽ kết làm vợ chồng, bàng không thì với lời kiểm này hai ta cùng chết. If you (young lady of good family) consent, then you and I will unite as man and wife; if not, then with this sword the two of us will die together. (For the construction of bàng không, see next paragraph in this section.)

Vi tàu sẽ dỡ ở Nhật-bản và Hồng-kông nên hai ông cùng xin cả chũ chiều-kính của sứ-quân Nhật và Anh nữa. Because the boat would dock in Japan and Hong Kong, the two fellows also requested visas from the Japanese and British embassies as well.

Many focal complements containing predicates appear at first to have this same structure. Actually they are different: in each case the head of the focal complement element is a substantive with a predicate as complement.

Sau khi cử Đàm ẩn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu thì gặp hai ông Vỹ và Dong. After cử Đàm ate breakfast and went out on the deck of the ship, [he] ran into the two fellows Vỹ and Dong. (The focal complement in boldface type has as head the relator noun sau ‘time after’, complemented in turn by another substantive phrase with the general categorical khi ‘time when’ as head; the clause, consisting of two predicates in sequential construction, complements khi.)

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Nếu tiểu-thu thuận-tình thì chúng ta sẽ kết làm vợ chồng, bằng
không thì với lời kiểm này hai ta cùng chết. If you (young lady
of good family) consent, then you and I will unite as man
and wife; if not, then with this sword the two of us will die to-
gether. (Relator noun bằng ‘demonstrated proportion’ is com-
plemented by the negative không ‘not’.)

Khi mặt trời đang đặt đầu xanh realtà thì cả một vùng chân trời và
bề chỏ đỏ đỏ ở như một đam chay không-lố. The sun was
beginning to disappear, a whole area of the sky and sea at
that point of the horizon was completely red, like a colossal
fire. [“time face sky in-act-of seize beginning disappear then
including one section foot sky and sea place there be-red
great similar-to one compact-item burn giant”]

Marked restrictive clauses are not infrequent in descriptive complement
position, with little apparent difference in meaning: the reversed order
seems simply to achieve a difference in emphasis (see also 11.52, 12.62).
Clauses marked by vì are most common.

Câu Thanh đến nhà họ chủ cựu để giúp việc vì ngày mai là
ngày ăn mừng nhà mới. Câu Thanh went to the house of
[his] bride-to-be to help out because tomorrow was the day
[they were to] celebrate the new household.

12.24. Clause Composition. Beyond the fact that they all contain a
predicate, clauses are infinitely varied as to their internal structure. The
simplest clause consists of a one-word predicate:

Di. Go [ahead]. (e.g., said to a child who has asked permission
to go somewhere)

An thì no, không ăn thì dở. [If you] eat [you’re] full, [if you]
don’t eat [you’re] hungry.—Folk saying

However, most clauses consist of somewhat more complex predicates and
often have focal complements. (Predicates appear in boldface type.)

Ông ấy đã lấy tiền rồi. He already took the money.

Con chó bị chết. The dog died.

Ngày đi chơi, đếm ngủ ngon. In the daytime [they] went out
and had a good time, at night [they] slept well.

Clauses often contain several parts which are themselves clauses.

Trời mưa tôi thích ở nhà đọc sách. When it rains I prefer to stay at
home and read.

trời mưa (restrictive clause: focal complement)

tội thích ở nhà đọc sách (main clause)
12.3. Major Sentences are those sentences consisting of a sequence of one or more clauses, at least one of which is a head (i.e., a main clause). They are as varied as the clauses they contain (cf. 12.24). The examples analyzed below furnish a notion of this variety.

Thua thấy, ở làng bên có người muốn bán một ngôi nhà, thấy có mua không? Sir, in the next village there’s a fellow [who] wants to sell a house, do you [want to] buy it?

ở làng bên có người muốn bán một ngôi nhà (head: main clause)
ở làng bên (restrictive clause: focal complement)
có người muốn bán một ngôi nhà (head)
có người (head)
mùn bán một ngôi nhà (descriptive clause)
thàят có mua không? (head: main clause)

Ngày xưa có người hiểu-loi, một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa dòng người đến buôn bán vừa làm đồ hàng. Once upon a time there was a greedy person, [who] one day went out [into] the market-place on the day of a fair [when there were] both a great many people who had come to do business and a great deal of merchandise.

Ngày xưa có người hiểu-loi (head: main clause)
ngày xưa (focal complement)
có người hiểu-loi (head)
có (head)
-người hiểu-loi (descriptive complement)
-người (head)
-hiểu-loi (descriptive complement)
một hôm ra chợ, gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa dòng người đến buôn bán vừa làm đồ hàng (descriptive complement)
một hôm ra chợ (head)
gặp ngày chợ phiên vừa dòng người đến buôn bán vừa làm đồ hàng (head)
gặp ngày chợ phiên (head)
vừa dòng người đến buôn bán vừa làm đồ hàng (descriptive complement)
vìa...vìa (correlative prepositive particle)
dông người đến buôn bán (descriptive complement)
dông người (head)
dến buôn bán (descriptive clause)
lâm dổ hàng (descriptive complement)

Sau khi cụ Dăm ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu thì gặp hai ông Vỹ và Dong. After cụ Dăm ate breakfast and went out on the deck of the ship, [he] ran into the two fellows Vỹ and Dong.

sau khi cụ Dăm ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu (focal complement) sau time after (head)
khi cụ Dăm ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu the time [when] cụ Dăm finished eating breakfast [and] went out onto the deck of the ship (descriptive complement) khi (head)
cụ Dăm ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu (descriptive clause) cụ Dăm (focal complement) ăn sáng xong đi ra boong tàu (head) ăn sáng xong (head) xong (descriptive complement) đi ra boong tàu (head) đi ra (head) boong tàu (descriptive complement)

thì gặp hai ông Vỹ và Dong (head: main clause) thì (isolating particle) gặp hai ông Vỹ và Dong (head)

Trừ thường-cổ dân Việt-nam bao giờ cũng tin có Giời. Since earliest times the Vietnamese people have always believed there is a God.

trừ thường-cổ (focal complement) dân Việt-nam bao giờ cũng tin có Giời (head) dân Việt-nam (focal complement) bao giờ cũng tin có Giời (head) bao giờ (focal complement) cũng tin có Giời (head) cũng tin (head) có Giời (descriptive clause)

It should be especially noted that substantival predicates form regular clauses and major sentences just as verbal predicates do (9.1).

Bây giờ hai giờ rưỡi. It’s two-thirty now.

Em nhỏ đó mấy tuổi? (S) How old is that child?
12.4. **Minor Sentences** are those sentences which do not contain a clause as head. They are of two principal types: *independent* (that is, independent sentences [5.41] containing no clause as head), and *dependent*. Independent minor sentences are relatively few; they are discussed in 12.41. Dependent minor sentences are *fragments* (that is, words and phrases generally found as parts of sentences) of various sorts: *predicative* (12.42), *substantival* (12.43), *focal* (12.44), *particular* (12.45), and *clausal* (12.46).

12.41. **Independent Minor Sentences** are independent sentences (5.41) containing no clause as head. They are relatively rare, serving as exclamations or attention getting devices. In keeping with their frequent exclamatory function they are often accompanied by increasing intonation (5.32). Sentences of this sort consist of interjections (11.2), vocative elements (11.63), initial particles (11.3), or demonstrative markers (8.5, 10.45).

- Chà! Gee! (interjection)
- Chì ơi! Say, there... (speaking to female equal or inferior)
  (vocative element)
- À. Uh... (calling attention) (initial particle)
- Này. There now... (calling attention) (demonstrative marker)

12.42 **Predicative Fragments** are minor sentences containing a predicative element (9.2) which does not generally appear as predicate head. They are most frequent as responsive utterance opening sentences (5.41), but also appear in other dependent positions. Most frequent are negatives (9.4), auxiliaries (9.54), and the definitive (9.51), but it is also quite usual to find a predicate repeated from a preceding sentence or the utterance of another speaker, where it served as complement. Such minor sentences are often accompanied by final particles, just as major sentences are (11.4).

- Ông mua cái này không? -Không. Do you [want to] buy this?—No. (negative)
- Ăn cơm chưa? - Chưa. Have [you] eaten yet?—No. (negative)
- Ông đi nhà thương thambi bạn Hiến không? - Có chưa. Are you going to the hospital to see [your] friend Hiến?—Of course. (auxiliary, with final particle)
- Anh còn ở Đà-lạt không? - Còn. Do you still live in Dalat?—Yes. (auxiliary)
- Làm rồi à? - Rồi. [You’ve] already done it, eh?—Yes [I have]. (definitive)
- Đi được không? - Được. Can [one] go?—Yes. (descriptive complement)
Predicative fragments frequently repeat elements from a previous sentence with the addition of a descriptive complement.

_Đuợc làm?_-Duợc làm. Can [you] eat [it]? (e.g., said by polite host to guest)–[It’s] very good! (with postpositive particle)

_Tôi nghe nói là người ấy có tiền nhiều._-Nhiều quá! I’ve heard that that fellow has a lot of money._-An awful lot! (with comparative)

12.43. **Substantival Fragments** are minor sentences containing a substantival element (8.1) which does not constitute a clause (12.2). Like predicative fragments (12.42) they are most frequent as responsive utterance opening sentences (5.41), but also appear in other dependent positions. These fragments are substantivates or substantival phrases repeated from the immediately preceding context, sometimes with certain additions or logically replacing some element in a preceding sentence or utterance.

_Anh ấy làm ở đây bán mui hai năm rồi._-Chà! Bán mui hai năm!

He’s worked here for forty-two years._-Gee! Forty-two years!

_Cái này bao nhiêu tiền?_-Sâu mui làm đồng. How much does this this cost?—Sixty-five piastres.

_Ông mua vé một lượt hay vé khô-hời?_-Một lượt thôi. Do you [want to] buy a one-way ticket or a round trip (ticket)?—Just one-way.

Dependent predicates which are substantival phrases (9.11) belong in this category.

_Em đó mấy tuổi?_-Ba tuổi. (S) How old is that child?—Three (years old).

Occasionally a substantival fragment occurs as an independent sentence with exclamative or vocative force (cf. 12.41).

_Giói!_ Heavens!

_Ông Lâm! Say, Mr. Lâm! (calling him)

12.44. **Focal Fragments** are minor sentences consisting of a focus as head. They occur primarily as opening sentences in responsive utterances, but some also occasionally appear as independent sentences, serving as exclamations or vocative elements.

_Ai nói bây giờ?_-Tôi. Who’s going to talk now?—I [am].

_Khi nào ông định đi Hà-nội?_-Mai. When did you decide to go to Hanoi?—Tomorrow.

_Anh ở đâu?_-Đây. Where are you?—Here.

_Này! Say, now!

_Bạn. Bạn._ (calling him)
12.45. **Particular Fragments** are minor sentences containing a particle as head. Independent particles are not infrequent as dependent sentences; noncontained postpositive particles (11.82) often appear with their complements in similar uses.

*Ông còn ở đây luôn à?—Luôn.* You’re still here right along, eh?—Right along.

*Chỉ ấy nói với ai?—Với bạn.* Who’s she talking with?—With a friend.

12.46. **Clausal Fragments** are minor sentences consisting of restrictive clauses (12.23). They appear regularly as dependent sentences.

*Mai anh đi xem hát không?—Nếu có thì giờ.* Are you going to the play tomorrow?—If there’s time.

*Tại sao ông Nam không đến?—Vì ông bị ốm.* Why didn’t Mr. Nam come?—Because he got sick.

12.5. **Emphatic Patterning** is the system by which stresses are distributed in pause groups and sentences. Until now there has been too little investigation of these phenomena to furnish more than the general outlines of the system. However, the principles involved seem helpful in understanding the way the relative importance of forms is signalled. By far the great majority of syllables are accompanied by medium stress; it is deviation from this in either direction which marks a particular form as conveying an especially heavy or light load in conveying information. In general weak stress signals information already known or obvious in the context; heavy stress signals new or contrastive information.

12.51. **Weak Stress** accompanies many monosyllabic words whose meanings have more to do with the grammatical structure than with the designations of entities in the natural universe. It also accompanies the next to last syllable of many polysyllabic words. Along with a few special cases, these instances may be regarded as basic, since they are found in even rather careful speech and in some varieties of reading pronunciation. In more rapid conversational speech many other syllables are accompanied by weak stress; they seem always to be relatively low in the informational load they carry in the context.

The following examples show weak stress with monosyllabic words of primarily grammatical meanings.

*Ông ấy *là* 'bạn tôi.* He’s a friend of mine.

*Điều mà *các ông chủ-trong đến *nhất *là* dem theo máy *ánh* *và* máy quay phim 'đi.* The thing they attached the most importance to was bringing along a [still] camera and a movie
camera. ["detail relative-particle plural-total gentleman consider-important arrive-at first identificational-marker carry follow machine photograph and machine turn film go"]

Common polysyllabic words often have weak stress accompanying their penultimate syllable (see also emphatic patterning in compounds, 5.56, 6.2). However, there are frequent exceptions and a good deal of variation from speaker to speaker and from slow to rapid speech.

Hà-nội, Sài-gòn, Đà-lạt, Thủ-dầu-môt, Việt-nam (place names)
Nguyễn thi Lan, Phạm duy Khiêm, Trần văn Ngọc (personal names)
người ta one, someone, [an indefinite] person, đây thep telegram (compounds)
gia đình family (pseudo-compound)
ba-li suitcase (dissyllabic single-morpheme word)

In many exceptions it can be seen that the penultimate syllable carries a heavy informational load; for example:

sạch-sế be clean (emphatic) (sạch is base of an emphatic derivative; cf. 7.5)
Mỹ-quốc America, Trung-quốc China (in which Mỹ and Trung carry the primary informational load, while quốc is nearly predictable)

In complex numerals (8.45) the word mười (muoi when itself numerated) ‘ten’ is regularly accompanied by weak stress wherever it is followed by another number in an additive phrase (8.33).
mười hai twelve, hai mười lăm twenty-five, bốn mười một forty-one, năm mươi lăm năm năm fifty-five thousand

Note that this has led to contractions for such numbers in rapid speech—contractions which are even sometimes written (8.45).

Classifiers with descriptive complements (8.61) which are not clauses are regularly accompanied by weak stress.

hai quyển sách two books
cái gì which (ever) [one]
một cái ‘to, hai cái ‘nhỏ one large, two small

12.52. Heavy Stress appears at least once in each pause group, signalling the most important form in the context. It also sometimes accompanies other syllables in the pause group, pointing up contrasts, singling out forms which convey new or unexpected information.

A single heavy stress generally occurs close to the end of the pause group. With substantival phrases it often accompanies the final syllable of the descriptive complement, except that demonstrative markers are so accompanied only in special cases, to signal contrast.

hai cái nhà ‘nhỏ này these two small houses
hai cái này these two
hai cãi nhà (the) two houses

Không phải cãi này, cãi kia. It's not this one [I'm talking about], [it's] that one.

Where a pause group ends with a complex predicate, the predicate center normally is accompanied by heavy stress if a following descriptive complement does not add more specific information: in the latter case, however, the final syllable of the descriptive complement has heavy stress.

cãi này tôi ăn được, cãi này tôi mặc được, cãi này tôi 
dùng được, cãi này tôi thích làm. This I can eat, this I can wear, this I can use, this I like. (pause groups here are set off by commas)

Chúng ta đi 'cho. Let's go to market.

Khi nào ăn 'com ro, ... After [you] have eaten, ...

In alternative phrases (9.67) generally a syllable of the first element (which is set up for contrast) is accompanied by heavy stress. The second element usually has medium stress and the result is a relatively neutral question. With heavy stress accompanying the second element instead or as well, the importance of the alternative is emphasized.

Ông đi bây giờ chưa? Are you leaving now?
Ông đi bây giờ chưa? Are you leaving now, or not yet?

An 'com không? Shall [we] eat?

Các ông uống nước nữa 'thôi? [Will] you drink any more tea

["water"] or [are you] stopping?

Other cases of heavy stress single out the forms with which they occur for special attention.

Con 'chó đói đủ lão, con 'chó này thất cùng đủ nhu vây. (S)

That dog [emphasized as new topic] is very vicious; this dog [emphasized for comparison] is really just as vicious [emphasized for comparison].

Trời 'ít mua lão. Còn khi nào 'có mua, thì mua 'ít. It rains very rarely. And when it does rain, it rains just a few drops.

Ông ấy lại 'còn 'đượng ăn, khi tôi đến hời 'sau 'giờ. What's more, he was still eating when I arrived around six o'clock.

Occasionally heavy stress appears every few syllables; the result is a colorful, rather lively sentence.

'Nói phải 'có người nói di nói 'lại 'chó 'bắt 'người 'ta 'nói 'một 
mình 'hoài! (S) For a conversation you ought to have people talking back and forth, not make somebody talk alone all the time! ["speak ought exist person speak go speak come prohibit constrain someone (người ta) speak alone (một mình) continually"]
12.6. Emphatic Positions in the Sentence. Over and above the general framework of word order as described in Chapters 8-11, certain positions in the sentence are also more emphatic than others. Initial position commands first attention of the hearer or reader; final position has the advantages of leaving its content as the most recent impression of the audience, of reserving a conclusion until after a case is stated, or of conserving an element of surprise while the circumstances are built up. Although every sentence thus has two more or less emphatic elements—those which come first and last—it is most significantly in unusual sentences that this appears as a special emphatic device: with the limitations imposed by the general syntactic system, elements are sometimes found transposed from their usual place in the sentence to beginning or end position and thus command special attention.

12.61. Sentence Initial Position is very commonly occupied by a regular focal complement (10.2). Transposed elements appearing in this position are special focal complements, called emphatic topics (10.33).

Ngày xưa có ông Trang đi sứ Tàu. Once upon a time there was a scholar [who] went as representative to China. (regular focal complement)

Cái này tiếng Việt gọi chi? (S) What is this called in Vietnamese? (emphatic topic)

Di Sài-gòn, tôi đi mỗi tuần ba lần. As for going to Saigon, I go three times a ["each"] week. (emphatic topic)

12.62. Sentence Final Position usually is occupied by a predicate (9.1) or a descriptive complement to a predicate (9.62).

Nàng vì cảm động, không gì được nói thốn-thức, ôà:len khóc.

The girl, because she was deeply moved, was unable to withstand the disturbing emotion [and] burst into tears. (predicate)

Khi mặt trời đang bắt đầu khuất thì cả một vùng chăn trời và bộ chở do đó ơi như một đâm cháy không lò. When the sun was beginning to disappear, a whole area of the sky and sea at that point of the horizon was completely red, like a colossal fire. (descriptive complement to predicate do ơi)

Identificational predicates with là (9.7) quite often serve the function of placing an element in emphatic final position.

Chi còn một tuần-lê nữa là tàu đi. It's just one more week until the boat leaves.
Những người được chọn lựa là những người có địa vị trong xã hội, giàu có, làm con, nhất là có học thức và làm ăn may mắn.

People are chosen [who] are persons of [high] position in the society, wealthy, [blessed with] many children, especially [those with] knowledge and good jobs.

Marked restrictive clauses often appear simply transposed to final position (cf. 12.23); those marked by vì ‘because’ are most common.

Câu Thanh đến nhà vợ chưa cưới để giúp việc vì ngày mai là ngày ăn mừng nhà mới. Câu Thanh went to the house of [his] bride-to-be to help out because tomorrow was the day [they were to] celebrate the new household.

Lúc trông thấy mặt anh Trương-Tri, nàng công chúa đã thất vọng vì anh xấu quá. When [she] saw Trương-Tri’s face, the princess desp陋ed because he was very ugly.
CHAPTER 13

Style

13.1. Levels of Discourse. Three major factors affect the grossest stylistic choices of the Vietnamese speaker or writer: the relative formality of the situation in which he is speaking or writing; his status in direct relation to his audience and to other persons mentioned; and his attitude toward the persons addressed and discussed.

Situations may be roughly divided into three classes. Formal situations are those in which an individual is dealing with persons with whom he has only a limited (or perhaps no prior) acquaintance. They include also public ceremonies and large ritualistic gatherings. Familiar situations, on the other end of the scale, are those in which the speaker is intimately related to the other persons involved. Between these two extremes lies the realm of informal situations, involving persons who are fairly well acquainted, but not intimate. Since most general writing is directed to audiences consisting of unknown or little known people, published materials reflect a preponderantly formal approach. However, in narratives and especially in popular novels a more informal tone prevails. Letters between personal friends or intimates evoke informal or familiar situations. It is important to note that in sharp contrast to the general aspect of American social relationships, Vietnamese formal situations are far more common, and extend well down into circumstances to which the average American would react less formally. Familiar situations are nearly limited to relationships involving the extended family and a very few specially close friends.

Status in Viet Nam is reckoned in terms of age, sex and social position. Elders are venerated over younger persons; males enjoy more prestige than females. To some extent overriding these two other factors is the matter of the individual's standing in the community: there is a class hierarchy in which prestige is accorded persons of sociopolitical rank, intellectual achievement and wealth. Actually the majority of the status distinctions
are recognized within the family structure, and certain of the basic kin
terms (13.21) are extended to cover the majority of relationships outside
the family. Of all the factors, certainly the most important is relative age.

The attitude of the speaker or writer is generally polite, but on occasion
it is honorific or abrupt. With polite attitude appropriate forms are chosen
on the basis of formality and status (13.22). Honorific attitude, however,
is appropriate only for a highly formal situation; it involves mainly the use
of special status terms and particles (13.23). At the other extreme, abrupt
attitude indicates that the speaker specifically identifies himself as superior;
he makes use of pronominal forms which do not appear in polite speech
(13.24).

There is, of course, a good deal of difference between the levels of dis-
course involved in ordinary conversation (13.3) and the usual relatively
formal documents of the written language (13.4).

It is beyond the purpose of this volume to treat finer points of style.
However, there is one general tendency which needs discussion: there
seems to be an underlying favoring of disyllabic sequences, in both
spoken and written texts (13.5).

13.2. Address and Reference. It is especially in the forms of address
and reference of the basic spoken language that the levels of discourse
play an important role. In striking contrast to English and other European
languages, the category of person is nearly an optional one in Vietnamese:
little in the structure of the language itself forces the speaker to indicate
specifically whether he refers to himself, to his listener or to another per-
son. On the other hand, the status of the various persons involved must
nearly always be clearly stated. There is a good deal of talking in the third
person, making use of nouns and general categoricals denoting family
relationships, professions and the like, when actually the speaker may
refer to himself or to his hearer. This is not unlike the practice in many
American families of using third person forms (rather than I and you) with
small children—“Johnny can do it if he tries,” “Daddy has to go to work
now,” etc. But while this is “baby talk” in English, it is an integral part
of the normal system in Vietnamese. For example, consider the following
passage in which a young lady around twenty talks with her mother:

-Thưa mà, truyền giau-cau con nói
có dụng vă hay không, mà?

- Con nói đúng và hay làm, nhưng
tai sao con không nói các ich-loi
của giau-cau?

“Mother, is the story of betel
[chewing] I’ve told correct and well
[told]?

“You’ve told [it] correctly and well,
but why didn’t you talk [about] the
useful aspects of betel [chewing]?”
"Yes, I forgot all about [that] because I don’t chew betel. (I ask you to) tell about the useful aspects of betel for the two gentlemen to hear."

The fact of the matter is that in polite conversation the distinction between speaker, hearer and referent is unemphasized, but the social relationships involved are vital categories. Since the words which are used for address and reference to specific persons are kin terms within the family, and these terms are to a large extent extended to function with situations outside the family, it is essential to describe the kinship system in some detail (13.21). It will then be possible to describe the utilization of these terms outside the family, and discuss as additions or substitutions the other terms used for polite (13.22), honorific (13.23), and abrupt (13.24) reference. It is impossible, however, to cover fully here the more specialized usages of older literary texts.

13.21. The Kinship System reflects the patrilineal organization of the Vietnamese family. The extended family includes, beyond the persons immediately related to ego (father, mother, brothers, sisters, children), those persons who are related to him through males (father’s immediate relatives, father’s father’s immediate relatives, father’s brothers’ offspring, brothers’ offspring, grandsons’ offspring, sons’ offspring, etc). These persons are termed nội ‘inside.’ All other relatives are designated ngoại ‘outside’; they include all relatives through females—foremost, of course, are the members of the mother’s extended family, but the term refers as well to father’s sisters’ children, sisters’ children, and daughters’ and granddaughters’ offspring, and so on.

The system provides the most extensive set of differentiating terms for the members of the extended family. Besides the clear designation of the male lineal relatives the important distinctions represented are generation, relative age within generation, and sex for individuals regarded as older than ego. Specifically different from American kinship is the application of the same kin terms as those used for immediate relatives to collateral relatives of the same generation: for example, the father’s elder brother’s

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1 For discussions of various aspects of the kinship system, see Spencer 1945 and Benedict 1947. I am also grateful to H. Merrill Jackson for making available to me his unpublished study (Jackson 1960). As is the practice in discussions of kinship, the term “ego” is here used to refer to the person viewed as center of the system—the individual to whom various others are related in the ways described.

2 This includes some persons who may actually be younger than ego, but are related in such a way that the system treats them as older—e.g., father’s elder brother’s children.
children (ego's first cousins) are called anh ‘elder brother’ and chũ ‘elder sister’ just as ego's own elder siblings are. Similarly, his father's younger brother's children are called em ‘younger sibling’ (even though some of them may actually be chronologically older), just as his own younger brothers and sisters are. In a similar way, children of the grandparents' siblings are called by the same terms as the parents' siblings, and so on. In the descending generation, ego's nieces and nephews are called châu, basically the term for his grandchildren.

In the third ascending generation the nuclear term cụ ‘great-grandparent’ does not in itself distinguish sex. In the same way the nuclear terms for all relatives reckoned as younger than ego are single terms for both sexes: em ‘younger sibling’, con ‘child’, châu ‘grandchild’, chát ‘great-grandchild’, chít ‘great-great-grandchild’, chút ‘great-great-great-grandchild’.

In keeping with the patrilineal descent pattern, nuclear terms distinguish father's elder brother (bác) from his younger brother (chú), while the same term is used for father's elder and younger sisters (cô), for mother's elder and younger brothers (cậu) and for mother's elder and younger sisters (dì).

The most important terms in average family relationships are presented in tabular form below. Boldface items are nuclear terms and (in parentheses) descriptive complements used with them, where precision is desired (not, however, used in direct address). Where there are special terms for the spouses of the related persons, these are listed parenthetically in italics next to the basic nuclear term. Thus chũ dâu means the wife of anh, anh rể means the husband of chũ, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIBLINGS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Included are</td>
<td>parents' siblings' children and grandparents' siblings' grand-children, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder</td>
<td>anh (chũ dâu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger</td>
<td>em (trai) (em dâu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha, thây, bô, ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARENTS' SIBLINGS</strong></td>
<td>Included are grandparents' siblings' children, and great-grandparents' siblings' grandchildren, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder</td>
<td>bác (bác gáí)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger</td>
<td>chú (thím)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cậu (mơ)</td>
<td>dì (dương)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me, me, má</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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GRANDPARENTS Included are grandparents' siblings, great-grandparents' siblings' children, etc.

Father's side  ông (nội)  bà (nội)
Mother's side  ông (ngoại)  bà (ngoại)  

GREAT-GRANDPARENTS  
cụ (ông), cô  cụ (bà)

CHILDREN  
con (trai)  (đau)  con (gái)  (rể)

GRANDCHILDREN Included are siblings' children, parents' siblings' grandchildren, etc.
cháu (trai)  (cháu đầu)  cháu (gái)  (cháu rể)

Some items need further comment. Of the terms for parents, cha and mẹ are the most widespread for reference; for direct address the other four terms are common (ba and má seem most frequently encountered). The word thày (basically 'master') is used for 'father' in many dialect areas, especially in the north. At the great-grandparent level the term cô refers specifically to the paternal grandfather's father—in other words, the great-grandfather in the direct male line; it is little used in ordinary conversation and in some dialects refers to an older ancestor. At the child level, although both đau 'daughter-in-law' and rể 'son-in-law' are used by themselves, they also commonly appear in referential use as complements to con 'child': con đau, con rể (same meanings as simple terms).

There are sets of opposing secondary terms which serve to clarify certain aspects left vague by the nuclear words. For the most part they occur only in referential use, not in direct use.

Trai—gái. Trai (N giai) 'male' and gái 'female' serve to distinguish the sex of relatives where the nuclear term leaves this unspecified. However, they are not used at the level of the grandparents' generation or above—there they are replaced by ông for males and bà for females (cf. cự ông great-grandfather, cự bà great-grandmother). Although basically the term báč designates the father's elder brother, in modern Vietnamese his wife is addressed by the same term, and the distinctive reference for her is commonly báč gái. On a few occasions where it is desirable to make clear that it is the uncle himself who is referred to, the expression báč trai (or giai) is utilized.

Nội—ngoại. The 'inside' family (nội)—immediate relatives and persons related to ego through males—is distinguished from all other relatives (ngoại 'outside'). The words appear most commonly to separate paternal grandparents (ông bà nội) from maternal grandparents (ông bà ngoại), and to separate ego's son's children (cháu nội) from his daughter's children (cháu ngoại).
Fig. 1. Some Important Relationships and their Terms
Ruốt—họ. A different opposition separated the members of ego's line of descent ancestors and descendants (ruột entrails; blood line)—from other blood relatives who are not in the direct line—collateral relatives (họ collateral extended family, clan). Thus anh ruột is one's own elder brother, while anh họ refers to cousins—the male children of the parents' elder siblings. Cháu ruột, however, refers to ego's nieces and nephews, while cháu họ specifies cousins' children. Grandchildren are specifically cháu nội or cháu ngoại (see above).

Rề—đâu. These terms are extended from their basic meanings to serve as complements covering the spouses of blood relatives. Rề 'son-in-law' then means 'connected by marriage to female relative' andحذر 'daughter-in-law' means 'connected by marriage to male relative.' They are even added on occasion to terms like thím, mẹ, dượng, which already refer specifically to affinal relatives: thím dâu father's younger brother's wife, mẹ dâu mother's brother's wife, dượng rề husband of parent's sister. In some areas the wife of father's elder brother (bác) is referred to precisely as bác dâu, although bác gái is more widespread. Relatives through one's own spouse, however, are handled in a different way. For the most part ego adopts the terms used by his or her spouse to designate various members of the family (see 13.22 below). There are the terms nhạc and gia which mean 'related through one's spouse', but they are used with terms which imply greater formality. So, for example, the father-in-law may be designated ông nhạc or ông gia, the mother-in-law bà nhạc or bà gia.

Fig. 1 shows the most common relationships to a male ego in a family tree kind of diagram.

There are a number of differences of usage in the southern dialect area. Here the term cô replaces the northern cự for 'great-grandparent' in general, and the specific terms are ông cô 'great-grandfather', bà cô 'great-grandmother' (cf. N cự ông, cự bà). Occasionally the next ascending generation is referred to: the general term is sọ 'great-great-grandparent', and again specific reference is accomplished by ông sọ, bà sọ. A different affectionate word for father is common: tìa, generally coupled with mà for mother. In the descending generations, the term chú (N great-great-great-grandchild) is lacking. (As a matter of fact, as is often the case with the more remote relationships, there is some confusion about the application of this term in the north: some sources cite it for 'great-great-grandchild', the final descending generation then cited as rather chú. For collateral relations, the term bà con is in use in the south: cousins, then, are distinguished from brothers and sisters by the expressions anh bà con, chị bà con, em bà con.
13.22. Polite Address and Reference. Within the extended family persons are called by nuclear kin terms (13.21) and are referred to by these same nuclear terms, sometimes with secondary complements. Certain basic items from this reservoir are extended to cover situations involving persons outside the family. For the latter purpose there are also a few additional (non-kin) terms.

Children and young people under twenty address their relatives by the appropriate nuclear term and call themselves by whatever kin term would be appropriate for the relative in question to use with them. Thus a child addressing his father calls himself con and his father cha (or one of the affectionate substitutes); speaking to his father’s elder brother he calls himself châu and his uncle bác. Reciprocally, adult members of the family return these appellations in kind: the father calls his son con, himself cha (or a substitute); the elder brother of the father calls the boy châu, himself bác. However, young people on more or less even footing use the appropriate kin term for the hearer or referent, but use the pronoun tôi ‘I’ to refer to themselves. Adults over twenty extend this use of tôi for designating themselves to most situations, but use kin terms for addressing others or referring to them. In the case of adults, the use of the appropriate kin term to designate oneself when talking with other adults connotes special humility or obsequiousness (if it is a younger person addressing an elder), or rather great formality, severity or arrogance (if it is an older person addressing a younger one).

A husband fits himself into the family pattern of his wife, adopting roughly the position of her elder brother. He then calls people in her family by the same terms that her elder brother uses. It is a special feature that she not only calls him anh but refers to herself as em when talking with him. (The pronoun mình is also used reciprocally by husband and wife in direct address.) He calls her elder brother anh, and is called em by that person, regardless of their relative ages.

In some families cậu and dì are used only for the younger brothers and sisters of the mother, and the term bắc is extended to her elder siblings as a special courtesy.

Outside the extended family polite usage maintains tôi for the first person, but makes use of certain kin terms for addressing or referring to others. These terms almost invariably involve an exaggeration of the relative age and status of the hearer or referent. The degree of exaggeration depends upon how well the persons talking know one another. The system is most economically described from the point of view of rather formal acquaintances—that is, persons who either have just met one another or have known each other only in formal circumstances (although perhaps
over a long period of time). In such cases the following uses are standard (from the point of view of a speaker over twenty):

- **cụ** for persons of advanced age, roughly the age of one’s own grandparents or older
- **ông** for all men twenty and older unless they merit **cụ**
- **bà** for all married women and for women the same age as the speaker or older, unless they merit **cụ**
- **cô** for unmarried girls and women from about ten years old, unless they merit **bà** or **cụ**
- **anh** for boys roughly over twelve and under twenty
- **em** for younger children

In situations where social class is clearly defined, persons of lower social class are generally called **anh** (for males) and **chị** (for females). In modern Viet Nam this cleavage is most obvious between the aristocracy, professional families, landowners and business executives on the one hand, and laborers and servants on the other. Even here age plays a great part: an elderly person of laborer class is most often politely addressed as **ông** or **bà**.

As a person comes to know people better reductions take place, but for the most part some exaggeration remains. Age persists as the most telling point. Persons older than the speaker often come to be called **ông** or **bà**, rather than **cụ**. But the movement from **ông**, **bà** and **cô** to **anh** and **chị** implies a great deal closer acquaintance, often a certain amount of intimacy. Only in one case is there a reduction to **em**: a man paying court to a young lady may likely begin with **cô** when they are first introduced, change to **chị** as they grow to know one another better, and then finally call her **em** when they become sweethearts. (Note that this is what he will call her as his wife if they are subsequently married. In arranged betrothals the engaged couple generally call one another **anh** and **em**, just as they will when they are married.)

A few other kin terms are used for special relationships. **Cậu** is very common in northern Viet Nam for designating the male younger of a person of higher social standing (rather than **em** or **anh** and more or less parallel to **cô** for girls). (In the south **cậu** in this sense is generally replaced by the word **thầy** ‘master’, which in other dialect areas is used for the father; see 13.21 above.) In a very different situation, **cậu** is used to designate a male friend of the family, much in the way that ‘uncles’ are often appointed in American culture. For somewhat more formal special relations, **bác** is sometimes used (for both males and females), connoting a responsible influence just outside the family with a good deal of concern for its welfare; and **chú** (for males) connoting a less responsible, but perhaps more friendly outsider.
For the most part older adults with educated backgrounds retain the
humility of their earlier years. They tend to address younger adults using
ông, bà and cô, just as they did when they were twenty or thirty.

A number of terms denoting professional status are used in address, as
well as in reference. Bác-si ‘doctor’ and giáo-su ‘teacher, professor’
(both general categirals) are quite common, for example. (In some parts
of the country, the colloquial equivalents of these rather learned terms are
in use among the general populace: thầy thuốc ‘medicine master’ for
doctors; thầy giáo ‘teaching master’ for teachers.) However, the extended
use of titles for persons other than doctors and teachers smacks rather of
honorific usage (13.23), and in ordinary circumstances may give a notion
of pomposity.  

The general categorical bạn ‘friend’ is extremely common, especially
to refer to a male acquaintance or colleague with whom one is not on
intimate terms. (More intimate friends are called anh, chi.)

The general categirals chàng ‘young man’ and nàng ‘young woman’
(designating persons roughly between the ages of eighteen and thirty) be-
long primarily to the written language or somewhat old-fashioned usage.
They are extremely common as forms of address and reference in written
texts.

The only personal pronouns (10.43) appearing in polite usage are tôi
‘I’, ta (perhaps somewhat superior, now seldom used except in the meaning
‘you and I’), and mình. This last form has a rather wide variety of dis-
parate uses (see also 10.43 end); it appears as descriptive complement
referring reflexively to whatever actor is clear in the context (myself, your-
self, himself, herself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves, oneself). As
already noted above, it is also used by married couples to address one
another (‘you’). Further, it is used by women who are on intimate terms
with one another to mean ‘you and I’ or, on occasion, ‘you.’ The plural
forms of the pronouns involved are formed with chúng ‘group of animate
beings’ (10.42). This same form is used with kin terms which are used to
designate the speaker: chúng con we children, chúng cháu we grandchildren
(or we nephews and nieces). When, however, the kin term refers to another
person—either the person addressed or the person talked about—the plural
form has its regular plural marker cả: cả con (you) children, cả ông
(you) gentlemen, cả bà (you) ladies, etc.

The absolute pronoun người ta ‘one, we, they, someone, people in gen-
eral’ belongs to the realm of polite usage in reference to a vague sort of
third-person entity. There are also the familiar third person pronouns y

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3 Material is lacking to provide a description of the usage with persons of religious
orders.
and hǎn, of which the latter is on the verge of being abrupt. For examples, see 10.44. The collective chũng is also used by itself for reference to groups of people (10.42).

Beyond this, reference to persons and things is handled by means of the appropriate specific substantives (cf. 8.6).

The use of kin terms and titles with given names (3.52) is quite common, although more frequent in reference than in address. When used in direct address, this lends at the same time a note of increased formality and a touch of more personal concern.

Names are also used alone in address and reference. However, the use of the given name by itself implies great intimacy. In practice it occurs only among very close friends and family members. In some families given names are used reciprocally by members of the same generation to address one another; they are also often used by elders to address younger members of the family.

Children of some families are called by a number which designates their position in the order of births for that generation. (Details of the practice differ in different dialect areas. In the north the eldest child is called Cả ‘eldest’, the second Hải ‘two’, the third Bá, ‘three’, etc. In the south, however, the first child is called Hải, the second Bá, the third Tư, etc. It has been variously suggested that this reflects some superstition about designating the eldest as such, or that the designation cả always belongs to the father, never to any of the children.) In some families these are the only given names the children have; in others they provide familiar alternates. In some parts of the country it is common practice to call servants by such number-names, together with anh or chỉ. Otherwise, however, the use seems more or less limited to children, and the connotation is as familiar and intimate as that of personal names. (Of course, where these numbers actually serve their owners as names, adults are addressed ông Hải, cô Bá, etc., just as with other personal given names.)

Polite speech makes use of a number of other elements to convey respect for the hearer or referent. There are polite particles like đa (11.3) and a (11.4), as well as the vocative particles (11.63). There are also occasions where it is more polite to refer to the (potential or actual) action of a hearer by a euphemism. For example, the verb xơi replaces ăn ‘eat’ and uồng ‘drink’ in such situations:

Mỗi ông xơi cơm.—Cảm ơn ông. Tôi ăn cơm rồi. Have something to eat.—Thank you, I’ve already eaten.

In many circumstances persons who normally address and refer to one another in a familiar way use much more formal terms in order to create an atmosphere of courtesy for other persons present who are not as well
acquainted. It is similar to an American woman’s referring to or addressing her husband as Dr. Jones and his calling her Mrs. Jones—speaking from the point of view of the outsider. However, this principle is much more common in Vietnamese. Specifically, for example, a parent will call his own children cháu in the presence of adult visitors, on the basis that his children should address the visitors with appropriate terms chosen from those designating uncles and aunts, and would be called cháu (i.e., ‘niece’ or ‘nephew’) by the visitors. If, on the other hand, the outsider is of his children’s own age group, he then designates his children as em (younger sibling), suggesting that the visitor has the status of an elder brother or sister. At the same time, the American parallel cited above is somewhat unfortunate: it would generally seem haughty in a Vietnamese situation for a host to refer to his wife by the term the guests would probably use for her (i.e., usually bà). In such cases a Vietnamese often refers to his or her spouse as nhà tôi, even as he (or she) does in less formal circumstances.

13.23. Honorific Address and Reference is structurally similar to polite usage (13.22), but the kin terms are replaced by special words which connote still greater respect. The most common of these are Ngài, Người, used to address high ranking officials (for example, ministers of cabinet rank). As mentioned in the preceding section, the use of bác sĩ ‘doctor’ and giáo sư ‘teacher’ is similar, and perhaps belongs here rather than under polite usage. The term cô, which as a kin term designates the paternal grandfather’s father, is used as an honorific term for Catholic missionaries, especially those of high rank or an earlier historical period (e.g., Cô Alexandre de Rhodes).

In replying to a person who has addressed him as Ngài, an official today generally uses the polite ông, bà or cô commensurate with the person’s status. However, there is a form người which such persons sometimes use in addressing their inferiors.

The vocative particle băm is suggestive of honorific usage, although it is often used with ông or bà.

In the days of the Vietnamese kingdoms and empires there were a number of special terms used only in conversation with the king or emperor. For example, the monarch used Trầm to designate himself, and was addressed or referred to as Hoàng-thương ‘Sire, His Majesty’, Diện-ha, Bệ-ha ‘Sire’, Hoàng-dế, Thánh-hoàng, Thánh-thương (various forms meaning ‘emperor’), etc., while a person of lower rank was designated thần ‘subject [of a king]’ (cf. tôi, which also seems originally to have meant ‘subject of the king’). There were also special verbs (similar to the polite verbs mentioned in
13.22) in use to refer to actions of royalty—for example, nghị ‘be on the throne’ used to cover meanings such as ‘sit, go, stay.’ Lesser personalities also merited special forms: such words as chủa ‘lord, prince’ and quan ‘mandarin, official’ were used with appropriate modifiers (e.g., Ông Chủa, Bà Chủa, Ông Quan, Quản lơn) in direct address. The noun đức ‘virtue’ served as a kind of honorific prefix (Đức Ông, Đúc Bà, etc.).

The honorific forms in general seem to be going out of use in the modern language. There is a clear tendency in the direction of formal polite address. (Note that the same leveling is also eliminating abrupt forms; see 13.24).

13.24. **Abrupt Address and Reference** are important to understand, although the system is breaking down in the modern language and these forms are little used. In the main abrupt address forms today are limited to situations in which a person is talking to animals or small children; in any other contexts it constitutes extremely arrogant behavior or suggests limited education and rude upbringing. The reference forms are less offensive and continue to be used, especially for persons who are rather removed in one way or another—they are not known personally to the speaker or hearer, or they are not present and the speaker feels no particular constraint to demonstrate respect in their absence. The tone is impersonal or slightly superior. The address forms are primarily conversational and, as might be guessed from their force, appear in written passages only where the author reports the speech of a person of this category.

It is only in abrupt usage that the distinction between the second person—the individual(s) addressed—and the third person—the individual(s) spoken about—is clearly designated in formal terms. These forms are personal pronouns (10.43), like tôi and ta (which belong to polite usage), and they distinguish all three persons. Since there is a difference in force between the address forms (first and second persons) and reference forms (third person), it is convenient to discuss them separately.

**Address forms** include the first person tao ‘I’, and the second person forms mày (or may) ‘you [singular]’ and bay (or bày) ‘you [plural].’ All forms occur with a preceding chúng ‘group of animate beings’: chúng tao ‘we [exclusive]’, chúng mày, chúng bay ‘you [plural]’. The lack of an inclusive first person plural form (you and I) is not surprising since elevation of the self and scorn for the hearer are not easily linked as an inclusive concept (see also 10.43, ta). Evidence from written texts indicates that these abrupt forms were formerly less arrogant, presumably reflecting less self-consciousness about the disparity in social relationships. Note that logically enough the use of one of the ordinary polite general categor-
icals to refer to oneself in most instances produces an arrogant speech. While it is perfectly polite for a grandfather to call himself ông in addressing his five-year-old grandson, the same person would seldom if ever use ông for himself while speaking to any adult, including his grown grandson. It is an interesting grammatical feature, however, that when such forms are used for designating the speaker himself, the corresponding plural form has chúng (10.42, 13.22).

Reference forms include the personal pronoun nó ‘he, she, it, him, her’ (10.43), which is scarcely more abrupt than hắn (10.44, 13.22); the general categorical họ ‘they, them’; and certain classifiers, like dúvida (for children or persons of low social status) and thằng (for boys and for older males meriting some contempt).

The distinction between abrupt and polite speech is obviously not a clear one; it is especially vague in reference forms. It appears that in the modern language, at the same time there is a tendency to use fewer abrupt forms in direct address, there is perhaps identifiable the contrary drift in the case of third person reference. In general however, it seems that the category of abrupt speech, with what earlier was a fairly extensive formal system, is becoming a less and less significant part of the language structure, just as honorific speech is on the opposing side of the social ledger (13.23).

13.25. Distinctions between Address and Reference are seldom formal; which is involved is usually clear in the context. It can be generalized, however, that the demonstrative marker ấy quite often serves primarily to make clear that third person reference (and not second person address) is intended. Still clearer is the use of anaphorics (7.3) in southern and south central dialects. Nevertheless there are many cases where the forms described in the foregoing sections appear without any formal signal that they refer to a person other than the hearer or reader.

Nguyễn Công-trú vốn thích chơi bài nên không dễ trị gì đến sách-dên. Trước còn học-hành ít chút, sau mê cờ-bạc thì bỏ hận việc học. Ông ham-mê quá đánh thua hết cả tiền, ông Trú liền bán cả cể hàng. Một hôm ông không còn gì bán nữa, ông làm văn-tu bị bán vo cho người Tậu chủ sóng-bạc. Nguyễn Công-Trú was at heart a lover of the carefree life, so did not concentrate on [his] studies. At first [he] still studied a little, [but] later [he] became empassioned of gambling and renounced studies completely. He was so addicted that [he] gambled away all his money; Mr. Trú then promptly sold [his] shop as well. One day he had nothing left to sell, [so] he made a contract to sell [his] wife to a Chinese [who was] proprietor of the gambling house.

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In this passage the variety of usage can be seen. At times where a pronoun is required in the corresponding English rendition there is no referent whatever (e.g., second sentence). The most specific reference appears at the very beginning, where the full name is cited. In the third sentence ông appears in the first part, and this same form is used twice in the final sentence. The use of the given name Trú with ông in the second part of the third sentence lends a subtle kind of emphasis—only Mr. Trú would behave in this way.

The form ta (in a use similar to that of ấy) is common in narrative passages. It is presumably the pronoun meaning ‘you and I’ and it lends a connotation of pleasant relationship between story-teller and audience not unlike that found in the earlier English use of our in forms like our hero, our man, etc.

Ngày hôm sau dân chim lại đến ăn, người chồng đưa cái túi ra thì dân chim bao nhầm mặt lại rọi hoa-phép cổng anh ta bay đi nhanh lắm. Đến một quả núi giữa bể, chim hạ cảnh xuống và anh ta mở mắt ra thì thấy toàn là vàng bạc, châu-báu. Anh ta lấy đầy túi rỗi lại cười lên mình chim mà về. The next day the flock of birds returned to eat; the husband brought the pouch out and the flock of birds told [him] to close [his] eyes, then performed a miracle [and] carried him on [their] backs, flying away very fast. Arriving at a mountain in the midst of the sea, the birds alighted and he opened [his] eyes and saw [that] everywhere was gold and silver, [and] precious pearls. He filled the pouch, then again mounted astride the body [of one of the] birds to return home.

13.3. Conversational Style is characterized by relatively short sentences, a predominance of clauses consisting of predicates alone, frequent repetition of elements from the immediately preceding context as emphatic tie-ins with what follows, and a liberal sprinkling of particles which maintain the formal or informal tone of the situation. Generally it is also rich with particles which convey hints about the speakers' attitudes and emotional responses. The sequential construction (9.66) is especially common, filling many of the uses which in a corresponding English equivalent would involve some sort of subordinate clause. Focal complements are common enough in ordinary conversation, but those here termed topics (10.31), which often resemble the subjects of corresponding English clauses, are certainly far less frequent than in English. While the sentences are characteristically short, it is important to note that absolute minimal sentences (consisting, for example, of a single verb alone) are unusual. This stems partly from a speaker's usual desire to convey some kind of attitude he has about things, partly from the notion that a somewhat longer utterance is more polite. The tendency to avoid monosyllabic entities (13.5) also plays a part here.
This is properly the style of ordinary everyday conversation. It is also used in most informal correspondence—personal letters, diaries, etc.—and even in some very chatty types of prose.

13.31. Opening Utterances in conversations are very apt to begin with the initial particle à (11.3). In fact this is on occasion the entire utterance, followed by an utterance on the part of the person thus addressed. On other occasions it is the whole of the first sentence, then followed by one or more longer sentences. More usually it forms the first immediate constituent of a longer sentence. This is, of course, the defining frame for independent sentences (5.41), and such sentences regularly contain a predication (9.1). Opening utterances not beginning with à are very apt to start with a polite vocative or to be some kind of polite formula.

Xin lỗi ông. I beg your pardon. (said to a man)
Thưa cụ, cụ là người Việt, phải không? Sir, you’re a Vietnamese, aren’t you? (said to an old man)

13.32. Questions are posed by means of sustaining intonation (5.34), sometimes by itself, but more often in combination with indefinite words (14.2), certain final particles with questioning content (11.4), or alternative phrases (9.67). Sometimes questions are accompanied by fading (5.33) or increasing intonation (5.32), and in these cases are discerned as such largely by context.

Those involving the alternative construction have been called choice questions (9.67). They often (but not always) correspond to what are sometimes called yes-or-no answer questions in English. The most common of these have a negative as the second alternative, so that the effect of the choice is ‘...or not?’ or ‘...or not yet?’ etc. However, there are a few other words which appear in this position, and there are also choice questions making use of the particle hay ‘or.’

Mai anh đi xem hát không? Are you going to the play tomorrow?
An cóm chua? Have [you] eaten yet?
Ông uống nước nữa thôi? Are you going to drink any more tea?
(servant preparing to take away the teapot) [“gentleman drink liquid in-addition stop?”]
Ông ở đây lâu mau? (S) will you be here long?
Quyền sách mà anh tìm xanh hay nâu? Is the book you’re looking for green or brown?

There are three special purpose formulas used in connection with choice questions. The có...không? formula, in which the predicate is preceded by the auxiliary có, is much the most common way of asking a simple
choice question with the negative không. (Such questions also occur with chua, but they are hardly the rule.) Without this device (that is, without có preceding the predicate) a question seems to have some connotation of expecting an affirmative reply, while with the formula the speaker signals no suspicion of the answer. The có phải...không? formula, in which the predicate (or the whole predication) is preceded by có phải, is used to ask this type of question with a substantival or identificational predicate. The ...phải không? formula simply asks for confirmation (equivalent of the French n’est-ce pas? or the English ...isn’t it? ...don’t you? and the like).

Ông có biết nói tiếng Tây không? Do you (know how to) speak French?

Thưa cụ, người thông-thạo pháp-luat cụ vừa nói có phải là trang-su không? [Sir] is the person experienced with [matters of] law you just mentioned a lawyer?

Có phải bây giờ là mùa cuối không? Is now the season for marriages?

Cụ là người Việt, phải không? You’re a Vietnamese, aren’t you?
Ai đây, tiếng ai nghe như tiếng cô Hồng phải không? Who’s there? Someone’s voice sounds like cô Hồng’s—am I right?

Final questioning particles for the most part ask for confirmation or agreement. Sentences containing them are actually marginal as questions.

Không đi ạ? Oh, you’re not going?
Chúng ta đi bây giờ nhé? Shall we go now?

Questions signalled by sustaining intonation alone are rare. For the most part they indicate uncertainty on the part of the speaker that he understands something correctly.

Ông hỏi tôi? Are you asking me?
Anh muốn đi bây giờ? You want to go now?

All other questions involve the use of some indefinite word (14.2) at its appropriate position in the sentence. They may conveniently be labeled information questions. (Indefinite words appear in boldface in the following examples.)

Bây giờ mấy giờ? What time is it?
Anh đi đâu về? Where have you been?
Ai nói bây giờ? Who’s going to talk now?
Ông muốn hỏi về chuyện gì? What do you want to ask about?
Khi nào ông định lên Đà-lạt? When have you decided to go up to Dalat?
Tai sao ông Nam không đến? Why didn’t Mr. Nam come?
13.33. **Responsive Utterances** are far more varied than opening utterances, and they frequently involve fragments (12.4). In formal situations there occur short answers to questions about which certain generalizations can be made. Negative answers to choice questions (9.67, 13.32) frequently consist merely of the appropriate negative (9.4)—the one used or implied in the stimulus. Most common are **không** ‘not’ and **chua** ‘not yet.’ Prohibitives do not appear in this use.

**Ông mua cái này không?—Không.** Do you [want to] buy this?—No. **An cóm chua?—Chua.** Have [you] eaten yet?—No.

Affirmative answers to choice questions frequently make use of the auxiliary **có** (9.54) alone to stand for the main verb. This usage is nearly obligatory in response to a question which uses the formula **Có...không?** (13.32). However, in answer to questions making use of the special formula **Có phải...không?** the appropriate affirmative short answer is **phải** rather than **có.** Questions having with the main verb a complement which is also a verbal (9.5) prompt short answers consisting of this modifying word (except for questions where the **có...không?** formula is used, to which the short reply **có** is more usual).

**Ông mua cái này không—Có.** Do you [want to] buy this?—Yes. **An cóm chua?—Có.** (or **Có rói.**) Have [you] eaten yet?—Yes. **Ông có hiểu câu này không?—Có.** Do you understand this sentence?—Yes.

**Có phải ông ấy là người Việt-nam không?—Phải.** Is that man a Vietnamese?—Yes. **Anh còn ở Đà-lạt không?—Còn.** Do you still live in Dalat?—Yes. **Làm rôi à?—Rôi.** [You’ve] already done it, eh?—Yes. **Di được không?—Được.** Can [one] go?—Yes. **Ông ấy có đi được không?—Có.** (or **Được.)** Can he go?—Yes. Questions involving a sequential phrase with two main verbs invite the simple affirmative answer **có.**

**Anh đi chợ mua rau không?—Có.** Are you going to market to buy vegetables?—Yes. **Anh muốn lấy quyển sách này không?—Có.** Do you want to take this book?—Yes.

Other complements are frequently added to short responses, either to make them more polite (13.31) or to add some special flavor or emphatic notion.

**Ãn được không?—Được làm.** Can [you] eat it? (e.g., said by polite host to guest)—[It’s] very good! (postpositive particle added)
13.33—13.5

Tôi nghe nói là người ấy có tiền nhiều.—Niềiu quá! I've heard that that fellow has a lot of money.—An awful lot. (comparative added)

Làm được không?—Được chó. (S) Can [it] be done?—Of course! (final particle added)

Short answers to information questions (13.32) are generally of types other than predicative fragments. They supply the information requested without restating the predication.

Cái này bao nhiêu tiền?—Sáu muỗi làm đồng. How much does this cost?—Sixty-five piastres. (substantival fragment)

Ai nói bây giờ?—Tôi. Who's going to talk now?—I [am]. (focal fragment)

Chỉ ấy nói với ai?—Với bạn. Who's she talking with?—With a friend. (particular fragment)

Some questions, however, invite a clausal fragment.

Tại sao ông Nam không đến?—Vì ốm. Why didn't Mr. Nam come?—Because [he's] sick.

13.4. Learned Style differs from conversational style (13.3) primarily in greater complexity of sentence structure and especially in the use of a special vocabulary, nearly wholly of Chinese origin (to a large extent pseudo-compounds, 6.3). At the same time, compounds (6.2) and specializing and emphatic derivatives (7.4, 7.5) are more common than in conversational usage. Several constructions are more frequent: focal complements of the topic type (10.31) (similar to clause subjects in English), logical passive expressions (9.64), descriptive clauses (12.22), restrictive clauses (12.23). By the same token, the characteristic sequential construction of the ordinary spoken language is less in evidence.

Learned style appears mainly in written texts of a formal nature—this includes most newspaper writing, as well as formal letters and both popular and more scholarly books. It is also evident in formal speeches and scholarly addresses which are delivered orally. As in other literatures there are gradations of formality, showing mainly in the percentage of (learned) Chinese loan words in the text. However, some modern writers make extensive use of everyday conversational style.

13.5. Tendency toward Dissyllabic Forms. In many circumstances where it would seem to a foreigner that a monosyllabic form would convey the desired meaning, the Vietnamese speaker insists on a two-syllable expression of some sort—a phrase, compound, pseudo-compound or derivative. This is especially noticeable in the kind of short responses reported
in 13.33. Actually single-syllable responses are relatively rare; dissyllabic phrases are extremely common. For example, in response to the question *Di được không? ‘Is it possible to go? (Can one go?)’ the mono-syllabic affirmative answer *Được is perfectly possible. However, one is much more apt to hear any one of the following disyllabic answers.

Đã được. Yes.
Được chờ. (S) Of course.
Được làm. Very much so.
Được rồi. Already possible.

In other cases embedded in longer sentences, examples of the tendency are harder to detect. It seems particularly compelling at the ends of clauses, especially those in sentence final position. For example one informant rejected as unnatural *Chỉ ấy rửa cái nhà sạch. She washed the house clean. He offered the following substitutes for it:

Chỉ ấy rửa sạch nhà. She washed the house clean.
Chỉ ấy rửa cái nhà sạch-sạch. She washed the house clean.
Chỉ ấy rửa cái nhà sạch làm. She washed the house very clean.
Chỉ ấy rửa cái nhà rất sạch. She washed the house very clean.
Chỉ ấy rửa cái nhà sạch-nhá. She washed the house very clean.
Chỉ ấy rửa cái nhà sạch trơn. She made the house slickly clean.

The tendency is probably more active in learned style than in conversational usage. In any case, it appears to merit some careful consideration and study to determine in what kinds of circumstances it operates.
14.1. Introductory. Although not strictly matters of grammar as it is usually construed, a number of problems involving the use of words in particular semantic categories are of special concern to students learning Vietnamese. The language's structuring of human experience is understandably different from that of other languages, especially those of western Europe. In this chapter are covered a number of cases in which the representation of the universe seems of quite different organization from that implied by the corresponding English expressions.

14.2. Indefinite Words constitute a small semantic class characterized by their denial of specific reference to any particular entities or concepts. They are of extremely high frequency and are clear essentials for most questions (13.32) and many negative statements (14.3). They belong to several different word classes, providing one or more generalizing indefinite forms for each.

Four indefinites are morphologically related: they are demonstratives (7.2), with the element -ao/-âu ‘unspecified.’ They include the demonstrative marker nào ‘whichever’ (8.5), the locational focus dâu ‘wherever’ (10.46), the manner focus sao ‘however’ (10.45), and the noncontained postpositive particle bao ‘to whatever extent’ (11.82). Three others are indefinite nouns (8.65): ai ‘whoever’, chi ‘whatever’ (polite), gi ‘whatever’ (informal). Finally, there is the indefinite number mãi ‘however many (generally fewer than ten)’ (8.42). The poetic word nao ‘which(ever)’ and the local form in Huế popular speech mô ‘which(ever), where(ever)’ also belong to this class; examples of these are to be found in 7.23.

The following examples are provided primarily to highlight the elusive force which indefinites sometimes have.
Có nói sao, phải làm vậy. However [you] say [you do], [you] should act that way. (I.e., Practice what you preach.)

Dù ai buồn đâu bán đâu, Mồng 10 tháng 8 chơi trả thỉ về. Wherever anyone may be doing business, he always returns for the buffalo fight on August 10th.

Phải cửa trời cho thì dẫu nào lấy được. [If it’s] really given by heaven, then whoever could take it [away]! (negative implication without a negative in the sentence)

Ông đi Sài-gòn làm chi. (S) There’s no point in your going to Saigon. (with fading intonation)

Ô Đà-lạt nhưng ai trồng rau dẹu trong làm. (S) At Dalat those who plant [i.e., grow] vegetables are all prosperous.

Gi có cánh dẹu bay được. (S) Whatever has wings can fly.

Ô gian chờ có mấy người dùng nói chuyện. Near the market there were a few people standing talking.

Certain of these words (notably ai, gi, and đâu) are common with negative emphatic force. They often accompany ironic emphatics (7.62) in the southern dialects.

Tôi mắc công việc nhiều quá, rõi-riêc gi mà đi chơi. (S) I’m terribly busy with many things, never have time to go out for a good time.

Biết gì đâu! [Doesn’t] know a thing!

Dùng nói lãng-nhằng nữa, ai mà tin được! Don’t tell any more fantasies, [there’s] no one that can believe [them].

With the prepositional particle cùng ‘likewise’ and the auxiliary dẹu ‘be equal; equally, as well’ indefinite words convey the notion of totality, or of general inclusiveness.

Ai cùng biết truyện ấy. Everyone knows that story.

Tôi ăn gì cùng được. I can eat anything.

Mấy người trong nhà này dẹu điền-dài. Everyone in this house is crazy.

Làm sao cùng được hết. Any way at all is fine.

Truyện nào của tác giả ấy dẹu hay lắm. All of that author’s stories are very good.

Di đâu cùng vậy. Wherever [you] go it’s the same.

In some sentences both cùng and dẹu occur, with the former a preceding complement.

Chiều ấy người nào cùng dẹu vui-vẻ. That afternoon everyone was having an (equally) good time.
Most typically, however, indefinites appear in interrogative (13.32) and negative (14.3) sentences, in which they take on the force of question or denial words. Extensive examples of these uses are to be found in the sections referred to.

There seem to be a number of gaps in the semantic range covered by indefinites. Actually they are filled by phrases containing one or another of these forms. A list of the most common follows.

- **bao giờ** whenever
- **bao lâu** however long [in time]
- **bao nhiêu** however much, many
- **chừng nào** whenever; however much
- **hỏi nào** whenever, at whatever moment [generally in the past]
- **khi nào** whenever, on whatever occasion
- **lúc nào** whenever, during whatever period
- **cách nào** however, by whatever means
- **thế nào** however, in whatever fashion
- **tại sao** for whatever reason, why
- **vì sao** for whatever cause, why

### 14.3. Negation

Negation is accomplished primarily by means of the negatives (9.4), although indefinite words sometimes have negative force (14.2). The negation of verbal predicates (14.31) may be taken as standard. Negatives are also used with non-predicates on occasion (14.32). Certain complications arise in the negation of non-verbal predicates (14.33).


Overwhelmingly the most common negative sentences involve **không** ‘not’ or **chua** ‘not yet’ placed directly before the verbal serving as predicate center. Less frequent is **chẳng** ‘definitely not’, which is stronger than **không** and has something of a literary flavor. The usual prohibitive is **dưng** ‘don’t’, less common than the others by virtue of the fact that prohibitions are less often called for than factual negations. (For examples see 9.4.)

The fact that the negative goes with the predicate center sometimes reveals that what appears to be a single affirmative sentence actually has two analyses with different predicate centers. Compare the following sentences:

- **Tôi đi được.** I can go.
- **Tôi đi **không** được.** I can’t go (I’m ill, have no transportation, am physically unable, etc.)
- **Tôi **không** đi được.** I can’t go. (I have other things to do, another engagement, too much work, etc.)

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The simple affirmative sentence incorporates the opposing ideas of both negative sentences. In the first negative sentence, however, the center is duốc, the extended state verb meaning ‘become a reality, be physically possible’, in the second di ‘go’ is the center, and duốc is a postpositive particle meaning ‘successfully, with a good result’ (cf. duốc 2 and 3, Appendix A). The affirmative sentence corresponding to the first negative sentence should then be analyzed as containing the center duốc: that corresponding to the second as containing the center di.

14.32. Negation of Non-Predicates. Negatives also appear as restrictive complements to heads which are not predicatives; the result in these cases is a denial of the concept denoted by the head. (The heads are generally substantives or substantival phrases, but some focuses also occur.)

Không ai thấy con phèn ở đâu. No one [had] seen where the brown [dog] was.

Tôi không bao giờ quên. I’ll never forget.

Anh Bình là một người không tiến. Bình is a fellow without money.

Không sao. It doesn’t matter.

Chẳng chè chẳng chén sao say, / Chẳng thuong, chẳng nhớ sao hay đi tìm? No drink, no cup, how [can one] be drunk?/ [If you] don’t love, don’t recall nostalgically, why so often [do you] go looking [for someone]_ noth---Folk saying

In the folk verse which serves as last example, the negative chẳng appears with verbs thuong ‘like, love’ and nhớ ‘remember, recall nostalgically’ in the second line; but in the first line it negates chè (‘tea’, euphemistic for alcohol) and chén ‘cup [in which tea and alcohol are served]’. Chè-chén ‘drinking’ is generalizing compound (6.22), appearing here in interlocking order (6.4) with chẳng.

These phrases do not constitute regular predicates, although they sometimes appear (like the fourth example above) as minor sentences.

14.33. Negation of Non-Verbal Predicates. Substantival and identificational predicates (9.1) are not generally negated directly. Instead the verb phải ‘be true, be the case [that]’ is supplied, and the negative appears as restrictive complement to it.

Cái này của tôi. This belongs to me. (Cả ‘possession, belonging’ is a general categorical, 8.62.)

Cái này không phải của tôi. This doesn’t belong to me.

Ông ấy là lính. He’s a soldier. (Identificational marker là)
14.33—14.41

Ông ấy không phải là lính. He’s not a soldier.
Tiếng pháo哔哔 không phải là đề đề Trời, Phật hay lẽ tổ tiên mà là tiếng pháo mừng tuổi các người còn sống. The sound of fire-crackers now is not for the purpose of performing a sacrifice to Heaven or Buddha or to honor the ancestors but is (a sound of firecrackers) to wish Happy New Year to the people still living.

On rare occasions a substantival predicate appears negated by a negative directly (the circumstances of its occurrence require recognition of a major sentence [12.3] rather than a substantival fragment [12.43]). It is perhaps significant that the only examples found involve chua rather than không.

Chưa ba giờ. [It’s] not three o’clock yet.

14.4. Spatial Elements involve certain complications which seem unexpected from the point of view of the English speaker. They concern the ways of stating position (14.41), direction to and from which an entity is moving (14.42), and changes of position or direction (14.43).

14.41. Positional Expressions most commonly make use of the general positional verb ở ‘be located’. Its descriptive complement specifies the location.

Anh ở đâu? Where are you?
Ông chủ ở nhà. The boss is at home.
Ngày xưa ở Việt-nam việc hôn-nhân là do ở bố mẹ kén chọn cho con cái. In the olden days in Viet Nam for a marriage the responsibility rested with the father and mother to choose for [their] daughter. (Note that the second ở has a meaning of figurative position—relating to responsibility.)

To clarify relative position, the complement of ở is often one of the relator nouns (8.63), the most common of which are listed here:
- dưới the under or lower part, bottom, foot, base
- giữa the middle, part between
- ngoài the outside, exterior
- sau the back part, rear
- trên the top or higher part
- trong the inside, interior
- trước the front

These words are very often followed by another substantive as descriptive complement, clarifying with relation to what the position is described as under, middle, outside, etc. In translation to western languages the normal colloquial result is a prepositional phrase; for this reason these words (with or without ở) have been called prepositions.
14.41—14.42

Khi ngóanû laî thi con phên cúa tôi đa biên mặt trong dâm có duôi triêng nuì. When I looked back my brown [dog] had vanished in a clump of grass at the bottom of the mountain slope.

Cái bút ở trên bàn. The pen is on the table.

Nhieu khi tôi thích ăn ở ngoai. Often I prefer to eat out.

Gần nhà có hai cây to, một cây ở trước, một cây ở sau. There were two big trees near the house, one in front, one in back.

These relator nouns also occur as complements to other verbs, sometimes to those denoting motion or change of position, but the reference of the relator noun remains that of relative position.

Choc núa một đôi người qua đi chỗ, chồng đi trước, vợ đi sau. In a short while a couple came by on their way to market the husband going first, the wife behind.

There are also some extended state verbs (9.55) which appear as complements to ở denoting position. The two most common are exemplified here.

gán be near: Nhà tôi ở gần đây. My house is near here.

xa be far: Khi ở xa nhà thì nhớ nhà làm. When [one] is far from home, [one] misses home a lot.

There are a few common verbs which denote static position of a very specific nature:


ngồi sit: Cả ngày người ấy ngồi nghĩ-ngồi. The whole day the fellow sat thinking.

nằm lie: Bạn tôi nằm nhà thường. A friend of mine is (lying) in the hospital.

14.42. Directional Expressions make use of verbs which indicate motion and their descriptive complements specify the goals involved. The most common verb of all is đi ‘go’, but there are also many specifically directional words such as xuống ‘go down’, ra ‘go out’, vào (S về) ‘go in’, lên ‘go up’, sang ‘traverse’, về ‘return to point of origin’. (Southern speakers often replace sang by qua.)

Di đâu đó?—Di chợ. (S) Where [you] going?—To market.

Ngày mai chúng ta đi Hà-nội. Let’s go to Hanoi tomorrow.

Tuần tới tôi lên Đà-lạt chơi. Next week I’m going up to Dalat on a pleasure trip. (Dalat is located on a high plateau.)

Ba bốn ngày ở Đà-lạt thì tôi xuống Nha-trang nghỉ-ngồi. [After] three or four days in Dalat I’ll go down to Nha Trang for a rest.
(Nha Trang is located on a lovely beach on the ocean, down off the plateau from Dalat.)

Sáng nay ông ấy ra nhà sớm. This morning he left the house early.

Mỗi ông vào phòng trà. Please come into the living room.

Khi nào ông định sang bên Mỹ? (S Chiều nào ông định qua bên Mỹ?) When have you decided to go to America? (Crossing the ocean is involved.)

Năm tới tôi hy vọng về Hà Nội. Next year I hope to return to Hanoi.

Certain of these commonly have as complement a relator noun (or a phrase with relator noun as head), expressing the logical terminal position the direction verb implies:

lên trên go up (on top)

xuống dưới go down (under, or to the bottom)

ra ngoại go out (outside)

vào trong go in (inside)

There are specializations of directional verbs, some similar to those of English, others different. As in English the picture of a map on the wall is often pertinent: direction north then is signalled by lên, south by xuống, and travel east or west is described by sang (somewhat like English go over to). These are in effect, however, only if there is not some quite obvious difference in altitude (in which case the primary meanings of lên and xuống apply) or another kind of difference is not involved—the distinction between the urban center and the rural provinces, and sometimes that between the interior and the coast. In northern Viet Nam in particular, the capital Hanoi is regarded as ‘out’ (perhaps ‘out in the open, in civilization’), and travel to and from the city is described accordingly with ra when coming from the provinces to Hanoi: and vào when going from Hanoi into the rural areas. This includes even major cities like Saigon and Hue: ở Hà Nội vào Sài-gòn, Huế; ở Sài-gòn, Huế ra Hà Nội. The rest of the country in general fits into this pattern, and for the south any major destination in the more northerly parts of Viet Nam is ‘out’: ở Sài-gòn ra Hải-phòng, Huế.

In the provinces in general, too, any destination on the coast is ‘out’, as we might expect.

Finally, for the multitudes in the cities who come originally from some rural area, travel to their original home province is termed về, even though their permanent home may now be in the city. It is thus not uncommon to hear a person say

Tuần tới tôi về Nam Định. Ở đây sẽ ngày thì về Hà Nội làm.

Next week I’m going home to Nam Định. After six days I’ll be back to Hanoi for work.
14.43. **Change of Position or Direction** is generally covered by a sequential phrase which states first the initial position or direction, then the fact of departure or the new direction. This contrasts vividly with English usage, where there are special verbs like *leave, depart*.

*B*à *giờ tôi ở Hà-nội đi.* I left Hanoi at three o'clock.

*D*i *Hải-phòng về rói.* [I]’ve gotten back from [my trip to] Haiphong.

*A*nh d*i* d*auważ* về? Where have you been?

With the exact timing clear only from the context, identical sentences can cover a wide range of meanings in corresponding English translation.

*D*i *Hải-phòng thư hai mới về.* [I]’m going to Haiphong and won’t be back till Monday or Just returned from Haiphong Monday or Went to Haiphong and returned only on Monday.

This same type of construction is used to specify points of origin.

*Ông ấy ở Sài-gòn lên đây.* He came up here from Saigon.

Where point of origin is to be stated very precisely, especially where distance is being measured from it, use is often made of the prepositive particle *từ* (occasionally *từ*) ‘starting from.’

*Từ Sài-gòn đến Đà-lạt* d*ỗ* chúng ba trăm cây số.* From Saigon to Dalat it’s about 300 km.

Again the construction is used with an appropriate change in focal complement to indicate that an outside agency changes the position or direction of an entity (which then appears as descriptive complement).

*C*hi d*ổ* nước v*ô* bình trà. (S) She poured water into the teapot.

*T*ội lấy quần áo trong tủ* ra.* I took some clothes out of the wardrobe.

*T*ội lấy quyển sách trên tủ* xuống.* I took the book down from the bookcase.

14.5. **Temporal Elements** involve several important differences from English usage. Some of these have to do with the designation of time periods in serial order: in older usage two special sets of words borrowed from Chinese tradition served this purpose (14.51). Clock time and various periods of the day are discussed in 14.52; longer periods (days, weeks, months, years) are treated in 14.53. For a discussion of relative time or tense, see 9.3, 9.55.

14.51. **Cyclical Terms.** Two series of words borrowed from Chinese are used in some traditional time expressions (and a few other situations) to designate serial order.

*D*ịa-chi ‘earth’s branches’ (often referred to simply as *chi*) is a cycle of twelve elements which in more traditional usage is applied to months
and years (14.53), as well as to the twelve two-hour periods of the day (14.52). The meanings of the elements beyond their serial values are unknown, but at some point in the history of the system in China they came to be associated with a system of twelve animals similar to the western zodiac. (With certain differences in the identity of the animals involved and their order, such systems are in use in most of the civilizations of central and eastern Asia, and comparable usages are described in the Near East as far west as Egypt.) In everyday Vietnamese speech the formal terms are often replaced by the native words for the associated animals (listed below together with their serial values).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>チャ-チ</th>
<th>Associated Animal</th>
<th>Serial Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tý (or tí)</td>
<td>chuôt rat</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sưu</td>
<td>trâu buffalo (or bò ox)</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dăn</td>
<td>hรวม tiger</td>
<td>third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mậu</td>
<td>mẻo cat (or thỏ hare)</td>
<td>fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thin</td>
<td>rồng dragon</td>
<td>fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty (or tị)</td>
<td>rắn serpent</td>
<td>sixth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ngựa horse</td>
<td>seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mui</td>
<td>dê goat</td>
<td>eighth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than</td>
<td>khỉ monkey</td>
<td>ninth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâu</td>
<td>gà cock</td>
<td>tenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuát</td>
<td>chó dog</td>
<td>eleventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hợi</td>
<td>lợn (or heo) pig</td>
<td>twelfth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The substitution of ‘buffalo’ for ‘ox’ of the Chinese system is shared by some other peoples of the area, but only the Vietnamese seem to have replaced ‘hare’ by ‘cat.’ It is possible that this reflects a misinterpretation of the formal term mậu, which is very similar to the word for ‘cat.’

Thiên-can ‘heaven’s stems’ (also Thập-can ‘the ten stems’ or simply can) is a cycle of ten elements. They have been used to designate the order of kings or emperors and occasionally the sequence of volumes in a series. They also appear in some reckoning of years. The meanings of the forms beyond their serial values are obscure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gíap</th>
<th>ky</th>
<th>canh</th>
<th>tân</th>
<th>nhâm</th>
<th>quí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>sixth</td>
<td>seventh</td>
<td>eighth</td>
<td>ninth</td>
<td>tenth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some representative references on these cyclical elements are Chavannes 1906, Halévy 1906, Li Fang-Kuei 1945, Pelliot 1913, Porée-Maspero 1962, and von Staël-Holstein 1935-36.
14.52. The Times of Day. In broad terms the day is divided into several vaguely delimited parts. First of all daylight time (ban ngay) is separated from night time (ban dem). The two major parts of the daylight hours are called buoi sang ‘morning’ (also buoi som) and buoi chieu ‘afternoon’, and the term ca hai buoi means ‘all day, morning and afternoon.’ The twenty-four hour period is also divided into five rough parts as follows:

- 4 a.m. to 10 a.m. sang morning
- 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. trua noon
- 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. chieu afternoon
- 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. toi evening
- 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. khuya late at night

These times are very approximate. Each of the Vietnamese words appears as descriptive complement to the word buoi ‘division of the day’ (cf. above) except khuya. There is also the term buoi binh-minh ‘dawn.’

More specifically, the western clock is now in standard use in the country; the word gio ‘hour’ is used with the numbers one through twelve for the large divisions of clock time: mot gio ‘one o’clock’, hai gio ‘two o’clock’, bon gio ‘four o’clock’, may gio? ‘what time?’ etc. Minutes are designated phut and seconds giay, where such precision is called for. A very common way of telling time is similar to the English pattern ten-fifteen, ten-forty-three: mroi gio mroi lam, mroi gio bon mroi ba. However, for the half-hour generally the term ruoi ‘and one half’ is used: ba gio ruoi ‘half-past three, three-thirty.’ For the time after the half-hour and before the next hour, there is another usage, stating the next hour less a certain number of minutes: ba gio thieu mroi lam ‘fifteen minutes to three’, mroi mot gio thieu hai mroi hai ‘twenty-two minutes before eleven.’ When the numbers in these expressions are simple, there is a strong tendency to add the word phut ‘minute’, which is otherwise rare in colloquial time-telling: hai gio ba phut ‘three minutes past two’, ba gio thieu mroi phut ‘ten minutes to seven.’ This is perhaps another example of the tendency toward disyllabic elements (cf. 13.5). Some speakers use kem ‘be less’ in place of thieu in such expressions. Some add phut regularly to the number of minutes, unless it is a multiple of five, where they do not use it at all. (These special usages are probably primarily southern, although their geographical distribution is not clear.)

There are survivals of older time systems. In the countryside one still meets with the usage of identifying the night hours by watches and references are of course common in written texts. This system used the word canh ‘watch’ followed by a number as descriptive complement, with bon replaced by tu ‘four.’ The five watches, then, were designated:
canh một from about 7 to 9 p.m.
canh hai from about 9 to 11 p.m.
canh ba from about 11 p.m. to 1 a.m.
canh tư from about 1 a.m. to 3 a.m.
canh năm from about 3 a.m. to 5 a.m.

Another earlier system divided the entire twenty-four hour day into periods of two hours each (the original use of the word giorn); these were designated by the elements of the dia-chi (14.51), beginning at 11 p.m.:

giờ tý (tí) 11 p.m. to 1 a.m.
giờ sau 1 a.m. to 3 a.m.
giờ dần 3 a.m. to 5 a.m.
giờ mao 5 a.m. to 7 a.m.
giờ thin 7 a.m. to 9 a.m.
giờ ty (tí) 9 a.m. to 11 a.m.
giờ ngọ 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.
giờ mủi 1 p.m. to 3 p.m.
giờ thân 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.
giờ đầu 5 p.m. to 7 p.m.
giờ tuất 7 p.m. to 9 p.m.
giờ hợi 9 p.m. to 11 p.m.

14.53. Larger Time Divisions. In former times reckoning of time beyond the limit of days depended on the lunar calendar (âm-lich); with the coming of western influence the solar calendar (duong-lich) was adopted. Modern usage reflects a mixture of the two systems: for most everyday things, the solar calendar serves, but in certain details of ordinary usage and in most special connections the lunar calendar continues in force. In the following discussion these elements of the lunar calendar are specially indicated.

There are several words corresponding to the English word day. It is extremely difficult to separate them from one another, and the picture is complicated by a good deal of dialectal variation. Presented here are the most common expressions in use in Hanoi and Saigon.

hôm day (as time when, primarily in present or past)
būa (S) day (as one of a series, or time when, primarily in present or future)
ngày day (as one of a series, or time when, in future)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hanoi</th>
<th>Saigon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>hôm nay</td>
<td>būa nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>hôm qua</td>
<td>hôm qua, būa qua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day before yesterday</td>
<td>hôm kia</td>
<td>hôm kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two days before yesterday</td>
<td>hôm kia</td>
<td>hôm kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>(ngày) mai</td>
<td>(ngày) mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
<td>ngày kia</td>
<td>(ngày) mét, būa mét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two days after tomorrow</td>
<td>ngày kia</td>
<td>ngày kia, būa kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three days after tomorrow</td>
<td>ngày kia</td>
<td>ngày kia, būa kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three days</td>
<td>ba ngày</td>
<td>ba ngày, ba būa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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what day?  
the preceding day  
the following day  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HANOI</th>
<th>SAIGON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hôm nao?</td>
<td>bua nao?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hôm truoc</td>
<td>bua truoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hôm sau</td>
<td>bua sau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Especially in written material one finds combinations of these terms, such as ngay hôm nay today, ngay hôm qua yesterday, etc.; in the south bua hôm nay today, bua hôm qua yesterday. There are also a few common special expressions: ngay hôm ay (S bua hom) the other day (also, as expected, 'that day [just referred to]'), ngay nay nowadays.

The days of the week (western calendar) are for the most part descriptive phrases with the general categorical thu as head and the numbers two through seven as complements (with tu replacing bon). The exception is Sunday, which is a pseudo-compound.

`chu-nhat` [“master’s day”] or `chua-nhat` [“lord’s day”] Sunday  
thu hai Monday  
thu ba Tuesday  
thu tu Wednesday  
thu nam Thursday  
thu sau Friday  
thu bay (or bai) Saturday  
thu may? what day of the week?

The western week is specifically tuan-le, often shortened to tuan, although this designates also the ten-day periods of the lunar month (see below).

The days of the month are designated with the word ngay followed by the appropriate number, except that for the first ten the word mong (or mung) appears between ngay and the number; in the latter case ngay is often omitted. This is a survival of the older lunar calendar usage.

(ngay) mong mot the first [day of a particular month]  
(ngay) mong hai the second  
(ngay) mong bon the fourth  
(ngay) mong moi the tenth  
ngay moi mot the eleventh  
ngay moi lai the fifteenth (also called ngay moi rai; see below)  
ngay hai moi ba the twenty-third  
ngay ba moi the thirtieth

For reference to days in the past ngay is often replaced by hom (cf. above).

The month is designated thang, and the names of the months, except for the first and last, are simply numbers in serial order (with tu replacing bon): November, however, is usually simply thang mot.
tháng giêng January  tháng bảy (or bảy) July
tháng hai February  tháng tám August
tháng ba March  tháng chín September
tháng tư April  tháng mười October
tháng năm May  tháng (mười) mốt November
tháng sáu June  tháng chạp December

tháng mấy? what month?

In contrast to these expressions designating specific time periods according to the basic organization of time, ordinal numbers appear as descriptive complements to ngày, hôm and tháng, marking particular periods in reference to some other arbitrary serial order.

✓ Ngày thứ hai tôi ở đây là thứ năm. The second day I'm here is Thursday.
✓ Thang thứ nhất tôi ở Việt-nam là tháng tám. The first month I was in Viet Nam was August.

According to the lunar calendar the months were generally named in the same way, but on occasion they were designated by the elements of the địa-chi (14.51). However, the year started with dấn: tháng dấn first month [of lunar year], tháng mao second month, tháng thin third month, tháng tý eleventh month, tháng sưu twelfth month. These months had either twenty-nine (tháng thiếu ‘incomplete month’) or thirty (tháng đủ ‘full month’) days. Every third year there was an intercalary month (tháng nhuận), to make up the discrepancy in timing. The lunar months were divided into three decades, called tuần: thương tuần waxing decade (first ten days of month, designated mòng [or mùng]), trung-tuần middle decade (11th through 20th), and hạ-tuần waning decade (last nine or ten days). The fifteenth day was called ngày rằm day of the full moon. The first day was optionally designated ngày sóc, the last ngày hối. There are also special terms for the first quarter (thương-huyền waxing quarter) and the last quarter (hạ-huyền waning quarter) of the moon.

The seasons of the year are traditionally four: mùa xuân spring, mùa hè (or hạ) summer ( hạ is more formal), mùa thu autumn, mùa đông winter. Each season is thought of as having three parts: manhã beginning, trung middle, and quí end. Thus we find manhã xuân early spring (or first month of spring), trung hạ mid-summer, quí đông end of winter. In the southern part of the country there are actually two seasons, mùa mưa rainy season, and mùa nóng hot [dry] season. However, even there, the four-way division is often recognized. Winter is the coolest season with short days at the end of the lunar year; the new year is heralded as the arrival of spring (tân xuân new spring).
Years (năm) are designated according to the western calendar for the most part; the word năm is simply followed by the number of the year as descriptive complement. This number is often shortened to the last two digits for dates in the present century, just as is the practice in English.

năm một nghìn chín trăm năm mười ba 1953 (short form: năm năm)

năm một nghìn tâm trăm tâm mười chín 1889

In giving dates, the day is generally mentioned first, then the month, finally the year. The word năm ‘year’ is often omitted from such citations. In writing, figures are nearly always used.

(ngày) mồng tam tháng chín (năm) sáu mươi một September 8th,
(19)61 (generally written (ngày) mồng 8 tháng 9, 1961)

In older usage years were indicated by the word năm and the appropriate element of the dia-chi (14.51). The specific reference was to be deduced from the context—for example, if a person was speaking of his own birth date a rough estimate of his age would lead to the correct series of years involved. In annals and the like the reference was clarified by reference to the reigning monarch.

Note also the expressions năm nay this year, năm ngoái or năm rồi last year, sang năm next year.

14.6. Measures. In addition to the divisions of time (treated in 14.5) there are special expressions for measuring size, distance, weight, quantity and value. A general statement can be made about one typical construction of such measuring expressions: the dimension involved is stated by an extended state verb (9.55) and the specification of measurement is added as a following complement:

Cái nhà này dài bao nhiêu? How long is this house?
Cái nhà này dài tam thước. This house is eight metres long.
Ha-nội cách đây mấy cây số? How many kilometres is Hanoi from here?
Ha-nội cách đây hai chục cây số. Hanoi is around twenty kilometres from here.
Thùng  ấy nặng bao nhiêu? How heavy is that crate?
Thùng ấy nặng dơ chùng mười cân. That crate weighs about ten pounds.
Dọi  ấy cao bao nhiêu? How high is that hill?
Dọi ấy cao ba mươi thước. That hill is thirty metres high.

In the case of price the general categorical giá ‘price’ serves in place of a verb in a question (and is generally omitted in the answer). The predicates are of course substantival.
Cái áo này giá bao nhiêu? What’s the price of this tunic?
Cái áo này một trăm đồng. This tunic costs one hundred piastres.

However, questions about quantity simply make use of the indefinite forms bao nhiêu ‘however much, many’ and mấy ‘however much, many (often presuming a quantity less than ten)’ with appropriate substantives. This includes the use of bao nhiêu tiền? ‘how much money’, a very common colloquial way of asking price.

Ô trong phòng có bao nhiêu người? How many people are there in the room?
Ô trong phòng có sâu mười mấy người. There are sixty-odd people in the room.
Ông mua mấy quyển sách? How many books are you buying?
Tôi mua ba quyển. I’m buying three.
Quyển này bao nhiêu tiền? How much is this one [book]?
Quyển này tám mười hai đồng. This one [book] is eighty-two piastres.

In the following sections the exact values of the more common units of measure are given.

14.61. Size and Distance are measured primarily in terms of linear and square units. In this case some of the units from the traditional system of measurement have been readapted to fit the European system brought by the French. The actual measurements involved are different, but the context generally makes clear which system is involved. In cases where it does not, the term tây ‘west’ is added as a descriptive complement to a measurement to signal that the European system is referred to; in some other cases the word ta (presumably here ‘you and I’, i.e., ‘our’) signals that the native system is involved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>CONSISTING OF</th>
<th>ORIGINAL VALUE (IN METRIC TERMS)</th>
<th>TRANSFERRED VALUE (IN METRIC SYSTEM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ly</td>
<td>10 ly (6 sq ly)</td>
<td>0 m 0004, 0 m²04</td>
<td>millimeter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phân</td>
<td>10 phân</td>
<td>0 m 04, 2 m²40</td>
<td>centimeter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tác [thôn]</td>
<td>10 tác</td>
<td>0 m 40, 24 m²</td>
<td>decimeter [inch]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuốc [xích]</td>
<td>5 thuốc</td>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>meter [yard]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô [ngủ]</td>
<td>10 thuốc</td>
<td>4 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trường</td>
<td>360 bô</td>
<td>720 m</td>
<td>[mile]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sao [cao]</td>
<td>15 sq thuốc</td>
<td>360 m²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màu</td>
<td>10 sao</td>
<td>3600 m²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note among the values for square measurement that phần referred in the traditional system to 6 square ly. The Vietnamese forms in brackets are pseudo-bases appearing in forms borrowed from Chinese. The English values in brackets refer to Anglo-American (rough) equivalents. Longer distances are measured in kilometers (cây số).

14.62. Weight was traditionally measured by a system in which the smaller units were designated by the same words as those in the linear-square system (14.61). Here, however, the words were for the most part not transferred to the metric system. Only the word cân (generally with complement tay) is occasionally used for kilogram, and the direct borrowing ki-lô is more common.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>CONSISTING OF</th>
<th>VALUE (IN METRIC TERMS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hào</td>
<td>0 gr 0037</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly</td>
<td>10 hào</td>
<td>0 gr 037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phần</td>
<td>10 ly</td>
<td>0 gr 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dong or tiền</td>
<td>10 phần</td>
<td>3 gr 778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang</td>
<td>10 đồng</td>
<td>37 gr 783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cân</td>
<td>16 lang</td>
<td>604 gr 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yên</td>
<td>10 cân</td>
<td>6 kg 045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tạ</td>
<td>10 yên</td>
<td>60 kg 450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these terms are used as rough equivalents of Anglo-American weights: lang ounce, cân pound.

14.63. Money is based on a unit called the đồng (bạc), probably originally 3.778 grams of silver (see 14.62), the French equivalent of which is piastre (English piaster). This system, of course, dates from the French colonial period: No earlier monetary system is discussed here. In the earlier economy the đồng was valuable enough so that a hundredth part of it was coined, as well as pieces of one- and two-tenths (still in use until quite recently). At the time of this writing international exchange recognizes approximately seventy-two đồng as the equivalent of the US dollar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>CONSISTING OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xu</td>
<td>10 xu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caci [hào, giác]</td>
<td>10 caci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đồng</td>
<td>10 caci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In citing monetary values the additive construction is used (8.33); they are written with the dollar sign or a lower case d (especially in more recent usage) following the number of đồng:

$5, 5d năm đồng (bạc) five piasters
$520, 5d20 năm đồng hai (caci) five piasters and twenty cents

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0$52, 0d52 không dồng năm các hai (no piasters and) fifty-two cents
5$10, 5d10 năm dồng một or năm dồng một chắc five piasters and ten cents
5$40, 5d40 năm dồng tư or năm dồng bốn chắc five piasters and forty cents
5$02, 5d02 năm dồng hai xu or năm dồng lẻ hai (xu) five piasters and two cents
120$, 120đ một trăm hai mươi dồng one hundred and twenty piasters
2$35, 2d35 hai dồng ba các năm (xu) two piasters and thirty-five cents
or hai dồng ba mươi lăm (xu)
The terms hào and giắc for units of ten xu are more formal; they appear in written texts and in some more careful speech.

14.7. Patterns of Modification involve a number of differences from those characteristic in English. Several devices serve to maintain the social context of a conversation—the relationship between the speaker and his surroundings (14.71). In both speech and writing the descriptive complement is exceedingly popular, primarily as a means of specifying something more clearly or in more detail (14.72). Expressions covering accompaniment and transport (14.73) involve a pattern which seems inverse to that of English. There are special uses of the sequential construction (9.66) which may be called causative-resultive (14.72) and purposive (14.75). The designation of colors involves some special features (14.76).

14.71. Social Context Signals. Especially in conversation there appear numerous expressions which serve to maintain a clear picture of the social context. This includes not only the use of appropriate status words referring to the people involved and various particles and special vocabulary for certain levels of speech (13.2), but the addition of complements (especially descriptive complements) referring to certain obvious elements of the situation at hand which, strictly speaking, might seem quite unnecessary to mention. For example, in the southern dialect area speakers make a great deal of use of the demonstrative dó ‘there [near you]’; it serves roughly the purpose of a final particle (11.4) in many sentences, simply relating the question or comment involved to the hearer. (In this use it regularly has weak stress [5.21].)

Chà! Dùong ‘xấu lắm độ. Gee! It’s a terrible road [as you know].
Cái ‘đề ‘cho mới cái ‘đề độ’. The topic—give [us] a topic [so we can discuss it]—it’s your responsibility!
Di ‘đâu độ?—Di ‘cho độ. Where you going?—To market—you know.

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The same tendency may be seen in complements which occur with greetings. For example, a servant at the house often greets the returning employer:

*Chào ông mới về.* [I] greet you [who have] just returned.

Some other examples of this sort of usage follow:

*Chào anh Lâm đã đến.* Hello, Mr. Lâm. ["greet elder-brother Lâm anterior arrive"]

*Chào anh về.* Goodbye. (You’re going home.)

14.72. Specification makes extensive use of the descriptive complement. Since the pattern involves adding these complements after their respective heads, sequences are often found where more and more specifiers are added, bit by bit, sometimes accompanied by repetition of the head, sometimes not. The following conversation, reported in a story, shows several examples:

—Thưa thầy, ở lang bên có ngôi nhà nào?

—Ở to hay nhỏ, có tốt không câu?

—Thưa thầy tốt làm gì, ngôi nhà nằm gần, cót bẳng lim, cửa bằng gỗ và cót cừng khả to.

—Thưa thầy, cót to bằng nay.

Sir [young man speaking to future father-in-law], in a neighboring village there’s a fellow [who] wants to sell a villa, do you [want to] buy it?

‘A big or small house? Is it a good one?’

‘Yes, sir, it’s a very good one—a house with a tiled roof, five rooms, pillars of ironwood, doors of gỗ [a fine hard wood] and the pillars are quite big.’

‘So, the pillars are how big?’

‘Sir, this big [demonstrating by gesture].’

A descriptive passage from a novel (Khải Hưng, Tiêu Sơn Tráng Sĩ [The Hero of Tiêu-son], Hanoi, 1951, p.7) shows similar features.

Chàng y phục nai nít gang, đầu đội non lông đen, chăn di hia chën, cỏ quấn mốt cái khăn lụa trắng thất lông, mỗi bỏ rủ sau lung. His clothes were neat battle dress—[his] head (wearing) a black fur hat, feet (walking in) tight mandarin boots, [around his] neck [there was] rolled a scarf of white silk, knotted loosely, the end allowed to hang behind [his] back.

14.73. Accompaniment and Transport. While in English a verb denoting directional movement or some other action is generally modified by an expression specifying accompaniment or transport of persons or things (go carrying one’s belongings, come bearing gifts, eat together, etc.), the
typical pattern is in reverse in Vietnamese: the main verb signals accom-
paniment or transport (often with a descriptive complement denoting the
persons or objects involved), and it is followed by a verb (often with its
own complement) stating the direction or more specific action involved;
the construction is sequential (9.66).

*Cách máy hôm sau hai cha con cắm nhỏ đưa nhau đến đền vua.*
A few days later the father and his young son went together to
the king’s palace.

*Hai thằng Trọng với ra bố ruộng và khỉ chum vàng về nhà*
định mỏ ra chia nhau. The two thieves hurried out to the edge
of the rice field and brought home the pot of gold, carrying it
between the two of them, intending to open it up and divide
[the contents] between them.

*Bà ông bán đồng-hành Mỹ-Việt lại cùng nhau đảm-dao như*
thương-lê. The three friends—American and Vietnamese fellow
travelers—again were conversing together as usual.

On the other hand, these expressions often correspond to English sequences
of verb with a following adverbial modifier—*take away, bring up, fall down,*
etc.

*Xin anh đem cái va-li này đi.* Please take this suitcase away.
*Ngày hôm sau dân chim lại đến ăn, người chong đưa cái túi ra*
thì dân chim bảo nhầm mất lại rồi hào-phép công anh ta bay
dĩ nhanh lắm. The next day the flock of birds returned to eat;
the husband brought the pouch out and the flock of birds told
[him] to close [his] eyes, then performed a miracle [and]
carried him on [their] backs, flying away very fast.

Sometimes the second verb follows the first immediately, and the expres-
sion denoting the person or thing conveyed or accompanied appears as com-
plement to this verb phrase. This seems especially frequent where the
expression denoting the person or thing conveyed or accompanied is a long
one, and the second verb has no complement of its own.

*Điều mà các ông chú-trong đến nhất là đem theo máy ảnh và máy*
quay phim đi. The thing they were most particular about was
bringing along a [still] camera and a movie camera. (Note
that the expression máy quay phim đi ‘movie camera’ involves
this same type of expression: ‘a machine [for] turning film
[and] going.’)

**14.74. Causative-Resultive Expressions** make use of the sequential
construction (9.66) with a momentary action verb (9.55) in first position
stating the causal action or condition, and another verb in second position
(often an extended state verb) stating the result or effect, generally with a following complement specifying the person or thing affected. The most common verb in first position is làm ‘do, make’, but a variety of others also occur.

_Tôi làm đau con mèo._ I hurt the cat. (Cf. _Con mèo đau._ The cat is in pain.)

_Loài chuột phá hai chúng ta làm._ Rats make a lot of trouble for us. (Cf. _Loài chuột hại làm._ Rats are very destructive.)

_Ngày hôm sau đàn chim lại đến ăn, người chờ đón mưa cái túi ra thì đàn chim báo nhằm mắt lại hóa phép cống anh ta bay đi nhanh làm._ The next day the flock of birds returned to eat; the husband brought the pouch out and the flock of birds told [him] to close [his] eyes, then performed a miracle [and] carried him on [their] backs, flying away very fast.

_Anh ta lấy đầy túi rồi lại cuốn mình chim mà về._ He filled [“take be-full”] the pouch, then climbed back on the bird’s back to return home.

Note that this type of expression does not in itself connote intention; this is conveyed rather by purposive expressions (14.75). Compare the following:

_Tôi làm đau con mèo._ I hurt the cat [as a result of something I did, but it was not necessarily intentional].

_Tôi làm cho con mèo đau._ I hurt the cat [intentionally, e.g., as a punishment].

**14.75. Purposive Expressions** make use of the sequential construction (9.66) with the verb _cho_ ‘give’ in second position, usually followed by a complement specifying the person, thing or situation served. It not only states the responsibility for the action but also implies intention (cf. 14.74). The complement is sometimes a substantival phrase or focus, sometimes a clause. The verb _cho_ is nearly always accompanied by weak stress unless the following complement is lacking.

_Nó không biết làm, anh đi làm cho._ He [a child] doesn’t know how to do [it], you go do [it] for [him].

_Dêm ngày tôi thường cầu-nguyện để xin Thường-dê cho cha tôi sinh mấy đứa em nuởng để chúng nó chơi với tôi._ Cho ‘vui’.

Night and day I (customarily) pray (to ask) God to permit my father to give birth to some more younger brothers and sisters so that they [can] play with me to make things pleasant.

_Hai họ thường ngồi chuyện để nói chuyện cho để._ The two families usually sit together to make it easy to converse.

_Anh làm ơn mở cửa cho tôi._ Please open the door for me.
Xin ông viết thơ cho tôi biết. Please write and let me know.
Ông ấy mua thóc cho một người tàu. He’s buying [unhusked] rice for [the account of] a Chinese.

In some cases there is ambiguity (usually cleared up by the context) as to whether the action is accomplished for someone to relieve him of the burden or to supply him with something.

Chị ấy viết thơ cho tôi. She wrote me a letter (i.e., wrote a letter addressed to me) or She wrote a letter for me.

Anh bán quyền sách này cho tôi không? Will you sell this book to (or for) me?

14.76. Color Designations. The basic words denoting colors are extended state verbs (9.55). One important difference in segmentation of the spectrum is that the shades generally called blue and green in English are included under one general word in Vietnamese: xanh (formal thanh, a pseudo-base). Descriptive complements are of course often added to specify which of various shades is referred to: xanh biếc sky blue, xanh lá leaf green, etc.

Many words specifying colors, however, are not verbs, but substantives. In sentences where such words serve as predicates, they appear as complements to the general categorical màu (or màu) ‘color’, and the predicate is of the substantival type (9.11). (Verb color words appear in this use as well of course.)

Cái này màu vàng. This (thing) is yellow. (vàng gold)
Thú này không phải màu da cam. This kind is not orange-colored. [“color skin orange”]

In older usage, and still surviving in idiomatic speech today, descriptive complements denoting colors of certain inanimate objects and animals are not the usual color words. There is rather an extensive usage similar to the limited pattern exhibited by English bay mare, etc. For example, the general word for ‘black’ is the extended state verb đen ‘be black’ but note the following expressions:

chó mực black dog (mực ink)
mèo mèn black cat (mèn ebony)
dùa mèn black chopsticks
ngựa ô black horse, (ô crow, raven, pseudo-base)
bò hồng black steer, cow (hồng soot, pseudo-base)
khăn thấm black turban (thấm be deep; blue-black)
14.8. Taboo Replacement Forms. In former times, and still today in families which have been little affected by western culture, ordinary words which are homonymous or very similar to proper names of special significance in the locality are avoided. These are the names of persons and places commanding special respect or dread—revered ancestors, recent dead, powerful nobility, persons touched by insanity or crime, places haunted by some crime or disaster. For example, in one family, the father's given name was Đậu, which is nearly homonymous with dâu 'bean.' Other members of the family avoided this form, saying instead [diw].

The homonymous (or nearly homonymous) words are replaced either by synonyms which bear little or no phonemic resemblance to the original, or by variants of the words themselves in which the vowel nucleus is altered. Some of the latter types are well known as dialectal variants, others seem to occur only in this specialized usage. Only a careful study of a full body of data will reveal whether there is an underlying derivative pattern. The hundred-odd forms collected are insufficient for this purpose, but some of them are listed below (in Hanoi pronunciation) to give a notion of the character of the phenomenon. (No attempt is made here to separate dialectal variants from apparent taboo derivatives.)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORIGINAL FORM</th>
<th>TABOO REPLACEMENT FORM</th>
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<td>kim</td>
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<td>nếp</td>
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<td>dâu</td>
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14.9. Problems of Semantic Range. One startling way that languages represent special facets of the cultures they serve is in the relative number of distinctions in unitary vocabulary items made as compared with the items of the real universe for which they stand. While in English there are many discrete forms denoting various kinds of garments worn over the shoulders and extending down the trunk of the body (shirt, blouse, sweater, coat, jacket, slip, shawl, cape, smock, tunic, etc.) Vietnamese makes do with a single basic item áo, which covers all these meanings in general. It can be modified by descriptive complements to express more exactly what is meant if this is desired, but the speaker is not forced to do so as he is by the selection of different words in English: áo sơ-mi [western style] shirt, áo len sweater [“tunic wool”], áo mua raincoat [“tunic rain”], etc. This reflects something about the basic simplicity of traditional Vietnamese dress. On the other hand, the English word rice has no general consistent equivalent in Vietnamese, simply because the Vietnamese speaker is forced to distinguish the various forms of this basic staple of his diet:

- mạ rice seedling [at time of transplanting]
- lúa rice growing in field
- thóc harvested but unhusked rice
- gạo husked rice
- cơm cooked rice

It is not the purpose of this section to provide any full accounting of these varying systems of vocabulary reference, but rather to alert the student to the kind of problem involved. Another example, however, is interesting: corresponding to the English verb ‘carry’ (and some special directional substitutes like bring, take, which have no precise equivalents in Vietnamese; cf. 14.73) there are several words which specify different manners of carrying, including two rather general forms.

- đem carry [in general]
- dua carry or convey [with notion of delivery]
- mang carry or wear on body [especially strapped over shoulder], take with oneself
- vác carry [generally something reasonably heavy] on shoulder; on back of animal
- xách carry suspended from hand [usually by a handle]
- dỗi carry or wear on head
- cổng carry on one’s back
- cầm carry grasped in hand [usually something relatively light]
- ôm carry in both arms and hugged against body
- bông carry [a child] in one’s arms
ăm carry [a baby] in one's arms
khiêng [two people] carry, sharing the weight
gánh carry two things balanced, one suspended at each end of a shoulder bar
quậy carry suspended at one end of a shoulder bar
deo wear [as jewelry, glasses, etc.]
dèo carry on one's vehicle
bung carry in both hands and held relatively high before one
bè carry in both hands and held relatively low
APPENDIX A

Glossary of Difficult Forms

A few forms involve special difficulties, either because there are two or more homonymous forms with disparate meanings and uses,¹ or because there is a single word with a wide range of meanings in conjunction with other words (idioms) so that it is nearly impossible to supply a gloss which will suggest this range, or because the use of a word in a construction different from its usual one involves semantic shifts not predictable from the English gloss. These problems relate to a number of grammatical topics, but it would not be feasible to treat them under any one of these. It has therefore seemed wise to include an alphabetical list of such difficult forms, together with illustrative examples. Note that certain other individual forms are conveniently treated in connection with specific items of structure; reference to them may be found in the index.

ăn [momentary action verb, 9.55]
Several quite different English translations correspond to this Vietnamese form; it is difficult to say whether some four different words are involved, or whether some or all of them are related. They are presented here as separate entities.

ăn 1. eat; bite, chew

án com eat, have a meal
án dơi not have enough to eat
án duòng eat enroute, on the road
án giâu chew betel
án ngon be delicious, make fine eating
án uông eat and drink; live, get along
làm ăn make a living, earn one's livelihood

¹ It is sometimes difficult or impossible to determine precisely whether these are single words with a wide range of meaning, or several homonymous forms. Unless the relationships of meanings are quite clear, they are treated here as separate homonymous forms.
ăn 2. celebrate; do something seriously, wholeheartedly
    ăn chơi have a good time
    ăn hối celebrate a betrothal
    ăn mừng celebrate, rejoice
    ăn nói talk, be a talker
    ăn tiêu spend [a good deal of money]

ăn 3. conform to, harmonize with
    ăn mặc to dress [in a particular way]
    ăn igest have [in a particular way]
    ăn chịu withstand, endure, undergo
    ăn giá be of appropriate price

ăn 4. absorb, attack, penetrate, seize, overwhelm, win, procure illegally
    (generally pejorative)
    ăn cắp steal, pilfer
    ăn cuộp seize, take by force
    ăn hại live at the expense of [someone]
    ăn hiếp to bully, oppress
    ăn bẻ to practice the “squeeze,” misappropriate employer’s funds
    ăn tiền take a bribe
    ăn gian to cheat
    ăn giả win a prize
    ăn đêm ply one’s trade at night [speaking of thieves, prostitutes, etc.]

cả

cả 1. descriptive particle, 11.62] large, immense; eldest, first born
    Ao sâu nước cả, không tìm cả. [In a] deep pond [with] a large
    amount of water, [one must be] clever to catch fish.—Ngo Khuyễn
    Người ấy là con cả của ông Lâm. That fellow is Mr. Lâm’s eldest
    child.

cả 2. [postpositive noncontained particle, 11.82] all of, also, including,
    as a whole, at all (emphasizes entirety; cf. cùng 3., hết)
    Không ai đến cả. No one at all arrived.
    Tôi uống cả một cốc rượu rồi. I’ve drunk a whole glass of wine.
    Bán cả nhà cùng không đủ trả nợ. Even selling the house, [we]
    still won’t have enough to pay off the debt.
    Mất cả vợ cả con. [He] lost both his wife and his children.

Note that phrases consisting of this postpositive particle with its own
following complement sometimes appear as focal complements:
    Cả nhà này làm bằng cây. (S) This whole house is made of wood.
cách

cách 1. [general categorical, 8.62] fashion, manner, way

*Các người ấy luôn luôn làm việc một cách khéo léo.* Those people always work energetically.

Ông định đi bằng cách nào? How [by what means of transportation] did you decide to go?

cách 2. [extended state verb, 9.55] be separated by [a certain] distance from

*Làng ấy cách đây hai cây số.* That village is two kilometers from here.

Note there is also a pseudo-base cách ‘to change, disrupt’, as in cách-mạng ‘to revolt.’

càng [prepositive particle, 11.81] increasingly; often used correlative:

càng...càng the more ..., the more ...

Anh khôn toi đa mừng, anh biết tôi lại càng mừng. [If] you're clever I'm delighted (already), [if] you [really] know [something] I'm still more delighted.

Tiếng âm nhạc đều dương ở góc phòng đồ một máy phông-thanh tung ra càng làm cho cau truyền ba người thêm vui vẻ. The sound of harmonious music coming from a loudspeaker in the corner of the room added to the stories of the three people so that they were still more pleasant.

✓ Con tàu càng ra xa bộ càng chạy nhanh hơn. The farther the boat got from the shore, the faster it went.

Mùa này trời càng ngày càng nóng. (S) This season it gets hotter by the day.

chỉ

chỉ 1. [item noun, 8.66] thread, string

Người ta tin là khi hai người lấy nhau thì có một vị thần ở trên

Giới lấy hai sợi chỉ hóng xe lại với nhau thành một sợi.

People believe that when two people get married [“take one-another”] there is a benevolent spirit up in heaven [who] takes the two pink strands [representing their individual destinies] [and] spins [them] together (with each other), making a single strand.

chỉ 2. [momentary action verb, 9.55] point out, direct, indicate, show, demonstrate

Ông làm ơn chỉ дорог cho tôi. Please show me the way.
Dang nói thì cu Đàng lại chỉ cho hai ông xem một đoạn thuyết khác. While talking cu Đàng pointed out (for the two fellows to look at) another group of different boats.

chỉ 3. [prepositive particle, 11.81] just, only, nothing but
Vợ ông chỉ biết khắc mâu thương cho duyên-kiếp mình không ra gì, không hề oan-trách chồng. His wife was of such a personality [that she] only wept, regretting that her predestination turned out to be so disappointing ["came to nothing"]; she never reproached [her] husband.

Tôi chỉ có bốn đồng thời. I have only four piasters.

Chỉ tôi và anh biết việc ấy thôi. Only you and I know about that affair.

chỉ 4. [pseudo-base] command, order
Khi dân lang nhận được chiều chỉ của vua và cả số trâu, gáo thì mọi người lấy làm kỳ-dĩ quả sức. When the people of the village received the order of the king and the [specified] quantity of buffalo [and] rice, everyone took it to be enormously strange.

chó

chó 1. [negative, prohibitive 9.4] better not, avoid, keep from, don’t
Chó nên hút thuốc. One shouldn’t smoke.

Chó uống rượu. Don’t drink alcoholic beverages.

Phải chỉ ông chở cặp bắc, thì không đến đội nghèo. (S) If he had kept from gambling he wouldn’t have turned into a poor man.

Note that this form appears as second head in choice questions (9.67). However, this usage is infrequent in the north.

Ông ấy được ăn cơm cháo? (S) Is he having his meal [right now]?
Ông đi Sài-gòn cháo? Are you going to Saigon?

chó 2. (N chú, which see) [coordinating particle, 11.51] and [not], [but] to the contrary, still, as a matter of fact (introducing contradictory clause)

Dầu cha tôi khó ở, cháo chẳng phải là đau bằng. (S) Although my father’s not too well, still [he’s] not seriously ill.

Trò giấy này là chán, cháo không phải giả. (S) This document is authentic, not false.

chó 3. (N chú, which see) [final particle, 11.4] contrary to what is suggested or stated or might be expected; of course, as you ought to know.

Đi đâu đó?—Đi làm cháo! (S) Where [you] going?—To work, of course!
Tôi ở Việt-nam hai năm, rồi mới đi chót! (S) I'll be in Viet Nam for two years before I leave. (contradicting the suggestion of only a short stay)

chủ (S[chó], which see)
chủ 1. [coordinating particle, 11.51] and [not], [but] to the contrary, still, as a matter of fact
Mày muốn có em thì cha mẹ phải lấy vợ nữa chủ mốt mình cha mẹ thì để làm sao được! [If] you want to have younger brothers and sisters, then your father will have to marry again, otherwise how can your father alone have children?
Cái này cấu tôi, chủ không phải là cấu anh. This belongs to me and not to you.
Lực ấy cả quan và nhà chỉ giương mặt ra mà nhìn sự thật chủ còn Hồng-hách gì được nữa. Then both the mandarin and [his] office staff will just be wide-eyed and stare at the truth, and no more intimidation of any sort will be possible.
chủ 2. [final particle, 11.4] contrary to what is suggested or stated or might be expected; of course, as you ought to know
Vậy khi chúng tôi sang Việt-nam có được hân-hạnh gặp các cô, các bà không?—Cô làm chủ. So when we get to Viet Nam will we have the pleasure of meeting girls and married ladies?—Of course.
Anh chưa làm à?—Làm rồi chủ! You haven't done it yet, eh?—Oh, yes I have!

cựa [general categorical, 8.62]
This word is often translated 'belong(ing) to' and thought of as some kind of verbal, but it is clearly a general categorical which is very common as the center of a substantival predicate (9.11). (Note the negated predicate in the second example below.)
Tôi bị nhà tôi cháy, nên mất cựa hết. My house burned, so I lost all my belongings.
Cái này cựa tôi, chủ không phải là cựa anh. This belongs to me, not to you.
It is also common as head of a substantival descriptive phrase which itself serves as descriptive complement to a longer head, specifying the possessor of an object or quality or the agent responsible for some action or idea.
mấy lời tích khen ngoài cựa thầy giáo a few words of congratulation from the teacher
Trong cuộc tiến hóa của nhân loại, chúng đến mỗi thời kỳ nhất định lại xảy ra những cuộc cách mạng. Hiện tượng ấy như là một định luật tự nhiên của con người khi sứ sống của con người gặp phải những trở lực ngăn cản và muốn vượt qua, phải đánh ngã trở lực ấy. In the evolution of the human species, as each new era arrives revolutions are again sure to come about. This phenomenon is like a natural law of mankind [to the effect that] when [in] human life [one] has the misfortune to meet with impeding obstacles and wishes to overcome [them], [one] must strike down those obstacles.

cùng [verb, 9.55]
This may be a single word with the basic meaning ‘coincide, be coterminous’ and successively more abstract special developments connected with the terminal portion of the concept involved: ‘accompany, coincide [with]; be coterminous with the whole of something, all the way to the end; be arrived at the end of something, be at the end of one’s resources.’ It seems most helpful to separate the uses into four categories:

cùng 1. accompany; coincide, be simultaneous [with]; act in the same way
Hai đứa con này cùng một cha mẹ. (S) These two children are of the same parents.
Hai cái nhà kia cắt gần nhau cùng trên một miếng đất. Those two houses are built close together on the same lot.
Chúng ta cùng nhau đi thăm ông Bình nằm nhà thương. Let’s go together to visit Mr. Bình (lying) [in] the hospital.

cùng 2. be everywhere, all inclusive, along the whole extent of
Nuoc cùng hết. There’s water everywhere.
Tôi quét cùng nhà. I’ve swept the entire house.
Hồi Ở Việt-nam tôi đã đi cùng. When [I] was in Viet Nam I went everywhere.

cùng 3. be at the end [of something] [with the notion of complete coverage], terminate, be at an end, be final, definitive (emphasizes final portion; cf. hết, cả 2.)
Ở gần Cam-ly đường cùng rải. Near Cam-Ly the road ends.
Tôi muốn cố gắng làm việc này tới cùng. I want to see this work through to the end.

cùng 4. be poor, destitute
Cùng quả hóa liều. [If one] is excessively poor [one is apt to] be transformed [and] take foolhardy risks. (i.e., Poverty makes men desperate.)—Folk saying
cữ
The verb with the meaning ‘be based on, dependent on, persistent’ is rare. The preverb with the meaning ‘continuing without interruption, definitely, insistently’ could be considered an extended use of the verb (and it would be reclassified as an auxiliary, 9.54); the prepositive particle meaning ‘coinciding with every...’ is perhaps a further specialization. It seems most helpful with the present analysis to consider them separate forms.

cữ 1. [extended state verb, 9.55] be based on, dependent on, essential, continual, perpetual, persistent
   Anh cữ việc ăn. You’re always eating. [“elder-brother be-perpetual business-of eat”]
   Chồng cữ. That’s not necessarily [the case].
   Mất nghe hát không thể dễ trôi, cữ việc làm thình như không nghe biết gì. Mất heard [him] sing [but] felt no urge to pay attention, continued ignoring [him] as if [she] was unaware of hearing anything.

cữ 2. [preverb, 11.72] continuing without interruption, definitely, insistently, in spite of adverse circumstances
   Anh ấy cữ làm việc. He continued to work.
   Tôi muốn cho em tôi cữ đi học, nên tôi phải đi làm. I want to [arrange it so that] my younger brother [can] continue going to school [without interruption], so I must work.
   Tôi gọi anh ấy hai ba lần, mà anh ấy vẫn cữ ngủ. I called him two or three times, but he went right on sleeping.
   Cữ đọc sách đi. Keep on reading [i.e., don’t stop].

cữ 3. [prepositive particle, 11.81] coinciding with every ..., on each [occasion], whenever
   Củ hai mươi phút một, anh ấy lại đi mồ cưa. Every twenty minutes he goes and opens the door (again).
   Trong cuộc tiến hóa człowiec nhân loại, củ đến mới thời kỳ nhất định lại xảy ra những cuộc cách mạng. In the evolution of the human species, as each [new] era arrives revolutions are again sure to come about.

dã [tense marker, 9.3] anterior
   Khi ông ấy đang đau, tôi dã có ở đó lâu. (S) When he was sick, I had already been there for a long time.
   Tôi dã không chịu đi Sài-gòn mà hỏi e tôi đi hoài. (S) I wasn’t willing to go to Saigon, but they made me go anyway.
Hai tháng rồi tôi đã nói Việt-minh sẽ vô Lào. (S) I said two months ago that the Viet Minh would go into Laos.

This word is fairly common as a descriptive complement, signalling that its head denotes a circumstance viewed as completed prior to some other circumstance (often, but not always, previously mentioned).

Ông uống nước đã khống? Have you had enough (water) to drink?
Tội đi chợ cói cói đâ, rồi sẽ mưa. Let me go to market and have a look, then [if there are any things you want] I'll buy [them].
Thôi, nghỉ đâ. [That's] enough, [let's] rest [before we do anything else].
Đừng nói lớn tiếng. Đê cho những người lính Nhật ấy đi qua đâ.
Don't raise [your] voice. Let those Japanese soldiers go past first.

dành [momentary action verb, 9.55]

This verb covers a much wider variety of meanings than any comparable English word. The basic meaning is generally given as ‘beat, hit, strike’, and many of the more specialized meanings can easily be seen to be related. In other uses the connections are less obvious. The following examples give a notion of the range.

dành bạc gamble
dành bài play cards
dành bạn befriend
dành bóng to polish
dành cá to fish
dành chén to eat and drink
dành cờ to play chess
dành cuộc to bet, wager
dành dấu to mark; esp. to place a diacritic by a letter
dành dây thêp send a telegram

dành ghen make a scene because one is jealous
dành giả appraise
dành giảay shine shoes
dành lưới catch [birds, fish] with a net
dành may (chũ) to type, use a type-writer
dành răng brush one’s teeth
dành thuế impose, levy a tax
dành thuốc (dộc) to poison
dành vài to scale [a fish]
dành van to spell [a word]

di

di 1. [momentary action verb as center 9.55] go; away (see also 9.64)
Tội di cho. I'm going to market.
Chúng ta di bây giờ. Let's go [i.e., leave a particular scene] now.
Di đâu đó? Where [you] going?
Xin anh đem cái va-li này di. Please take this suitcase away.
di 2. [momentary action verb as complement, 9.62] go ahead ...
(exhortation often connotes impatience)

Di đâu đi beide gì, thì đi di! (S) Wherever you want to go, go ahead!

Anh nói di! Go ahead and talk!

di 3. [final particle, 11.4] say! well! do you get it? you know what I mean (adds exclamative note to sentence; together with notion of some collusion or secret understanding with hearer) (conversational; generally accompanied by weak stress)

Cô ấy đẹp quá di! That girl certainly is pretty [both you and I appreciate that kind of beauty]!

Không có xu nào di! I don’t have a red cent [you know how it is to be low on funds]!

di 4. [postpositive contained particle, 11.82] [emphasizes preceding form] more intensely, definitely, extremely

Cạnh nào-nhiệt ngày thường dém nay mất hẳn di. The usual daily bustle this evening is entirely missing. ["circumstance bustle day ordinary night now lose completely emphatic-particle"]

dược

dược 1. [momentary action verb, 9.55] receive, get, obtain; be benefited by, get to be, reach (see also 9.64)

Sáng nay chị tôi được tho. My [elder] sister got a letter this morning.

Em được mấy tuổi rồi? How old are you? (speaking to a child)
Hôm nay tôi được_bot dau. (S) I’m less ill today.
Vậy khi chừng tôi sang Việt-nam có được hân-hạnh gặp các cô, các bà không? So when we get to Viet Nam will we have the pleasure of meeting girls and ladies?
Tối được ông thượng-yêu vi tôi siêng-nâng. I am esteemed by you because I am diligent.
Tối được giàu có như ngày nay nhờ tôi cần-khiêm. I’m as rich as I am today thanks to [the fact that] I’ve been thrifty.
Chỗ này làm cho người ta được mạnh-khỏe. (S) This place makes one healthy.
Tối được ăn. I am permitted to eat.
Ông qua Việt-nam được bao lâu rồi? (S) How long have you been in Viet Nam?

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dước 2. [extended state verb, 9.55] become a reality, result in something good; be (physically) possible, able

Trọn ngày đó và qua hôm sau tôi kiểm mái, kiểm luôn, không được. (S) All that day and the next I kept searching and searching, [but] it was no use.

Anh di không được. You can’t go [because of ill health].

Món này ăn được không? – Được lắm! (Host to guest:) Is this dish edible? – (Guest replying:) Very much so [i.e., delicious!]

Người đó làm việc hãy linh hay quỳnh quá, nên không được gì hết. (S) That fellow works with such a fearful attitude so much of the time that he can’t accomplish anything.

dước 3. [postpositive contained particle, 11.82] fortunately, successfully, with a good result (cf. phải 3)

Ông ấy mua được một ngôi nhà to. He purchased a large villa.

Chúng tôi sinh được một đứa con gái. We’ve had a son born to us.

Anh không đi được. You can’t go [because of circumstances].

Structurally, được 1. ‘receive’ is set off fairly clearly from the other two forms. It is frequently followed directly by a substantival complement; when another predicate is involved, it follows được. The other two forms, however, are less clearly separated from one another, and presumably they are divergent uses of what was originally the same word. Wherever được is predicate center (and được 1. is not involved) it is clearly được 2. ‘become a reality; be physically possible’, the extended state verb. In some situations where được follows another verb or predicate phrase the particle (dược 3. ‘successfully’) is not distinguishable from the extended state verb. In the following two cases the distinction is clear: (1) if được is negated directly (e.g., không được, chưa được) the verb is involved; (2) if được intervenes between the main verb and its substantival complement, (e.g., mua được nhà, bắt được hai con cá) the particle is involved. Compare the following examples:

Tôi không được đi. I am not permitted to go. (dược 1.)
Tôi đi không được. I am physically unable to go [e.g., because of poor health]. (dược 2.)
Tôi không đi được. I can’t go [because of circumstance which makes it impossible]. (dược 3.)
Tôi được bắt hai con cá. I’m permitted to catch two fish. (dược 1.)
Tôi bắt hai con cá được. I’m able to catch two fish (presumably được 2.)
Tôi bắt được hai con cá. I caught two fish. (dược 3.)
hay

hay 1. [momentary action verb, 9.55] find out, learn, come to know
[about something]

Ông hay tin chưa? Did you hear the news?
Khi nào ông nhất định đi, ông làm ơn cho tôi hay. Whenever you
decide to go, please let me know.

hay 2. [extended state verb, 9.55] be good, interesting
Phim này hay quá! This film is very interesting!

Người ấy nói hay, hát hay, cũng hay cờ. That fellow speaks well,
sings well, and is good at chess.

hay 3. [preverb, 11.72] often, frequently, customarily
Ông hay đi Đàlạt không?—Hay chờ. (S) Do you go to Dalat often?—
Sure!

Người đó làm việc hay lĩnh hay quỳnh quá, nên không được gì hết.
That fellow works with such a fearful attitude so much of the
time that he can’t accomplish anything. (in interlocking order
with lĩnh-quỳnh, cf. 7.8)

Chúng tôi sẽ không hay đi thăm ông Bình. We shan’t go to visit
Mr. Bình often.

Người Việt-nam hay uống nước chè. The Vietnamese [as a custom]
drink tea.

This form differs from most preverbs in that it appears as a short answer
(as in the first example above) and is negated as an auxiliary (9.54), but
no environments supporting it as a predicative have been found.

hay 4. [prepositional particle, 11.81] ‘or’ (often with weak stress)
Ông ây đi ra hay đi về. He went out [somewhere] or went home.
Tôi hay ông sẽ đi chợ. You or I will go to market.
Anh hay em đâu nào muốn làm tuổi. Which one is fifteen, the elder
or younger brother?

Frequently the head which accompanies this particle is an identificati-
onal predicate introduced by là; in this case somewhat greater empha-
sis is given to the second alternative—it is more likely or more desirable.

Chiều nay chúng ta ở nhà, hay là đi nhà anh Ba chơi? This evening
shall we stay home, or rather go to Mr. Ba’s house to call?

Hay 4 is common in choice questions (9.67), as exemplified immedi-
ately above; in statements the somewhat more literary particle hoặc
‘or’ appears in similar environments, with the connotation that the al-
ternatives are not mutually exclusive, while hay gives more the idea
that if one alternative is in force the other cannot be.
Anh thích ăn cam hay mang cut?—Cam hoặc mang cut cũng được.
Do you like [to eat] oranges or mangosteens?—Oranges or mangosteens—they’re both all right. (Hay might well occur in this sentence with little or no difference in force.)
Mặc dù chậm tiến hóa, hoặc vị nghiêm, hoặc vị nhiều lẽ khác, nhưng sự canh tranh cũng đã đưa người ta đến mỹ-thuat. Although progress is slow, either because of poverty, or for many other reasons, still competition has led people to achieve [something] artistic.

hẩy
hẩy 1. [preverb, 11.72] (let’s) be sure to ...
Hẩy theo gương những kẻ nhân đức. [One should] follow the example of virtuous people.
Ta hẩy chịu khó làm việc. Let us work with patience.

hẩy 2. [versatile particle, 11.83] still [before head]; ...first, before [following head]
Hẩy còn sớm. It’s still early.
Chúng ta làm cái này hẩy. Let’s do this first.

hết [auxiliary, 9.54] be completely finished, all used up, all gone; no longer; completely, to the very end (emphasizes aftermath of completion; cf. cả 2., cùng 3.)
Đường hết rồi. The sugar is all used up.
Công việc ấy gần hết. That job is nearly complete.
Anh ấy tiêu hết cả tiền rồi. He’s spent all the money already.
Lúc này tôi hết đi Sài-gòn. (S) I no longer go to Saigon now.

This verbal appears in a use much like that of postpositive particles (11.82) emphasizing negative notions.
Chẳng thấy gì hết! Can’t see a blessed thing!
Ông ấy không đi đâu hết. He’s not going anywhere at all.

With certain descriptive complements of its own, it appears meaning ‘with all one’s might, as ... as one can’, etc.
Anh ấy ở đây làm hết lòng. He’s over there working as hard as he can.
Ban tôi nằm nhà thương, tôi hết sức buồn cho bạn. My friend is (lying) in the hospital; I’m terribly sorry for him.
Following the comparative **hơn** (9.52) it adds the notion of a superlative.

*Cô ấy đẹp **hơn hết**.* She’s the prettiest (of all).

*Trong máy người đó ông Hai nói tiếng Anh giỏi **hơn hết**.* (S) Among those people, Mr. Hai speaks English best.

lại

lại 1. [momentary action verb, 9.55] come [to], arrive [at]

*Mời ông **lại** thăm chúng tôi.* Please come and visit us.

*Anh làm ơn mang **lại** đầy hai cái ghế.* Please bring two chairs here. (cf. 14.73)

*Ông muốn gặp tôi, tôi sẽ **lại** nhà ông.* [If] you want to see [“meet”] me I’ll come to your house.

lại 2. [preverb, 11.72] resuming, continuing, extending [activity which has been interrupted, or is threatened with interruption], accomplishing [another act of the same sort]

*Anh muốn thi dễ thì anh **lại** học một năm nữa.* [If] you want to pass your exams you [should] continue studying another year.

*Nó định hai anh, nhưng anh **lại** tránh khỏi.* He determined to kill you, but you escaped once more.

*Nó đã thôi rồi, sau nó **lại** làm.* He had stopped [but] later he went to doing [it] again.

*Dangen thò thì cụ Đàm **lại** chỉ cho hai ông xem một đoạn thuyên khác.* While talking cụ Đàm pointed out (for the two fellows to look at) another group of different boats.

lại 3. [postverb, 11.73] repeating, doing over [generally with notion of attempted improvement], continuing [uninterruptedly]


*Dép **lại** một chỗ.* Put [them] away [neatly] again in the same place.

*Anh ấy vay tiền rồi trả **lại** ngay.* He borrowed [some] money, [and] returned [it] right away.

*Lúc bạn tôi ra Hà-nội tôi ở **lại** Sai-gòn làm việc.* At the same time my friend went to Hanoi I remained in Saigon working.

*Cuốn sách này cũ, người ta mới in **lại**.* (S) This book is old [i.e., was first published long ago], they’ve just reprinted [it].

lại 4. [prepositional particle, 11.81] on the other hand, changing decision, in contrast, contrary to expectation; moreover, besides

*Sao anh **lại** không đánh dạy thểp trước? Why didn’t you send a telegram first?*
Tôi định đi Sài-gòn, nhưng lại hơi không muốn đi, vì gặp trời mưa-tội không thích uốt-át. (S) I had decided to go to Saigon, but (on the contrary) I was rather unenthusiastic about going because I ran into rain—I don't like wet weather.
Nó đã không cho tôi làm, nó lại dọa đánh tôi. He didn't allow me to do [it]; moreover he threatened to hit me.
Xưa có người học trò rất thông-minh. Học một biết hai, tính lại chăm học. Long ago there was a very intelligent student. He learned very quickly; moreover he was by nature studious.

lại 5. [postpositive contained particle, 11.82] back, behind, reduced to original condition or position, to closed position, tight together.

Người ta làm mới cuốn sách này lại. (S) They have rebound this book [making it seem like new again].
Tôi vẫn tre đông-hồ tôi lại hai phút. I've set my watch back two minutes. ["I twist late timepiece I back two minutes"]
Chi ấy đóng cửa lại. She closed the door.
Bài này dài thường, nên thảo nguyên lại. (S) This lesson is very ["dragging"] long, [we] must shorten it.
Tôi dừng bước bạn tôi lại để nói chuyện. (S) I stopped my friend ["his walking"] to talk [with him].
Khi nào tôi xuống Sài-gòn lại, tôi hy vọng gặp ông. (S) Whenever I get back down to Saigon, I'll hope to see you.

Người ta tin là khi hai người lấy nhau thì có một vị-thần ở trên Giới lấy hai số chỉ hông xe lại với nhau thành số i. People believe that when two people get married ["take one-another"] there is a benevolent spirit up in heaven [who] takes the two pink strands [representing their individual destinies] [and] spins [them] together (with each other) making a single strand.

Note that in certain sentences, these contrasting uses of lại make for some rather subtle differences.

Người ta làm mới lại cuốn sách này. (S) They've repaired this [damaged] book again. (postverb, lại 3.)
Người ta làm mới cuốn sách này lại. (S) They've rebound this book [making it like new again]. (postpositive contained particle, lại 5.)
Ông lại viết thơ nữa. Write another letter. (preverb, lại 2.)
Ông viết lại cái thơ này. Rewrite [i.e., revise] this letter. (postverb, lại 3.)
ông viết cái thesis lại. Rewrite this letter [in its proper or original form]. (postpositive contained particle, lại 5.)

Cha tôi không thích đi chợ, lại ông khó được. (S) My father doesn’t like to go to market; what’s more he’s indisposed. (prepositive particle lại 4.)

Cha tôi không thích đi chợ, ông lại khó ông. (S) My father doesn’t like to go to market—he’s gotten indisposed again (preverb lại 2.)

Cha tôi không thích đi chợ, ông khó ông lại. (S) My father doesn’t like to go to market—he’s back to being indisposed again. (postpositive contained particle lại 5.)

There are some other forms with the shape lại, but the material is insufficient to provide good examples of their use. They are less common than those exemplified above, and it will be sufficient for the present purposes to list the more important with glosses and suggest their grammatical functions.

lại public servant, official [probably a pseudo-base, appearing in such pseudo-compounds as quan-lai ‘mandarins, officials’, nha-lai ‘public servants, personnel, staff’ if a free form, then presumably some kind of substantive]

lại rely on [probably a pseudo-base, appearing in such pseudo-compounds as y-lai ‘rely on’, vô-lai ‘good-for-nothing, dishonest person’; if a free form, apparently some kind of verbal]

lại resist, stand, withstand, overcome, be a match for [verb]

Tôi nói không lại nói. He out-talked me. [“I talk not be-a-match-for him”]

lười

lười 1. [postverb 11.73] directly, without break, all at once, in a single operation, without stopping, extending to another situation or person

Bạn tôi bị ốm đi lười nhà thương, không được về nhà lấy đồ. My friend got sick and went directly to the hospital—he wasn’t permitted to go home to get [his] things.

Thấy thuốc chữa bệnh truyền-nhiễm bị đau lười nữa. (S) Doctors treating contagious diseases sometimes take sick themselves.

Hãy ăn cơm lười đi cho rồi. Go ahead and keep eating so as to finish.

lười 2. [prepositional particle, 11.81] profiting from this fact, going on from this [just referred to]

Anh tôi chỉ tôi ở đây, lười tôi cũng ở đây nữa. My [elder] brother and sister are here; profiting from [their presence] I’ll stay here, too.
luôn 3. [postpositive noncontained particle, 11.82] often, frequently; always, continually; just the same, anyhow

Tôi ở Đà-lạt luôn苦恼. (S) I stay in Dalat all the time.
ông đi về, tôi ở lại đây mãi, hàng nhớ ông luôn. [When] you return home [and] I remain here (permanently), [I'll]
(habitually) remember you often.
Tôi làm công việc này rồi luôn. (S) I'll finish this work just the same.
Nằng luôn miệng ca-tưng những buổi chiều yêu-dương ấy. She had constantly in her mouth a song of praise for those much-loved afternoons. (used as focal complement, cf. 11.82)

The derivative luôn-luôn 'always, continuously' seems to be a versatile particle (11.83) with little or no gross difference of meaning for different positions.

Tôi ở Đà-lạt luôn-luôn. I'm always in Dalat.
Tôi luôn-luôn ở Đà-lạt. I'm always in Dalat.
Luôn-luôn tôi ở Đà-lạt, không đi đâu hết. I'm always in Dalat, don't go anywhere at all.

mà

mà 1. [coordinating particle, 11.51] but

Tiếng pháo bày giờ không phải là dễ tế Trời, Phát hay lẽ tổ-tiên mà là tiếng pháo mừng tuổi các người còn sống. The sound of firecrackers now is not for the purpose of performing a sacrifice to Heaven or Buddha or to honor the ancestors but is (a sound of firecrackers) to wish Happy New Year to the people still living.

In some instances this particle serves in exclamatory expressions where the meaning is something like 'why...!'

Nóng, mà nó nóng bức! (S) Hot? Why it's stifling!

mà 2. [relative particle, 11.52] [descriptive complement marker]

Trang Việt-nam đưa lên trước nên được vua hồi trước là trạng về cài gì mà nhanh thế? The Vietnamese scholar brought [his drawing] up first, so [he] was asked first by the king what he had drawn so quickly.
Vợ ông chỉ biết khắc mà thường cho duyên-kếp mình không ra gì, không he oán-trách chồng. His wife was of such a personality [that she] only wept, regretting that her predestination turned out to be so disappointing ["came to nothing"]; she never reproached [her] husband.
Anh ta lấy đầy túi rồi lại cuối mình chim mà vẽ. He filled the pouch, then again mounted astride the body of the bird to return.

Giỏi mà cho thì nó bỏ về nhà. [If it's really] Heaven that gave it, then it'll crawl back to the house [on its own].

Dùng nói lằng-nhằng nữa, ai mà tin được. Don't tell any more fantasies, [there's] no one that can believe [them].

Cô ở đó rồi mà ông thấy. (S) She's over there already, as you [can] see.

This relative particle often conveys the notion that the descriptive complement it marks is the only appropriate one in the situation.

Mày cấu tôi hiểu không hay. Some of the sentences I understand are not interesting.

Mày cấu mà tôi hiểu không hay. The [only] sentences I understand are not interesting.

Nếu tôi kiếm được cuốn sách đó, thì sung-sướng lắm. (S) If I can find that book I'll be very happy.

Nếu mà tôi kiếm được cuốn sách đó, thì sung-sướng lắm. (S) If only I can find that book I'll be very happy.

mà 3. [final particle, 11.4] [strong contradiction]

Làm không được.—Được mà! [It's] not possible to do.—Oh, yes it is!

Ông ấy đã cuối vô lâu rồi mà! Why, he's been married for a long time [contrary to what you suggest]!

Thế mà! That is the way it is! (occasionally also used as a mocking comment: ‘Oh, is that so? [I don't believe it.]’)

The probable relationship of these three words is seen in the very similar flavor which the first and third often lend to sentences, and especially in the numerous examples where it is impossible to decide whether the first or second particle is involved.

Hoa vở là thú hoa ông đã biết rồi mà còn vở như không biết. The “pretense” flower is a kind of flower which a man already knows [what it is] but still pretends not to know [so as to be able to talk about it and avoid talking about something unpleasant].

Còn gì bằng là hai ông đang đi sang Việt-nam du-lịch mà được nghe một cụ già lịch-duyệt kể chuyện về Việt-nam. Nothing [could be] better than that two fellows going over to Viet Nam on a trip should get to hear an experienced old man tell about Viet Nam.
Rắn mà nó trông ra vàng. Snakes that he sees as gold! (or [They're] snakes, but he sees [them] as gold!)

mình

mình 1. [general categorical, 8.62] body
Anh ta lấy dây túi roi lại cuối lên mình chim mà về. He filled the pouch, then again mounted astride the body of the bird to return.

mình 2. [personal pronoun, 10.43] self, oneself, myself, yourself, himself, herself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves; you, I [speaking to spouse or very intimate friend] (in latter case either speaker or hearer is female [or both are])
Anh đánh nó, nó phải giữ mình. You hit him, he has to defend himself.

Vì ông chỉ biết khóc mà thuong cho duyên-kiếp mình không ra gì, không hề oán trách chồng. His wife was of such a personality [that she] only wept, regretting that her predestination turned out to be so disappointing [“came to nothing”]; she never reproached [her] husband.

Nay mình ơi! Say, there! (farmer calling wife)
Mình nói đưa mà ai cũng tưởng thật. I said [it] in jest but everyone took it seriously. [“self speak tease but whoever likewise think true”]
Chứng mình đi xem hát đi. Let’s go see a play.

móí

móí 1. [extended state verb, 9.55] be new
Quyền sách này mơi. This book is new.
Tết Nguyễn-dân là lẽ ăn mừng năm mơi. The Nguyễn-dân festival is the holiday celebrating the new year.

móí 2. [preverb, 11.72] [after something just mentioned is accomplished] only then, now, recently, just; [if something just mentioned is true] only then; [in contrast with preceding] really, truly
Còn hai ngày nữa chúng ta mơi đến Sài-gòn. Only after another two days will we get to Saigon.
An com rồi mơi đi choi. [Let’s not] go out till after [we’ve] eaten.
Tối mơi làm xong công việc ấy. I just finished that work.
Éch-Hoa thương Cóc lắm, nhưng vì không quen việc luật-pháp möyle bảo Cóc đi tìm Nhật-bên giúp đỡ công việc. Leopard-Frog was
very fond of Toad, but because [he] was not acquainted with legal matters—for that reason alone [he] told Toad to go look for Tree-Frog to help with the matter.

Tôi còn tuyên nay mới thật mà-mai. I have this other story which is really ironic [if you thought the last one was].

Thế mới là! It’s really astonishing [if that’s the way it is]!

nào

nào 1. [negative, 9.4] on the contrary, not

Tôi não đi. I’m definitely not going [although someone said I was].

Tôi đã não ngủ. I certainly didn’t sleep.

Nào ai còn dám nói-năng mởt lời. Not a single person dared say a word more.—Kim-Văn-Kiều

nào 2. [reference demonstrative, 10.45] whichever (see also 14.2)


Nhà nào cửa ông? Which house is yours?

Bài nào cùng khó. Every lesson is difficult.

Không có việc nào làm. There isn’t anything to do.

nào 3. [initial particle, 11.3] come on! ...

Nào, làm đi xem! Come on, do it [and] see [what happens]!

nào 4. [final particle, 11.4] [mild exhortation] won’t you?

Hai ông điếu xem thấy những gì lạ kệ cho tôi nghe nào? [If] the two of you saw anything new on your trip on the train tell me about it, won’t you? [“two gentleman go conveyance look perceive plural-marker whatever strange narrate give I listen won’t-you?”]

nào 5. [prepositive particle, 11.81] [in series] both ... and ...; not only ... but also ...; ...—all these

Nào tiền, nào tình, nào hạnh-phúc ... Money, love, happiness—all these ...

Nào cây to bóng mát, nào hoa thơm bón mùa. Not only [were there] great trees [with their] cool shade, but also fragrant flowers [during all] four seasons.

nên

nên 1. [auxiliary, 9.54] be appropriate, necessary, have an obligation to

Nên chẳng? It is appropriate?

Không nên đi. [One] shouldn’t go.
Appendix A

Chúng ta nên tập thể-thao. We should have physical exercise.
["animate-group you-and-I ought practice sports"]
Bài này dài thử, nên thư ngần lại. (S) This lesson is very
["dragging"] long, [we] must shorten it.

nên 2. [momentary action verb, 9.55] develop into, become, result in
Anh ấy đã nên người rồi. He has already become a personage.
Cuối nên tiếng khóc, hát nên giọng sầu. Laughter leads to
(sound of) weeping, singing leads to (accent of) sadness.
—Nguyễn-Gia-Thiều

nên 3. [isolating particle, 11.51] therefore, so, as a result
Tôi bị nhà tôi cháy, nên mất cửa hết. My house burned, so I lost
all my belongings.
Tai nó ốn bây nên đâu. (S) He's sick because he's eaten
haphazardly [off unclean dishes, etc.]
Vi sức yếu nên nhờ cây gây chóng đi. (S) Because [he] is weak
[he] has to walk leaning on [his] stick. ["because strength
weak therefore depend-on stick cane lean-on go"]
Trời còn sớm, nên tôi dễ anh ngủ. It was still early—that was why
I let you sleep.

The second and third forms may well be different uses of the same word,
but it has seemed best to separate them here; in the material collected
there were no examples which would mark instances of nên 3. as centers
of predicates (see also 11.91).

nhưng

nhưng 1. [plural marker, 8.2, 11.61] some, several [of same category]
[indefinite plural]
Nhu vậy các ông đến nơi thì gặp những ngày cười窄 ám-lịch.
In this way they [would] arrive (there) [and] run into some of
the final days of the year [according to] the moon calendar.
Những lân sóng lớn bị tàu cập đối, đập vào hai bên màn tàu, tung
lên những bột trắng-xóa. Large waves were cut in two by the
ship, [they] struck against the two sides of the ship, [and]
threw up bubbles of glistening white spray.
Anh ấy ăn những tấm bất cóm. He ate all of [i.e., as many as]
eight bowls of rice.

nhưng 2. [prepositive particle, 11.81] only, exclusively
Cái va-li ấy đầy những quần áo. That suitcase is full of nothing
but clothes.
Không những anh ấy bỏ tôi đi, mà anh ấy còn lấy hết tiền của tôi. Not only did he abandon me, but he also took all my money.

Tôi chẳng những chỉ biết tiếng Việt mà thôi, tôi còn biết tiếng Pháp nữa. It's not only Vietnamese that I know, but also French.

In older usage những 2. was common with a predicate as head, but this is now considered old fashioned unless the whole expression is negated as in the last two examples above; in other cases it is replaced by chỉ 3. or the compound những chỉ (as in the last example above), or chỉ những is used.

Tôi những lo đến việc ấy. I am worried only about that matter.

More commonly: Tôi chỉ lo đến việc ấy.

Anh ấy nghe tôi nói thế, chỉ (những) cuối. [When] he heard me say that, he only laughed.

phải

phải 1. [extended state verb, 9.55] be correct; right [hand, side]

Nhò phải, tôi trái. He’s right, I’m wrong.

Lời của ông nói phải lắm. Your remarks are true.

Hai với hai là bốn, phải không?—Phải. Two and two are four, isn’t that right?—Yes.

Đi đến nhà hát lớn thì rể tay phải. [You] go as far as the municipal theatre, then turn right. (giving directions)

It serves to mark emphatic affirmatives and is presumably the verb involved in the negation of non-verbal predicates (14.33) and in the question formula có phải ... không? (13.22)

 clipped nhà mà chúng ta đã đến hôm qua. It is the house where we came visiting yesterday.

Không phải việc tôi. It’s not my affair.

Ông ấy không phải là lính. He’s not a soldier.

Có phải bây giờ là mùa cuối không? Is now the season for marriages?

phải 2. [extended state verb, 9.55] ought to, must

 Xin lỗi ông, tôi phải đi. [I] beg your pardon, I have to leave.

Tôi nghĩ lỗi tại tôi, tôi phải ngựa lúc bất-trắc ấy. I thought it was my fault, I should have taken precautions against that [sort of] unexpected occasion.

Ta phải giúp kẻ nghèo-khó. We should help the poor and unfortunate.

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phải 3. [momentary action verb, 9.55] suffer, sustain, be adversely affected by, contract [a disease]

Nó phải bất, bị phạt. He was caught and punished.
Ban tôi phải bệnh nên nằm nhà thương. My friend contracted a disease, so [he’s] (lying) in the hospital.
As a complement to a main verb it adds the notion ‘to one’s misfortune, chagrin.’
Anh ta ngồi phải Cuộc. He had the misfortune to sit on a fence picket.
Tôi mua phải gạo hàng ba. I made the unfortunate mistake of buying third-quality rice.
Hiện tượng ấy như là một định luật tự nhiên của con người khi sống cùng con người gặp phải những tro-lục ngăn-cản và muốn vượt qua, phải đánh giá tro-lục ấy. This phenomenon is like a natural law of mankind [to the effect that] when [in] human life [one] has the misfortune to meet with impeding obstacles and wishes to overcome [them], [one] must strike down those obstacles.

tự

tự 1. [preverb, 11.72] acting for or upon oneself, of one’s own accord
Nó tự nói. He [a child] is talking to himself.
Tôi không tự đi. I’m not going of my own accord.
Anh ấy định tự-tử. He decided to commit suicide. (The form is hyphenated since it is recognized as a Chinese loan form.)
Khi nào mà anh ấy hát, thì tôi tự thấy khó chịu. As soon as he sings I feel I can’t endure it. [“... perceive myself ...”]
Tôi tự làm lấy được. I can do it myself.

tự 2. [prepositional particle, 11.81] starting from; because of, according to
Anh ấy đi làm việc tự tháng trước. He went to work (starting from) the preceding month.
Tự ông ấy sinh su ra. Because of him [the thing] became a reality.
Tôi đi hay không đi tự tôi. I go or don’t go, as I please.
Tôi đi không tự tôi. I was forced to go against my will.
In the meaning ‘starting from’ tự 2. appears to be a variant of the prepositional particle tự (cf. 14.43); however, there are many contexts in which the two forms are not interchangeable.
ţư 3. [pseudo-base] written word, [Chinese] character, letter, symbol; courtesy name (see also 5.57)
   Hán-ţư Chinese character
   ţư-vi, ţư-diện dictionary
   bìêţ-ţư fancy name, nickname
   vân-ţư writing, spelling, orthography, written language

There are a number of other less common forms with the shape ţư; they are not thoroughly analyzable with the material at hand, but they seem for the most part to be pseudo-bases. We may note here the following:
   ţư [Buddhist] temple: Phát-ţư Buddhist temple
   ţư order, series: thủ ţư order, series
   ţư preceding: tiêţ-ţư, ţư-luân foreword, preface
   ţư resembling: tương-ţư similar, identical
   ţư offspring, heir: thọa-ţư to succeed, carry on [a family line],
   tuyệt-ţư heirless

túng

ţúng 1. [general categorical, 8.62] layer, stratum; floor, storey [of building] [dialectal variant of taş]
   Nhà này có mấy ţúng? How many storeys does this building have?
   Lúc này người ta đăng dỗ-xét về thương-ţúng không-khí. These
days they’re investigating the upper atmosphere.

ţúng 2. [plural marker, 8.2, 11.61] each in turn, so many by so many
   Cùng-an đi đến ţúng nhà mà điêu-tra. The police went from house
to house investigating.
   Chia thành phó ra ţúng khu mà kiểm-soát. Divide the city up by
districts for [purposes of] control.
   Chúng ta vào ţúng người, hay vào cả �� tần? Shall we go in one
   by one [“person by person”], or all at once?
A peculiarity of this word is that when it appears in phrases serving as
focal complements the substantival phrase ends with the word môţ ‘one’
as final complement. (Môţ is also often found as final complement when
the whole phrase serves as descriptive complement.)
   Túng gia-dình môţ di bô phêu. Family by family they went to
   cast [their] votes.
   Anh giết những con trâu này ţúng con môţ di tám. Lead these
   buffalo to bathe one by one.
Note that this môţ serves to signal that unified groups are involved, not
to limit the series to individual items.
   Túng ba người môţ chay thi. Three by three they ran races.
vùa

vùa 1. [extended state verb, 9.55] fit, suit, be just the right quantity or quality, be pleasing, satisfying; be moderate, reasonable

Ném hô xem dã vùa chưa hay mất quá. Please taste it to see whether it’s about right or too salty.

Đôi giày này anh đã vùa không? Does this pair of shoes fit you?

Vùa rồi! [That’s] enough! Just the right amount!

Cô ấy có vùa mặt anh không? Did that girl please your eye?

Nó không vùa đâu. He has a terrible temper. [“he not moderate at-all”]

Học vùa chút! Don’t study too hard! [“study moderate contrary-to-what-you-might-do”]

vùa 2. [preverb, 11.72] just this moment, recently

Chuối này vùa chín. These bananas are just ripe.

Ông ấy vùa đi xong. He just this moment left.

vùa 3. [preposition, 11.81, usually correlative] both ...and ...; ... and at the same time ...

Nó vùa khóc vùa cười. He [a child] was crying and laughing at the same time.

Chị ấy phải vùa đi học vùa đi làm. She had to work while going to school.

Nhà tôi có tôi một trăm con, vùa trái, vùa bò. My family has up to a hundred animals, both buffalo and cattle.
APPENDIX B

Word Classes

In the following list numbers refer to treatments in the text. Indentations clarify class and subclass membership.

SUBSTANTIVES (8)

NUMERALS (8.4)
  Unit Numbers (8.41)
  Indefinite Number (8.42)
  Multiple Numbers (8.43)

NOMINALS (8.6)
  Categoricals (8.6)
    Classifiers (8.61)
      General Classifier (8.61)
    General Categoricals (8.62)
  Nouns (8.6)
    Relator Nouns (8.63)
    Mass Nouns (8.64)
    Indefinite Nouns (8.65)
    Item Nouns (8.66)

PREDICATIVES (9)

NEGATIVES (9.4)

VERBALS (9.5)
  Definitive (9.51)
  Comparatives (9.52)
  Quantifiers (9.53)
  Auxiliaries (9.54)
  Verbs (9.55)
    Momentary Action Verbs (9.55)
    Extended State Verbs (9.55)

FOCUSES (10)

  Proper Names (10.41)
  Pronouns (10.4)
    Collective (10.42)
    Personal Pronouns (10.43)
    Absolute Pronouns (10.44)
  Manner Focuses (10.45)
  Locational Focuses (10.46)
  Temporal Focuses (10.47)

PARTICLES (11)

INTERJECTIONS (11.2)

SENTENCE PARTICLES (11.1)
  Initial Particles (11.3)
  Final Particles (11.4)

CLAUSE PARTICLES (11.5)
  Principalizing Particles (11.51)
  Isolating Particles (11.51)
  Coordinating Particles (11.51)
  Subordinating Particles (11.52)
    Relative Particle (11.52)
    Focal Particles (11.52)
  Substantival Particles (11.6)
    Plural Markers (11.61, 8.2)
    Descriptive Particles (11.62)
    Vocative Particles (11.63)
      Formal Vocative Particles (11.63)
      Informal Vocative Particles (11.63)

PREDICATIVE PARTICLES (11.7)
  Predicative Markers (11.71, 9.3, 9.7)
  Verbal Particles (11.7)
    Preverbs (11.72)
    Postverbs (11.73)

MOVABLE PARTICLES (11.8)
  Prepositive Particles (11.81)
  Postpositive Particles (11.82)
    Contained Particles (11.82)
    Non-Contained Particles (11.82)
  Versatile Particles (11.83)
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*JPRS* = U.S. Joint Publication Research Society.

*KSV* = *Kratkie Soobščenija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedenija*.


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VJa = Voprosy jazykoznaniya. Moscow.

VLU = Vestnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennego Universiteta.


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