LACQUERED WORDS:

THE EVOLUTION OF VIETNAMESE UNDER SINITIC INFLUENCES

FROM THE 1st CENTURY BCE THROUGH THE 17th CENTURY CE

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As much as three quarters of the modern Vietnamese lexicon is of Chinese origin. The majority of these words are often assumed to have originated in much the same manner as late Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese borrowed forms: by rote memorization of reading glosses that were acquired through limited exposure to spoken Sinitic. However, under closer scrutiny, this model fails to account for a broad range of features in the Vietnamese language. Through an examination of the intellectual, cultural, and political terms of Sino-Vietic contact from the 1st century B.C.E. through the 17th century C.E., as well as an analysis of the phonological forms of Sino-Vietnamese lexica that were transacted as a result, I formulate a new history of Sino-Vietic contact that differs sharply from the prevailing model.

This new model departs from current concepts of Vietnamese linguistic history at three major points. First, rather than limited exposure to Sinitic language, Sino-Vietnamese phonological forms suggest that pervasive and sustained bilingual contact obtained over most of the first millennium, between the immediate ancestor of modern Vietnamese on one hand, and a local variety of Middle Chinese rooted in the river plains of northern Vietnam on the other. This requires the existence of a thriving, Sinitic speaking population in the regions of northern Vietnam that flourished over the course of the first millennium. Chapters 2, 4, and 6 are devoted to the three primary chronological layers of Sinitic vocabulary in modern Vietnamese, two of which resulted from the increasing bilingualism of this ethnolinguistically complex society.

Second, based on new data from fieldwork I conducted in 2009-2010, I claim that the closest living relatives of modern Vietnamese—the so-called *Mường* varieties—in fact do not constitute a linguistic subgroup of their own, but represent distinct languages as distantly related

to each other as they are to Vietnamese. As discussed in chapter 5, this model of speciation bears significant consequences for our understanding of the life and death of Sinitic language in the region.

Third, I argue that the emergence of a vernacular literary tradition in Vietnam, in the form of the logographic script called *Chữ Nôm*, was propelled by a desire to fuse local forms with the prevailing cosmopolitan mode (i.e. Literary Sinitic), and to synthetically reproduce the kind of diglossic social architecture that had developed in medieval China over the course of the Sui and Tang dynasties. Chapter 3 examines the roots of this Sinitic diglossia in the 7th century production of the immensely influential rime dictionary called the *Qieyun*, while Chapter 7 investigates the rise of a vernacular literary tradition in Vietnam over the course of the second millennium, and shows how the elevation of vernacular language was justified by re-imagining it—not as a vulgar copy of Literary Sinitic, nor as a rising competitor—but simply as an extension of the domesticative and civilizing technology of Sinitic writing.

By examining both the cultural and structural dimensions of language history, this dissertation provides unified account of the evolution of Vietnamese under various Sinitic influences which redefines our current understanding of Sino-Vietic contact over the last two millennia.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

John Duong Phan was born in Madison, Wisconsin in June of 1980. After graduating from James Madison Memorial High School in 1998, he attended Saint Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, graduating in 2002 with majors in Asian Studies, Ancient Studies, and Religion. After fulfilling a fifteen month Fulbright fellowship in Hanoi, Vietnam, from 2002-2003, he returned to the United States and completed a Masters of Arts in Chinese literature at Columbia University. In August of 2005, he arrived in Ithaca, New York to begin his doctoral studies in the Department of Asian Studies at Cornell University. Upon completion of his Ph.D., he will begin a two year post-doctoral fellowship under the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), during which he will continue his work on language history at the National Institute for Japanese Language & Linguistics (NINJAL).

For my parents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS: TERMS

AA: Austroasiatic (family)

AMC: Annamese Middle Chinese

ESV: Early Sino-Vietnamese

EMC: Early Middle Chinese

HV: Hán-Việt

LSV: Late Sino-Vietnamese

LMC: Late Middle Chinese

MC: Middle Chinese (in general)

MK: Mon-Khmer (family)

OC: Old Chinese

pV: Proto-Vietic

pVN: Proto-Vietnamese

pVM: Proto-Viet-Muong

RSV: Recent Sino-Vietnamese

SK: Sino-Korean

SJ: Sino-Japanese

SWMC: Southwestern Middle Chinese

VM: Viet-Muong (family)

ABBREVIATIONS: TITLES

ANCL: *An Nam chí lược* 安南志略

BS: *Beishi* 北史

CS: *Chenshu* 陳書

ĐVSKTT: *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* 大越史記全書

HHS: *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書

JTS: *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書

MS: *Mingshi* 明史

SQKS: *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書

XTS: *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書

ZZTJ: *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑

Introduction

0.0   The Interdisciplinarity of Language History

        This dissertation describes the nature of Sinitic influences on the history of the Vietnamese language.   It is an investigation into the effects of participation within a cosmopolitan network, and more particularly, the consequences of a Vietic membership within the "sinographic cosmopolis," from early contact with Sinitic language in the 1ˢᵗ century CE through the development of a vernacular literary tradition by the 17ᵗʰ century."[1] The alloyed history of the Vietnamese language cannot be encompassed by any of the individual disciplines of historical linguistics, literary history or intellectual history alone. Like many phenomena, whether social, intellectual, biological or physical, Sino-Vietic language history requires a number of disciplinary tools to understand unravel, describe and understand adequately. This is because language, though by definition governed by subconscious rules characterized by regularity and internal consistency, is concurrently affected by cultural and political forces, which in turn both govern—and are governed by—the whims and choices of individual speakers. Thus, culture, society and linguistic structure form braided links in a chain of influence that propels the evolution of language.   Language, like breathing, is both a conscious and unconscious affair, and the history of a language necessarily presupposes both structural and cultural dimensions.

        The particularity of language in this respect is entirely due to its capacity for change through contact with other languages. The guiding principle of modern historical linguistics was formulated, in stronger terms than perhaps is now generally accepted, by the Neogrammarians (*jungrammatiker*) of late 19ᵗʰ century Germany, who claimed that a sound change in a given

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[1] The term "Sinographic cosmopolis" was coined by Dr. Ross King, for a symposium entitled "Thinking about Cosmopolitan & Vernacular in the Sinographic Cosmopolis" (July 2-4, 2012), as an East Asian parallel to Sheldon Pollock's "Sanskrit cosmopolis."

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language obtains without exception anywhere its governing conditions are met. However, the facility of language to borrow and transfuse, as Thomason & Kaufman (1988) put it, "any linguistic feature" under the right conditions, means that language history can never adequately be described in terms of regular linguistic changes alone. Contact between languages disrupts and reformulates the terms of regular linguistic change. Critically, the conditions which dictate the terms of contact are not linguistic—but cultural, intellectual and political. That is why language history is an interdisciplinary endeavor. These dimensions of language history are particular rather than regular, and they necessarily comprise a great range of idiosyncratic historical, intellectual and literary details.

In response to these interdisciplinary demands, this dissertation treats language both as a system of subconscious rules and as a culturally manufactured artifact, and explores both its structural and intellectual evolution over time.[2] I examine the cultural and political terms of contact between Sinitic and Vietic speakers over the past two millennia and at the same time analyze the phonological features of Sinitic loanwords that result from this contact. On these bases propose a new history for Sino-Vietic linguistic contact which redefines the nature and extent of Sinitic influences on the evolution of the Vietnamese language.

0.1   "Chinese Influence" and the lacquer of the Cosmopolitan

At the heart of this dissertation, therefore, lies the notion of "Chinese influence," which has served as a kind of explanatory *deus ex machina* for many features of Vietnamese culture and society in the past. At times, Vietnam has been bleached into featurelessness by the

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[2] In many ways the two dimensions of language I describe here are analogous to Chomsky's "Externalized Language" (E-Language) and "Internalized Language (I-Language). See Chomsky (1986), especially pp. 19-40.

uncritical assumption of "Chinese influence"; at other times Vietnam has become a caricature of nationalism through the effort to deny it. Occasionally, scholars have taken the question seriously, with illuminating results. One example may be found in Alexander Woodside's (1971) *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*, which penetrates the Qing sheen of Nguyễn Dynasty bureaucracy and provides a meticulous analysis of Vietnam's adaptation of Chinese political forms in the 19th century. When it comes to the structure of language, foundational efforts at describing the effects of contact with Sinitic forms were made in the early part of the 20th century, by the French scholar Henri Maspero and the Chinese historical linguist Wang Li.[3] In the 1970s, Nguyễn Tài Cẩn and Mineya Tōru also produced substantive descriptions of the Sino-Vietnamese loan lexicon, at some points updating the work of the previous generation in light of subsequent advances—notably André Haudricourt's 1954 article *De l'origine des tones en Vietnamien*—which proved decisively that Vietnamese was not genetically related to the Sinitic languages.[4] Later, in a discussion of the state of the field, Mantaro Hashimoto (1978) proposed the possibility of a "southern koine," spoken during the Tang Dynasty, as the source for most Sino-Vietnamese words, and provided a brief but suggestive comparison with various modern Sinitic languages spoken in the vicinity of the Vietnamese border. Similarly, Marc Miyake (2003) would later propose an affiliation with Cantonese. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 1, the details of Hashimoto's scenario are problematic, and Miyake's proposal of a Cantonese or proto-Cantonese source for Sino-Vietnamese lexica is conclusively refuted by the data. Thus, a unified account for the history of Sino-Vietic contact has yet to emerge in modern scholarship.

In lieu of a clear understanding of Sino-Vietic contact, the common assumption has crept in that Sino-Vietnamese lexica were borrowed in much the same fashion as their Sino-Korean or

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[3] As will be made clear over the course of this dissertation, the scope and nature of "Chinese influence" is completely different in the historical and cultural spheres and the structural/linguistic spheres respectively.

[4] In linguistic terms, the concept of "Sino-Vietnamese" lexica are not restricted to borrowed words on the order of *sushi* or *sake* in modern English, but a whole lexical spectrum ranging from highly marked etyma of this nature to those of the most basic vocabulary, whose foreign origins go completely unnoticed by the average speaker.

Sino-Japanese counterparts, and indeed, this was a major premise of Hashimoto's 1978 study. These Sinitic vocabularies were obtained largely through reading and writing practices, catalyzed by the efforts of Korean and Japanese elites to master and perpetuate Literary Sinitic traditions. For example, David Lurie (2011) claimed that many late Sino-Japanese words were acquired through the hybridizing "interpretative reading" practice known as *kundoku* 訓読, and more specifically, from the propensity for Japanese readers and writers to switch between Sinitic vocalizations of a given character (based on their received Sinitic, or *onyomi* 音読み pronunciation) and their semantically-derived Japanese equivalents (i.e. their *kunyomi* 訓読み reading) (Lurie, 2011, p. 183). For both Korea and Japan, the phonological systems through which Sinitic characters were learned—and in which they were vocalized (when not engaging in *kundoku*-style semantic glossing)—were furthermore acquired from the limited bilingual contact of a few learned specialists, mostly Buddhist clergy, and were replicated through the rote practices by which elites acquired Sinitic literacy.

The application of these models of Sinitic borrowing to the Vietic case is perhaps made plausible by Vietnam's early modern participation in what amounts to a broad, transnational East Asian intellectual tradition—that is, a "Sinographic cosmopolis." For much of the 2nd millennium, the whole of the Sinitic classics and canon formed the cultural and intellectual nucleus of a shared East Asian educational tradition, creating a cosmopolitan space facilitated by the study, consumption and production of Literary Sinitic. This "Sinographic cosmopolis" stands in obvious but fruitful comparison to Sheldon Pollock's (2006) "Sanskrit cosmopolis," which refers to the shared Sanskritic literary and intellectual traditions that united South Asia across vernacular lines.[5] For much of the 2nd millennium, Vietnam, Korea and Japan all shared in an East Asian intellectuality that similarly transcended the geographical, political and linguistic boundaries which separated them. This shared experience lacquered each of these

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[5] See note 1.

cultures with a kind of Sinitic luster, creating a mirage of cultural universality that deeply informed modern notions of East Asia.

However such a "cosmopolitan lacquer" is a deceptive thing, and can mask deep differences in the nature and tenor of Chinese influence as it affected the course of each of these cultures and languages. As shown in this dissertation, the application of Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese models of Sinitic borrowing to the Vietic case is, in fact, fundamentally incorrect. Sino-Vietic contact was of an entirely different quality than Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese linguistic contact for most of the first millennium, and the means by which Sino-Vietnamese lexica entered the language were vastly different. Contrary to current analyses of Sino-Vietic lexica (which assume reading-based transfusions similar to the origins of Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese), I claim that the bulk of Sinitic loanwords in Vietnamese resulted from bilingual contact, between a form of Sinitic native to the region of modern day northern Vietnam and contemporary forms of Vietic language. For reasons discussed below, I have termed this variety of Sinitic "Annamese Middle Chinese" (AMC). Unlike in the Korean peninsula or the Japanese archipelago, I claim that the river plains of northern Vietnam were home to a rooted and thriving community of AMC speakers for most of the first millennium, and it is the presence of this community and the bilingual effects of their coexistence with Vietic speakers that fundamentally defines the nature of Sino-Vietic contact throughout history.

My treatment of Sino-Vietic contact will focus on the following dimensions: 1) the nature, source and phonological features of Sinitic lexica (i.e. "Sino-Vietnamese") in the language and the mechanism of their entry into the Vietnamese lexicon; and 2) the replication and adaptation of a Sinitic diglossia within Vietnamese, i.e. the production of a literary form existing in complementary partnership with speech. In my account of these dimensions of Vietnamese linguistic history, I depart from previous scholarship at three important points: 1) rather than the result of recitation-based pedagogical transmission, I claim that most Sino-Vietnamese lexica descend from the adstratal effect of a spoken variety of Middle Chinese native

to the region; 2) rather than a distinct subgroup of its own, I claim that the closest living relative of modern Vietnamese—the group of varieties known as *Mường*—represents distinct lineages not more closely related to each other than they are to Vietnamese; and 3) rather than a liberation from the "the stranglehold of classical Chinese" (as one scholar put it), I suggest that a vernacular tradition of literature developed in Vietnam out of an attempt to unify Vietnamese literary forms with the prevailing cosmopolitan mode.

Both the structural and cultural contexts of these points is complex, and I will provide a more detailed introduction to each of these claims in 0.4-0.5 below, preceded by a brief introduction to the historical and geographical context of these issues in 0.3. I will then provide a brief description of their chapter-by-chapter execution in 0.7.

0.2   Sino-Vietic contact in history

The central geographical arena for this dissertation corresponds to modern northern Vietnam, and more specifically, to the alluvial plains formed by the Hồng (hereafter, Red), Mã and Cả rivers. These rivers describe the basic theater in which Sino-Vietic contact played out for most of the 1st millennium. They also bound the modern distribution of the Mường varieties, the closest living relatives of modern Vietnamese. The region of the Red River Delta (known for most of the 1st millennium by various permutations of the name "Jiao" 交) was the epicenter of Sinitic culture in the region, and will play an important part throughout this dissertation. The major actors in this history consist of speakers of various stages of the Chinese language on the one hand (which I will refer to generically as "Sinitic" unless a more specific appellation is called for), and the speakers of the immediate ancestor of modern Vietnamese and its sister-language, Mường, termed "Proto-Viet-Muong" (pVM) on the other. It was in the lowlands of

these river plains that Sinitic speakers first came into contact with pVM speakers, eventually forming a rooted community which evolved its own variety of Sinitic—Annamese Middle Chinese.

Figure 0.1: Heartland of pVM Speakers
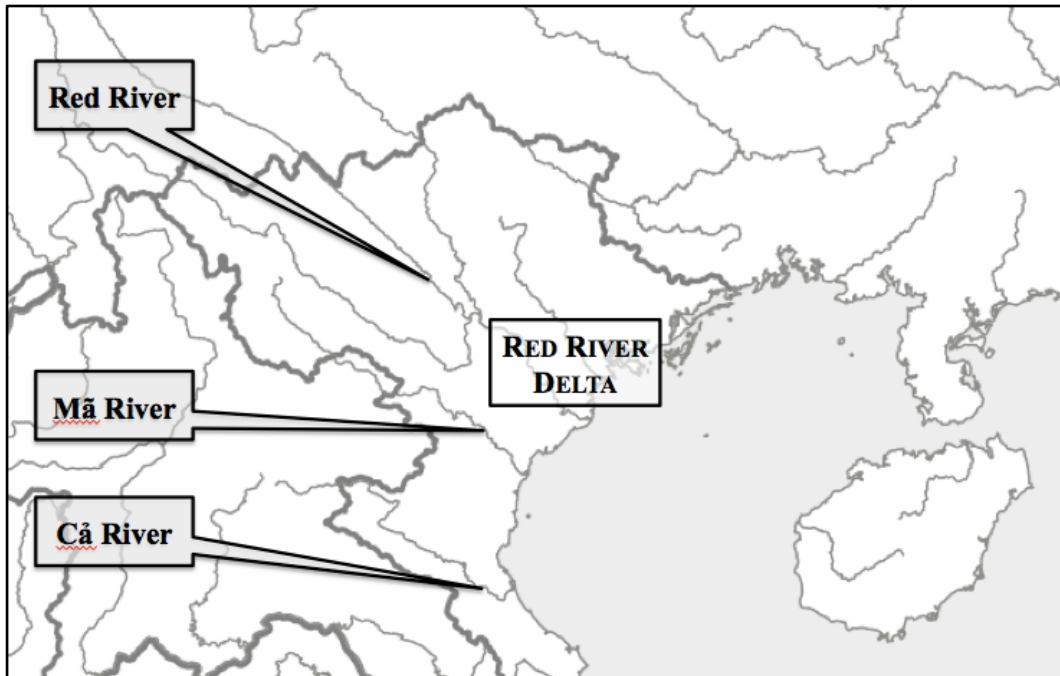
Sino-Vietic contact began as early as the 3rd century BCE, at which time pVM speakers were among a broad swath of Southeast Asian peoples engaged in the material bronze culture known as Đông Sơn, and Sinitic cultures in the north were on the cusp of uniting under the first Qin emperor 秦始皇帝 (259-210BCE). A small and possibly Sinitic state called Âu Lạc 甌羅 existed in this region in the 3rd century, which fell to a commissioner of the Qin dynasty in the late 200s and was subsequently incorporated into the culturally and linguistically diverse kingdom of Nanyue 南越 after the fall of the Qin in 207 BCE. The region would remain connected to Nanyue until the kingdom's destruction by the Han Dynasty in 111BCE, at which point it was reorganized into a set of commanderies that formed the southern border of the Han.

Despite this early incorporation into the Han empire, a pervasive Sinitic presence was not truly established until the mid-1st century, when the Han crushed a major revolt in the region and subsequently laid down a thoroughly sinicized social infastructure in the Red River plain. In very general terms, the region would remain tethered to successive Chinese dynasties with only minor interruptions, until the dissolution of the Tang in the early 10th century. At this point, "Annam" 安南, as it was known by then, was consumed by a brief period of warlordship which was eventually ended by the establishment of the first stable polity not directly administered by a Sinitic empire in the early 11th century. A series of dynasties would rule Vietnam until a disintegration into clan warfare in the 17th century, at which point a southern Vietnamese realm emerged in contention with a realm in the north. These realms would be united once again by the beginning of the 19th century. By the mid-late 19th century, Vietnam had been conquered by the French.

This condensed historical timeline may be schematized as follows:

Figure 0.2: Condensed Timeline of Sino-Vietnamese History

Zhou Era	Qin Era	Han through Tang Dynasties		Song thru Qing Dynasties
ca. 5th Cen. BCE	3rd Cent. BCE	3rd-2nd Cent. BCE	2nd Cent. BCE – 10th Cent. CE	10th Cent – 19th Cent.
Đông Sơn cultures	Âu Lạc	Nanyue	Successive membership in sinitic empires	Successive independent Vietnamese polities
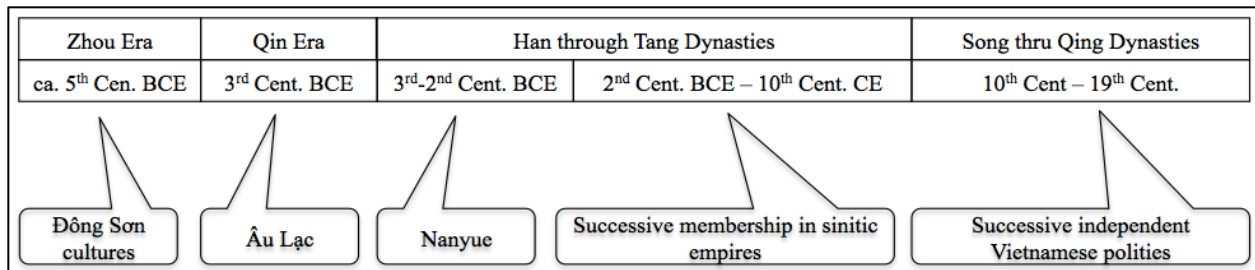
Notable exceptions to this scheme include at least two semi-autonomous periods in the 3rd and 6th centuries respectively, as well as a 20-year period at the dawn of the 15th century during which Vietnam was occupied by the Ming empire. Figure 0.2 provides only a broad reference for Sino-Vietnamese history, and relevant details of Sino-Vietnamese contact will be provided in introductory subsections labeled "Historical Context" for each chapter. Nevertheless, the

timeline above suffices to indicate the near-millennium of social, cultural and administrative intimacy shared between Sinitic and pVM speakers in history. The bulk of Sino-Vietnamese words was borrowed into Vietnamese over the course of this period.

0.3   Sino-Vietnamese linguistic history in a nutshell

The primary record for Sino-Vietnamese linguistic history consists of loanwords referred to collectively as "Sino-Vietnamese" (SV). Some estimates have put the number of Sino-Vietnamese words as high as 70-80% of the entire lexicon.[6] These words may be divided into two major categories based on time-depth of borrowing, plus a third category composed of recent and sporadic loans from a diversity of sources. These are Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV), Late Sino-Vietnamese (LSV) and Recent Sino-Vietnmamese (RSV) respectively.

The oldest stratum ("Early Sino-Vietnamese") was borrowed in two waves: one triggered by the strong-arm sinicization of the Red River plain in the mid-1st century CE, and one triggered by the massive emigration of about one million northerners out of north China and into the south (stretching from the Yangzi to the Red River) in the 4th century CE. These waves were characterized by intense contact between Sinitic speakers and pVM speakers with whom they lived, bartered, married and had children.

The second major stratum of Sino-Vietnamese (i.e. "Late Sino-Vietnamese") accounts for the vast majority of the lexicon and laid the foundation for the orthodox set of Sino-Vietnamese readings known as *Hán-Việt* 漢越 (HV). This large and important group of words was borrowed in the first century or two following the dissolution of the Tang (i.e. ca. 10th-ca. 12th centuries). The prevailing interpretation of the nature of LSV claims that these words—like Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese *Kan'on* 漢音—resulted from the dissemination of glosses used to read Sinitic

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[6] These claims will be discussed in Chapter 1.

characters. A version of this scenario accurately describes the use of *Hán-Việt* among Vietnamese intellectuals of the 2nd millennium, but as I will show in Chapters 4, it does not accurately describe the origins and development of the lexicon and its phonology. Contrary to this view, I claim that LSV resulted from contact with a spoken variety of Sinitic native to the region. In other words, unlike SK or SJ, LSV resulted from a bilingualism in Sinitic and Vietic languages that flourished in the area of northern Vietnam throughout the Tang dynasty. As noted briefly above, I have termed this hypothesized variety *Annamese Middle Chinese* after the name of the Tang protectorate in the region. This AMC in turn likely belonged to a broader continuum that we may call Southwestern Middle Chinese (SWMC), after Hashimoto's suggestion of 1978. Some preliminary comparative work with Southwestern Xiang 西南湘 and the unclassified "Pinghua" 平話 languages suggest that SWMC may have been spoken from the region of northern Vietnam up into Guangxi, eastern Guangdong and perhaps even parts of southwestern Hunan.

Finally, the last stratum of Sino-Vietnamese (i.e. "Recent Sino-Vietnamese") resulted from a diverse range of sociolinguistic mechanisms after the divergence of Vietnamese from pVM and the fossilization of LSV into an orthodox set of conventionalized pronunciations, which are now referred to as *Hán-Việt*.

The nature, number and origin of these Sino-Vietnamese lexica provides great insight into the history of the region, contradicting standard narratives of a non-Sinitic speaking community engaging in Sinitic practices of statecraft and literacy. This model is not entirely incorrect when applied to the early modern period, an era in which a fossilized *Hán-Việt* system was perpetuated through reading practices much as occurred in contemporary Korea or Japan. However the societies that produced ESV and LSV were much different than the Vietnamese societies of the 2nd millennium, and we must posit a large and stable Sinitic-speaking community in the Red, Mã and Cả river plains in order to account for the nature and numbers of both of these major strata.

0.4   Vietnamese, its relatives and the nature of Mường

In a study of Sinitic influence, the nature of the receiver of that influence is of course just as important as the nature of the source. Today, Modern Vietnamese is spoken by around 90 million people, mostly in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but also by significant populations in Cambodia, Australia, China, Finland, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Taiwan, Canada and the United States.[7] There are three primary dialects: Northern, Central and Southern, with Central Vietnamese being the most divergent. In general, Northern Vietnamese is the most conservative form, though a series of spirantizations have merged several onsets retained as distinct in Southern Vietnamese. Standard Vietnamese is now based on the Hanoi topolect, but the Saigon (Hồ Chí Minh City) topolect still retains considerable prestige, especially among overseas communities.

Vietnamese was long thought genetically related either to the Tai languages or the Sinitic languages (since both these families are pervasively tonal). However, as briefly mentioned above, Haudricourt (1954) showed that Vietnamese (and Mường) tones developed from a change in the laryngeal feature realization of consonants; in other words, a natural process of tonogenesis not based on genetic inheritance. Because the belief that Vietic was related to either the Tai or Sinitic families was based on tone, and because Haudricourt showed that the consonantal basis for Vietnamese tones systematically corresponded to other Mon-Khmer languages, Vietnamese (and Mường) was subsequently proven to belong to the Mon-Khmer family of Austroasiatic—and thus completely unrelated either to Tai or Sinitic.

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[7] A 2009 report by *Ethnologue* counts 68,634,000 based on the 1999 census of Vietnam (at 65,800,000). According to the World Bank, the population of Vietnam as of 2011 is estimated at 87,840,000 (The World Bank Group, 2012).

Figure 0.3: Austroasiatic Family Tree (Diffloth, 2005, p. 79)
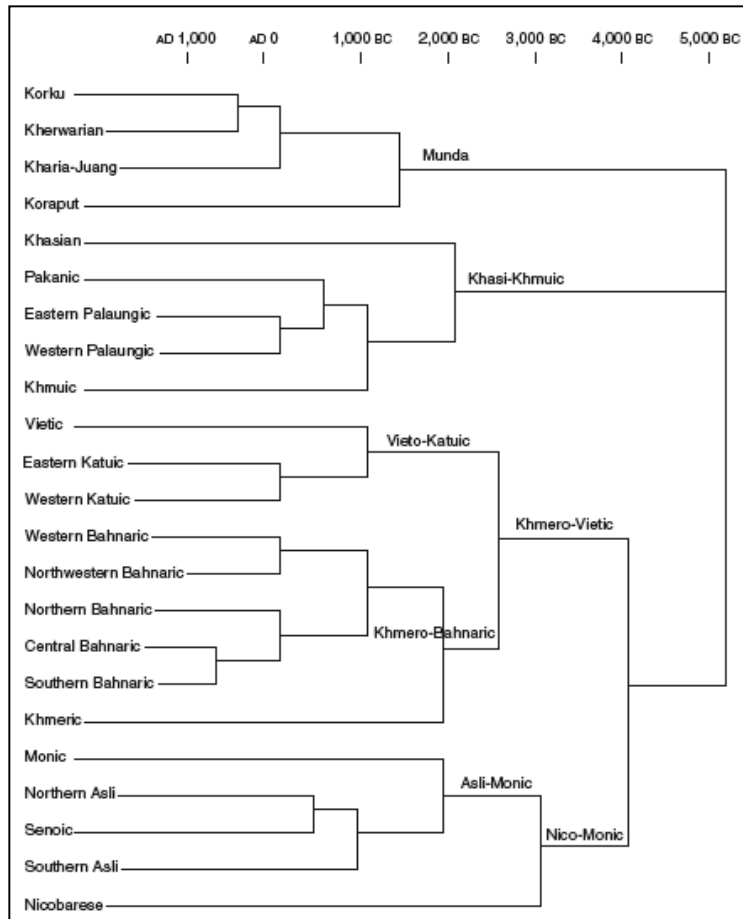
As shown in 0.3 above, Diffloth (2005) places the Vietic family together with Katuic in a Vieto-Katuic branch, which he situates as coordinate to a Khmero-Bahnaric branch but grouped under Khmero-Vietic. Diffloth's overall placement of Vietic and Katuic together has been fairly well accepted, though Sidwell (2005, 2010) has argued for a flatter tree with separate Vietic and Bahnaric branches radiating out of Proto-Austroasiatic itself.

Though the details of its overall placement are still under investigation, the Vietic family unquestionably belongs to the Austroasiatic (AA) superfamily, whose members are distributed across mainland Southeast and South Asia, from Vietnam in the east to the Munda languages of

northeastern India in the west. AA is divided into two major subgroups: Mon-Khmer and Munda.

As briefly noted above, the closest living relatives to Vietnamese are the Mường varieties spoken in the low mountain valleys of north-central Vietnam. Though not mutually intelligible, Vietnamese and the Mường varieties demonstrate relatively shallow differences and their divergence is thought not to predate the 10th century (Ferlus, 1975; Sidwell, The Austroasiatic Central Riverine Hypothesis, 2010). Vietnamese and Mường comprise one branch of a small "Vietic" family within Mon-Khmer, which also includes several minority languages spoken in mountainous regions of central Vietnam.[8] The internal subgrouping of this Vietic family is not well understood, but within it Vietnamese and Mường are clearly the most innovative. They are the only languages to demonstrate pervasive monosyllabicity and full-blown tonal systems based on pitch contrasts, and they both possess large numbers of Sinitic loanwords (Maspero, 1912). For this reason, they have been analyzed as sister languages which diverged from a single ancestor (i.e. pVM). This classic view of pVM diversification may be schematized as follows:

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[8] Ferlus (1996) divided these into six major subgroups to the Vietic family: Maleng (Maliêng), Arem, Chứt, Aheu, Hung, Thổ, Mường and Vietnamien (Vietnamese) (Ferlus, 1996, p. 12). In this article, Ferlus uses the term *viet-muong* to refer to the entire family, including not only Vietnamese and Mường, but also these conservative relatives as well. This is confusing, because Vietnamese and Mường also comprise their own subgroup within this family. Therefore I will call the entire family *Vietic*, and use *Viet-Muong* to refer to the subgroup occupied by Vietnamese and Mường alone.

Figure 0.4: Classic View of pVM Diversification
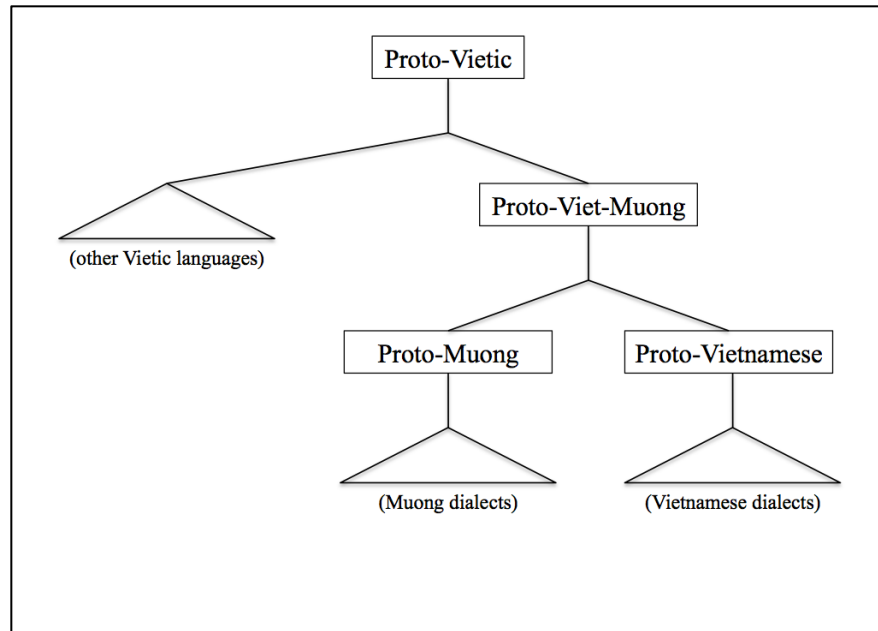
This model presumes the evolution of two subgroups out of pVM: Proto-Muong and Proto-Vietnamese. The rejection of this model constitutes the second major claim of my dissertation. In historical linguistics, subgrouping of languages is based on the presence of shared innovations—i.e. systematic changes in linguistic structure—common to certain varieties and to the exclusion of others. Shared innovations mean that a group of dialects evolved together, in tandem and to the exclusion of other forms, and thus may be considered a "subgroup" of the larger family. In Chapter 5, I will present evidence that a "Proto-Muong" level of evolution (as schematized above) is unfounded. In other words, the Mường varieties are not a subgroup. This is borne out by the comparative analysis of data I collected on three varieties of Mường in 2009-2010, which show mutations in their onset inventories that are unshared across the set. The presumption that the Mường varieties represents a subgroup seems to be a consequence of the well-documented fact that Vietnamese is a subgroup (i.e. there is such a thing as a "Proto-Vietnamese"). However because a family has one subgroup does not mean that the rest of its varieties constitute another. Rather, these distinct lineages, which are as distantly related to each

other as they are to Vietnamese, must be considered a "paraphyletic taxon"—that is, a group of varieties which appear similar due to conservative retentions, but which do not actually constitute a subgroup.

0.5   Diglossia, Hyperglossia, and the Vietnamese Vernacular Horizon

Thus far, I have addressed only the structural evolution of the Vietnamese language. However, the cultivation of a literary dimension to Vietnamese represents a significant transformation in its social architecture as well as its lexical composition. It also represents another key process in which Sinitic influence played a preponderant role. For most of its history as the dominant spoken language of the region, Vietnamese was engaged in what Sheldon Pollock (2000) called a "hyperglossic" relationship, which he defines as a "relationship of extreme superimposition (hyper-) between two languages that local actors knew to be entirely different" (Pollock, 2000, p. 50). This is different from a classic diglossia as defined by Ferguson (1959), in which one language demonstrates a high (H) and usually literary or intellectual form coexisting with a low (L) or colloquial spoken form. For Pollock, diglossic cases are defined by the use of a literary language critically perceived as a natural extension of the vernacular. Diglossia thus represents an "internal" split, whereas "hyperglossia" represents the consciously perceived superimposition of an unrelated prestige form on to a different system's vernacular form (presumably without, or to the extirpation of a native literary form).

As I will argue in Chapter 3, the blueprint for a Sinitic diglossia arose in medieval China, facilitated by the production of an immensely influential riming dictionary called the *Qieyun* 切韻 (pub. 601). Unlike its predecessors, the *Qieyun* was explicitly created to establish an authoritative pronunciation system that would guide new elites of the empire in the vocal aspects

of their literary practices. The idea of such a *vox auctoritas* furnished Sinitic intellectuals with an imagined authoritative phonology underlying the diversity of vernacular speech, which could remain both transparently connected to speech but also unaffected and uncorrupted by it. Medieval Sinitic elites came to nurture and refine, prune an adjust this *vox auctoritas* through redactions and expansions of the *Qieyun*, which resulted in a genre of riming dictionaries called "rime books" 韻書.[9]   For this reason, the *Qieyun* experienced a meteoric rise in importance, serving as the authoritative manual for poetic composition in the civil service exams. It was this intellectual fantasy of an unchanging literary language that eventually produced the beguiling illusion that Jerry Norman described as a "single Chinese language existing in a great number of forms" (Norman, 1988, p. 3). This diglossia obtained among Sinitic speakers in medieval Annam as well, and a form of Sinitic that was perceived as more refined, orthodox or proper was perpetuated within erudite circles. That literary register coexisted (diglossically) alongside the spoken register of AMC. However, when AMC obsolesced as a spoken language in the region, it left a form of Literary Sinitic behind which entered into a hyperglossic relationship with the new dominant form of speech, i.e. pVM. This hyperglossic relationship was in turn analogous to contemporary hyperglossic arrangements in Korea and Japan of the 2nd millennium.

As Chapter 7 will discuss, the rise of the Vietnamese vernacular script known as *Chữ Nôm* was triggered by a series of sociopolitical changes beginning in the 14th and 15th centuries. The rise in prevalence of Nôm writing forced intellectuals to reconcile vernacular practices with the reigning cosmopolitan mode: i.e. Literary Sinitic. Vietnamese elites of the time firmly believed in their ownership of Literary Sinitic, and this meant that Nôm writing—which had hitherto occupied a negligible and subservient position in intellectual culture—had to be reinvented in order to justify its use as the vessel for a literary language. An effort to "reboot" the social and cultural place of Nôm was remarkably expressed in the bilingual prefaces to a 17th century Sino-Vietnamese dictionary called the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* 指南玉音解義. In

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[9] The details of this process are discussed in Chapter 3.

these texts, an interlocking argument is presented for re-imagining Nôm not as a vulgar copy of sinographic writing nor as a rising competitor, but as an extension of the basic intellectual technology of Han writing, governed by the same principles and capable of the same civilizing achievements. In this way, the author of the *Chỉ nam* prefaces justifies the cultivation of vernacular writing without challenging the fantasy that Literary Sinitic was the rightful and the natural literary form of expression for Vietnamese elites. This intellectual union of vernacular writing with the Sinitic cosmopolitan mode also characterized literary production as well, and the dynamic creativity of the "Nôm Era" (18th-19th centuries) revels in the transposition of Sinitic forms, themes and content into Vietnamese structures and vice versa. In this way, the rise of the vernacular in fact, facilitated the most sinicizing processes of all.

0.6   Organization of the Dissertation

Section 0.3 introduced my chronological typology of Sino-Vietnamese, and laid the claim that LSV resulted from bilingual contact between Vietic language and a form of Sinitic native to the Red, Mã and Cả River plains which I termed "Annamese Middle Chinese." Section 0.4 introduced my revised classification of Viet-Muong, refuting the prevailing claim that the Mường varieities constitute an evolutionary subgroup and arguing instead that they represent a "paraphyletic taxon" of distinct lineages as distantly related to each other as they are to Vietnamese. Section 0.5 described the evolution of a diglossic linguistic architecture, rooted in the intellectual developments of the medieval era (culminating in the production of the *Qieyun*), into a hyperglossic linguistic architecture reminiscent of contemporary Korean and Japan societies. This process crucially links an early modern Vietnam "lacquered" in a Sinitic cosmopolitanism, with the bilingual, imperial societies of the 1st millennium.

Each of the major claims introduced above represent an important development in the structural and culture history of the Vietnamese language, and expand or resolve our understanding of the cosmopolitan effects of Sinitic influence. Because the effects of this history were cumulative, and previous changes either fed or bled the conditions for later changes, I have arranged this dissertation roughly in a chronological order. Four of the seven chapters include an introductory subsection providing historical context; Chapters 1, 2 and 7 do not. This is because Chapter 1 comprises a review of important literature on the Sinitic language family and Sino-Vietnamese (not included here), and Chapters 2 and 7 integrate the relevant history into their primary sections. A breakdown of the contents of each chapter is provided below.

- CHAPTER 1 provides important contextual information on the Chinese language family as it relates to Sino-Vietnamese, and then reviews some of the most pertinent past scholarship on Sino-Vietnamese itself.

- CHAPTER 2 focuses on the nature of Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV), and presents a refined set of phonological indices for determining ESV from later strata.

- CHAPTER 3 turns to the conceptualization of a *vox auctoritas* (an authoritative phonology) in the *Qieyun*, as a "blueprint" for a medieval Sinitic diglossia.

- CHAPTER 4 presents phonological evidence for the existence of an *Annamese Middle Chinese*, and claims that LSV resulted from the adstratal effect of its obsolescence in the region of northern Vietnam.

- CHAPTER 5 discusses the pVM split, and the emergence of a distinctive Vietnamese language. In this chapter, I disprove the prevailing notion that Mường represents a subgroup of its own, claiming instead that these varieties comprise a paraphyletic taxon of pVM.

- CHAPTER 6 discusses forms of Sinitic borrowing or neologic production that post-date the Viet-Muong speciation, which I call Recent Sino-Vietnamese (RSV).

- CHAPTER 7 turns to the development of a vernacular writing system and literary tradition in Vietnam, and specifically examines a 17th century Sino-Vietnamese dictionary, which argues against a prevailing attitude that vernacular writing was vulgar and inferior to sinographic writing (and thus, Literary Sinitic), and reinvents the vernacular as a legitimate extension of sinographic domesticating technology.

These chapters do not provide a history of the Vietnamese language; they provide a description of Sinitic influences on that history. Chapters 2, 4 and 6 account for the accretion of different

layers of Sino-Vietnamese lexica in the language. Chapter 3 provides an explanation for the rise of a diglossic social architecture to Sinitic, which was ultimately reproduced in Vietnamese. Chapter 5 discusses the emergence of a phonologically distinct Vietnamese language during the obsolescence of AMC, and Chapter 7 explores the cultivation of its literary dimension.

The linguistic and intellectual history described in these chapters are all matters of "Chinese influence." The importance of Sinitic forms to the development of Vietnamese is not in question. It is the nature, kind, extent and scope of that influence, as well as its specific sources that are the concern of this study. For this reason, Chapter 1 begins by confronting the issue of what "Chinese" might mean, in the context of the social and phonological development of Vietnamese.

Chapter 1

The Chinese Language Family and Sino-Vietnamese

1.0   Introduction

"Sino-Vietnamese" refers to any and all words of Chinese origin borrowed into the Vietnamese language, irrespective of time or mode of borrowing. The Vietnamese term *Hán-Việt* connotes a more specific body of loanwords that carry an elevated intellectual flavor and which are (by definition) recognized as Chinese elements in the language. However, the concept of *Hán-Việt* is not necessarily defined by a single time-depth or mode of borrowing either; rather, it describes a cultural and social dimension of words—a certain, imagined "Chineseness"—which generally corresponds to a Tang-era stratum of loans, but which in fact encompasses diverse transmissive origins (see Chapter 4). I will use *Hán-Việt* (HV) to refer to this self-consciously Chinese, elevated and orthodox register of Sino-Vietnamese.

Some have estimated the proportion of Sino-Vietnamese words in modern Vietnamese to exceed 70% of the entire lexicon (Trần, 1997, p. 552; Vũ T. N., 1989, p. 181). However, as Alves (2009, page 5) notes, this figure is likely inflated due to reliance on dictionary data, which disproprotionately reflects seldom-used intellectual vocabulary, or particularly abstruse HV words. Alves (2007) presented results from a loanword typology study based on 1500 Vietnamese words, of which only 27% were found to be of Chinese origin. However, Alves admits that this figure must itself be regarded as low, since the study did not include a number of lexical categories, including grammatical vocabulary—that is, Sino-Vietnamese words seldom recognized as non-native (Alves, 2009, p. 5; Alves, 2009a, p. 626). What is clear from these studies is that the proportion of Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary in a given sample of Vietnamese language depends greatly on genre, register, and context. This amorphous quality, in some

respects, reflects the composite and overlapping history of borrowing through which these Chinese words entered the language. As such, these words can be understood as records of the demographic, social and cultural forces which conditioned linguistic contact between Sinitic and vietic speakers. But where did these words come from in the first place? How were they borrowed, when were they borrowed, and from which sources were they borrowed?

These questions quickly run into one glaring problem: the nature of "Chinese." Today, "Chinese" refers to an extremely diverse language family with seven-odd primary branches, each comprised of multiple dialects with speaker populations in the millions.[10] This diversity, furthermore, represents the product of thousands of years of evolution. Which then, was the "Chinese" that so deeply influenced Vietnamese and its ancestors? The question has both temporal and spatial dimensions, since language changes over time, and across space as a function of time. In other words, to determine the origins of "Sino-Vietnamese," we must look to the history of the Chinese languages themselves.

Organization of the chapter:

Section 1.1 begins the chapter with an overview of the Chinese language family, including major arguments over its internal classification and a summary of the most pertinent criteria used to determine subgrouping. Section 1.2 visits the periodization of Chinese linguistic history, presenting both the standard view much indebted to Bernhard Karlgren, as well as modern challenges to that view. In Section 1.3, I turn to Sino-Vietnamese. This section begins by examining the common division of these loanwords into a conventionalized system called *Hán-Việt,* versus those words or groups of words that do not fit the *Hán-Việt* phonological mold (and which are of diverse chronological and transmissive origins). I then discuss various previous analyses of its chronological and geographical origins.

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[10] Note that common use of the term "dialect" (方言) in the context of the Chinese family really describes mutually-unintelligible languages. For consistency with treatments of non-Chinese languages, I will refer to these *fangyan* as "languages" or even "language families."

1.1   The Chinese language family

In his 1988 book, Jerry Norman describes the traditional notion of "a single Chinese language existing in a great number of forms" (Norman, Chinese, 1988, p. 3). This notion, according to Norman, has made it "very difficult to draw sharp boundaries between the different varieties of the language," because of massive cross-pollination between literary and colloquial forms, as well as across the colloquial forms themselves (ibid.). Indeed, the expansion of various prestige forms (such as Mandarin/Northern, Cantonese, and Min) coupled with the persistence of a cosmopolitan, literary language 文言 (discussed at length in Chapter 3) has made the task of identifying clean evolutionary subgroups within the Chinese language notoriously dubious.

Before the pioneering efforts of Wang Li and Li Fang-kuei, classifications of Chinese sometimes included as many as eleven or twelve subgroups, and were largely based on impressionistic geographical criteria (Yan M. M., 2006, p. 9). While geography clearly plays a role in the isolation of various forms of language, the propensity for speakers to migrate, instances of extirpation in favor of prestige varieties, and the simple fact that language does not change at a fixed rate all mean that geography cannot be trusted to determine linguistic groups.

Li Jinxi's (Geographical) Classification of Chinese Languages:[11]

1. 河北系 (Hebei group – Hebei region)
2. 河南系 (Henan group – Henan region)
3. 河西系 (Hexi group – Northwest region)
4. 江淮系 (Jianghuai – Yangzi-Huai River region)
5. 江漢系 (Jianghan group – Yangzi-Han River region)
6. 江湖系 (Jianghu group Yangzi – Dongting Lake region)
7. 金沙系 (Jinsha group – Jinsha/West Yangzi region)
8. 太湖系 (Taihu group – Tai Lake region)
9. 浙源系 (Zheyuan group – Zhejiang region)
10. 甌海系 (Ouhai group – Southern Zhejiang/Wenzhou region)
11. 閩海系 (Minhai group – Fujian region)

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[11] Based on Kuparska's (1977; republished 2010) discussion (Kuparska, 2010, p. 40). See Li J. (1934).

12. 粵海系 (Yuehai group – Guangzhou region)

From the 1930s onward, a mix of synchronic phonological characteristics and reconstructed historical changes came to be assigned a central role in classification (Yan M. M., 2006, p. 11). Some of the first phonological criteria to be considered were the evolution of voicing and aspiration features in Chinese onsets, the distribution of final codas, and differences in the nature and number of tones. It was on these bases that Wang Li, who was among the first to propose a phonologically-oriented classification of Chinese, determined his scheme of five major subgroups in his 1936-7 *Zhongguo yinyun xue* 中國音韻學. I have reproduced Wang Li's five-way subgrouping and their primary phonological justifications below (Wang, 1936-37, pp. 279-281).

1. MANDARIN (官話音系)
   - Spoken in: Hebei (河北), Shanxi (山西), Shaanxi (陝西), Gansu (甘肅), Shandong (山東), Henan (河南), Hubei (湖北), Hunan (湖南), Sichuan (四川), Yunnan (雲南), Guizhou (貴州), and Anhui (安徽), as well as the northern parts of Jiangsu (江蘇), Jiangxi (江西) and Guangxi (廣西)

   - No voiced onsets; no final –m, -p, -t, or –k; tonal inventories do not exceed 6 tones

2. WU (吳音系)
   - The following locations in Jiangsu (江蘇): Suzhou (蘇州), Changzhou (常州), Wuxi (無錫), Changshu (常熟), Kunshan (崑山), Shanghai (上海), Songjiang (松江), Yixing (宜興), Liyang (溧陽), Jingtan (金壇), Danyang (丹陽), various parts of Jiangyin (江陰); the following locations in Zhejiang (浙江): Ningbo (寧波), Jiaxing (嘉興), Huzhou (湖州), Hangzhou (杭州), Zhuji (諸暨), Jinhua (金華), Quzhou (衢州), Wenzhou (溫州), etc.

   - Maintains voiced onsets; no final –m, -p, -t, -k; demonstrates a bifurcation of departing tone (thus tones can exceed six classes)

3. MIN (閩音系)
   - Most of Fujian (復健); also, the following locations in Guangdong (廣東): Chaozhou (潮州), Shantou (汕頭), Qiongzhou (瓊州), etc. (Also strongly represented abroad in Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, etc.)

- Level tone syllables descending from proto-voiced onsets do <u>not</u> demonstrate aspiration; retroflex affricates sometimes demonstrate an aspiration difference; no labiodental /f-/ or /v-/; no codas –m, -p, -t, -k; can demonstrate over seven tones; tonal inventory inconsistent with Middle Chinese.

4. YUE (粤音系)
   - Most of Guangdong (廣東); also the southern part of Guangxi (廣西). (Also strongly represented abroad in America, particularly California.)

   - No voiced onsets; demonstrates final –m, -p, -t, -k; demonstrates over seven tones; tonal inventory consistent with Middle Chinese.

5. HAKKA (客家音系)
   - Meixian in Guangdong (梅縣), Dapu (大埔), Huizhou (惠州), various parts of Xingning (興寧), Tingzhou in Fujian (復健之汀洲), and the southern part of Jiangxi (江西). (Also strongly represented abroad in the Dutch Southeast Asian colonies, or "East Indies.")

   - Demonstrates final –m, -p, -t, -k; no *cuokou* (撮口; syllables with medial -u- or -i-); only one series of rising and departing tones; bifurcated series of level and entering tones.

As you can see, the most important criteria revolve around voicing characteristics in the initials (including aspiration reflexes in level tones), presence/absence of codas, and the tonal inventory. Wang Li's three basic constellations of sound change remain pillars of Chinese subgrouping efforts even today (and will play an important role in our discussion of Sino-Vietnamese in Chapter 4). Nevertheless, his Mandarin group is extremely large, and includes a number of quite disparate languages that were later divorced from a northern branch.

Around the same time as Wang Li's *Zhongguo yinyun xue*, Li Fang-kuei proposed a set of eight major subgroups, on which virtually all future classifications of Chinese were based (Li F.-k. , 1973, pp. 3-4):[12]

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[12] The article as it appears in *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* attributes its contents to a slightly more condensed version that was published in the *Chinese Year Book*, Shanghai, 1937. See footnote (*) in: Li, F.-k. (1973), Languages and Dialects of China. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics , 1* (1), 1-13, pp. 1.

1. NORTHERN MANDARIN: Hebei, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Henan, Shandong, extending into Xinjiang (新疆), Inner Mongolia (內蒙古) and Manchuria (滿洲) in the north, and into Hubei, Anhui and Jiangsu in the south.
   - Devoicing of proto-voiced obstruents; disappearance of entering tone (i.e. only 4 tones)
   - Further divisions:

2. EASTERN MANDARIN: Lower Yangzi; Anhui and Jiangsu
   - Maintains entering tone (i.e. has 5 tones), but final –p, -t, -k → -ʔ.

3. SOUTHWESTERN MANDARIN: Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, and parts of Hubei and Guangxi.
   - No entering tone except in central Sichuan (where entering tone is preserved as a "special tone"); no final codas.

4. WU: South of Yangzi in Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and parts of eastern Jiangxi.
   - Preservation of voiced stops as aspirated voiced consonants; preservation of entering tone; no final –p, -t, or –k (or substitution by final -ʔ); often has 6-7 tones.

5. GAN-HAKKA: Jiangxi and Guangdong.
   - Proto-voiced stops surface as voiceless aspirated stops in all four original tone classes; entering tone and final –p, -t, -k are preserved; often 6-7 tones.
   - Northern Gan group near Poyang Lake (鄱陽湖) demonstrates (allophonic?) voicing of voiceless aspirated obstruents in connected speech.
   - Hakka group preserves final -m, -p, -t, -k better (than Gan group).

6. MIN: divided into Northern Min (northern Fujian), and Southern Min (southern Fujian, eastern Guangdong, and Hainan Island 海南島).
   - Proto-voiced stops surface as plain (unaspirated) voiceless stops, even in level tone (which is usually aspirated in other varieties of Chinese). Preservation of an ancient series of prepalatal stops as dentals (t-, tʰ-, dʰ-); preservation of final -p, -t, -k.

7. CANTONESE/YUE: Guangdong and Guangxi.
   - Preservation of final –m, -n, -p, -t, -k; can demonstrate 8, 9 or more tones; demonstrates vowel-length contrast (sometimes associated with tone).

8. XIANG: Mostly in Hunan.
   - Proto-voiced onsets preserved, except in Changsha (長沙).
   - Existence of certain isolated groups in southwestern Anhui parts of Hunan and northeastern Guangxi.

Li Fang-kuei relies on largely the same criteria that Wang Li did—that is, distribution of voicing features (including aspiration) in onsets, presence/absence of codas, and tonal inventories. However, Li distinguished three branches of Mandarin on the basis of tonal inventories. He

further divides Min into a "northern" and "southern" group, as well as noting the existence of "[c]ertain isolated groups" spoken in Hunan and Guangxi counted under "Xiang" (Li F.-k. , 1973, pp. 4-5). This basic scheme has enjoyed an impressive staying power, with some minor alterations regarding the permutations of the Mandarin groups, and the association of Gan and Hakka as a single class. Special issues regarding the southern varieties (i.e. Xiang and Yue) have also arisen in the past fifteen years or so, particularly regarding Li's so-called "isolated groups" classified as "Xiang," and I will touch upon these explicitly in Chapter 4.[13]

Since Wang Li and Li Fang-kuei's initial proposals in the 1930s, much of the debate on Chinese classification has centered on establishing a set of reliable linguistic criteria for determining subgroups. A number of other features have been added to the inventory, some based on synchronic variation, others based on comparison with reconstructed forms of ancient Chinese. The most common phonological criteria were summarized and evaluated by Ting Pang-hsin 丁邦新 in 1982:

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[13] See section 4.13.

Table 1.1: Ting Pang-hsin's (1981) Common Phonological Criteria for Chinese Classification[14]

Initials	
1.	Evolution of voiced stops (*quanzhuo* 全濁)
2.	Evolution of bilabial stops (*zhongchunyin* 重唇音) in front of Divisin III (三等) closed syllables
3.	Merger or preserved distinction of /f-/ vs. /xu/
4.	Evolution of coronal initials (*sheshangyin* 舌上音; spec. 知, 徹, and 澄 initials)
5.	Merger or preserved distinction of /n-/ vs. /l-/
6.	Evolution of palato-retreflex affricates (*zhengchiyin* 正齒音)
7.	Presence or absence/degree of palatalization of velars
8.	Presence or absence/degree of denasalization
9.	Presence or absence of voicing in sibilants
Rimes	
10.	Merger or preserved contrast of medials
11.	Monopthongization or diphthongization of vowels
12.	Presence or absence of a length contrast
13.	Evolution of final stops
14.	Evolution of final nasals
Tone	
15.	Split or merger of tonal categories
16.	Evolution of *entering tone* (*rushing* 入聲)—tones in the environment of final –p, –t, or –k.

Ting argued that while all of the phenomena listed above had been commonly invoked in subgrouping claims, there had been an endemic confusion of synchronic and diachronic processes (or at least a habitual lack of distinguishing between them), and no real relative weight assigned to each criterion. Ting thus proposed that a general principle be adopted whereby larger groupings (i.e. higher affiliations, "*da fangyan*" 大方言) be determined by the earliest reconstructable historical criteria, intermediate groups ("*ci fangyan*" 次方言) by later historical criteria, and smaller dialectal groupings ("*xiao fangyan*" 小方言) by comparison of synchronic criteria (平面性的條件) (Ting, 1982, pp. 260-266). These criteria could potentially include syntactic and lexical comparisons as well, though Ting issues a warning about the wave effects of lexical diffusion (Ting, 1982, pp. 260-266). Finally, regarding higher and intermediate subgrouping, Ting argued that "early" and "late" historical conditions (lit. "早" versus "晚"歷史性的條件) were relative terms, and their weight should be determined by their chronological sequence.

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[14] From Ting, P. (1982).

Ting Pang-hsin's phonological criteria drew on the precedents of Wang Li and Li Fang-guei (among others), as well as recent work by Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧, who had published a book on Chinese dialectology the previous year. Zhan describes a set of phonological criteria very similar to the one Ting Pang-hsin would discuss (Zhan, 1981, pp. 23-46):

1. Presence or absence of palatalized velars
2. Evolution of voiced stops (*quanzhuo* 全濁)
3. Merger or preserved distinction of /f-/ and /xu-/
4. Merger or presered distinction of /n-/ and /l-/
5. Evolution of palatal & retroflex affricates
6. Merger or preserved contrast of medials
7. Monopthongization or diphthongization of vowels
8. Presence or absence/degree of denasalization
9. Evolution of final stops
10. Tonal evolution

As you can see from the list above, Ting included all of Zhan's phonological criteria in his 1982 article. In addition to these phonological criteria, Zhan Bohui also added both lexical and syntactic criteria to his analysis (Zhan, 1981, pp. 47-92):

Lexical criteria[15]

1. Similar forms but semantic variation
    - Broadening semantic clines: e.g. 水 comes to carry the meaning of "rain" as well as "water" in Cantonese.
    - Narrowing semantic clines: e.g. in everyday use, 水 only signifies cold water (涼水) in the Min varieties of Pingyang, southern Zhejiang 浙南平陽閩方言.
    - Similar forms but opposite meanings: e.g. Yue 房 = Mandarin "bedroom" (屋子), but Yue 屋 = Mandarin "house" (房子).
    - Semantic shift from common origins
        - Transparent cases: e.g. 明光 (in Yue, Min, and Hakka) for Mandarin 明亮
        - Opaque cases: e.g. 驚 (in Min, meaning "ugly") for Mandarin 難看
2. Similar meanings, but variations in form
    - Similar meanings, morphemic variation in form

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[15] Because of the short number and context-dependent nature of his lexical criteria, I have provided examples drawn from the original article for each type.

-Reversal of morphemic order: e.g. 人客 (Yue, Min, Hakka) vs. 客人 (Mandarin)

-Morphemic variation within complex nouns: e.g. 白油 (Cantonese) vs. 醬油 (Mandarin)

-Addition of morphemes to a word: e.g. 裙 (Yue, Min, Hakka) vs. 裙子 (Mandarin).

-Similar meanings, completely different forms:

-Variety-specific neologisms, e.g. Min bimorphemic words using an idiosyncratic time particle, /tsuŋ˧/ (亻 + 存).

-Names based on culture-specific semantics: e.g. "sunflower" = 陽佛花 (Suzhou & Shanghainese) vs. 向日葵 (Mandarin)

-Differences based on geographical or climatic idiosyncracy: e.g. 雪條 (Cantonese, Fuzhounese) vs. 冰棍兒 (Mandarin).

-Variety-specific taboos: e.g. 口條 (Yue, Min, Hakka) vs. 豬舌頭 (Mandarin)

-Cases of variation where the origin is unclear.

Syntactic criteria[16]

1. Peculiarities of Grammatical Structure
   -Morphological variation for grammatical effect (*neibu quzhe* 內部屈折)
       -Tone as a grammatical inflection
       -Segmental variation for grammatical inflection[17]
   -Reduplication
       -Noun reduplication
       -Adjectival reduplication
       -Verbal reduplication
   -Adhesion of particles or morphemes
2. Peculiarities of lexical composition
       -Classifiers
       -Quantifying
       -Measure word pairing relationships
       -Adjectival binding peculiarities
3. Word order
       -Adverb placement
       -Complementizers
       -Indirect objects (lit. "double objects" 雙賓語)
4. Realization of a number of (common) constructions
       -Comparative construction
       -Passive construction
       -Dative constructions (*chuzhi ju* 處置句)
       -Directional constructions using 來 and 去
       -Expressions of doubt
5. Surviving idiosyncracies in parts of speech
       -Verbal 體
       -Classification of demonstrative pronouns
       -Proliferation of function particles (*yuqici* 語氣詞; largely sentence-final)

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[16] For purposes of space, and because our Sino-Vietnamese analysis will focus primarily on phonological and lexical criteria, I have not included the (sometimes very long) examples given by Zhan Bohui for his syntactic criteria. Please see Zhan (1981).

[17] Literally "phonemic" 音素 as in "of phonemes" (rather than "phonological").

For our purposes, the phonological and lexical criteria are of most importance, and in particular, the following five phonological points: 1) evolution of voiced onsets, 2) palatalization of velars, 3) evolution of palatal & retroflex affricates, 4) diphthongization of vowels, and 5) evolution of medial contrasts. We will revisit these phonological criteria in our discussion of Sino-Vietnamese next chapter. For now, it is important to note that Zhan Bohui used the criteria outlined above to propose a version of Li Fang-kuei's grouping that described *seven* major groups, combining the three Mandarin subgroups, but splitting Gan and Hakka into their own classes:

Table 1.2: Zhan Bohui's (1981) Classification of Chinese Languages:[18]

#	Name:	漢語名:	Region:
1.	Northern	北方方言	Northern Provinces; Standard *putonghua*.
2.	Wu	吳方言	Zhejiang
3.	Xiang	湘方言	Hunan
4.	Gan	贛方言	Jiangxi
5.	Kejia (Hakka)	客家方言	Guangdong, Jiangxi, Fujian
6.	Yue (Cantonese)	粵方言	Guangdong, Hong Kong & environs
7.	Min (Hokkien)	閩方言	Fujian, Taiwan & SE China generally

Ting Pang-hsin (1982), following the principles outlined earlier, proposed virtually the same subgroups, as did Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴 and Yu Rujie 游汝杰 in 1986 (Ting, 1982, p. 260; Zhou & Rujie, 1986, p. 8). A seven-way classification (as described in Table 1.2 is most common today (Yan M. M., 2006, pp. 17-18).[19]

Nevertheless both higher and lower levels of classification remain contested. Within Mandarin, there has been some dispute as to whether the so-called "Jin" 晉 varieties should be considered a primary branch of Chinese or subgrouped under Northern. The strongest support

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[18] Based on: Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 (1981), 現代漢語方言. 武漢: 湖北人民出版社.
[19] For a useful comparison of various classifications since the 1930s, see Yan (2006), pp. 18.

for classifying Jin independently comes from Li Rong, who cited the preservation of entering tone values contra other forms of Mandarin as justification for a separate branch (Li R. , 1985).[20] However, Ting Pang-hsin (1982) had already cast doubt on an independent classification for Jin, arguing that there lacked sufficient early historical changes present in Jin to justify it as a high-level subgroup (大方言) on par with Wu or Xiang (i.e. that preservation of entering tones was not satisfactory criteria), and that it could be analyzed reliably as only an intermediate grouping (次方言) within the larger Mandarin branch, probably with a center of gravity located in Shanxi (Ting, 1982, p. 264). Also disputed are the *Hui* 徽 varieties spoken in Anhui, which are sometimes grouped with Gan, sometimes with Wu, and sometimes separately (Yan M. M., 2006, pp. 222-223). In the south, the classification of Hakka (already mentioned above) is strongly contested. Li Fang-kuei classified it together with Gan; however, Ting Pang-hsin and Zhan Bohui consider Hakka a separate group, Thurgood has argued for its association with Min, while Jerry Norman has suggested a pan-southern group linking Min together with Hakka and Yue (Thurgood, 2003, p. 3; Norman, 1988, p. 183).[21] The Xiang group has also vacillated between an affiliation with Mandarin (especially Southwestern Mandarin) and its own coordinate group, and, starting with Yuan Jiahua (袁家驊), has often been split into two: a "New Xiang" (新湘) spoken in the northern parts of Hunan and bearing stronger resemblance to Southwestern Mandarin, and an "Old Xiang" (老湘) or "Southwestern Xiang" (西南湘) which demonstrates more conservative features (Yuan, 1960, p. 103). Remember also Li Fang-kuei's description of certain "isolated groups" in Hunan that did not easily submit to classification. The Xiang issues also relate to another group of unaffiliated southern languages that have been lumped together under the term *Pinghua* (平話), historically classified as Yue, though Li Rong (1989) presented these languages as a single, independent group in his *Language Atlas of China* (more on this

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[20] This is, interestingly very reminiscent of Li Fang-kuei's "Eastern Mandarin," was described as maintaining an entering tone value (and thus having five tones). However Li Fang-kuei's "Eastern Mandarin" was described as a language of Anhui and Jiangsu, and so could not have been Jin, which is spoken primarily in Shanxi, Hubei, and parts of Inner Mongolia (Li, F.-k., 1973, pp. 3).
[21] For full-length study of the issue of Min & Hakka classification, see Branner (2000).

issue later in the chapter). Other contested larger groupings include Gan-Yue, Min-Hakka, and Gan-Xiang, as well as pan-regional groups such as Wu-Gan-Xiang and Hakka-Yue-Min; none of these have yet been accepted with unanimity (Yan M. M., 2006, pp. 16-18).

Some years after this seven-way classification gained precedence, Jerry Norman proposed an addendum to it, based on ten new criteria that, "[w]ithout rejecting the traditional scheme . . . [would] provide a framework that both has greater historical depth and shows more clearly the internal relationships which obtain among various subgroups" (Norman, 1988, pp. 181-182). These criteria were designed on a positive (i.e. attested) or negative (i.e. not attested) basis, and are reproduced below (Norman, 1988, p. 182):

1. The third-person pronoun is *tā* [他] or cognate to it.
2. The subordinate particle is *de* (di) [的] or cognate to it.
3. The ordinary negative is *bù* or cognate to it.
4. The gender marker for animals is prefixed, as in the word for 'hen' *mǔjī* [母雞].
5. There is a register distinction only in the *píng* [平] tonal category.
6. Velars are palatalized before *i*.
7. *Zhàn* [站] or words cognate to it are used for 'to stand'.
8. *Zǒu* [走] or words cognate to it are used for 'to walk'.
9. *Érzi* [兒子] or words cognate to it are used for 'son'.
10. *Fángzi* [房子] or words cognate to it are used for 'house'.

All of Norman's criteria are lexical or functional in nature, and they may be seen as a kind of refinement of the broader observations made by Zhan Bohui in 1981. Norman applied these ten criteria to twelve varieties—Beijing (北京), Xi'an (西安), Kunming (昆明), Suzhou (蕭州), Wenzhou (溫州), Changsha (長沙), Shuangfeng (雙峰), Nanchang (南昌), Meixian (梅縣), Guangzhou (廣州), Fuzhou (福州) and Jian'ou (建歐), with the following subgrouping result (Norman, 1988, pp. 182-183):

1. Northern group
   - Beijing, Xi'an, Kunming
   - Equivalent to Mandarin/Northern
   - Attests all diagnostic features
2. Central group

- Suzhou, Wenzhou, Changsha, Shuangfeng, Nanchang
- Includes Wu, Gan and Xiang groups
- Attests some, but not all diagnostic features
3. South group
- Meixian, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Jian'ou
- Includes Kejia, Yue and Min groups
- Does not attest any of the diagnostic features

Norman claims that the "Northern Group" and "Southern Group" should be considered subgroups in the conventional (i.e. evolutionary) sense of the term, but that the "Central Group" does not demonstrate sufficient homogeneity or shared innovation to be confidently regarded as such (Norman, 1988, p. 198). Rather, Norman speculates that the "Central Group" represents the affect of intrusive northern varieties over ancient southern forms, and the processes of language shift and hybridization that resulted from this contact (ibid). Norman's three-way classification is useful because it illustrates the internal integrity of northern and southern varieties, while showcasing the puzzling mixture of features demonstrated in between them.

As is shown in the map on the following page, Mandarin has intruded deep into southwestern China (note that most varieties of Xiang are now analyzed as hybridized froms of Southwestern Mandarin, with the critical exception of Southwestern or "Old" Xiang). Competing with the expansion of Mandarin in the southwest is the expansion of Cantonese from the southeast. The aggressive expansion of these two opposing prestige varieties have led to the extirpation of unknown numbers of regional languages, and leaving behind pockets of unclassifiable varieties often simply referred to as "local speeh" (土話), a situation very much consonant with Norman's hypothesis. Some of these "local" varieties were noted by Li Fang-kuei in his description of Xiang (see above), and today are usually grouped in with Xiang (again, in yellow above) or problematically dubbed *Pinghua* (represented by Li Rong as a separate group, as described above).

Norman's scheme is also interesting for its claim of a united southern group, which challenged the prevailing view of Min (and perhaps Hakka) as an older evolutionary offshoot apart from Yue (which is usually described as coordinate with northern varieties). While

Norman admits that Yue demonstrates a strong affinity with northern varieties of Chinese, he argues that several features evident in Yue colloquial layers describe an ancient affinity with Min and Hakka. However, it is also quite plausible that these features merely represent a substratal effect resulting from the extirpation of Min varieties that were once spoken in areas now dominated by Yue languages.

Figure 1.1: Topolect Map of Southern China[22]
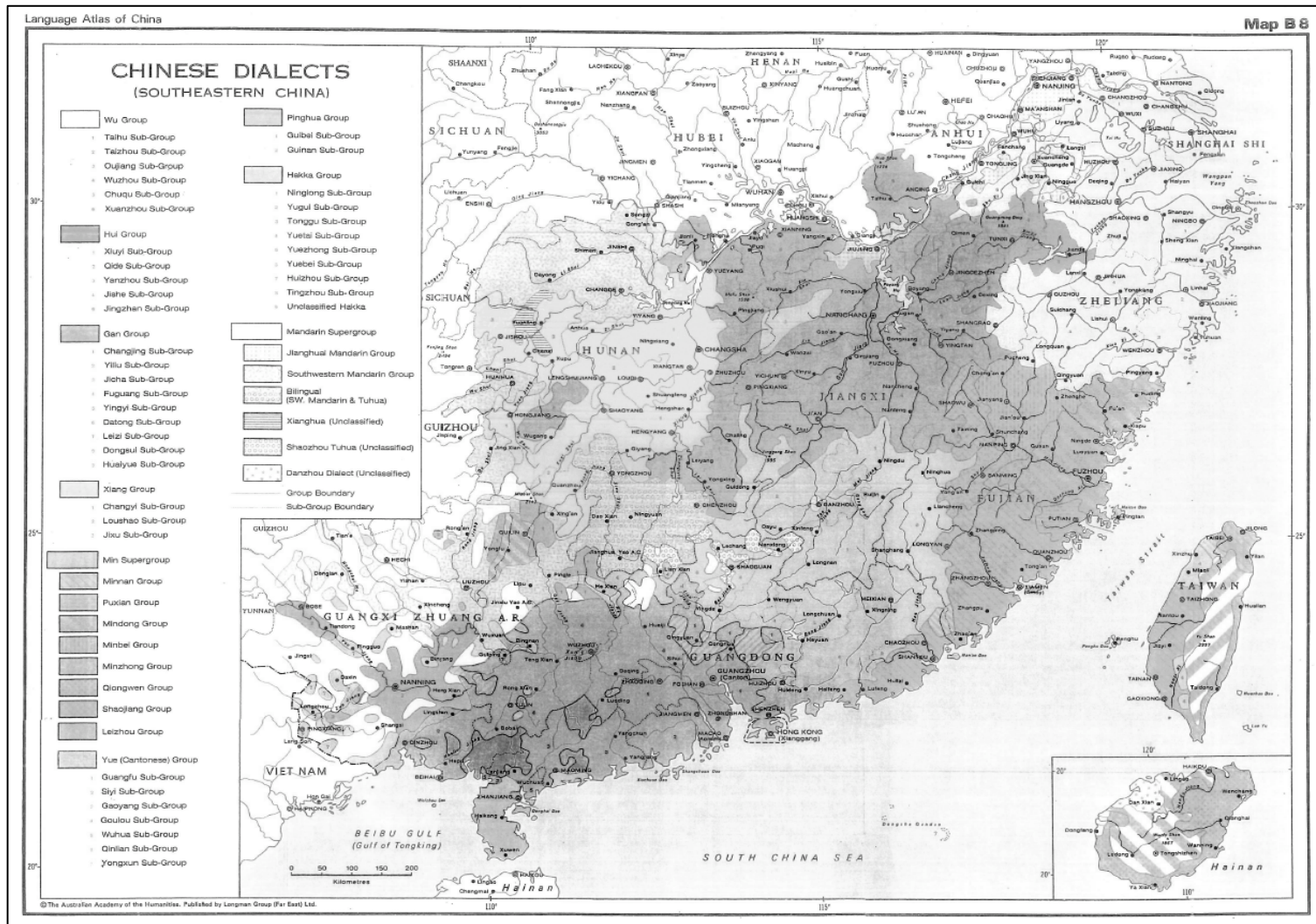
[22] From Wurman, Lee, et. al. (1987), Map B-8. Li Rong led the analysis on the southern varieties of Chinese for the original Chinese edition of these maps.

In particular, Norman argues that Yue retains bilabial onsets in an old stratum of vocabulary where northern varieties demonstrate labiodentalization (i.e. b → f), just as Hakka and Min do:

Table 1.3: Bilabial/Labiodental Onsets in Four Varieties of
Chinese (Norman, 1988, p. 211)

#	字	Gloss	Mandarin	Yue	Hakka	Min
1.	浮	"float"	fú	phou^2	feu^2	phu^2
2.	斧	"axe"	fŭ	(pou^3)	pu^3	pɔ^3
3.	婦	"woman"	fù	phou^4	fu^5	pu^6
4.	覆	"capsize"	fù	phuk^7	phuk^7	phak^7
5.	肥	"fat"	féi	fei^2	phui^2	pui^2
6.	蜂	"bee"	fēng	fuŋ^1	phuŋ^1	phaŋ^1

In nos. 1-4 above, Yue and Min both demonstrate bilabials (whether aspirated or not), and as does Hakka in nos. 2-4. These are exceptions to a rule otherwise followed in Yue, whereby a proto-bilabial onset labiodentalizes (as occurred in northern varieties and demonstrated by the Mandarin reflexes above). Norman admits that this is scant evidence, and adds to the pot a shared resistance to velar softening in all three varieties, vestiges of an *âi* reflex for the *gē* rime group (歌攝), which elsewhere surfaces as -*â*-, as well as a number of shared lexical items as further indications of a proto-Southern branch (Norman, 1988, pp. 211-214). For Norman, the distinctiveness of Hakka and Min varieties resulted from the geographically remote (i.e. mountainous) regions their proto-speakers inhabited, whereas Yue speakers (who inhabited lowlands more readily accessible to the north) quickly absorbed numerous waves of northern influence.

For our purposes, the hypothetical connection between Min, Yue and Hakka is less important than the potential connections between some forms of Yue and vestigial "Central Group" varieties that remain unclassified, partly because the age of such a stage of evolution would predate all but the oldest layers of Sino-Vietnamese. However, the unclassified forms of Xiang and Pinghua discussed in this section occupy a southwestern corner of modern-day China

that is suggestively proximate to northern Vietnam. The phonological profiles of these unclassified varieties will be discussed in Chapter 4, where I will show that they are the strongest candidates for bearing a genetic relationship to the donor of Sino-Vietnamese. At this point, I will turn to the evolutionary phases that produced so varied and diverse a language family as "Chinese."

1.2   The Periodization of Chinese

The diversity discussed above resulted from roughly two thousand years of evolution. In this section, I will introduce the basic evolutionary phases of Chinese linguistic history, based on research initiated by Bernard Karlgren and traditional Chinese philological approaches. I will then briefly discuss the theoretical challenges to this periodization, which has come under heavy criticism since Karlgren's time.

As suggested above, identifying clean branches in the Chinese family tree is quite a daunting task. This is due to massive cross-pollination and contact-induced hybridization, as well as extirpation events that have left behind a confusingly mosaic topolectal map. There is a tentative agreement on seven or so major branches in the family; but when did those branches begin to sprout off in the first place? Indeed, was Chinese ever a single language, and if it was, then how did it diversify into its current distribution?[23] We cannot answer these questions here, but it is important not to assume any homogeneity to "Chinese"—certainly not presently, and more significantly, nor for many periods of its historical development. Texts like Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 BCE-18 CE) *Topolects* (*Fangyan* 方言) indicate that Chinese was probably quite

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[23] It is particularly interesting to wonder whether or not there was ever such a thing as "Proto-Chinese"—especially in light of new research into ancient Greek, which seems to indicate that what later became the classical Greek dialects, descended from separate dialectal strains of Proto-Indo-European. Garrett, A. (2006)

diverse at least as early as the Han, and history suggests an equal if not greater diversity before the Qin unification of 221 BCE. The degree to which this diversity was leveled or maintained during the Han Dynasty is very unclear. One thing, however, is certain: it is after the fall of the Han when processes of diversification begin to gain irrevocable momentum.

Bernard Karlgren divided the history of Chinese into four major periods, preceded by a theoretical *Proto-Chinese* (Karlgren, 1915). For Karlgren, each of these periods represented a more or less unified language. These are in brief:

-Archaic Chinese: the language of the *Shijing* 詩經, ca. 1000 BCE
-Ancient Chinese: the language of the *Qieyun* (7th century CE)
-Middle Chinese: the language of the rime tables (12th century)
-Old Mandarin: the language of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644) dictionary, the *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻 (relevent only to the history of the Northern branch of Chinese)

Karlgren (1954) defined "Archaic Chinese" as "the language of the Honan region during the first Chou centuries (from 1028 B.C.E.)," and claimed that it was represented in part by the rimes of the Shijing (Karlgren, 1963, p. 212). More relevant for our purposes is Karlgren's argument for *Ancient* and *Middle* Chinese, which Karlgren based on the descriptions of the *Qieyun* and Rime Tables respectively. Karlgren claims point blank that his "Ancient Chinese" is intended to represent "tout simplement la langue représentée par les fan-ts'ie [反切] du Ts'ie yun [切韻] . . ." and that his "Middle Chinese" was meant to represent "la langues des tables de rimes de Sseu-ma . . ." (Karlgren, 1915, p. 340).[24]

Henri Maspero (1920), a colleague and contemporary of Karlgren, follows roughly the same scheme with some modification, as summarized below (Maspero, 1920, p. 10):

1. *Chinois archaïque*
    a. Ancien: Antiquité
    b. Récent: Han et Trois Royaumes
2. *Chinois moyen*
    a. Ancien: Six Dynasties et début des T'ang
    b. Récent: fin des T'ang et Song

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[24] Note the incorrect attribution of the rime tables apparently to Song historian Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1087).

3. *Chinois moderne (kouan-houa* 官話)
   a. Ancien: Kin, Yuan, et début des Ming
   b. Récent: fin des Ming, Ts'ing.

Although Maspero's tripartite scheme of Archaic, Middle, and Modern Chinese seems to replicate Karlgren's model, his subdivisions into early and late periods for each—especially for his *chinois moyen* (Middle Chinese) reflect a crucial argument later echoed by Zhou Zumo 周祖謨. Zhou explicitly argued that the *Qieyun* and Song rime tables reflected not a current pronunciation, but the struggle to decode the pronunciation of an era just past (Zhou, 1999). This required Zhou to split Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese" (what is referred to in traditional terminology as Middle Antiquity 中古代) into two fields (adding a Late Medieval period 近古代 to the scheme), which resembles Maspero's division of *chinois moyen* into an earlier and later period.[25]

This argument was also accepted by Karlgren's student, E.G. Pulleyblank, who introduced the terms "Early Middle Chinese" (EMC) and "Late Middle Chinese" to reflect the phonological transformations occurring between the language of the *Qieyun* and Rime Tables respectively. Figure 3.2 below compares Karlgren's model with Zhou Zumo's philologically-informed view, and the model of Karlgren's student, E.G. Pulleyblank.

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[25] Zhou Zumo is operating under the traditional periodization of High Antiquity (*shanggudai* 上古代; 770 B.C.E.–219 C.E.), Middle Antiquity (*zhonggudai* 中古代; 220-588 C.E.), Near Middle Antiquity (*jingudai* 近古漢語; 589-1126 C.E.; translated above as "Late Medieval Period"), the Modern Era (*jindai* 近代; 1127-1918), and the Contemporary Era (*xiandai* 現代; 1919-present) inaugurated by the May 4th Movement. Zhou's scheme, which should be taken more as a light comment on the history of language than a hard argument, has its roots in the Six Dynasties Taoist millenarian work, the *Taiping jing* 太平經, which divided man's history into three epochs: High Antiquity, Middle Antiquity, and Lower Antiquity (下古). Such a culturally-informed scheme accounts for the strange divisions later in history—particularly Zhou's definitions of modern and contemporary, which do not seem motivated by major linguistic changes. It is striking, however, that the TPJ's understanding of "Lower Antiquity" is that it is a time of disorder and chaos, and thus it must have seemed appropriate to Zhou to call the period that led to the modern Chinese diversification of languages, as "Recent Antiquity" (in his terms, 近古). For a discussion of the TPJ's epochs as they relate to fate and retribution, see: Lo, Y.-K., 2010.

Figure 1.2 [26]

VARIOUS PERIODIZATIONS OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

	1000 BCE	500 BCE	1 CE	500 CE	1000 CE	1500CE	2000 CE
Karlgren	Archaic Chinese			Ancient Chinese	MC	Old Man.	Mod. lang.
Pull.	Old Chinese		EMC	LMC	E. (Mand.)	Modern languages	
Zhou	High Antiquity		Medieval	Late Medieval	Modern		Cont.

The division of Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese" into two phases, as well as Pulleyblank's terminology have gained widespread support, and are summarized below:

-Old Chinese (OC): The Classics; Han and earlier
-Early Middle Chinese (EMC): The rime books; Six Dynasties to Sui
-Late Middle Chinese (LMC): The rime tables; Late Tang Dynasty

However, several points of Karlgren's model—even reformulated to reflect two stages of medieval development—have come under criticism since its publication. Regarding Old Chinese (i.e. Archaic Chinese), Li Fang-kuei (1983) noted quite plainly that Zhou-era Chinese must have had dialects, but lacking any systematic method for reconstructing them, he was forced to default to a definition of it as "represent[ing] only the standard language of the northern China plains" (Li F.-k. , 1983, p. 394). William Baxter (1992) used the term in a 'strict' sense to refer to a reconstruction that accounted for the rimes of the *Shijing* and the *xiesheng* 諧聲 characters of Zhou-dynasty script, the phonological system of Middle Chinese, and the modern Chinese dialects, but also used "Old Chinese" in a 'loose' sense to refer to any variety of Chinese dating from the early and mid Zhou (Baxter W. H., 1992, p. 24).

Karlgren & Pulleyblank's reliance on the *Qieyun* and Song Rime Tables (particularly the *Yunjing*) to reconstruct the history of Middle Chinese *speech* has suffered especially heavy criticism, particularly regarding the implicit homogeneity of the reconstructions. Before visiting

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[26] I have provided the year line as a rough reference only; it is not meant as a firm timeline.

these criticisms, it is important to note that, at least in his earlier career, Karlgren himself states very clearly that he is not arguing that Chinese was homogenous or without dialectal variation at these stages in history:

> I don't presume…that the Chinese language during these periods was homogenous and without dialectal variation. Much to the contrary, we have indications that there existed different dialects in diverse periods, even in high antiquity . . .
>
> Je ne presume…pas que la langue chinoise à ces époques ait été homogène et sans variations dialectales. Bien au contraire, nous avons des indices sûr qu'il a existé des dialectes différents aux diverses époques, même dans la haute antiquité . . . (Karlgren, 1915, p. 340.)

Here, Karlgren is careful to acknowledge that diversity *must* have existed—not just during the medieval period, but even in the classical period (i.e. "high antiquity," 上古代).   Rather, Karlgren meant his reconstructions of "Ancient" and "Middle" Chinese as a starting point for a richer and more complex reassembling of the history of Chinese.

Nevertheless, in his 1963 book, Karlgren asserts the homogeneity of his "Ancient" and "Middle Chinese" phases in stronger terms:

> It stands to reason that the lowest strata of the population in various provinces to a large extent preserved their vulgar dialects and that traces of these "pre-T'ang" dialects are still discernible in various t'u-hua vernaculars. But the Koine was sufficiently widespread and accepted by a sufficiently large proportion of the population, from the highest officials down to the lower middle class, to have become the ancestor of nearly all the present dialects (except the Min dialects in Fukien and adjacent regions). The remarkably close correspondence between the sound categories in the Ts'ie yun and those in each modern dialect conclusively shows that the Ts'ie yun depicts a real living and homogenous language and was not an artificial product, a compromise *mixtum compositum*, made up of heterogeneous elements from various dialects, as stated by many recent writers (Karlgren, 1963, p. 212.)

Note first that Karglren does acknowledge that the Min group must have diversified before the advent of this "Tang koine."   However, Karlgren makes the plain argument that sound correspondences between the language of the *Qieyun* and modern Chinese varieties signifies the

existence of a widespread, fairly homogenous language during the Tang Dynasty, which eventually diversified into all other modern subgroups. We can schematize Karlgren's argument in a staumbaum format as follows:

Figure 1.3: Chinese Diversification according to Karlgren (1963)[27]
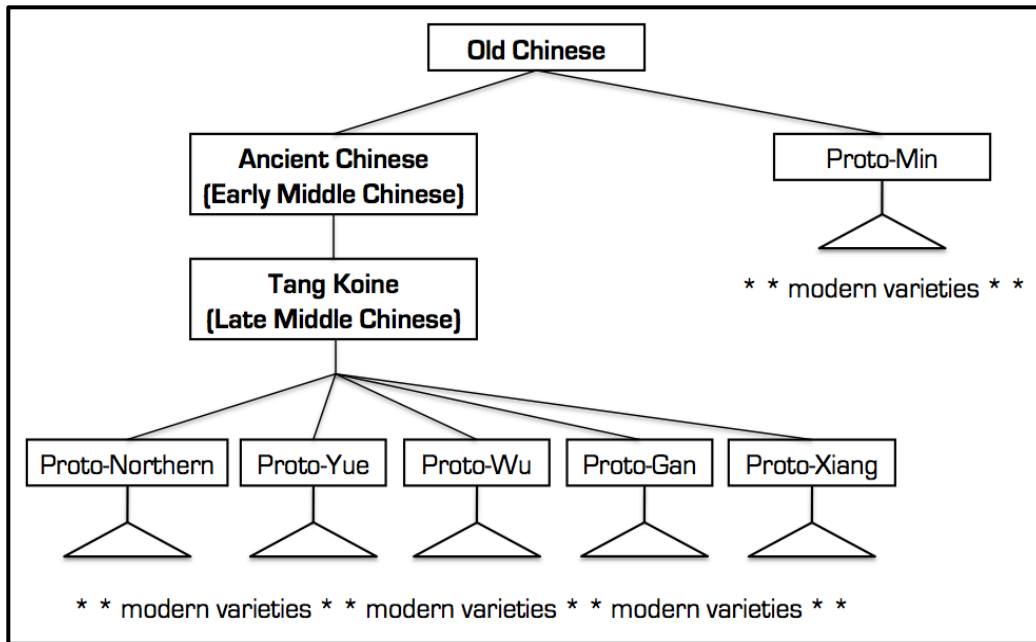
According to Karlgren, the "koine" which spawned all modern varieties aside from Min was furthermore, "essentially the dialect of Ch'ang-an in Shensi" (Karlgren, 1963, p. 212). In other words, all modern forms of Chinese aside from the Min family descend directly from the speech of the Tang Capital, Chang'an, which had come to be spoken in virtually all corners of the empire.

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[27] I have modified Karlgren's terminology here (cf. "Old Chinese" for "Archaic Chinese," etc.); I have also left out Hakka as unclassified. Note the placement of Min apart from the other varieties of Chinese (including Yue). It was this (in fact, largely accepted) classification for Min that Norman was challenging in his hypothesis of a proto-Southern group.

Criticisms of the Karlgren-Pulleyblank Model

The diversification scheme shown above suggests that the only lasting diversification to occur at this time was the emergence of a separate Min lineage. The implication of this model is that no other deep diversifications occurred during the Period of Disunion (recall—a divisive era that lasted over 300 years), and that a relatively unified language *wiped out* any diversity that had proliferated during the 300-odd years of fragmentation leading up to the Sui-Tang. In a vast empire, which stretched from Tianjin in the east to Kashgar in the west, from the plains of Inner Mongolia in the north to the mountains of Central Vietnam in the south—an empire without an Information Age media network, or indeed the highways or railroads of an industrialized world, this clearly strains credulity.

As already noted, this model is depends greatly on the accuracy and naturalness of the languages described by the *Qieyun* and Song Rime Tables. However, Zhou (1966) demonstrated that the *Qieyun* is actually an artificial synthesis of various (deeply divergent) varieties of Chinese as they existed at the dawn of the Sui reunification. This position is summarized nicely by Norman & Coblin in their rebuttal of the so-called "Neo-Karlgrenian" approach (Norman & Coblin, 1995, p. 579):

> What did Luh Faayan actually codify in the *Chieh-yunn*? The *Chiehyunn*, as is abundantly clear from its preface, was chiefly based on earlier dictionaries. These dictionaries were in turn based on the glossing tradition of the post-Hann period. Although all the rime books mentioned in Luh Faayan's preface are now lost, they were undoubtedly, for the most part, practical handlists of character readings employed by teachers and students of the time. In working over this material, Luh Faayan probably took into account the elegant reading pronunciations employed in the north and the south. The result was naturally a composite phonological inventory containing elements from earlier periods as well as elements from different regions of China . . .
> It seems clear that the *Chiehyunn* does not represent a record of any spoken dialect of a certain place or time; it is rather an inventory of a tradition of phonological glossing. As such, the *Chiehyunn* system is not really a language in any common sense of the term. Not only does it not provide us with a consistent phonological system that can be pinpointed in time or space, it is not the lexicon of any particular dialect. (Norman & Coblin, 1995, pp. 579-580.)

In the elided passage, Norman & Coblin provide copious examples of some fifty years of scholarship that agrees on this synthetic, philologically-oriented nature of the *Qieyun*. But the important point lies in the second paragraph above, where Norman & Coblin point out the fact that such a synthesis of phonologies does not, and never did represent the living system of any dialect or variety. This is the Achilles Heel in relying on such texts for the reconstruction of dead languages.

Norman & Coblin go on to attack the notion that the source for Late Middle Chinese (or Karlgren's "Middle Chinese") was the speech of Chang'an, the Tang Capital. They argue that there is no historical basis for the identification of a Chang'an variety as the source for rime tables like the *Yunjing,* and that, indeed, there is no surviving preface to the *Yunjing* that would give us positive documentation of such (Norman & Coblin, 1995, p. 580). Most critically, Norman & Coblin challenge the notion of a capital-based *koine* serving as progenitor to all modern varieties of Chinese (aside from the Min). Norman & Coblin specifically criticize the following four positions: 1) that the capital language has ever really been a basis for a widespread *koine* in China, suggesting instead that Mandarin (官話) is better described as a series of "floating norms," constrained only by practical bureaucratic demands of communication; 2) that the analogy of a Hellenistic *koine* spread in Alexandrian times to the replacement of Classical diversity is really an appropriate model for China, given both the far deeper diversity immanent in the Chinese language family (versus modern Greek, whose varieties are largely mutually intelligible) as well as the far shorter period of time in which such diversity was supposed to have emerged; and 3) that the possibility that the correspondences observed between the *Qieyun* and modern, non-Min varieties may allude to an older system; and 4) that the fact that correspondences between spoken languages and the *Qieyun* system does not *prima facie* signify that the *Qieyun* is the ancestor of these languages—an argument that has been well-accepted in the case of the (non-) relationship between the Romance languages and Classical Latin (Norman & Coblin, 1995, pp. 581-582).

Norman & Coblin conclude that the artificial nature of traditional philological sources makes them unreliable as primary bases for the reconstruction of Chinese linguistic history, and that greater emphasis should be placed on cross-varietal and comparative approaches to reconstruction, even though such tasks are complicated by the "accretion" of multiple layers of cross-pollinating internal contact (Norman & Coblin, 1995, p. 584).

In his 1998 reply to Norman & Coblin, Pulleyblank defended the *Qieyun* and *Yunjing* as "essential" sources of Chinese linguistic history, and argued against dismissing them based on a coarse understanding of their function in medieval Chinese society. For example, he discusses at some length, the aberrant case of 鼻 ("nose") in Mandarin versus Guangzhou and Fuzhou varieties (Pulleyblank, 1998, pp. 204-205). The Mandarin pronunciation demonstrates a low level tone 陽平聲. This actually suggests an older entering tone 入聲 pronunciation, as indicated by the Yuan Dynasty dictionary known as the *Zhongyuan yinyun* 中原音韻, which describes a transformation from level to entering tone (Pulleyblank, 1998, p. 205).[28] However, the *Guangyun* classifies 鼻 as *departing tone* 去聲. This classification is reflected in the Cantonese realization of 鼻 as /pei˩/, which bears a departing tone).[29] As Pulleyblank (1998) points out, the anomalous Mandarin pronunciation can be explained by a note in the *Qieyun* preface: "in Qin 秦 and Long 隴 the departing tone is taken as the entering [tone]" (Luo 1972, 13-17, my translation). This merger between departing tone and entering tone was ignored in the *Qieyun* due to a principle of conserving maximal contrasts; however, it survived in northwestern spoken varieties of Chinese—and survived in the word for "nose" as loaned into other prestigious northern forms. And so, regarding the word 鼻, Mandarin reflects a Qin-based spoken variety, whereas Cantonese reflects the classification represented in the *Guangyun*.[30]

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[28] This is also supported by comparative evidence in Taiyuan and Yangzhou <pieʔ>, which preserves the entering tone as a final glottalization -ʔ.

[29]

[30] Condensed from Pulleyblank (1998).

Pulleyblank's example suggests that Chinese literary registers may derive from a number of sources (both textual and spoken), and that sometimes, even when a particular form departs from the *Qieyun*/*Guangyun* prescription, that (other) philological texts may still elucidate their nature. While I agree with the argument that philological texts may serve us in unexpected ways, and that even the *Qieyun* and *Yunjing* should be regarded as valuable (if treacherous) guides to Middle Chinese, Pulleyblank has also underscored one of Norman & Coblin's major points: that is, that spoken language (usually) trumps literate norms in the development of language.

This becomes clearer if we extend the case of 鼻 a little further. That is, in some Chinese languages the literary register reflects entering or level tone in 鼻, just like the Qin/Long prestige dialect (which was probably centered on Chang'an), whereas some literary registers reflect departing tone, as in the *Guangyun*; likewise, some colloquial layers demonstrate entering tone, (as in Qin/Long dialect), whereas others demonstrate departing tone (as in the *Guangyun*). For example, literary Xiamen 廈門 /pit˩/ demonstrates a low entering tone, but colloquial Xiamen /pʰĩ˩/ shows a low departing tone. Contrastively, literary Fuzhou /pei˥˧/ shows a high departing tone, while colloquial Fuzhou /peiʔ˩/ demonstrates a low departing tone.[31] It is unlikely that the southern varieties which demonstrate a colloquial departing tone developed it as the result of prestigious philological readings (or at least, just as likely that this is a coincidence); however, it is very possible (as Pulleyblank notes) that in the literary register, the spread of entering/level tone from northwestern spoken dialects *replaced* older departing-tone literary readings. This explains cases like Fuzhou literary /pei˥˧/, which bears a high *departing* tone. Thus in a single Chinese language, prestigious spoken varieties can and do contribute to so-called "literary" registers. We cannot, however, positively make the opposite claim, that philological texts like the *Qieyun*/*Guangyun* were informing the construction of literary registers

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[31] Transcriptions modified from Dominic Yu's online Chinese dialect database: http://blyt.net/DOC/?char=%E9%BC%BB&Search=Search. Note that Pulleyblank and Yu differ in their transcription of colloquial Fuzhou 鼻, with Yu transcribing a low entering tone and Pulleyblank transcribing a low departing tone. The difference may be due to reliance on different dialects within the group.

since these texts were constructed to preserve maximal contrasts, and thus any observed resemblances could conceivably be a retention or the influence of a conservative prestige variety.[32]

Although Pulleyblank was making an argument for the importance of the *Qieyun* and *Yunjing* to the study of Chinese historical linguistics, I believe his fascinating example only provides support for the model of accretive waves of prestigious speech-forms overlaying various, discrete varietal centers of gravity which Norman & Coblin (1995) offered as a motivation for greater comparative work. I fully agree with Pulleyblank that cases like "nose" suggest that "close attention to textual sources of all kinds and to the interaction of literary and vernacular dialects throughout the ages" is prerequisite to reconstructing the complexity of Chinese linguistic history (Pulleyblank, 1998, p. 205). However, that does not mean that the *Qieyun* and *Yunjing* should be treated as the sole (or even primary) basis for reconstructing spoken language, nor certainly does it support the hypothesis that a Tang koine was progenitor to all modern Chinese varieties aside from Min.

Again, the broad strokes of an Old Chinese vs. Early/Late Middle Chinese vs. early modern Chinese (languages) tripartite distinction are pragmatically accepted today; however, it is the diversity of the "Middle" period that is particularly contended. If deeper diversifications can be demonstrated, this would mean a different tree-structure than the Karlgrenian or ("Neo-Karlgrenian") approach summarized in Figure 3.3 above, and would force us to re-evaluate the major subgrouping arguments reviewed in 3.1. Indeed, the hope that Norman & Coblin suggest is that comparative work may reveal higher-order affiliations that help us to understand the deeper and older connections between the varieties that today pose such a problem in terms of classification.

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[32] We *can* detect the influence of philological texts in the formation of "incorrect" pronunciations in Sino-Vietnamese—a practice taken up in the next chapter.

Since Norman & Coblin's article, a great deal of interesting work on the question of Middle Chinese diversity. Chinese scholarship has, in particular, begun to take a closer look at hitherto unclassifiable southern languages—what Li Fang-kuei referred to as "certain isolated groups" in his discussion of Xiang, and what Karlgren referred to as "various t'u-hua vernaculars" (Karlgren, 1963, p. 212; Li F.-k. , 1973, pp. 4-5). Work on these various unclassified southern varieties has recently led to the hypothesis that a "southern koine" is reconstructable as an independent branch of Chinese diversification. The evidence from Sino-Vietnamese that I will present in chapters 2 and 4 strongly supports such a hypothesis, and therefore challenges the diversification scheme shown in Figure 1.3 above. I will discuss evidence for a Southwestern branch of Middle Chinese at length in chapter 4. At this point, I will turn to Sino-Vietnamese itself, and examine the basic approaches scholars have taken for its analysis in light of the chronological and geographical diversity of Chinese we have just discussed.

1.3   Previous Approaches to Sino-Vietnamese

As will be described in greater detail next chapter, contact between Vietic speakers (specifically pVM speakers) and Sinitic speakers began in earnest in the 1st century CE, and continues even today. This gives us an historical window of some two thousand years for the transfusion (or transfusions) of Sinitic words into Vietnamese (or its ancestor) to have occurred. When confronted with this broad elapse of history, scholars first generally focused on the most cohesive group within Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary—that is, the conventionalized, literate system called *Hán-Việt*. Analyses of HV are then used as the yardstick by which other forms that do not fit its defined phonology are measured.

In Vietnam, scholarly attention to Sino-Vietnamese can be traced back to pre-modern lexicographic projects like the *Chỉ Nam Ngọc Âm Giải Nghĩa* 指南玉音解義 (discussed in Chapter 7), a Sino-Vietnamese dictionary purportedly based on the work of 2nd century Jiao governor Shi Xie 士燮 (137-226), which was published in the 17th century. The dictionary arranges Chinese terms according to the thematic structure of a "compendium" 類聚, providing a rhyming Vietnamese definition for each written in Chữ Nôm. The occasional phonetic glosses (in *duruo* 讀若 style: 音 X) provided in the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* describe a conventionalized phonological system of readings for Chinese characters that came to be referred to as *Hán-Việt*. Indeed, the text was essentially a reference for the pronunciation and meanings of abstruse characters. The dictionary's phonological system departs both from contemporary varieties of Chinese speech and the conventionalized phonologies of rime literature, as can be seen by the following examples:

Table 1.4: Hán-Việt Pronunciation Glosses from the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*

#	Term	Pinyin	*Duruo* gloss	Meaning
1.	施鞭	shi1- bian1	仙 : tiên	to execute a lashing/whipping
2.	X^{33} 飄	X – piao1	聿消 : duật tiêu	miasmic winds? typhoon?
3.	雹雨	bao2 – yu2	泊 : bạc	hail
4.	蕭牆	xiao1 – qiang2	了 : liễu	sluice gate
5.	罞杓	lue4 – yue4	勺 : thược	buoy

The first two examples demonstrate the occurrence of dental onsets (t-) rather than the expected labial onsets (b- and pʰ-; or b- and ph- in Viet.). This reflects the palatalization of bilabial onsets in a series of syllables that appear in both Grades III and IV of the Four Grades (四等) system—

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[33] The first character in this pair is contested. It is glossed in all manuscripts with the syllable <duật>. Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985) suggests that the character is an abbreviated form of 颶 (Mandarin *yu4*), and meaning "miasmic winds;" i.e. 疾風 (Trần Xuân, 1985, p. 81). However, the entry glosses the reading as follows: "[Duật] tiêu *là gió táp*" (my emphasis). "Gió" still bears the meaning "wind" in modern Vietnamese; "táp," according to De Rhodes' 1641 dictionary, means "storm" ("*tempestas*") (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 725). This gives us "gió táp" as "typhoon"— not a good semantic match for "miasmic winds."

the so-called *chongniu* doublets 重紐 (discussed at length in Chapter 4). At this point, it is only important to note that for a certain class of bilabial onsets (*p-, m-*) the HV forms demonstrate apicalized (*t-, z-*) forms instead. Thus the phonological shape that is being referenced in #1-2 above departs both from contemporary Sinitic forms, as well as the standards defined by rime studies literature.

In case #3 above, the character (雹) has at least two readings in *Hán-Việt*: <bao> or <bạc>; however the *duruo* gloss confirms the coda-bearing reading of <bạc>. This represents a possible stratum of Mandarin loans into Middle Vietnamese, which demonstrate loss of the finals -p, -t, and -k. Cases like #3 above show that these open-syllable northern forms were at odds with *Hán-Việt* convention, which preserved final stop codas.

The case of #4 is interesting, because it suggests the affect of contemporary Vietnamese on Sino-Vietnamese phonology. The expected *Hán-Việt* form for (蕭) is would be <tiêu>; however the pronunciation gloss provided (了) bears an unexpected liquid (l-) onset. This is because Middle Vietnamese maintained a series of medial-liquid clusters *bl-, tl-, kl-*, as in Middle Vietnamese *tlời* and *blãi* for Modern Vietnamese *trời* and *trãi*. It is unclear whether Sino-Vietnamese words with simplex stop onsets were borrowed as clusters, or if these were confused with native clusters later in history. I find the latter more likely, at least regarding those etyma that cannot be traced back to clusters in Old Chinese.

As for #5 above, this appears to be a simple case of relying on the radical (勺) as the pronunciation gloss, despite the fact that the pronunciation of the full character differs in terms of onset (in conventional *Hán-Việt*, dược vs. thược). Cases like these (and there are many) demonstrate a philological component to the construction of *Hán-Việt* (i.e., they are reading mistakes), and are analogous to cases like Japanese 洗 *sen*, which is based on the value of the radical component (先) rather than the full character.

The point of these cases is to show that a cohesive *Hán-Việt* reading system was in place by the middle of the 2nd millennium, and that Vietnamese literati actively preferred this system to

other competing forms of Chinese influence. It is this old tradition of *Hán-Việt* that informs the earliest modern linguistic approaches to Sino-Vietnamese.

1.31   Previous chronological analyses of Sino-Vietnamese

Maspero (1912, 1916, 1920) called this classical tradition of *Hán-Việt* readings *Sino-Annamite*, and contrasted it with so-called "vulgaire" forms of Sinitic words as they appeared in colloquial Vietnamese (or *Annamite*).   For Maspero, *Sino-Annamite* was the product of a "classical language" (*langue classique*) that was taught in Tang-era Annamese schools, and whose foundation "était certainnement la langue du Nord, et en particulier le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan [長安], mais dépouillée de ce qui lui était trop particulier, trop special" (Maspero, 1920, p. 21).   While Maspero claims that the source of *Sino-Annamite* was the dialect of Chang'an, he is forced to concede that it was "stripped of that which made it too particular, too special" because *Sino-Annamite* does not reflect a process of denasalization (*m > mb-; n > nb-*) famously associated with Chang'an Middle Chinese and reflected in Sino-Japanese *Kan'on* (cf. *Kan'on* "ba" from 馬).   Most scholars have rejected a northern origin for what Maspero called *Sino-Annamite* (an issue I will discuss further in Chapter 4), but what is important for now is that Maspero characterized *Sino-Annamite* (i.e. *Hán-Việt*) as a system born of literate education.   It was this "classical" system that Maspero contrasted with vulgarized forms as they appeared in colloquial Vietnamese.

Maspero's long 1912 study of initial consonants in Vietnamese (*Etudes sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite. Les initiales*) does not explicitly deal with either form of Sino-Vietnamese; however, he does indirectly discuss Chinese loans, particularly when their "vulgaire" forms demonstrate mutations in the history of initial consonants.

Table 1.5: Maspero's Evidence for Sino-Annamite to Annamite (Tonkinois) Cluster Formation[34]

#	字	Sino-Annamite	Tonkinois	Tonkinois Moyen	Gloss
1.	理	lí	*nhẽ*[35]	*mlẽ, mnhẽ*	reason, logic
2.	勒	lạc	nhạc	*mlạc*	reins
3.	露	lộ	trỗ, trổ	*blỗ, trỗ*	bare, exposed
4.	亂	loạn	trộn-trạo[36]	*tlộn (-tlạo)*	chaos, mixed
5.	張	trang/trương[37]	giang	*blang*	sheet
6.	種	chủng[38]	giồng	*blồng - (blot)*	to plant

In this section of his study, Maspero compared l-/nh- and l-/tr- doublets in modern "Tonkinois" (standard northern Vietnamese) with their cluster-bearing antecedents in "Tonkinois Moyen" (Middle Vietnamese, i.e. the Vietnamese recorded by A. de Rhodes in 1651), as well as other contemporary varieties of Vietnamese, showing that at the very least, some palatalizing or dentalizing processes had taken place in the reduction of Middle Vietnamese clusters (Maspero, 1912, p. 78). Maspero brings in *Sino-Annamite* (HV) evidence (as shown Table 1.5) to suggest a process by which words of Chinese origin acquired an extra consonantal element as they passed into colloquial Vietnamese (i.e. *Annamite*). Maspero explains these correspondences as follows:

> All of these Chinese words, when passing from Sino-Annamese [HV] into Annamese [Vietnamese], underwent a modification of the initial which consisted of their prefixation by the consonants *b, t, m,* of [such] a kind that, under their new form, they may be deconstructed into two parts: 1st an initial element or prefix of Annamese origin; and 2nd a Chinese word more or less altered in voicing or tone.

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[34] From Maspero (1912), p. 78. I have added English glosses for convenience; all other forms, unless noted, are directly transcribed as they appear in Maspero (1912), p. 78.

[35] More commonly: <*lẽ*>.

[36] Transcribed by Maspero as *trọn-trạo,* but only surfaces as *trộn-trạo.* I have adjusted his *Tonkinois Moyen* accordingly as well.

[37] Maspero transcribes this with a low-falling tone as *tràng* and *trường*, for reasons that are unclear. He may have confused the word with 長 , which bears a low-series tone in Hán-Việt (*trường*).

[38] Erroneously transcribed by Maspero as <trủng>; more than in the case of #5, it is possible that this variant spelling existed at the time, though the philological expectation for the onset (as a Grade III zhengchi 正齒₃ onset) would be <ch->, and not <tr->.

Tous ces mots chinois, en passant du sino-annamite à l'annamite, ont subi une modification de l'initiale, consistant à leur préfixer les consonnes *b, t, m,* en sorte que, sous leur nouvelle forme, ils se decomposent en deux parties: 1ᵉ une particule initiale ou préfixe d'origine annamite; 2ᵉ un mot chinois plus ou moins altéré dans le vocalisme et le ton (Maspero, 1912, p. 79).

blỏ ← *b - lộ   tlộn[39] ← *ṭ - loạn
tlỗ ← *ṭ - lỗ   mlẽ ← *m - lí

In this comparison of conventionalized *Sino-Annamite* (HV) words with their vulgarized counterparts in *Annamite* (Vietnamese), Maspero hypothesized a process of "nativization" by which the Sinitic forms acquired complex initial consonants (which were eventually reduced to their current simplex forms by the 17th century). In other words, Maspero is describing a process of "nativization" in which *Sino-Annamite*—i.e. the stock of Hán-Việt words and morphemes—represents the source. Naturally, Maspero concludes that these words were borrowed/adapted/nativized after their initial appropriation in whatever process led to the formation of *Sino-Annamite*.[40]

However, as Maspero discussed in his 1916 squib *Quelques mots annamites d'origine chinois*, not all variation from standard HV form may be attributed to processes like the one described above, and some of these "vulgarized" forms must rather be dated to a stage earlier than *Sino-Annamite* (HV) proper. In this study, Maspero concentrates primarily on a number of *Annamite* words of Chinese origin that maintain initial *m-* but correspond to Mandarin *w-* and *Sino-Annamite v-* (e.g. 味 "Annamite" *mùi,* "Sino-Annamite" *vi̩ ,* Mandarin *wèi*), which he ultimately claims are of ancient, pre-*Sino-Annamite* origin (Maspero, 1916, p. 39).

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[39] As in the table above, I have corrected Maspero's transcription here as well.
[40] I do not fully accept Maspero's explanation of these doublets, and will return to this issue in chapter 4.

Table 1.6: Maspero (1916) Sino-Vietnamese *m-* initial correspondences[41]

#	字	Chinois	Sino-Annamite	Annamite	Gloss
1.	味	mwiĕ₃	vi₄	muy₁	taste, smell
2.	未	mwiĕ₃	vi₄	muy₁	end
3.	幬	mwiĕ₁	vó	muy	dividing curtain
4.	無	mwo₁	vu₄	mu^a2	non-
5.	霧	mwo₃	vu₄	mu₁	fog
6.	舞	mwo₂	vu₄	mu^a2	dance, posture

Contrary to the kind of process he described regarding the compounding of Sino-Annamite initials in MC "nativized forms" just discussed, Maspero argues that these "vulgarized" Sinitic forms must rather have been borrowed (directly) from an older form of Chinese (rather than evolving out of standardized *Sino-Annamite/*HV forms). Maspero notes:

> We know that the great invasion of Chinese words experienced by the Annamese language is in general fairly recent, and reaches back to proper Chinese forms only through the intermediary of Sino-Annamese. These words [i.e. words like those in Table 1.6] refer to an older period; they are smaller in number than those introduced directly from Chinese during the era of Chinese domination (probably from the beginning of the Tang), in a time when a special Sino-Annamese pronunciation had not yet been constituted as a result of the political separation of Annam from China.

> On sait que la grande invasion de mots chinois qu'a subie la langue annamite est en générale assez récente et ne remonte aux formes chinoises propres que par l'intermédiaire du sino-annamite. Ces mots reportent à une période plus ancienne ; ils sont du petit nombre de ceux qui se sont introduits directement du chinois à l'époque de la domination chinoise (probablement au début des T'ang), en un temps où une prononciation sino-annamite spéciale ne s'était pas encore constituée à la faveur de la separation politique de l'Annam et de la Chine (Maspero, 1916, p. 39).

These words therefore belong to a small group of non-HV forms that descend from very early borrowings—dwarfed by the great numbers of (Tang-era) borrowings that later formed the basis of *Sino-Annamite* (HV)—but which nevertheless cannot be demonstrated to have evolved from *Sino-Annamite* forms. The ideas contained in this passage will be of great importance to the model I will eventually propose for an important subset of Sino-Vietnamese words, though I

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[41] I have added English glosses for convenience; all other forms are directly transcribed as they appear in Maspero (1916), pp. 35-36.

believe that there is a disconnect between the sequence of borrowing that Maspero is describing, and the time-depth that he believes is necessitated by certain phonological forms. At this point, however, it is only important to note that Maspero has suggested two sources for non-HV forms: 1) those which resulted form a "nativizing" process which mutated the HV form in common speech; and 2) those which resulted from direct borrowing at a stage before HV or its donor was formed.

Wang Li (1948), the first scholar to produce a full-length study of Sino-Vietnamese, also contrasted a conventionalized HV system with variant, non-HV forms—which he similarly believed could be categorized into two chronologically distinct strata, thus comprising the following three-way typology (Wang, 1948, p. 9):

1. **Ancient Sino-Vietnamese (**古漢越語**)**: Words borrowed from the Han to the Sui Dynasties, and whose forms had already fossilized by the dawn of the Tang.
2. **Sino-Vietnamese (**漢越語**)**: Words borrowed throughout the course of the Tang, and reflective of the increase in literate education during this time.
3. **Vietnamicized Chinese (**漢語越化**)**: Words of Chinese origin affected by Vietnamese colloquial sound-changes, and thus demonstrating forms that depart from standard Sino-Vietnamese.

Wang Li's "Sino-Vietnamese" is corresponds exactly to Maspero's *Sino-Annamite* (and he even references Maspero's term in the beginning of the study). This in turn is analogous to *Hán-Việt*—and indeed, as can be seen above, what I have translated as "Sino-Vietnamese" is, in Wang Li's text, literally "*Hán-Việt (ngữ)*" or "漢越(語)." Wang Li describes his "Sino-Vietnamese" (*Hán-Việt*) as "the most conventionalized [整齊], when compared with the system of the *Qieyun*," and suggests that it was formed over the course of the Tang Dynasty, when Vietnam participated in the civil service exam system (Wang, 1948, p. 9). This is very similar to Maspero's belief that *Sino-Annamite* (again, HV) resulted from the Chinese taught in Annamese schools during the Tang. Wang Li argued that this elevated lexicon did not much affect basic Vietnamese; rather, most of these Chinese words were "like oil floating on top of the surface of

water, and fundamentally cannot be compared with the situation of mutual absorption and hybridization between Vietnamese and the Tai or Mường languages" (Wang, 1948, p. 11).[42]

As for the colloquial forms of Sino-Vietnamese, Wang Li distinguishes his "Ancient Sino-Vietnamese" from "Vietnamicized Chinese" quite clearly, writing: "that which [I] call 'Vietnamicized Chinese' is exactly the opposite of Ancient Sino-Vietnamese; their production [must be dated] after the transmission of the conventionalized set of Sino-Vietnamese" (Wang, 漢語越語研究 Hanyueyu yanjiu (Research on Sino-Vietnamese), 1948, p. 58).[43] In other words, 'Vietnamicized Chinese' represents the product of late, post-HV borrowing and nativization (cf. Maspero's data in 1.5) as opposed to "Ancient Sino-Vietnamese," which preserves pre-HV forms (cf. Maspero's data in 1.6). It is unclear whether Wang Li believes, as Maspero does for at least a subset of words, that "Vietnamicized Chinese" descends from "Sino-Vietnamese" (i.e. HV/*Sino-Annamite*) or from some other source (or a mixture of sources). However, Wang Li also does make an interesting remark about the commonality of "Ancient Sino-Vietnamese" and "Vietnamicized Chinese:"

> . . .[T]he former [Vietnamicized Chinese] and the latter [Ancient Sino-Vietnamese] have one point in common: they both depart from Sino-Vietnamese [i.e. *Hán-Việt*], and have merged in confusion with common, everyday Vietnamese.
>
> . . . 前者和後者有一個共同之點：它們都是脫離了漢越語，混入了日常應用的越語裏去了的。 (Wang, 1948, p. 58.)

For Wang Li, both Ancient Sino-Vietnamese and Vietnamicized Chinese, despite originating from chronologically opposite sides of *Hán-Việt* proper—have successfully entered the stream of colloquial Vietnamese (whereas HV remains fossilized and apart somehow). Indeed, Wang Li compares Ancient Sino-Vietnamese to "Chinese people who have lived in Annam for decades—now, there is no longer anyone who recognizes that they are of Chinese ethnic lineage" (Wang,

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[42] "［多數的漢字］都像油浮水面，根本不能像泰語或蒙語那樣和越語成為水乳交融的狀態。"
[43] "所謂漢語越化，和古漢越語恰恰相反，它們的產生，是在整套的漢越語傳入了之後。"

1948, p. 58).[44] Vietnamicized Chinese, on the other hand, is compared with "the children of Chinese people who have married Annamese; they are in fact no longer purely of Han ethnicity" (ibid).[45] Most importantly, Wang Li argues that while HV is a "dead or half-dead language, Vietnamicized Chinese is a living language; Ancient Sino-Vietnamese has been transmitted to the present, and [therefore] also resembles Vietnamicized Chinese in nature" (ibid).[46] It is precisely this shared, successful entry into the stream of living, changing language that (according to Wang Li) makes distinguishing the one from the other such a difficult task.[47]

In his book-length study of HV entitled *Etsunan kanjion no kenkyu* 越南漢字音の研究, Mineya Tōru (1972) also described a learned HV system in contrast with irregular pronunciations, resulting from a diversity of time-depths. For Mineya as well, HV readings (越南漢字音) were the product of Tang-dynasty literary borrowings, though he speculates that the primary motive was to read Buddhist scriptures (i.e. rather than a Confucian civil or bureaucratic motive), based on an apparent kinship with the phonological system described in the Buddhist exegetical glossary called the *Huilin yinyi* 慧琳音義 ("Huilin's Sounds and Meaning"), also known as the *Dazang yinyi* 大藏音義 ("Sounds & Meaning of the Great Canon"), written by the West Asian monk Huilin in the late 8th century (Mineya, 1972, p. 166).[48] Still, Mineya agrees with the basic argument forwarded by Wang Li and Maspero, that HV (or *Sino-Annamite*, or 漢越語) represents the product of a Tang educational system operative in Vietnam, and elaborates further on the potential details of such a theory:

> The relationship between Middle Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese character readings
> was not born of natural linguistic change; it was [the product] of a borrowing

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[44] "古漢越語好比中國人在安南住了十幾代，現在已經沒有人知道他們是漢族的血統的。"

[45] "越化漢語好比中國人和安南人結婚生的兒子，事實上他們已經不是純粹的漢族了。"

[46] "總之，漢越語是死的或半死的語言，越化漢語才是活的語言；古漢越語能傳到現在，也就和越化漢語的性質相似。"

[47] This will be a major focus of Chapter 2.

[48] Mineya also notes more broadly that the influence of Buddhism was historically far stronger in Annamese lands until as late as the Lê Dynasty (founded 1428) despite superficial participation in Confucian systems like the civil service examination, and so a Buddhist motivation for the transfusion of Chinese language was—from a cultural-historical point of view—more plausible (Mineya, 1972, p. 166).

relationship [formed] through the imitation of a foreign language. In one manner, if the imitation of the foreign language is a sporadic borrowing of words, then it is common to be powerfully attracted to and adopt the particularities of the native phonological system [in the adaptation of loanwords]; but in that case, it is also possible that new phonemes undifferentiated in the native language may be added. If the foreign language is studied [on the other hand], and as such we are speaking of reading and writing, then there must necessarily have been a striving to cultivate the reflection of pronunciations of a phonological system that departed from the phonological system of the native language. The formation of Sino-Vietnamese character readings, in fact, [results from the] forming of correspondences through the study of Chinese as in the latter case.

... 中古漢語と越南漢字音との關係は言語の自然的變化によって生じたのではなく、外國語の模倣による借用關係にあったのである。一般に、外國語の模倣はそれば散發的な單語の模倣ならば自國語の音韻體系の特微に強く引き寄せて取り入れるのが普通であるが、その場合でも自國語で區別されない新しい音素を加えることがあり得る。それば、外國語を學習して、それによって讀み書きするようにするとなると、自國語の音韻體系を離れて別の音韻體系を反映する發音の練習に勵むことが必要となる。越南漢字音の成立に際しては、中国語の學習はその後者の場合に相當していたので［す］... (Mineya, 1972, p. 170.)

The passage above nicely exemplifies the view of the nature of HV that was espoused by Mineya, Wang Li and Maspero, and which grew out of an older literary tradition of HV as manifested by lexicographic works such as the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*. This view is characterized by the role of *literate education* (and for Mineya, specifically Buddhist education) in the transfusion of sinoid words (and sounds), and a subsequently greater faithfulness to the phonological system of the target language than might otherwise be the case. Mineya also suggests that the formation of a system like HV should not be confused with the kind of processes by which a single language naturally evolves ("中古漢語と越南漢字音との關係は言語の自然的變化によって生じたのではな［い］..."); rather, this is a case of borrowing, and therefore subject to different principles than endogenous change. In many ways, then, the special difficulty of analyzing Sino-Vietnamese lies in determining what characteristics must be attributed to "natural" sound-changes affecting the donor language, and what characteristics must be attributed to the assimilation of the donor language's lexicon (and phonology) into the receiving language. Once

these are determined, the hope is that we will be able to hazard a guess as to what social and historical factors precipitated the merger of the two systems.

In illustration of this point, Mineya reconstructs a hypothetical inventory of onsets for the literate, Sino-Vietnamese "reading phonology" described in the passage above—*before* its assimilation into Vietnamese (or its ancestors). This inventory would have been produced through "a striving to cultivate the reflection of pronunciations of a phonological system that departed from the phonological system of the native language" (Mineya, 1972, p. 170):

Table 1.7: Mineya's (1972) nventory of proto-SV onsets

	Bilabial	Labial-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Phar.	Gl.
Stop	p-, pʰ-	f-		ṭ -, ṭ ʰ-			c-, cʰ-	k-, kʰ-		ʔ
Nasal	m-			n-			ɲ-	ŋ-		
Trill/Flap										
Affr.				ts-, tsʰ-		ʈʂ -, ʈʂ ʰ-				
Fric.				s-		ʂ -	ç-		h-	
Rhotic						(r-)				
Approx.	w-						j-			
Lat. Approx.				l-						

This inventory, in other words, hypothetically represents a phonological system of Vietic-speakers striving to learn a form of Sinitic as a foreign language. Mineya arguments imply restricted encounters with native Sinitic speakers, rather than sustained bilingualism. In the attempt to reproduce this foreign language, several changes took place that, according to Mineya, must be characterized as assimilatory mutations rather than natural endogenous change. Mineya lists only a few—the plosivization of aspirated affricates and their merger with aspirated stops, (i.e. tʰ/ṭ ʰ- → tʰ-), the plosivization of alveolar fricatives and their merger with plain dental stops (i.e. t-/s- → t-), the fronting of retroflex affricates and fricatives to alveolo-palatal fricatives (i.e. ʂ-/ʈʂ - → s-), the implosivization of plain stops (i.e. what Mineya describes as p- → b- and ṭ - →

ɗ - but what was in fact p- → ɓ- and t- → ɗ-), the merger of aspirated bilabial stops with labiodentals (i.e. pʰ-/f- → f-), and spirantized affrication (j- → dz-) (Mineya, 1972, p. 170).

There are several important implications of Mineya's discussion here, particularly regarding the nature of this "Sino-Vietnamese" education. Mineya has illustrated what he means by a "borrowing relationship"—that is, the assimilation (and mutation) of one phonology into (and by) another—over and against sound changes that may occur endogenously within a single language. Mineya furthermore describes a scenario wherein the peculiarities of Sino-Vietnamese were essentially accidents or mispronunciations resulting from non-native speakers "striving" to reproduce a foreign language.

Mineya's scenario is quite consistent with those imagined by Wang Li or Maspero, and we could roughly term their shared view the "literate hypothesis" for *Hán-Việt*. All three scholars suggest that Sino-Vietnamese resulted from an educational system that required Sinitic literacy. Maspero thought the phonology of Sino-Vietnamese accordingly derived from what he imagined as the most prestigious dialect of the era—the speech of Chang'an. Wang Li agreed with Maspero, while Mineya introduced the notion that SV idiosyncracies resulted from the imposition of Vietic phonology on the foreign language they were trying to master.

But too many details are missing in the "literate" characterization of HV origins (and indeed, the phonological model for SV is usually severely downplayed, if not ignored)—not the least of which is its relationship to non-HV forms of Sino-Vietnamese. As noted above, scholars have identified various layers of non-HV Sino-Vietnamese, but many of the details of these analyses remain controversial (and indeed, I will dispute a number of the claims made by Maspero, Wang Li, and Mineya in the next section). What has persisted since Maspero and Wang Li's time, is an ambiguous version of the "literate hypothesis" exemplified by Hashimoto Mantaro in 1978, who described "Sinoxenic" borrowing as the "wholesale loan" of "vocabulary…[and] writing system, i.e. the Chinese characters, together with the 'reading' of them" (Hashimoto, 1978, p. 1).

Hashimoto's model of Sinoxenic borrowing does not address non-HV forms of Sino-Vietnamese, but nor does it really offer a satisfactory explanation of HV itself. As will be discussed in chapter 4, several phonological characteristics of HV require the active interaction of two live linguistic systems, and cannot be dismissed as pVM interference (as discussed by Mineya). A number of these features, including parts of the tonogenetic process, evolution of velar onsets, and the *chongniu* phenomenon already briefly mentioned, furthermore contradict the major prestige forms of the time—including the literate forms found in philological materials like the rime dictionaries (see chapter 3)—and instead bear striking similarities to the unclassified Xiang and Pinghua varieties discussed above. A purely "literate" explanation for HV fails to explain these phonological forms, and the fact that they do not conform to expected systems of prestige or authority. The "literate hypothesis" also fails to explain the lexical composition of HV, which includes a relatively high number of syntactic particles among the commonly used vocabulary.

In the end, this "literate hypothesis" appears very much to be the forced application of a Korean or Japanese analogy to the Vietnamese case. As discussed briefly in the 0.1, such a model suits analyses of Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese quite well—languages that appropriated Tang-era Sinitic vocabulary through limited embassies and voyages to Sinitic-speaking lands, and who replicated reading pronunciations gleaned from these limited contacts with Middle Chinese in their own attempts to master Literary Sinitic. But, as will be discussed in the following chapters, not only do the phonological facts not match up for such a scenario to apply to SV, but the historical record describes in plain terms quite a different kind of contact with Sinitic language and culture. Rather than distant and limited exposure to Sinitic speakers, the historical, phonological and lexical records all strongly suggests a rooted community of Sinitic speakers living alongside pVM speakers, and thus a scenario of sustained bilingualism in the region of northern Vietnam. I will present the evidence that refutes the "literate hypothesis" in

chapters 2, 4 and 6. The remainder of this chapter deals with previous attempts to answer one of these pertinent questions: geographical origins of the major contributor to Sino-Vietnamese.

1.32   Previous geographical and dialectal analyses of Sino-Vietnamese

As discussed above, the classical *Hán-Việt* system (i.e. Maspero's *Sino-Annamite*, Wang Li's 漢越語, and Mineya's 越南漢字音) has hitherto been attributed to Tang Dynasty literate borrowings (Maspero, 1912; Wang, 1948; Mineya, 1972). This theory matches explanations for other Sinoxenic phenomena (cf. Sino-Korean *Hanja-eo* 한자어/漢字語, and Japanese *Kan'on* 漢音), and without doubt, instances of reading-based borrowing probably occurred several times in the history of Vietnamese—and continue to occur even today. As noted above, I will refute this position with regards to SV in chapters 2, 4 and 6, but will proceed with a review of the literature because even under such a model, previous scholars have attempted to isolate the topolectal model for SV phonology (i.e. on which phonological system did pVM speakers base themselves?) Despite the apparent consensus that the bulk of Sino-Vietnamese (i.e. the *Hán-Việt* system) was obtained near to the end of the Tang dynasty, its geographical and dialectal origins are rather less decided. While the earliest generation of work on SV were often lulled by the Karlgrenian mirage of Tang homogeneity, more recent work on Sinoxenic has been expressly concerned with pinpointing more specific geographical or topolectal origins for various forms.[49]

Indeed, there have been a number of attempts to specify a more precise origin for SV. Recall that Maspero believed SV to be the product of a form of Sinitic based on Chang'an (長安, the Tang Capital), much in line with Karlgren's vision of a Chang'an-based "Tang *koine*"—a claim neither defended nor refuted by Pulleyblank, who simply theorized that SV was the

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[49] Studies on Sino-Japanese have attempted to make more specific claims, for example, that certain strata of *Kan'on* were borrowed from Qin dialect, due to shared features like denasalization (cf. *Kan'on* "ba" for 馬). See Miyake (2003), p. 106. South Coblin (2001) has also shown a separate, Northeastern (though post-medieval) source for Sin Sukchu standardizations of Sino-Korean.

product of "a variety" of LMC (Maspero, 1920; Pulleyblank, 1984). As alluded to earlier, Hashimoto (1978) raised the first notable objection to a northern (i.e. Chang'an metropolitan standard) affiliation for SV, citing six similarities between SV phonology, and the phonology of various southern Chinese dialects, relying on data collected by Wang Li in 1948 (Hashimoto, 1978, pp. 7-8). These are, in brief[50]:

1. The correlation between an aspirated/unaspirated contrast in MC with an implosive/explosive contrast.

	Gloss	字	MC	SV	Hua Xian	Teng Xian	Wen Chang
1.	step	步	*po3	ɓo6	ɓou6	b̪u6	ɓou1
2.	spread	鋪	*p'o1	pho1	p'ou5	p'u	fou1

2. Transformation of MC dental and palatal sibilants into dental stops (following or because of implosivization of ancient series of dental/alveolar stops).

	Gloss	字	MC	SV	Tai Shan	Teng Xian	Wen Chang
1.	rent, hire	租	*to1	to1	tu1	tu1	ɗou1
2.	coarse	粗	*ts'o1	tho1	t'u1	t'u1	sou1

3. Spirantization of MC aspirates.

	Gloss	字	MC	SV	Kai Ping	Teng Xian	Wen Chang
1.	spread	鋪	*p'o1	pho1	hu1	p'u	fou1
2.	guest	客	*k'ag4	khach5	hak8	hek7	hɛʔ5

4. Loss of distinction among Grade III, IV, and IV forms in the *geng* 庚 rime-group.

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[50] I have reproduced the data exactly as it appears in Hashimoto's article. It appears that Hashimoto was using a transcription for Vietnam that was based on *Quốc ngữ*, with exception of using <d-> for /d-/ or /ɗ-/, instead of the proper <đ->. I have, however, supplied the characters for all tokens (absent in Hashimoto's article), for convenience. Hashimoto's analysis was in turn based on Wang Li's 1948 phonological categorization of Sino-Vietnamese.

	Gloss	字	Division	SV	Teng Xian	Hakka	Amoy
1.	cold	冷	II	lanh	leŋ	laŋ	lɪŋ
2.	voice	聲	III	thanh	seŋ	saŋ	sɪŋ
3.	nail	釘	IV	danh	ɗeŋ	taŋ	tɪŋ

5. Assimilation of *geng* 庚 rime-group vowels with the *dang* 宕 rime-group in the *kaikou* 開 □ (i.e. no medial) syllable group in Grade I and II only (the *geng* rime-group assimilates to the *zeng* 曾 rime-group in northern Chinese languages).

	Rime		Division	SV	Hakka	Amoy
1.	dang	宕	I-II	a	a/o	a/o
2.	geng	庚	I-II	a	a	ĩ/ĩã
3.	zeng	曾	I-II	ă	e	ɪ

6. The "flip-flop merger" of Ancient 'rising' 上 and 'departing' 去 tones.[51]

Based on these similarities, Hashimoto argued that SV must have been borrowed from an MC *koine* spoken in the southwest of the Empire—that is a *Southwest Koine*, rather than Karlgren's empire-wide *Tang Koine* (Hashimoto, 1978, p. 9). While, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, I do not believe Hashimoto's concept of Sinoxenic borrowing is adequate for the SV case, and as discussed below, I agree with most of Marc Miyake's (1999, 2003) criticisms of the details of Hashimoto's comparisons listed above, I do believe his insight that SV must result from a Southwestern Koine to be effectively correct. Though Hashimoto did not consider the Xiang, Pinghua, and other "*tuhua*" varieties discussed in section 1 above, there is clearly room to consider his argument in a broader South and Southwestern Chinese comparative context (more on this in Chapter 4).

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[51] Hashimoto does not given any data in his paper. I discuss this issue at length in Chapter 3, and which point I will provide examples.

Nevertheless, there are a number of issues in Hashimoto's analysis. Regarding (1) above, it should be noted that plain stops implosivized internally in Vietnamese (i.e. in Proto-Viet-Muong as well). Certainly, implosivization is prevalent among southern Chinese languages—but it is also common all over Southeast Asia, and should be treated as an areal feature rather than a shared innovation. In (2) above, similarly, the plosivization of fricatives occurred internally in Vietnamese (cf. modern Viet. t^hit31ʔ < *sit, "meat"), and again, the process appears common in Southeast Asia and should not be considered a shared innovation. Regarding (3), at least in bilabials, the merger of p^h- and p- > f- was quite late, and a distinct p^h- was recorded by Alexander de Rhodes in his 1671 dictionary (cf. modern Viet. orthography <ph-> for /f-/). Miyake (1999) suggested that the Mường varieties (the closest living relative of Vietnamese) might clarify the issue, and indeed, my own fieldwork demonstrates that Muong maintains a series of plain, unfricatized p^h- initials. These facts support the argument that fricatization of p^h > f occurred quite late—after the split, and independent of the donor language. Furthermore, cases of velar lenition (Viet. x- and Kai Ping, Teng Xiang and Wen Chang h- from MC k-) is such a common phenomenon that it is difficult to trust in the coincidence. (Miyake M. , 1999, p. 317) Finally, this generalization is manifestly incorrect for dentals (cf. Viet. t^hiən33 for LMC t^hian, "heaven" 天).

Hashimoto's analysis of rimes is similarly problematic, as shown by Miyake (1999). Regarding (4) above, Miyake argues that there were two sources for "-aŋ" in SV (*a* and *ɛ*), and thus it is impossible to tell whether such a merger of rimes occurred in the source language.[52] Miyake also rightly criticizes Hashimoto's reliance on the orthographic difference between <-a-> and <-ă-> as describing a phonological difference in *geng* and *zeng* rime correspondences— something noted by Maspero in 1920. Maspero noted that Vietnamese orthographic <ă> "n'est pas très ancien," and that <ă> systematically appears before final palatals –c and -ŋ, thus reflecting coda influence on the nucleus and not a separate phoneme (Maspero, 1920, p. 57).

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[52] In fact, the issue of palatalization of final velars is extremely complex, and will be treated in Chapter 2.

While in other contexts, the two vowels <ă> and <a> do represent a phonological distinction, final palatals systematically shorten the vowel. Furthermore, final velars regularly palatalize in SV (see next chapter), and so the <ă> vs. /a/ orthographic difference cannot be relied on in the context of the *geng* and *zeng* rimes.

Finally, Miyake attacks the claim that there was ever a "flip-flop merger" of rising and departing tones in Sino-Vietnamese, claiming that Vietnamese always maintains a distinction between rising and departing tones, excepting some confusion after muddy (i.e. voiced) obstruents (Miyake M. , 1999, p. 319). Miyake is correct about this, and there is also an explanation for the "confusion" after voiced obstruents, which I will address next chapter.

While critical of the details of Hashimoto's argument, Miyake did ultimately agree that a Chang'an source for HV was unlikely, for three reasons:

1. SV nasals correspond to Chang'an LMC prenasalized stops;
2. SV mantains a medial yod in Grade II that is absent in (both modern southern dialects, and the Tibetan transcriptions of northwestern LMC (cf. 交 zaw33 < kjaw, but *ka'u* or *ke'u* in the Tibetan transcriptions);
3. SV demonstrates the southern coda –t instead of the northern LMC coda *r recorded in Tibetan transcriptions (and attested in Sino-Korean).

Miyake's second and third points demonstrate that at least two marked innovations of northwestern Sinitic are unshared with Sino-Vietnamese.[53] As for point #1, the fact that SV nasals correspond to what Miyake calls "Chang'an LMC" prenasalized stops is significant because (as mentioned briefly above) if SV had derived from Chang'an dialect (that is, *Qinhua* 秦話), then it should demonstrate fully denasalized obstruents rather than nasals—as is the case for Japanese *Kan'on* initials (again, cf. *Kan'on ba* for 馬).   However, Miyake himself admits

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[53] Miyake's second item is interesting, particularly because the north*eastern* Chinese languages, notably Mandarin, also demonstrate a medial yiod, which has led to a softening of velar initials analogous (though not identical) to the SV process. It should also be noted that Miyake's three features may not, in fact, have been very characteristic of the various prestige forms spoken in the Central Plains at this time. For example, non of the Sinoxenic phonologies (i.e. no form of either SK or SJ) demonstrates all three of these features. Still, the fact that HV does not demonstrate any of them remains suggestive.

that this argument is the weakest, because "earlier prenasalized stops in Vietnamese merged with nasals" (Miyake M. , 2003, p. 127).[54] To be fair, we should also note that Maspero (1920) himself observed that Sino-Vietnamese "traitement des nasals initiales montre qu'il n'est pas fondé sur le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan" (Maspero, 1920, p. 21). However, Maspero still maintained that Sino-Vietnamese represented a received pronunciation taught in Annamese schools, whose basis was, once again, "certainement la langue du Nord, et en particulier le diaelect de Tch'ang-ngan, *mais dépouillée de ce qui lui était trop particulier, trop spécial*" (ibid., my emphasis). I find this notion unnecessary, since its similarities to "la langue du Nord" are not demonstratively innovative in nature (as shown not only by the case of nasal initials, but by Miyake's second and third objections as well), and therefore unequivocally agree with both Hashimoto and Miyake that there is no compelling reason to associate HV with the Chang'an dialect of MC.

Ultimately, Miyake accepts Hashimoto's notion of a southern origin for Sino-Vietnamese, and raises the issue of vowel centralization as a possible link between SV and the Yue languages (cf. SV təm, Cantonese səm for Mandarin sin, "heart" 心). These data led Miyake to speculate that SV may have originated from "late Tang Dynasty Cantonese with a Vietnamese accent" (Miyake M. , 2003, p. 127). Miyake claims that there is no evidence for a Vietnamese-internal shift (*i- > -ə), and this appears to be true. This, Miyake argued, suggested a common affinity between the donor of SV and the immediate predecessors of Cantonese.

Maspero also discussed the resemblance of SV and Cantonese centralized vowels as early as 1920. Maspero suggested that SV centralized <â> (/ə/) had nothing to do with the Cantonese vowel, and pointed out that 金—which surfaces as /kəm˥/ in Cantonese—maintains a high-front vowel in SV /kim˥/ (Maspero, 1920, p. 6). Rather, Maspero claimed that SV <â> was articulatorily identical to <ơ> (/ʌ/): that is, the tongue does not touch the teeth, and there is a

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[54] What Miyake refers to as "prenasalized stops" were in fact ancient implosives, but the point of the objection is still valid.

hollowing of the blade (Maspero, 1920, p. 6). Thus Maspero argued that <â> and <ơ> represented short and long forms of the same phoneme respectively (ibid). I do not precisely agree with Maspero's assessment, though I accept that <ơ> appears orthographically in place of <â> in open syllables. However, as I will argue in greater detail in Chapter 4, <â> or /ə/ resulted from the lowering and backing of a high-front vowel, while <ơ> or /ʌ/ resulted from the raising and fronting of a low-back vowel. In other words, each vowel resulted from opposing centralization processes. This invalidates Maspero's objection to the Yue hypothesis.

The Yue Hypothesis is wrong

Nevertheless, even if the <ơ> (/ʌ/) series of central vowels is unrelated to <â> (/ə/), we would still expect to see parallel effects in Yue if some form of it was indeed the donor of SV. However, a quick look at SV words bearing <ơ> and their correspondences in Cantonese shows no correlation:

Table 1.8: Vowel Centralization in SV and Cantonese

#	字	Sino-Vietnamese	Cantonese	Pull. LMC
1.	詩	(thơ) tʰʌ˥	ʃi˥	ʂi
2.	絲	(tơ) tʌ˥	ʃi˥	sz̩ (EMC si)
3.	棋	(cơ) kʌ˥	kʰei˨˩	kɦi
4.	其	(cơ) kʌ˥	kʰei˨˩	kɦi
5.	奇	(cơ) kʌ˥	kʰei˨˩	kɦi
6.	期	(cơ) kʌ˥	kei˥	kɦi
7.	機	(cơ) kʌ˥	kei˥˧	ki
8.	丹	(đơn) ɗʌn˥	ta:n˥	tan
9.	單	(đơn) ɗʌn˥	ta:n˥	tan
10.	山	(sơn) ʂʌn˥	ʃa:n˥	ʂa:n
11.	禪	(đơn) ɗʌn˥	ta:i˦	tan
12.	帶	(đới) ɗʌi˦˥	ta:i˦	taj`
13.	戴	(đới) ɗʌi˦˥	ta:i˦	taj`
14.	時	(thời) tʰʌi˨˩	ʃi˦˩	ʂɦi
15.	利	(lợi) lʌi˦˩ʔ	lei˦	li`

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As shown above, SV <ơ> actually corresponds to low (originally back) vowel -a- in MC, and only to high-front vowel in open syllables (as per the moraic rule mentioned above). What is important at this point is that none of the Cantonese equivalents demonstrate centralized vowels, and so Miyake's argument that centralization of /-i-/ indicates a Yue affiliation is not borne out.[55] This is also borne out by the softening of velar initials in HV versus the maintenance of hard velars in Cantonese (e.g. 教: HV /zaw˧/ vs. Cantonese /kaːu˥/) and the lenition of a certain class of labial initials in HV versus maintenance of labials in Cantonese (e.g. 文: HV /văn˧/ vs. Cantonese /man˧˩/).[56]

Jerry Norman does suggest that there may have been an affinity between the donor of some layers of Sino-Vietnamese and his hypothetical proto-Southern group. As discussed in 1.1 above, Norman cites vestigial evidence of an -âi- reflex for the *gē* rime group (歌攝) in certain Yue, Hakka and Min words. As Norman notes, the *gē* rime group was realized as -â- (i.e. -ə- or -ʌ-) in Middle Chinese, or –uâ- (-ʷə- or -ʷʌ-) in *hekou* (rounded) syllables—from which all "Northern" and "Central" varieties derive their reflexes. For the Southern group, Norman posits the following, distinct development: *ar → *âi,* and *uar → *oi (Norman, 1988, p. 212). This, Norman argues, explains forms like Guangzhou *løy²* (螺; "snail," cf. Mandarin *lúo*), Taishan *ŋoi²* (我; "I, me," cf. Mandarin *wó*) and *koi¹* (個; "individual measure word," cf. Mandarin *gè*), Hakka *ŋai²* ("I, me") and *kai⁵* ("individual measure word"), Min *løi²* ("snail"), *ŋuai³* ("I, me") and *muai²* (磨; "whet, sharpen," cf. Mandarin *mó*), as well as Old Sino-Vietnamese *ngài* (蛾; "silkworm moth," cf. Mandarin *é*) and *mài* ("whet, sharpen") (Norman, 1988, p. 212). To Norman's Sino-Vietnamese candidates, we may also add *cái* ("individual measure word"). This would of course not apply to HV, which demonstrates no trace of a final –i element in *gē* rimes: cf. *ngã* (我), *loa* (螺), *cá* (個), *cá* (蛾) and *ma* (磨). As will be discussed next chapter, Norman's

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[55] The nature of the vowel centralizations which produced the SV forms will be discussed in Chapter 4.
[56] More on this in chapters 2 and 4.

-âi- reflex corresponds to the very oldest layer of SV, which was borrowed from diverse sources during the initial establishment of a pervasive Sinitic presence in the Red River plain. In summary, Miyake's hypothesis of a Yue origin for HV is incorrect, though, as suggested by Norman's work, an ancient affiliation between the Yue branch and the subgroup to which the donor of HV belongs may exist.

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In summary, claims for the geographical origins of Sino-Vietnamese in existing literature remain problematic. Maspero's original claim that Sino-Vietnamese resulted from a "teaching pronunciation" based on the Chang'an dialect is contradicted by a number of innovations unshared between the northwestern varieties and Sino-Vietnamese. Hashimoto's general argument for a Southwestern Koine is logically sound (and I will ultimately argue in favor of it) but the details of his comparison with other southern varieties are problematic. Similarly, Miyake's suggestion of a connection with the Yue languages does not hold up to scrutiny.

The scholarship on the geographical origins of SV provided above exclusively focuses on the origins of HV (with the exception of Jerry Norman's work), while the scholarship of HV vs. non-HV forms of SV fails to provide a consistent and reliable set of indices for determining the loan age of a given form (although both Wang Li and Maspero provide numerous candidates). My analysis of Sino-Vietnamese (Chapters 2, 4 and 6) will provide both a reliable set of indices for determining loan age and a positive geographical, dialectal and sociolinguistic source for all strata of the vocabulary. In the next chapter, I begin by examining the oldest layer of Sino-Vietnamese detectable, a small but salient vocabulary that I call "Early Sino-Vietnamese."

Chapter 2

Defining Early Sino-Vietnamese

2.0   Introduction

The earliest major stratum of Sinitic loanwords evident in Vietnamese dates from the first few centuries CE, and resulted from the eradication of the local aristocracy and the establishment of a rooted Han society in the Red River plain.   Though Sino-Vietic contact can be dated to the 3rd century BCE, the sinicization of the Red River plain took several iterations to complete, and a lasting Han society does not really appear until the mid 1st century of the Common Era.

2.01 Historical context

Before the Han, the region had already long been a site of demographic, cultural and political prominence. It was a major center of the material culture known as the Đông Sơn, which flourished around the 5th Century BCE and produced magnificent bronze drums using sophisticated lost-wax technology. The Đông Sơn culture probably represents several distinct ethnolinguistic groups in material trade with one another, and artifacts consistent with Đông Sơn styles have been found across Southeast Asia, from Malaysia to Fujian.

The Red River plain became the site of a late 3rd century BCE kingdom called Âu Lạc or Ouluo 甌駱/雒, ruled by the potentially Sinitic Shu Pan 蜀泮 (Viet. *Thục Phán*) under the title "King of Anyang" 安陽王 (Viet. *An Dương Vương*).[57]   The citadel of Âu Lạc was at Cổ Loa (Guluo 古螺) in a region called Tây Vu (Xiyu 西于), near modern Phong Khê (northeast and across the river from Hanoi), and its ramparts are still visible today. Cổ Loa was named for its

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[57] The earliest historical account of An Dương Vương dates to the *Guangzhou zhi* 廣州志 of the Jin Dynasty, and standard views of him as a prince of Shu 蜀 (modern-day Sichuan) fleeing the Qin appear to be problematic (Taylor, 1983, p.19, note 88; p. 21, note 94). Recall that the Red River plain was also a major site of the bronze-working Đông Sơn culture, and the kingdom of Âu Lạc has often been analyzed as a unification of disparate Đông Sơn peoples (who, again, were almost certainly ethnolinguistically diverse).

distinctive layout of concentric walls (which resembled a snail's 螺 shell), and it would remain an important political site until the Han settlement of the Red River delta.

Âu Lạc fell to a commissioner of the Qin Dynasty named Zhao Tuo 趙佗 (Viet. Triệu Đà; ca. 230-137 BCE), who incorporated it into a larger kingdom called Nanyue 南越 (Viet. *Nam Việt*), which Zhao Tuo established after the Qin empire disintegrated in 207 BCE. Nanyue appears to have been a culturally (and linguistically) diverse realm, encompassing many different "Yue" 越/粵 tribes from southeastern China, Han peoples, as well as the ethnolinguistic groups of the Red River plain (which included pVM speakers). This is evident not only from the *Shiji* account of the kingdom but also from the material record—including, notably, the tomb of Zhao Tuo's grandson, Zhao Mo 趙眜 (137-122 BCE), which boasts Đông Sơn iconography. The kingdom stretched from north/central Vietnam to eastern Guangdong, and the royal seat was placed at Panyu 番禺 (near modern Guangzhou). Cổ Loa, however, remained prominent as the citadel of a new commandery centered in the Red River plain, which Zhao Tuo named Jiaozhi 交趾 (Viet. *Giao Chỉ*; probably after a non-Sinitic ethno/toponym). Zhao Tuo eventually proclaimed himself "martial emperor of Nanyue" 南越武帝 in 183 BCE, but relinquished the title and submitted to the Han emperor in 180 BCE. Nevertheless, Nanyue—including the Red River plain—continued to function semi-autonomously until the conquest of Han general Lu Bode 路博德 (fl. 119-109 BCE) in 111 BCE, which marked the end of the region as a separate polity.

With the destruction of Nanyue, most of its territory was reorganized into the Han imperial circuit of Jiaozhi 交趾部 (Viet. *Giao Chỉ Bộ*), named—not after Zhao Tuo's old capital at Panyu, but after its commandery of Jiaozhi in the Red River plain.[58] Jiaozhi circuit consisted of seven commanderies, which formed the southwestern border of the empire (mapped below).

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[58] Circuits 部 (Hucker calls these "regions") were the designation for the province-sized administrative unit before the introduction of the term 州. The Han was divided into 13 circuits from 106-ca. 10 BCE, but around 12 BCE circuits were renamed *provinces* 州 (Hucker, 1985, p. 390). There seems to have remained some discrepancy, however, as Jiao was "promoted" from a circuit to a province in the late 2nd century (i.e. Jiaobu 交部 > Jiaozhou 交州), when the rebel governor of Jing launched an attack on its northern commanderies (see next chapter).

Figure 2.1: Jiaozhi Circuit during the Han (with rivers and modern borders in grey)
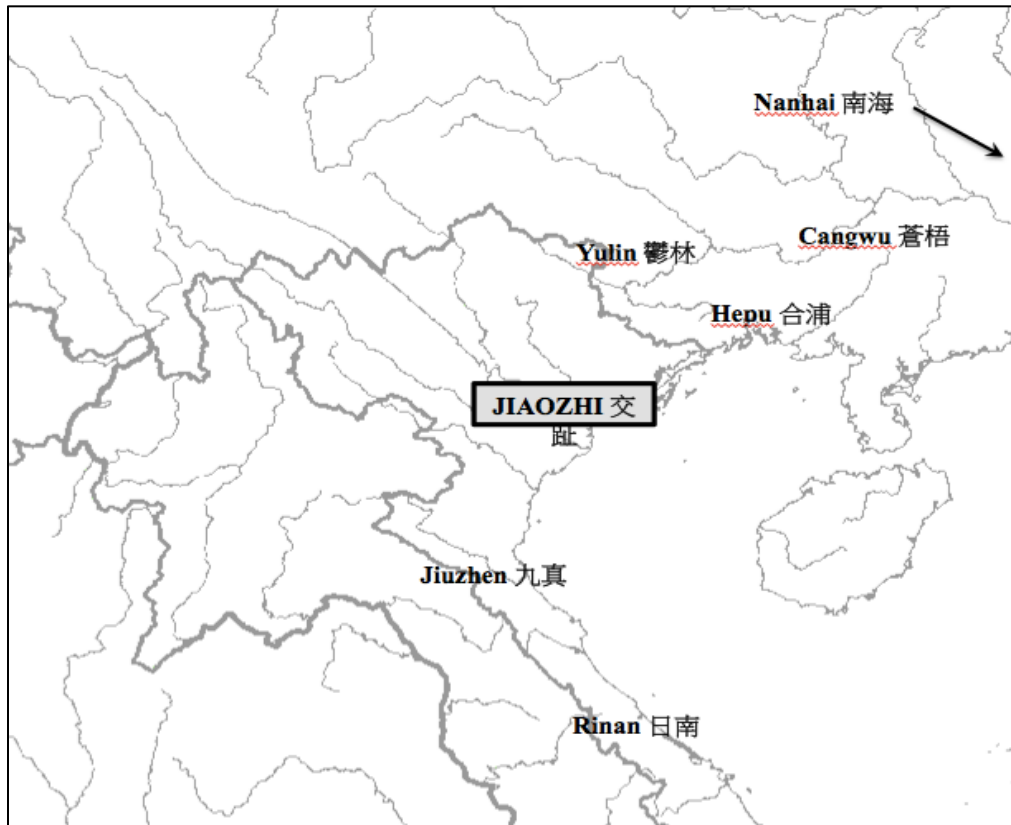
The Jiaozhi circuit was a distant and liminal zone, far from the imperial heartland of the Central Plains. Nevertheless, by the turn of the millennium Jiaozhi (in grey above) was the largest commandery in the far south—a fact that explains why the circuit was named after it. The circuit seat was also initially placed in Jiaozhi at Lüe Lou 贏樓 (usually referred to by the Vietnamese *Luy Lâu*), near modern-day Bắc Ninh in the Red River delta, though it was moved to the more centrally-located Cangwu commandery in 106 BCE. Nevertheless, Western Han census records from the year 2 record 92,440 hearths and 746,237 heads in Jiaozhi, but only 24,379 hearths and 146,160 heads in Cangwu (Taylor, 1983, p. 55). The Jiaozhi population is thus recorded at about five times higher than in Cangwu, the provincial seat. In fact, over half of the entire population of Jiaozhi circuit lived in Jiaozhi commandery, in the Red River Delta (ibid.) Although these figures cannot be accepted at face value, they indicate that Guangxi and

Guangzhou were relatively empty (from an administrative point of view) compared with the density of the Red River plain (see Taylor, 1983, chapters 1-2).[59] The fact that the initial choice for the provincial seat was in Jiaozhi also supports the notion that the Red River plain was the primary settlement in the region, despite being further away than the two Guangs. Indeed, Jiaozhi commandery would remain the principal hub of the empire's southern regions for centuries, and was only eclipsed by the rise of Guangzhou late in the Tang era (ibid.).[60]

The Jiaozhi settlement was not only a big city—it was a Han city.[61] As alluded to above, this may not have been the case during Nanyue, and certainly was not the case before Zhao Tuo entered the region. It does not even seem to have been the case following Lu Bode's conquest of Nanyue. However, Jiaozhi became a decidedly Han place after the commandery famously rebelled under the leadership of two sisters: Trưng Trắc 徵側 and Trưng Nhị 徵貳.[62] The Trưng sisters overran major Han settlements in 40 CE and established an independent court at Mê Linh (Miling 麋泠), in the midland country upriver from the Red River delta (Taylor, 1983, p. 38).[63] The Han response to this revolt marks a watershed in the social and cultural history of the region. In 42, the emperor sent celebrated general Ma Yuan (Viet. *Mã Viện* 馬援, 14BCE-49), fresh from defeating the Xiongnu in the northwest, to pacify Jiaozhi commandery. Ma Yuan crushed the rebellion of the Trưng Sisters, executed between three and four thousand rebels, deported

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[59] The figures for all of Jiaozhou province probably indicate less than rigorous census-taking combined with a desire among officials to appear successful (in order to be promoted and reassigned elsewhere). Actual populations may have been far smaller, even on the order of tens of thousands rather than hundreds of thousands (especially when compared with the more systematic record keeping of the later dynasties). Nevertheless, the comparative numbers are revealing, and even much reduced, still represent a significant community.

[60] The early prominence of Jiaozhi may even explain some Mon-Khmer words in some southern varieties of Chinese, e.g. 江 (cf. Viet. *sông*), identified by Mei & Norman (1976).

[61] I use "city" loosely here, and it is more accurate to imagine the commandery as a walled complex surrounded by villages. The citadel of Jiaozhi was located near modern-day Bắc Ninh at Luy Lâu, which remained a stronghold of Sinitic culture into the 2nd millennium. It was later moved to Longbian 龍編 (Viet. *Long Biên*; modern-day Hanoi) in the 130s, but was moved back to Luy Lâu by the time of Shi Xie's 士燮 (137-256) governorship in the late 2nd century (Taylor, 1983, p. 63, 70, 73).

[62] The ethnolinguistic origins of the Trưng sisters is unclear.

[63] Like "Jiaozhi" 交趾, Mê Linh 麋泠 is probably the transcription of a non-Sinitic name. The Han had established a military outpost at Mê Linh at the same time they built their prefectural citadel at Luy Lâu, down in the Red River plain. Mê Linh is situated in midland country, at a sort of gateway between the mountains and the plain.

several hundred families to other parts of the empire and spent most of the year 43 reorganizing local society according to a more stringently Han mold (Taylor, 1983, pp. 40-41, 45-48). As the *Han Shu* census discussed above suggests, Jiaozhi was already a densely populated place; however, the Trưng Sisters rebellion indicates that a high level of diversity and indigenous leadership was retained even after Lu Bode destroyed Nanyue. But whatever non-Han political culture had existed prior to Ma Yuan's campaign was exterminated with the Trưng Sisters and their confederacy of local chiefs, and a more thoroughly sinicized complexion to the Red River plain dates from this time.

Ma Yuan marched into Jiao with eight thousand regular troops of northern origin and twelve thousand militiamen raised in eastern Guangxi and Guangdong. These diverse soldiers probably spoke different Sinitic dialects (and possibly even non-Sinitic languages), and either sent for wives from other parts of the empire or married local women, a practice that eventually established the so-called "Hán-Việt" 漢越 ruling families (Taylor, 1983, p. 49). Ma Yuan's armies probably joined older Sinitic-speaking communities established during the Nanyue days, who came as part of Zhao Tuo's conquest or as refugees fleeing Wang Mang's 王莽 (ca. 45BCE-25CE) coup d'etat (9CE-23CE) (see Taylor, 1983, chapter 2).[64] Taylor (1983) notes that while the Wang Mang refugees were notably educated men, Ma Yuan's army was comprised of thousands of commoners who were probably more open to mingling with non-Han elements than their aristocratic forerunners (Taylor, 1983, p. 49). The influx of so many Han commoners, alongside a new aristocratic entourage, must have deeply changed the demographics of the Red River plain. These facts mean that we should avoid the oversimplifying cliché of a Han elite surrounded by pVM-speaking peasants. Han society in Jiaozhi was multi-class, and pVM speakers probably merged and married both Sinitic commoners as well as elites. Although we lack census records for Jiaozhi during the Eastern Han, De Crespigny (1990) suggests that the population may have exceeded one million at this point (De Crespigny, 1990, p. 35). Again, I

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[64] Zhao Tuo requested 30,000 women from the north as wives for his men (Taylor, 1983, p. 49).

find such a figure difficult to believe; nevertheless, we must still accept that Jiaozhi was densely populated when compared with Guangxi and Guangzhou. A commandery of such a population, which had undergone the pervasive extermination of local leaders and sinicization of customs, laws and education, indicates many thousands of Sinitic speakers at virtually all levels of society. Ma Yuan's campaigns and social reforms, not to mention the settlement of his armies, cemented the first thoroughly Sinitic culture in the Red River plain, in an area that would remain the most prominent Han settlement of the far south for almost a millennium. It was contact between this Han society and pVM speakers that resulted in the oldest layer of Sino-Vietnamese words.

Jiao would remain a relatively stable place through the upheavals of the Three Kingdoms and Period of Disunion (3rd-6th centuries). When the north fell to massive famine, in-fighting and non-Sinitic invasions during the Yongjia 永嘉 (307-313) era of the Jin 晉 Dynasty (265-419), huge populations abandoned their northern homelands and headed south. These massive migrations, which peaked around 309, took two major routes: one route extended from Hebei and Shandong towards the Huai River valley, on into the lower Yangzi, Zhejiang, and Fujian; the other route led through Shanxi and Shaanxi, towards the upper Yangzi, on into the relative stability of Jiao in the Red River Delta (Gernet, 1972, p. 180). According to Gernet, over one million northerners followed these routes out of the war-torn north, during the first quarter of the 4th century (ibid.). At this time, Jiao was once again reinvigorated by massive numbers of northern émigrés, who initiated a transformative linguistic effect. Exposure to 4th century forms of Sinitic overlaid the earlier stratum established during Han times, updating most of the vocabulary with newer forms, but leaving a few stranded examples of the oldest layer.[65] Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV) thus comprises two distinct waves of borrowing: one initiated by Ma Yuan's sinicization of Jiaozhi in the mid 1st century, and one triggered by the influx of northern émigrés fleeing the Yongjia chaos of the early 4th century.[66] We may call these Han ESV and Jin

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[65] I will discuss developments of this period in greater detail next chapter.
[66] This argument was first advanced by Jerry Norman (1979), in his discussion of a similar stratification in the Min varieties.

ESV respectively. Only a couple hundred words have yet been proposed as what I call ESV (either Han or Jin). By the end of this chapter, I will provide a list of over fifty words confirmed as either Jin or Han ESV through the criteria discussed in the following sections.

2.02   Defining Early Sino-Vietnamese

In general, ESV vocabulary demonstrates relatively intense contact between diverse Sinitic-speakers of this era and the pVM speakers with whom they lived, bartered, married and had children. Virtually all of ESV consists technological or culturally-specific terms, which also makes sense given Ma Yuan's pervasive social reforms and the kind of technological and mercantile circulation that must have taken place (e.g. the importation of silk cultivation). A few cases for verbs have been made, but as I will show below, these generally reflect misinterpretations of native pVM (i.e. non-Sinitic) vocabulary. This is also consonant with Thomason & Kaufman's description of moderately intense language borrowing rather than substratal effect or "interference through shift" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; see ch. 3). Miyake (2003) describes an "Old Sino-Vietnamese," a term also used by Alves (2009); Wang Li simply refers to "Ancient Sino-Vietnamese" (古漢越語), and was among the first to explicitly entertain a possible Han-era origin for them. I call this layer (Han & Jin) Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV), only because "Old Sino-Vietnamese" suggests a genetic/linguistic trail where none exists (cf. "Old Chinese," "Old English," "Old Church Slavonic," etc.).

As noted above, ESV may be divided into a Han and Jin wave. The evidence for Han ESV was first noted by Jerry Norman (1988), who identified a peculiar –j reflex for the *gē* 歌 rime group primarily in Min languages but also some Yue varieties, as well as showing up in SV 蛾: ngài – ŋaj˨˩; "moth" (Norman, Chinese, 1988, p. 212). Baxter (1992) added a few more examples (mostly in the *gǔo* 果 rime group: 舵 : lái – laj˧˩, 磨 : mài – maj˨˩, and 個 : cái – kaj˧˩), which he regarded as evidence for a possible OC *-r, which became *-j and eventually monophthongized in most Sinitic varieties (Baxter W. H., 1992, p. 294). Norman was

attempting to argue for an ancient pan-southern subgroup, and I accept the notion that they represent survivors of the earliest wave of ESV. There may also be a dialectal complexion to these words as well, since (as noted above) we know that Ma Yuan's armies were multi-region in origin, and over half of them were from Min lands or areas that abutted them. Etyma which preserve a Han vs. Jin ESV distinction are few, and the basic arguments were forwarded by Norman (1979, 1988), as well as some discussion by Pulleyblank (1984) and Baxter (1992). I am only aware of one set of minimal pairs which demonstrate Han ESV, Jin ESV and LSV (墓; "tomb", identified by Jerry Norman) but a small number of forms consistent with Han ESV appear without a Jin ESV counterpart (see Table below). In contrast with the few Han ESV forms currently identified, Jin ESV reflects features that are more consonant with EMC than OC (cf. 2.2 treatment of vowels in particular). This strongly supports the notion that they were borrowed following the Yongjia Chaos in the 4th century.

As a general rule, all ESV words (both Han and Jin) are perceived as native vocabulary by the average speaker, and their etymology is not recognized as Sinitic except by learned scholars. Most analyses of ESV words treat them in comparison with the orthodox system known as *Hán-Việt* (HV), which corresponds chronologically to Late Sino-Vietnamese (LSV) and was probably borrowed after the 10th century. This is reasonable, since HV is internally consistent and we know much more about it than any other form of Sino-Vietnamese (although, as discussed next chapter, the prevailing understanding of its nature is flawed). Thus, most criteria that define ESV from LSV (or HV) amount to innovations mutated ESV into LSV. The most commonly-cited difficulty in ESV analysis lies in distinguishing genuine ESV from other forms of unorthodox (i.e. non-HV) Sino-Vietnamese that may have resulted from so-called processes of "nativization." This was expressed succinctly by Wang Li in 1948:

> . . .suppos a character has two forms, one form [must] be a standardized Chinese pronunciation (an orthodox reading); but as for the other form, it may be a Chinese pronunciation established earlier, which was then transmitted through the speech of the common people, or it might also [date to] later than the standardized Chinese pronunciation, i.e. a "vernacularized character reading," which became gradually

removed from [official] character readings. Our difficulty lies in only knowing that it is not a standardized Chinese character reading, that is to say, that we know that it is not *Sino-Vietnamese* [i.e. *Hán-Việt*], however, we do not have adequate resources to go and prove whether or not [these] are more ancient or more recent.

．．．如果一個字有兩種形式：其中一種官定的漢音（正音），別一種呢，也許比官定的漢音更早，它是由老百姓口口相傳得來的白話音；又也許比官定的漢音更晚，它是‘文字口語化’，漸漸和‘字音’距離更遠。我們的困難就是只知道它不是漢字的官音，換句話說就是知道它並非漢越語，然而我們沒有充分的材料去証明它是不是更古或更晚。(Wang, 1948, p. 54.)

This uncertainty regarding unorthodox Sino-Vietnamese forms is repeated throughout scholarship in the field. However, these fears really describe the lack of a basic linguistic profile for ESV, caused by the absence of a foundation in pVM internal evolution. When Wang Li writes "we do not have the adequate resources to go and prove whether or not [these non-HV forms] are more ancient or recent," what he is in fact saying is that we do not know enough about pVM internal evolution to be able to distinguish among SV words which depart from the HV mold. Advances since Wang Li's time, including my own work on the VM languages, allow us to rectify this situation.

Many potential phonological indicators of loan age have been documented for SV, but some of these turn out to be pVM effects (as Wang Li feared), while others occur too late in the history of the languages involved to be of use for determining ESV. The lack of a clear and reliable set of phonological indices for distinguishing ESV from later strata represents one of the more limiting constraints of the field. To address this issue, I have gathered together the phonological effects which I have confirmed are reliable indices for defining Han ESV, Jin ESV and LSV, and charted them below. As mentioned above, most of these are in fact innovations which define LSV, and so represent a kind of negative criteria. Without an understanding of the phonological history of pVM, this would indeed leave us in the quandary described by Wang Li. However, comparative analysis of those forms which do not demonstrate these innovating criteria with known sound changes in pVM allow us to determine whether they are pre-LSV forms or forms which have undergone some kind of pVM influence. As will be discussed below,

there are in fact comparatively few cases where pVM phonology has "vulgarized" Sinitic forms, but there are some notable cases where native pVM words have been mistaken for ESV.

PHONOLOGICAL INDICES FOR HAN ESV VS. JIN ESV

Stratum	Fronting of low-back (-ɑ-like) vowels	Raising/rounding of low-back vowels	Monopthongization of *-aj	Deletion of final *-h element in Departing Tone syllables[67]
Han ESV		墓 *grave*: ma˧˦˩ (mả)	蛾 *moth* ŋaj˧˦˩ (ngài)	
Jin ESV	夏 *summer*: hɛ˧˩ (hè)	墓 *grave*: mo˧˩ (mồ)		墓 *grave*: mo˧˩ (mồ)
LSV			蛾 *moth* ŋa˧˩ (nga)	墓 (*grave*): mo˧˩ʔ (mộ)

Table 2.1

PHONOLOGICAL INDICES FOR ESV VS. LSV BY TONE, RIME, AND ONSET

TONE (2.1)	MC Short tones identified with pVM short glottal tones	Low tone series identified as high tone in sonorant-initial syllables
Early SV	卯 *4ᵗʰ earthly branch*: mɛw˧˩ʔ (mẹo)	貓 *cat*: mɛw˧˩ (mèo)
Late SV	卯 *4ᵗʰ earthly branch*: maw˧ʔ˦ (mão)	貓 *cat*: miu˧˦ (miêu)

RIME (2.2)	Lowering of mid-front vowels	Deletion of off-glides	Lowering & backing of -o-	Raising of low-back vowels & lowering of high-front vowels (Vowel Centralization & Dipthongization)		
Early SV	夏 *summer*: hɛ˧˩ (hè)	主 *lord*: cuə˧˦ (chúa)	納 *pay*: nop˧˩ʔ (nộp)	嬸 *aunt*: tʰim˧˦ (thím)		
Late SV formal	夏 *summer*: ha˧˩ (hà)	主 *lord*: cu˧˦˩ - (chủ)	納 *pay*: nap˧˩ʔ (nạp)		當 *progr.*: ɗaŋ˧˦ (đang)	丹 *cinnabar*: ɗan – (đan)
Late SV colloquial				嬸 *aunt*: tʰəm˧˦˩ (thẩm)	當 *progr.*: ɗuəŋ˧˦ (đương)	丹 *cinnabar*: ɗʌn (đơn)

ONSET (2.3)	Labiodentalization		Lenition of velars
Early SV	斧 *axe*: ɓuə˧˦ (búa)	味 *smell*: muj˧˩ (mùi)	芥 *mustard*: kaj˧˦˩ (cải)
Late SV	斧 *axe*: fu˧˦˩ (phủ)	味 *taste*: vi˧˩ʔ (vị)	芥 *mustard*: zʌj˧˦ (giới)

Table 2.2

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[67] This is not a regular change, but the result of a confusion between departing and level tones prevalent throughout southern varieties during the Six Dynasties, and is documented by the late 6ᵗʰ century text entitled *Refined Enunciation* 音辭, by Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (discussed next chapter).

The rest of this chapter will visit the range of tonal, rime and onset phenomena which have been suggested by various scholars as defining ESV from LSV. Thus, each section discusses more phenomena than those listed in the tables above, because in many cases I have ruled a particular phonological change invalid for determining ESV from LSV. Finally, it is important to note that not all phonological effects listed above and discussed below represent sound changes in the donor language. Some represent confusions which occurred in the act of borrowing (i.e. the assimilation of an alien phonological system into the native phonological system). These largely represent confusions which define LSV, which (as will be discussed in Chapter 4) involved the assimilation of two different linguistic systems and not just a massive set of oral loans, as is the case here.

    Organization of the chapter:

    As reflected in Table above, I have divided all relevant phonological characteristics into tone, rime and onset categories. Section 2.1 discusses tone, 2.2 rime, and 2.3 onsets. In each section, I describe the relevant phenomena and evaluate it in terms of pVM evolution and the evolution of the lending Sinitic language. I then form a judgment based on its efficacy in determining ESV from LSV, followed by individual word cases. The words discussed are summarized in charts at the end of each section. A chart of all confirmed ESV etyma is provided at the end of the chapter.

2.1   Tonal Criteria

    Tonal indices which distinguish ESV from LSV presume a model of tonogenesis first developed by André Haudricourt in 1954. Haudricourt was building on work done by Maspero

in 1912, who showed that Vietnamese tones exhibited a high or low series based on whether or not the initial consonant was voiced, as well as showing that final –h/-s in languages like Mon, Khmer, Stieng and Bahnar corresponded to *hỏi* /˧˩˧/ and *ngã* /˦ˀ˥/ tones in Vietnamese (Maspero, 1912, pp. 99-102).[68] Haudricourt (1954) subsequently showed that *sắc/nặng* /˦˥/-/˦˥ˀ/ tones developed from final glottal -ʔ, whereas (following Maspero) *hỏi/ngã* /˧˩˧/-/˦ˀ˥/ tones developed from final fricatives, incidentally solidifying the Mon-Khmer classification of the Vietnamese language (Haudricourt A. , 1954).[69] Haudricourt proved this model of tonogenesis by comparing Vietnamese tonal categories with other Mon-Khmer languages, showing decisively that words with *sắc/nặng* tones such as *cá* ("fish") and *gạo* ("rice") bore final glottals in non-tonal Mon-Khmer languages like Khmu (cf. Khmu *kaʔ,* "fish;" *rənkɔʔ*, "rice"), and words with *hỏi/ngã* tones such as *bảy* ("seven") and *mũi* ("nose") bore final fricative correspondences in other Mon-Khmer languages (cf. Stieng *póh*, "seven;" and Mon *mŭḥ*, "nose"), as Maspero had already argued in 1912. There are thus two forces at work on the origin of tone: the evolution of so-called "rising" and "departing" tones from final consonants (-ʔ and -s/h respectively), and the evolution of a high and low series which reflects an original voicing contrast in the onset.[70] Haudricourt's model of tonogenesis can be summarized as follows:

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[68] In fact, Maspero states that final –h usually yields *nặng* and *hỏi* tones, "and sometimes *ngã*" (Maspero 1912, p. 99). However, his data on p. 102 shows stronger correspondences for *hỏi* and *ngã* tones.
[69] For fuller treatment of these important discoveries, see next chapter.
[70] I will provide a chart of correspondences for these tonal categories below.

Table 2.3: Origins of Vietnamese Tone according to Haudricourt[71]

		Final:		
		-Open/-sonorant (A)	-ʔ (B)	-s/-h (C)
Initial:	**Voiceless: (1)**	ngang (陰平) (chân) cən˧˧ < *ciɲ	sắc (陰上) (hát) hat˧˥ < *ha:t^ʔ	hỏi (陰去) (cỏ) kɔ˧˩˧ < *kɔh
	Voiced: (2)	huyền (陽平)[72] (rừng) zuŋ˧˩ < *kraɲ	nặng (陽上) (ruột) zuət˧˩ʔ < *rɔ:c^ʔ	ngã (陽去) (lưỡi) luəj˦ʔ˥ < *laas

Thus, a three-way distinction between tones evolving from open or sonorant-final syllables (type A), tones evolving from final glottal -ʔ (type B) and those evolving from final fricatives –s/-h (type C) was doubled through influence by the initials, leading to a high (series 1) series (from proto-voiceless initials) and a low (series 2) series (from proto-voiced initials). Thurgood (2007) eventually revised this last doubling of the inventory by showing that the loss of voicing was preserved not through pitch differences but through laryngeal gestures (i.e. differences in phonation type); his revision is now widely accepted. This six-way tonal inventory was the basic model from which all Viet-Muong tonal inventories ultimately evolved. Axel Schoessler relies on a form of tonal transcription designed to represent this six-way contrast, in which level tones = A, rising tone = B, departing tone = C and entering tone (not included above) = D, while high series tones (from voicelesss onsets) = 1 and low series tones (from voiced onsets) = 2.[73] I have included the letters and numbers of this system in parentheses beside the categories they represent. Thus, if a syllable originally had a voiced onset (2) and a final fricative (C), it can be

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[71] Reconstructions of OV from: mon-khmer.com.
[72] Realized with allophonic breathiness on the vowel in Northern Vietnamese.
[73] As Schoessler (2009, p.6) notes, this transcriptional system is popular among modern Chinese dialect studies, for purposes of etymological transcription. I will use it for the same reason in this dissertation (to make etymological relationships clear), but will use Chao tonal transcription otherwise.

said to bear a "C2" type tone. If a syllable originally had a voiceless onset (1) and a final glottal (-ʔ), it can be said to bear a "B1" tone (and so forth).[74]

This model was then applied to Chinese. Mei Tsu-lin (1970) was the first to apply Haudricourt's theory to Chinese, and mustered a great deal of evidence gathered from modern comparative data, some Sino-Vietnamese data, and Buddhist sources to support the argument that Middle Chinese type B rising tone also evolved from a final glottal stop (Mei, 1970). Mei cited comparative evidence for final glottalization in rising tone syllables from Wénzhōu 溫州, Púchéng 蒲城, Jiànyáng 建陽, Dìng'ān 定安, and Wéncháng 文場 varieties (Mei, 1970, p. 89). Wénzhōu is a southern Wǔ variety, Púchéng is possibly another southern form of Wǔ (though it is spoken in Fǔjiàn), Jiànyáng is a Min variety, and Dìng'ān and Wéncháng are both Min varieties spoken on Hǎinán Island, and so a broad spectrum of southern languages all corroborate a glottal origin for rising tone. Mei also cites Buddhist transcriptional practices such as those outlined in Yì Jìng's 義淨 (635-713) *Nánhǎi jìgūi nèifǎ zhuàn* 南海寄歸內法傳, which specified that thirty three characters of varying tonal categories that were used to transcribe Sanskrit short syllables (*ka, kʰa, ga, gʰa,* etc.) should all be read with a rising tone—irrespective of their actual tonal value (Mei, 1970, p. 90). This was taken as evidence that the final glottal in pre-rising tone syllables shortened their length (especially in comparison to level tone syllables).

Regarding the origin of Chinese type C departing tone (again, 去聲), Haudricourt had suggested a final -s origin here as well, in the form of a suffix (Haudricourt A. , Comment reconstruire le Chinois archaïque, 1954a, p. 364). Laurent Sagart (1982) challenged this claim, arguing that final laryngeal spirants in Sanskrit, or "visarga" (-ḥ) were transcribed—not with a departing tone, as would be expected if these evolved from final –h/s—but with entering tone (入 聲) words ending in final –k (Sagart, On the Departing Tone, 1986, p. 92). Rather, Sagart

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[74] There is a forth category based on the presence of final stops -p, -t, -c, and -k, which correspond to what are called *entering tones* (入聲) in Chinese philological terms. These are category D tones, and do not represent a separate contrastive set, but a "clipping" or shortening of the contour.

suggested that Chinese tone derived from a glottalized phonation type that produced a short, constricted tone by the middle of the Tang era (ibid., p. 103).[75]

In summary, a final -ʔ is now accepted as the origin for both Vietnamese *sắc-nặng* tones and Middle Chinese rising tone (上聲), whereas a final -s/h is accepted as the origin of Vietnamese *hỏi-ngã* tones and perhaps the Middle Chinese departing tone as well, *modulo* Sagart's argument for a glottalized phonation type as a more precise phonetic description.

I will discuss three tonal phenomena relevant to SV history in this section:

> 1) "Flip-flop" of type B and C tones in LSV
>
> 2) Merger of type B rising tones with voiced stop onsets with type C departing tones in MC, or *quanzhuo shang bian qu* 全濁上變去); and
>
> 3) Expression of MC low (2) series tones in sonorant-initial syllables as *high*-(1) series level tones in LSV

Each of these represent features peculiar to LSV, and their absence in a given SV etymon provides the basis for its classification as ESV. The first change is one of the oldest criteria for indexing ESV borrowings, and remains the gold-standard for determining chronological strata in SV (though there are processes which do obfuscate and confuse its effects). Nevertheless, it reflects a confusion of tonal systems triggered by borrowing, and not an endogenous change in the donor language. No. 2 appears to have spread inconsistently to the donor of LSV, and its presence or absence does not help to distinguish between ESV and LSV. No. 3, like no. 1 reflects a borrowing confusion. I will now discuss each of these in turn.

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[75] I will return to this issue below.

2.11 Reversal of Rising & Departing tone correspondences

Maspero (1912) noticed that, barring the phenomena discussed in 2.12 below, the regular correspondence for MC type C departing tone (去聲) was HV type B *sắc* /˧˥/ or *nặng* /˧˩ˀ/ rising tone, while the regular correspondence for MC type B rising tone (上聲) was HV type C *hỏi* /˧˩˧/ or *ngã* /˦ˀ˥/ departing tone (Maspero, 1912, p. 95). This was more or less repeated by Maspero in 1920, but was most clearly shown by Wang Li in 1948, who gave the following Hán-Việt tonal correspondences (Maspero, 1920, p. 3; Wang, 1948, p. 53):

Table 2.4: MC and HV Etymological Tone Correspondences[76]

Middle Chinese tone	Hán-Việt tone	
A1 (陰平) high level	A1 ngang/bằng: high level	ma˧˧ (*ma*)
A2 (陽平) low level	A2 huyền: low level	ma˧˩ (*mà*)
B1 (陰上) high rising	C1 hỏi: high departing	ma˧˩˧ (*mả*)
B2 (陽上) low rising	C2 ngã: low departing	ma˦ˀ˥ (*mã*)
C1 (陰去) high departing	B1 sắc: high rising (with a vowel or nasal coda)	ma˧˥ (*má*)
C2 (陽去) low departing	B2 nặng: low rising (with a vowel or nasal coda)	ma˧˩ˀ (*mạ*)
D1 (陰入) high entering	B1 sắc: high rising (with a plosive coda)	mak˧˥ (*mác*)
D2 (陽入) low entering	B2 nặng: low rising (with a plosive coda)	mak˧˩ˀ (*mạc*)

MC type B rising tones thus correspond to HV C departing tones, and vice versa. However, Haudricourt (1954) pointed out the existence of another layer of Sinitic loanwords that demonstrate the opposite correspondence—that is, SV type C (*hỏi* /˧˩˧/ or *ngã* /˦ˀ˥/) tones for MC type C departing tones, and SV type B (*sắc* or /˧˥/ or *nặng* /˧˩ˀ/) tones for MC type B rising tones (Haudricourt A. , 1954a, pp. 363-4).[77] Haudricourt argued that these were examples of the oldest layer of SV borrowing, and a number of scholars have since analyzed words with B-for-B and C-

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[76] I have provided each tone with its etymological designation for the sake of convenience.
[77] Maspero (1912) discusses this indirectly in his argument for an -s/h origin for "Annamite" (i.e. colloquial Vietnamese) *hỏi* and *ngã* tone.

for-C correspondences as ancient (Mei, 1970, p. 95; Sagart, 1986, p. 101; Pulleyblank, 1978, p. 187; Pulleyblank, 1981, p. 282).

Table 2.5: SV B-C Tonal Doublets

#	字	MC tone	LSV		ESV	
1.	頂	B1	đỉnh - địŋ˧˦˧	C1	đính - địŋ˧˥	B1
2.	釦	B1	khẩu - xəu˧˦˧	C1	khấu - xəu˧˥	B1
3.	許	B1	hử - hɯ˧˦˧	C1	hứa - hɯə˧˥	B1
4.	浦	B1	phổ - fo˧˦˧	C1	phố - fo˧˥	B1
5.	訪	C1	phỏng - fɔʷŋ˧˥	B1	phỏng - fɔʷŋ˧˦˧	C1

Table 2.5 above shows some examples of tonal doublets where SV demonstrates pairs of correspondences with mismatched tones. Cases 1-4 are all B1 high-rising tones, and so the LSV correspondences all regularly show C1 high-departing *hỏi* /˧˦˧/ tone, whereas the ESV correspondences show B1 high-rising *sắc* (˧˥) tone. In #5 above, the MC tone is C1 high-departing, and so the LSV regularly shows B1 high-rising *sắc* (˧˥) tone, whereas ESV shows C1 high-departing *hỏi* /˧˦˧/ tone.

These correspondences do not mean that at some point in the history of Middle Chinese, B and C tones "flip-flopped" through an internal sound-change. Rather, they demonstrate that when LSV was borrowed into pVM, type B tones were associated with pVM type C tones and vice versa. That is why ESV does not demonstrate this reversal—because these words were borrowed during the Han Dynasty, before tonogenesis had occurred. They were thus borrowed probably with both their pre-tonogenetic segments together with the phonation contrasts that would ultimately produce tones (cf. 2.3 above). These pre-tonogenetic phonation contrasts had not yet developed in each language to the point where they mismatched. By the time tonogenesis was complete, however (i.e. when LSV was borrowed), the tonal realizations of the two phonologies were different, and when the intermingled, type B and C categories were crossed.

Sagart has suggested a phonetic account for this confusion. As already noted, Sagart (1986) attacked the notion of a final -h origin for type C departing tone, and claimed that Late Middle Chinese had three tones—a long (level) tone and a shorter (rising) tone—both of which were characterized by clear phonation, and a glottalized (departing) tone; at the same time, Vietnamese (or what I have argued to be pVM) demonstrated a long, clear tone (i.e. *ngang/huyền*), a short tone ending in a glottal stop (i.e. *sắc/nặng*), and finally a "shortish laryngealized tone" (i.e. *hỏi/ngã*). This short, laryngealized tone was eventually identified with contemporary LMC *rising* tone (Sagart, 1986, p. 103). This left level tone to be identified with level tone, and the Vietnamese short, glottal tone (i.e. *sắc/nặng*) to be identified with the shortest LMC tone, i.e. *departing* tone.[78] In this way, Sagart suggests that length was of primary consideration when matching the tone systems of the two languages in the LMC period. This can be schematized as follows:

Figure 2.2: "LMC" – pVM B/C Tonal Confusion according to Sagart (1986)[79]
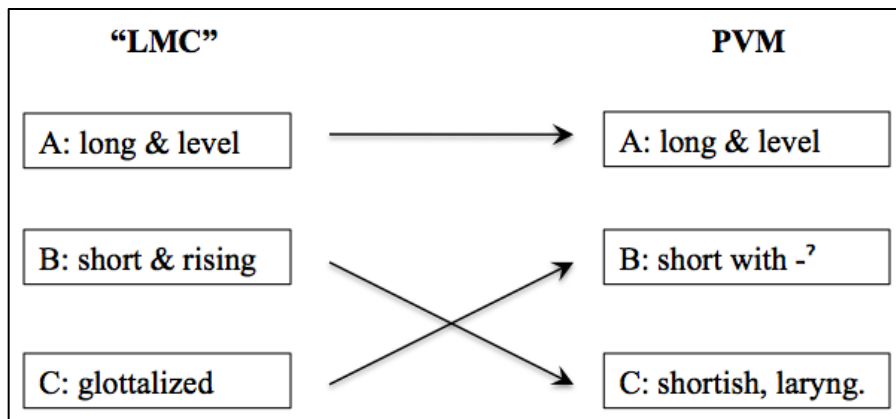
[78] Sagart's model requires that final glottals in rising tone be lost early, and with no phonation consequences as observed in departing tone, for which he offers some philological evidence on pages 101-102. Sagart's model also corroborates Mei Tsu-lin's (1970) arguments about rising tone, in that they reconstruct rising tone to be the shortest of the Middle Chinese tones (and thus preferable for transcribing Sanksrit short syllables). I do not agree with the details of this model, as discussed below.

[79] I have put "LMC" in quotes because, as discussed in Chapter 4, I believe we may narrow the identity of the donor.

Again, this only applies to LSV, because ESV was borrowed during the Han, before tones had emerged from final consonants. One potential difficulty with this view is that the B (short & rising) tone must also have had some form of glottalization from its segmental source -ʔ—the element which, in fact, was responsible for shortening the tone's duration. Sagart requires that B-tone be clear in order to explain its distinctiveness from C-tone (which he believes could not have resulted from final -h); however, this is at odds with Mei (1970) and the accepted glottalized etymology of the rising tone.

Recall that Sagart's basic claim rests on the fact that Sanskrit *visarga* (-ḥ) were transcribed—not with a departing tone, as would be expected if these evolved from final –h/s, but with departing tone syllables. However this is understandable if *visarga* was realized as a fricated [x-], which would place it phonetically closer to a velar k- (cf. 好: Cantonese *hɔn˧* but Mandarin *xan˥˩*). I agree that C tone must have been realized with some kind of laryngeal gesture (as per Thurgood's revision of tonogenesis), but I do not think it is economical to eliminate a glottalized quality from our reconstruction of B-type rising tones. Indeed, non-modal expression of Vietnamese C tones (which correspond to MC B tones) remains in the glottalization and/or creakiness of C2 *ngã* tone. Nevertheless, the MC realization of B tone *must* have been closer to the pVM realization of B tones in some fashion (and vice versa), and if we eliminate Sagart's proposed clear vs. laryngealized distinction, we must find some other basis for the confusion. At this point, the simplest solution is to accept Sagart's notion that length was the major contrast at this time, such that A-tones were the longest (and thus associated with each other), MC B-tones and pVM C-tones were shorter in length (and laryngealized), while MC C tones and pVM B tones were the shortest in length (and also laryngealized). This revision may be schematized as follows:

Figure 2.3: Revised "LMC"-pVM B/C Tonal Confusion
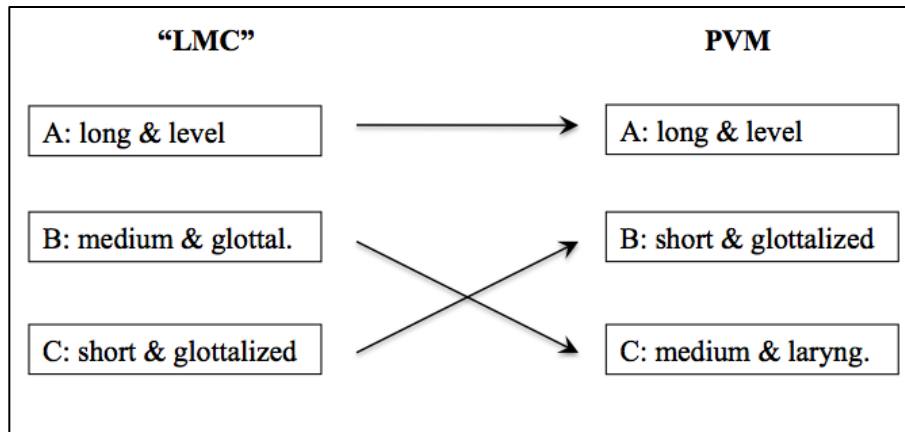
In this way, we avoid the tenuous claim that B-type rising tone was realized with clear phonation type, but preserve and strengthen Sagart's insight that length was the major contrastive feature at this time. It also suggests that differences in phonation type were allophonic features associated with a separate contrast (in this case, length; but later, pitch), which accords well with the nature of Vietnamese tones even today.

In summary the SV correspondence for MC B-type rising and C-type departing tones can reveal the basic time-depth of the etymon, due to a confusion of tonal categories at the time of borrowing. If MC B-type rising tone surfaces as *sắc* or *nặng*, then the etymon is ESV; if it surfaces as *hỏi* or *ngã*, then it is LSV. If MC C-type departing tone surfaces as *hỏi* or *ngã*, then the etymon is ESV; If it surfaces as *sắc* or *nặng*, then it is LSV. This otherwise clear and immensely useful index is slightly complicated by a merger of rising and departing tones in Late Middle Chinese, which we will discuss next section.

2.12   Merger of B2 low-rising tones with C2 low-departing tones in syllables with voiced obstruent initials (全濁上變去)

The second tonal phenomenon was actually documented in the 12th century *Yunjing*, and is usually referred to as "voiced rising becomes departing" or *quanzhuo shang bian qu*全濁上變去. Essentially, this describes the assimilation of B-type tones with voiced obstruent onsets to C-type tonal realizations. The process did not affect all Chinese varieties (the Yue languages do not demonstrate the merger), but it is noticeably present in Mandarin.

Maspero (1912) noticed its application to HV and wrote: "rising tone and departing tone in low series [originally voiced onsets] are represented without distinction, sometimes by *nặng*, and sometimes by *ngã*" (Maspero, 1912, p. 92).[80] I have reproduced Maspero's data below:

Table 2.6: HV Correspondences for B2 Low Rising Tone (Maspero, 1912, p. 91)

#	字	Hán-Việt	
1.	是	thị – tʰi˧˩ʔ	nặng B2
2.	市	thị – tʰi˧˩ʔ	nặng B2
3.	奉	phụng – pʰuŋ˧˩ʔ	nặng B2
4.	動	động – ɗoŋ˧˩ʔ	nặng B2
5.	坐	toạ – tɔa˧˩ʔ	nặng B2
6.	勇	dũng – zuŋ˧ʔ˧	ngã C2
7.	士	sĩ – si˧ʔ˧	ngã C2
8.	武	vũ – vu˧ʔ˧	ngã C2
9.	我	ngã – ŋa˧ʔ˧	ngã C2
10.	阮	nguyễn – ŋwiən˧ʔ˧	ngã C2

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[80] "Le *chang-cheng* [上聲] et le *k'iu-cheng* [去聲] à la série basse sont représentés indifféremment, tantôt par le nặng, tantôt par le ngã. . ."

Table 2.7: HV Correspondences for C2 Low Departing Tone (Maspero, 1912, p.92)

#	字	Hán-Việt	
11.	二	nhị – ɲi˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
12.	地	địa – dǐə˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
13.	自	tự – tɯ˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
14.	電	điện – dǐən˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
15.	郡	quận – kʷən˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
16.	命	mạnh – maʲɲ˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
17.	寺	tự – tɯ˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
18.	用	dụng – zuŋ˧˩ˀ	nặng B2
19.	任	nhậm – ɲəm˧˩ˀ	nặng[81] B2
20.	義	nghĩa – ŋiə˧ˀ˩	ngã C2

Remember that MC B-series (rising) and C-series (departing) tones are systematically reversed in HV. Thus we would expect HV C2 tones for MC B2 low rising tones, but get numerous cases of B2 tones. Conversely, we would expect LSV B2 tones for MC C2 low-departing tones, which we mostly do see in 2.7 above. It was cases like this which led Hashimoto (1978) to posit a "flip-flop merger" in Sino-Vietnamese, which Miyake (1999) rejected by pointing out that there did not seem to be any confusion outside of syllables with voiced stop onsets.

In fact, Maspero (1912) had long ago connected this with the *quanzhuo shang bian qu* process described in the *Yunjing*, which states that "characters that are [classified by rime] as rising tone but that [in the table] are placed as [having] voiced obstruent [initials] should be pronounced as departing tone."[82] The confusion was restricted to those syllables bearing voiced obstruent 全濁 (*b-, d-, g-*) initials, and did not affect syllables bearing sonorant 次濁 (e.g. *r-, l-*, and the nasals *m-, n-* etc.) initials. Maspero argued that the confusion of low-series *nặng* (˧˩ˀ; B2) and *ngã* (˧ˀ˩; C2) tones reflected this change, turning what would normally have been a *nặng* (˧˩ˀ; B2) tone into a *ngã* (˧ˀ˩; C2) tone—except when the onset was a sonorant.[83] Thus, MC syllables with voiced obstruents and B-type rising tones (全濁上-) generally surface with *nặng* (˧˩ˀ; B2) tone, which is the normal HV correspondance for low MC departing tone—i.e. it has "turned into

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[81] There seems to be a typo here in Maspero's original: Maspero seems to transcribe (任) as *nhẫm* or *nhẩm*.
[82] "遂韻上聲字濁位並當呼為去聲."
[83] Modulo the reversal of B-series and C-series tones in LSV.

a departing [tone]" (-變去). Sonorant-initial syllables are unaffected by the rule, which is why in 2.6 above, nos. 6-10 all show MC B2 low-rising tones corresponding to HV *ngã* (ᵇᴵ; C2), which is the regular LSV correspondence for MC B2 tones. As for exceptional #20 in 2.7 above, Maspero himself admitted that the presence of unexpected *ngã* tones "however, is rare in departing tone" (Maspero, 1912, p. 92).[84]

Mineya Tōru (1972) observed a different type of exception to the *quanzhuo shang bian qu* generalization. That is, some MC B2 (low-rising) syllables with voiced obstruent actually demonstrate *ngã* (ᵇᴵ; C2) tone, instead of the expected *nặng* (ᵇᴵ; B2) tone shown in nos. 1-5 of 2.6 above; e.g. 朕 (trẫm), 盾 (thuẫn), 餞 (tiễn), 待 (đãi), and 緩 (hoãn) (Mineya, 1972, p. 160). These cases are not explicitly mentioned by Maspero, who simply says that "in general, words with nasal or sonorant initials are generally ngã [C2], and the others (obstruents, approximants, and spirantized sonorant initials) are nặng [B2]" (Maspero, 1912, p. 93).[85] These exceptions thus do not reflect *quanzhuo shang bian qu*. They are still LSV words, because they reflect the reversal of B-type rising and C-type departing tones discussed last section, and so represent a subdistinction of later borrowings. Nevertheless, these do not appear to be very robust in number, and rather than demonstrating an early sub-phase of LSV, they may represent the lingering exceptions to a wave-induced change coming from some northern source. In the end, the fact that the lack of *quanzhuo shang bian qu* may be observed in tokens that otherwise bear salient LSV features suggests that if this is a mutation (and not a preservation of synchronically competing forms), it occurred very late and after more salient changes which define ESV from LSV. Thus, it is not reliable as an index for ESV.

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[84] Original: "…toutefois est rare au *k'iu-cheng*."
[85] "En general les mots à initiale nasale ou sonante sont au ngã, et les autres (occlusives, mi-occlusives, spirantes sonores initiales) sont au nặng."

2.13 High-level tone correspondences for sonorant-initial level-tone syllables

There is one other tonal phenomenon that could potentially illuminate the time-depth of borrowing. Mineya Tōru discussed the surprising correspondence of MC level tone syllables with sonorant initials (i.e. what would be A2 tones) with *high* series level (i.e. A1) tones in Hán-Việt:

> . . . "*Sei*" [清] and "*shisei*" [次清] in tone [in Sino-Vietnamese character readings] correspond to "A" [high] series, and *daku* [濁] corresponds to "B" [low] series; as for "*seidaku*" [清濁], in level tones [these] are "A," but in oblique tones, "B," and so we have this remarkable phenomenon of the appearance of both "A" and "B" series.

> . . . ［越南漢字音］の聲調が＜清，次清＞では［A］系列をより＜濁＞では［B］系列をよるのに、＜清濁＞では平聲が［A］、仄聲が［B］というに［A B］兩系列にたがった現れ方をしていることが注目されるのである　(Mineya, 1972, p. 164.)

Mineya is using "A" and "B" in an idiosyncratic manner here, and these do not correspond to the conventional (A = level) and (B = rising) system we have been using. Mineya's "*sei*" (清) is short for "*zensei*" (全清), the standard rime studies term for plain voiceless initials. "*Shisei*" (次清) is the standard rime studies term for aspirated voiceless initials, and "*daku*" (濁) for voiced obstruent initials; Mineya's "*seidaku*" (清濁) is a slightly older term for sonorant initials, which was later replaced by "次濁"; Mineya prefers the older term because of the possibility that Sino-Vietnamese was maintaining some set of contrasts older than the 全清, 次清, 全濁, 次濁 system describes.

Wang Li had actually observed the same thing in 1948:

> Only the class of *cìqīng* [次濁] is inconsonant with the Chinese principle: their level-tones are read as high-series—an opposite match with Chinese; only their oblique tones—read as low-series—are consistent with Chinese.

> 只有次濁一類和中國語的規則不蓋相同：它的平聲讀入陰調類，和中國語適得其反；只有仄聲讀入陽調類是和中國語相同得。(Wang, 1948, p. 54.)

Both Wang Li and Mineya note that in most cases, HV demonstrates regular high-1/low-2 correspondences for MC voiced/voiceless contrasts: MC voiced obstruents (全濁) regularly give low (2-series) tone, while MC voiceless (both plain and aspirated, 全清 and 次清) give high (1-series) tone. However, the sonorants (次濁 or 清濁) give *both:* high series in level tone, but low series in oblique tones.[86] This is summarized by the correspondences provided below:

Table 2.8: Tonal Reflexes for Sonorant-Initial Syllables in Level (A) and Oblique (B, C) Tones

#	字	MC tone	Mandarin		Cantonese		Hán-Việt	
1.	謀	A2	mou˧˥	A2	mau˨˩	A2	mưu – mɯɯ˧˧	A1
2.	文	A2	wən˧˥	A2	man˨˩	A2	văn – văn˧˧	A1
3.	人	A2	ʐən˧˥	A2	jan˨˩	A2	nhân – ɲən˧˧	A1
4.	然	A2	ʐan˧˥	A2	jin˨˩	A2	nhiên – ɲiən˧˧	A1
5.	疑	A2	ji˧˥	A2	ji˨˩	A2	nghi – ŋi˧˧	A1
6.	馬	B2	ma˨˩˦	B2	ma˩˧	B2	mã – ma˦ʔ˥	C2
7.	武	B2	wu˨˩˦	B2	mou˩˧	B2	vũ – vu˦ʔ˥	C2
8.	右	B2	jou˨˩˦	B2	jau˨	B2	hữu – hɯɯ˦ʔ˥	C2
9.	念	C2	nian˥˩	C2	nim˨	C2	niệm – niəm˦˨ʔ	B2
10.	亂	C2	lwan˥˩	C2	lyn˨	C2	loạn – lɔan˦˨ʔ	B2

As shown in 2.8, both Mandarin and Cantonese show expected low (2ⁿᵈ series) tone in each of these sonorant-initial syllables, whether in level (A) or oblique (B-C) tone syllables. HV behaves normally in oblique B-C tone syllables, showing expected low *nặng* (B2) or *ngã* (C2) tones for nos. 6-10.[87] However, in level A tones, HV consistently shows unexpected high *ngang* (A1) tone (nos. 1-5) instead of the expected low *huyền* (A2). Both Wang Li and Mineya note that this pattern is not found in any other variety of modern Chinese (Wang, 1948, p. 70; Mineya, 1972, p. 164).

In addition to these facts, Mineya also noted that many of these etyma actually bore a second form in SV which demonstrated the expected low tones, as reproduced below:

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[86] Note that Mineya uses 清濁 for "sonorants," which was replaced by 次濁 by the time of the Yunjing. See Mineya (1972), p. 164.

[87] Remember that Han-Viet corresponds to a stratum of LSV, and thus has systematically reversed rising (B) and departing (C) tonal correspondences.

Table 2.9: SV Tonal Doublets in MC Sonorant-Initial Syllables[88]

#	字	HV		Non-HV SV	
1.	貓	miêu – mɯu˦˦	A1	mèo – mæw˩˩	A2
2.	蛾	nga – ŋa˦˦	A1	ngài – ŋaj˩˩	A2
3.	移	di – zi˦˦	A1	dời – zʌj˩˩	A2
4.	龍	long – lɔʷŋ˦˦	A1	rồng – zoʷŋ˩˩	A2
5.	眉	mi – mi˦˦	A1	mày – maʲj˩˩	A2
6.	油	dâu – zəw˦˦	A1	dầu – zəw˩˩	A2
7.	娘	nương – nɯəŋ˦˦	A1	nàng – naŋ˩˩	A2
8.	疑	nghi – ŋi˦˦	A1	ngờ – ŋʌ˩˩	A2
9.	姨	di – zi˦˦	A1	dì z– i˩˩	A2
10.	研	nghiên – ŋiən˦˦	A1	nghiền – ŋiən˩˩	A2

As shown above, regular HV demonstrates the peculiar high (1-series) tone in each of these sonorant-initial, level (A-series) tone syllables; however, for each of these a non-HV form also surfaces with low A2 tone. Mineya collected these examples of low tonal reflexes from the 18th century Chinese primer known as the *Tam Thiên Tự* (三千字), which (like the *Chỉ Nam Ngọc Âm Giải Nghĩa* before it) glosses Chinese terms in rhyming Chữ Nôm verse.[89] Similar to arguments made by Maspero and Wang Li for other bodies of words inexplicable in terms of regular *Hán-Việt*, Mineya explained these cases—not as examples of an ancient stratum of loans, but via a process of "Vietnamicization:"

> . . . Facts parallel to this [i.e. regular *Hán-Việt*] in which daily-used, 'Vietnamicized' words of Chinese origin, consistent with the Chinese dialects, take [B] series no. 2 tone (tonal mark `) can be found in considerable [number]. Following this, as for character readings, they were taught according to standardized character readings, but on the other hand, those Chinese words that were accepted as foreign words into Vietnamese speech coexist [with these character readings], and for that reason we may understand the case whereby these two [classes of words] became differentiated into two tones.
>
> . . . 漢語起源ベトナム語化している常用の中に之と並行的に、中国諸方言の聲調のとり合うような、[B] 系列の第 2 聲（聲調符號`）をとるものがかなり見出されるという事實がある。従って、字音は字音として規範的な音が教育され、一方それとは別にベトナム語の口語の中に取り入れられた外来

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[88] Data taken from: Wang (1948), pp. 54-56.

[89] Wang Li (1948) also mentions these as possible examples of *Ancient Sino-Vietnamese* (古漢越語) (Wang, 1948, p. 70). These texts will be discussed in the final chapter.

語としての漢語が共存し、その故に兩者が異なる聲調をとっているという
事がわかるのである。(Mineya, 1972, p. 165.)

Mineya argued that these were cases of speech-borne borrowings (i.e. 口語) into colloquial Vietnamese, which coexisted alongside the kind of "character readings" taught in the classroom (cf. my discussion of the "literate hypothesis" last chapter). Whether Mineya believed these colloquial borrowings to predate the Tang-era character-readings is unclear; however, Mineya does argue that a number of features of non-HV loanwords—particularly, the split of MC *k- into both k- and ɣ- forms in SV (cf. 劍: SV /kiəm˦˨/ and /ɣɯəm˩˧/) are later developments. I agree with this, and would add that the k- → ɣ- spirantization is one of the only legitimate examples of a "nativizing effect."

However, I do not believe Mineya is precisely correct in grouping unexpected high tones in sonorant-initial syllables together with the k- → ɣ- spirantization under the umbrella of pVM interference. There is a difference between a pVM change subsequent to the borrowing of a body of loanwords mutating those loanwords (i.e. which already exist in the lexicon)—as in the spirantization of k- → ɣ- mentioned above—and effects of phonological assimilation (i.e. "borrowing confusions") that occur as a result of the process of borrowing itself. Neither the A1 nor the A2 reflexes for sonorant-initial level tone syllables in SV resulted from a later pVM change. This is clear because there is no evidence for such a shift in pVM words. Rather, as in the confusion of B and C tones discussed above, unexpected A1 tones must have resulted from the interaction of the two phonological systems. More research is needed to clarify this issue, but at this point, I forward the hypothesis that initial sonorants were borrowed into pVM as something in between an oral stop and a nasal. We know that ancient implosives nasalized in pVM, and so I suggest that the realization of these sonorants was something closer to a prenasalized stop, and that these end up as nasals in Vietnamese for the same reason that ancient pVM implosives do. There are two problems with this theory: 1) it does not account for non-nasal sonorants, as in nos. 6 and 9 above; and 2) it requires that these syllables be borrowed

without their high/low register contrast. The latter is not that troubling, since this occurred as a secondary mutation of tonogenesis, and quite possibly after the events which led to LSV.

Nevertheless, this hypothesis correctly attributes the confusion to LSV, a point borne out by the data. Miyake (1999) noted that these unexpected high A1 tones do not occur in what he called Old Sino-Vietnamese; i.e. ESV (Miyake M. , 1999, p. 319). The appearance of high tones in sonorant-initial syllables consistently co-occurs with other rime and segmental indicators of ESV (discussed below), and so it is safe to conclude that, as Miyake suggested, the confusion belonged to LSV and was not a feature of ESV. The significance of this tonal confusion for LSV will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

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The facts from 2.11 and 2.13 provide us with tonal indices for distinguishing Early Sino-Vietnamese from Late Sino-Vietnamese, in oblique and level tones respectively:

Table 2.10: ESV vs. LSV in Tone

字	MC Tone		ESV		LSV	
貓	A2	平	A2	mèo – mæw˨˩	A1	miêu – miu˦˦
頂	B1	上	B1	đính – điŋ˦˥	C1	đinh – điŋ˦˥˦
試	C1	去	C1	thử – tʰɯ˦˥˦	B1	thí – tʰi˦˥

As summarized above, ESV demonstrates predictable correspondences for MC tonal categories, which match the tonal categories evidenced by non-Sinitic words. However, LSV demonstrates two important mutations discussed in 2.11 and 2.13 above. In oblique tones, MC rising (B) tones were analyzed as pVM departing (C) tones, and MC departing (C) tones were assimilated as pVM rising (B) tones. In level tone syllables with sonorant initials, pVM low-level (A2) tones were assimilated as high-level (A1) tones. Thus, any etyma that do not demonstrate these two confusions must have been borrowed at an earlier stage; i.e. they are ESV loans.

In contradistinction to these two borrowing confusions, the B2 → C2 merger in syllables with voiced obstruents (*quánzhúo shǎng biàn qù*) discussed in 2.12 represents a mutation in the donor language.

Table 2.11: LSV Layers Differentiated by *Quanzhuo shang bian qu*

字	MC Tone		MC onset	LSV-1		LSV-2	
永	B2	上	次濁	C2	vĩnh – viŋ˧˨ʔ˥	B2	vịnh - viŋ˧˩ʔ
誄	B2	上	次濁	C2	lỗi - loj˧˨ʔ˥	B2	lụy - lʷi˧˩ʔ

Since exceptions to the rule are very few, do not demonstrate robust doublet pairs, and do not seem to correspond to any specific conditions, they probably represent holdovers that survived the innovative wave rather than a distinct chronological layer of borrowing. In other words, the (*quanzhuo shang bian qu*) B2 → C2 merger in sonorant-initial syllables may have spread through contact with other prestigious varieties of Middle Chinese to the extirpation of native forms, leaving only a few random exceptions behind. In any case, it is clear that as a very late mutation, *quanzhuo shang bian qu* does not help us define ESV from LSV. That leaves two robust and reliable tonal indices for distinguishing ESV from LSV, both resulting from the late assimilation of some form of LMC with pVM phonology: 1) the assimilation of LMC B-rising tones as pVM C-departing tones and vice versa; and 2) the assimilation of LMC A2 low-rising tones in sonorant-initial syllables with pVM high-rising tone.

2.2   Rime Criteria

The rime of a syllable refers to the nuclear vowel and coda as well as any medial material preceding the vowel. For example, for the word *kʷaŋ*˥˥ (光; Viet. *quang*), the rime would consist

of the medial -ʷ-, nuclear vowel -a-, and coda –ŋ; i.e. -ʷaŋ. There are five rime mutations of relevance to SV evolution, and most have to do with the vowel. These are:

1. Backing of Front Vowels in Outer Division 2 (外轉二等)
2. Deletion of off-glides in *yú* and *yú* rime groups (魚攝 , 虞攝)
3. Palatalization of codas in the *gēng* rime group (更攝)
4. Centralization of high-front vowels in *qīn* and *zhēn* (侵，眞) rimes
5. Diphthongization of *dàng* and *tōng* rime groups （宕攝 , 通攝） and Centralization in the *shān* rime group (山攝)

Again, these represent mutations that define LSV, and their absence in a given SV form indicates that they are ESV (provided their departure from the expected LSV form is not due to pVM interference). As shown in Table above, I include only nos. 1-2 and 5 as reliable indices for distinguishing ESV from LSV. This is because I include no. 4 in a broader vowel shift that includes the diphthongization of no. 5 (discussed in depth next chapter), and because the palatalization of codas is a late pVM effect that post-dates the assimilation of LSV vocabulary. Let us now visit each of these in turn.

2.21   Merger of Outer Grade II (外轉二等) low/front vowels with Outer Grade I low/back vowels (外轉一等)

In rime studies terminology, the concept of "inner" (內轉) vs. "outer" (外轉) classifications are somewhat poorly understood, though the prevailing (but still vague) theory (forwarded by Luo Changpei 羅常培 in 1933) is that they originated as descriptors for vowel height (i.e. outer = low; inner = high) (Pulleyblank, 1984, pp. 71-72). Pulleyblank points out that this is consistent with a statement in a Song rime table that only rime groups with low vowels contain Grade II words with all onsets, but rime groups with non-low vowels only have words with retroflex sibilant initials, i.e. words that had previously carried a high-front -i- that was lost

due to assimilation to the retroflex onset (ibid.).[90] Wang Li (1948) observed that in *Hán-Việt*,

virtually all "outer" Grade II words have merged with Grade I vowel values, and exhibit low -a-

type vowels (Wang, 1948, p. 63). For example, Grade II rime *má* (麻) is pronounced with the

same rime value as *gē* (歌) in *Hán-Việt*: 麻 : HV *ma*; 歌 : HV *ca*.

Table 2.12: Merger of Outer Division II with Outer Division I Vowels[91]

#	II	Man.	Canto.	Hán Việt	I	Man.	Canto.	Hán Việt
1.	麻	ma˦˥	ma˨˩	ma – ma˥˥	歌	kɤ˥	kɔ˥	ca – ka˥˥
2.	肴	jau˦˥	ŋa:u˨˩	hào – haw˨˩	豪	xau˦˥	hou˨˩	hào – haw˨˩
3.	佳	tɕia˥	ka:i˥	giai – zaj˥˥	哈	xaj˥	hɔj˥	hải – haj˧˩˧
4.	皆	tɕie˥	ka:i˥	giai – zaj˥˥	泰	tʰai˨˩	tʰa:i˥	thái – tʰaj˥˥
5.	刪	ʂan˥	sa:n˥	san – san˥˥	寒	xan˦˥	hɔn˨˩	hàn – han˨˩
6.	山	ʂan˥	sa:n˥	san/sɤn –san˥˥/sʌn˥˥	桓	xwan˦˥	wun˨˩	hoàn – hɔan˨˩
7.	咸	ɕian˦˥	ha:m˨˩	hàm – ham˨˩	單	tan˥	ta:n˥	đơn – ɗʌn˥˥
8.	銜	ɕian˦˥	ha:m˨˩	hàm – ham˨˩	談	tʰan˦˥	tʰa:m˨˩	đàm – ɗam˨˩
9.	臻	tʂən˥	tʃən˥	trăn –tʂăn˥˥	痕	xən˦˥	han˨˩	ngân – ŋən˦˥
10.	江	tɕiaŋ˥	kɔŋ˥	giang – zaŋ˥˥	唐	tʰaŋ˦˥	tʰɔŋ˨˩	đường – ɗɯaŋ˨˩

Wang Li claims that the Grade II outer rimes *yáo* 肴, *jiā* 佳, *jiē* 皆, *shān* 刪, *shān* 山, *xián* 咸,

xián 銜, *zhēn* 臻, and *jiāng* 江 all surface with exactly the same vowel values as their Grade I

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[90] The *Sìshēng děngzǐ* 四聲等子. Pulleyblank is describing the following sound-change: V[+ high, + front] → V [-high, -front] / C [+ retro] _____ . It is because of this sound-change that the Division II and Division III *zhèngchǐ* 正齒 onsets (essentially merged palatal & retroflex sibilants) remain in complementary distribution in modern Mandarin, despite the initials having merged.
There are two basic facts that complicate the *Sìshēng děngzǐ* generalization that rime groups with low vowels can contain words in Grade II with any onset, but that rime groups with non-low vowels only contain words with retroflex sibilant initials: 1) the *zhēn* 臻 rime group is considered "outer," probably because it contains a separate Grade II rime (臻), but in fact, the rime group only exhibits retroflex onsets; and 2) the *guǒ* 果 and *dàng* 宕 rime groups both have low vowels without separate Grade II rimes. The former is self explanatory; as for the later, Pulleyblank claims that the *guǒ* rime group does not have any Grade II rimes at all, whereas the *dàng* rime group Grade II rimes all bear retroflex onsets, while those *dàng* rime group rimes that do not bear retroflex onsets fall in Grade II or IV. Luo Changpei concluded, on the basis of extant *Yunjing* manuscripts, that the *zhēn* rime group should be considered "outer," whereas the *dàng* and *guǒ* rime groups should be considered inner. See Pulleyblank (1984), p. 72.
[91] Correspondences taken from: Wang (1948), p. 63.

counterparts (Wang, 1948, p. 63).[92] I have added the Mandarin and Cantonese correspondences to Wang Li's data, as well as provided their HV values in order to better illustrate the point.

From an EMC standpoint, the basic difference between Grade I and Grade II was the lack of some kind of medial element in Grade I. The nature of the Grade II medial is under dispute, but by LMC it was characterized by a front vowel -æ- (though Wang Li claims that this fronted vowel was a feature of ESV—a point we will return to below).[93] In general, the expression of EMC medial elements by late Tang times is contested, but as you can see from 2.12 above, Mandarin does maintain a vocalic difference in nos. 1-3, and Cantonese maintains a difference in nos. 1-3, 5-6, and 9.[94]

As for HV, as Wang Li claims, the vowels for the Grade II rimes do appear by and large to have merged with those of the Grade I rimes (all expressing low vowels), though he seems to have ignored the centralization and diphthongization in the *shān* 山 (#6, II) and *táng* 唐 (#10, I) rimes respectively.[95] As will be discussed next chapter, this is because Wang Li's concept of HV cannot account for these unconservative vowel qualities, forcing him to prefer the highly-marked and hyper-elevated forms which maintain low-front -*a*- (e.g. HV super-elevated *san*˧˩ for 山, which sometimes surfaces in poetic names, versus unmarked and much more common HV *sʌn*˧˩). Wang Li does list the *táng* and *shān* rimes with their diphthongized and centralized

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[92] Wang Li excludes the few characters of the *má* 麻 rime that are in Grade III, as well as the *gēng* 耕 rime, since it does not have any Division I counterparts (Wang Li, 1948, p. 63).

[93] Pulleyblank reconstructs a secondary retroflex articulation for Grade II (aʳ) in his 1984 book, and a low-front-vowel dipthong (ai or əi) in his *Lexicon* (Pulleyblank, 1984, p. 195; Pulleyblank, 1991). Pan Wuyun and others have suggested a medial -ɣ- for MC Grade II. Both of these reconstructions reflect the argument that Grade II stems from Old Chinese medial -r- (cf. Baxter, 1992, p. 178, 258-269). The LMC realizations are also controversial. Baxter suggested that Grade II exhibited a fronted to –æ- (Baxter, 1992, p. 67). Pulleyblank suggested a length distinction with Grade II being long, but Grade I being short, while Baxter reconstructs a fronted -æ- for LMC Grade II outer rimes, strikingly similar ESV forms (Pulleyblannk, 1984, p. 80; Baxter, 1992, p. 67).

[94] As noted previously, Pulleyblank (1984) argued that the difference in Grades II and I for outer rimes could be explained by a length contrast: long *aa* in Grade II, versus short *a* in Grade I (Pulleyblank, 1984, p. 80). This is borne out by the Cantonese data in 2.12, given Pulleyblank's proviso that short Grade I *a* was lengthened to *aa* after [+ front] initials, except when followed by a medial -ă- or -w- (Pulleyblank, 1984, p. 81). In his 1991 *Lexicon*, Pulleyblank adjusted these claims by reconstructing a Late Middle Chinese diphthong (ai or əi) for Grade II, which is contested by Baxter, who reconstructed a front vowel -æ- (Baxter, 1992, p. 67; see previous note).

[95] The clear exception to the expression of these rimes as bearing low -*a*- vowels is #9, *zhēn* (臻) rime, where we see some kind of central vowel in *Hán-Việt*. As noted earlier, Luo Changpei argued that the *zhēn* rime actually belongs in the "inner" group—something that the *Hán-Việt* correspondence here may corroborate.

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vowels as "exceptions" (例外) in his main section on HV vowels (Wang, 1948, pp. 39, 46).[96] These centralized vowels will be discussed at length below and in Chapter 4. At this point it is enough to note them as changes that affected the donor of LSV, which means that the merger of Outer Grade II with Outer Grade I is still a valid index for LSV, and the maintenance of distinct Outer Grade II vowels does in fact reveal an ESV loan.

Outer Grade II words with -æ- vowels must have been borrowed before the low/back -*a*-forms shown in 2.12, because there is no analogous fronting of Grade I vowels (i.e. the merger must have been later) (Wang, 1948, p. 65). In other words, ESV maintains an -ɛ/æ- vowel in Outer Grade II forms because they were borrowed before this series merged with Outer Grade I low/back -*a*-. Wang Li believes front vowels to be a straightforward retention of an older Outer Grade II form. Baxter (1992), who agrees with the prevalent notion of an OC medial -r- source for Grade II, notes that Grade II as a separate riming category seems to arise with the Liang 梁 Dynasty (502-507), through what he calls "*r- coloring" and "*r- loss" (Baxter W. H., 1992, p. 258). Essentially, Baxter argues that OC medial *-r- fronted the vowels they preceded, and then were subsequently lost, generating a new vocalic rhyme in the process. This explains the front vowel -æ- expression of Grade II vowels by LMC.[97]

This fronting process thus distinguishes a form of EMC from OC, and we can attribute words with front vowels in Outer Grade II syllables to Jin ESV rather than Han ESV. Examples of Han ESV that are distinguishable from LSV are rare, which may be due to the fact that LSV forms lowered mid-front –æ- to -a- (i.e. there is no -a-/-ɑ- distinction in modern Vietnamese). One possible example (discussed below) is *cáp* ("hem") from 夾 (MC keap, OC *C.kˤ<r>ep, "to press between;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giáp"), which demonstrates a standard Jin ESV form with fronted vowel: *kép*. The Han ESV form is distinguishable because it both retains a non-fronted vowel as

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[96] As discussed below, these are manifestly not exceptions.

[97] Note however, that we must also posit an additional lowering/backing of the vowel after this intermediate period to get to the LSV value of /-a-/. Most likely, the fronting process was more salient in Jiao EMC, and was "corrected" by exposure to prestige varieties during the Tang.

well as a hard velar k- initial, which is lenited to *gi-* in LSV (see Section 2.3 below). As with Han ESV in general, cases of this nature are quite rare.

Thus, in broad terms, we have ESV/LSV doublets of the following nature:

Table 2.13: ESV/LSV Front Vowel Doubleting

字	Category	ESV	LSV
茶	Outer II	chè – cæ˧˩	trà – ʈʂa˧˩

"Tea" (茶) is an Outer Grade II vowel, which in LSV shows a low/back -*a*- vowel identical to the realization of Outer Grade I vowels; however, the ESV form shows a fronted and unmerged /æ/. This actually reflects a pVM change, in which non-front onsets were palatalized before front vowels (i.e. pVM: C [- front] → C [+ front] / ___ æ).[98]

In summary, unexpected front -æ- vowels in Outer Grade II rimes denote an ESV loan. In cases where the MC etymon bears a retroflex onset, these were categorically palatalized in pVM due to influence from the (retained) front vowels. In other words, ESV loans with Outer Grade II vowels were borrowed with front vowels; subsequently, all retroflex onsets—including those in ESV loans—were palatalized before front vowels in pVM (whether the front vowels were borrowed or not). Thus, LSV words in Outer Grade II rimes do not palatalize because the donor of LSV had merged its front vowels with low/back Outer Grade I vowels (i.e. –æ- > -ɑ- /Outer Grade II), thus bleeding the condition for onset palatalization in pVM.

Let us now examine each of Wang Li's candidates for ESV based on Outer Grade II rimes in turn. In each of the individual cases I visit here and throughout the chapter, I will provide MC and OC transcriptions drawn from the Baxter-Sagart (2011) when available, as well

[98] Modern Vietnamese does attest a few non-front initials before -æ- (cf. *trẻ* "young," *sẽ* "will, shall," *sen* "lotus") but these are quite restricted and far outnumbered by [+ front] consonants before -æ- (cf. *xem* "look at," *xẻ* "to saw, split," *xé* "to tear," *xen* "to insert," *chèm* "smear," *che* "to hide, cover," *chè* "sweet pudding," *cá chép* "carp," *chen* "to jostle," etc.). Thus, the palatal onset in ESV (chè – cæ˧˩; 茶) straightforwardly results from a late pVM change which swept the entire lexicon (including ESV loanwords). This is a good example of how awareness of pVM history can easily resolve a potentially confusing case of "pVM nativization," as Wang Li would have put it.

as the standard HV form for comparison. Individual lexical cases will be numbered consecutively for the rest of this chapter (though because I will reject many of these cases as valid ESV, numbers for data in summary tables at the end of each section will not correspond).

<u>Words with *Má* (麻) Rime</u>

(1) Viet. *chè* ("tea") from 茶 ("tea;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trà")

(Accepted.) The initial should be a retroflex *tr-*, since this word bears a retroflex 澄-initial (*ɖ-*) in MC. However, this is an example of secondary palatalization just described. The tone is predictably low-level, and the semantic match is excellent. There have recently been arguments for a Southeast Asian (and non-Sinitic) origin for tea, and subsequently for the word as well. However, this form is consistent with all expectations of an ESV loan, and thus we may treat it as such (whether it was loaned or re-loaned). For more on the possible Southeast Asian origins of tea, see Mair & Hoh (2009).

(2) Viet. *xe* ("vehicle, car") from 車 (MC tsyhae, OC *t.qʰa, "chariot;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "xa")

(Accepted.) Wang Li notes that 車 is actually a Grade III rime, and not Grade II. As noted earlier, Grade III rimes are reconstructed with a palatal -j-. Wang Li suggests that *xe* may have originally had *-ie-* (though since this rime-type is unattested in modern Vietnamese, it is impossible to tell whether this is the case or not).

(3) Viet. *che* ("hide, shield") from 遮 (MC tsyae, OC *ta, "hide, shield;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "già")[99]

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[99] Wang Li provides *Hán-Việt* "cha," which would be a much better fit. I am, however, unable to find attestation for this form.

(Accepted.) In fact, it is the *Hán-Việt* form that is problematic here. The softened initial *gi-* is the normal reflex for Grade II *velar* onsets (as discussed below and in Chapter 4), but as a Grade III 章- initial syllable, 遮 is usually reconstructed with a voiceless palatal *tç- sibilant onset. The normal reflex for Grade III 章- initials in *Hán-Việt* is palatal *c-* (<ch->; cf. 章, HV *chương – cuəŋ*11). The onset is also a voiceless obstruent (全清), and so should condition Vietnamese *ngang* (A1) tone rather than the low *huyền* (A2) tone that surfaces in the HV form. The exceptionality of HV *già* notwithstanding, *che* is perfectly predictable as an ESV correspondence.

(4) Viet. *hè* ("summer") from 夏 (MC haeH, OC *gˤraʔ, "summer;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hạ")

(Accepted.) Regarding the unexpected low-level (陽平) tone in *hè*, Wang Li states that "low departing tone was often confused with low entering tone, and the exceptionality is not sufficient [to contradict the correspondence]," but offers no explanation for this confusion (Wang, 1948, p. 63).[100] There do seem to be other examples of a low level/low departing tone confusion, as in *vì/vị* (為), *thình/thịnh* (盛), *sừ/sự* (鋤), *điều/điệu* (調), *phò/phụ* (駙), *dường/dượng* (養, also *dưỡng*), *đoàn/đoạn* (段) and *bồ/bộ* (酺), all of which show similar, possibly *sisheng bieyi* (四聲別意) variation in the Chinese languages. This is not inconsistent with Sagart's portrait of Tang-era tones discussed above—that is, a "shortish, laryngealized" tone (for departing tone) could very well have been confused with a breathy low-level tone, resulting in these kinds of doublets. Indeed, Yan Zhitui wrote in the 6th century that among southerners (i.e. Yangzi valley and below), the departing tone was often confused with the level tone, and it is telling that ESV and LSV appear to do just that.[101]

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[100] "...陽去多混入陽平，不足怪" (Wang Li, 1948, p. 63).
[101] In Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation*; discussed next chapter.

(5) Viet. *khoe* ("boast") from 誇 (MC khwae, OC *kʷʰˤra, "boast;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "khoa")

(Accepted.) This is a perfect minimal pair, demonstrating the -a- : -æ- contrast.

(6) Viet. *ngói* ("tile") from 瓦 (MC ngwaeX, OC *C.ŋʷˤrajʔ, "tile;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "ngõa")

(Accepted, tentative.) The tonal correspondence nicely demonstrates the expected rising B-type *sắc* tone, as opposed to the reversed C-type departing *ngã* tone that surfaces in the HV form. However, the vowel correspondence is problematic. First of all, as Wang Li indirectly notes, the rime for "tile" 瓦 is *mǎ* (馬), not *má* (麻). While I am unaware of any evidence that points toward Grade II *mǎ* (馬) rimes as expressing a final -*j* in Sino-Vietnamese, there are a number of examples of similar Grade I and III rimes in the *guǒ* (果) and *zhǐ* (止) rime groups respectively, which show rimes with a final -*j*. Baxter (1992) gives the following examples: 舵 : lái, 磨 : mài, 個 : cái, and 蛾 : ngài ((Baxter W. H., 1992, p. 294). Jerry Norman also mentions the similarity of −j in cases like 蛾 : ngài (that is, cases of the *gē* 歌 rime group) to Min forms in his discussion of a possible pan-Southern Chinese subgroup (Norman, Chinese, 1988, p. 212). Baxter forwards a mutation of OC-EMC which he calls "*-aj monophthongization," which represents the last stage in the following sequence of changes: *-ar → *-aj → *a (Baxter W. H., 1992, pp. 293-294). As noted in the introduction to this chapter, these cases probably exemplify the Han layer of ESV, which resulted from Ma Yuan's conquest and reforms. Such cases represent islands which survived the "updating" of Jiao phonological forms after exposure to the Yongjia immigrants of the early 4ᵗʰ century, updated forms which eventually trickled down into pVM.

However, this model requires 瓦 to be grouped in with the 歌 rime group, or perhaps the 過 rime group (cf. 座: dzwaX < *dzwajʔ < *dzojʔ, according to Baxter, 1992, p. 293). It is possible that Viet. *ngói* represents an exceptional case whereby the rime (normally 馬) was confused with a phonetically similar (歌, 果 or 過) rime group rime, in which case this would represent a Han ESV loan. Thus while I tentatively accept the cognate relationship, I do so only

on the basis of final -j rimes in the other rime groups (e.g. 歌 and 果, in SV) rime words, which has nothing to do with front vowels in Grade II words. Wang Li grouped this example in with the others because he was trying to prove that the ESV vowel in outer Grade II words was not -a-, instead of distinguishing an EMC phase in which the vowel was a fronted to -æ- (as I do, following Baxter; see above).

<div align="center">Words with Yáo (肴) Rime</div>

(7) Viet. *keo* ("glue") from 膠 (MC kaew, OC *kˤriw, "glue;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giao")

(Accepted.) Barring the initial, this appears to be a perfect minimal pair with an excellent semantic match. The initial can be explained via a late process of "velar softening" which I will discuss in the section on onsets below.

(8) Viet. *khéo* ("skilled") from 巧 (MC khaewX, OC *kʰˤruʔ, "artful, skillful;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "xảo")

(Accepted.) The tonal correspondence is consistently high-rising, and the semantic match is excellent. The initial is again, an expected hard *k-* as per velar softening (see discussion of onsets below).

(9) Viet. *chèo* ("to row a boat") from 棹 ("oar;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trạo")

(Accepted, tentative.) While the tone is an unexpected low-level (rather than the expected low-departing tone), this is a good candidate for *sìshēng bìeyì* variation. There is a level/departing tone variation maintained in Cantonese and Mandarin, but this involves an entering tone form that would not apply here. Still, the possibility of a verb nominalization or noun verbalization is compelling here—though one would have to explain why the *noun* form is

level tone in Vietnamese, while the Chinese noun-form bears departing tone (since we would expect the active verb to be non-level). The initial, as in (1) above, results from assimilation to the front-element of the vowel.

(10) Viet. *mèo* ("cat") from 貓 (MC maew, OC *C.mˤraw; "cat;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "miêu")

(Accepted, tentative). The onomatopoetic nature of the etymon makes it highly dubious. However, the tone is characteristically low in Viet. *mèo*, versus the distinctively LSV high-level tone in HV "miêu" (see discussion of tone above).

(11) Viet. *mẹo* (4th terrestrial branch) from 卯 (MC maewX, OC) *mˤruʔ, "4th terrestrial branch; cf. *Hán-Việt* "mão")

(Accepted.)   Although rare, the form *mẹo* is sometimes used for the sexagenery calendrical term "卯" (cf. (Hoàng, 2002, p. 627). Aside from the rather definitive semantic match, the tone also demonstrates an expected rising tone for pre-tonogenetic loans.

(12) Viet. *beo* ("panther") from 豹 ("leopard, panther;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "báo")

(Unknown.) The tone is inexplicably high-level, rather than the expected high-departing tone. While it is always possible to invoke *sìshēng bièyì*, I do not believe there is morphological justification for relying on it here. Furthermore, the word is attested in the Tho varieties of Lang Lo and Cuoi Cham as "pɛːw[1]."

(13) Viet. *vẽ* ("paint, draw") from 畫 (MC hweaH, OC *C-gʷˤrek-s, "drawing;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "họa")

(Accepted.)   Wang Li argues that the initial *hw-* was lenited to *w-* in common usage, which then underwent the normal spirantization process to *v-* by late Middle Vietnamese (Wang, 漢語越語研究 Hanyueyu yanjiu (Research on Sino-Vietnamese), 1948, p. 64).   At least the latter stages are borne out by Alexandre de Rhodes' 1651 dictionary, which not only records modern Viet. *vẽ* as "uẽ," but also *vật* as "uật" and *về* as "uề" (De Rhodes, 1991, pp. 861-864). As for the *hw-* to *w-* process, a parallel case can be seen in Viet. *vàng* ("yellow, golden") from 黄 ("yellow"), which appears as "uàng" in De Rhodes (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 859).   This confirms a *hw-* origin for the initial for *vàng* (rather than a **p-*, in which case De Rhodes would have given it a "hooked *b*" initial, i.e. bilabial spirant *β*), and strongly supports Wang Li's claims for *vẽ*. However, minimal pairs do exist: cf. ESV *hoè* ("locust tree") from 槐 (MC hweaj).   The labializing medial is present, but we do not get h- deletion and subsequent spirantizaiton.   The deletion of the laryngeal onset seems to feed the condition for spirantization, and so there must be some condition which prevents such a deletion (or lenition, as per Wang Li) in cases like *hoè*.

At any rate, the tone in (13) is predictably high-departing, which suggests a pre-tonogenetic borrowing and confirms an ESV loan.

(14) Viet. *quẻ* ("to divine") from 卦 (MC kweaH, OC *kʷˤre-s, "divinatory trigram;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "quái")

(Accepted.)   Again, it is the *Hán-Việt* "quái" that is actually more problematic.   The HV rime bears an unexpected final –j, which is not typical of Grade II rimes (see #6 above). However, the colloquial form *quẻ* demonstrates the expected front vowel alternative to -a- (which is what we would have expected of in the *Hán-Việt*), as well as bearing the expected

high-departing *hỏi* tone, and a very compelling semantic match. If not for the B-type tone in the HV, one might be tempted to argue that both cases were ESV (i.e. Han ESV with *-j and Jin ESV).

(15) Viet. *hòe* ("locust tree; *sophora japonica*") from 槐 (MC hweaj, OC *gˤ<r>u, "locust tree; *sophora japonica*;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hòe")

(Accepted.) Wang Li notes that there is no other form for this word in Vietnamese (i.e. the expected HV *hoài* never appears). Cases like these solidify the existence of an -æ- : -a- cognate correspondence.

Words with *shān* (刪) and *shān* (山) rimes

(16) Viet. *kén* ("select") from 揀 (MC keanX, OC *kˤranʔ, "select;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giản"

(Accepted.) The tone demonstrates expected high-rising *sắc*, and the initial (as discussed below) reflects the expected pre-softened hard *k-*.

(17) Viet. *hẹn* ("limit, constraint") from 限 (MC heanX, OC *gˤrənʔ , "obstacle, limit;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hạn"

(Unclear.) The use of *hẹn* in this sense is severely limited, but as Wang Li points out, it is virtually identical to the use and distribution of HV "hạn." The tone is predictably low-rising B2 *nặng*; however, rather puzzlingly, it is also *nặng* in the HV form (as opposed to the expected *ngã*). I suspect that there is some other variant effect at work here (e.g. it could reflect regional southern vs. northern pronunciations, since Southern Vietnamese raises low -a- vowels regularly). While I believe these are probably related forms of a Sinitic loanword from (限), I am at this point unsure about the loan age for either.

(18) Viet. *chén* ("bowl; wine bowl") from 盞 ("small cup;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trản")

(Accepted.) The tone is predictably high-rising *sắc*, and the semantic match is plausible. The palatal initial, as in (1) and (8) above, is explained as the result of assimilation to the front vowel in Viet-Muong.

(19) Viet. *quen* ("be familiar with") from 慣 (MC kwaenH, OC *kˤron-s , "habit, custom;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "quán")

(Accepted, tentative.) As in (12) above, the tone is inexplicably level here, though the semantic and segmental matches are excellent. As discussed last section, there are a number of alternations of this type attested even within HV. The only way to account for these is to conjecture that they were borrowed after the loss of their pre-tonogenetic material, but before a stage in Viet-Muong tonogenetics where their tones would have been phonologically recognizable. This is somewhat consistent with the early/middle time-depth hypothesized for Jin ESV words in general, though this would push the time of borrowing to the late side of ESV.

(20) Viet. *xét* ("observation, mark") from 察 (MC tsrheat, OC *tsʰˤret, "examine;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "sát")

(Accepted.) The tone is predictably high-rising *sắc* (the normal correspondence for high-series entering tone), and the semantic match is good. The onset is a front fricative rather than the expected retroflex *s-*, but this is consistent with the fronting effects we have seen in (1), (8), and (18) above.

(21) Viet. *chém* ("chop") from 斬 (MC tsreamX, OC *tsramʔ, "cut off;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trảm")

(Accepted.) The tone is predictably high-rising *sắc*, and the initial fits the profile of a fronted retroflex, as in (1), (8), (18) and (20) above.

<u>Words with *xián* 咸 and 銜 rimes, or entering-tone *qià* 洽 and *xiá* 狎 rimes</u>

(22) Viet. *kép* ("hem") from 夾 (MC keap, OC *C.kˤ<r>ep, "to press between;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giáp")

(Accepted.) As noted by Wang Li, "夾" surfaces as "夾衣" with the meaning of "hem, hemline." This semantic match is complemented by the expected pre-softened *k-* initial, and a predictable high-rising B1 *sắc* tone (the natural reflex for high-series entering tone). Wang Li also notes that "today, Ancient Sino-Vietnamese "夾" is currently *cap*[5]" (Wang Li, 1948, pp. 65).[102] Viet. *cáp* carries the correct semantic value of "hem," and alternates freely with *kép*. The fact that *cáp* does not demonstrate Jin ESV -æ-, but also fails to demonstrate LSV lenited velar onset *gi-* suggests that this is actually a Han ESV form, which retains non-fronted -a- as well as hard velar k-.

(23) Viet. *hẹp* ("straight, narrow") from 狹 (MC heap, OC *N-kˤ<r>ep, "narrow;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hiệp")

(Accepted.) Note that in the *Hán-Việt,* the apparent -a- > -iə- change occurs here but not in (22) above. This is most likely due to the influence of the softened velar-initial *gi-*, which prevented the diphthongization of -a- > -iə- through a form of dissimilation. Pairs like this help us to date the -a- > -iə- shift quite late (see Chapter 4). As for the form *hẹp*, it demonstrates the predictable low-rising *nặng* tone, which is the regular correspondence for low-series entering

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[102] "今古漢越語'夾'當作 cap[5]."

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tone, and the semantic match is good. Indeed, as Wang Li points out, the usage of *đường hẹp*
("narrow way, narrow road") is exactly analogous to "狹路."

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Cross-examination of the -æ- : -a- correspondence with the tonal criteria discussed above
(and some segmental criteria as well) confirms virtually all of Wang Li's candidates. Here is a
summary of these Early Sino-Vietnamese loans:

Table 2.14: ESV Outer Grade II Loans with -æ- & their LSV
Counterparts

#	子	Early SV	Late SV	Gloss
1.	茶	chè	trà	tea
2.	車	xe	xa	vehicle, cart, chariot
3.	遮	che	già	hide, shield
4.	夏	hè	hạ	summer
5.	誇	khoe	khoa	boast
6.	瓦	ngói	ngõa	tile
7.	膠	keo	giao	glue
8.	巧	khéo	xảo	skilled
9.	棹	chèo	trạo	to row a boat : oar
10.	貓	mèo	miêu	cat
11.	卯	mẹo	mão	4th terrestrial branch
12.	豹	beo	báo	panther, leopard
13.	畫	vẽ	họa	draw, paint
14.	卦	quẻ	quái	to divine : divinatory trigram
15.	槐	hòe	(hòe)	locust tree/sophora japonica
16.	揀	kén	giản	select
17.	限	hẹn	hạn	limit, constraint : obstacle
18.	盞	chén	trản	wine bowl : small cup
19.	慣	quen	quán	be familiar with : habit, custom
20.	察	xét	sát	observe, mark : examine
21.	斬	chém	trảm	chop : cut off
22.	夾	kép, cáp	giáp	hem : to press between
23.	狹	hẹp	hiệp	straight, narrow

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Shaded rows represent tentative judgments, and glosses with (:) signify a colloquial/Vietnamese sense on the left, and the literary/Sino(-Vietnamese) sense on the right. As expected, the vast majority of these words are of technological or social significance, with only a few verbs, and two nouns ("cat" and "panther") that could be considered basic in nature. Unfortunately the bases for Wang Li's lexical compilations are unclear, which mitigates the otherwise compelling lexical profile suggested here. Notably, there are a few verbs in the mix, but these seem to correspond to activities plausibly introduced to pVM speakers by Sinitic speakers (e.g. *vẽ*, "draw/paint"; *xét* "observe"—in a technical sense; *chém* "chop"—with possible punititive connotations).

2.22   Deletion of off-glide (-ə) in some *yú* rime group (遇攝) words

Both Wang Li (1948) and Mineya (1972) observed that the regular HV correspondences for the *yú* rime group (遇攝) *yú* 魚 and *yú* 虞 rimes were unrounded -ɯ- <-u->, and rounded -u- <-u-> respectively (Wang, 1948, pp. 34, 66; Mineya, 1972, pp. 132-133). Wang Li suggests that a conspicuous series of SV forms bearing schwa off-glides represent ancient borrowings. Mineya noted some of these as exceptions (例外) to the HV rule, and also suggested that they were reflections or vestiges of "old pronunciations" ("古い音の反映;" "古い音の殘存") (Mineya, 1972, p. 133).

Table 2.15: Off-gliding in ESV

字	ESV	LSV
主	chúa – cuə˧˩	chủ – cu˧˩˧
許	húa – huə˧˩	hử – hɯ˧˩˧

As Wang Li & Mineya noted, LSV (or HV) forms do not demonstrate the off-glide. The off-glided forms furthermore demonstrate expected ESV tones (i.e. ESV B1 for MC B1), while the

monophthongs demonstrate expected LSV tones (i.e. LSV C1 for MC B1), and so we can confidently label the off-glided forms as ESV (as in the example above).

Wang Li stresses that the main vowel in these rimes is the high/back vowel (*-u-* or *-u-*) and not the central off-glide (Wang, 1948, p. 66). They thus contrasted with a similar diphthong in *gē* rime group (戈攝), whose HV correspondences regularly demonstrate a labial medial dipthong -ʷ*a*-; cf. 過, HV *quá* (kʷa˧˩) (Wang, 1948, p. 66). In the *gē* rime group, the main vowel is a low/back -a-, not a high-back -u-. The fact that the main vowel of the *yú* 魚 and *yú* 虞 rimes is high and not low is clear from comparison with other Sinitic varieties; cf. 魚: HV ŋɯ˧˩, Beijing y˧˥, Guangzhou jy˧˥, Nanchang ŋiɛ˥˩, Wenzhou ŋøy˧˥, Meixian ŋi˩, and Fuzhou ŋy˥˦). Thus the schwa material in cases like ESV *chúa* – cuə˧˩ (主) are properly off-glides reconstructable to pre-EMC Sinitic, and not lenited main vowels, while the *-u-* material is a main vowel and not a strengthened medial label.

Nevertheless, the high/back vowel of these rimes found in SV has not been reconstructed for OC. Baxter reconstructed a low/back vowel *-*a* as the origin for the *yú* rime group (遇攝) to which these belong, which became MC *-*jo* in Grade III syllables with unrounded onsets, as in 魚 (HV ŋɯ˧˩) and MC *-*ju* in Grade III syllables with acute onsets like 虞 (Baxter W. H., 1992, pp. 479-481).[103] As shown by the HV correspondences, this difference in rounding is preserved in straightforward fashion.

Depending on the applicability of Baxter's reconstruction to the forms of Sinitic from which ESV was drawn, this suggests the following raising process when combined with Wang Li's reconstructed off-glide: *-ɑə > *-ɯə or *-uə/-ʷə.[104] Alternatively, perhaps more likely, the off-glide may represent a breaking of the vowel as a result of raising (i.e. *-ɑ > *-ɯə or *-uə/-ʷə). As in the case of front vowels in Outer Grade II rimes, the raising of low/back *-ɑ reflects

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[103] Note that Baxter refers to the rime group as the *yú* 魚 rime group rather than the *yù* 遇 rime group (which is the Song-era *Yunjing* designation for the rime group).

[104] Because this is reflected in many other Sinitic varieties, this fronting must be dated early, and as Baxter suggests, probably to the formation of EMC. There is a separate raising process which is peculiar to the donor of LSV, and which occurred very late. I will discuss this process at length in Chapter 4.

an EMC innovation characteristic of Jin ESV, as opposed to the OC forms shown in Han ESV. Let us examine each of the candidates mentioned or discussed by Wang Li (1948) and Mineya (1972).

<u>Words with *yú* 魚 rime</u>

(24) Viet. *ngựa* ("horse") from 御 (MC ngjoH, OC *ŋa-s, "ride, drive;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "ngự")

(Rejected, tentative.) Wang Li argues for a cognate relationship based on metonymy, i.e. "to ride [a horse]" > "horse" (Wang, 1948, p. 66). While such a cline is possible (if not preferable), the tonal correspondence is wrong. We would expect a low departing C2 *ngã* tone in a genuine ancient form ("*ngữa*") rather than the low-rising B2 tone that we see in *ngựa.*

(25) Viet. *hứa* ("swear, vow") from 許 (MC xjoX, OC *qʰaʔ, "allow;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hử")
(Accepted.) As Wang Li points out, the Vietnamese use matches the semantics of "許言" ("vow, pledge"). The tone is also consistently high-rising B1 *sắc.*

(26) Viet. *lừa* ("donkey") from 驢 ("donkey;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "lư")
(Accepted.) As Wang Li points out, the tone is low-level A2, rather than the customary high-level A1 reflex for Chinese sonorant-initial level syllables 次濁平聲 (Wang, 1948, p. 66). As discussed above, this characeristic of ESV, and is one of our primary tonal indices for defining ESV from LSV.

(27) Viet. *tựa* ("preface") from 序 (MC zjoX, OC *sə.laʔ, "sequence, preface;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "tự").

(Accepted.) As Wang Li points out, even in elevated usage, Viet. *tựa* commonly stands in for *tự* (Wang, 1948, p. 66). The HV tone is in fact irregular—we would expect high-departing C1 *hỏi* tone for Chinese high-rising B1 tone. It is possible that the HV tone assimilated to the colloquial form, or that some kind of analogical change is at work here. Either way, the form *tựa* is perfectly well-formed given our criteria for ESV thus far.

(27) Viet. *chứa* ("keep, contain") from 貯 ("stockpile;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trữ")

(Accepted.) Last section we discussed the pVM palatalization of onsets before front vowels. Here we see a parallel case where a retroflex initial stop (i.e. 知- initial) surfaces as a palatal (if the cognacy is valid). Grade III did not demonstrate a front-vowel like Grade II, but is thought to have demonstrated some kind of weak palatal element: for Karglren, it was a "consonantal" -j- and Baxter also transcribes a -j-like quality; for Arisaka it was a centralized -ɨ-, which Pulleyblank also uses at least in his EMC transcriptions. While the particulars are contended, it is well-accepted to be a palatal element, and is a likely candidate for the fronting of a retroflex initial in this case. Besides the onset, the tone is predictably high-rising, and the semantic match is good (indeed, *nhà chứa* is equivalent to *kho*, "storehouse").

(28) Viet. *xưa* ("ancient, previously") from 初 (MC tsrhjo, OC *tsʰra, "beginning;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "sơ")

(Accepted.) It is a little mysterious why the HV vowel is wedge -ʌ- (orth. "-ơ-") rather than -ɯ- (orth. "-ư-"), as in 魚, and Mineya lists a few centralized examples as "exceptions" in his discussion of this rime (Mineya, 1972, p. 132). We will take up vowel centralization separately next chapter. The onset is a retroflex sibilant (初-), but surfaces as a palatal sibilant,

consistent with the fronting of retroflex obstruents that we saw in (5) as well as in a number of examples last section.[105]

(29) Viet. *thưa* ("sparse") from 疏 (MC srjo, OC *sra, "wide apart; scanty;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "so")

(Accepted.) Wang Li offers no explanation for the onset variance here, but in fact, one is readily available.   MC non-retroflex fricatives (*s-, ç-, *z-) all plosivized to *t*- or *tʰ*- in Vietnamese, while aspirated sibilants and retroflex fricatives (*ʂ-, *tʂʰ-, and tçʰ-) merged into Viet. retroflex fricative *s-.   This happened as part of a broader plosivization of Viet-Muong fricatives, which occurred very late, and only in Proto-Vietnamese (it is ongoing in Mường). Thus the form *so* maintains a retroflex fricative onset, following the conventional course from MC *s- to SV *s-*.   However, the onset of the form *thưa*, as in (5) and (6) above, must have palatalized under influence from the Grade III medial, which produced some kind of palatal sibilant, subsequently plosivizing in Middle Vietnamese.   We can thus reconstruct *sr- > *ç- > *tʰ*- for the initial here.

(30) Viet. *thửa* ("plot; have something made") from 所 (MC srjoX, OC *s-qʰraʔ, "place, that which;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "sở").

(Rejected.) Though Wang Li does not say so explicitly, it is clear that he must be relying on a semantic connection between "plot" (as in "plot of land") and "place" here, which is rather tenuous. Wang Li claims that 所, along with 疏, and 初 are all Grade II words (二等), which is how he explains their -*o*- (-ʌ-) vowels. Wang Li therefore suggests that examples of -*ưa*- (-ɯə-) vowels in both Grade II and III etyma show that their rimes were in fact the same in ancient

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[105] The 初- onset is one of the two sub-classes of the 穿- initial of the 正齒 class, which correspond to a palatal vs. retroflex distinction that was lost by the rime tables. Chen Li 陳澧 (1842) showed that certain *Qieyun* initials must be divided, based on his principle of *xìliánfǎ* (系聯法), which states that words with the same *fanqie* initials (反切上字) bore the same initial, and so the essential set of contrasts can be derived by comparing the *fanqie* initials of all *fanqie* initial transcriptions.

times, and that only their initials were different (Wang, 1948, p. 66). I am not sure on what basis Wang Li analyzied these as Grade II rimes; they are generally classified as Grade III. At any rate, the tone is not a good match, expressing a high-departing C1 *hỏi* tone instead of the expected high-rising B1 *sắc* tone.

(31) Viet. *ngửa* ("facing upward") from 仰 (MC ngjangX, OC *ŋaŋʔ, "lift face, look up; cf. *Hán-Việt* "ngưỡng")

(Rejected.) The tone is C1 high-departing, rather than the expected B2 low-rising tone. Furthermore, the rime is missing its coda—something characteristic of the Wu dialects, and carried over into certain Japanese forms (cf. 仰 : *Kan'on* "*gyū*"), but not characteristic of the vast majority of Sino-Vietnamese. Wang Li argues that this could be explained via a shift from *yú* (魚) rime to *yáng* (陽) rime. Wang Li only musters two examples of this supposed shift (the second, involving "王," will be discussed below). A Wu strain is not impossible, though it is far-fetched, and so pending further discoveries, I do not accept cognacy here.

<u>Words with *yú* 虞 rime</u>

(32) Viet. *khua* ("to beat, strike") from 驅 (MC khju, OC *kʰo, "drive a horse;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "khu")

(Accepted, tentative.) Wang Li was very tentative about the cognacy here, probably because of the tenuous semantic match, and I agree. While there is no explicit phonological counter-evidence here (the initial is consistent, and the level tone is uninformative), the lack of a strong semantic match means that only a tentative argument can be made here.

(33) Viet. *chúa* ("lord") from 主 (MC tsyuX, OC *toʔ, "master, host;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "chủ")

(Accepted.) The tone is predictably B1 high-rising. As Wang Li points out, conventional HV alternates between *chủ* and *chúa*, which may be simply because this is a high-frequency word. Cases like *chúa* replacing conventional HV suggest that certain vocabulary items remained transparently "Chinese" throughout the course of pVM history. This argument is compelling for items like "lord, master" where the socio-cultural context of the term supports the maintenance of its foreignness.

(34) Viet. *bùa* ("amulet, charm") from 符 ("talisman, tally;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phù")

(Accepted.) The semantic match is good, and the tone is consistently low-falling. The onset is actually compelling evidence in favor of the cognacy, and will be discussed below (see section on labiodentalization of onsets).

(35) Viet. *búa* ("axe") from 斧 (MC pjuX, OC *paʔ, "hatchet, axe;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phủ")

(Accepted.) The tone is predictably high-rising, as opposed to the high-departing reflex of the HV form, and the semantic match is excellent. As in (12) above, the initial also supports an Early judgment here (see onsets below).

 (36) Viet. *múa* ("brandish") from 舞 (MC myuX, OC *kə.ma, "dance;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "vũ")

(Rejected, tentative.) The tone is B1 high-rising rather than B2 low-rising (remember that in sonorant initial syllables with oblique tones, the high-low series should be faithfully represented), and the semantic match, while plausible, is only circumstantial. The initial is a good match for an expected ESV loan (see section on onsets below), but given the tonal and semantic evidence, I prefer a conservative rejection of the cognacy here.

(38) Viet. *đũa* ("chopsticks") from 箸 ("chopsticks;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trợ, trứ")

(Accepted.) This character is given a number of *fanqie* in the *Guangyun*: 陟陟切, 張略切 and 長略切 (Chen, 2001, p. 362). Following Chen Li's (陳澧 1810-1882) principle of *xìliánfǎ* (系練法), the initials (i.e. the *fǎnqiè shàngzì* 反切上字) boil down to two different groups, which were later given the rime studies classifications of 知- initial and 澄- initial. The 知- initial was a plain voiceless retroflex (*ʈ-) initial in Middle Chinese and the 澄- initial was a plain voiced retroflex initial (*ɖ-). This explains why there are two HV forms, and also shows that the form *đũa* follows the variant that was transcribed in the *Guangyun* with a voiced onset as 長略切, ultimately yielding the low-series *ngã* tone attested there. This does not, however, explain why the initial is a dental onset rather than a retroflex, something which I will address in the section on onsets below.

(39) Viet. *vua* ("king") from 王 (MC hjwang, OC *ɢʷaŋ, "king;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "vương")

(Rejected.) As in the case of (仰) discussed above, Wang Li argues that the surprising lack of final e can be explained via a confusion of *yú* (魚) rime to *yang* (陽) rime. As before, I reject cognacy here based on lack of systematic evidence for this kind of a confusion. A better candidate for *vua*, proposed by some, is 父 (MC pjuX, OC *paʔ, "father; respectful male suffix" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phụ"), which had voiced and voiceless variant forms in MC (奉- and 非- initials respectively), both of which labiodentalized by LMC. However, 父 is classified as B rising tone in the *Guangyun*, which presents a problem for the high-level A1 tone evidenced in *vua*.

Zhengzhang Shangfang 郑张尚芳 (1995) argued that many kinship terms and body-part terms bore rising tones, and suggested that a suffix *-q may have connoted a tenor of familiarity. Sagart (1999) accepts the plausibility of this explanation, but given the limited number of words it describes, rejects a morphological origin for the majority of rising tone etyma (Sagart, 1999, p. 134). Zhengzhang's hypothesis would help to explain how 父 may have been borrowed with a

level tone, since (especially if it was borrowed with a special, politicized sense) it could have been borrowed without its suffix.

(40) Viet. *mả* ("tomb, grave") from 墓 (MC muH, OC *C.mˤak-s, "grave;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "mộ")

(Accepted—HAN ESV.) Wang Li expresses great doubt here, but suggests that 墓, as in the other *yù* (遇) rime cases discussed in this section, was borrowed in ancient times with an offglide (e.g. as *mua*), but that the main -*u*- vowel was assimilated into the bilabial onset, thus leaving only the off-glide, which implicitly lengthened to -*a*- (Wang, 1948, p. 67). Wang Li suggests that Viet. *bạ* from 簿 ("register") was also produced this way (ibid). Mineya (1972) also mentions the peculiar case of 呂 (MC ljoX, OC *raʔ, "pitch-pipe; surname;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "lữ"), which is glossed in the *Tam thiên tự* 三千字 character primer as "lã" in the following line: "Thống đau thuyên đã / khởi Lã ống lã" (Mineya, 1972, p. 133; Đoàn, 1995, p. 112). The meter of the *Tam thiên tự* rhymes the fourth syllable of one four-syllable line with the second syllable of the following line (Đoàn, 1995, p. lời nói đầu). Mineya points out that because *lã* rhymes as expected with *đã* in the preceding line, this could not have been a clerical mistake, and also mentions that *lã* is a common reading for 呂 as noted in a Sino-Vietnamese dictionary (Mineya, 1972, p. 133). The form *lã* 呂 clearly does not bear a labial onset, which undermines Wang Li's suggested sequence of changes.

Although they bear different rimes *lã* 呂 *mả* 墓 and *bạ* 簿 (discussed below) probably all represent unraised Han ESV forms which survived the Jin LSV wave of innovation.

(41) Viet. *bạ* ("register") from 簿 ("register;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "bộ")
(Accepted—HAN ESV.) See (17) above.

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(42) Viet. *lã* ("pitch-pipe") from 呂 (MC ljoX, OC *raʔ, "pitch-pipe; surname;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "lữ")

(Accepted—HAN ESV.) See (17) above. Although the tonal evidence is contradictory, the philological evidence is indisputable. At this point it is unclear whether this is the result of some kind of ancient confusion, some kind of late mutation, or some other exceptional condition. Mineya (1972) does not make a claim about the age of the variant; I accept cognacy here based on its attestation in the *Tam thiên tự* and parallel evidence for unraised vowels in Han ESV, but cannot explain the variant C2 tone.

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In summary, Wang Li and Mineya's criterion of off-glides in the *yú* 魚 and *yú* 虞 rimes represents a reliable index for ESV loans. However, a number of the candidates suggested by Wang Li are disproven when examined more carefully. Here is a summary of the words examined in this section:

Table 2.16: Summary of Candidates for Ancient Borrowings in *Yù* 遇 Rime Group, Based on Off-glides

#	字	Viet. Candidate	Viet. gloss	Hán Việt	HV/MC Gloss	Judgment
1.	御	ngựa	"horse"	ngự	"ride, drive"	rejected
2.	許	hứa	"swear, vow"	hử	"vow, pledge"	accepted
3.	驢	lừa	"donkey"	lư	"donkey"	accepted
4.	序	tựa	"preface"	tự	"sequence, preface	accepted
5.	貯	chứa	"keep, contain"	trữ	"stockpile"	accepted
6.	初	xưa	("ancient, previously"	"sơ"	"beginning"	accepted
7.	疏	thưa	"sparse"	sơ	"wide apart; scanty"	accepted
8.	所	thửa	"plot; have made"	sở	"place; that which"	rejected
9.	仰	ngửa	"face upward"	ngưỡng	"lift face, look up"	rejected
10.	驅	khua	"to beat, strike"	khu	"to drive a horse"	rejected, tentative
11.	主	chúa	"lord"	"chủ"	"master, host"	accepted
12.	符	bùa	"amulet, charm"	phù	"talisman, tally"	accepted
13.	斧	búa	"axe"	phủ	"hatchet, axe"	accepted
14.	舞	múa	"brandish"	vũ	"dance"	rejected, tentative
15.	箸	đũa	"chopsticks"	trợ, trứ	"chopsticks"	accepted
16.	王	vua	"king"	vương	"king"	rejected
17.	墓	mả	"tomb, grave"	mộ	"grave"	accepted
18.	簿	bạ	"register"	bộ	"register"	accepted
19.	呂	lã	"pitch-pipe"	lữ	"pitch-pipe; surname"	accepted

2.23 Palatalization of codas in the *gēng* rime group (梗攝)

Words in the *gēng* 梗 rime group regularly appear with final palatal nasals in HV.

Table 2.17: Final Nasal Palatalization in *Gēng* 梗 Rime Group

#	字	Hán-Việt
1.	病	bệnh – ɓeɲ˧˩ˀ
2.	定	định – ɗiɲ˧˩ˀ
3.	清	thanh – tʰaʲɲ˧˧
4.	令	lênh – laʲɲ˧˧
5.	經	kinh – kiɲ˧˧
6.	明	minh – miɲ˧˧

Wang Li argued that there was no (comparative) basis for reconstructing a final palatal series in the ancient Chinese donor (Wang, 1948, p. 68). We must therefore turn to pVM for clarification.

With respect to pVM internal history, Haudricourt (1952) argued that Vietnamese final –*ch* (-c) and –*nh* (-ɲ) in fact correspond to original final velars –*k* (-k) and –*ng* (-ŋ) that were palatalized after front vowels, which explains why final velars do not occur after -*i*- or -*e*- (Haudricourt A. , 1952, p. 91). Thompson (1967) noted a separate complementary distribution in Vietnamese between final apicals after non-front vowels in place of final palatals. Furthermore, Thompson noted the occurance of final palatals after both front and back vowels in Mường, as well as a noticeable lack of final palatals after high front vowels in Mường (Thompson, 1967, pp. 368-369). These generalizations about the distribution of final palatals may be summarized as follows:

Figure 2.4: Distribution of Final Palatals in Vietnamese and Mường Languages
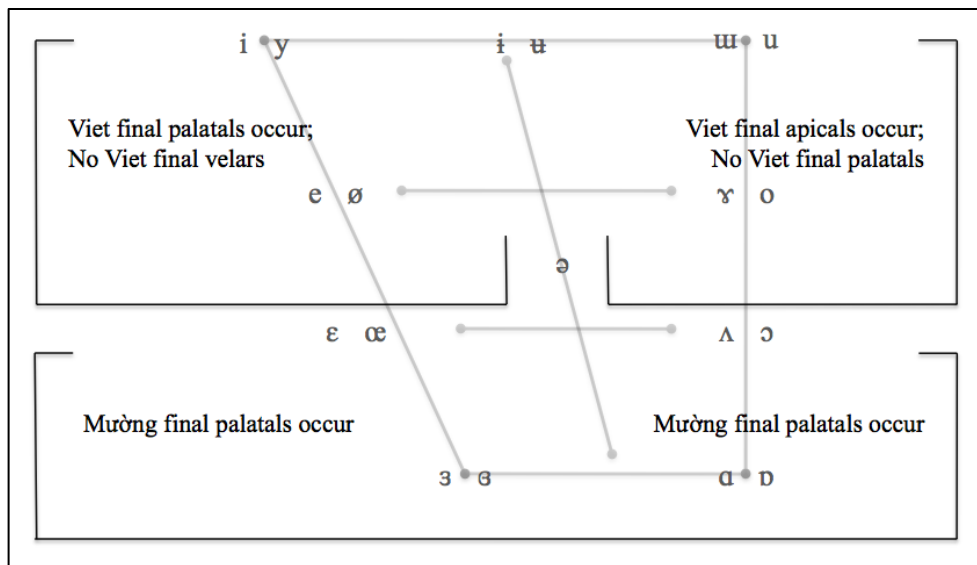
Thus, Vietnamese demonstrates final palatals only after front vowels -ε- and higher, while Mường demonstrates final palatals after both front and back vowels, but not generally higher

than -ɛ-.[106] The Vietnamese palatals also appear in complementary distribution with final velars (which do not occur before high/front vowels), as well as final apicals (i.e. -t, which occurs in place of palatals after non-front vowels). Haudricourt based his claim that final palatals derive from underlying velars on the complementary distribution of final velars and final palatals in Vietnamese. Thompson claimed that final palatals must be reconstructable to pVM based on the presence of Mường palatals irrespective of feature [+/- front], versus the complementarity of palatals with velars before front vowels, and palatals with apicals before back vowels. I am inclined to believe that Thompson is correct in reconstructing a pVM final palatal, but that Haudricourt is also correct in claiming that final velars after non-low, front vowels palatalized. Sino-Mường forms do tend to show final palatals, at least after low vowels, which suggests that the palatalization of final velars occurred in pVM. However, the apicalization of final palatals after non-front vowels is specific to pVN, and Mường varieties saliently demonstrate final palatals after back vowels (e.g. "iron": Viet. săt˧˩ vs. M. Trám xaⁱc˨˦*, M. Chỏi tʰac˨˦*, and M. Thang kʰăc˧˩*) as well as dentals (e.g. "bowl": Viet. *bát* – ɓat˧˩ vs. M. Chỏi pat˨˩ˀ and M. Thang pat˧˩*). Finally, Thompson notes one other salient feature of Vietnamese which obscures the complementary distribution shown above: the centralization of vowels before final palatals. This gives us the following sequence:

<div style="text-align:center">

In pVM:

</div>

1. __ k, __ŋ → __c , __ɲ / V [+ front] __

2. (漢) > __k, __ŋ → __c , __ɲ / V[+ front]

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[106] This only holds if one accepts Thompson argument that Viet. <-*ă*-> should be analyzed as /-ɛ-/ and not /-a-/, which is in some measure borne out by alternations in some Sino-Vietnamese words like 生 (which surfaces as both *sanh* and *sinh*).

In PV:

3. V [+front] → V [- front, - back] / __c , __ɲ

4. __ c , __ ɲ → __t , __n / V [- front]

As Thompson noted, the reasons for the conspicuous lack of final palatals after high/mid front vowels in Mường remain unclear. Thompson notes that "extant materials contain very few forms suggesting original high or mid front vowels before final palatals," and poses the important question of whether this is accidental or symptomatic of a broader pattern (Thompson, 1967, p. 369). Thompson later suggests that Chinese may be credited with filling this structural niche, though does not go so far as to positively claim this (Thompson, 1967, p. 370).

A systematic comparison of the distribution of final palatals, apicals and velars in the Mường varieties is required to resolve these issues. At this point, however, it suffices to note that final velars became palatalized after non-low front vowels. These facts support Wang Li's claim that *gēng* (梗) rime group words did not originally bear palatal codas and that their ancient codas were velars. Wang Li provides six possible examples of *gēng* (梗) rime group words that maintain final velars. In these six examples, Wang Li is making a claim not only for cognacy, but for the ancientry of the loan based on its preserved final velar. However, since final velars and final palatals seem to have existed in complementary distribution for some time, the words which bear final velars today may have actually been borrowed later—after, for example, certain vowel changes, which resulted in preventing the palatalization of the coda. I believe that a number of the cases that Wang Li claims as ancient are in fact borrowings from colloquial Annamese Middle Chinese, which centralized high-front vowels (see next section), thus bleeding the context for palatalization of the coda. As will be clear in the cases below, some candidates also exhibit a spirantized initial, which as noted briefly above (and as will be discussed in greater detail below) is a late pVM evolution (rather than some kind of early Chinese retention). Therefore, while I actually accept the cognacy of all six of Wang Li's candidates, in most cases I

do not accept their status as either Han ESV or standard Jin ESV loans. Let us now look at each case in turn.

(43) Viet. *mạng* ("destiny") from 命 (MC mjaengH, OC *mə-riŋ-s, "command, destiny;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "mệnh")

(Rejected; Sinitic but not ESV.) The cognacy is not in doubt here, as both forms are well attested. The tone is confusing for two reasons: first, both *mạng* and *mệnh* demonstrate a rising B tone, which is expected for the HV form, but not for an earlier form; but second, both *mạng* and *mệnh* demonstrate a low (2nd) series tone, which is expected of an earlier form, but not of a later form. This was famously the name of the second Nguyễn 阮 emperor (Minh Mạng 明命), and so it is possible that taboo strictures have altered the form of the word. Still, the expected form for an ESV borrowing would be maŋ˧ˀ˥ (*mãng*), whereas the expected LSV/HV form would be *máng* – maŋ˧˥. At any rate, the final velar preserved after the non-front vowel still suggests that vowel quality determined the place of articulation of the coda.

(44) Viet. *dừng* ("stop") from 停 ("stop," cf. *Hán-Việt* "đình")

(Rejected; Sinitic but not ESV.) As Wang Li and many other have noted, modern Vietnamese dental spirant *z-* was *dz-* in Middle Vietnamese, and ultimately derives from *t-* (via routes that are still mysterious). The tone is regularly low-level, and the semantic match is perfect. The vowel shift from -i- > -ɯ- is interesting, and here seems to have prevented palatalization of the velar. It is possible that the centralization of the vowel was part of a broader vowel changes that affected the spoken donor of LSV toward the end of the 1st millennium (see Chapter 4). The vowel is confusing, however, since the syllable is Grade IV which demonstrated a strong palatalizing medial. In the meantime, I again accept cognacy, but not as an ancient loan.

(45) Viet. *giêng* ("1ˢᵗ lunar month") from 正 (MC tsyeng, OC *C.teŋ, "1ˢᵗ lunar month;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "chinh")

(Rejected; Sinitic but not ESV.) The exact semantic match and the cultural uniqueness of its distribution are difficult to ignore. The tone is also a predictable high-level A1 tone. The major facts to account for are the spirantized initial and the diphthongized nucleus. The regular HV correspondence for the (章-) initial in Grade III is *ch*- /c-/ (cf. 章, HV *chương* – cɯəŋ˩˩).[107] It is quite surprising that a voiced spirant appears here. Most *gi*- /z-/ initials in Vietnamese are the products of velar softening (discussed below), as in *gian* – zan˩˩ (間) or *giao* – zaw˩˩ (教). The only case of voiced spirants descending from non-velar voiceless tops are in dental examples like Viet. /zaw˩˩/ from 刀 ("knife"), which appears as *dĕao* in De Rhodes (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 165). In the Mường languages, (刀) also surfaces with a stop onset, as in M. Muốt and M. Khẻn: *taw*˩˩. De Rhodes' transcription suggests a palatalizing medial effect in Vietnamese (the origins of which are unclear), and, combined with the preservation of a voiceless stop in Mường, also suggests quite a late date for the process (post Middle Vietnamese).

There are two possibilities: 1) that the word was borrowed early, with some fronting feature that was not present by the LSV period; or 2) the word underwent sound-changes after the LSV period, as in *dao*/刀 above. The word is a Grade III word (as you can see from the Baxter-Sagart transcription above), which is reconstructed as bearing some kind of palatal medial (either -j- or -ɨ-). In modern Chinese languages (正) generally surfaces with either -*i*- (Shuangfeng, Guangzhou, Fuzhou), -*a*- (Meixian, Nanchang), or -*ə*- (Beijing and most northern varieties; also Wu varieties like Shanghai and Wenzhou). So, either the palatal element of Grade III was somehow responsible for the spirantization of the initial in ancient times, or some other medial element that emerged later was responsible for it.

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[107] The word (正) is Grade III. The grade is important because palatal (Grade III) and retroflex (Grade II) sibilants remain distinct in Sino-Vietnamese. See discussion of onsets below.

As mentioned above, and as will be discussed later in the chapter, SV velars *do* palatalize under medial effects—but in Grade II, not Grade III. Thus it is difficult to argue for an ancient borrowing based on the Grade-specific medial, though there is always the possibility of idiosyncratic allophonic variation.

On the other hand, we still do not have the grounds to lump *giêng* in with *dao* as part of the same spirantizing process. However, it is possible that the two cases are related. De Rhodes transcribes the former as *giêng*—just as it appears today (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 283). The *gi-* onset represented an affricate similar to contemporary Portuguese and Italian affricates, i.e. something like [dʒ-], which ultimately reduced to [z-] in modern northern varieties. This is much closer to the palatal stop [c-], which is the expected reflex of (章-) initial in Grade III (Viet. orth. *ch-*). It is conceivable that, parallel to the dental case above, the vowel was somehow broken into a dipthong—though in this case, that would mean the production of an off-glide (and then, maybe, dissimilation of the two components), rather than the heightening and fronting of the beginning vocalic material (as in *děao*). This means that the vowels developed differently because the main vowel in (刀) was -*a*-, whereas the main vowel in (正-) was something like -*i*- or -*ɪ*-. In (刀), the front material of the vowel assimilated with the onset, producing a spirant, but in (正-) the front material was preserved because it was the main vowel; simultaneously, the off-glide prevented palatalization of the velar. This is why we do not end up with *gianh* in modern Vietnamese—because the diphthongization from -*i*- or -*ɪ*- to -*iə*- introduced a non-front element to the nucleus in direct proximity with the coda. The onset spirantized separately under influence from the -*i*- portion of the vowel.

This explanation still requires an idiosyncratic spirantization process, but given rare parallel examples like *dao/děao*, as well as the known phonetic value for De Rhodes' transcribed *gi-*, this is the most plausible story for the cognacy that is so compellingly demonstrated by the

semantics of the terms. If this is correct, then *giêng* may not be determinable in terms of ultimate origin, though we would be able to determine that its onset was the result of a later change.[108]

(46) Viet. *bác* ("father's elder brother") from 伯 (MC paek, OC *pˤrak, "father's elder brother;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "bá")

(Accepted.) Again, we have a compelling semantic match. Wang Li claims that the HV form is *bách*, which I was unable to verify. The normal reflex for the character 白 is *bạch*, and Wang Li may have been exposed to a reading mistake based on the radical. The conventional HV form is a coda-less *bá*, which is also difficult to explain, though it may be related to an Early Mandarin variant of 白 that bore a back vowel (more on this in Section 4.3). The form *bác* on the other had, is perfectly predictable for an SV cognate—it bears the normal ɓ- reflex for plain stop p-, and it also bears the normal reflex for high-entering tone (i.e. high-rising *sắc*). Thus it is the first acceptable candidate for Wang Li's basic argument: that some SV words retaining final velars may be ancient. The vowel in *bác* must have been articulated further back in oral cavity in whatever oral variety was being spoken at that time, whereas the LMC standard was fronted (ultimately leading to the final palatals that we *would* expect in the HV form).

(47) Viet. *thước* ("meter, foot") from 尺 (MC tsyhek, OC *tʰak, "foot;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "xích")

(Rejected; Sinitic but not ESV.) To my knowledge, the sound-change *-i- > -ɯə-* is seldom observed in Vietnamese (the only other case that comes to mind is Viet. *gươm* for HV. *kiếm*, 劍), though *-a-* to *-ɯə-* (as occurs in the *dàng* rime group 宕攝) does occur. If this word was borrowed before the fronting process took place in MC, then it would have, as Wang Li suggests, protected the final velar from palatalizing. I suggest that the diphthongization took part of a broader process late in the history of the donor of LSV (see Chapter 4). The onset is,

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[108] Though phonologically unclear, the term is culturally a good candidate for an ESV loan.

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however, still problematic. The Guangyun *fanqie* is 昌石切, and its later rime tables onset is also 昌- (Chen, 2001, p. 518). The regular correspondence for the Grade III (昌-) initial is <x->. Three other Grade III initials of the *zhengchi* class do, however, yield regular aspirated *th*-initials in Vietnamese: these are (莊三-), (審三-), and (禪三-), which are generally reconstructed as (ʝ-), (ç-), and (dʝ-) respectively. It is possible that (尺) was confused with a similar syllable in the same rime group, such as (石), which bears the (禪三-) initial. However, this requires us to accept two speculatory steps—that is, that it was borrowed with a low, non-front vowel, and that it was borrowed with the incorrect initial. Comparative evidence of similar initial or nuclear confusion would make for a stronger case; at this point, I accept the claim only very tentatively and mostly based on the semantic match.

(6) Viet. *ngược* ("to go against; opposite") from 逆 (MC ngjaek, OC *ŋrak, "to go against;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "nghịch")

(Rejected; Sinitic but not ESV.) The tone is consistently high-rising *sắc*, which is the normal correspondince for high-entering tone in Vietnamese, and while surprisingly basic in quality, the semantic match is good. The diphthongization of the vowel, as discussed in section 4.2, would naturally result from a low *-a-*, and is a feature of late colloquial AMC.

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A summary of these six etyma are reproduced below, along with the Baxter-Sagart Middle and Old Chinese transcriptions and my judgment:

Table 2.18: Wang Li's ESV Candidates based on Final Velar Maintenance in *Gēng* 梗 Rime Group

#	字	SV Cand.	HV	Gloss	Judgment
1.	命	mạng	mệnh	"command, destiy"	Sinitic in origin: √ Time-depth: unclear
2.	停	dừng	đình	"stop"	Sinitic in origin: √ Time-depth: non-Early
3.	正	giêng	chinh	"1st lunar month"	Sinitic in origin: √ Time-depth: non-Early (tentative)
4.	伯	bác	bá	"father's older brother	Sinitic in origin: √ Time-depth: unclear
5.	尺	thước	xích	"foot, meter"	Sinitic in origin: √ (tentative) Time-depth: unclear
6.	逆	ngược	nghịch	"to go against"	Sinitic in origin: √ Time-depth: unclear

These cases are the best example of the kind of ambiguity Wang Li expressed concern over, and this is exactly because the timing and nature of the palatalization of final velars in pVM remains unclear. Thus, I accept Wang Li's claim that final velars can reveal something about the time-depth of the borrowing, barring a more precise understanding of the palatalization of final velars, I only tentatively conclude that these are non-ESV. At this point, the palatalization of final velars cannot be used as to reliably distinguish between ESV and LSV.

2.24   Merger of -o-/-ɔ- > -a- as in *tán* (覃) and *tán* (談) rimes of the *xián* rime group (咸攝)

The *tán* (覃) and *tán* (談) rimes have merged in LSV (cf. HV *đàm* – đam刂 for both). However, these are classified as separate rimes in the *Guangyun*: *xiaping* 22 (下平二十二) and *xiaping* 23 (下平二十三) respectively (Chen, 2001, pp. 221, 223). They were clearly very similar, since they are back-to-back in the *Guangyun*; however they were deliberately classified as different rimes (and subsequently, homophone groups). Wang Li observed that some SV forms seemed to preserve a non-merged value for *tán* (覃) rime, which surfaced as a mid-back -ɔ

rather than low -a- (Wang, 1948, p. 69). Examples are few, but regular. Let us review each of Wang Li's five cases in turn.

(48) Viet. *nôm* ("vulgar, colloquial") from 南 (MC nom, OC *nˤəm, "south;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "nam")

(Rejected, tentative.) Wang Li bases his claim on the argument that the etymology of what is written as (喃) is in fact (南), and indeed the association of all things "southern" with vulgarity or colloquiality vs. the high civilized "north" is a commonplace cultural trope in Vietnam. However, there is no philological or semantic reason to reject the etymology of (喃) as derived from its identical character, (喃), meaning "nonsensical; babble."   The form *nôm* surfaces exclusively in reference to *Chữ nôm* (字喃), the character script devised to represent Vietnamese based on Chinese representational principles.   The popularity of reading this as "southern script" rather than "nonsensical script" or "script of [a] babbling [language]" is rooted in a nationalistic desire to promote native innovations as equal and insubordinate to Chinese baseline references. This was a fairly recent development, as can be seen by the clear defense of *Chữ nôm* as a legitimate script in the aforementioned pre-modern dictionary, the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa,* which goes so far as to command its readers: "Do not laugh, saying that lacking strokes, [*Chữ nôm*] is rustic" (Phan, 2012).[109] The author(s) of the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* were sufficiently self-conscious enough to feel the need to preempt derision of the "vulgar" script. As such, the semantic match of "nonsensical" or "babbling" for (喃) is a fine match, and does not warrant ignoring the attested form of the character.

Wang Li is motivated to embrace this tenuous etymology because (喃), while part of the same rime group as (南), bears neither the *tán* (覃) nor *tán* (談) rime. It is not only a labialized *hekou* (合口) word, but it is also classified in the *Guangyun* as bearing the (咸) rime (Chen, 2001, p. 230). The character (南) on the other hand, conspicuously bears a is non-labialized (開口) *tán*

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[109] "Mựa cười rằng mất nét thì quê."

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(覃) rime (ibid., p. 221). The form is still quite a mystery, and Wang Li's claim does have the merit of at least providing a story for the back vowel. Nevertheless, in addition to reasons discussed above, the tone is also high (1ˢᵗ series), which is not consonant with the low (2ⁿᵈ series) tone expected in ESV sonorant-initial words. The probable uniqueness of this word with regard to the customs and language of the Annamese may have introduced idiosyncracies into its history that are difficult to explain.

(49) Viet. *hòm* ("coffin, casket") from 函 (MC hom, OC *Cə-m-kˤəm, "envelope, contain;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hàm")

(Accepted.) The tone is low level A2 as expected, and Wang Li bolsters the semantic match evidence that 函 also bore the meaning of "coffin" (Wang, 1948, p. 69).

(50) Viet. *nộp* ("hand in, pay") from 納 (MC nop, OC *nˤəp, "bring, send in;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "nạp")

(Accepted.) The tone is low-rising B2 *nặng*, which is consistent with a D2 low-entering tone. As is clear from the final, 納 bears neither the *tán* (覃) nor *tán* (談) rime, but the *hé* (合) rime, which may explain why the vowel surfaces as -ô- instead of -o-. Though not part of the overall series of rimes discussed here, Wang Li included it because (合) rime also merges to -a- in conventional *Hán-Việt*. As we will see shortly, it is not the only example of (合) rime to demonstrate this alternation. Note that the etymon is a verb, but it is plausible to imagine that this particular word was associated with tax-paying or some other governmental business.

(51) Viet. *hộp* ("box") from 盒 ("small box;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hạp")

(Accepted.) As in the case above, 盒 belongs to the (合) rime group (匣 rime), and demonstrates the same ô : o correspondence. The semantic, tonal, and segmental evidence are all as expected.

(52) Viet. *hợp* ("suitable, consistent") from 合 (MC hop, OC *m-kˤop; "unite;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "hiệp")

(Accepted.) The graph (合) appears twice in the *Guangyun*, once as the rime head (入聲 二十七), and then once as a separate rime under that head (homophone group *hé* 閤), which bears the (匣) rime just as (盒) above (Chen, 2001, p. 534). This explains why the HV form does surfaces as *-iə-* rather than *-a-*. Why the vowel in *hợp* is centralized in this case but not in (4) remains a mystery; however the form is an accepted and attested alternate to "hiệp."

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I have summarized these five cases below.

Table 2.19: Wang Li's ESV Candidates based on Non-merged Rimes in the *Xián*咸 Rime Group

#	字	SV Cand.	HV	Gloss	Judgment
1.	喃	nôm	nam	"babble" : "south"	Sinitic in origin: X Time-depth: unclear
2.	函	hòm	hàm	"coffin, casket"	Sinitic in origin: √ Time-depth: Early
3.	納	nộp	nạp	"hand in, pay"	Sinitic in origin: √ (tentative) Time-depth: Early
4.	盒	hộp	hạp	"box"	Sinitic in origin: √ (tentative) Time-depth: Early
5.	合	hợp	hiệp	"suitable" : "unite"	Sinitic in origin: √ (tentative) Time-depth: early

In summary, I accept the presence of non *-a-* vowels in Grade I *xián* rime group (either 覃 or 合 rime) as evidence for an early loan, since 覃 rimes merged with 談 rime later in history.

2.25   Centralization of high-front vowels in *qīn* and *zhēn* (侵，眞) rimes

Both *qīn* and *zhēn* (侵，眞) rimes centralize in Vietnamese to -ə- (cf. 侵：HV *xâm* – səm˩˩; and 眞：*chân* – cən˩˩ respectively), something Wang Li documented clearly in 1948 (Wang, 1948, pp. 48, 51). It was on this basis (specifically, *zhēn* 侵 rime syllables like *tâm* 心 and 林 *lâm*) that Miyake (2003) speculated an affiliation between Sino-Vietnamese and Cantonese, an argument I rejected last chapter. Wang Li (1948) also noted that three *qīn* and *zhēn* rimes surfaced with high, front -*i*-, which he took as evidence that they were ESV borrowings. Let us examine each of these in turn.

(53) Viet. *thím* ("aunt") from 嬸 (MC syimX, "aunt;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "thẩm")[110]

(Accepted.) Wang Li insists on the cognacy despite what he considered a mismatched tone; however as we have already discussed, early loans demonstrate a B : B correspondence, which is reversed in late borrowings. Thus, the high-rising *sắc* tone here is perfectly predictable.

(54) Viet. *kim, ghim* ("needle") from 針 ("needle;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "châm")

(Accepted, tentative.) The initial for 針 is (照-) or (章-), what corresponds to a palatal sibilant *tç*- in Grade III. However, *kim* demonstrates a hard velar. Wang Li argues quite plausibly that this is because the actual loan was originally from (鍼), "needle, prick," which bears the plain velar stop (羣-) initial (Wang, 1948, p. 67).

(55) Viet. *chim, trim* ("sink?") from 沈 (MC drim, OC *lrəm, "sink;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trầm")

(Unclear.) I was unable to find attestation of the form *chim* or *trim*, though if these exist, they would be good candidates for early loans. In the case of *chim*, one would have to explain why the initial is not retroflex, but this is unproblematic since we have already seen that retroflexes were palatized before front vowels in Proto-Viet-Muong.

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[110] Lit. "father's younger brother's wife."

(56) Viet. *thìn* ("5th terrestrial branch") from 辰 (MC dzyin, OC *dər, cf. *Hán-Việt* "thần")

(Accepted.) The specificity of the semantic match is difficult to ignore, and the tonal and segmental evidence are all in support of cognacy.

(57) Viet. *tín* ("letter, believe") from 信 (MC sinH, OC *s-niŋ-s, "truthful;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "tín")

(Rejected; Sinitic but not ESV.) While the cognacy is not in doubt (there is, in fact, only one form), the tone—which is a high-rising *sắc* instead of the expected high-departing *hỏi*—confirms this as LSV. The meaning is also consonant with later usages. This probably resulted from a formalized variety of LMC taught in Annam (see Chapter 4).

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In summary, I accept the appearance of high-front *-i-* in the *qīn* and *zhēn* (侵，眞) rimes as evidence of an ancient loan; however, since (as discussed in Chapter 4) the existence of a more conservative glossolect alongside the spoken donor of LSV also have perpetuated the maintenance of high/front *-i-*, this index must be cross-referenced against other criteria and cannot be relied upon alone.

2.26   Diphthongization of *dàng* and *tōng* rime groups (宕攝，通攝) and centralization in *shān* rime group (山攝)

Maspero (1916) discusses a number of dipthongized versions of monophthong *Sino-Annamite* (*Hán-Việt*) rimes, which he argues were the products of non-Chinese sound-changes,

and some of which he believed were ancient borrowings. These include a number of rimes (many belong to the 通 group) that demonstrate *–uông* for regular *–ung*. In Wang Li's words, Maspero "thought that *uong* was produced after *Hán-Việt*," and countered that these must be vestigial traces of Ancient Sino-Vietnamese (Wang, 1948, p. 69). However, while Maspero does clearly believe that these diphthongs represent the effect of non-Chinese, native sound-changes, he actually argued that they were sound-changes which affected a phonological system that could not have descended from conventional HV. I will defer full discussion of these diphthongization processes until the chapter 4, because (as I will argue) these changes form the basis for distinguishing between two synchronic sociolinguistic registers of the language from which LSV was drawn. Thus, Wang Li not only misinterpreted Maspero, but misunderstood the nature of these diphthongs, while Maspeor's actual characterization of them is closer but still incorrect. Here it suffices to note that they do not distinguish ESV from LSV, as both diphthongized and non-diphthongized forms co-occur in etyma bearing other LSV features.

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These are the criteria we examined in this section:

1. Maintenance of Front Vowels in Outer Division 2 (外轉二等)
2. Maintenance of off-glides in *yú* and *yú* rime groups (魚攝 , 虞攝)
3. Palatal codas in the *gēng* rime group (更攝)
4. Realization of *qīn* and *zhēn* (侵，眞) rimes as *–im*
5. (Diphthongization of *dàng* and *tōng* rime groups (宕攝,通攝) and Centralization in the *shān* rime group 山攝)

In summary of these criteria, I accepted nos. 1-2 and 4 in principle (with some clarificaiton of the details). In the case of (3), I tentaively accepted Wang Li's arguments based on a revised understanding of final palatals and final velars in Vietnamese (pending further research), and in the case of (4) while the mutation is valid, it cannot be used alone as an indicator for ESV. Finally, and for similar reasons, I do not accept (5) as a reliable index for defining ESV vs. LSV, but defer full discussion until Chapter 4. This leaves us with the (1) and (2) as strong indicators of ESV. I have collected all confirmed Early Sino-Vietnamese etyma discussed in this section and reproduced them in the table below:

TABLE 2.20: SUMMARY OF ACCEPTED EARLY SINO-VIETNAMESE ETYMA BASED ON RIME CRITERIA
(WITH THEIR LATE SINO-VIETNAMESE COUNTERPARTS)

	子	Early SV	ESV Gloss	Late SV	LSV/MC Gloss
1.	茶	chè	tea	trà	tea
2.	車	xe	vehicle, cart, chariot	xa	vehicle, cart, chariot
3.	遮	che	hide	già	hide, shield
4.	夏	hè	summer	hạ	summer
5.	誇	khoe	boast	khoa	boast
6.	瓦	ngói	tile	ngõa	tile
7.	膠	keo	glue	giao	glue
8.	巧	khéo	skilled	xảo	skilled
9.	卯	mẹo	4th terrestrial branch	mão	4th terrestrial branch
10.	畫	vẽ	draw, paint	họa	draw, paint
11.	卦	quẻ	to divine	quái	to divine : divinatory trigram
12.	槐	hòe	locust tree/sophora japonica	(hòe)	locust tree/sophora japonica
13.	揀	kén	select	giản	select
14.	限	hẹn	limit, constraint	hạn	obstacle
15.	盞	chén	wine bowl	trản	small cup
16.	察	xét	observe, mark	sát	examine
17.	斬	chém	chop	trảm	cut off
18.	夾	kép	hem	giáp	to press between
19.	狹	hẹp	straight, narrow	hiệp	straight, narrow
20.	許	hứa	swear, vow	hử	vow, pledge
21.	驢	lừa	donkey	lư	donkey
22.	序	tựa	preface	tự	sequence, preface
23.	貯	chứa	keep, contain	trữ	stockpile
24.	初	xưa	ancient, previously	sơ	beginning
25.	疏	thưa	sparse	sơ	wide apart; scanty
26.	所	thửa	plot; have made	sở	place; that which
27.	主	chúa	lord	chủ	master, host
28.	符	bùa	amulet, charm	phù	talisman, tally
29.	斧	búa	axe	phủ	hatchet, axe
30.	箸	đũa	chopsticks	trợ, trứ	chopsticks
31.	伯	bác	father's older brother	bá	father's older brother
32.	尺	thước	foot, meter	xích	foot, meter"
33.	逆	ngược	to go against	nghịch	to go against;
34.	嬸	thím	father's younger bro.'s wife	thẩm	father's younger bro.'s wife
35.	辰	thìn	5th terrestrial branch	hần	5th terrestrial branch
36.	墓	mả	"tomb, grave"	mộ	grave
37.	簿	bạ	"register"	bộ	register
38.	呂	lã	"pitch-pipe"	lữ	pitch-pipe; surname

I have not included those cases accepted tentatively, and only list cases which I believe are uncontroversially demonstrable as ESV loans.

2.3   Onset Criteria

In this final section, I will discuss four additional important phonological phenomena, each involving onsets, that have been variously used to distinguish ESV from LSV. These are:

> 1) Lenition of *m-* initials
> 2) Labiodentalization
> 3) Velar softening
> 3) Dental mutations.

Nos. 1-2 are actually the same process, while no. 4 does not appear to correspond to an underlying mutation in the language. This leaves us with (1/2) and (3) as viable indices for detecting ESV. Let us now examine each of these in turn.

2.31 *Lenition of m- initials*

Perhaps the oldest discussion of potential ESV words can be found in Maspero's short, 1916 squib entitled "Some Annamese Words of Chinese Origin" (*Quelques mots annamites d'origine chinois*). It is in this short paper that Maspero examines a class of SV words that bear *m-* initialsbut correspond to Mandarin *w-* and HV *v-* as descending from an ESV stratum of loans.

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Table 2.21: Maspero's (1916) Sino-Vietnamese *m*- Initial Correspondences[111]

#	字	(MC)	(HV)	(Colloquial Viet.)	Gloss
1.	味	mwiě$_3$	vi$_4$ (vị)	muy$_1$ (mùi)	taste
2.	未	mwiě$_3$	vi$_4$ (vị)	muy$_1$ (mùi)	end
3.	幬	mwiě$_1$	vó (ví)	muy (mui)	dividing curtain
4.	無	mwo$_1$	vu$_4$ (vô)	mu^{a2} (múa)	non-
5.	霧	mwo$_3$	vu$_4$ (vụ)	mu$_1$ (mù)	fog
6.	舞	mwo$_2$	vu$_4$ (vụ)	mu^{a2} (múa)	dance, posture
7.	萬	mwan$_3$	van$_4$ (vạn)	maṇ, muón (man, muôn)	ten thousand
8.	晚	mwan$_3$	van̦^{4} (vãn)	muón (muôn)	evening

As reproduced above, Maspero pointed out that in common Vietnamese, the forms of certain Sinitic words bore *m*- initials which matched ancient Chinese *mw*-, and thus must represent an older stratum of SV borrowing. There is good independent evidence for cluster *m*- as late as EMC, as is demonstrated below:

Table 2.22: [微]- Initial across Yue, Hakka, Min, Wu, and Xiang Varieties

#	字	Mandarin	Guangzhou	Meixian	Fuzhou	Suzhou	Shuangfeng
1.	味	uei˥˩	mei˨	vi˩˨	bi˨	mi˩˨	ui˥
2.	未	uei˥˩	mei˨	vi˩˨	i˩˥	vi˩˨	ui˨
3.	無	u˥	mou˨˩	vu˨	u˥˨	vu˨	əu˦˨
4.	霧	u˥˩	mou˨	vu˩˨	ou˥˨	vu˨	əu˨
5.	舞	u˨˩˥	mou˨˦	vu˩˨	u˨˩	vu˥˩	əu˦˨

As shown above, nasal *m*- is consistently demonstrated in Yue (Cantonese), labiodental *v*- is expressed in Hakka (Meixian) and Wu (Suzhou), some form of labialized approximate is expressed in Xiang (Shuangfeng) and Min (Fuzhou), while Mandarin demonstrates bilabial approximate *w*- (or -u- as it is often transcribed). Scholars have unanimously reconstructed *m*- in EMC as well as OC, which lenited as part of a broader process of labiodentalization some time during the Tang Dynasty.

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[111] I have added English glosses for convenience; all other forms are directly transcribed as they appear Maspero (1916) pp. 35-36. Maspero also lists alternate character forms for *Annamite* in nos. 3, 4, 6-8, which I have not reproduced here. Note that the current form for no. 4 is *mựa*, rather than Maspero's "múa."

In fact, there is philological evidence for this in the rime tables division of labials into *heavy*-lip sounds (重唇音) and *light*-lip sounds (輕唇音), which were Grade III syllables with labial onsets. These eventually labiodentalized in some forms of Chinese due to the palatal medial element that probably characterized Grade III (cf. *chongniu* discussion in Chapter 4). However, they were maintained as nasals in Yue, along with scattered irregular examples (such as #1 in Suzhou above). The cases cited by Maspero are closed syllables (合口), meaning they bore a medial -*w*- element, which is strongly in evidence by the labiodentals in Meixian (Hakka) and Suzhou (Wu), and even more clearly seen in the Shuangfeng (Xiang) data—and indeed, the "colloquial Vientamese" (i.e. ESV) forms shown by Maspero above. There is some evidence of *m*- retention in open (開口) syllables as well, as in 望 , HV *vọng* – vɔʷŋ�create (cf. possible ESV mɔʷŋ), though the tone is not a good fit here.

Given the strong evidence for a *mw- ➔ **w/v*- change in LMC, examples of *m*- initials in the MC class of "light-lip sounds (輕唇音) is good evidence that these were either borrowed from a conservative variety (e.g. some form of Yue), or that they were borrowed before this change affected the donor language. The overwhelming propensity for all forms of Sino-Vietnamese (including SV forms that bear unorthodox rimes) to demonstrate *v*- as opposed to *m*-, and the regular mismatch in vowels suggests that Yue varieties played an insignificant role in the formation LSV (or ESV), further supporting the claim that these were ESV borrowings.

This, however, does not license similar claims for words with *m*- initials in Vietnamese, but HV initial *v*-, or other approximate initials (*y*- or *w*-) in Mandarin (or other Sinitic varieties). For example, Wang Li briefly claims that Vietnamese *mưa* ("rain") may be an ancient borrowing etymologically related to Mandarin *yú* (雨 , "rain") in a discussion of ancient onsets, and then again in his section on off-glides in the *yú* and *yú* (魚攝，虞攝) rime groups (Wang, 1948, pp. 62, 66). Wang Li was operating under a reconstruction of 雨 with *m- initial, which appears completely unfounded. In fact, 雨 never surfaces with an *m*- initial in any variety of Chinese, nor is it given a bilabial initial classification in any philological text (its philological initial is 云 ,

reconstructed as *w-), and so it is unclear on what basis he was actually making this claim (other than the semantic similarity)—something puzzlingly uncharacteristic for Wang Li. Maspero addresses this confusion quite clearly at the end of his 1916 squib:

> In summary, Annamese *mu* represents Ancient Chinese initial **mw*, just as Sino-Annamese *v-* represents modern [Mandarin] initial *w-*. As a result, it is not permitted to connect Annamese words with the initial *m* with Sino-Annamese words with the initial *v-* among those whose Chinese initial is 'w-, 'w-, and not **mw-*. There is, therefore, no connection to be made between the following words:

> En résumé, *mu* annamite représente **mw* initial chinois ancien, tandis que *v* sino-annamite représente *w-* initial moderne. Il en résulte qu'il n'est pas permis de rapprocher des mots annamites à initiale *m* des mots sino-annamites à initiale *v* dans lesquels l'initiale chinoise est 'w, 'w- et non **mw*. C'est ainsi qu'il n'y a aucun rapprochement à tenter entre les mots suivants :

> | | Chinois | Sino-Annamite | Annamite |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | pleuvoir ("rain") | 雨 ^{y}wiu | vu^{4} (*vũ*) | mu^{a} (*mưa*) |
> | Vomir ("vomit") | 歟 'wo | ó (*ô*) | mu^{a}_{2} (*mửa*) |

> (Maspero, 1916, p. 39.)

Thus *m-* initials are only accepted here as evidence for ESV words in the restricted class of MC *light-lip sounds* (輕唇音), which effectively means syllables with the (微-) initial. Of the eight cases that Maspero produced in his article (see 2.21 above), however, I only accepted no. 1 unreservedly.

Table 2.23: Maspero's (1916) Sino-Vietnamese *m*- Initial Correspondences with Judgments

#	字	(MC)	(HV)	(ESV candidate)	Gloss	Judgement
1.	味	mwiĕ₃	vi₄ (vị)	muy₁ (mùi)	taste	accepted
2.	未	mwiĕ₃	vi₄ (vị)	muy₁ (mùi)	end	accepted, tentative
3.	幃	mwiĕ₁	vó (ví)	muy (mui)	dividing curtain	accepted, tentative
4.	無	mwo₁	vu₄ (vô)	mư^{a2} (mứa)	non-	rejected, tentative
5.	霧	mwo₃	vu₄ (vụ)	mu₁ (mù)	fog	accepted, tentative
6.	舞	mwo₂	vu₄ (vụ)	mư^{a2} (múa)	dance, posture	rejected
7.	萬	mwan₃	vaṇ₄ (vạn)	maṇ, muón (man, muôn)	ten thousand	accepted
8.	晚	mwan₃	vaṇ^4 (vãn)	muón (muôn)	evening	accepted, tentative

This is not because the index is invalid; it is because I was unable to find attestation of nos. 2-3, have already rejected the cognacy for no. 6 (see above), and because the tonal correspondences for 4-5, and 8 are conflicted. Regarding nos. 5 and 8, since the alternation involves an unexpected level tone (and, as already discussed, alternations of this type, while mysterious, are ubiquitous), I have accepted it on a tentative basis. I also strongly suspect that no. 4 is correct as well, or that some other Chinese etymology may emerge from within that word family. Thus, despite these (tentative) rejections, this index is, in principle, uncontroversial.

2.32 Labiodentalization

The mutation just discussed is related to a broader process of labiodentalization that has also been used to index possible examples of ESV. As noted above, (微-) initials belonged to a broader class that was characterized in the Song rime studies "36 initials" 三十六字母 system as *light-lip sounds* 輕唇音. These correspond to bilabial onsets that fricatized to labiodentals by the end of Late Middle Chinese. In the case of the (微-) initials, this meant a change from **m-* > > *w*- in modern Mandarin. The other *light-lip sounds* were (非-; EMC *p-), (敷-; EMC *pʰ-), and (奉-; EMC *b-). These three initials, along with (微-; EMC *m-) only occurred in Grade III (三等), and by Middle Chinese, stood in complementary distribution with those bilabial initials that occurred outside of Grade III—i.e. the *heavy-lip sounds* (重唇音), represented by (幫-; *p-),

(滂-; pʰ-), (並-; *b-) and (明-; *m-). Recall that Grade III demonstrated some kind of a palatal element; for Karlgren this was a "consonantal" -j-, for Arisaka it was a centralized -i̯-, but in either case, it was a weaker palatal element than the one that characterized Grade 4 (四等). Nevertheless, the medial in Grade 3 still conditioned the labiodentalization of its bilabials, whereas bilabials in other Grades (i.e. the *heavy-lip* sounds) remained bilabials. This is easiest demonstrated by modern Mandarin reflexes for the names of the initials themselves.

Table 2.24: Light- and Heavy-lip
Sounds in Mandarin

	Light-Lip		Heavy-Lip
非	fei˥˥	幫	paŋ˥˥
敷	fu˥˥	滂	paŋ˥
奉	fəŋ˥˩	並	piŋ˥˩
微	uei˥˥	明	miŋ˧˥

Orthodox HV also regularly demonstrates this contrast:

Table 2.25: Light- and Heavy-lip
Sounds in HV

	Light-Lip		Heavy-Lip
非	phi	幫	bang
敷	phu	滂	bàng
奉	phụng	並	tịnh
微	vi	明	minh

As in virtually all modern Sinitic varieties, HV demonstrates labiodental /f-/ (Viet. *ph-*) for *light-lip* stops and an approximate /v-/ for the *light-lip* nasal, but maintains bilabial stops for *heavy-lip* stops and a bilabial nasal for *heavy-lip* nasals. Note that (並) surfaces as dental *t-* because it is a Grade IV *chongniu* doublet (see Chapter 4).

Wang Li argued that there were substantial cases of words that demonstrated bilabial stop initials instead of labiodentals, and that these were cases of pre-Tang borrowings that did not

reflect the *light-lip* labiodentalization (Wang, 1948, p. 61). In a fundamental sense, I agree that, all else being equal, labiodentalization is an acceptable index for distinguishing ESV from LSV. However a number of Wang Li's suggestions are problematic. We will go through each of his cases in turn, and either accept or reject the claim.

(58) Viet. *bay* ("fly") from 飛 (MC pjɨj, OC *Cə.pər, "fly;" cf. Hán-Việt "phi")

(Rejected.) In this case, not only is the vowel correspondence unconvincing, but final -j in Vietnamese regularly corresponds to a retroflex liquid -ɭ or nasal -n in the Mường languages (cf. Mường Vang /păɭ˦˦/ and Mường Chỏi /păn˦˦˦/ and Mường Trám /păn˦˦/), and we can confidently reconstruct a Proto-Viet-Muong -ɭ coda for the etymon.

(59) Viet. *buôn* ("trade") from 販 (MC pjonH, "peddlar, hawker;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phiến")

(Accepted.) As demonstrated by Maspero (1916), vulgar Vietnamese *-uô-* (-uə-) is a regular reflex of a labialized medial (i.e. -ʷa-), not a palatal medial; however, the word is *hékǒu* (i.e. it bears a labialized medial), which Maspero showed to produce *-uô-* diphthongs. Note, however, that the vowel could have (and probably did) diphthongize later in the etymological history. The tone is also high-level A1 rather than the expected high-departing C1, and so we would have to imagine the etymon being borrowed without its coda material (a not impossible but nevertheless undesirable prospect).

I do reject another related candidate that is sometimes suggested, i.e. Viet. *bán* ("to sell"), which does demonstrate an oblique tone. However, the tone is B-rising, and the vowel is also closer to LMC, and so if this was a borrowed word, it would have to date to after the vowel lowering and after key tonogenetic processes that resulted in the B/C confusion discussed earlier, but before completion of labiodentalizaiton. Again, this is not impossible, but not desirable, and furthermore, the etymon regularly appears with a palatalized nucleus and final in the Mường languages (cf. Mường Vang /paʲɲ˦˦/, Mường Chỏi /paʲɲ˦˩ʔ/ and Mường Trám /paʲɲ˦˩/), and –(ʲ)ɲ

regular corresponds to Viet. de-palatalized –an. Wang Li also raises the alternate possibility that Viet. *buôn bán* is related to (買賣) based on the shared place of articulation of *b-* and *m-* (Wang, 1948, p. 61). However, Vietnamese *b-* (actually, bilabial implosive *ɓ-*) come from pVM plain stop *p-*, while ancient *ɓ-* > *m-*, and not the other way around. Thus, if *bán* had been borrowed with an initial *m-*, it would have stayed so (cf. the *light-lip* nasals discussed above).

(60) Viet. *buông* ("release")from 放 (MC pjangH, OC *paŋ-s, "to put, release;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phóng")

(Accepted, tentative.) The vowel correspondence is requires some defense. Some some Min forms demonstrate a high-front vocalic element (cf. Chaozhou *huaŋ˦˩˦*, and Fuzhou *xuɔŋ˦˩˦*), as does Gan (cf. Nanchang ɸuɔŋ˩˩), and that Hakka and Yue forms demonstrate a mid-back –ɔ- (cf. Guangzhou fɔŋ˦ and Meixian ɔŋ˩˦). This suggests some stage where a high-back element was present, which makes the vowel here plausible given the *-u-* > *-uo-* shift Maspero discussed in 1916. However, the tone is level, and does not reflect any proto-tonal coda material. As discussed earlier, this has been analyzed as consistent with Jin ESV (cf. Pulleyblank, 1984, p. 61; Norman, 1979, p. 272). There is some evidence from Mường Bi that supports a rejection, in the etymon *pung-phát* (documented by the Barkers), which demonstrates the expected plain *p-* to Viet. *ɓ-* correspondences, as well as a good *–u-* to *–uo-* correspondences as well (Barker, 1966, p. 386). This cases is somewhat parallel to (10) below; nevertheless, I remain somewhat tentative in this judgment.

(61) Viet. *bức* (embroidery, painting) from 幅 (MC pjuwk, OC *p<r>ək, "strip, hem;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phúc")

 (Accepted, tentative.) In this case there is also a vowel mismatch, but it is possible that this may be due to shortening via final –k. In closed syllables, a number of Mường varieties demonstrate regular *-ɯ-* for *-o-*, and Maspero (1912) also noted that some varieties of "Highland

Annamese" (*Haut-Annam*) did the same (Maspero, 1912, pp. 1-2). Similarly, the tone is perfectly consistent with a voiceless-onset entering tone. However, the semantic match is not good.

(62) Viet. *bưng* ("hold with both hands") from 棒 (MC bæwngX, "stick, truncheon, to hit;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "bổng")

(Rejected.) The semantic match is a bit tenuous: Viet. *bưng*, "hold with both hands" vs. 棒, "stick" or "truncheon." Wang Li goes on to suggest that 棒 was later assigned the 滂 (*pʰ-), along with other 幫 rimes, and so labiodentalized. However, it is unclear what labiodentalized form Wang Li had in mind when he made this statement. As with the other cases, the level tone is also not a good match (although, as above, we reserve the possibility of a stratum of loans that did not duplicate the proto-tonal coda material).

(63) Viet. *búa* ("axe") from 斧 (MC pjuX, OC *paʔ, "hatchet, axe;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phủ")

(Accepted.) The tone is a good match, and reflects the expected outcome for final glottal (-X/-ʔ) proto-tonal coda as Vietnamese *sắc* tone, and the vowel is consistent given the facts discussed last section (see discussion of off-glides above).

(64) Viet. *bùa* ("charm") from 符 (MC bju, "tally, charm;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phù")

(Accepted.) Wang Li expresses certainty in this claim for good reason—the low, level tone is exactly what we would expect, the vowel is a good match (see off-glide discussion above), and the semantic match is strong (i.e. "charm, token" in both cases).

(65) Viet. *buồm* ("sail") from 帆 (MC bjwom, "sail;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phàm")

(Accepted.) The semantic match is perfect, the tone is an expected low-level tone, and the vowel correspondences is consistent with an -*wa*- to -*uô*- change that affected both Viet-Muong words and sinoid words as observed by Maspero in 1916 (Maspero, 1916, pp. 37-38).

(66) Viet. *buộc* ("knot, tie") from 縛 (MC bjak, OC *bak "knot, tie;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phược, phạc")

(Accepted.) The tone is consistent with low-entering, and the semantic match is excellent. Given the reconstructed change of OC -*a*- to -*u*- in closed syllables, the vowel is consistent with the diphthongization of high front -u- discussed by Maspero (Baxter W. H., 1992, p. 575).

(67) Viet. *buồng* ("room, chamber") from 房 (MC bjang, "room, house;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "*phòng*")

(Accepted.) The tone is consistently low-level A2, and the semantic match is good. As for the vowel, Baxter & Sagart give Old Chinese *Cə-N-paŋ*, still retaining low-front -*a*- (Baxter & Sagart, 2011); Some Min dialects demonstrate high-back -u- (cf. Fuzhou puŋ˦˩), Hakka and Yue demonstrate mid-back -ɔ- (cf. Meixian fɔŋ˩ and Guangzhou fɔŋ˨˩), and southern Wu demonstrates diphthong -uɔ- (cf. Wenzhou ɦuɔ˨˩). This suggests some stage where the nucleus expressed some back vocalic, or labialized element, and indeed, Pulleyblank reconstructs an EMC form of *buaŋ (though, admittedly, with Sino-Vietnamese data in mind). Note that even the HV form demonstrates a higher back vowel, instead of low-front -*a*-, or its regular HV correspondence, -*ươ*- (as in virtually all other *dàng* rime group 宕攝 cases). Given the comparative data, I accept this form as reflecting an -*u*- > -*uo*- change, as discussed by Maspero (see above), though with some hesitation. The semantic value is also consistent with Yue usage rather than Northern usage (i.e. *room*, not *house*), as described by Zhan Bohui (Zhan, 1981, p. 49).

(68) Viet. *buồn* ("sad, grieved") from 煩 (MC bjon, OC *ban, "troubled;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "*phiền*")

(Accepted.) The tonal correspondence is consistently low-level, and the semantic match, while not perfect, describes a plausible cline. The syllable was labialized by Middle Chinese (i.e. 合口), and Maspero showed that *-wa-* regularly yielded *–uo-*, which could not be shown to descend from later -a- (Maspero, 1916, p. 38). This is a surprising match, given the basic quality of the etymon.

(69) Viet. *bụa* (as in *quả bụa*, "widow/widower") from (寡)婦 (MC bjuwX, OC *mə.bəʔ, "widow;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phụ")

(Accepted.) On the condition that off-glide *-uə-* was associated with more than just the *yù* rime group (虞攝); the tone is consistently low-rising (in fact, it is the HV tone that is more problematic), and the fossilized usage is an excellent semantic match (cf. parallel HV term *quả phụ*, with restricted sense of "widower").

(70) Viet. *bố* ("father") from 父 (MC bjuX, OC *N-paʔ, "father;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phụ")

(Rejected, tentative.) The vowel is not a good match (I am not aware of any *-a-* or *-u-* > -*o-* in Vietnamese, Viet-Muong, or the Sino-Vietnamese interface), and the tone is B1 high-rising rather than B2 low-rising. Furthermore, the etymon, like "mother," is highly suspicious, and bilabial stop + open syllables for "father" and "mother" occur throughout the world. Still, it is consistent with the semantic profile of terms of address for authority or higher-ranking terms to be borrowed from Chinese while lower-ranking terms remained native (cf. pVM-stock "younger brother/sister" *em* vs. sinoid stock "older sister" *chị* 姐), and the possibility of an affiliation remains. However, for lack of more decisive evidence, I reject the claim.

(71) Viet. *bụt* ("Buddha") from 佛 (MC bjut, OC *but, "Buddha;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "phật")

(Accepted.) Wang Li stresses the point that *bụt* was not borrowed directly from Indian sources, and I am inclined to agree. The onset, rime, and tone are all consistent with the Old Chinese forms (and this is consistent with a picture of Buddhism as having entered Vietnam during Han times).

(72) Viet. *mù, mụ* ("mist") from 霧 (MC mjuH, OC *kə.mok-s, "mist;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "vụ")

(Rejected, tentative.) Wang Li himself says that this most likely a Tai loan ("這是來自泰語的字…"), and only raises the possibility that it may be related to Chinese (Wang, 漢語越語研究 Hanyueyu yanjiu (Research on Sino-Vietnamese), 1948, p. 62). In either form, the tone does not match the expected low-departing correspondence for ESV (i.e. *ngã* tone), as the other cases of m- retention in (微-) initials do, though the lowl-level A2 form *mù* would be consistent with a Jin ESV form (cf. 墓, *mồ*).

(73) Viet. *múa* ("brandish") from 舞 (MC myuX, OC *kə.ma, "dance;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "vũ")

(Rejected.) As noted in the section on off-glides above, the tone is high-rising here, rather than the expected low-rising, and the semantic match is tenuous.

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In conclusion, I accept (either tentatively or not) 11/16 of Wang Li's candidates, based either on documented Chinese historical changes supported by synchronic evidence, or on synchronic comparison with the Mường languages. These can be summarized as follows:

Table 2.26: Summary of Review of Wang Li (1948) Candidates for Early Loans based on Labiodentalization

#	字	Ch. Gloss	ESV candidate	Viet.	Hán-Việt	Judgment
1.	飛	"fly"	"fly"	bay	phi	rejected
2.	販	"peddler"	"trade"	buôn	phiến	accepted
3.	放	"release"	"release"	buông	phóng	accepted; tentative
4.	棒	"stick"	"hold"	bưng	bổng	rejected
5.	父	"father"	"father"	bố	phụ	rejected; tentative
6.	霧	"mist"	"mist"	mù, mụ	vụ	rejected
7.	舞	"dance"	"brandish"	múa	vũ	rejected
8.	幅	"hem"	"painting"	bức	phúc	accepted; tentative
9.	斧	"axe"	"axe"	búa	phủ	accepted
10.	符	"charm"	"charm"	bùa	phù	accepted
11.	帆	"sail"	"sail"	buồm	phàm	accepted
12.	縛	"knot"	"knot"	buộc	phược	accepted
13.	房	"room, house"	"room"	buồng	phòng	accepted
14.	煩	"troubled"	"sad"	buồn	phiền	accepted
15.	(寡)婦	"widow"	"widow(er)"	bụa	phụ	accepted
16.	佛	"Buddha"	"Buddha"	bụt	phật	accepted

It is, perhaps, not surprising that the etyma rejected above tend to be of a more basic lexical quality (e.g. "to fly" in no. 1; "hold" in no. 3). Nevertheless, the change of *light-lip sounds* to labiodentals turns out to be quite a powerful index for ESV.

2.33 Velar softening

Wang Li first pointed out that HV demonstrates a clear lenition process which turned velar onsets in open (*kaikou* 開口; no medial -w-) Grade II syllables either into palatal fricatives or palatal nasals; i.e. *k > ʝ or *ŋ > ɲ (Wang, 1948, pp. 13-14).[112] The stop lenition is

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[112] To be precise, Maspero noticed this in 1912, and discussed it briefly in conjunction with a Viet-Muong process whereby Viet-Muong *k-* initials were similarly lenited, as demonstrated by velar-initial Chinese characters used to transcribe <*gi-*> initial words in the 15th century Sino-Vietnamese glossary known ast he *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語 (cf. Viet. *gió* ("wind") transcribed by 教, *giờ* ("time, hour") transcribed by 覺). See: Maspero, H. (1912), Etudes sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite, Les initiales, *BEFEO 12* , 12., pp. 23-25. However, these may have been used because a parallel "velar softening" had already been completed in Mandarin (cf. Mandarin *jiāo* for 教, *jué* for 覺), a plausible explanation since the *Huayi yiyu* was produced out of the Nanjing Board of Rites office.

reminiscent of Mandarin, where we see / tɕiau˥/ for 教 (cf. non-softened Cantonese /ka:u˧/ but Hán-Việt /zaw˩˩/) and /tɕia˥/ for 家 (cf. Cantonese /ka˥/ but Hán-Việt /za˩˩/), and was one of the most commonly-invoked phonological criteria used for Chinese subgrouping (see 3.1, last chapter).[113] This is summarized below:

Table 2.27: "Velar Softening" in Mandarin, Hán-Việt, Xiang, and Cantonese

#	字	Mandarin	Hán-Việt	Xiang	Cantonese
1.	假	tʂʲa˩˥	za˦˥	tɕia˩	ka˥
2.	加	tʂʲa˥	za˩˩	tɕia˦	ka˥
3.	解	tʂʲɛ˩˥	zăj˦˥	kai˩	ka:i˥
4.	教	tʂʲaw˥	zaw˩˩	tɕiau˥	ka:u˧
5.	甲	tʂʲa˩˥	zap˦˥	tɕia˦	ka:p˧
6.	牙	ja˦˥	ɲa˩˩	ŋa˩˧	ŋa˧˩
7.	雅	ja˩˥	ɲa˦ʔ˥	ia˩	ŋa˧
8.	樂	juɛ˩	ɲak˦˥ʔ	io˩	ŋɔk˧
9.	顏	jɛn˦˥	ɲan˩˩	ŋan˩˧	ŋa:n˧˩
10.	眼	jɛn˩˥	ɲan˦ʔ˥	ŋan˩	ŋa:n˧˩

As shown above, both Mandarin and HV demonstrate fronted—and usually lenited—onsets (Mandarin *tʂʲ-* and *j-*; *Hán-Việt z-* and *ɲ-*), whereas Cantonese retains velars (*k-* or *ŋ-*). Wang Li suggests that in cases where this very regular lenition is not observed, the etymon in question may of ancient origin. As with labiodentalization, I accept the sound-change as a viable index for time-depth. I also accept virtually all of Wang Li's candidates, though with some provisions. I will discuss velar lenition further in Chapter 4; here let us again examine each of Wang Li's candidates in turn.

(74) Viet. *cải* ("mustard") from 芥 (MC keajH, OC *kˤret-s, "mustard;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giới")

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[113] As also noted last chapter, the presence of velar softening in HV strongly supports the refutation of a Yue origin for LSV.

(Accepted.) The tone is consistently high-departing, and the vowel and semantic matches are excellent.

(75) Viet *cởi* ("take off; undo") from 解 (MC keaX, OC *kˤreʔ, "cut up, unloose;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giải")

(Rejected, tentative.) The word (解) occurs in both departing and rising tone syllables, so tonal correspondences are not helpful here. The semantic match is also plausible, though it is more restricted in the Vietnamese than the Chinese. However, the vowel change from *-a- > -ơ-* is a late formation (see Chapter 4).

(76) Viet. *cả*[114] ("price, value") from 價 (MC kaeH, OC *C.qˤ<r>aʔ-, "price, value;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giá")

(Accepted.) The tone is consistently high-departing, and the vowel and semantic matches are excellent.

(77) Viet. *gá* ("pledge") from 嫁 (MC kaeH, OC *s.kˤra-s, "to marry;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "giá")

(Rejected; tentative.) The tonal correspondence is B1 high-rising rather than the expected C1 high-departing (*hỏi*), though the vowel and semantic matches are good. A better candidate is Viet. *gả* which not only bears the expected C departing tone, but also bears the more restricted (and better matched) meaning of "to give away in marriage."[115] The similarity between *gá* and *gả* strongly suggest a word-family affinity, or perhaps a doubling due to the

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[114] Wang Li transcribes *ca³*, which in his system would mean <cã>. However this word does not seem to exist in modern Vietnamese, while *cả* (as in *mặc cả* or *giá cả*) bears the right semantic meaning of "price"—as in "to bargain" (cf. Chinese "討價還價"). As Wang Li notes, this form only appears in the set phrases *mặc cả* or *giá cả*. See Wang (1948), p. 60.

[115] Wang Li seems to have been unaware of the flip-flop of rising and departing tones in Sino-Vietnamese history (unsurprising, since his work predates Haudricourt), as can be seen by his identification of *Hán-Việt* departing tones as *sắc/nặng* and rising tones as *hỏi/ngã* (see pp. 53). I will discuss this further below.

borrowing interface. Short of a more systematic way of determining the relationship between rising/departing variances of this kind, I have chosen to reject this claim in favor of *gả*.

(78) Viet. *khéo* ("skilled") from 巧 (MC khaewX, OC *kʰˤruʔ, "artful, skillful;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "xảo")

(Accepted, tentative.) The tonal correspondence is consistently high-rising B1, and the semantic match is excellent. The vowel is slightly troublesome, since –*æw* is not a common rime, and one would need an explanation for the surfacing of a raised vowel (similarity to the reconstruction is not adequate). The syllable (巧) is Grade II, and this may be a case where an Early loan preserves a fronted vowel that had not yet merged with Grade III -*a*- counterparts (see above).

(79) Viet. *ngà* (as in *ngà voi*, "elephant tusk") from 牙 (MC ngae, OC *m-ɢˤ<r>a; cf. *Hán-Việt* "nha").[116]

(Accepted.) The vowel is clearly unproblematic, and the semantic match is compelling. The tone is also predictably low-level A2, versus the expected high-level A1 in the HV form.

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A summary of these six words is provided below:

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[116] Wang Li's argument that Viet. *cái* derives from (芥) may be a typo: on page 59 he does write the term in question as "cai³," which corresponds to <*cái*>; however a slightly more plausible semantic fit would be *cây* ("spicy")—though if this is what Wang Li meant, he would still have to explain (1) not only the unexpected level tone, but (2) the mismatched vowel as well.

Table 2.28: Wang Li's ESV Candidates based on Non-softened Velar Initials

#	字	ESV candidate	Gloss	Hán-Việt	HV Gloss	Judgment
1.	芥	cải	mustard	giới	mustard	accepted
2.	解	cởi	take off, undo	giải	take off, undo	rejected, tentative
3.	價	cả	price, bargain	giá	price, value	accepted
4.	嫁	gá	pledge	giá	marry	rejected
5.	嫁	gả	give to marry	giá	marry	suggested
6.	巧	khéo	skilled	xảo	skilled	accepted
7.	牙	ngà (voi)	(elephent) tusk	nha	tooth	accepted

Pulleyblank (1981) also discusses the issue of "velar softening," and the English term seems to date to this article. Pulleyblank discusses a range of phenomena under the heading of "softened" initials, including not only the type discussed above, but also processes of spirantization that changed *k- > ɣ- (Pulleyblank, 1981, p. 282). Pulleyblank notes that Maspero (1912) argued for the *k- > ɣ- change as a late, Vietnamese effect, but agrees with Haudricourt that these words with initial <g-> probably reflect pre-*Hán-Việt* loans (Pulleyblank, 1981, p. 282; Maspero, 1912, p. 21).

Table 2.29: Pulleyblank's *g*- Initial Candidates for ESV, from MC *k-, *g-

#	字	MC Tone	Vietnamese	Hán-Việt	Gloss
1.	嫁	陰去	gả	giá	give a woman in marriage
2.	寡	陰上	góa	quả	widow
3.	裹	陰上，陰去	gói	quả, khỏa	wrap
4.	寄	陽上	gơi, gui[117]	ký	send
5.	膾	陰去	gỏi	x[118]	mincemeat
6.	疥	陰去	ghe[119]	giới	itch
7.	機	陰平	ghé[120]	ký[121]	chair, bench
8.	記	陰去	ghi	kỳ[122]	record
9.	鋼	陰平，陰去	gang	cương	steel
10.	強	陰平，陰上，陰去	gượng	cượng[123]	make an effort
11.	薑	陰平	gầng, gừng	khương	ginger
12.	鏡	陰去	gương	kính	mirror
13.	屐	陽入	guộc[124]	kich[125]	wooden clogs
14.	肝	陰平	gan	can	liver
15.	筋	陰平	gân	cân	sinew, nerve
16.	近	陽上，陽濁	gần	cân[126]	near
17.	挾	陽入	gắp	giáp[127]	take with chopsticks
18.	劍	陽平，陰去	gươm	kiếm	sword
19.	錦	陰上	gầm[128]	cẩm	brocade
20.	閣	陰入	gác	các	shelf, storey; to place
21.	角	陰入，陽入	góc	giác	corner
22.	急	陰入	gắp	cấp	urgent

As marked in the footnoting, Pulleyblank commits a number of transcriptional errors which prove important since he claims that the tonal correspondences here bear out the hypothesis that

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[117] This should be *gửi*, and appears to be a typo in Pulleyblank's article.

[118] Should be *quái*.

[119] Pulleyblank must have meant *ghẻ*, which means "itch" or "scabies."

[120] This should be *ghế*; another typo.

[121] This is incorrect; it should be *cơ*—though Pulleyblank may be representing another layer of Sino-Vietnamese here.

[122] This should be *ký*; probably a typo.

[123] This should be *cường*.

[124] Should be guộc.

[125] This should be *kịch*.

[126] This should be *cận*.

[127] Should be *hiệp*, but has multiple readings in Chinese.

[128] Should be *gấm*.

these are ESV loans, and I have provided the traditional rime-studies tonal classifications for each etymon to help clarify this position.

Nevertheless, a number of Pulleyblank's examples (which largely draw on Wang Li's data) are good candidates for ESV loans. Nos. 1-6 and 19 all demonstrate the expected B:B and C:C tonal correspondences for an ESV loan. A number of his examples do contain tonal mismatches in which the ESV candidate bears an unexpected level tone (e.g. nos. 8-9, 12, 16, 18); however, since (as noted above) this alternation is quite common, I accept these tentatively (esp. cases like nos. 11-12, and 18, where the semantic matches are exceptionally compelling).[129] However, nos. 4 and 13, and potentially no. 10 all show the wrong tonal correspondence for ESV Regarding the rimes, the front vowel in no. 6 ("itch") is not implausible, since it belongs to the *xiè* rime group (蟹攝), and as discussed in Chapter 4, the centralization of that rime group is a late effect. However, as discussed above briefly, the -*ɯo*- (-ɯə-) diphthong in no. 10, 12 and 18 is characteristic of LSV reflexes for the *dàng* rime group (宕攝), and, pending a separate diphthongization process, is inconsistent with ESV.

Beyond these issues, I believe that Pulleyblank has fundamentally misunderstood a subtle implication in both Wang Li and Maspero's treatment of **g-* to **ɣ-*. It is true that both Maspero (and Wang Li who followed him) believed that this spirantization was a late process; however, as is clear by Wang Li's own claims on etyma like 1-2 discussed above, this does not mean that all cases bearing the *g-* initial in Vietnamese were necessarily analyzed as LSV. Rather, as in our discussion of the palatalization of onsets before front vowels above, Maspero and Wang Li are describing a sound-change that later swept across the Vietnamese language—crucially *including* those ESV loans that had been accepted into the lexicon. This means that inevitably, certain ESV loans that had formerly borne plain *k-* initials were spirantized (under conditions yet to be precisely determined). In other words, the spirantization process described by the tokens above

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[129] As already discussed, a partial explanation was forwarded by Pulleyblank (1984) and, indirectly, by Norman (1979), who identified level tone realizations for departing tone as a salient indicator of what I have called Jin ESV (see Table above). Some of these may represent various updates of Jin ESV etyma.

was not a feature of ESV loans, but—as Maspero and Wang Li claimed—a later change that affected an (as yet undetermined class of) velar-initial words.[130] As noted above, I believe this to be one of the few pertinent examples of a "vernacularizing" effect.

In summary, while I accept that velar softening—defined as the palatalization of velars in Grade II words—is a reliable criterion for distinguishing ESV from LSV, the spirantization of plain *k- represents completely separate, a late pVM change that cannot be used in the same way.

2.34 Dental mutations

In a somewhat less systematic manner, Wang Li cites a few cases where SV correspondences for MC apical stops (舌頭音) are somewhat unexpected. There does not seem to be a rule at work here; rather, Wang Li has observed semantic similarities between MC words with apical stop onsets, and certain colloquial Vietnamese words (in which the onset is not the expected *Hán-Việt* onset). There is no principle to accept or reject here, though Wang Li's cases are still interesting to consider in turn.

(80) Viet. *đục*[131] ("cloudy, murky") from 濁 (MC draewk, OC *N-tˤro, "muddy;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trọc")

(Rejected.) Wang Li forwards this candidate because the *Explaining Language* chapter of Líu Xī's 劉熙 *Explanation of Names* 釋名釋言語 (ca. 200) records: "濁，瀆也" (Wang, 1948, p. 60). Wang Li is arguing that the character 瀆 ("sluice;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "độc") is a better

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[130] Un-spirantized native words admittedly pose a problem to this view, such as *cá* ("fish"), *cay* ("spicy"), *cây* ("tree") *cỏ* ("grass"), and *cọp* ("tiger"). One possible explanation is that spirantization occurred before front vowels, and the only velar + front vowel combinations (or at least the majority of them) that existed in pVM or PV at that time were the result of Chinese loans. But this is only a tentative suggestion, and further work needs to be done on this question.

[131] Wang Li transcribes *duc⁵*, which would be regular *quốc ngữ* <đúc>. However, Wang Li almost certainly meant *đục*, which bears the semantic value of "cloudy" or "muddy" he was looking for. The low-tone is, in fact, a better match for his claim anyway.

phonological fit for Viet. *đục* than (濁), which bears a less rounded vowel (i.e. 濁 is *kāikǒu*, but 瀆 is *hékǒu* 合口). If Líu Xī's etymology is correct, then this would represent possible evidence for the ancientness of the loan. However, for this claim to be plausible, we would still need a mechanism for -o- > -u-, (a possibility for which is raised in Chapter 4). There is good comparative evidence for *hékǒu* vowels demonstrating high-front *u-* in the Chinese languages (take, for example, Mandarin *dú*). However, this is the result of loss of final coda, and amplification of the medial. In SV, cases of *hékǒu* labialized syllables bearing final *–k* usually yield a diphthong (i.e. *–uok*), as discussed by Maspero (1916). Thus, barring the discovery of a regular *-ok- > -uk-* correspondence, I tentatively reject this claim.

(81) Viet. *đuốc* ("torch") from 燭 ("candle;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "chúc")

(Accepted, tentative.) Wang Li points out that the *Summary of the Rules of Propriety* in the *Book of Rites* (禮記曲禮) describes the custom among ancient people (who did not yet have candles) of using (燭) to refer to "torches" (炬), a semantic affiliation also found in a number of other sources, like the *Shūowén jiězì* 說文解字)and the *Ěryǎ* 爾雅 (Wang, 1948, p. 60; Hanyu dazidian, 1990, p. 2241). Wang Li then argues that the character (燭) had undergone a change from the *duān* (端-) initial to the *zhào* (照-) initial (ibid.). The ancient meaning of (燭) as "torch" is well supported by premodern lexiocgraphic and exegetical texts. If Wang Li's claim about the ancient initial of (燭) being (端-) is correct, then I also accept his claim about Viet. *đuốc*, since the vowel shows regular *-uo-* diphthongization of *hékǒu* -u- (see above), and the tone is consistently high-rising (which is expected for entering tone in the voiceless series). If, however, Wang Li's claims for the initial of (燭) are incorrect, then I reverse this judgment.

(82) Viet. *đủ* ("sufficient") from 足 (MC tsowk, OC *tsok, "sufficient;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "túc")

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(Rejected.) Wang Li claims that (足) was once categorized as bearing a (候) rime, though the basis of this is unclear. While the (候) rime is an open syllable (Baxter-Sagart MC transcription: *huw*), (足) is normally classifed as bearing (燭) rime—i.e. bearing a final –k. This is well-attested in the comparative data (cf. Guangzhou t∫uk˥, Amoy tsiɔk˦˩, Nanchang tsuk˥, Meixian tsiuk, Chaozhou tsok˦˩, and Fuzhou tsøyʔ˦˩, not to mention HV tuk˦˩). The lack of a coda in Viet. *đủ* is thus fairly damning counter-evidence (note that Wang Li himself only claims to "suspect" 疑 this etymology). The tone is also C1 high-departing, which *may* be consonant with a Song homonym that was given the (遇) rime and departing tone classification; but if this were the source for Viet. *đủ* (and that is not clear), then it would be LSV, not ESV.

(83) Viet. *đũa* ("chopsticks") from 箸 ("chopsticks;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "trợ, trứ")

(Accepted.) The vowel fits Maspero's off-glide scenario discussed above, and the semantic match is excellent. As also noted above, the *Guangyun* gives multiple *fánqìe* for the character, including both forms with both a voiced (high) and voiceless (low) onset. This explains why there are two HV forms, and also shows that the form *đũa* follows the variant that was transcribed in the *Guangyun* with a voiced onset as 長略切, ultimately yielding the low-series *ngã* tone attested there. However, it still does not explain the mismatch in *place* of articulation. Wang Li claims that a mutation from ancient (定-) initial to (澄-) explains the unexpected dental stop in the form *đũa*, versus the retroflex onsets in the HV forms. The (定-) initial regularly gives Viet. <đ-> (via the pVM process of *d- > *t- > đ-). Given these facts, I accept the cognacy pending the veracity of Wang Li's proposed dental/retroflex confusion.

(84) Viet. *thêu* ("embroider") from 繡 (MC sjuw, OC *siw-s, "embroider;" cf. *Hán-Việt* "tú")

(Accepted.) As in (3) above, Wang Li only "suspects" (疑) that Viet. *thêu* was borrowed from (繡), though in this case I find the idea of a Sinitic origin much more likely. Wang Li

claims that while (繡) bears the (心-) initial (which regularly produces Vietnamese *t*-; cf. SV *tâm*, HV *tim*, "heart"), it was confused in ancient times with the (審-) initial, which regularly gives Vietnamese *th*- (cf. 審, HV *thẩm*). The vowel is slightly irregular, though it does seem to show evidence for some kind of palatal medial + -u-, which would be consistent with a Grade 3 (宥-) rime designation (and close to other modern forms, e.g. Měixiǎn *siu˦˧*, Fuzhou *sieu˦˦˧*, and of course, Mandarin *ɕiou˦˩*). The biggest problem is the tone, which is high-level rather than high-departing. However, this can be explained by the phenomenon known as *sisheng bieyi* (四聲別意), which refers to the perception of differences in meaning being signaled by differences in tone (cf. Chinese *wáng* 王, "king," vs. *wàng* 王, "to rule"). As Sagart (1999) points out, the most common form of *sisheng bieyi* takes level, rising, or entering tones and turns them into departing tones, which, given Haudricourt's (1954) model of tonogenesis, would amount to a final –s/h suffixation (Sagart, 1999, pp. 131-132). It is quite possible that *thêu* was borrowed *without* the suffix, which would explain the high-level tone that persists today. Beyond these pieces of evidence, the semantic match is also, of course, excellent.

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These five candidates are collected in the table below:

Table 2.30: Wang Li's ESV Candidates Based on Dental Mutations

#	字	Viet. candidate	Viet. Gloss	Hán-Việt	HV Gloss	Judgment
1.	濁	đục	cloudy, murky	trọc	muddy	rejected
2.	燭	đuốc	torch	chúc	candle	accepted, tentative
3.	足	đủ	sufficient	túc	sufficient	rejected
4.	箸	đũa	chopsticks	trợ, trứ	chopsticks	accepted
5.	繡	thêu	embroider	tú	embroider	accepted

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In summary, there is no unified principle guiding Wang Li's discussion of these cases, other than they all involve a potential ancient dental onset. Rather, they rely on idiosyncratic semantic affiliations, and initial confusions that must be considered on an individual basis. While I accept three out of four of Wang Li's cases, there is no principle here that can be used as a regular index for judging Early Sino-Vietnamese onsets.

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In summary of the onset criteria, the most reliable indices appear to be, as Mineya and Wang Li discussed, the absence of a process of labiodentalization that affected the so-called *light-lip sounds*—including EMC nasal *m-*, and the absence of a lenition of velars in Grade II syllables. However, the sporadic dental mutations discussed above do not furnish us with a systematic principle to follow. A summary of the accepted ESV candidates based on onsets is gathered below:

#	子	Early SV	ESV Gloss	Late SV	LSV/MC Gloss
1.	味	mùi	flavor, smell	vị	taste
2.	萬	man, muôn	ten thousand	vạn	ten thousand
3.	販	buôn	trade	phiến	peddlar, hawker
4.	幅	bức	painting	phúc	hem
5.	斧	búa	axe	phủ	axe
6.	符	bùa	charm	phù	charm
7.	帆	buồm	sail	phàm	sail
8.	縛	buộc	knot	phược	knot
9.	房	buồng	room	phòng	room, house
10.	煩	buồn	sad	phiền	troubled
11.	(寡)婦	bụa	widow(er)	phụ	widow
12.	佛	bụt	Buddha	phật	Buddha
13.	芥	cải	mustard	giới	mustard
14.	價	cả	price, bargain	giá	price, value
15.	嫁	gả	give to marry	giá	marry
16.	巧	khéo	skilled	xảo	skilled
17.	牙	ngà (voi)	(elephent) tusk	nha	tooth
18.	箸	đũa	chopsticks	trợ, trứ	chopsticks
19.	繡	thêu	embroider	tú	embroider
20.	放	buông	release	phóng	accepted; tentative

Once again, I have culled tentative cases from this list and only present what I believe to be uncontroversial examples of ESV. As we have seen in previous sections, the lexical profile is quite specifically technological or socio-cultural in complexion, with little examples of basic vocabulary (the only possible exception being no. 11).

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2.4   Summary of Phonological Indices for Defining ESV from LSV

In this chapter, we visited various criteria for distinguishing ESV from LSV forms. Sections 2.1-2.3 discuss in detail the judgments which led to the indices summarized in Tables 2.1-2.2 above. These indices confirm a number of examples of ESV culled from a range of 20th century scholarship on Sino-Vietnamese. The confirmed examples of ESV discussed in 2.1-2.3 above are summarized in the following tables:

SUMMARY OF ACCEPTED JIN ESV ETYMA BASED ON TONE, RIME, AND ONSET CRITERIA (WITH LSV COUNTERPARTS)

#	字	ESV	ESV Gloss	LSV	LSV/MC Gloss	#	字	ESV	ESV Gloss	LSV	LSV/MC Gloss
1.	伯	bác	father's older brother	bá	father's older brother	28.	槐	hòe	locust tree/sophora japonica	(hòe)	locust tree/sophora japonica
2.	斧	búa	axe	phù	axe	29.	許	hứa	swear, vow	hử	vow, pledge
3.	符	bùa	amulet, charm	phù	talisman, tally	30.	揀	kén	select	giản	select
4.	(寡)婦	bụa	widow(er)	phụ	widow	31.	夾	kép	hem	giáp	to press between
5.	符	bùa	charm	phù	charm	32.	巧	khéo	skilled	xảo	skilled
6.	幅	bức	painting	phúc	hem	33.	誇	khoe	boast	khoa	boast
7.	縛	buộc	knot	phược	knot	34.	驢	lừa	donkey	lư	donkey
8.	帆	buồm	sail	phàm	sail	35.	卯	mẹo	4th terrestrial branch	mão	4th terrestrial branch
9.	販	buôn	to sell, trade	phiến	trade	36.	味	mùi	flavor, smell	vị	taste
10.	煩	buồn	sad	phiền	troubled	37.	萬	man, muôn	ten thousand	vạn	ten thousand
11.	房	buồng	room	phòng	room, house	38.	牙	ngà (voi)	(elephent) tusk	nha	tooth
12.	佛	bụt	Buddha	phật	Buddha	39.	卦	quẻ	to divine	quái	to divine : divinatory trigram
13.	價	cả	price, bargain	giá	price, value	40.	繡	thêu	embroider	tú	embroider
14.	芥	cải	mustard	giới	mustard	41.	嬸	thím	father's younger bro.'s wife	thẩm	father's younger bro.'s wife
15.	遮	che	hide	già	hide, shield	42.	辰	thìn	5th terrestrial branch	hần	5th terrestrial branch
16.	茶	chè	tea	trà	tea	43.	疎	thưa	sparse	sơ	wide apart; scanty
17.	斬	chém	chop	trảm	cut off	44.	尺	thước	foot, meter	xích	foot, meter"
18.	盞	chén	wine bowl	trản	small cup	45.	序	tựa	preface	tự	sequence, preface
19.	主	chúa	lord	chủ	master, host	46.	畫	vẽ	draw, paint	họa	draw, paint
20.	貯	chứa	keep, contain	trữ	stockpile	47.	車	xe	vehicle, cart, chariot	xa	vehicle, cart, chariot
21.	箸	đũa	chopsticks	trợ, trứ	chopsticks	48.	察	xét	observe, mark	sát	examine
22.	嫁	gả	give to marry	giá	marry	49.	初	xưa	ancient, previously	sơ	beginning
23.	夏	hè	summer	hạ	summer	50.	槐	hòe	locust tree/sophora japonica	(hòe)	locust tree/sophora japonica
24.	限	hẹn	limit, constraint	hạn	obstacle	51.	許	hứa	swear, vow	hử	vow, pledge
25.	狹	hẹp	straight, narrow	hiệp	straight, narrow	52.	墓	mồ	tomb, grave"	mộ	grave
26.	放	buông	release	phóng	release	53.	揀	kén	select	giản	select
27.	膠	keo	glue	giao	glue	54.	夾	cáp	hem	giáp	to press between

Table 2.32

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To these we may add a few examples of what appear to be Han ESV:

Table 2.33: Potential Han ESV with Jin ESV and LSV Counterparts

#	字	Han ESV	Jin ESV	ESV Gloss	LSV	LSV/MC Gloss
1.	墓	mả	mồ	tomb, grave	mộ	tomb, grave
2.	簿	bạ	-	register	bộ	register
3.	呂	lã	-	pitch-pipe	lữ	pitch-pipe; surname
4.	蛾	ngài	-	moth	nga	moth
5.	舵	lái	-	drive, steer	đà	rudder
6.	磨	mài	-	whet, sharpen	ma	grind
7.	個	cái	-	classifier	cá	classifier
8.	瓦	ngói	-	tile	ngõa	tile

As indicated from 2.33 above, verifiable Han ESV etyma are extremely rare, which reflects not only the paucity of mutations which distinguish Han from Jin ESV, but also the probability that the 4th century émigrés who spawned Jin ESV were prestigious elites whose innovative dialect swept through Jiao speakers, eventually updating most forms of Sinitic loans among the pVM speakers as well. The fact that the handful of Han ESV examples listed in 2.33 above do not bear Jin ESV counterparts suggests that these are isolated lexical survivors of a very successful wave of Jin-era innovation in the Sinitic variety of the Jiao region.

Virtually all of these words are of a technological or social complexion, which fits with a classic scenario of intensive borrowing rather than the substratal effects associated with language shift. A few verbs are present, but most of these may plausibly be associated with Sinitic-specific cultural practices (e.g. *nộp* "turn in" for paying taxes; *chứa* "stockpile; keep," etc.). Furthermore, among those candidates we rejected as ESV on phonological grounds, many turned out to be words of basic vocabulary. The following examples are especially noteworthy

Table 2.34: Some Rejected ESV Candidates

#	Candidate	Viet.	Gloss
1.	仰	ngửa	face upward
2.	逆	ngược	opposite, against!
3.	飛	bay	fly
4.	棒	bưng	hold with hands
5.	解	cởi	take off

All five rejected candidates are of good basic lexical quality. As discussed above, no. 3 is clearly a pVM word, as is probably no. 1. Nos. 4 and 5, on the other hand, bear features that may mark them as LSV, and no. 2 is very probably an LSV word. In general, basic vocabulary items are shown either to be pVM, or to be LSV, and ESV vocabulary remains social or technological in nature, and largely formed of nouns.

As noted in the introduction, substantive contact between Sinitic speakers and pVM speakers was initiated by Ma Yuan in the mid-1st century CE, at which time Jiao became a pervasively sinicized commandery of the Han Dynasty. While earlier Sinitic communities (notably from the Wang Mang era) surely already existed in the Red River plain, the destruction of pre-Han political culture, influx of thousands of Han soldiers and strong-arm sinicization of local culture and society in th amid 1st century created a rooted Han society in the Red River plain for the first time in history. This community passed words of their diverse but coalescent varieties of OC to the pVM speakers with whom they lived, bartered, married and procreated. However, this burgeoning "Jiaozhounese" was subsequently transformed by another wave of immigrants from the north: this time following the early 4th century Yongjia chaos of the Central Plains, which flooded the entire south—from the Yangzi to the Red river plain—with a million northern émigrés. Their innovative speech swept across Jiao, and new forms eventually trickled down and replaced most older Sinitic loanwords in pVM.[132]

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[132] From another point of view, Jiao probably represented the southern fringe of a dialect continuum, which reverberated with innovations as the south was inundated with northern émigrés. It thus innovated as a result of this continuum of contact, and since Sinitic speakers in Jiao cohabitated with bilingual pVM speakers, pVM Sinitic vocabulary was eventually "updated" with these new forms as well.

As will be discussed next chapter, Jiao was relatively stable throughout the Period of Disunion (3rd-6th centuries), and did not partake in the social, cultural and intellectual upheavals of the times. By the 4th century a new center of Sinitic culture was forming in the Yangzi valley, whose elites were largely comprised of dispossessed northern émigrés. These northern émigrés developed a culture that was highly opposed to the diversification of language, a sort of philological stodginess that ultimately motivated the production of the *Qieyun* (a project with vast consequences for East Asian intellectual culture). The diversification of the Chinese language during the Period of Disunion was of great concern for elites like Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591) who urged his sons to guard against what he perceived as corruptions of proper speech. Jiao speakers were almost certainly among the notorious southerners whom this group targeted as speaking in unsophisticated tones.

In summary, Han ESV probably reflects a composite dialect of Chinese that grew out of the diverse Han community established by Ma Yuan; which took root and flourished over the Eastern Han, Three Kingdoms and on into the Period of Disunion. However, a flood of émigrés at the dawn of the 4th century led to a rennovation of Jiao Sinitic, resulting in Jin ESV. During the subsequent Six Dynasties, Jiao was neither divorced from the new Yangzi courts (as shown by consistent census records) nor was it intimately involved with the new, proto-literati society that was developing in Jinling. Thus, it is quite plausible that a regional dialect began to form after the influx of Yongjia émigrés, centered on the southwestern region of the old Han Dynasty, which would develop peculiarities unshared with other burgeoning varieties to the north and east. It was only with the Sui reincorporation of Jiao in 602 that another fundamental shift in the complexion of the Red River plain would occur, at which point Jiao would join other fragments of the Han Dynasty in a new and rejuvenated effort to standardize, codify, and unify all aspects of civilized life. By then, however—as in other parts of the new empire—a regional variety of Sinitic was already fixed and in place. Nevertheless, Jiao speakers (of both Sinitic and pVM) would enter into an entirely new social, political and cultural system, which would irrevocably

affect the future of the region's languages. It was during this time—the great Sui-Tang era—that Jiao was transformed into *Annam*.

Chapter 3

Language and the Medieval Blueprint for a Sinitic Diglossia

3.0   Introduction

The political experience of Jiao over the next few centuries (the Period of Disunion, 220-589) would deeply affect not only the phonological evolution of its languages, but also its cultural and intellectual dimensions as well.[133] Jiao was continuously associated with the Six Dynasties of the lower Yangzi, and its history over the 4th-7th centuries primed it for a very different experience of the subsequent Sui-Tang era than were, for example, the Korean kingdoms of Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla. It was during this time when Sinitic elites begin to demonstrate a concern for the protean nature of spoken language. While dialectal variety was certainly noticed in the Han, it was not a matter of pressing psycho-social concern and philological works of the era are essentially confined to classical exegesis or orthography.[134] Indeed, the philological achievements of the Qin and Han revolved mainly around script 文字, as

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[133] The "Period of Disunion" spans the Fall of the Han (220) to the Sui Reunification in 581 CE, and encompasses the Three Kingdoms 三國 (220-280), the Jin 晉 Dynasty (265-420), and the Southern & Northern Dynasties 南北朝. The Southern and Northern Dynasties begin with the Jin disintegration and ends with the Sui Reunification. The Southern Dynasties are: Liu Song 劉宋 (420-479), Qi 齊 (479-502), Liang 梁 (502-557) and Chen 陳 (557-589). The Northern Dynasties, which were largely non-Sinitic, are: the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-584), Eastern Wei 東魏 (534-550), Western Wei 西魏 (535-557), Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577), and Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581). Finally, the "Six Dynasties" is a separate appellation describing the state of southern China during the medieval period beginning with Sun Qian's 孫權 (182-252 CE) State of Wu (222-280 CE), and encompasses the Jin Dynasty as well as the four successive Southern dynasties (Liu Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen). Since this chapter focuses on southern literati culture, I will generally rely on "Six Dynasties" to refer to early medieval China (including Jiao).

[134] Xu Shen 許慎 (58-147 CE) comments on the variation in "tones" during the Warring States Period in the preface to his own *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字: "[The Zhou Kingdom] was split into seven states; fields and tracts had different divisions, chariot ruts different axle [widths], laws and commands different principles, clothing and headgear different rules, *speech and language different tones*, and characters different forms"(分為七國，田疇異畝，車涂異軌，律令異法，衣冠異制，言語異聲，文字異形). Although Xu Shen is describing the Warring States, his comments reveal an intellectual awareness of north-south dialectal differences in the mid-Han. Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 BCE-18 CE) well-known *Topolects* 方言 describes in detail the variation of contemporary speech during the 1st century. Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), while not remarking on regional variety, did note that contemporary speech differed from ancient sounds (Elman, 1982, p. 495).

exemplified by Li Si's 李斯 (ca. 280-208 BCE) reforms in the 2nd century BCE and Xu Shen's 許慎 (ca. 58-147 CE) character dictionary, the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 published in 121 CE (Boltz, 1994, p. 156). During the Period of Disunion, however, the phonological distance between the classical language and contemporary speech came to the forefront of intellectual concerns, and philological scholarship of the time increasingly focused on "tones and rimes" 聲韻.[135]

A sharpened awareness of the phonological dimension was probably catalyzed by the introduction of Sanskrit philological practices and the need to transcribe Buddhist materials. Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪 (1890-1969) argued that Shen Yue's 沈约 (441-513) influential "four tones" 四聲 system was developed prior to 488 out of intimate contacts between Buddhist chanting masters and the elites of the Yangzi court (Ch'en, 1934).[136] Mair & Mei (1991) later showed that the bifurcation of the four tones into level 平 and oblique 仄 prosodic classes derived from the Sanskrit poetic alternation between long (*guru*: "heavy") and short (*laghu*: "light") syllables, and that it was exposure to the *śloka* meter found throughout the Lotus Sutra (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra*) which triggered the evolution of regulated verse 律詩 (Mair & Mei, 1991).

Nevertheless, Elman (1982, 2001) claimed that substantive attention to the difference between ancient and contemporary pronunciation only develops in the 17th century, when Qing scholars, critical of the "Sung-Ming vision of antiquity," began investigating historical differences in pronunciation as a part of the evidential movement 考證 (Elman, 1982, p. 493; Elman, 2001, pp. 72-122). Elman notes that while pre-Song philologists did study ancient pronunciations, they were unable to account for discrepancies between these pronunciations and

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[135] As Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) noted in his 1704 preface to a reprint of the *Guangyun* 廣韻, "the study of tones and rimes peaked during the Six Dynasties" 聲韻之學盛于六代 (Zhu, 1986, p. 1). The rise in studies on tones and rimes during this period will be taken up in 3.21 below.

[136] The four-tone system is traditionally attributed to a lost work of Shen Yue 沈约 (441-513) called the Sisheng pu 四聲譜, and to another work of Zhou Yong's 周顒 called the Sisheng qieyun 四聲切韻. Neither of these works are extant, but the attribution is described in an anecdote of Shen Yue's biography in the *History of the Liang* (ESWS, v. 3, 13/1954.2).

contemporary speech, and even forcefully emended characters so that a proper rime could be achieved (Elman, 1982, p. 495). Elman does mention the rise of rime-based analyses among philologists of the Six Dynasties (especially for studying classical texts), but does not elaborate on the intellectual context of these developments. Rather, Elman emphasizes a Song-era shift in the perception of "ancient rimes" triggered by the realization that they would necessarily and naturally differ from the categories of contemporary speech. Elman attributed this perceptual shift to Wu Yu 吳域 (fl. 1124), whose *Yunbu* 韻補 ("Mending Rimes") systematically avoids changing rimes in its reconstructions (Elman, 1982, p. 496). For Elman, this perception, stimulated by the Qing skepticism of an idealized antiquity, led to the technical advancement of a proto-form of historical phonology.

While it cannot be argued that medieval intellectuals demonstrated the same kind of scientific approach to language history as their Qing counterparts, the increase in studies on rimes and tones at this time—and their culmination in the immensely influential riming dictionary known as the *Qieyun* 切韻 (published 601)—do suggest important developments in the conceptualization of language over the medieval period. Coblin (2003) noted that poetic riming during the Period of Disunion was a conventional art form, and that the genre of riming dictionaries (of which the *Qieyun* was the most influential, but not the first) is thought to have been "rooted in school traditions for the chanting of texts" (Coblin, 2003, pp. 377, 378).[137] The *Qieyun*, which was compiled after the Period of Disunion and during the inaugural years of the Sui Dynasty, was born from this tradition—but also expresses a uniquely overt concern for diversity in language.[138] In fact, the dictionary's preface explicitly describes the natural propensity for language to change over time: "Because ancient and modern tones must naturally bear discrepancies, [that which is] accepted or rejected by various scholars will also differ."[139]

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[137] Cf. Ch'en Yin k'o's (1934) discussion of the Buddhist chanting origins of the *four tones*, and Mair & Mei's (1991) discussion of indic influences on the development of regulated verse, mentioned above.

[138] As noted by Coblin (2003), earlier riming dictionaries all list variant rimes, though the preference of the author is generally indicated (Coblin, 2003, p. 378, note 1).

[139] "以古今聲調即自有別，諸家取捨亦復不同。"

The line suggests that the perceptual shift Elman describes in the Song was already present in some measure during the medieval period, though the context and focus were different. Here, the diversification of language is recognized, but as the root of a more pressing diversification of scholarship *on* language—and subsequently, a corruption of the intellectual and literary practices associated with language.

Medieval intellectuals emerging from the Period of Disunion were thus acutely aware of the propensity for language to change over time, and were in fact troubled by the intellectual diversifications that resulted. As is documented elsewhere, the Sui reunification of 581 catalyzed a desire to codify and systematize aspects of culture and society perceived as having become overgrown and undesirably heterogeneous (cf. Twitchett, 1979; Warner, 2003). Among these was an interest in codifying literary performances of language (specifically recitation and poetic composition), which were perceived as reflecting the diversification of scholarship on language discussed above. This diversity—both observed and documented by 6th century intellectuals—was construed as a corruption of a pure line of descent, and which in turn engendered a diversity of scholarly practices at odds with the codifying culture of the new empire.

The *Qieyun* and *vox auctoritas*

This chapter argues that the *Qieyun* was created to reconcile the phonological diversity that had obtained over the Period of Disunion by synthesizing a new phonology, based on a perception of prestige and accuracy, but not beholden to the speech of any time or place. Its purpose was to aid in the refinement of intellectual and literary practices conceived as dependent upon an undivided form of the classical language—not by providing an exegesis of "ancient rimes," but by producing a new authority that could stand in its place. Thus, the dictionary was produced in reaction to the diversification of language over time, but did not claim to be a restoration to the rimes of an ancient phonology. Rather, its compilers manufactured a synthetic

phonological diasystem, designed to provide elites with a codified authority to guide the vocal aspects of their literary practices. In a way, the *Qieyun* mapped the phonological shape of an imagined purer language—a literal *vox auctoritas*—that could silence the linguistic and metalinguistic discrepancies resulting from four centuries of disunion. It was a "voice" (*vox*) not in a broad (e.g. moral) sense, but in the narrow meaning: it defined the tones and accent of the literary language—that is, its phonology. It was an "authority" (*auctoritas*) both in terms of its intended prestige as a marker of elite culture, and as a silencer of discrepancy and a unifier of heterogeneity; in these senses, it was a standard.

The idea of a medieval *vox auctoritas*, maintained through philological technology, was a revolutionary development in Chinese thought. It was simultaneously an admission of the inexorability of phonological change and a rejection of the perceived social, cultural and political consequences of the removal from the classical language it implied. Such a notion created an alternate linguistic dimension in which the fantasy of a pure and unchanged language underlying the diversity of vulgar speech could be maintained and performed. But as alluded to above, actual faithfulness to the classical was ranked below its function as a unifying, authoritative voice. The *Qieyun* diasystem was a cosmopolitan phonology first and a representation of the classical second. This explains in part, the practices noted by Elman in which rimes were forcefully emended. It was not that literati before the Song were not aware of the differences time could wreak on a language (as shown by the line from the *Qieyun* preface quoted above); it was that they were devoted to cultivating a literarily authoritative language—which was not exactly the same thing as maintaining the classical.

The conceptualization of a *vox auctoritas* also had structural consequences as well, catalyzing the formation of a secondary "literary" register in virtually all Sinitic varieties, and forming a sociolinguistic nexus through which Sinitic languages could repeatedly influence each

other.[140] In many ways the cultural reification of a *vox auctoritas* led to the mirage of the modern Sinitic family described by Norman (1983), as a "single Chinese language existing in a great number of forms" (Norman, Chinese, 1988, p. 3).

Finally, this *vox auctoritas*, for which the *Qieyun* became a symbol and a guide, cohabitated with the vernacularity of speech in a classically diglossic format, but which, when extended to the Sinoxenic satellites, produced a Pollockian "hyperglossia."[141] Pollock (2000) defines "hyperglossia" from the "internal split" of a diglossic development as a "relationship of extreme superimposition (hyper-) between two languages that local actors knew to be entirely different" (Pollock, 2000, p. 50). Thus Koreans and Japanese studied *hanmun*/*kanbun* 漢文 with full awareness that it was a different species from their spoken languages, and even forcefully reorganized Literary Sinitic structure to bridge the gap (cf. Korean *idu* and Japanese *kundoku* practices). Furthermore, the production of reading pronunciations like Japanese *Kan'on* 漢音 can be understood as hyperglossic instantiations of the Sinitic *vox auctoritas* for which the *Qieyun* was designed.[142] Jiao, on the other hand, like other regions of the post-Han landscape, developed a diglossic relationship between growing vernacular forms of (Sinitic) speech that failed to vanish in the wake of the Sui-Tang reunification on one hand, and a *vox auctoritas* imagined as governing the vocal aspects of literature on the other. The language underlying these phonologies were critically perceived as one in the same—indeed, that is the central fantasy at work here, the 17th century disruption of which was the topic of Elman's discussion

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[140] Note that the *Qieyun* was by no means the only \source for an authoritative phonology, nor did it remain uncontested. Prestigious dialects, such as the Chang'an dialect in later Tang times, quickly came to form the basis for many literary registers, as will be discussed below. However, the production of the *Qieyun* marks a conscious attempt to create a *vox auctoritas* by elites of the new empire, and thus can be understood as the beginning of the notion if not, in later history, the primary material source. As will also be discussed below, the *Qieyun* and its descendents did, however, remain the authority for poetic composition in the civil service exams. As also discussed below, negative reactions toward it in the late Tang only serve to confirm its importance as an authority of the period.

[141] Diglossia, as defined by Ferguson (1959), describes the partnership of a high (H) social register which is a source of prestige and usually the literary form of the language, with a low (L) register represented by the spoken vernacular.

[142] This does not mean that the *Qieyun* itself was the major source for these authoritative reading traditions, though it may have been a source. It is the idea of a *vox auctoritas* that is of significance.

(Elman, 1982). A hyperglossic format would only obtain centuries later, when spoken Chinese obsolesced in the Jiao regions and pVN replaced it as the dominant vernacular language.[143] Jiao thus received and perpetuated the concept of a *vox auctoritas*—not as an alien satellite of the Sui-Tang state, but as one of many fragments of the old Han world who now found itself integrated into a new and unprecedentedly diverse empire.

Organization of the chapter:

This chapter describes the conceptualization of a medieval *vox auctoritas* as it emerged out of the political and intellectual climate of the 6th century. Section 3.1 contextualizes Jiao within the history of the Period of Disunion, and establishes the relevance of the Yangzi court for Jiao history. Section 3.2 discusses the socio-economic repercussions of the Yongjia era, the creation of a proto-literati culture in the Yangzi courts, and the increase in philological literature observable during this time. Section 3.3 turns to the writings of 6th century philologist and later contributor to the *Qieyun*, Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591), whose chapter entitled *Refined Enunciation* 音辭 promotes a form of purified speech which anticipated the designs of the *Qieyun*. Section 3.4 addresses the transformative production of the *Qieyun* itself, and examines its motivations as expressed by Lu Fayan's 陸法言 (581-618) preface to the dictionary. Section 3.5 turns to the exegetical work of Yan Zhitui's younger contemporary, Lu Deming 陸德明 (550-630), whose preface to his own monumental work of exegisis, the *Textual Explications of the Classics and Canon* 經典釋文, expresses a kind of political need for philological clarity and the maintenance of a transparent connection to the language of the Sages. Finally, section 3.6 concludes with a discussion of *vox auctoritas* in terms of a medieval Sinitic diglossia.

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[143] See chapters 6-7.

3.1   Jiao during the Period of Disunion

It is imperative to ask what distinguishes the history of Sino-Vietnamese from other cases of Sinoxenic, which amount to asking what distinguishes the area of northern Vietnam historically from the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. The closest analogies to the Jiao, Jiuzhen and Rinan commanderies of the Han era are probably the "four commanderies" 四郡 established by the Han in the area of northern Korea, around 108 BCE: Lelang 樂浪, Lintun 臨屯, Xuantu 玄菟 and Zhenfan 真番. The *Hanshu* census for the chief of these commanderies, Lelang (centered in the region of modern-day Pyongyang), records a population of 406,748 (compare with contemporaneous Jiaozhi, at 746,237), a figure which dips to 257,050 in the *Hou Hanshu* (Nelson, 1993, p. 168). Again, it is impossible to know the actual numbers of the populations at this time, but the census does indicate a substantial community in the region—much like in Jiao, though only about half the size. However, the commanderies did not fare nearly as well as in Jiao: only 20 odd years after their establishment, Lintun and Zhenfan were disincorporated and their territories nominally assigned to Lelang and Xuantu (Shin, 2012, p. 21). By 75 BCE—just 33 years after the four commanderies were settled—only Lelang commandery was still under Han control (Nelson, 1993, p. 168). Lelang would, however, remain a strong Han presence for the next three hundred years or so, before finally falling to the non-Sinitic state of Goguryeo in the 4th century.[144] This initiated the so-called Three Kingdoms period of Korea 三國時代 (Kor. *Samguk sidae*), in which three non-Sinitic states (Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla) would contest for domination of the peninsula until Silla overthrew the other two kingdoms in 668, through an alliance with the Tang.

The Korean peninsula and northern Vietnam thus appear to start out quite analogously; however, important differences occur as early as the turn of the millennium. Whereas Han

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[144] Some high-profile Korean scholars have debated the existence of Lelang, or claimed that it contributed little to the origin and development of the Korean state; however this perspective is contradicted by the Han records themselves, and does not appear to be well accepted.

power was quickly restricted to Lelang commandery in the northeast, Ma Yuan succeeded in establishing a rooted and flourishing Han society in the Red River Plain (buffered from the true southern frontier by the Jiuzhen and Rinan commanderies). More importantly, while Lelang fell to the non-Sinitic Goguryeo in the 4th century (effectively ending a substantive Han presence in the peninsula), Jiao continued to persist as a political constituent in the network of post-Han Sinitic polities.

Indeed, over the last century or so of the Eastern Han, Jiao behaved very much like the rest of the empire—at times engulfed by the revolts that ultimately tore apart the Han; at other times a haven for those fleeing them.[145] From 178-181, the governor of Nanhai rebelled, and the other six commanderies of the circuit quickly followed suit—including Jiaozhi and the two commanderies to its south, Jiuzhen and Rinan (Taylor, 1983, pp. 67-68). But only a few years later, when the Yellow Turban Rebellion 黃巾之亂 swept across the empire in 184, many aristocrats—fearful of peasant recrimination—fled to Jiaozhi under the guidance of Zhu Jün 朱儁 (?-195), the very same general who had pacified the Jiao circuit rebellion in 181 (Taylor, 1983, pp. 67-68, 71).[146] Part of the reason why these aristocrats headed for Jiaozhi was because it had become, by the 180s, a relatively stable and prosperous place under the influence of the powerful Shi 士 family, who had emigrated to Jiaozhi circuit from Shandong during the Wang Mang era (ibid., p. 70). Indeed, the image of a stable Jiao amidst the chaos of the late Han is described briefly in a Buddhist treatise entitled *Mouzi lihuolun* 牟子理惑論. The *Mouzi* is attributed to a late 2nd century Buddhist monk named Mou Bo 牟博, who was born in Cangwu

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[145] Jiao reflected the decay of Han governance in a series of 2nd century revolts of southern frontier districts Xianglin 象林 (Viet. Tương Lâm) and Jufeng 居風 (Viet. Cư Phong); both in Rinan commandery. In 100, the inhabitants of Xianglin rose up and attacked the Han administrative centers of their district; in 136, an unidentified people attacked Xianglin from beyond the southern border; this was repeated in 144; and finally, in 157, a significant uprising was sparked in Jufeng, apparently by the oppressive practices of the local magistrate (Taylor, 1985, 60-65). There do appear indications of anti-Han regionalism at this time: while the revolt of 100 was put down by local militia, Han commanders were unable to muster local soldiers to combat the 144 revolt. Rinan was on the southernmost border of the empire in contact with multiple non-Sinitic and non-sinicized peoples, and remained a cultural frontier even of an independent Vietnamese kingdom for centuries—until the Lê conquered the region in a series of campaigns starting in the 15th century. As intriguing eunuch politics began to undermine the central authority of the empire, frontier commanderies like Rinan were the most vulnerable—both to corrupt officials and to enterprising barbarians.
[146] Chu Jun put down the Jiaozhou rebellion in 181 to pacify the province (Taylor, 1983, p. 68).

but spent time in Jiaozhi during his youth; the relevant passage is found its autobiographical preface:

> At the time, after the death of Emperor Ling [189], the empire was in disorder; only Chiao Province was relatively calm, and unusual men from the north came to live there. Many occupied themselves with the worship of gods and spirits, abstinence from cereals, and immortality. Many people of that time devoted themselves to these studies. Mou Po unceasingly proposed objections based on the five classics; none of the Taoists and spiritualists dared argue with him. (Translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 81)

Jiao was a haven for those fleeing the final convulsions of the Han Dynasty, and while the description above suggests a fair amount of unorthodoxy and cultural freedom in the distant commandery, men like Mou Bo also represented the maintenance of a conservative cultural line as well.

The man who took up governorship of the commandery at this time—Shi Xie 士燮 (Viet. *Sĩ Nhiếp*; 137-226)—insulated Jiaozhi against the tumult further north, and remains to this day one of the most revered figures in the Vietnamese pantheon of sages.[147] When Liu Biao 劉表 (142-208), the governor of Jing province 荊州 (present-day Hubei and Hunan) began his attacks on Jiao circuit's northern commanderies (Cangwu and Yulin), Xie demonstrated his loyalty to the Han by supporting the circuit inspector against Biao (who was a declared rebel against the Han court). When the circuit seat at Cangwu fell to Liu Biao in 203, the Han promoted Shi Xie to inspector of Jiao *province* 交州 (rather than Jiaozhi circuit 交趾部) and confirmed him as governor of Jiaozhi (Taylor, 1983, p. 72).[148] Xie responded by sending tribute to the court (a notable achievement given the dangerous times), and was rewarded with a title of nobility (ibid.).

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[147] Shi Xie was born in Cangwu commandery, educated in He'nan, and assumed power in Jiaozhi in the 180s (Taylor, 1983, p. 70). Modern Communist scholars in Vietnam often characterize Shi Xie as a Han oppressor, or simply ignore him in favor of canonized national heroes chosen for their perceived defiance of Sinitic authority regardless of their often tenuous or nonexistent relationship with the modern Vietnamese (e.g. the Trung sisters). For example, though he spends a section detailing a number of "insurrections" during the Han period, Nguyễn Khắc Viện's *Vietnam: A Long History* does not even mention Shi Xie.

[148] Circuits 部 (Hucker calls these "regions") were the designation for the province-sized administrative unit before the introduction of the term 州 ("province"). The Han was divided into 13 circuits from 106-ca. 10 BCE, but around

Shi Xie is thus recorded in Chinese sources as a model Han official, serving in times of rebellion and disarray. Nevertheless, his 40-year reign was also marked by what appears to be a growth in Jiao regionality, which would persist until the Sui reincorporated the province in 602. Indeed, the first Sinitic-(pVM) dictionary in history was supposedly produced under Xie's leadership, which is described in later texts as a glossary of southern songs and poems called the *Guide to Collected Works* 指南品彙 (Viet. *Chỉ nam phẩm vị*).[149] If this text really existed, it is testimony to a rise in pVM speaker visibility in the commandary during Shi Xie's reign, as well as—critically—to the pervasive (and officially endorsed) bilingualism of the time. Yet Jiao never divorced itself from the dream of the Han empire, and remained associated with the Eastern Wu (229-280) under Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252), when the Han split into its famous Three Kingdoms. In fact, Jiao was a major source of revenue for the Eastern Wu (Taylor, 1983, p. 73). This association was greatly increased after Shi Xie's death, when the Wu came down and eradicated his family in 226.

Shi Xie's apparent interest in the regional language reminds us not to take the notion of Jiao as a Han commandery too far: a sizeable Han population certainly lived here, but they lived among unknown numbers of non-Sinitic peoples. The reference to Shi Xie's *Guide to Collected Works* suggests that the cultural presence of these non-Sinitic peoples was not insignificant, and bilingualism was a steady facet of the social landscape. Indeed, bilingualism in the mid 200s was explicitly described by Jin historian Chen Zhou 陳壽 (233-297) in his *Record of the Three Kingdom* 三國志:

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12 BCE circuits were renamed *provinces* 州 (Hucker, 1985, p. 390). There seems to have remained some discrepancy, however, as suggested by the anecdote above. As Taylor (1983) notes, Jiao was redesignated a province (州) in 203, in response to Liu Biao's aggression against Cangwu, which suggests that it was still a "circuit" even after the adminsitrative overhaul of 12 BCE.

[149] The work did not survive, and its nature (including what language or languages recorded) is unclear, although a 17th century Sino-Vietnamese dictionary claims to be a revision of it (see chapter 7). The fact that use of the term "collection" 品彙 only appears by Ming times in the Chinese tradition suggests that this title may not predate the 15th century.

> [In Jiao] Customs are not uniform and languages are mutually unintelligible, so that several interpreters are needed to communicate…Ren Yan taught the people to plow, established schools for instruction in the classics, and made everyone follow proper marriage ceremonies with desginated matchmakers, public notification of officals, and parental invitations to formal betrothals…Yet there is only a rude knowledge of letters here.
>
> Those who came and went at the government posts could observe proper ways of doing things, and, according to the records, civilizing activities have been going on for over four hundred years, but according to what I myself have seen during many years of travel since my arrival here, the actual situation is something else…In short, it can be said that these people are on the same level as bugs. (Translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 75-76)

These words come from a 231 memorial to the Wu throne submitted by one Xue Zong 薛綜 (3rd century), who had come south to escape the turmoil of the Han and was educated in Jiaozhi by a refugee scholar named Liu Xi 劉熙 (Taylor, 1983, pp. 75-76). Xue Zong goes on to describe the uncouth practices of people in the midland regions upriver from the Red River delta, and south in the frontier commandery of Rinan. While it is tempting to interpret this passage as indicative of a forceful division between Sinitic and non-Sinitic peoples, such an analysis is contradicted by three important points. First, Xue Zong reserves his elitist ire for peoples outside the heartland of Jiaozhi commandery—in the mountains west and north of modern-day Hanoi, and particularly in the frontier regions on the southern border. Second, Xue Zong himself was educated in Jiaozhi, and was speaking as (and for) a community of elite Sinitic men who were either born in, passed through or emigrated to the Red River delta. Xue Zong ridicules the low literacy of the masses, but this is consistent with a portrait of Jiao as a distant commandery. Jiao cannot be compared with Jiankang, certainly. But that does not mean it was like Lelang in the northeast, which was conquered by non-Sinitic peoples in the 4th century. Finally, Xue Zong himself notes that "several interpreters are needed to communicate," which amounts to an explicit description of bilingualism in the region. Of course, the tenor of Xue Zong's memorial is critical and divisive, but his words actually indicate a multilingual, multicultural landscape whose pinnacle was occupied by educated Han elites.

Jiao was thus a culturally diverse place, in which non-Sinitic elements may have enjoyed a rise in visibility vis à vis the Han elite during the late 2nd and 3rd centuries. However, this condition would change at the dawn of the 4th century, in probably the most significant development of the Six Dynasties. As briefly mentioned last chapter, the Western Jin (265-316) crumbled to internecine fighting and non-Sinitic invaders in the first decades of the 4th century. The Jin was, almost from the start, rife with civil war, divisiveness, and famine. Upon the death of its founder (Sima Yan 司馬炎) in 290, the dynasty's briefly reunified empire was plunged into a bloody war of imperial relatives known as the *Chaos of the Eight Princes* 八王之亂. This disastrous turn of events generated widespread famine, and led to the opportunistic establishment of a number of non-Chinese states in the Sinitic heartland of the Central Plains. By the Yongjia 永嘉 era (307-313), famine, foreign invasion, and civil war drove thousands of northerners out of their ancestral lands and into the south. The court fled to Jiankang 健康 (near modern-day Nanjing) in 316, creating a new cultural and political center in the lower Yangzi that would last (under successive governments) until the Sui came to power, eventually establishing their capital at Daxing 大興 (Chang'an) in 582.[150]

Jiao remained part of the Jin when they moved to Jiankang (considerably closer to the Red River plain, in fact), though it appears that the administrative efficacy of the Yangzi court could not match that of the Han. The Jin census only records hearths (not heads), and demonstrates a figure of 25,600 for Jiao. Whereas the Han figures were almost certainly inflated, the Jin figures probably only reflect a fraction of the actual population, and almost certainly represent broad estimates in lieu of an actual census (Taylor, 1983, pp. 120-121). The figures dip even further during the Liu Song, to some 10,453 households (ibid.). This may also suggest that the aristocratic clans who governed Jiao operated with considerable autonomy throughout the evanescent Southern Dynasties.

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[150] The Jin court at Jiankang initiated what would later be referred to as the "Eastern Jin" 東晉 (cf. "Eastern Han") which fell to the Liu Song in 420.

Note however, that Jiao never breaks with the Southern Dynasties either. Indeed, an interesting case in point arises with the powerful Du 杜 (Viet. Đỗ) clan, who probably emigrated to Jiao from Chang'an during the chaos of the Yongjia era (early 4th century). The Du eventually rose to power and governed the commandery for nearly fifty years. Nevertheless, when Du Hongwen 杜弘文 (Viet. Đỗ Hoằng Văn) received a high imperial promotion at the Liu Song court in 427—after three generations of leadership in Jiao—he set off for the capital without delay, despite having fallen ill (Taylor, 1983, pp. 114-115). Taylor (1983) translates his justification for undertaking such a dangerous journey as follows:

> Our family has borne imperial favor for three generations; we have always desired to present ourselves at the imperial court and report that for which we have been responsbile; now, having been personally summoned, can I tarry for my ease? (Taylor, 1983, p. 115)

Taylor notes that the Du family clearly "did not consider [Jiao] their permanent home," which certainly seems borne out by his willingness to leave. But from another perspective, Du Hongwen's actions are perfectly consonant with those of an ambitious official, who was just promoted from a backwater commandery to a position at the central court. As Taylor (1983) notes, "[Hongwen] was eager to reap the metropolitan recognition that his family had earned in this rustic corner of the empire" (Taylor, 1983, p. 115). The only reason his actions may seem surprising to us, is if we force an interpretation of Jiao as some kind of proto-Vietnam, and analyze Du Hongwen as "Đỗ Hoằng Văn"—a "Vietnamese" man who inexplicably forsakes his homeland. But this is an anachronistic approach, and Du Hongwen's story suggests, rather, that we should continue to interpret Jiao as one constituent within the broader cultural, linguistic and political order of early medieval China.[151]

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[151] The fact that there must have been a significant and sustained population of pVM speakers in Jiao living alongside its Sinitic population hardly makes Jiao an exceptional case in medieval China; most of the south—from Yunnan to Fujian was probably even more ethnolinguistically diverse (and even less Sinitic in complexion) than Jiao at this time. For that matter, the post-Yongjia north was itself ethnolinguistically diverse, having fallen to powerful altaic groups like the Tagbach (Tuoba 拓拔).

Indeed, men of Jiao continued to seek appointment in the imperial courts throughout the Six Dynasties, as shown by the case of Jing Shao 井紹/詔 and Li Bi 李賁, two natives of Jiao who went looking for appointment at the newly established Liang 梁 court (502-557) in the early 6th century (Taylor, The Birth of Vietnam, 1983, p. 135). Both were disappointed by the hyper-elitist Liang, however; in fact, Jing Shao was rejected on the grounds that his family had never before produced a scholar (ibid.). The Ministry of Personnel 吏部 added insult to injury when they assigned the erudite Jing Shao to oversee a gate of the capital city instead of giving him a court appointment. Shao, resentful of this disregard for his abilities, refused the post and returned to Jiao with Li Bi around 523 (Taylor, 1983, p. 115).

In fact, the only substantive case of political independence for Jiao during the Period of Disunion was initiated by Li Bi himself, who later rebelled against the Yangzi court. Li Bi repelled the Liang punitive force in 544, and declared himself the "southern emperor" 南帝 of the new state of Wanchun 萬春 (Viet. *Vạn Xuân*), an independent polity which lasted until the Sui reclaimed the region in 602. But Li Bi only declared Jiao an independent state after having failed to obtain imperial appointment at the Liang court. His actions, furthermore, were hardly exceptional in a century when the north was split up into as many as four rival and overlapping kingdoms: the Eastern Wei 東魏 (534-550), Western Wei 西魏 (535-557), Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577) and Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581). Unlike Goguryeo in the Korean Penninsula, there is no real evidence that Wanchun was any less Sinitic than these northern kingdoms, and was probably more so (since Wanchun was founded by a reject of the Liang court; while the north had, from the 4th century, been ruled by powerful non-Sinitic groups).

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These events show that while Jiao demonstrated some autonomy in the post-Han era (as did many regions of the former empire at this time), it was nevertheless consistently associated

with the cultural and political ecology of the Six Dynasties. This peculiar mix of imperial continuity and autonomy meant that a form of Sinitic never died out in Jiao, but it nevertheless developed in comparative isolation, notably in bilingual contact with pVM. This situation is not remarkably different from other regions of the former Han. As discussed last chapter, Jiao Sinitic received a fresh injection of northern influence following the Yongjia Chaos (as did the lower Yangzi), which probably initiated the mutations of OC into what we now call EMC. But the EMC of the Jiao region was distinct from the EMC of the lower Yangzi, which in turn was distinct from the EMC spoken around the mouth of the Yangzi River or in the plains near Chang'an. As discussed in Chapter 1, Karlgren believed that these differences were wiped out by a Tang-era *koine* described in the *Qieyun*, a notion we have already rejected. The *Qieyun*, as Norman & Coblin (1995) made amply clear, was not a catalogue of a natural dialect nor did it engender one.[152] What it engendered was the idea of an authoritative pronunciation—a *vox auctoritas*—for guiding vocal literary practices, one that could remain impervious to changes in speech through philological means. The production of the *Qieyun* and its subsequent effect on medieval Chinese society resulted from the socio-economics of the 4th and 5th century, and the birth of a new class of erudite southern elites in the 6th century. Though the objectives of the *Qieyun* were literary in nature, the prototype for a *vox auctoritas* was developed in a 6th century culture of hyper-refinement, in which a cultured manner of speaking became key to the performance of an elite heritage.

3.2   Education and Power in the 4th-6th centuries

As alluded to above, the social and linguistic landscape of southern China (including Jiao)

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[152] See Chapter 1.

was transformed by the immigration of over one million northerners, following the disorder of the 4th century "Yongjia Chaos" 永嘉之亂. As Ebrey (1978), Dien (1990), Mao (1990) and others have described at length, the influx of these northerners into the lower Yangzi did two things: first, it relocated the cultural center of China to Jinling 金陵 (modern-day Nanjing); and second, it created a new class of émigré elites who brought with them their northern dialect and culture, while having left behind their lands, personal armies, and much of their wealth.[153] As a dynastic tradition took hold in Jinling, these rootless northern émigrés evolved from a class of semi-autonomous aristocrats, into a class of court-dependent literati.

In the wake of the Yongjia rebellions, the deposed Jin fled south to establish the "Eastern Jin" Empire (317-420) in the lower Yangzi. This massive immigration presented the émigré court with a unique demographic challenge. At first, the court tried to keep track of these émigrés by registering them separately from native southerners. As a result of their immigrant conditions, many of these northerners became clients (*ke* 客) of powerful and wealthy southern clans (Gernet, 1972, p. 182). After the fall of the Eastern Jin and the establishment of the Liu Song 劉宋 (420-479 CE), northern émigrés and original southerners were no longer registered separately. Gernet describes the late 4th century southern elite as "descendants of the great families who had emigrated from the north at the beginning of the fourth century and of the richest colonial families of the Yangtze valley and the coasts of the bay of Hangchow," in other words, an ambiguous mix of semi-integrated northern émigré elites together with southern, wealthy mercantile clans (Gernet, 1972, p. 181). Gernet goes on to claim that the strength of these clans (either of northern émigré descent, or of wealthy Wu lineage) was greatly diminished over the 5th century, by the increasing centralized power of the Yangzi courts—notably, the (albeit short-lived) Qi 齊 Dynasty (479-502). The emerging complexion of 6th century elite was

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[153] In the wake of the Yongjia disturbances, the Jin were forced to move their capital to Jiankang, near the site of the old Wu 吳 capital of Jianye 建業, also called Jinling 金陵. Jiankang/Jinling, or modern-day Nanjing, served as the capital of each of the Six Dynasties, including the Eastern Jin.

one of economic and military impotence, coupled with a peculiar dependence on scholarly erudition for social advancement.

Patricia Ebrey similarly argued that these new southern families were neither aristocratic nor powerful, but had become intimately bound to the fortunes of the central court (Ebrey, 1990). In reference to Ebrey's work, Albert Dien stressed the difference between notions of "prestige" from "power," describing the new southern aristocratic clans as essentially centers of relatively powerless prestige (Dien, 1990). Prestige, which was garnered through a cultivated pedigree and refined comportment, acted as a kind of "normative power," that the elite tried to barter for real influence and material security.[154]

This explains not only the contemptuous disdain that Southern aristocratic families expressed for men of lower birth (including even the wealthy Wu families, mentioned by Gernet above), but also the importance of legal systems that perpetuated the primacy of lineage.[155] Of particular note was the Nine-Grade Arbiter System (*jiupin zhongzhengzhi* 九品中正制 or *jiupin guanren fa* 九品官人法), a policy of recommendation for official posts originating in the State of Wei 魏國 (or *Cao Wei* 曹魏 220-265 C.E.). Theoretically, local arbiters (rather than Grand Administrators, who were strangers to the region) were given the responsibility of recommending posts; recommendations were, however, inevitably made according to social status and prestige, and as Ebrey notes, [w]ithin three generations... [b]irth, status, and office-holding became inseparably bound" (Ebrey 1978, 18)[156]. The effect of the system was extreme. Ebrey notes that during the Han, aristocracy was not tightly bound to office, but with the implementation of the Nine-Grade Arbiter System, notions of lineage and office were wed together in a powerful and self-perpetuating manner.

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[154] For a discussion of "normative power" in the medieval Chinese context, see Somers (1990).

[155] Such an attitude helps to contextualize Jing Shao's failure to obtain official appointment under the Liang despite his literary talent (discussed above). When the Ministry of Personnel 吏部 rejected Jing Shao's application, they assigned him instead to oversee the gates of the capital city. Shao, resentful of this disregard for his abilities, refused the post in favor of returning home to Jiao (Taylor, 1983, p. 115).

[156] As part of an attempt to neutralize the threat of the aristocratic clans, the Sui abolished the system in 583 CE, and replaced it with the first incarnation of the Civil Service Examination (Elman, B. 2000; p. 6).

According to Mao Han-kuang, this process led to the formation of "genteel families" 士族, (elsewhere translated as "literati families") out of the pedigree of northern émigrés and the wealthy, landowning "magnate families" (豪族) of the Yangzi Coast (Mao, 1990, p. 81).[157] Mao exemplifies this transformation in the case of Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, whose official biography states that his family had been landowners for generations, but that his literary achievements led to government office, and eventually the post of chancellor (Mao, 1990; p. 81). According to Mao, the "genteel family" (as opposed to the "magnate family") was chiefly characterized by a cultured bearing and deep erudition, and it is not hard to grasp that these were precisely the traits that set the northern émigrés apart from their rich southern counterparts (at least in the social imagination of the time). Eventually, these émigrés "lost the societal basis of their native place of origin, and not having the deep roots of the native southern lineages [i.e. the local magnates], they increasingly relied on the central government... [and] thus became functionaries" (Mao, 1990; p. 91). In this way, the mixed stock of 5th century Yangzi elites became a class of 6th century proto-literati, whose major form of power was educationally derived and whose fortunes were indelibly tied to a central court.

The problem, of course, was that the Southern courts were not stable, and thus the bartering of a normative capital for social and political stability needed to be renewed with each upheaval of power. From another point of view, a relatively stable class of cultural elites needed to renew their relationship with each political takeover. Ebrey notes that tying their fortunes to the central court was a double-edged sword, because "the courts of the South were unstable, which made this form of [normative] power less dependable than that derived from local domination or

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[157] This term was established by Yang Lien-sheng in his seminal 1936 article *Dong Han de haozu* 東漢的豪族 (in *Qinghua Xuebao* 清華學報 11:4, 1007-1063, 1936). In his paper, Yang describes the entire period from the "Two Jins through the Southern & Northern Dynasties" as a period controlled by families of high rank and official tenure, or *fayue* 閥閱 (Yang, 1936; p. 1007). Ebrey has challenged it as an anachronism, but Mao appears to accept Yang's terminology, and uses it to describe rich local magnates who owned land in Wu, and along the coast of the Yangzi. Ebrey's challenge basically targets the political and economic power of these families. Here, the part of Mao's analysis that is useful does not address the material power of these families, but rather details their transformation from northern émigré/Wu mercantile stock, into a class of erudite literati. I agree with Ebrey's critique of Yang's classic terminology, but retain Mao's analysis on these grounds.

administrative authority" (Ebrey, 1978). The south thus formed a deep contrast with the military clans of the north, who lacked the socio-economic developments described above. The Jiao elite lay somewhere in between. Aristocratic clans like the Shi, Du and Li still comprised the upper crust, yet as already discussed in 3.01, men of these families still craved the prestige and success that came with appointment at the southern court; critically, failure in the central court was, however, of less consequence, given the political and geographical distance between Jiao and Jinling (remember that Jing Shao refused his insulting appointment as a gate-keeper in favor of returning to Jiao).

As a result of the peculiar socio-economic conditions of the 5th-6th centuries, the southern elite were forced to cultivate a deep sense of erudition, since their greatest protection against the turmoil of the era was their reputation as educated men. In this aggressive pursuit of education, the right interpretation, transmission, and also enunciation of language played a defining role.

3.21 A parallel rise in studies on "tones and rimes"

The socio-economic developments discussed above dovetailed with a noticeable increase in philological scholarship, over roughly the same period. While a few very important philologically oriented works were produced during the Han, the number of such texts increase dramatically after the 4th century. This increase in philological contemplation reflects a growing psycho-social concern for the purity and unity of language, in a time when all things were perceived as in a state of decay. In particular, the connection between contemporary language and the language of the Classics was thought to be in danger of occlusion, and it was this fear more than anything else, that led to an increased meditation on philological matters.

Chinese classical philology, traditionally referred to as *xiaoxue* 小學, stretches back at least to the 3rd century BCE encyclopedic dictionary called the *Erya* 爾雅."[158] While often

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[158] Xiaoxue was conceived of in opposition to 大學, loosely "ethics", and/or those fields directly contributing to

considered the "first dictionary," the *Erya* is more properly understood as work of exegesis 訓詁 (it is essentially a list of glosses explaining terms in a number of pre-Han texts), and indeed, philology seems to have sprung from an attempt to decode the classics (Mair V. , 1986, p. 166). Along with the *Erya*, the Han Dynasty boasts a few other important *xiaoxue* works. One of the earliest books to deal explicitly with sounds—in particular, the diversity of regional pronunciations—was Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (54 BCE- 18 CE) *Topolects* 方言，a treatise on contemporary dialects. The *Topolects* indicates that linguistic diversity had long been noticed among Sinitic intellectuals; however it was not a matter of explicit concern until the late Six Dynasties.

The most significant example of pre-medieval philology is the *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 ("Explication of Simple and Compound Graphs"), compiled by Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58 – ca. 147 CE) in 100 CE. The *Shuowen* was the first work to establish the tripartite paradigm of *xing* 形 (form/structure), *yin* 音 (sound), and *yi* 義 (meaning), as well as to devise a classifier (*bushou* 部首) system of organization (Mair V. , 1986, p. 167). It represented a huge advancement in dictionary technology, and established one conceptual standard of organization that would last, in some senses, to the present day. Significantly however, the *Shuowen* was organized around script 文字, and a project of comparable scope overtly organized around sounds and rimes 音韻 would not emerge until the *Qieyun*.

Aside from these notable cases, philological works before the Six Dynasties are relatively scarce, especially in comparison with the numbers produced in the 4th-7th centuries. In his broad study of philology entitled *Xiaoxue kao* 小學考, Qing dynasty literatus Xie Qikun 謝啟昆 (1737-1802) identified only four Han and pre-Han exegetical (*xungu* 訓詁) texts, compared with nine

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moral understanding. Despite this distinction, philological texts sometimes made an argument for the role of studying language in the greater moral, social, and political realms; this train of argument is rooted in the Confucian idea of the *Rectification of Names* (Mair 1986, 165). Note also that I am using "philology" informally, and not to connote the specifically etymological or exegetical practices that it may indicate in some usages. Here, I use "philology" to refer to the study of words and their (primarily) sound components, which was implicated in a number of broader academic pursuits (e.g. classical exegesis).

major works produced between the Jin and the Tang Dynasties[159] (Xie, 1889). For works on pronunciation and meaning (*yinyi* 音義), Xie identifies ten works before the Tang, all of which date to the Six Dynasties. Most revealing, for works on tones and rimes (*shengyun* 聲韻), Xie identifies twenty-seven works—*all* produced between the 4th and 7th centuries (ibid).[160] Xie's survey indicates a substantive intellectual movement during the Six Dynasties which oriented elite minds toward issues of language, and specifically pronunciation. Even the cases of pre-medieval exegetical works are understandable exceptions, since they are all commentaries on the *Erya*, which was itself considered part of the classical canon. Indeed, in his preface to a reprint of Xie Qikun's *Xiaoxue kao*, Qing scholar Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1906/7?) claims that the only catalogue of philological works before the *Xiaoxue kao* were "two fasciles on the *Erya* in the *Examination of Classics*, written by Master Zhu of Xiushui," implying that *Erya* commentaries, while philological in complexion, were considered more properly a kind of classical exegesis[161] ((Xie, 1889, p. 1).

Certainly, other factors probably contribute to the impression rendered by Xie Qikun's overview. For example, in Han and pre-Han times a great deal of glossing literature took place in the commentaries of specific texts rather than in books of their own. The introduction of paper also must have had an effect, by increasing the production of book-like artifacts. Nevertheless, it is clear that an increase in book-length projects on the topic of philological pronunciation boomed during the Six Dynasties, a fact that fits well with the increase in a concern for refinement and erudition among the new southern elites described above. This Six

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[159] All these appear to be commentaries or discussions of the *Erya*.

[160] Xie includes a fourth category of philological reckoning called *script* (*wenzi* 文字), which does appear to include more early imperial works. Liu Zhicheng's *Zhongguo wenzixue shumu kaolu* 中國文字學書目考綠 also records a proportionally greater number of script-oriented works in the early imperial era and before (Liu, 1997). However, since I am focusing on the spoken or pronounced dimensions of philology, I will leave this category aside for now.

[161] The Zhu clan from Xiuzhou 秀洲 district in Jiaxing 嘉興, Zhejiang 浙江 province, were famous for producing scholars. Xie Qikun is referring specifically to Zhu Yizun's 朱彝尊 (1629-1709 C.E.) *Examination of the Classics* 經義考, which treats the *Erya* together with the six traditional Confucian classics. It is true that *xiaoxue* itself more broadly was categorized under *jingbu* 經部, but the idea here is that *Erya* commentaries were thought of as commentaries on a *classic* (經). In fact, this is probably why philological texts were ultimately classified in *jingbu*.

Dynasties interest in rimes and tones was crystallized by the Sui reunification, and we find a new and explicit anxiety over phonological diversification expressed in texts of that era. The rest of the chapter will discuss three major examples: Yan Zhitui's chapter on *Refined Enunciation*, Lu Deming's preface to the *Textual Explications of the Classics and Canon*, and most importantly, Lu Fayan's preface to the *Qieyun*.

3.3   Yan Zhitui and the importance of refined speech

As discussed in 3.2, the material plight of a group of northern émigrés in the volatile courts of the south produced a class of elites whose lack of aristocratic power tied them to the emperor, and whose survival therefore depended on their abilities as refined and educated men. The life of a man named Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591), himself a descendent of northern émigrés, exemplifies this kind of precarious dependence on erudition; and his personal writings unsurprisingly advocate the cultivation of refined speech as a critical factor in political and material survival.

3.31 Yan's origins and career

Significantly, Yan's family were among those who fled south during the Yongjia Chaos. Originally from Lin Yi 臨沂 in Lang Ye 琅邪 (in modern Shandong Province), the Yan clan had boasted several famous scholars in its history, including Yan Sheng 顏盛, a Wei Great Judge of Personnel 大中正, and governor 刺史 of Qingzhou 青州 and Qizhou 齊州 (an older name for Lang Ye), and Yan Qin 顏欽, an expert on the Confucian classics (*BS*, 83:2794, Teng, 1968, p. XIV). Yan, who lived a generation after Jing Shao, thus belonged to exactly the class of émigré elites preferred by the southern courts. Whereas the Ministry of Personnel rejected Jing

Shao on account of his obscure genealogy, the future Emperor Yuan 梁元帝 (508-555) personally took Yan Zhitui under his wing. Whereas Jing Shao was forced to return to Jiao in resentment, Yan Zhitui embarked on a relatively illustrious career.

This career began under the celebrated tutelage of the Liang Prince of Xiangdong 湘東王 (i.e. the future Emperor Yuan), with whom he studied the Taoist works of the *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi* (*BS*, 83:2794). However, Yan found fault with Taoist principles and returned to a rigorous study of the Confucian classics, specifically, the *Book of Rites*, and the *Zuo Commentary* (ibid.).[162] Yan's rejection of Taoist thought is consistent with his investment in the Confucian institution of the central court.[163]

Overall, Yan actually experienced a rather harrowing career, which stretched from the north to the south and back again, as well as across multiple courts and kingdoms. After a rocky period involved with the rebel Hou Jing 侯景 (died 552 C.E.), Yan narrowly escaped execution, and returned to the Liang princely court (now at Jiangling 江陵, modern-day Hubei Province). He was there appointed Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary 散騎常侍 by the newly-crowned Emperor Yuan (Yan's former patron), at which time he participated in a large project to reorganize the Imperial Library (BS, 83.2794-5). Nearly all of the literature collected and collated by Yan was lost to fire, however, when Jiangling was captured by the Western Wei 西魏 (535-556) in 554 (Nienhauser, 1986, p. 924).[164]

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[162] Yan's biography in the *Beishi* states that "discussions of the void [Taoism] were not that which he delighted in, and [he] returned to the study of the *Book of Rites* and the *Zuo Commentary*": 虛談非其所好，還習禮，傳 (*BS*, 83: 2794).

[163] Compare these attitudes with the earlier poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427), who constructed the poetic identity of a farmer-recluse who rejected an official career in favor of the sublime life of a hermit. For a discussion of Tao Yuanming's poetic identity in terms of his reception history, see Wendy Schwartz' (2008) "Reading Tao Yuanming: Shifting Paradigms of Historical Reception (427-1900)." For a discussion of the "double-self" of poets and their cultivated poetic identities, see Stephen Owen's (1986) "The Self's Perfect Mirror: Poetry as Autobiography."

[164] Yan's position actually appears as follows: 鎮西墨曹參軍. I have assumed that the character 墨 is a typo for 臺, since *xitai* 西臺 (lit. "western tower, terrace, or pavilion") is an official term designating the Secretariat (Hucker, 228). With the rest of the title, this would make Yan the (military) adjutant to the Secretary of Defense (note that I have made "Secretariat" into "Secretary" for agreement purposes). I was unable to find any meaning for 西墨 as a compound, and remain generally uncertain about this translation.

Refusing to serve the Wei, and unable to find his way to the Liang court in exile, Yan Zhitui returned north, and eventually gained a position with the Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577). There, he rose high in favor due to his beautiful calligraphy and quick wit, ultimately achieving a supervisory post in the Institute of Litterateurs 文林館 (Teng, 1968, p. XXI). Yan's position there ended when Qi was conquered by Zhou 周 (557-581; formerly, the Northern Wei); Yan was captured as a prisoner of war, and taken to Chang'an (BS, 83.2796). For the third time, Yan was bereft of a state and government to serve. Eventually, Yan found employment with the Zhou as a Royal Scribe, rank Senior Serviceman 御史上士, a low and unimportant position (BS, 83.2796). Yan lived in relative poverty until the Sui Reunification in 589, when he was called into service (BS, 83.2796). It was during this time that Yan participated in the compilation of the *Qieyun*.

Yan's itinerant life thus typifies the precarious situation in which cultural elites of the 6th century found themselves. Initially patronized by an erudite emperor of the Liang Dynasty, Yan Zhitui found himself bereft of any kind of social or political security when the Liang fell to the Western Wei, after which point his only resources for survival were his capacities as a scholar. Under such conditions, the performance of a refined mien (notably in speech) became an important advertisement of one's erudition, and thus, legitimacy as an elite scholar; it was, as discussed in 3.2, a critical source of "normative" power.

Yan's rather tumultuous career, and his reliance on his education to navigate the political upheavals of the 6th century, help to contextualize the emphasis on proper behavior found in his best-known book: a set of admonishments written for his sons and grandsons called the *Family Instructions for the Yan Clan* 顏氏家訓. As Teng (1968) put it in his discussion of Yan's attitudes on education, "[education̪ was] the only distinction between nobles and commoners," and a "[g]ood education [was] the best insurance for making a living in times of trouble" (Teng, 1968, p. XXVI). Yan stresses the importance of education more than once in his book, both as the defining heritage of the elite and as a means to secure a livelihood and position in society

(ibid.). Among the many topics included in the book, Yan devotes an entire chapter to a kind of elite mode of language, which he called *Refined Enunciation* 音辭. Yan's discussion of this "refined enunciation" anticipates the *vox auctoritas* later defined by the *Qieyun*.

3.32 Language Anxiety in Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation*

Yan Zhitui's *Family Instructions for the Yan Clan* is generally considered to be the first of a genre of "family instructions" 家訓 for private households, though other earlier works of the same nature do exist (Teng, 1968, p. X).[165] The scope and content is personal in nature; in discussing his motivations for writing the *Family Instructions*, Yan states that he did not do so because he "presumed to establish a model [of conduct] for the world," but only "to regulate [his own] family, and instruct [his] sons and grandsons" …非敢軌物范世也，並以整齊門內，提撕子孫 (Yan Z.T., 1.4). As noted above, the book places a strong emphasis on propriety and refinement. Yan sets the rhetorical tone of his book in terms of the need for propriety and refinement, by describing himself as unruly, undisciplined and unmotivated as a young man:

> When I turned nine I suffered the hardship of losing my father. Our family was scattered and everyone dispersed. A generous brother raised me, doing his utmost to provide for me. He was compassionate but not domineering, and was not strict in his guidance. Although I read the *Book of Rites* and the *Zuo Commentary*, I was only vaguely interested in writing. I fell to the influence of common people, was unbridled in my urges and careless in my manner of speech, and did not look after my appearance.[166] At eighteen or nineteen I [finally] came to understand something of diligence, but my habits had become engrained and were difficult to wash away completely.

> 年始九歲，便丁荼蓼，家涂離散，百口素然。慈兄鞠養，苦辛備至；有仁

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[165] Other notable early examples of works resembling "family instructions" include those of Fan Hong 樊宏 (d. 51 CE), Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200 CE) and the great transformer of Jiao society, Ma Yuan himself (Teng, 1968, p. XI). Ma Yuan's *family instructions* consist of a letter written to his nephews, advising them to attend to the good and bad points of others, but never to speak of such things; Yuan apparently hated those who passed careless judgments and groundless criticisms of others, and strongly desired his family to be honest and unpretentious in bearing (ibid.).

[166] I.e. Yan did not cultivate his outward appearance, and was slovenly in dress. The expression is taken from Ma Yuan's biography in the *Hou Hanshu* (Teng, 1968, p. 2).

無威，導示不切。雖讀《禮》，《傳》，微愛屬文，頗為凡人之所陶染，
肆欲輕言，不修邊幅。年十八九，少知砥礪，習若自然，卒難洗蕩。 (Yan
Z.T., 1.4.)

Yan thus attributes his crass behavior as a youth to the loss of his father and the disruption of his
family's stability. Yan criticizes himself for embracing non-elite, plebian influences that
encouraged him to be self-indulgent, improper in speech and slovenly in dress. These points are
repeated in his *Beishi* biography, in a passage which may have drawn on Yan's own words:

> [Yan Zhitui] loved to drink wine, was exceedingly free-spirited and unrestrained
> and did not look after his appearance. His contemporaries disparaged him on
> these accounts (my translation).
>
> [顏之推] 好飲酒，多任縱，不修邊幅，時論以此少之。 (BS, 83.2794.)[167]

As a young man, ostensibly before the tumult of his professional career described above, Yan is
described as free-spirited, prone to drinking, and unconcerned with matters of propriety. The
term 任縱 (more strictly "against the weave") is not innately negative, and invokes the
unrestrained lifestyle typified by the 3rd century Neo-Taoist hedonists known as the Seven Sages
of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七賢. Yan's language in describing his youthful behavior echoes the
hedonistic and free-spirited culture of the Seven Sages, but the rhetorical tenor is critical tinged
with a certain regret. The analogous passage in the BS make it clear that Yan's (elite)
contemporaries (or more literally, the "opinion of the times" 時論), found his conduct
unfavorable (something not necessarily surprising, since Yan grew up in the hyper-elitist culture
of the Liang court), and this accords with Yan's critical view of his own youth.

Yan Zhitui's *Family Instructions* ranges in focus from remarriage 後娶 and teaching
children 教子, to literature 文章 and cultivating Buddhism 歸心, and focuses on propriety and
refinement in each of these topics. In Yan's seventh chapter, entitled *Refined Enunciation* 音辭,
he focuses on propriety and refinement in the realm of speech and vocalization. *Refined*

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[167] I have translated 時論 somewhat loosely as "his contemporaries;" it is more strictly "the opinion of the times."

Enunciation is devoted to enumerating a wide range of enunciative faux pas of varied natures, from etymological and grammatical mistakes to regional accents and dialecticisms. These uncultivated vulgarities are generally attributed either to uncouth southerners, or to noble but uneducated northerners. To provide a sense of what kinds of "enunciative" errors concerned Yan, I have organized the contents of *Refined Enunciation* in the following typology, which divides all of Yan's examples of speech vulgarities into ten categories and provides a representative example for each:

TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE ERRORS FROM YAN ZHITUI'S *REFINED ENUNCIATION*

1. **Contemporary regional variation:** Differences in pronunciation according to region; e.g. the erroneous northern pronunciation of 苦 as *kuə rather than *kɨə).

2. **Historical variation:** Describes differences in transcription from ancient times to the present; e.g. the transcription of contemporary *baɨjʰ 稗 in the *Cangjie Xungu* 倉頡訓詁 as *pɔ-maɨjʰ 甫賣.[168]

3. **Errors in early transcription:** Consists of cases where Yan has determined older *fanqie* spellings to be imprecise, as in Xu Xianmin's 徐仙民 *fanqie* rendering of *dʐuwʰ 驟 as dzəj'-kəwʰ 在遘 in his commentary to the *Zuozhuan*, the *Maoshi yin* 毛詩音. In Xu's transcription, the onset element 在 (dz-) is an apical affricate, not the expected retroflex.

4. **Gross lexical misreading**: Here, Yan describes the otherwise clear lexical distinction between *xaw' 好 ("fine") and *ʔak 惡 ("foul") on the one hand vs. *xawʰ 好 ("be fond of") and *ʔɔʰ 惡 ("abhor") on the other (i.e. a *sishengbieyi* distinction between rising/departing and falling tones). Yan notes that scholars "north of the river" 河北 mis-gloss the following sentence from Book of History 尚書: 好生惡殺. According to Yan, these northern scholars read (好) as *xawʰ ("be fond of") but (惡) as *ʔak ("foul"), when these two words are clearly in parallel and should both be read as verbs.

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[168] Note the digraphic older form, which suggests a cluster or sesquisyllabic structure.

5. **Analogy:** Yan describes the use of the male honorific *puə' (甫) as a loangraph for "father" (父; *buə') among northerners. Yan cites this as an inappropriate example of rebus-loaning (假借); however the semantic covalency of the two terms suggests that it resulted from some kind of broadening process. In either case, the consequence is a muddling of the voicing contrast (*p- vs. *b-).

6. **Inappropriate lexical merging:** Yan describes two distinct pronunciations/meaning of 焉: *ʔian ("how" or "why") vs. *ian (sentence-final particle). According to Yan, these were preserved perfectly in contemporary southern speech (i.e. "south of the river" 江南), but northerners ("north of the river" 河北) merged them without distinction.

7. **Misinterpretation:** Yan describes the northern confusion of an indeterminacy particle 邪 (*jia) with the stative particle 也 (*jia'), which amounts to a tiny confusion with broad semantic consequences.

8. **Unfounded lexical splitting:** Yan records a contrast between the passive form of 敗 ("to be defeated") as *baɨjʰ and the active form of 敗 ("to defeat") as *paɨjʰ, maintained in southern speech. However, Yan claims that he has only found one instance of the voiceless *p- form of 敗 ("to defeat") as *paɨjʰ, and suggests that it is an artificial contrast and should not be followed.

9. **Vulgar habits among the elite:** Yan discusses uncouth colloquial faux pas among the elite, an example of which I will discuss in detail below.

10. **Miscellaneous carelessness:** As suggested by my designation, this type includes a few examples at the end of the chapter which represent different cases of mis-pronunciation. The first involves a northern transcription of *kawŋ 攻 as kɔ'-dzəwŋ 古琮, different from its apparent homonyms 工, 公, and 功. The second involves the mispronunciation of names, e.g. a man whose name was *kwən 琨 who called himself *kwən' 袞, which Yan found particularly alarming since it implied that his "sons and grandsons [would] be entangled in avoiding the taboo [names]."

Each of these categories represent a type of mistake that Yan finds impermissable for proper erudite elite. They serve as examples of how unrefined men made fools of themselves either in their scholarship or in their speech, and were thus warnings of what not to do for Yan's sons.

One may infer that the vulgar habits that Yan indulged in as a young man led him to many of these kinds of errors, and perhaps even further, that they may even have been errors of a related species that doomed the efforts of men like Li Bi in the courts of the Liang.

The contents of Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation* suggest that his notion of proper speech required a multidimensional understanding of literature—a somewhat alien expectation of speech for those of us who live in non-eliticist, de-ritualized societies. Philological training as well as a keen understanding of the origins of regional variation were both important ingredients in Yan's "refined enunciation." It is perhaps difficult to imagine a set of philological concerns censoring our own speech every time we open our mouths; but that is exactly what Yan Zhitui is urging his sons to develop.

This is made clear in one of Yan's final cases, which corresponds to type 9 above:

> In Liang times, there was a lord who once jocularly called himself *trhɨ *dwənh 癡鈍 while drinking with the Emperor Yuan, and it came out as *tʂhɨ *dwan**ʰ** 颸 段 . Emperor Yuan replied, saying: "your tʂhɨ 颸 should be different than a cool breeze, and your *dwanʰ 段 should not be as in *kan *məwk 干木." [The lord also] called *Jiajŋ-*tçuw 郢州 *Wiajŋ'-*tçuw 永州; Emperor Yuan related the story to Emperor Jianwen. Jianwen said: "Wu entered on *Gangchen* (day), and afterwards became a *sili* 司隸!" As in these cases, [when the privileged] open their mouths, it is always like this. Emperor Yuan used (these examples) to personally instruct and warn his sons and attendants.[169]

> 梁世有一候，嘗對元帝飲謔，自陳“痴鈍”，乃成“颸段”，元帝答之雲：“颸異涼風，段非干木。”謂“郢州”為“永州”，元帝啟報簡文，簡文雲：‘庚辰吳入，遂成司隸。如此之類，舉口皆然。元帝手教諸子侍讀，以此為誡。 (Yan Z.T., 7.564.)

In this anecdote, Emperor Yuan subtly berates a noble by pointing out the difference between the lord's intended *trhɨ (癡 Mandarin tʂʰɿ˩˩/*chī*) and the word he actually pronounced: *tʂhɨ (颸 Mandarin: sɤ˩/*sī*), which means a "cool breeze." He similarly points out the difference between the lord's intended *dwənh (鈍 Mandarin tuən˥˩/*dùn*) and the word he actually pronounced: *dwanʰ" (段 Mandarin tuan˥˩/*duàn*), which is a reference to a renowned Confucian scholar of

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[169] As above, I have rendered relevant words in Early Middle Chinese, based on Pulleyblank (1991). These appear in boldface.

the Warring States named *dwanʰ *kanməwk 段干木. Thus, in the lord's jocular attempt to call himself an "imbecile" 癡段, he ends up being teased by the Emperor as an actual fool for his unrefined pronunciation.

The deep erudition of the Southern emperors—and the gauche mistakes of the lord—are further demonstrated in Emperor Yuan's subsequent chat with his brother, the former Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (503-551). After hearing the story, Emperor Jianwen responds with a complicated joke, punning the noble's mistakes with two erudite allusions—first, a reference to the day on which Wu conquered *wiajŋ-*tçuw (the noble's mispronunciation of *wiajŋ'-*tçuw); and second, deriving from the first, a reference to the Director (*sili* 司隸) *baɨw' *wiajŋ 鮑永 (cf. *wiajŋ'-*tçuw 永州), who became famous for impeaching an uncle of the Emperor (HHS, 5.6-9). The Emperor Jianwen not only displays his vast erudition, but ridicules the noble by sarcastically suggesting that he employed an obscure scholarly allusion, and mockingly associating him with a powerful official.

This anecdote is revealing because it demonstrates that a "refined enunciation" was required even in jest, and was not restricted to the public (or private) recitation of texts. While the encounter admittedly involves the emperor, Yan uses this extreme setting to enhance the warning, rather than to restrict its range. This is made clear by the fact that the errors are committed during a joke rather than during any kind of formal exchange. Thus, while a properly "refined enunciation" was fundamentally associated with deep literary knowledge, it was meant to be performed in live speech, as well as in practices of glossing or recitation.

Most of the errors described by Yan are ultimately attributable to some kind of regional variation. Yan does not seem to distinguish explicitly between the diversification of scholarly traditions on language between the north and the south and differences in their spoken varieties, but addresses issues of both kinds. In a general sense, Yan couches most of the types of the vulgarities he discusses in terms of the success or failure of different regions at avoiding them. However category 1 from the typology provided above explicitly addresses regional differences

in pronunciation, forcing us once again to understand "refined enunciation" as something applicable to speech.

In fact, Yan opens his chapter on this note: "As for the peoples of the Nine Regions, their speech and language is different; this has been so since the beginning of mankind" 夫九州之人，言語不同，生民已來 (Yan Z.T., 7.529). Yan provides a kind of soft, geo-climatic explanation for these differences:

> The waters and soils of the South are agreeable (harmonious) and mild, and their sounds are clear and high; staccato and precise, [but] their defect lies in [their] lightness and shallowness, and that their speech often contains vulgar elements. The hills and springs of the North are deep and strong; their sounds sonorous and turgid, thus dull and round. Their virtue lies in a solemn earnestness, and their speech contains many ancient expressions. Thus in terms of gentlemen, a southerner is superior; but in terms of a village peasant, a northerner is better (Yan 193-, 529-530; my translation).
>
> 南方水土和柔，其音清 舉而切詣，失在浮淺，其辭多鄙俗。北方山川深厚，其音沈濁而鈍鈍，得其質直，其辭 多古語。然冠冕君子，南方為優；閭裡小人，北方為愈。 (Yan Z.T., 7.529.)

Yan compares the phonic characteristics of northern and southern varieties with the terrain of each landscape, explaining certain speech patterns as derived from geographical or climatic origins (an argument that will be picked up and repeated throughout history until the present day). Importantly, neither the south nor the north may claim absolute authority for Yan; rather, educated speech is best represented in the south, while the plain speech of a commoner is inherently preferable in the north This is (as discussed in 3.2 above) because the educated class emigrated to the south during the chaos of the Yongjia era, overlaying what Yan perceived as a course and uncouth local culture with a new educated elite while leaving the north to be ruled by alien invaders. As described by "type 1" above, Yan gives numerous examples of the respective errors committed by northerners and southerns:

> To give [some] examples of minor errors, southerners pronounce *dzian 錢 as *jian 涎, take *dʑiajk 石 as *ɟiah 射, *dzianh 賤 as *zianh 羨, and *dʑiəʔ/*dʑiʔ

是 as *jiə'/*ji' 舐. Northerners they take *ɕiəh 庶 as *swit 戍, *ȵiə 如 as *ȵuə 儒, *tsiă'/*ts' 紫 as *tsi' 姊, and *ɣəip/ɣɛ:p 洽 as *ɣaip/ɣɛ:p 狎 (my translation).[170]

其謬失輕微者，則南人以錢為涎，以石為射，以賤為羨，以是為舐；北人以庶為戍，以如為儒，以紫為姊，以洽為狎。 (Yan Z.T., 7.530.)

Thus, Yan's notion of a "refined enunciation" is thus neither encapsulated by the natural speech of either northerners or southerners. This is because the cultural basis for Yan's "refined enunciation" goes back to the roots of the peculiar dialect of his class—the class of southern elites who had formerly emigrated to the south when the north fell in the early 3rd century. For Yan, the most refined enunciation was one that avoided the corruptions evident in both the northern and southern speech of the Period of Disunion, and hearkened back to the old northern speech of a pre-divided empire. Of course Yan had no empirical description of this dialect; he had to base himself on observations of the speech of his class, as well as on his comparative analysis of contemporary northern and southern speech (an approach remarkably similar to modern comparative linguistics). In this way, Yan "reconstructs" the speech of the pre-divided north, by synthesizing elements from both northern and southern varieties, and excising features from them which he deems erroneous or otherwise undesirable.[171] Yan's vision of a refined phonological system is thus not a natural system (though Yan imagined it as the "correct" sounds of his class of northern émigré elites), but an artificial construction that attempted to navigate around vulgarities perceived in all contempory forms.

Refined Enunciation is not a dictionary, nor is it an exegesis of a textual source. Although richly detailed, it is not comprehensive, and was never designed as a guide or manual for proper speaking habits. It is best understood as a collection of examples of the types of errors that were possible in speech, and an encouragement for Yan's sons and grandsons to cultivate a habit of precise and erudite enunciation. It is possible to interpret Yan's chapter as a response to the

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[170] Again, relevant terms have been rendered in Pulleyblank's EMC.
[171] This concept will play in an important role in our discussion of the *Qieyun* in section 2.3.

perceived corrosion of the dialect of his class, in which case his admonishments may be understood as fueled by a kind of anxiety over the survival of what he perceived to be the highest and most illustrious lineage of speech. As in other areas of life, Yan hoped that his children would perpetuate the traditions of aristocratic refinement that defined *shidafu* 士大夫 from *fanren* 凡人, traditions that were carried by these northern émigrés when they fled their homes in the Sinitic heartland of the Central Plains and resettled in the lower Yangzi.

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Although (as already discussed) Yan's book of admonishments was meant for his own family, it is reasonable to infer that the concerns he discusses were symptomatic of his class. The fortunes (or misfortunes) of men like Li Bi and Jing Shao corroborate a culture of hyper-eliticism in the lower Yangzi, and Yan's critical description of speech-borne faux pas in *Refined Enunciation* represents a uniquely detailed snapshot of its linguistic manifestations. The peculiar reliance of the émigré class on education was already discussed in 3.2, and as we saw in 3.3, elites of the Period of Disunion also increasingly focused on phonological dimensions of language in their scholarship. Yan's inclusion of *Refined Enunciation* in his *Family Instructions* provides a uniquely personal clue to understanding why such an interest in "sounds and rimes" may have occurred. As northern émigrés tied their fortunes to the court in lieu of their hereditary bases of power (lost in the north), they bartered for forms of "normative power" purchased through their educational and cultural superiority. Thus, a refined mien and educated bearing became central to their cultural identity in the sociopolitical landscape of the new lower Yangzi courts. Language—both an understanding of it and a performance of it—was one of several important intellectual realms in which such an eliticism was performed.

Thus, Yan urged his sons and grandsons to cultivate refined behavior on a range of topics, and provides them with a set of guidelines for practicing a "refined enunciation" among them.

Yan's personal view of what this refined enunciation entailed was probably not shared by all the members of his class, and more than likely was unknown among other classes of lower Yangzi society, or among those in other parts of the empire (reunified under the Sui for perhaps a decade or so by the time Yan finished his *Family Instructions*). Yan's text thus cannot be taken as an authoritative representation of the actual phonology of even the lower Yangzi northern émigrés; however, we can and should understand his chapter as representative of the cultural attitudes on language at that time. From this perspective, Yan's writings are among those works of scholarship on "sounds and rimes" that became so much more ubiquitous during this time, and the personal nature of his *Family Instructions* gives us a glimpse into the psychology behind the refinement of philological knowledge toward the end of the Period of Disunion.

Nevertheless, Yan's personal vision of a "refined enunciation," as well as some details of his phonological analysis, would actually reach a far wider audience than just his sons and grandsons, at least in a modified and indirect way. This is because Yan would later serve as one of the major scholarly voices in the construction of the *Qieyun*, as noted by Lu Fayan in the dictionary's preface:

> Thus we discussed the correct and incorrect of north and south, and the intelligible and unintelligible [lit. "flowing and blocked"] of ancient and contemporary. We desired to select the essential, and pare away the extraneous. In these [matters], the External Secretary Yan and the Erudite Xiao usually made the decisions.
>
> 因論南北是非，古今通塞，欲更捃選精切除削疎緩。顏外史，蕭國子多所決定。(Lu F.Y., 1.21)

Not only was Yan (along with fellow southerner, Xiao Gai) "in charge" of the *Qieyun*'s philological judgments, but the intellectual tasks which defined the *Qieyun* project (as described by Lu Fayan above) are also essentially the same as those discussed by Yan in his *Refined Enunciation.*

However, the *Qieyun* was a fundamentally different kind of document, motivated by a

different scope of ambition, than the personal and private *Family Instructions*. Although published less than a decade after Yan completed his *Family Instructions* (in 601 CE), the *Qieyun* is imbued with the cultural mood of the Sui at its height, and expresses the codifying itch that typified intellectual pursuits of the early 7th century. The *Qieyun*, which resulted from the collaboration of eight different scholars from across the empire (of which Yan Zhitui was chief, but only one), sought to provide far more than the paternal admonishments of Yan's *Family Instructions*; it sought to rectify the divisive interpretations of pronunciation that had flourished over the course of the Period of Disunion and replace them with a new, authoritative vision that could guide the vocal aspects of high literary pursuits. In other words, it sought to establish a *vox auctoritas* for the new era.

3.4 Lu Fayan and the project of the *Qieyun*

The *Qieyun* 切韻 (lit. "cutting rimes") was published in 601, twelve years after the Sui took Jiankang, one year before they reconquered Jiao, and ten years or fewer after Yan Zhitui wrote his *Family Instructions*. It is comprises 193 rimes, arranged in volumes designated by tone (two for level tone; one each for rising, departing and entering tone). Rimes were arranged in a manner consistent across each tonal volume, allowing for expedient cross-referencing. Within each rime, homophones (i.e. words whose non-riming parts were identical) were placed together, and only the first entry was given a *fanqie* 反切 transcription. The *Qieyun* thus relied on earlier philological developments, most notably the four tones system developed by Shen Yue and the *fanqie* system first attested in Sun Shuyan's 孫叔言 exegesis of the *Erya*, entitled "Sounds & Meanings of the *Erya*" 爾雅音義 (3rd century).

However, the *Qieyun* was unique for a number of reasons. First, it was written not by a

single author, but through the collaboration of eight different scholars of both northern and southern origins:

Table 3.1: Biographical Profiles of the Eight *Qieyun* Contributors

#	Name	Dates	Ancestral Home	Career spent in
1.	Liu Zhen 劉臻	527-598 CE	Peiguo 沛國	south
2.	Yan Zhitui 顏之推	531-591 CE	Linyi 臨沂	south/north
3.	Lu Sidao 盧思道	531-582 CE	Wuyang 武陽	north
4.	Wei Yanyuan 魏彥淵	?-?	Quyang 曲陽	north
5.	Li Ruo 李若	?-?	Dunqiu 頓丘	south/north
6.	Xiao Gai 蕭該	540?-615?	Lanling 蘭陵	south
7.	Xin Deyuan 辛德原	?-?	Longxididao 隴西狄道	north
8.	Xue Daoheng 薛道衡	?-?	Hedong Fenyin 河東汾陰	north

Although others have counted five northerners and three southerners among the contributors, this is because of some ambiguity regarding Yan Zhitui and Li Ruo—both of whom traveled between the north and the south during their lifetimes. Though his clan was ancestrally from Shandong, Yan Zhitui was born in the south and educated under the Liang Emperor Yuan, making his academic credentials defensibly southern.[172] Li Ruo was a skilled debater who spent most of his career in service to the Northern Qi, was most famous for being the playmate and confidant of Northern Qi Emperor Wucheng 北齊武成帝 (537-569 CE). Neverthless, he (like Yan Zhitui) was born in the south, in Dunqiu (modern-day Henan 河南). If we count both Yan Zhitui and Li Ruo as southerners, this means that the list of contributors balances four southerners with four northerners. Furthermore, the ordering of the contributors in 3.1 is replicated from the preface of the *Qieyun* itself, and so we find a neat *south-south, north-north, south-south, north-north* order. This suggests that the artificiality of the *Qieyun* system was deliberately marked in the preface, corroborating Zhou Zumo's (1966) argument that the *Qieyun* represents a diasystem synthesized from both northern and southern sources. However, as with Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation*,

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[172] At least, there can be no argument as to his capacity to represent the south. Of all the contributors he was one the most widely traveled, and it is not surprising that he (along with Xiao Gai) played a particularly important role in the determinations of the *Qieyun*.

this equity is somewhat deceptive, since the highest regard was reserved for forms of speech considered to descend from the aristocracy of the pre-divided north—that is, forms of speech cultivated by northern émigré families like the Yan clan, who were born, raised and educated in the south. This is why the preferred bases for the *Qieyun* diasystem are explicitly identified as Jinling (the center of the Six Dynasties and the epicenter of northern émigré elite culture) and Luoyang (the ancient capital of the Eastern Han and the ancestral site of northern émigré culture).[173]

3.41 The need for precision in rimes and tones

After briefly describing the collaborative origin of the dictionary and naming its eight contributors, the preface to the *Qieyun* begins in earnest by providing a meaty description of regional linguistic variation:

> In Wu and Chu [the language] suffers [from being] too light and shallow; in Yan and Zhao [the language is] too mired in heavy murkiness. In Qin and Long, the departing tone becomes entering tone; in Liang and Yi, the level tone resembles departing tone. Furthermore, *tçiă 支 and *tçi 脂, *ŋiă 魚 and *ŋuă 虞 comprise single rimes [respectively], while *sɛn 先 and *sian 仙; *wuw 尤 and *ɣəwʰ 候 possess the same *fanqie*.

> 吳楚則時傷輕淺，燕趙則多涉重濁。秦國隴則去聲為入，梁益則平生似去。又支脂魚虞共為一韻，先仙尤候俱論是切。(Lu F.Y., 1.13-15.)[174]

Here, Lu has restated Yan Zhitui's geo-linguistic arguments virtually word for word, and follows it with a few concrete examples of the major differences in northern and southern speech. By

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[173] Note that not even the dialect of Chang'an, the center of the older Western Han—and indeed, the site of the new Sui capital—was considered a suitable resource for the sounds of the *Qieyun*.

[174] As with the previous passage translated from *Refined Enunciation*, I have supplied the Pulleyblank Early Middle Chinese reconstructions for cited words to illustrate the differences (usually no longer present) underscored by the author.

opening with a meditation on diversity, Lu establishes the *Qieyun* as a resolver of (linguistic) discrepancy. Note, incidentally, Lu's observation that the level and departing tones are virtually indistinct in Liang and Yi (i.e. the south). This is striking because, as discussed last chapter, many etymologically departing tone words in EMC appear with level tones in ESV, suggesting that Jiao Sinitic was a part of the dialect continuum described by Lu above.

It is the passage directly following this description of regional variation in which Lu Fayan states the purpose of the *Qieyun*. Although Zhou's (1966) argument that the *Qieyun* represents an artificial diasystem is now universally accepted, the original purposes of the *Qieyun* as a text is still a matter of some debate. That debate largely centers on the interpretation of the following line:

> 欲廣文路，自可清濁皆通。若賞知音即須輕重有異。(Lu F.Y., 1.17.)

Malmqvist's (1968) interpretation of Zhou Zumo's work translates the passage as follows:

> If one wished to broaden the path of literature [by accepting forms deviating from the norm] the *ch'ing* ["clear"] and the *cho* ["muted"] should obviously be allowed to interchange freely. But if one wishes to appreciate good diction, then it is necessary to distinguish between the *ch'ing* ["light"] and the *chung* ["heavy"] (Malmqvist, 1968.)

The greatest disagreement centers on the phrase *zhiyin* 知音. Malmqvist (1968) translates *yin* 音 as "diction" while Pullebylank (1984) translates it problematically as "phonetics" (Malmqvist, 1968; Pulleyblank 1984, p. 138). Coblin (1996) finds Malmqvist's translation essentially correct, but also problematic because "[i]n modern English, 'diction' in reference to pronunciation normally denotes clear, accurate, and pleasing delivery while speaking in public" (Coblin, 1996, p. 87). Coblin identifies the connotation of "actual oral delivery to listeners" in the English term as inappropriate when applied to the Literary Sinitic wording, claiming that the term 知音

"carries no such connotations of orality and speech" (Coblin, 1996, 87- 88).

I disagree with this assessment, and argue that an oral component is indeed suggested here. The phrase *zhiyin* was notably also used by Yan Zhitui, in one of his examples from *Refined Enunciation.* I have translated the relevant passage below:

> The pronunciation of northerners often takes *kɨəʼ 舉 and *kɨəʼ 莒 as *kuəʼ 矩; except when Li Jijie said: "Duke Huan of Qi sat with Guan Zhong on the terrace, plotting to attack *kɨəʼ 莒. Dong Guoya looked up and saw Duke Huan open his mouth but not close it and thus knew that that which [Duke Huan] had said was kɨəʼ 舉. Therefore, *kɨəʼ 莒 and *kuəʼ 矩 could not be the same, could they?!" This is indeed understanding sounds (my translation).

> 北人之音，多以舉，莒為矩；唯李季節云：“齊桓公與管仲於臺上謀伐莒，東郭牙望見桓口開而不閉，故知所言者莒也。然則莒，矩必不同呼。”此為知音矣。(Yan Z.T., 7.554)

In this revealing anecdote, Yan describes a case of lip-reading in which Dong Guoya was able to decipher the word spoken by Duke Huan as kɨəʼ 莒 rather than *kuəʼ 矩, because the Duke's mouth 'opened but did not close.' This is because the unrounded vowel (-ɨ-) in kɨəʼ 莒 (preserved in Hán-Việt *cử* - kɯɨ˧˩) allowed the mouth to remain visually "closed" after the initial intake of breath, whereas the rounded vowel in *kuəʼ 矩 (preserved in Hán-Việt *củ* - ku˧˩) would have formed the mouth into an "O"-like shape, which would have subsequently closed in a more visibly salient fashion; this can be demonstrated easily by mouthing the French words *que* (unrounded) and *cou* (rounded). The effect is only amplified if we accept the final off-glide. Yan is praising Li Jijie for his judgment that the two forms are separate, but the speech-based events of the anecdote exemplify the intersection of speaking and erudition that Yan was attempting to promote.

Thus, while *zhiyin* certainly encompasses the silent, glossing knowledge implied by Coblin, Yan Zhitui's usage suggests (much like his entire chapter) that "understanding sounds" really entailed a kind of meticulous philological knowledge that was prerequisite to refined speaking.

Returning to the *Qieyun* passage, we may emend Malmqvist's rendering, with something like the following:

> If one desires to broaden the literary path, then it is naturally permissible to allow the clear and murky to intermingle. If one appreciates understanding sounds, then one must [value] the difference between light and heavy (my translation).
>
> 欲廣文路，自可清濁皆通。若賞知音即須輕重有異。(Lu F.Y., 1.13-17.)

Indeed, one can sense the 6th century eliticism of Yan Zhitui's upbringing in this passage, which defines an erudite and refined path from the plebian mingling of different sounds. As Warner (2003) noted, Yan "constantly contrasts the proper 'manner and behavior of a scholar-official'(士大夫風操) with that of a commoner (凡人)" (Warner, 2003, p. 26). The suggestion that those interested in "broadening the literary path" need not concern themselves with the dictionary does not act to narrow the relevance of the *Qieyun*; rather, it serves as underscore the refinement and intellectual ambition of those who "appreciate understanding sounds." "Broadening the literary path" may be understood as diluting it, or perhaps, engaging in the coarsest or most general kinds of literary pursuits. Thus, Lu Fayan's stated purpose for the *Qieyun* echoes some of the elitist tenor of Yan Zhitui's *refined enunciation*: the dictionary's synthetic diasystem was meant as a guide for those engaging in elite pursuits, and in fact presents itself as a tool for cultivating that heightened refinement.

Yet Lu has defined the scope of the *Qieyun* as literary in nature. This suggests a somewhat narrower purpose than Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation*, which discussed errors in pronunciation germane to both speech engagements and literary practices. Recall that the purpose of *Refined Enunciation,* as a chapter in Yan Zhitui's *Family Instructions,* was to admonish and guide the behavior of Yan's own descendants. The *Qieyun* was both geared toward a broader audience than *Refined Enunciation* and also more specific in its intended effect.

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It did not seek to regulate the speech of anyone, but sought to establish an authoritative set of pronunciations that could guide those seeking to produce the most refined and elegant forms of literature could turn to in their practice. Indeed, this is exactly how it came to be used. As will be discussed below, the *Qieyun* came to be used as an authoritative manual for rimes and tones in an era when literary composition came to dominate the civil service examination system. In this sense, it came to act as a kind of standard that regulated the literate form of Sinitic language during the medieval era.

3.42 The purpose of the *Qieyun*

The idea of the *Qieyun* as a standard of any kind has enjoyed a rather contentious history, and is bound up in the issues concerning its relationship to natural speech discussed in chapter 1. Coblin (1996) criticized Malmqvist for forcing an interpretation of the *Qieyun* as a standard, and takes particular issue with Malmqvist's translation of the term *jingqie* 精切 as "precise standard." Coblin argued that Malmqvist's liberal translation "reinforces the reader's impression that the concept of norms or standards is explicitly present in the language of the preface, and by extension that the establishment of such standards was an explicit intent of Lu and his collaborators" (Coblin W. S., 1996, p. 89). Coblin claims that the preface describes "not the establishment of a standard but rather the **selection** 捃撰 of what is finely drawn and accurate 精切" (ibid.).

In his critique of Malmqvist's translation, Coblin rejects the notion that the *Qieyun* preface describes the dictionary in any terms connoting standardization:

> At no point does the QY preface mention the establishment of or even the existence of norms or standards of pronunciation, such as are often referred to in current Western treatments of QY problems. It is on the contrary the Malmqvist translation which has introduced these terms and concepts into the discussion. Whether they correctly reflect the original intent of Lu

I agree with Coblin's assessment of Malmqvist's translation, but not with the details of his view on the ultimate function of the *Qieyun*. As suggested above, the forcefulness of Coblin's critique here may in part be also directed at the Karlgrenian notion that the *Qieyun* recorded a Chang'an prestige variety of MC, which was disseminated as the standard "imperial dialect" of the Tang— a point of view which, like Coblin, I also completely reject. However, I do believe that the *Qieyun* is presenting itself as a manual and reference, as well as a resolver of scholarly debate. It was meant to silence intellectual disputes over the most proper or refined phonological shape of the language, and in that sense, it was designed as a reference manual that could be consulted to inform one's literary practices. For these reasons, it would be a contortion to avoid interpreting the *Qieyun* as a form of standard.

In fact, this is very close to Zhou Zumo's original description of the *Qieyun*'s purpose:

切韻為辨析聲韻而作，參校古今，折哀南北,目的在於正音，要求在於切合
實際。 (Zhou Z. , 1966, p. 439.)

However, as Coblin assiduously points out, Malmqvist's interpretation of Zhou Zumo's claims overstate and embellish the sense of a governing standard to the point of inaccuracy. Malmqvist translates the line above as follows:

The purpose of the *Ch'ieh-yun* was to provide a phonetic analysis; collating the past and the present and bridging the distinctions between the South and the North, the *Ch'ieh-yun* aimed at providing a correct norm of pronunciation conforming to the [linguistic] reality. (Malmqvist, 1968, p. 49.)

The material in brackets is drawn from Malmqvist's translation itself, and is not inserted by the author. Malmqvist's translation is little more than an opinionated paraphrase. As Coblin points

out, Malmqvist belabors the notion of a "standard," going so far as to translate 正音 as a "correct norm of pronunciation" (which mistranslates the factor-object as a noun phrase), while forcing an interpretation of 實際 as a "linguistic" reality. I agree with Coblin that this kind of translation is misleading and unfaithful to Zhou's original article.

In answer, Coblin offers his own translation of the last portion of Zhou's argument:

> ...the goal lay in correcting pronunciation, while the requirement [under which the compilers worked] was to conform to reality (Coblin, 93).
>
> 目的在於正音，要求在於切合實際。 (Zhou Z. , 1966, p. 439.)

This is a vast improvement over Malmqvist's rendering. However, I believe the portion of Zhou's statement not rendered by Coblin actually describes the ambition of the *Qieyun* in the clearest sense, and in fact does imply that the dictionary was meant to function as a model of orthodoxy and an authoritative guide. I have provided my own translation of Zhou's argument below:

> The *Qieyun* was composed to differentiate tones and rimes, to scrutinize Ancient and Modern, and to reconcile South and North. Its purpose lay in rectifying sounds, its constraint lay in conforming to reality.
>
> 切韻為辨析聲韻而作，參校古今，折哀南北,目的在於正音，要求在於切合實際。 (Zhou Z. , 1966, p. 439.)

Zhou's description is noteworthy because he is drawing upon lines from the *Qieyun* preface itself, in which Lu Fayan describes the actual meetings of the collaborators:

> Thus we discussed the correct and incorrect of north and south, and the intelligible and unintelligible (lit. "flowing and blocked") of ancient and modern. We desired to select the essential, and pare away the extraneous (i.e. lax).
>
> 因論南北是非，古今通塞，欲更捃選精切除削疏緩。 (Lu F.Y., 1.20)

The task of constructing the *Qieyun* is repeatedly described as one of weeding and scouring, to eliminate the noise of scholarly dispute in order to reveal what is "essential and precise" 精切. Indeed, Lu Fayan's discussion of the differences in northern and southern pronunciation (discussed earlier) is preceded by the following:

> Because ancient and modern tones must naturally bear discrepancies, [that which is] accepted or rejected by various scholars will also for its part differ.
>
> 以古今聲調即自有別，諸家取捨亦復不同。(Lu F.Y., 1.12.)

This evocation of scholarly heterogeneity is critical, and the rhetoric of the preface consistently identifies the resolution of that heterogeneity as the major objective of the *Qieyun*. Note that contrary to Elman's claims about scholarly awareness of historical language change, Lu Fayan has expressed a presumption of the fact here. Yet for Lu, the *Qieyun* is not so much meant to provide an historically accurate reconstruction of the classical language as it is meant to resolve the diversity of contemporary visions of it, and thereby, to provide a guide for refined literary composition in the new era.

The heterogeneous situation described in *Qieyun* preface in some ways resembles the proliferation of variant characters during the Warring States. The difference is, of course, that Li Si was able to legally enforce the (literal) standardization of small seal script, along with weights and measures and axel widths. As Qiu Xigui (2000) discusses in his last chapter, a precedent for the political control of writing is found in both the *Zhouli* 周禮 and the *Guanzi* 管子 of the Warring States period (Qiu, 2000, pp. 403-404). The practice of legally regulating writing is not so surprising, given its old and central role in political ritual (cf. the ritual bronze vessels of the Zhou and the oracle bone divinations of the Shang). If this kind of legally defined standardization is what Malmqvist had in mind, then I fully agree with Coblin's rejection of the term. The *Qieyun* was not an enforcer, nor was it imperially mandated, nor was the object of its

contents a matter that required legislation with the same kind of practical, political urgency as weights and measures, axel widths, or even script.

Like *Refined Enunciation*, the *Qieyun* sought to guide the refined practices of the elite, who were redefining themselves in the wake of reunification. It targeted a select population of educated men who would invest in "appreciating understanding sounds" because it was a mark of the refinement that defined them from common men. In other words, the *Qieyun* was compiled to deal with a matter of culture rather than legislation. But the disputatiousness of four hundred odd years of division threatened the integrity and authority of such an elite culture, and that is where the *Qieyun* situated itself—to settle those disputes and provide a guide for a unified class of educated elites to use for the refinement of their literary practices. Finally, it was somewhat in the interest of the elites for such refined literary performance to remain a monopolized commodity of their class. It was, after all, what distinguished them from the masses. The *Qieyun* was not a standard meant to to regulate the speech of the common man; it was a manual designed to guide the performance—in a literary theater—of elite, educated culture.

3.43   The *Qieyun* as *vox auctoritas*

If this is how the *Qieyun* was designed, then how was it actually used?

The major role of the *Qieyun* during the Tang Dynasty was as a reference manual for the literary components of the civil service exam科舉. Consequently, the dictionary became immensely important after the late 7th century, when the exams took a decided turn for the belletristic under the leadership of Empress Wu 武則天 (ca. 625-705).[175] Already in 680-681, there had been a shift in emphasis from "claryifying the classics" 明經to *belles lettres*雜文, and when Empress Wu formally introduced the palace examination (廷試 or 殿試) in 690 the

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[175] Poetic content was added after 690. For a discussion of addition of literary and poetic criteria to the exams, see Elman (2000), p. 8-9.

contents reflected this new focus on literary material, including poetry 詩, rhapsodies 賦 and eulogies 頌 (Elman, 2000, pp. 8, 9-10). Belletristic content would subsequently dominate the civil exams until the end of the dynasty (ibid., pp. 10-11). These developments in the civil service exam reflected an increasing cultural value placed on what Elman (2000) called "writing as culture" over the course of the early Tang, and among court society at this time "literary composition was the most popular field of learned life" (ibid. p. 11). In his 1988 analysis of the Tang educational system, David McMullen provides a brief description of the practical aspects of literary refinement during the early Tang:

> This growth in influence of composition skills was one of the most important trends affecting the scholarly community in the late seventh century… Its effect on the official educational system was complex and indirect. It worked against the continued effectiveness of the system in two ways. First, the schools themselves seem not to have provided instruction in the composition techniques that now acquired such great prestige in court and official circles. Inevitably, therefore, students acquired the training necessary for mastery of *belles lettres* fashion independently. Second, virtuosity in composition became more and more identified with the increasingly luxurious court itself and the lavish entertainments and verse competitions it held. Composition skills provided, in this milieu, a means of gaining quicker and irregular access to high official circles, and displaced masetery of the Confucian canons in this role. (McMullen, 1988, p. 39.)

Although by "composition techniques," McMullen is referring to a wider range of literary skills, such a tool set unquestionably included a proper mastery of rimes and tones, especially given the increasing importance of poetry 詩 among court society. Note however that the onus to cultivate such expertise was borne privately and individually, rather than by schools. In such a climate, manuals like the *Qieyun* thrived as references for developing one's literary elegance.

However, the hyper-literary trends of the early Tang were not met without criticism, and Elman notes that "there were frequent clashes of opinion in which the focus on belles lettres was called into question and a return to classical essays was briefly favored" (Elman, 2000, p. 11). By 752, in reaction to the predominance of literary content in the exams, a mixed exam was introduced that included questions on both the Classics and *belles lettres* (ibid.). By the 760s-

770s, there were yet again calls for the elimination of poetry and rhapsodies from the exam contents, and by 787, content on the Classics was added to the metropolitan exam (ibid., p. 729). In 833-834, poetic content was even dropped briefly from the exams altogether (ibid., p. 730). Such attempts to derail or reverse the fashionability of literary pursuits were never wholly successful, but they do show that there was a deep and sometimes virulent difference of opinion regarding the preeminence of literary culture during the Tang.

Such opposition to the importance of literary refinement at court helps to contextualize some of the opposition we find against the *Qieyun* itself. Tōdō Akiyasu (1957) noted that at the time, the *Qieyun* was actually slandered ("そしられた") as merely reproducing "Wu sounds" 吳音 (Tōdō, 1980, p. 166).[176] In this case, "Wu sounds" denotes the speech of the middle Yangzi—i.e. the prestige variety of the Six Dynasties southern elites—rather than the speech of the mouth of the Yangzi), which had come to be viewed as somewhat backwater and out of date. This view that "Wu sounds" were uncouth appears to coincide paradoxically with the dominance of the *Qieyun* as a manual for rimes and tones in literary production. The peculiar reaction to the *Qieyun* mentioned by Tōdō is intertwined with the debate over the nature of the civil exam system, and a reaction against the perceived "Wu" basis for the *Qieyun*'s phonology was caught up in a criticism of the prevailing, hyper-literary culture. This is clear from the text on which Tōdō based his remarks, a 9th century *biji* 筆記 by one Li Fu 李涪 entitled *Kanwu* 刊誤 ("Errors in Printed Literature"). In his treatment of the *Qieyun*, Li Fu first notes its predominance as an "indispensable tool," but then goes on to criticize the literary basis for examinations in general:[177]

> In later times, scholarship gradually became shallow and particularly lacking in specialization on the Classics. Because some came to neglect the four tones, when grasping the brush they increasingly encountered hindrances. From then on, [the *Qieyun*] became an indispensable tool. But are not the particularities of Wu sounds for their part also extreme? The rising tone is taken as the departing tone, and the departing tone is taken as the rising tone; there are also characters with the same tone that are split into two rimes. Moreover, what kind of

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[176] "時には《切韻》さえも呉音だといってそしられたことがある…"
[177] In all passages cited from the *Kanwu*, translations and punctuation of the Literary Sinitic text are mine.

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nonsense is it [to seek to] regulate people by means of stipulations in tones when the empire had not yet fully established its statecraft? Nevertheless, officials in the Board of Personnel would determine who was good and who was not by judging one poem or one rhapsody. Whether a word was not rooted in its sound or a rime did not fall within the regulations became the sole basis for evaluating who should stay and who should leave. For this reason, Fayan's [book] has been used to the present day.

後代學問日淺，尤少專經，或舍四聲則秉筆多礙。自爾已後，乃為切要之具。然吳音乖舛不亦甚乎？上聲為去，去聲為上，又有字同一聲分為兩韻。且國家誠未得術，又於聲律求人，何乖闊？ 然有司以一詩一賦而定否臧。言匪本音，韻非中律，於此考覈以定去畱，以是法言之為行於當代。
(Li, 2.11a-11b)

There are three matters of note in this passage: first, the *Qieyun*'s connection to the civil service process is spelled out in clear and explicit terms; second, Li objects to literary refinement as a basis for examinations; and third, that in the course of lodging his complaint, Li has described the primacy of the *Qieyun* as a resource in the literary competition of those examinations. Li was writing in the 9th century when, as noted above, poetic content was actually dropped from the curriculum for a short while. His review of the practices of the early Tang is biting and derisive, but they serve to show how dominant the *Qieyun* became as an authority for proper rimes and tones.

Li's underlying criticism of such practices lies in what he perceived as the use of a single dialect (i.e. "Wu sounds") to regulate the literary practices of the entire empire.[178] Li's castigating tone piques in his description of "Wu sounds"; after running through a list of what he perceives to be errors in Lu Fayan's *fanqie*, Li writes:

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[178] Note that the claim that either Lu Fayan himself or the phonology of the *Qieyun* is based on the living speech of any dialect is in fact incorrect (as discussed above). The prevalence of mistaking at least Lu Fayan for a man of Wu was mentioned by Zhao Lin 趙璘 (fl. 836-846), in the miscellaneous notes of his *Yinhua lu* 因話綠. Zhao writes: "There are also those who, examining Lu Fayan's *Qieyun*, look at its character glosses and say that they are Wu, [but] this is too narrow a grasp of [Fayan's] character transcription. They do not even realize that Fayan is of the Henan Lu [clan], and not of Wu" 又有人檢陸法言切韻，見其音字，遂云此吳兒，真翻字太僻。不知法言。是河南陸，非吳郡也 (my translation; my punctuation of the Literary Sinitic) (Zhao, 5.100a). As discussed at length above, the phonology of the *Qieyun* is a synthetic diasystem, and while taking as its model the received pronunciation of northern émigré literati who had formed the nucleus of the Six Dynasties elites of the middle Yangzi, was not wholly based on any living variety of speech. In this passage, Zhao is pointing out the erroneous assumption that the *Qieyun* represents a living dialect, pointing out that Lu Fayan was not even from the "Wu" region.

> The pronunciation of Wu people is as though they were afflicted by laryngitis or stroke and become speech impaired; every time they open their mouths, they speak as though weeping and babbling. If one sets his pen [blindly] following their tones, in the end he will not even understand [what he writes] himself.

> 夫吳民之音如病瘖風而噤，每啟其口，則語淚喁呐。隨聲下筆，竟不自悟。(Li, 2.12a.)

Li goes on to claim that of all varieties of speech, none compare with the language of the "Eastern Capital" (i.e. Luoyang). However, Li argues that even so, "if I were to try to use its sounds to verify 證 [tones and rimes], it would certainly draw broad snickers and be taken as strange" (Li, 2.12a-12b).[179] After citing the *Book of Songs* in support of his claims, Li concludes that there is no need for "absurd stipulations of rimes and tones" 妄別聲律 (Li, 2.12b).

Yet again, however, Li's criticisms of the *Qieyun* and the hyper-literary examination system through which it gained prominence actually serve to demonstrate how influential the dictionary had become by the 9th century. Li has described a society enthralled by, as Elman put it, "writing as culture," and in which the phonological shape of literature was defined by the *Qieyun*. This explains why the dictionary was expanded and revised several times over the course of the Tang and Song. The *Qieyun* was first replaced by the *Tangyun* 唐韻 ("Tang Rimes"), compiled by Sun Mian 孫愐 some time after 732, then later revised and expanded into the *Guangyun* 廣韻 ("Expanded Rimes") by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961-1017) in 1008, and from which most of our understanding of the *Qieyun* is drawn (see Mair, 1986). The *Guangyun* itself was later reformatted into the *Jiyun* 集韻 by Ding Du 丁度 in 1037. These "rime books" 韻書 even generated a new and more advanced form of philological reckoning in the Song: the *rime tables* 韻圖, which charted rimes against various possible initials and divided syllables into tones and grades. The rime tables were used as ciphers to decode the phonology of the rime books (which had become opaque over the centuries). Thus, for the second half of the first

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[179] "予嘗以其音證之，必大哂而異焉。"

millennium, the *Qieyun* and the system of rimes it created, served as an authoritative voice for the phonological shape of refined literature—in other words, a *vox auctoritas*.

As perhaps indicated by Li Fu's description of the early importance of the *Qieyun* translated above, the dictionary's use as a *vox auctoritas* is intertwined with the notion of a decline in classical knowledge, and by extension, the intellectual practice of exegesis 訓詁. The perceived importance of exegetical work in the 7th century—and the ways in which the *Qieyun* both resembled and differed from it—provides a last and important piece in understanding how a self-conscious Sinitic diglossia arose in the medieval period.

3.5   Lu Deming and the occlusion of the classics

Exegesis 訓詁 describes the terminological glossing and critical interpretation of classical texts. As discussed in 3.21, though often called the first dictionary, the *Erya* is considered an exegetical work since it comprises terminological glosses for pre-Han classical works (Mair V. , 1986, p. 166). In fact, even Yang Xiong's *Topolects* is considered an exegetical work—though instead of terms drawn from the classics, Yang Xiong was defining terms drawn from across a variety of "topolects" 方言 (ibid.). There is thus a definite sound dimension to exegetical scholarship; however, the overt goal of exegetical work is to restore contemporary access to the ancient classic. This is different from the ambitions of either *Refined Enunciation* or the *Qieyun*, both of which tried to synthesize a purer phonological system and explicitly reject ancientry as a sole and sufficient basis for evaluation. Rather, exegetical work is characterized by a mission to clarify and illuminate past literature, so that their meanings become accessible to contemporary readers.

As with many other scholarly pursuits, exegesis became especially important after the Sui

reunification, as part of the broad cultural attempt to resolve the intellectual heterogeneity of the Period of Disunion. Warner (2003) writes:

> Scholars were aware of the differences between the northern and southern learning before the Sui, of course, and made efforts toward standardizing their various practices. But with reunification and the gathering of scholars from throughout the empire at one capital the differences between them became more pronounced and their labors toward "codification and formalization" took on official purpose (Warner, 2003, p. 25).

As already discussed, the *Qieyun* certainly fits into this vision of early Sui intellectual culture. The work of classical erudite Lu Deming 陸德明 (550-630) also exemplifies this intellectual urge, in the domain of exegetical scholarship. Lu's *Textual Explications of the Classics & Canon* 經典釋文 is remarkable for the encyclopedic research which he undertook to complete it; as Warner (2003) notes, it is "one of the earliest instances of the consultation of multiple sources—over 230 texts written in the preceding four centuries—for the purpose of establishing an authoritative commentary" (Warner, 2003, p. 25). Lu completed it over the course of the Sui Dynasty, but it was not widely circulated until the reign of Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (599-649), who was so pleased with the book that he granted the Lu family a hundred bolts of silk and cloth as a reward (Warner, 2003, p. 28).

In his preface to the book, Lu articulates with great eloquence his fears that contemporary society was losing its access to the wisdom of the classics. For Lu, this was a critical matter because classical knowledge formed the basis of civilization.

3.51 Lu's career in brief

Like Yan Zhitui, Lu also witnessed the rise and fall of several regimes. Born in Suzhou 蘇州 in 550, just before the Liang fell, Lu came of age during the last of the Six Dynasties: the *Chen* 陳 (557-589 C.E.). As Lu grew to manhood, Yan Zhitui was rising among the Northern Qi

due to his erudition while the north slowly fell to the Northern Zhou 北周 (557-580 C.E.); meanwhile, Li Bi, resentful at having failed to achieve imperial appointment under the previous Liang, had rebelled and declared Jiao an independent state. Lu's career began in the Chen, spanned the Sui, and ended over a decade into the Tang Dynasty. During the Chen, he was made Instructor of the Scions of State, and in the Tang he served as Erudite of the National University (XTS, 198.5639).[180] Bridging these two posts (and for the duration of the Sui), Lu acted as a Scholar of the Palace Library, a non-official position for learned men who were consulted on various issues, and employed in compilation projects[181] (XTS, 198.5639). It was during this time that he researched and produced his *Textual Explications*. Lu was writing under the exhuberance of the new empire and typifies the Sui "codifying spirit" described by Twitchet (1979) and Warner (2000). Though Lu's preface shows deep concern for the occlusion of classical knowledge, he writes with a certain reserved optimism: for Lu, Sui patronage was an opportunity to contribute to the restoration of Sinitic culture, by clarifying the language of the classics and canon.

3.52 Maintaining a transparent link with the Classical language

Lu Deming's preface to the *Textual Explications of the Classics and Canon* expresses a deep concern for maintaining a transparent link with the classical language, which he believed had real consequences for the health and integrity of the imperial state. Lu opens his preface with a description of academic decline consistent with the remarks on linguistic variation found in both Yan Zhitui and Lu Fayan's writing:

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[180] Instructor of the Scions of State: *guozi zhujiao* 國子助教, roughly the tutor of the sons of the various feudal or princely lords. Erudite of the National University: *taixue boshi* 太學博士—a professorial position under the newly expanded national university, charged with the enrollment and education of the student body (around 500 students; mostly noble sons). (Hucker, C. O., 1985). These positions appear to be analogous.
[181] Scholar of the Palace Library: *bishu xueshi* 秘書學士—a descriptive term for men of learning sought out by the government for counsel, or for work in compilation projects; not a regular post.

Writers who have written about textual pronunciations are many. The compositions of earlier scholars illuminate books and writings. [This practice] already has an ancient history, and verily comes [down to us] in an unbroken line. Yet following the descent of the Sages, unavoidably the plain and adorned were unevenly valued, and among the detailed and essentialized there exist mutual discrepancies.[182]

夫書音之作，作者多矣。前儒撰著，光乎篇籍，其來既久，誠無間然。但降聖已還，不免偏尚質文，詳略互有不同。(Lu D.M., 1.1.)

As is consistent with both Yan Zhitui and Lu Fayan, Lu Deming situates his work in an intellectually overgrown, diversified and disorderly landscape. These are recognizable as token consequences of the Period of Disunion, and we have encountered them before. Lu makes it a point to emphasize the importance of exegetical scholars almost immediately, who "illuminate [the] books and writings" of the Sages. Lu then describes the line of scholarship connecting himself to the Sages as unbroken, while simultaneously underscoring the inevitable biases that have shaded the transmission of the Classics to the present day.t

As both Yan Zhitui and Lu Fayan did, Lu then provides a more specific description of the disarray that his book is meant to resolve:

In the received texts from the Han and Wei to the present, it is clear [lit. can be seen] that some focused on expressing their own meanings [while] others handed down old, inherited glosses; each took as authority a set idea, and their compositions were [just] like their faces.[183] Moreover, the tones of Chu and Xia are different and the speech of south and north are distinct; validity was entrusted to hearsay and judgments followed habits. In the laborious investigations of later scholars, [one] rarely encounters the essential ideas.[184]

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[182] All translations in this section are my own. The Sages refer to the classical sages, i.e. Confucius, Laozi, etc. Here, Lu has set up two pairs of contrasting literary types: "plain" writing (質) vs. "adorned" (lit. "patterned" 文); and "detailed" (詳) vs. "essentialized" (略: more literally "generalized," "summary", etc.).

[183] In other words, the temperament, values, personalities (and biases) of these scholars are as evident in their works as they would be in their faces. Note also that "old, inherited glosses" 祖述舊音 is more literally "old pronunciations transmitted from one generation to the next".

[184] "Essential ideas," from 指要; i.e. the "gist." The *Zhonghua shuju* edition records 罕聞指要 ("[one] rarely *hears* the essential ideas"), but the SKQS attests 逢 ("encounter") which makes more sense.

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漢，魏迄今，遺文可見，或專出己意，或祖述舊音，各師成心，制作如面。
加以，楚夏聲異，南北語殊，是非信其所聞，輕重因其所習，後學鑽仰，
罕逢指要 。(Lu D.M., 1.1)

For Lu, exegetical practices over the Period of Disunion had become variant and unrigorous. Scholars were forcing their own ideas unjudiciously, or uncritically reproducing "traditional" analyses. Note that Lu emphasizes the corroding affect of diversification by using virtually the same characterization of north/south linguistic differences that Yan Zhitui and Lu Fayan had. The result of this division was a loss in academic integrity, and—despite the great efforts of later scholars—the essence of the Sages has almost entirely been lost. Lu Deming thus shares the theme of academic disputatiousness with Yan Zhitui and Lu Fayan, but his focus is trained on classical scholarship.

Although Lu avoids any overt discussion of politics in his preface, his remarks on the decline of classical scholarship overlay a deeply ideological concern.[185] Six Dynasties culture was steeped in both the Confucian and Neo-Taoist theories of names, and there persisted a strong tradition of linking the corruption of language with the (mis)implementation of statecraft. For Lu, the obfuscation of "textual pronunciations" meant the obfuscation of the knowledge of the Sages; and of course, the obfuscation of the knowledge of the Sages meant that society and the state could not stand for long.

Thus, Lu's main argument about the importance of exegetical work boils down a direct connection between the readability of the Classics and the integrity of the state. Lu elucidates the logic of this point in a kind of thesis statement framed by two allusions: the first from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and the second from the *Analects* 論語.

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[185] Given that this is a preface to an exegetical dictionary, we might not even expect an overt discussion of politics in any case. Lu also may have been less inclined to make explicit comments about political turmoil, he was writing during the inaugural years of the Sui Dynasty, which was obsessed with the stability and unity of the infant state. (Warner, D.-X., 2003) Also, the tradition of free debate known as *Pure Critique* 清議 had been silenced, and its *Xuanxue* descendents, the line of *Pure Conversation* 清談 had similarly been harshly repressed by the Jin government. Cai, 2004; p. 2) Thus, overt political commentary had become a dangerous act by the 6th century.

Lo, what is conveyed by the "snare and hoof" lies only in patterned speech. [186] A discrepancy of a hundredth of a hair [leads to] errors of a thousand li. Confucius said: "It would certainly be the rectification of names! If names are not proper, then speech is disordered; if speech is disordered, then affairs cannot proceed. Therefore, the Gentleman names only that which can [properly] be spoken, and speaks only that which can be [properly] implemented[187] (Lu, 1984, pp. 1-2).

夫筌蹄所寄，惟在文言，差若毫釐，謬便千里。夫子有言：「必也正名乎。名不正，則言不順；言不順，則事不成。故君子名之必可言也，言之必可行也。」(Lu D.M., 1.1)

Lu's main point lies between the two allusions: that the tiniest errors can lead to the broadest consequences. Here, Lu is arguing that seemingly inconsequential discrepancies in the philological glossing of classical texts directly impact the health and integrity of the entire state. This is made clear by the two allusions he has chosen to frame his argument. First, the "snare and the hoof" (from the *Zhuangzi*) is a metaphor for the proper use of a tool, which should be thrown away when its goal is achieved (see note 186). In the *Zhuangzi*, language itself is described as a tool which ought to be discarded when real truths were reached. For Lu, the reference to the *Zhuangzi* functions slightly differently to underscore the importance of the tool in achieving the thing it is designed to achieve.[188] In essence, without a properly functioning

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[186] From the *Zhuangzi*, 9.944. The whole passage reads (italics mark the citations used by Lu): "*The fish trap is the means by which one gets the fish*; once the fish is got, one forgets the trap. *The hoof is the means by which one gets the hare*; once the hare is got, one forgets the hoof. Words are the means by which one gets meaning; once meaning is got, one forgets words. I would be content with the chance to speak with a man who had forgot words!" (My translation and emphasis.)

[187] From the *Analects*, 13.3. The entire passage reads: "Zilu said: 'If the Prince of Wei were waiting for you to come and administer his country for him, what would you command first?' The Master said, '*It would certainly be rectifying names!*' Zilu said, 'Is it so?! You deflect! Why that policy?!' The Master said, 'You! How boorish you are! When things he does not understand are mentioned, a Gentleman should maintain an attitude of reserve. *If names are not proper, then speech is disordered; if speech is disordered, then affairs cannot proceed.* If affairs cannot proceed, then rites and music cannot flourish. If rites and music cannot flourish, then mutilations and lesser punishments will be off center. If mutilations and lesser punishments are off center, people will have nowhere to put hand or foot. *Therefore, the Gentleman* [lit. essentially] *names only that which can be [properly] spoken, and speaks only that which can be implemented.* In speech, a Gentleman leaves nothing to chance.'" (My translation and emphasis; italics indicate the cited text.)

[188] This is actually closer to the ideas of Neo-Taoist 玄學 philosopher Wang Bi's 王弼 (226-249) than to the *Zhuangzi*. In his introduction to the *Laozi* (老子指略), Wang Bi argued that a proper distinguishing of names was required to accurately parse categories of reality: "If one cannot distinguish names, then it is impossible to speak about principles with him; if one cannot speak about principles, then it is impossible to discuss truth with him" 夫不能辨名，則不可與言理；不能定名，則不可與論實也 (Wang B., 1.195). For a discussion of Wang Bi's theory

"snare," the quarry cannot be trapped; without a clear understanding of the text of the Classics, the essence of the Sages cannot be accessed. This point is driven home by a long quote from the *Analects'* statement on the "rectification of names" 正名, which spells out the consequences of disordered linguistic categories to the health of the state.[189] The character of Confucius spells out the importance of "names" to the order and efficiency of the state, leaving the reader to equate exegetical clarity with the "rectification of names" and to conclude that it bears an analogous relationship to sociopolitical stability. Doubters are thus cast in the role of Zilu 子路, who reacted incredulously to Confucius' concern for "names" and was subsequently chastized for his shortsightedness.

Lu pointedly ends this important passage with Confucius. As Allen Chan (2010) noted, the supreme intellectual authority of Confucius was one of the few points of agreement during the Period of Disunion:

> Although Wei-Jin scholars disagreed on many issues, almost all agreed that Confucius was the highest sage. The problem is not Confucius, in other words, but distortions of his teachings (Chan, 2010, p. 3).

Thus, Lu feels free to refer to Taoist concepts in the construction of his own philosophical argument (as Warner 2003, p. 28 noted, a southern eclecticism of Lu's), but reserves the place of highest honor for his allusion to Confucius. His inclusion of the Taoist works in the exegesis itself also suggests that it was not narrowly the restoration of the canon 經 that concerned him, but of classical culture as a whole (i.e. "the classics" generically 經典). By evoking both the *Zhuangzi* and the *Analects*, Lu skillfully uses objects of his own exegesis to validate his concern for right language, thereby displaying what an unclouded command of the Classics was capable of. Not only were men in danger of losing the Classics because of corrupt language, but the

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of names, see Chua (2010).

[189] Cf. Confucius' famous alarm over a misnamed wine vessel: "The Master said: that *gu* is no *gu*. *Gu* indeed! *Gu* indeed!" 子曰：觚不觚，觚哉！觚哉！ (*Analects*, 6.25).

classics themselves contained warnings about the dangers of corrupt language for those who could read them. The voices of two of the highest sages in the classical canon are made to corroborate Lu's conviction that the maintenance of right language was integral to the survival of the state.

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Lu Deming's book is thus meant to help keep the line between classical language and contemporary speech transparent and unclouded. Lu's preface underscores the importance of this task by linking it to the integrity of the state itself. The state is dependent on the wisdom of the Sages, and the wisdom of the Sages is only accessible through the classics and canon. Finally, the classics and canon require a philological clarity to be read without fear of error and misinterpretation.

The goals that Lu Deming sought to achieve in his *Textual Explication of the Classics & Canon* demonstrate some important and revealing differences with both Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation* and the *Qieyun*. Yan Zhitui's *Family Instructions* expressed a personal anxiety over the performance of a refined mien—something that Yan perceived as critical to the social and political success of his children. Lu Deming's *Textual Explications*, on the other hand, expresses concern over the potential loss of access to classical culture through the obfuscation of the sound-system of the classical language. Yan Zhitui was trying to promote guidelines for an erudite and proper manner of enunciation. Lu Deming sought create a guide to the sounds and rimes of the classical language.

In scope and tenor, the *Textual Explications* are closer to the *Qieyun*, which should not be surprising since Yan Zhitui's *Refined Enunciation* belongs to a set of personal family instructions. Nevertheless, these two major philological works of medieval period differ sharply both in design and use. If the *Textual Explications* sought to facilitate the reading of the classical

language, the *Qieyun* sought to promote a new phonological system for literary practice. In other words, the *Textual Explications* provided a key for consuming (classical) language; the *Qieyun* provided a guide to *producing* (refined) language. Thus it is in the *Qieyun*'s departure from the *Textual Explications* where we may locate the root of Sinitic diglossia in the medieval period.

3.6 A Blueprint for Sinitic Diglossia

As already alluded to several times, the production of a diglossic linguistic architecture in medieval China is intertwined with the peculiar cultural *zeitgeist* of the Sui reunification. Sui Wendi 隋文帝 (541-604) declared the dawn of a reunified empire in 589 CE, after having usurped the north from the Zhou and conquered the last of the Six Dynasties in the south. By 602 the Sui had reincorporated the rogue state of Wanchun in Jiao into the new empire. The Sui and early Tang dynasties have been analyzed not as times of innovation and newness (as the Period of Disunion is now regarded)—but of codification and formalization practices, through which the new dynasties sought to establish firm control over their young empires (see Twitchett, 1979). In her discussion of Sui-Tang codification efforts, Warner (2003) argued that new genres were developed with the ambition of establishing definite standards over different domains of scholarship, and claimed that both the Sui and Tang "hoped that a restored Confucian ideological system would bring uniformity and conformity" to the empire (Warner, 2003, p. 27). For Warner, scholarly activity of the time was characterized by the production of authorities meant to resolve the heterogeneity of the Period of Disunion. Yan Zhitui's service to the Sui (which began in 581, some years prior to reunification) exemplifies this: Yan proposed that the Sui adopt the musical system of the Liang Dynasty, participated in the production of the *Qieyun*, and

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spent the remaining years of his life revising the Sui calendar (Teng, 1968, p. XXIII).[190] Warner

goes on to describe the *Qieyun* itself as "a full-scale dictionary designed to be nothing less than

the definitive handbook for future scholars' composition and recitation of literature" (Warner,

2003, p. 25).

As shown in this chapter, the key to the *Qieyun* as a "definitive handbook" lay in its

synthesis of an authoritative phonology. Despite later accusations that it simply regurgitated the

speech of the middle Yangzi (i.e. "Wu sounds"), the work that Lu Fayan attributes to Yan Zhitui

and his seven colleagues is described as a comparative analysis of both ancient and modern

glosses and of a range of modern varieties of speech, in order to prune from them what they

judged to be the most refined forms. Certainly, just as Yan Zhitui was guided by the cultural and

linguistic legacy of his émigré forebears in his construction of a "refined enunciation," the

Qieyun also chose the speech of the middle Yangzi elites (i.e. the northern émigrés; ultimately

the ancient speech of Luoyang) as its principle inspiration. However, this ancient speech of a

pre-divided north no longer existed in pure form anywhere in the empire. The best remnants of it

persisted among dislocated northerners in the middle Yangzi, but by Yan Zhitui's time, these

elites had been rooted in the south for several generations. In his *Refined Enunciation*, Yan

Zhitui makes it clear that even his own class had fallen prey to the uncouth practices of native

southerners, while the north, noble in spirit, was bereft of the erudition of the elites and ruled by

barbarians. For Yan, the main issue was that as a result, the social and cultural line between the

scholar-official 士大夫 from the commoner 凡人 had begun to blur, and thus he fabricates a

"refined enunciation" for his children to follow.[191] Yan Zhitui's appraisal of contemporary

language practices forms the context for the nature and ambition of the *Qieyun*. While focused

on the vocal aspects of literary practice (more specifically than the general habits of enunciation

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[190] Yan's proposal for a new musical system based on the Liang was rejected.

[191] The contrast between these two social classes is prevalent in Yan's writings (Warner, 2003, p. 26). This "fabrication" was probably a lifelong affair, not something Yan Zhitui decided to do upon composing the *Family Instructions*, though setting them down in a book may have crystallized things for Yan Zhitui in a way performing his "refined enunciation" in life never had.

targeted by Yan Zhitui's chapter) the *Qieyun* proceeded from the same realization—that a pure and refined phonological form could not be drawn from any single source. It had to be philologically manufactured.

The cultural, intellectual and linguistic landscape described each by Yan Zhitui, Lu Fayan and Lu Deming in turn is one that is overgrown, disputatious, and disturbingly heterogeneous. All three are responding to a species of "language anxiety," but in the case of the *Textual Explications* and the *Qieyun*, it is a "language anxiety" stimulated by the exhuberance and optimisim of the Sui reunification. Yan Zhitui sought to insulate his children against vulgar influences, but the purpose of the *Qieyun* was much loftier: it sought to reverse this damaging heterogeneity for the elites of the new empire. This is an ambition shared by Lu Deming I his *Textual Explications.* Lu Deming was of course, particularly concerned for classical culture, and the obfuscation of the classical language it was written in. However, an exegetical glossary could not reverse linguistic heterogeneity nor satisfy the psycho-social desire for a unified language; as Lu himself notes, in the *Textual Explications* "ancient and modern are recorded together"—side by side. The chasm between ancient and modern is unavoidably described, because that is the very point of exegetical work. Compare this kind of a text with the *Qieyun*, which did not bind itself either to the ancient language nor to any modern form of speech. Rather, the *Qieyun* offered something in between: a synthetic diasystem intelligible in terms of contemporary speech but which nevertheless could lay claim to a form of orthodox authority. This explains the emendations made to rimes described by Elman (1982); an intelligible link to contemporary speech was half of the function of the dictionary. It also contextualizes the use of the *Qieyun* as an authority for refined composition—especially in the context of the civil service examinations. Exegetical works could not and did not provide an authoritative vision of what the Sinitic language ought to be; that is what the *Qieyun* did. Lu Deming's response to the "language anxiety" described above was to weed and prune inaccuracies in classical exegesis, and to restore elites to a clear and unobstructed communion with the classics and canon. The

Qieyun addressed another source of "language anxiety," by seeking—not to unlock access to an ancient language—but to establish a unified and authoritative vision of what proper and refined language ought to be for the new empire. The *Qieyun* provided new elites with a guide for the voice of their literary practices in a time when there were too many conflicting ideas as to what that voice should sound like; in other words, it created a *vox auctoritas* for the reunified empire. It was an authority without laying claim to ancientry (something that bothered Li Fu), a higher form that was not tied to any specific dialect but intelligible to all. The *Qieyun*'s true success, therefore, lay in its establishment of a subjunctive reality for the Sinitic language: a system of orthodoxy accessible enough to maintain a transparent relationship with speech, but idealized enough to be able to claim authority.

The *Qieyun* thus permitted a kind of cognitive dissonance to endure: between the increasing diversity of speech on the one hand, and the belief in, need for and performance of a universal language on the other. When belletristic content came to dominate the civil service exam, the *Qieyun* became a practical necessity for that performance in the lavish but politically and culturally competitive Tang court. This cognitive duality to the function of the *Qieyun* is further supported by the fact that it was upgraded and expanded several times, and ultimately spawned the phonological ciphers of the rime tables: it needed to be both an authority that presided from above as well as being intelligible to contemporary speech, and literati would go to great lengths to maintain that arrangement for as long as possible. The *Qieyun* thus engendered a new social architecture for language in which diverse speech forms could coexist with an imagined, underlying language performed in the arena of literature. It was not always successful: Li Fu's critique shows that the *Qieyun*'s supposed universal authority was not always accepted. Nevertheless, as belletristic content was never successfully removed from the medieval civil curriculum, the *Qieyun*'s supremacy as a guide to orthodox tones and rimes remained undeposed throughout the Tang, and even if its rimes were emended or expanded (as in its final and most enduring form, the *Guangyun*), the *idea* of a *vox auctoritas* to which one could

appeal in the production of a higher form of literature would remain an organizing principle of the Sinitic intellectual landscape. It was in this sense a "blueprint" for a Sinitic diglossia that epitomizes Norman's mirage of a "single Chinese language existing in a great number of forms" (Norman, 1988, p. 3).

The structure of a Sinitic diglossia bears important repercussions for the phonological evolution of Late Sino-Vietnamese—by far the most numerous of SV forms. Unlike Korea or Japan, Sinitic diglossia obtained in the Jiao landscape, alongside a tertiary relationship with pVM. That diglossia would only evolve into a proper hyperglossic condition with the obsolescence of spoken Sinitic in the region, a sequence of changes that explains a salient doubleting phenomenon in LSV rimes (discussed next chapter). As described at the beginning of this chapter, Jiao maintained its Sinitic population throughout the Six Dynasties, though certainly it represented a fringe and semi-autonomous frontier. The increasing eliticism of the Six Dynasties and regionalization of Jiao culminated in the rogue (but nevertheless, Sinitic) state of Wanchun, which persisted for nearly seventy years before the Sui reincorporated it into the empire. The features of LSV (borrowed after the 10th century) describe a form of Sinitic distinct from the major lineages of the Tang Dynasty, but nevertheless in harmony with the major sound-changes that defined the so-called "Late Middle Chinese" of the era. This suggests that the semi-autonomy of the Six Dynasties produced a distinctively regional variety of Sinitic in Jiao—one constituent in a southwestern corridor of dialects—which nevertheless evolved in tandem with other varieties of Middle Chinese. This variety of Middle Chinese was contemporary with the ancestors of Cantonese, Wu and Mandarin, and the larger variety to which it belonged was probably also the ancestor of the small Sinitic varieties spoken in northern Guangxi, northeastern Guangdong and Southwestern Hunan discussed in Chapter 1 (i.e. the SW Xiang and Pinghua varieties). It was the standard (though evolving) dialect of Jiao throughout the medieval period, and it demonstrated the same diglossic qualities as sinicit varieties from other parts of the empire. Jiao was reorganized by the Tang into the protectorate of *Annam* 安南都護府 in 679, and for this

reason, I have named this regional Sinitic variety *Annamese Middle Chinese*.

Chapter 4

The Case for an "Annamese Middle Chinese"

4.0   Introduction

The largest number of Sino-Vietnamese words reflect changes that swept across the Sinitic language during the Tang Dynasty. The nature of these words have generally been treated in the same manner as the nature of similar vocabularies in Korean and Japanese, an approach which attributes them to the dissemination of glossing systems perpetuated by literate elites who nevertheless generally did not speak any form of Sinitic. This point of view is unequipped to account for the phonological structure of "Late Sino-Vietnamese" (LSV), and another explanation must be found. In this chapter, I forward evidence for a spoken Sinitic variety that formed in Jiao over the centuries of the Period of Disunion and in use during the Tang, which I term *Annamese Middle Chinese*.

4.01   Historical context

The vast majority of Sino-Vietnamese words reflects major features of the "Late Middle Chinese" of the Tang Dynasty, and so the history of this era is worth spending some time to review. As noted last chapter, Li Bi, a Jiao native, rebelled agains the Liang court and established the independent state of Wanchun in 544. Li Bi is a revealing character because he encompasses the notion of a native Jiao Sinitic culture. His family emigrated from the north toward the end of the Western Han, and according to the 15th century Lê chronicles, "after seven generations [they] thereupon became southerners" (ĐVSKTT, 4:14b; translated by Taylor, 1983, p. 320). The Li clan was thus settled in Jiao for over five centuries before Li Bi declared the state of Wanchun. Nevertheless, decades before this move, Li Bi sought appointment at the

Liang court in the early 6th century, and was later appointed military overseer of De province 德州, at the southern extremity of Jiaozhou (Taylor, 1983, p. 136). It was only after the current governor of Jiao, a nephew of the Liang emperor named Xiao Zi 蕭諮, alienated the Jiao citizenry through extortative misrule that Li Bi seized the opportunity to take power for himself (ibid.). Thus from one perspective, the real difference between Li Bi and someone like Du Hongwen (discussed last chapter) is that Du Hongwen actually succeeded in achieving an imperial appointment. Li Bi is thus both culturally Sinitic and thoroughly a native of Jiao. His family history documents the establishment and growth of a Sinitic language and culture via deeply-rooted Sinitic clans throughout the Period of Disunion. True enough, Li Bi's genealogy and demeanor apparently did not win him a position at the hyper-elite Liang court, but the fact that his first ambition (and expectation) was to find appointment there indicates that he—and Jiao elites like him—still considered themselves members of the Sinitic ecosystem.

Li Bi's rebellion was the first time that Jiao had overtly severed its political ties with the ruling court since the late Han rebellions, and the Liang immediately made an effort to recapture it. The Liang assigned Chen Baxian 陳霸先 (503-559), the man who would eventually overthrow the Liang and found the last of the Six Dynasties, to deal with Jiao. Chen argued vehemently for a punitive expedition:

> Giao-chi has risen in criminal rebellion and transgressed against the imperial family, sending confusion and turbulence into several provinces and escaping punishment year after year. Ting Province [in Guangxi] wants to use clandestine means to resolve the situation and shrinks from a direct attack. We have received an imperial order to punish a crime, and we should carry it out even if we die in the attempt. How can we loiter about and not advance, thereby increasing the advantage of the rebels and demoralizing our own troops? (CS, 1:2b-3a; translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 141)

Chen Baxian destroyed Li Bi's army within a few years, and Li Bi himself was eventually betrayed by the Lao tribesmen with whom he sought refuge, beheaded and his head sent to the Liang in 548—only four years after he had declared himself emperor (Taylor, 1983, 143).

Despite this victory, the Liang were falling apart by the mid 6th century, and the Liang-Chen turmoil prevented Jinling from being able to reassert control over Jiao.

The last three decades of the 6th century were relatively stable in Jiao, and local forms of Buddhism flourished under the rule of a man named Li Fozi 李佛子, a relative of Li Bi.[192] Li Fozi maintained amicable relations with the relatively powerless Chen in Jinling, and Taylor (1983) notes a few recorded instances of personnel exchange between Wanchun and the Chen court (Taylor, 1983, p. 158). This changed, however, when the Sui conquered the Chen in 589. In 590, the southern provinces erupted in anti-Sui rebellions, and several strongmen declared themselves either emperors or governor-generals, including Li Fozi (Taylor, 1983, pp. 158-159). As the Sui consolidated their power over Guangdong and Guangxi, Li Fozi officially recognized their suzerainty, but later openly rebelled in 602. The Sui sent the talented and popular Liu Fang 劉方 into Wanchun, who surprised Li Fozi's armies and admonished Li Fozi to surrender. Li acquiesced and was sent to Chang'an in defeat; his suboordinates were then beheaded to prevent further troubles (Taylor, 1983, p. 162).

When the Sui moved into the region, they reorganized the Liang provincial structure into a single Jiao province comprised of three prefectures, which corresponded to the commanderies of Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen in Han times (Rinan had been lost to the proto-Chamic kingdom of Linyi). The Sui census records 30,516 hearths for Jiaozhi, and a total of 56,566 hearths for all three commanderies, a substantial increase over the Six Dynasties (Taylor, 1983, p. 167). Taylor (1983) suggests that the rise in population recorded here resulted from the stronger administrative capabilities of the Sui, and potentially an effort to introduce the "equal-field"

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[192] In the interim between Li Bi's leadership and the rise of his clansman, Li Fozi, rulership of Jiao was split between Li Bi's former general, Zhao Guangfu 趙光復 (?-571; Viet. *Triệu Quang Phục*) and Li Bi's elder brother, Li Tianbao 李天寶 (499-555; Viet. *Lý Thiên Bảo*). Li Tianbao (together with Li Fozi) was defeated by Chen Baxian in Ai (near modern-day Nghe An), and retreated south until 557, when Li Fozi (who had succeeded Li Tianbao in 555) emerged to contest Zhao Guangfu's power (Taylor, 1983, p. 153). Li Fozi claimed Li Bi's title of "southern emperor" 南帝 but was unable to defeat Zhao and requested a truce (Taylor, 1983, p. 153). However by the end of the 560s Zhao's supremacy was compromised, possibly through implication with the failed rebellion of Guangzhou Regional Inspector Ouyang He 歐陽紇 (538-570), and Li Fozi would claim control of Jiao by 571. For more details on Zhao Guangfu's rule, see Taylor, 1983, pp. 151-155.

system 均田制度. The "equal-field" system was partly enacted to curb the power of aristocratic clans (cf. the discussion of the Nine-Grade System from last chapter). As the Sui began to disintegrate in the early 600s, a man named Qiu He 丘和 (551-637), a native of Luoyang, was sent to secure the province. Qiu He's equanimous rule would insulate Jiao against the fall of the Sui much like Shi Xie's rule had done during the fall of the Han. When the Tang came south in 622, Qiu He immediately submitted to the new dynasty (Taylor, 1983, 169). The Tang officially appointed Qiu He an administrator of Jiao, and shortly thereafter, Qiu (in his seventies at this point) returned north in retirement (ibid.).

4.012   The Tang protectorate of Annam

In the early 620s, the Tang divided Jiao up into numerous small provinces for the purpose of identifying population centers (Taylor, 1983, 170-171). This signals a far greater and more meticulous imperial administration of the region than had previously obtained. These were gradually reduced as the Tang became familiar with the area, and after a series of reforms the Tang officially reorganized Jiao into the Protectorate of Annam 安南都護府 in 679 (ibid.).[193] "Protectorates" 都護府 evolved in the Tang to designate frontier regions outside the heartlands of the empire, and the emergence of a protectorate of the "Pacified South" 安南 (analogous to the "Pacified West" 安西 in the Tarim Basin, the "Pacified North" 安北 in Mongolia and the "Pacified East" 安東 on the border of the Korean kingdoms) reflected Tang concerns for frontier organization after the empire suffered a major defeat at the hands of the Tibetans in 678 (Taylor, 1983, 171). Protectorates were administered by imperially appointed "governor generals" 都督.[194] The southern extremity of the empire, at Huan 驩 (modern day Nghệ An province),

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[193] To keep with my policy of rendering Chinese administrative terms and names in *pinyin*, this should be *Annan* and not *Annam*. However, I have chosen to make an exception given the recognizability of the term, and its persistence in the form of *Annam* throughout the 2nd millennium.

[194] The title is not included in Hucker; I have followed Taylor's (1983) usage.

presided over several so-called "halter provinces" 羈縻州, which basically consisted of titles granted to non-Sinitic tribal lords used as buffers with the proto-Chamic kingdom of Linyi 林邑, as well as in the mountainous northwest near modern-day Yunnan and other frontier zones (ibid.). Despite the frontier designation of "protectorate," Jiao (now Annam) had entered into Tang rule in relative prosperity and calm, and Tang administrative control was both pervasive and extraordinarily stable (Taylor, 1983, 174).   A map of the eight most prominent provinces within the protectorate is provided below.[195]

Figure 4.1: Protectorate of Annam during the Tang (with rivers and modern borders in grey)
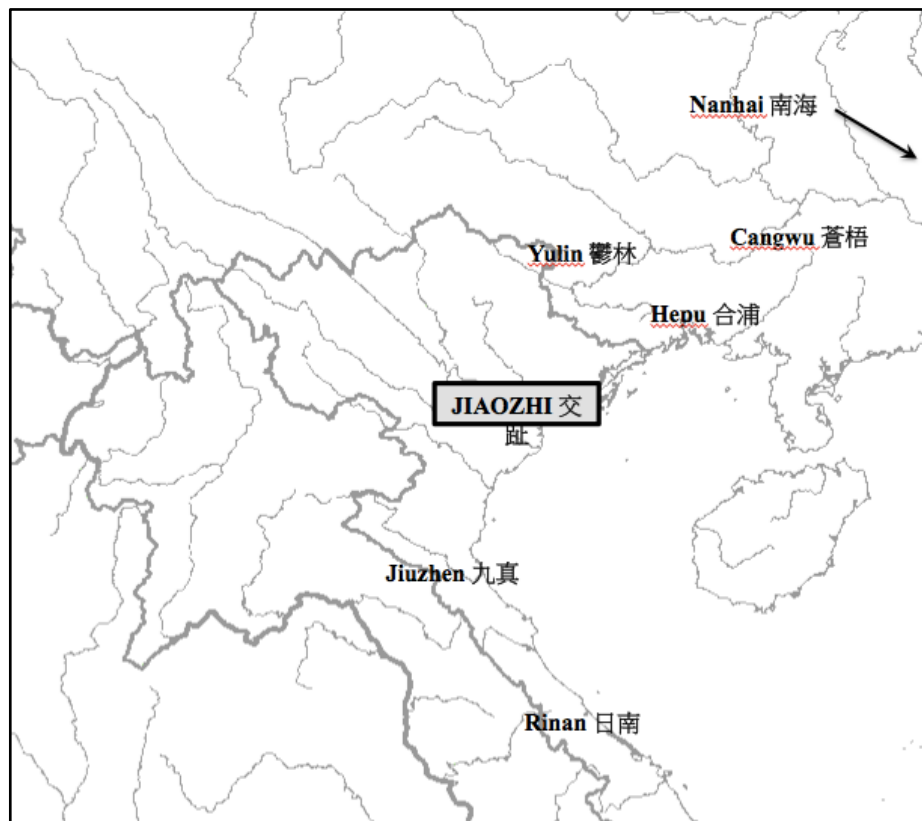
As shown above, the Han commandery of Jiuzhen (made into a prefecture 縣 during the Sui) was now broken up into several small provinces. A strong Tang presence ended at Huan, and the

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[195] Based on Taylor (1983), p. 170, map 7.

province of Fulu was created in 669 in order to deal with migrating barbarians on the Linyi border (i.e. the Jiuzhen border with the former Rinan commandery), a move which also granted the Tang strategic control of the coast (Taylor, 1983, p. 172). Linyi occupied the region south of Fulu through modern-day Đà Nẵng, and it was around Fulu that the so-called "halter-provinces" were created (in addition to other frontier zones). Jiao (in grey above) remained the heartland of the region and its most densely populated province.

The census records from the period demonstrate a relatively stable population over the 8th century, which shoots up in 742:

Table 4.1: Tang Census Statistics for the Protectorate of Annam (Taylor, 1983, p.176)[196]

州名	Year	ca. 700		726?	740		742		807
	Count	Hearths	Heads	Hearths	Hearths	Heads	Hearths	Heads	Hearths
交	Jiao	17,523	88,788	25,690	24,730	99,660	24,230	99,652	27,135
峯	Feng	5,444*	6,435	3,561*	1,920	5,119	1,920	…	1,483
愛	Ai	9,080	36,519	14,056	40,700*	135,030*	14,700	…	5,379
驩	Huan	6,579	16,689	6,649	9,629	53,818	9,619	50,818	3,843
陸	Lu	…	…	1,934*	490	2,710	494	2,674	231
長	Chang	…	…	…	630	3,040	…	…	648
演	Yan	x	x	x	(in Huan)	x	x	x	1,450
福祿	Fulu	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	317
total			148,431				40,963		40,486

Taylor (1983) attributes the burst in the registered number of households (which grew three times faster than the population) as reflecting a significant wave of northern immigration into the region.[197] A noticeable spike in the Jiao number of households also occurs again by 807 (from

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[196] I have reproduced Taylor's notation with only minor adjustments. I have rendered the provincial names in pinyin and provided their equivalents in Chinese characters. As Taylor has, I have starred (*) those figures which Taylor arued were obvious errors, and placed ellipses (…) where a figure is not available. The (x) in cells for the province of Yan indicate that it was not yet a province. Taylor notes that the second census dates from Taizong's Kaiyuan 開元 era (713-741) and probably dates to 742. Finally, Taylor suggests that the 740 and 742 were drawn from a single poll.

[197] Taylor argues that the increase in households but decrease in heads per hearth in Jiao reflects large numbers of Sinitic individuals or small nuclear families entering the region, whereas the rise in population in Huan but relatively stable hearth numbers suggest that large (non-Sinitic) clans or tribes of some kind were settling the area (Taylor, 1983, p. 178).

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24,230 hearths in 742 up to 27,135), probably reflecting refugees from the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755-763).   Note also that by ca. 700, the registered households in Guangdong and Guangxi were 71,805 and 274,696 compared with only 38,626 in all of Annam (Taylor, 1983, 181). This represents a huge increase in the population of the Guang territories since the Han, and an analogous drop in the relative density of the Annamese regions. By the 8th century, the demographic distribution of the Han era had reversed itself, and Jiao was no longer the largest settlement in the region.

During the 7th century, Annam was regarded as a distant and virtually penitential assignment for government officials. This cultural perspective is well documented by the story of a talented official named Lu Zushang 盧祖尚, who was was summoned by Taizong and appointed to oversea the new protectorate with the words:

> Giao [交] is a large frontier region and it is necessary to have good officials to look after it; up to now, none of the governor generals has been equal to his responsibilities. You have the ability to pacify this frontier; go and defend it for me, and do not refuse on account of its being far away."[198]

Lu Zushang thanked the emperor but refused on pretext of illness; when the emperor sent Lu's own brother-in-law to urge him to perform his duty, Lu frankly responded that he was afraid he would die of malaria if he assumed the post (Taylor, 1983, p. 183). The emperor was so angry that he had Lu beheaded (ibid.). As Taylor put it, this perception of Annam as a pestilential backwater led to "demotion and banishment…[as the] prime means of staffing the administration there" (Taylor, 1983, p. 184). The dangers were not all imagined; for example, imperial clansmen Li Daoxing 李道興 died within a year after being sent there as punishment for an unrecorded offense (ibid.).

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[198] The anecdote is recorded in Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 and two Vietnamese chronicles: the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, and the *An Nam chí lược* (see Chapter 7). I have drawn from Taylor's translation (Taylor, 1983, p. 183).

Taylor (1983) notes that the list of exile-appointments to Annam is long, and he describes several cases of high-profile Tang officials who were forced to assume command of the protectorate (Taylor, 1983, pp. 184-187). Notable among those not listed by Taylor was renowned early Tang poet Wang Bo's 王勃 (649-676) father, Wang Fuzhi 王福畤, who was sent to Jiao after his son killed a runaway government slave (JTS, 190a.5005; XTS, 201.5739).

Not all governor generals viewed their appointment as banishment, and some put down Annamese roots as previous generations of northern clans had. Taylor notes the case of Li Changming 李常明, who is recorded in the 14th century "strange tales" anthology known as the *Việt điện u linh tập* 越甸幽靈集 as having established a shrine to the tutelary spirits of the realm and presided over a kind of magical competition between a so-called "Great Lord" spirit and a "Local Magistrate" spirit (Taylor, 1983, p. 187). The interaction of earthly bureaucracy with an immortal realm governed by the same principles is a familiar theme in Chinese tales of ghosts and demons, and Li Changming's involvement here both reifies the cosmological harmony between local geomantic forces and an imperial bureaucracy.

By the late 7th century, the Tang were finding it difficult to staff their more distant administrations by conventional means alone, and an order was issued to select talented men from among autochthonous populations for positions of the fifth degree and above (Taylor, 1983, p. 188). The decree further suggests that the Sinitic population of Jiao lived in close quarters with substantial non-Sinitic communities, and that the line between Sinitic and "barbarian" was flexible and ambiguous.

The early Tang administration was not without its problems, though not all of these instances of southern unrest really had to do with the Annamese themselves. In 722, a man from the southern frontier province of Huan named Mei Shuluan 梅叔鸞 (Viet. *Mai Thúc Loan*) rose up, and with a band of some four hundred thousand followers of diverse cultural persuasions, seized the entire protectorate. Declaring himself the "Black Emperor" 黑帝 (apparently on account of his dark complexion), Mei Shuluan seems to represent the rise to power of a fringe

element leading a mixed company which drew on several non-Sinitic cultures, including recruits from the proto-Chamic Linyi and the proto-Khmer Zhenla 真臘 kingdoms (Taylor, 1983, p. 192). However, Mei was quickly overthrown and order was reestablished by the late 720s. The Mei Shuluan event represents an external invasion from a non-Sinitic source, rather than "indigenous unrest"—or worse, a "proto-Vietnamese" sense of identity. At any rate, beside the Mei Shuluan invasion and another militia-led incident in 687, Annam was a comparatively peaceful zone for most of the 7th and 8th centuries.

Annam, like the rest of the empire, was affected by the military coup of An Lushan 安祿山 (ca. 703-757), a man of Sogdian descent who initiated an eight year interregnum to Tang rule (755-763) from which the Tang never fully recovered. Tribal peoples occupying the highlands of modern-day Yunnan, Guizhou, and Guangxi overran Tang settlements and established at least seven independent kingdoms across the region (Taylor, 1983, 196). This effectively cut Annam off from the empire for two years, when in 758 the Tang managed to reclaim the provinces and reconnect with their territories in Jiao.[199] It was at this time that administrators of Annam were given status as military governors 節度使 (ibid.).

The introduction of military governorship reflected a weakening in the centralized power of the Tang, which worked to the advantage of regional strongmen (notably non-Sinitic elements). In the last decade of the 8th century, a man from the midland country west and upriver from Jiao raised an army and took control of the protectorate. Phùng Hưng 馮興 (Man. *Feng Xing*) was the son of a wealthy family in Feng 峯, a western frontier zone outside the Jiao heartland but closer to old, non-Sinitic sites of political prestige and a possible center of non-sinicized culture (see Figure 4.1 above). Phùng is described as a charismatic strongman, and as noted in chapter 3, was given the posthumous title of *"Vua cái đại vương"* ("Great King – Great

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[199] In an interesting example of Tang cosmopolitan leadership at this time, Nara-era Japanese native Abe no Nakamaro 阿倍・仲麻呂 (Chinese name *Chao Heng* 晁衡) was made protector general 都護 of Annam from 761-767. Nakamaro never returned to Japan and was notable for pacifying both the northern frontier of the protectorate, which had experienced some trouble with Yunnanese tribesmen in 766, and for detaching Yan province from Huan in order to more effectively deal with the non-Sinitic highlanders on the southern frontier (Taylor, 1983, p. 198).

King") by his son, Phùng An (馮安). The title contains the pVM elements *vua cái* ("great king"), and notably allows us to identify pVM speakers as major political actors in the period.[200] It also provides some attestation of the hybridized state of affairs that must have characterized society among powerful, non-Jiao (and subsequently less sinicized) clans. The title simply comprises the words "Great King"—first in pVM and then in Sinitic—strung together in a row: *Vua cái* ("king - great") *đại vương* ("great - king" 大王). Once again, however, we must resist the temptation to simplify the Annamese landscape to pVM-speaking indigenous leaders and alien, Sinitic-speaking bureaucratic officials. When Emperor Dezong 唐德宗 (742-805) appointed a new protector-general of Annam and sent him with conciliatory messages to Phùng An, the son of the "Great King" acquiesced peacefully, and Annam re-entered imperial control without bloodshed (Taylor, 1983, p. 207).

Phùng Hưng and his son Phùng An increased the commercial importance of Annam, and Jiao eclipsed Guangdong in importance as a major port under their rule (Taylor, 1983, p. 208). In 792, the governor of Guangdong requested that Annamese markets be shut down in order to stimulate commercial growth in Guangzhou; however, a high minister at court argued against allowing this:

> The merchants of distant kingdoms only seek profit. If they are treated fairly they will come; if they are troubled, they will go. Formerly, Kuang Province was a gathering place for merchant vessels; now, suddenly they have changed to An-nam. If there has been oppressive misappropriation over a long period of time, then those who have gone elsewhere must be persuaded to return; this is not a matter for litigation but of changing the attitude of officials (ZZTJ, 234, 12.596; translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 208).

This episode suggests that Annam was a natural destination for Arab and other maritime traders, a fact that could and was exploited by regional leaders who contemplated political arrangements outside of the imperial system. Though Guangzhou reclaimed its position as the major southern

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[200] This is why I have chosen to render Phùng Hưng's name in Vietnamese *quốc ngữ* rather than *pinyin*. The title has been mistransliterated as *Bố cái đại vương* ("Great Father-Mother King") in the past, but this is incorrect. I am grateful to Dr. Keith Taylor for pointing out to me the correct title as *Vua cái đại vương*.

port by the ninth century, the Phùng interregnum established an important precedent for alternative rule in a time when the Tang was experiencing a steady decline in centralized power. Most notably, the Phùng were pVM speakers (or more likely, pVM-Sinitic bilinguals). In contrast to the ethnolinguistically ambiguous Trưng Sisters some eight centuries prior, this fact can be confirmed Phùng Hưng's posthumous title of *Vua Cái Đại Vương*.

The Phùng family must thus be contrasted with other great Jiao clans like the Shi, Du and Li, the last of which, as we have already discussed at length, established an even longer period of regional independence at the end of the 6th century. The Shi, Du and Li were Sinitic clans who had emigrated to Jiao sometimes in the distant past (cf. the Li emigration at the end of the Western Han), but who thrived in the deeply-rooted Sinitic culture of the Red River delta. The Phùng were wealthy and powerful, but hailed from a frontier zone outside the heartland of Jiao. We have already discussed how Jiao Sinitic society must be reconstructed as stratified; clearly the pVM-speaking society also included powerful clans with practical socio-political power. Compare Phùng Hưng's charismatic rise to power with the careers of two late 8th century brothers: Jiang Gongfu 姜公輔 (Viet. *Khương Công Phu*) and Jiang Gongfu 姜公復 (Viet. *Khương Công Phục*), both of whom excelled in the civil service exams under Dezong's reign. The brothers were from Ai province far to the south of Jiao; nevertheless, the older Jiang brother (姜公輔) became a high-ranking member of the Hanlin Academy while the younger Jiang brother secured a high ministerial position at court, and a good selection of their writings (including a rhapsody and civil service exam essay by the elder) have survived to the present (Trần, 2000, pp. 278-308; Taylor, 1983, pp. 217-218).[201] The path to power for these men lay firmly within the Sinitic authority, and despite being locals from Ai, for them and their social class all of Annam was at one end of vast map whose center lay at Chang'an. For men like

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[201] The achievements of the Jiang brothers was by no means normal for Annam, from an imperial point of view. According to one Tang official's report of 845 recorded in the 14th century unofficial chroncle, *An Nam chí lược* 安南志略, "An-nam has produced no more than eight imperial officals; senior graduates have not exceeded ten" (ANCL, 153; translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 218). Reference to only one other metropolitan graduate 進士 from the region (other than the Jiang brothers) has survived (Taylor, 1983, p. 218).

Phùng Hưng, on the other hand, the center of of the map lay in Jiao, not some distant northern capital. Yet these men coexisted in a single society, and interacted with each other as leaders of a multivalent, multilingual Annamese landscape.

4.013 The Nanzhao war and the End of the Protectorate

With the acquiescence of Phùng An to the return of Tang rule, Annam entered into another stretch of stable imperial rule. During this period, the influence of the agriculturally-oriented Sinitic culture of the lowlands was strengthened, the capacity for highlander troublemakers from beyond the Sinitic cultural margin to threaten the protectorate was reduced. However, the rise of the powerful and ethnolinguistically diverse Nanzhao 南詔 kingdom (653-902) in the mountains of Yunnan led to a factionalization of Annamese society, between those attracted to the alternative political and cultural prestige of Nanzhao and those rooted in the Sinitic lowlands loyal to the Tang court.[202] The tenor of Annamese society in the 9th century foreshadows the institution of an independent polity a century later. One description from the mid-9th century is particularly revealing:

> [The purpose of the protectorate is to] defend the land routes and prevent the Kkhmers from coming to buy weapons and horses; in the ravines dwell savage and stubborn people who must be repressed… Once every three years soldiers are sent to patrol and repress, then the situation is reported to the throne. All frontier officials must concern themselves with befriending local leaders and teaching them the proper way to behave. An-nam has less than three hundred cavalrymen… There are strong clans and aboriginal tribes; a question of prime importance is the distribution of military equpiment. If there are any fathers or elder brothers of good character with literary and martial talents, each year their names are recommended for official position (ANCL, 153; translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 238).

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[202] Historically, there has been some debate as to the ethnolinguistic character of the Nanzhao elite. It has long been recognized that the kingdom comprised a diverse range of ethnicities, but the first major claim regarding the elite core of Nanzhao society was that it was Tai-speaking. However, linguistic evidence appears to contradict this claim and the nucleus of Nanzhao elite society is now thought to have been Tibeto-Burman speaking, and perhaps consisting mostly of Wu Man and Pai Man peoples (see Backus, 1981, pp. 46-50).

The report describes a tenuous military situation in Annam in which Tang forces no longer had the military strength to overawe non-Sinitic factions in the region. Rather, Sinitic power needed to cater to the "strong clans" and "aboriginal tribes" of the area (almost certainly outlying regions like Feng, Huan and Ai), ostensibly to protect the interests of the Sinitic heartland in Jiao, which was the lynchpin of the Tang strategic presence in the region. The rise in power and confidence of these "aboriginal tribes" suggests that as Tang power weakened, strongmen of the frontier began to take advantage of the power vaccum.

This situation came to a head in the 850s, under the spectacularly inept leadership of protector-general Li Zhuo 李涿. Under Li Zhuo's tenure, the powerful clan-leaders of the highlands (around Feng and beyond) forsook their relationship with Jiao, placed themselves under the protection of the Nanzhao King and allied themselves with rebellious factions in the protectorate (Taylor, 1983, pp. 239-240). When the highland chiefs broke with Li Zhuo, the governor of Ai province (Du Cuncheng 杜存誠) allied himself with them against Li Zhuo, and heavy warfare broke out in Feng (ibid.). Nanzhao itself sent a large army into Annam to test Tang resolve in 858, but withdrew without engaging in battle. However, a full-scale invasion was mounted in 862, which was stalled by the efforts of a man named Cai Xi 蔡襲, who fought the Nanzhao to a standstill with some 30,000 men (Taylor, 1983, p. 244). Cai Xi's efforts to neutralize the Nanzhao threat to Annam were undermined by the jealousy and intriguing of the newly-appointed military governor Cai Jing 蔡京, who was based in Rong 容 (on the border of northeastern Vietnam and southwestern Guangxi) but had jurisdiction over the entire protectorate. Cai Jing interfered with Cai Xi's requests for reinforcements, and Nanzhao subsequently invaded Jiao with fifty thousand men. The capital at Luocheng 羅城 (Viet. *La Thành*) in the delta fell early in 863, and though Cai Xi initially escaped via the Red River, his vessel capsized midstream and he drowned. His executive officer roused the remaining troops for a final, glorious charge back into the city, and they fought their way back to the citadel, allegedly slaughtering two thousand enemies before finally being defeated (Taylor, 1983, p. 245). Thus,

the protectorate fell to Nanzhao in 863, and for the first time in its entire history, the Red River plain was occupied by a powerful, foreign and non-Sinitic force.

The Nanzhao conquest of the protectorate shattered the relative stability of nine centuries of Sinitic cultural rulership in the region. The effect was extreme: even anti-Tang elements of Annamese society who had allied themselves with the mountain kingdom were betrayed and scattered. The *Jiu Tangshu* described the situation as follows:

> Many refugees dwelt in the caves and ravines of An-nam, and the number of [refugees] civil and military officials arriving at Sea Gate [Haikou 海口 in Guangdong] was not small…military leaders appeared in the caves and ravines of An-nam, leaders who enjoyed popular confidence and governed even while the barbarians plundered; they assumed command of fortified towns and stood up as local heroes, individually defending the frontier lands according to their reputations. In the caves and ravines, all was confusion (translated by Keith Taylor, 1983, p. 245).

The war was a disaster on all fronts, and it delivered a shattering blow to Sinitic cultural supremacy in the region. It was an opportunity for various charismatic figures to rise up and seize power, and it disrupted the orthodoxy and reliability of an imperial political dynamic. If they were bold enough, uneducated men with no connections to the Sinitic world could rise up and declare themselves leaders, whereas members of the old Sinitic culture of the Red River plain were scattered or left to the mercy of new barbarian overlords.

The Nanzhao occupation was ended by the efforts of another talented general, Gao Pian 高駢, who had risen in fame after defeating Turkic peoples on the northern border and who began his southern career by routing a Nanzhao army in Annam that was fifty-thousand strong with only five thousand soldiers (Taylor, 1983, p. 246). During the years 865-866, Gao Pian successfully ejected Nanzhao from the protectorate, eliminated all rebellious, pro-Nanzhao elements and put an end to Nanzhao ambitions in the region (ibid.). Taylor argued that the population of Annam welcomed Gao Pian and the return of Tang rule with enthusiasm, and Gao Pian was viewed as a liberator of Annam from barbarian rule rather than another northern

oppressor (Taylor, 1983, p. 249). The deep roots of Sinitic culture in the region were severly traumatized by the Nanzho invasion, and they welcomed the return of the Tang as a return to civility. Gao Pian ushered Annam into its last stretch of peace and prosperity before the Tang discorporation. But Tang power in the region never fully recovered, and the precedent for non-Sinitic strongmen to claim power for themselves would spell the end of over a millennium of Sinitic imperial administration in the Red River plain.

As rebellions broke out across the empire in the 870s and 880s, imperial administration would once again disintegrate in the protectorate. A measure of stability was maintained by the leadership of the Qu 曲 (Viet. *Khúc*) clan from eastern Jiao, who ruled the protectorate from the 906 to 930 and possibly from as early as 880, when Tang garrisons were withdrawn. The Qu were another powerful Sinitic clan of Jiao who, like the Shi during the fall of the Han, maintained order in the region in the name of imperial rule. The last Qu protector-general, Qu Zhengmei 曲承美 (917-?), was defeated by the Southern Han 南漢 (907-960) in 930, though one of his generals managed to reclaim Jiao for a brief period of six years (Taylor, 1983, pp. 266). This general (Yang Tingyi 楊廷藝) was a native of Ai and ejected the Southern Han from Annam but was himself assassinated by a pro-Southern Han petty official from Feng named Qiao Gonghan 矯公罕 (Taylor, 1983, p. 266).

However, Qiao was defeated by Yang Tingyi's protégée and son-in-law, a man from Feng who later successfully repelled the Southern Han at a famous battle on the Baiteng 白藤 river (Viet. *Bạch Đằng*; a lower arm of the Red River which empties into modern-day Hạ Long Bay) in 939: Wu Quan 吳權 (Viet. *Ngô Quyền*; 897-944). Wu Quan had previously been a general of Yang Tingyi, and marched north out of Ai for Jiao in 937 to avenge his death at the hands of Qiao Gonghan. Once Qiao Gonghan was dispatched, this left Wu to face the Southern Han itself, under the leadership of Liu Hongcao 劉弘操. In the autumn of 938, Liu sailed into the Baiteng (Bạch Đằng) estuary, intending on sweeping into the heart of Jiao by river. Wu, anticipating this move, planted the riverbed with wooden spikes. When Liu arrived, Wu sent

shallow-drafted vessels out into the river to lure him in, fleeing as the Southern Han navy entered the estuary. As the tide fell, the Southern Han warboats were pinned by the network of poles, and Wu's army turned back for the slaughter. Over half the Southern Han force was killed, including Liu Hongcao (Taylor, 1983, p. 268-9). In the spring of 939, Wu Quan declared himself "King Wu of Annan" 安南吳王. This is the battle usually commemorated by modern Vietnamese as the beginning of independence; but the truly decisive moment came later, in 980-981, when the Song, after having successfully reassembled the empire, launched an attack on the region. However, lacking the martial prowess of the Han and Tang states, the Song were unable to recapture Annam, and thus, the region was left to develop in relative political independence. Over a millennium of membership in a broader Sinitic political eco-system had finally come to an end.

4.02   Annamese Middle Chinese

The rest of this chapter focuses on the linguistic dimensions of the era just described. Virtually all scholarship to date has posited a literary, classroom origin for the bulk of Sino-Vietnamese words; i.e. *Hán-Việt* (HV). As already discussed, Maspero (1912) considered HV a classroom reading pronunciation based on the Chang'an dialect, a position more or less supported by Wang Li (1948) and Mineya (1972). Hashimoto (1978) disagreed with the northern origin for HV, positing instead a southern prestige koine as the source; nevertheless, he stressed the notion of a graphemic and pedagogical mechanism for borrowing. Miyake (2003) disagreed with the details of Hashimoto's comparative work, positing a Cantonese-like prestige variety as the basic model for HV (Miyake M. , 2003, p. 127). However, he is vague on the nature and conditions of borrowing, and (as discussed last chapter) his comparison with the Yue languages is problematic. Only Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (1979) explicitly entertains the notion of a spoken variety of Chinese active in the area of the Annamese protectorate:

Before the 10th century, when we [the "Vietnamese"] read Chinese characters, we were in fact reading the Chinese language. Using Chinese characters [at that point in history] really meant using a kind of foreign language, and studying Chinese characters really meant studying a living language [*sinh ngữ*]… [Before the 10th century] Giao Châu was a "colony" of the feudal North, and the Chinese language [*tiếng Hán*] in Giao Châu can be seen as one dialect of the Chinese language. Of course in Giao Châu, because [Chinese] existed side-by-side with Vietnamese, it was influenced by the speech of the Vietnamese, and the Chinese language [in Giao Châu] was perhaps "misshapen" a bit, but in general in that time, it still remained in close contact with the Chinese language in China [*Trung Quốc*], and if the Chinese language in China evolved, then [the Chinese language] in Giao Châu would also follow suit.

Trước thế kỷ X ta đọc chữ Hán thực chất là ta đọc tiếng Tầu. Dùng chữ Hán tức là dùng một thứ tiếng nước ngoài, học chữ Hán tức là học một sinh ngữ… [T]rước thế kỷ X, vùng Giao Châu là một vùng "thuộc địa" của phong kiến Phương Bắc, tiếng Hán ở Giao Châu có thể coi như là một phương ngữ của tiếng Hán. Tất nhiên ở Giao Châu, vì tồn tại bên cạnh tiếng Việt, chịu tác động của cách nói người Việt, tiếng Hán có thể bị "méo mó" đi ít nhiều, nhưng nhìn chung thời kỳ này nó vẫn gắn liền, mật thiết với tiếng Hán ở Trung Quốc, tiếng Hán ở Trung Quốc diễn biến thì ở Giao Châu nó cũng phải diễn biến theo. (Nguyễn T. C., 1979, p. 38)

Nguyễn states directly what was unimaginable to scholars like Maspero, Wang Li and Mineya—that a form of Chinese must have been spoken in Tang-era Annam. Nguyễn crucially points out that before the 10th century, "studying Chinese characters meant studying a living language"—a situation entirely different than the reading-based Sinitic education that characterized Japanese or Korean societies at the time. Nevertheless, Nguyễn fails to recognize the implications of this scenario; instead he insists on considering such a form of Chinese as a "foreign language," which a "Vietnamese"-speaking population learned in the narrow context of pedagogical recitation. Nguyễn thus posits a hyperglossic condition in which native pVM speakers learned how to read a form of Sinitic, which is essentially the view embraced by Maspero, Wang Li, Mineya, and Hashimoto before him. Indeed, Nguyễn explicitly attributes any variance or idiosyncracy in HV to the "nativizing" effect of Vietnamese (in view of this thesis, pVM) speakers, while insisting that the variety of Chinese spoken in Annam changed in tandem with the "Chinese spoken in China." Thus, while Nguyễn admits that a form of Chinese was spoken in the Annam (or Giao

Châu), he cannot imagine Chinese as a regional language which exhibited its own internal evolutions inconsonant with conventional MC but independent of the "nativizing" effect of (pVM) speakers, nor the "Vietnamese" as bilingual but native speakers of a form of Chinese. This is too awkwardly "un-Vietnamese" a portrait of Annam for Nguyễn, whose otherwise incisive work is hampered by a 20th century nationalistic mindset.

Nguyễn, like Maspero, Mineya, and Wang Li before him, was deeply informed by studies of other East Asian Sinitic vocabularies, such as Sino–Korean and Sino-Japanese reading traditions—in particular, Japanese *Kan'on* 漢音. Hashimoto (1978) dubbed these lexica (including SV) cases of *Sinoxenic* borrowing, and typified them as reading-based transfusions of a Sinitic grapheme fused together with a conventional reading pronunciation. Later SK and SJ thus reflect conservative MC values which, as Nguyễn suggested for SV, may show idiosyncratic features, but which typically result from the restrictive application of the host phonology to MC values (as in the reduction or elimination of tonal contrasts) or subsequent changes in the host phonology (as in vowel epenthesis in MC entering tone syllables with final stops; e.g. Japanese *koku* for 國, "state;" cf. Pulleyblank's LMC *kuək).

This scenario is quite plausible for Japan and Korea, wherein Sinitic words were learned primarily in the context of Buddhist education and were thus acquired as memorizations of reading glosses. These glosses were originally compiled by Japanese or Korean visitors to the Tang region, and the rise in prestige of the Chang'an dialect over formerly preferred southern varieties is reflected in the differences between, for example, Japanese *Go'on* 吳音 (Yangzi based) and *Kan'on* 漢音 (Chang'an based) (Miyake M. , 2003, p. 106). The well known denasalization of *Kan'on* (cf. *Kan'on ba* for 馬) reflects a feature of Chang'an dialect. In Korea, the Sinoxenic vocabulary is virtually descended from Unified Silla, which conquered the other two kingdoms (and wiped out their Sinitic traditions) in the mid 7th century, and demonstrates a phonological system very close to the one described in Song era rime tables (Lee & Ramsey, 2011, pp. 68-69). In either case a phonological system was borrowed rather than individual

words, and it was that system that teachers tried to replicate and preserve in the Buddhist educational setting. Mineya suggested a similar scenario for Sino-Vietnamese, and compared HV with the system in the Buddhist exegetical glossary called the *Huilin yinyi* (慧琳音義, "Huilin's Sounds and Meaning"), also known as the *Dazang yinyi* (大藏音義, "Sounds & Meaning of the Great Canon"), written by the West Asian monk Huilin in the late 8th century (Mineya, 1972, p. 166).[203] Mineya noted several discrepancies in the systems which he could not account for, but nevertheless suggested that Buddhism also played an important role in the dissemination of SV.

The problem is, HV demonstrates several phonological mutations neither reconcilable with conservative MC evolution, nor attributable to a "nativizing" pVM effect. There are five of note:

1. Non-modal phonation reflexes for MC voicing
2. Palatalization of labials in *Chongniu IV* syllables
3. Lenition of velar onsets
4. High-series tone in low-register syllables with sonorant initials
5. Centralization & diphthongization of high/front- and low/back- vowels

Most of these demonstrate related effects in other living Sinitic languages (notably some small, isolated Southwestern varieties), suggesting that the donor of HV behaved more like the ancestor of modern Chinese varieties than like the conventionalized and literary progenitors of the other Sinoxenic lexica. If HV straightforwardly resulted from the literary cultivation of a prescribed set of reading pronunciations, then it would resist innovation and reflect the conservative aspects of a literary prestige variety. However, the five mutations listed above represent innovations in MC structure inconsonant with the conservatism expected of a rote glossing tradition with limited or no spoken component. If, alternatively, these were the result of "nativizing" effects of

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[203] Mineya also notes more broadly that the influence of Buddhism was historically far stronger in Annamese lands until as late as the Lê Dynasty (founded 1428) despite superficial participation in Confucian systems like the civil service examination, and so a Buddhist motivation for the transfusion of Chinese language was—from a cultural-historical point of view—more plausible (Mineya, 1972, p. 166).

pVM, then they should represent systematic changes in pVM that demonstrate the restrictive interpretation of a foreign phonological system in native terms (rather than the contact-induced mutations of two living, interactive phonological systems).[204] Yet none of these may be understood as the simple phonological glossing of a literary language adapted to native phonology. Indeed, cases like (4) strongly suggest the cohabitation of two living phonological systems rather than a straightforward hyperglossic dynamic.

If HV demonstrates mutations not attributable either to a conservative literary set of pronunciations or to the "nativizing" effect of contemporary pVM phonology, then only one explanation remains: there must have been a living, changing variety of Middle Chinese spoken in the Annamese protectorate, whose phonological system underwent endogenous mutations that distinguished it as one in a continuum of MC dialects, some of which eventually diversified into the modern Sinitic languages. In other words, we must posit an *Annamese Middle Chinese*.

Organization of the chapter:

This chapter will examine each of the mutations specific to AMC listed above, and will consider their relation to other varieties of Chinese. Section 4.1 addresses the evolution of feature [+ voice] after the merger of voiced and voiceless consonants in MC. Section 4.2 discusses the peculiar situation of labial onsets in the *Chongniu IV* series of syllables. Section 4.3 discusses the lenition of velar onsets in HV, which bears some analogous resemblance to distant northern varieties of Sinitic. Section 4.4 revisits the issue of high-series tones in sonorant-initial syllabes. Section 4.5 discusses the ubiquitous doubleting of centralized/diphthongized vowels in high/front- and low/back- MC vowels. In section 4.6 I turn to evidence for the wider dialect continuum to which AMC must have belonged, a variety of Middle Chinese that (in honor of Hashimoto) I have called Southwestern Middle Chinese

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[204] Compare the merger of *r-* and *l-* in English loanwords in Japanese, vs. the adoption of clicks in the Bantu languages, spoken contiguously with the Khoisan languages in central Africa.

(SWMC). Finally, in section 4.6 I contextualize the sociological and historical dimensions of the linguistic evidence presented in the chapter.

4.1   Non-modal phonation reflexes for MC feature [+ voice]

As noted last chapter, one of the chief criteria used for subgrouping the Chinese languages is the loss of voicing as a contrastive feature (and its subsequent evolution). By the time of the *Qieyun*, a voicing contrast was still operative in MC, and (as noted in Chapter 1) Yan Zhitui documents examples of its alternation in his *Family Instructions*. It was lost by the time of the *Yunjing* some centuries later, but distinguished philologically as the "muddy" (濁) vs. "clear" (清) series of onsets. Contrastive voicing is lost in all varieties of Chinese (with the exception of the Wu languages) including the Sinoxenic systems (except in Japanese *go'on*), and survives in modern Sinitic languages only as a difference in tonal register and sometimes the complementary distribution of aspiration. Zhang & Wang (1998) note that most major varieties of Chinese fall into the following categories:

Table 4.2: Sinitic Categories of Aspiration as a Reflex of MC feature [+ voice]
(Zhang & Wan, 1998)

	Relationship between aspiration & Tone/MC Voice	Examples
1.	Aspirates in both level & oblique tones	Hakka, Gan
2.	Plain onsets in both level or oblique tones	Some Xiang; some Pinghua
3.	Aspirates in level tones but not in oblique tones	Mandarin
4.	Aspirates in level/rising but not in departing/entering	Yue languages
5.	Three-way contrast retained	Wu languages

HV falls into the second category, unlike Cantonese or Mandarin (two varieties with high-prestige lineages).   However,   unlike   the   other   Sinoxenic   systems,   HV   maintains   the

voiced/voicelss contrast in terms of a high/modal vs. low/non-modal register difference, much like other Sinitic languages do.[205] I will first examine the series of changes which led to voiceless aspiration as a reflex of voicing (as in types 1, 3-4 above). I will then turn to the evolution of voicing indicated by HV.

4.1.1 Aspiration as a reflex of voicing

Pulleyblank (1984) argued that (in what amounts to languages of type 3-4 above) EMC voicing became a form of voiced aspiration (transcribed in his system as a separate segment, -ɦ-) by LMC, and was subsequently deleted in syllables with oblique C-type tones deriving from final –h (all reconstructions from Pullyblank, 1991):

Table 4.3: "Grassman's Law" MC Minimal Pair

#	字	EMC	LMC	Man.
1.	卞	bianʰ	pɦiaǹ	pian˩˩
2.	纏	bjian	pɦian	pʰian˧˩

As shown above, these stand in contrast to syllables with level A-type tones, deriving from open syllables or syllables with final sonorants. Thus Mandarin shows no aspiration in #1, but demonstrates an aspirated onset in #2 above. Pulleyblank (1984) compared this dissimilatory deletion to the principle called *Grassman's Law*, observed in Ancient Sanskrit and Ancient Greek:

Grassman's Law in Ancient Greek:

tʰriks   θρίξ   "hair"
trikʰɛs   τρίχες   "hairs"

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Ancient Greek aspirates lose aspiration when followed by aspiration in an adjacent syllable (Hock, 1991, p. 112). Pulleyblank's interpretation of Grassman's Law in the MC context is bounded within a single syllable, with final –h (i.e. C-type departing tone) providing the condition for dissimilation.

Pulleyblank's observations are supported by good evidence in the Mandarin and Cantonese comparative data (as well as the philological record). The clearest evidence for these effects comes from aspirated reflex for MC voiced onsets in level A-type tone:

Table 4.4: "Grassman's Law" Effects in MC Level Tone

#	字	EMC	LMC	Man.
1.	便	bjan	pɦian	pʰian˧˥
2.	嚙	bjin	pɦin	pʰin˧˥
3.	田	dɛn	tɦian	tʰian˧˥
4.	停	dɛŋ	tɦiajŋ	tʰiŋ˧˥
5.	狂	guaŋ	kɦyaŋ	kʰwaŋ˧˥

Pulleyblank (1984) reconstructed an intermediate phase of voiced aspiration (transcribed in his system as a separate segment, -ɦ-) during LMC, and argued that this "voiced aspiration" was deleted in syllables bearing oblique C-type departing or B-type rising tones:

Table 4.5: "Grassman's Law" Effects in MC Oblique Tones

#	字	EMC	LMC	Man.
1.	卞	bianʰ	pɦiaǹ	pian˥˩
2.	辨	bianʔ	pɦiaǹ	pian˥˩
3.	電	dɛmʰ	tɦiam̀	tian˥˩
4.	簟	dɛmʔ	tɦiam̀	tian˥˩
5.	墐	ginʰ	kɦiǹ	tɕin˥˩
6.	近	ginʔ	kɦiǹ	tɕin˥˩

As discussed last chapter, some Sinitic varieties (including Mandarin) merged departing and rising tones in syllables with voiced plosive onsets (Pulleyblank, 1984, Jacques, 2005).[206] Data 1,

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[206] See discussion of the *quán zhuò shăng biān qù* assimilation last chapter.

3, 5 above all demonstrate departing tone (transcribed in EMC as a final -ʰ); data 2, 4, 6 above all demonstrate rising tone (transcribed as final glottal –ʔ). Since departing tone has been positively traced to final fricative –h (ultimately from final –s), Pulleyblank analyzed this deletion as dissimilatory in nature, modeling it on the *Grassman's Law* of Ancient Sanskrit and Ancient Greek.

A sequence of changes based on this interpretation may be summarized as follows:

Table 4.6: From Voiced to Aspirated in Mandarin
(Adjusted from Pulleyblank, 1984)

1.	Voicing → voiced aspiraiton	C[+v]- → C[+v]ɦ-
2.	Devoicing of initial	C[+v]ɦ- → C[-v]ɦ-
3.	Assimilation of final -ʔ to final -ʰ	CɦVCʔ → CʰVCʰ
4.	Breathy voice on vowel yields "low" tone	CɦVCʰ → CɦV̤Cʰ
5.	Grassmann-like dissimilation	CɦV̤VCʰ → CVCʰ

The first step in the process requires the shifting of feature "voicing" out of the initial, into a form of "voiced aspiration," or more likely, a breathy-like quality on the vowel. This is very similar to Thurgood's reanalysis of Vietnamese tonogenesis, which claims that the loss of voicing in (what would have been pVM) resulted in a clear vs. breathy distinction (Thurgood, 2007, pp. 8-9). At some point, final glottal -ʔ assimmilated to final -ʰ (i.e. *quanzhuo shang bian qu*). As a result of tonogenesis, a separate breathy quality stemming from final -h yields a "low" tone (i.e. Yip's "low" register), which coincides with the final (dissimilatory) deletion of the breathy quality stemming from the (EMC voiced) onset. Thus, two opposing sources of "breathiness"—one deriving from EMC voiced onset; the other from EMC final fricative— converge on the vowel, forcing the dissimilatory deletion of the onset-oriented breathiness. It is clear that the onset breathiness is the one deleted for two reasons: 1) because the tone of modern reflexes corresponds to final fricatives; and 2) because the level tone data with EMC voiced onsets demonstrates modern aspirated reflexes (i.e. *no* deletion of the onset breathiness, but reincorporation into the onset as feature + aspiration).

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Although Pulleyblank transcribes the "breathiness" as a segment -ɦ- (and somewhat paradoxically refers to it—*not* as a segment—but as a phase of "voiced aspiration"), I have followed Jacques' specification of the feature as "breathiness" on the vowel, which in turn aligns with Thurgood's revised model for tonogenesis.   This both resolves the ambiguity of Pulleyblank's description, and makes explicit   the nature of the claim concerning the dissimilation—i.e. that it was a dissimilation of vowel qualities.

Nevertheless, this model fails to explain the D-type departing tone data, which derived from final stops. According to the model described above, EMC syllables with voiced onsets bearing type D entering tone should demonstrate aspirated reflexes in Mandarin, just as the level-tone data do, e.g. Mandarin /tʰɨə˩/ from EMC *dək (特). This is because the presumed condition for dissimilation (i.e. final –h) is absent in entering tone. However, the general Mandarin reflex for these cases appear to bear plain (i.e. unaspirated) onsets:

Table 4.7: "Grassman's Law" in Entering Tone

#	字	EMC	LMC	Mand.	Canto.
1.	跋	bat	pɦuat	paˈ˥	bat˩
2.	白	baɨjk	pɦaːjk	pajˈ˥	paːk˩
3.	達	dat	tɦat	taˈ˥	taːt˩
4.	迪	dɛjk	tɦiajk	tiˈ˥	tiːk˩
5.	及	gip	kɦip	tɕiˈ˥	k/kʰap˩
6.	竭	giat	kɦiat	tɕjɛˈ˥	k/kʰit˩

In Table 4.7 above, only half of the condition for dissimilation is met: all syllables bear EMC voiced onsets but do not bear final fricatives. And yet there is no trace of aspiration in the modern Mandarin reflexes, and only the velars in Cantonese demonstrate aspirated variants. If the principle under discussion is truly a dissimilatory process triggered by final –h, these data should bear aspirated onsets in Mandarin.[207]

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[207] The affricates in #5-6 derive from the palatalizing effect of the medial yod (transcribed by Pulleyblank as high/front vowel –i-).

This objection to Pulleyblank's model was first published by Guillaume Jacques, in his 2006 resume of MC historical phonology (Jacques, 2006, p. 34). And yet, Pulleyblank's model provides an elegant explanation for all three of the other tonal categories, and so a modificaiton of his theory is more attractive than an outright rejection. First, regarding the type D departing tone data, remember that in syllables with voiced onsets, type B rising tones (deriving from final glottal -ʔ) had assimilated to type C departing tone (i.e. final -ʰ). Given the crosslinguistically common merger of final stops to final glottals, it is possible that EMC final stops –p, -t, -k merged at some early point with final glottal -ʔ, and that this combined series later assimilated to final -ʰ. This series of changes would allow us to unify the entering tone data with the departing/rising tone data, essentially by arguing for the same condition (through two mergers) for dissimilation. This hypothesis is problematized by a complementary distribution of modern tones; if such a merger had occurred, one would expect modern tonal reflexes for rising and departing tones to be identical; however this is not always the case. Nevertheless, it remains possible that some fine-grained phonetic contrast was maintained despite the segmental merger, and that this contrast evolved into a distinctive f0 pattern. Further research is needed.

Despite the problematic D-type entering tone data, there does seem to be a strong correspondence between type C departing tones (deriving from final –h) and the lack of aspiration in syllables formerly bearing voiced onsets. This is further borne out by the Yue languages, which did not undergo the merger of rising and departing tones in syllables with voiced onsets; thus, predictably, Yue languages demonstrate aspirates in level and rising tones, but not in departing tone.

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4.1.1 Loss of voicing in the donor of Hán-Việt

Turning to the Sino-Vietnamese data, HV clearly and systematically demonstrates plain stops for all syllables with formerly voiced stops in MC. In other words, aspiration is never realized as a reflex of MC voicing:

Table 4.8: Reflexes for MC Voiced Onsets in Level (A) Tone Syllables[208]

#	字	EMC	LMC	Man.	Canto.	Wu	Xiang	HV
1.	談	dam	tɦam	tʰan˧˥	tʰaːm˨˩	de˨˦	tan˩˧	ɗam˨˩
2.	平	bjiajŋ	pɦiajŋ	pʰiŋ˧˥	pʰɪŋ˨˩	bin˨˦	pin˩˧	ɓiŋ˨˩
3.	田	dɛn	tɦian	tʰian˧˥	tʰin˨˩	dɪ˨˦	tiɛ̃˩˧	ɗiən˨˩
4.	停	dɛŋ	tɦiajŋ	tʰiŋ˧˥	tʰɪŋ˨˩	din˨˦	tin˩˧	ɗiŋ˨˩
5.	狂	guaŋ	kɦyaŋ	kʰwaŋ˧˥	kʰuɔŋ˨˩	guɒŋ˨˦	kuan˩˧	kuəŋ˨˩

As shown above, HV demonstrates plain stops, as opposed to Mandarin and Cantonese, which demonstrate aspirates, and Wu, which maintains voiced onsets. Note that the HV implosives are due to a later PV change *p-/*t- → ɓ-/ɗ- (discussed in Chapter 6). HV thus patterns with Xiang (as well as the Pinghua varieties, not listed above). Aspiration does not surface as a reflex of voicing in analogous Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese layers, and so it is tempting to consider the contrast as lost when exported via "literate routes." This indeed may be the case, since late Tang Sinitic varieties had already lost the salience of a voicing contrast among onsets, and were by then developing less obvious (and philologically unrepresented) forms of reflecting the contrast. That is why it is telling that HV in fact does maintain the contrast as a register split between high/modal and low/non-modal registers. This probably reflects Thurgood's initial registrogenetic split, in which voicing contrast was preserved by laryngeal gestures (rather than a pitch contrast). HV thus departs from other Sinoxenic systems and behaves more like a modern Sinitic language, by demonstrating a fine-grained innovative mutation of the voicing contrast.

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[208] Mandarin = Beijing 北京, Cantonese = Guangzhou 廣州, Wu = Suzhou 蘇州, Xiang = Changsha 長沙, and HV = Hanoi.

However, HV cannot be grouped in with Mandarin or the northern varieties (contra Maspero) nor can it be grouped in with the Yue languages (contra Miyake). Suggestively, it bears similarities with the Xiang (and Pinghua) group. This raises the tantalizing possibility of a southwestern continuum of spoken MC (rather than a limited, classroom based hyperglossic origin for HV).

4.2   Palatalization of Chongniu IV labial onsets

One of the better known features of HV is the palatalization of bilabial onsets in one set of paired homophone groups within the same rime group, but which are divided across Grades III and IV of the Four Grades 四等 philological system. These are referred to as the *chongniu* 重紐 doublets (lit "repeated buttons"), a name which refers to the small diacritic circle (°) used to denote rime groups in the *Qieyun* and *Guangyun*. Grade IV instances of these syllables demonstrate alveolo-dental onsets in place of expected labials. The contrast between *chongniu* III and IV sylllables has been lost in virtually all modern Sinitic languages, and is only maintained in HV and Sino-Korean, except for a few examples of rounded vowels in Grade III words that may reflect an OC *-r- value (Mei, 2012). While the SK case appears to be a straightforward retention of a medial-based contrast in MC, the HV case requires intermediate mutations in the phonology of the donor to account for the dental stop reflexes expressed in the modern Vietnamese data.

In HV, *chongniu* IV syllables with bilabial oral stops (e.g. b-, p-, pʰ-) developed into dental stop t- or tʰ-, while labial nasals (m-) developed into an approximate (j-) which spirantizes in modern Northern Standard Vietnamese to (z-).

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Table 4.9: Chongniu III/IV Pairs in Mandarin and HV[209]

#	字	Gloss	MC	Grade	Mandarin	HV
1.	秘	secret	pijʰ	III	pi˥˩	ɓi˦˧
2.	庇	cover	pjijʰ	IV	pi˥˩	ti˦˧
3.	貧	poor	bin	III	pin˧˥	ɓən˨˩
4.	嚬	frown	bjin	IV	pin˧˥	tən˨˩
5.	縻	ox halter	mje	III	mi˧˥	mi˧˧
6.	彌	extensive, full	mjie	IV	mi˧˥	zi˧˧
7.	岷	toponym	min	III	min˧˥	mən˧˧
8.	民	people, subjects	mjin	IV	min˧˥	zən˧˧

The actual values represented by Grades III and IV is contested, and the transcription of Grade IV as a medial -j- above is only a place-holder representing a palatalizing element. As Table 4.9 shows, Grade III syllables demonstrate normal correspondences with their MC initials. Grade IV syllables develop dental stops, or in the case of nasals a palatal continuant that eventually becomes Northern Vietnamese z-, and Southern Vietnamese j-. Ostensibly, the continuant reflex of MC m- is simply retained from the [+ continuant] feature of the MC nasal. Finally, aspiration was maintained, despite the mutation in place of articulation:

Table 4.10: Preserved Aspiration in *Chongniu* Doublets

#	字	Gloss	Grade	EMC	Mandarin	Sino-Viet
1.	編	knit, weave	III	pɛn	pʲɛn˧˧	ɓiən˧˧
2.	篇	chapter, article	IV	pʰjian	pʰʲɛn˧˧	tʰiən˧˧
3.	片	slice, strip	III	pʰɛnʰ	pʰʲɛn˥˩	pʰiən˦˧
4.	鞭	whip	IV	pjian	pʲɛn˧˧	tiən˧˧

Maspero first noticed that some bilabials in Chinese bore dental onsets in Sino-Vietnamese (Maspero, 1912, p. 37). Arisaka Hideyo (1962 [1937-8]) argued that Grade IV should be reconstructed as demonstrating a clean medial -i-, whereas Grade III must have carried a medial "weaker in its palatalized nature" than Grade IV (Arisaka, 1962). Arisaka musters a great deal of

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[209] Etyma taken from Jacques (2003).

evidence from examples of *chongniu* IV dentalized onsets in Sino-Vietnamese and compares these data with Sino-Korean (the only other documented Sinitic system that expresses the contrast), which demonstrates -ïi- after velar and laryngeal initials in *chongniu* III words but only -i- after velar and laryngeal initials in *chongniu* IV words—something Karlgren also noticed in 1922 (Arisaka, 1962, p. 58). This led Arisaka to argue that Grade III demonstrated a medial -ïi- (henceforth, -ïi-), which was maintained in Sino-Korean after velar and laryngeal initials, while Grade IV demonstrated a clean -i-, which somehow palatalized labial onsets in Sino-Vietnamese (producing the unexpected dentals that Maspero first noticed in 1912).[210] Pulleyblank (1984) later argued that Grade IV demonstrated a front vowel /ɛ/, which eventually broke into a diphthongized form in LMC—thus tracing the palatalizing agent in Grade IV to a high-front portion of a diphthong. In this scenario, the clean high-front vowels in SK would result from the front portion of the diphthong, while the diphthongs in Grade III would have resulted from some kind of medial (i.e. some -j-like form). The precise values of the different grades remains controversial; what is of interest is how and why HV expresses labial onsets in *chongniu* IV words as alveolo-dentals.

As noted by Ariska (1962), Sino-Korean maintains this distinction after velar and laryngeal onsets as -ïi- in Grade III words, but -i- in Grade IV words. In either of the scenarios described above (i.e. Arisaka's Grade III diphthong vs. Grade IV high-front -i-, or Pulleyblank's Grade III medial vs. Grade IV -i-headed diphthong), the Korean contrast is intelligible as the maintenance of an MC contrast, either in the vowel or in the medial. No further mutations are required, and their current forms may be attributed to their assimilation into a Korean phonology. However, the HV correspondences are much further removed from the reconstructed MC values, and not all of the distance is explicable in terms of the MC-pVM interface.

The best account of HV *chongniu* reflexes so far was provided by Ferlus (1986), who theorized HV *chongniu* IV alveolo-dentals to be the result of the pVM assimilation of MC

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[210] A more thorough treatment of the *chongniu* doublets is included in my discussion of LSV.

phonology, which mutated labial onsets as follows: *pʰ- → *pʐ- → *pɕ- → tʰ-; and *pʐ-/*bʐ- → t (Ferlus, 1986, p. 115). Ferlus suggests that this series of changes occurred because pVM was losing its sesquisyllables at the time, and thus dropped the initial bilabial elements in his reconstructed affricates (leaving alveolo-dentals behind) (ibid.). The logic behind Ferlus' theory is that the *chongniu* IV syllables were assigned something like a sesquisyllabic structure by pVM speakers, and that these speakers—analyzing these syllables as sesquisyllabic—deleted the initial bilabials (plus any epenthetic vocalic material) just like they would have any analogous bilabial-initial sesquisyllables. This would have left the spirantized medials as the only syllabic onsets, leaving them to plosivize into their current forms.

Ferlus' theory provides a nice link between HV alveolo-dentals and their labial counterparts in MC. There is also some circumstantial philological support for the latter steps of his theory as well. Sesquisyllabicity is actually attested in pVM and pVN through the 15th century, in texts like the *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh* 佛說大報父母恩重經, long after the supposed ossification of the HV phonological system. In the *Phật thuyết* sutra, which was given its vernacular glosses some time between the 12th-15th centuries, a few bilabial-initial presyllables are rendered using compound characters the combination of two characters, such as:

-巴低: HV *ba-đê* > Modern Viet. *để*
-巴 + 低: HV *ba* + *đê* > Modern Viet. *để* (top + bottom)
-巴 + 例: HV *ba* + *lệ* > Modern Viet. *trời* (top + bottom)

While the late appearance of sesquisyllables may seem to contradict Ferlus' theory, Nguyễn Quang Hồng (2008) notes the fascinating use of the characters 閩閩 (LMC) to render Vietnamese *dần dần* /zən˩˩ zən˩˩/ ("gradually") in the same text (Nguyễn Q. H., Khái luận văn tự học Chữ Nôm, 2008, p. 143). The character 閩 is not a *chongniu IV* word (cf. HV *mân –* *mən˩˩*), and so this suggests that the process of palatalization was ongoing at this point. Nôm

writing in the 16th-17th century is scarce (see Chapter 7); but there is a marked drop in sesquisyllabic representation by these later texts, suggesting the loss of presyllables was occuring around the 15th and 16th centuries.   If so, this provides some contextual evidence in support of Ferlus' theory.   Nevertheless, the philologically inappropriate use of 閩閩 for *<dần dần >* is striking, and suggests live phonological categories with fine distinctions rather than philologically-based contrasts being "read" in a pVM system.

Unlike the Sino-Korean case, what we need to get to Ferlus' deletion of the labial onsets is a frication of either the medial or the (presumably diphthongized) vowel, in order to produce the spirant necessary to feed the condition for deletion.   While, as Ferlus (1975) demonstrated, there is evidence for a native PV process spirantizing medial stops in sesquisyllabic etyma, there is no evidence for the fortition of part of a vowel into a spirant.   Likewise, while approximate onset j- does spirantize in modern Northern Standard Vietnamese, this is an extremely modern change that is idiosyncratic to the north.   We therefore lack a native pVM motivation to produce the necessary conditions for Ferlus' deletion.

In other words, if Ferlus' scenario is correct, we still need an intermediate mutation in the Sinitic vocabulary before the pVM-induced change can be applied.   The easiest step to posit is the fortition and spirantization of the Grade IV broken vowel theorized by Pulleyblank (1984), something like: *pʰɛ- $\rightarrow$ pʰiɛ- $\rightarrow$ *pʰʲɛ $\rightarrow$ pʐ-; and *pɛ- $\rightarrow$ *piɛ- $\rightarrow$ *pʲɛ- $\rightarrow$ *pʐ-.   If Pullebylank's scenario is correct, then the MC source for both SK and HV may have shared either the (*pʰiɛ-/*piɛ-) step or both the (*pʰiɛ-/*piɛ-) and (*pʰʲɛ-/*pʲɛ-) steps.[211]   Critically, however, the spirantization of medials in these syllables is not reconstructable to the orthodox MC philological system, nor could it have been motivated by pVM internal phonology.   This means that a living phonological system produced spirantized medial onsets in *chongniu* IV syllables, and it was the interaction of this living phonological system with pVM that deleted the

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[211] In the case of sonorant *m-* initials, the [+ continuant] feature of the initial probably insulated the medial from developing into an obstruent.

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labial onsets of the series, resulting in a set of alveolo-dental and palatal continuants that eventually plosivized according to subsequent regular PV rules. The confusion demonstrated by the use of 閩閩 for <*dần dần*> also corroborates this explanation.[212] If we accept Ferlus' theory, we must thus reconstruct spirantized medials in *chongniu* IV syllables as another feature of late *Annamese Middle Chinese.*

If, on the other hand, Ferlus' solution to the *chongniu* is incorrect, then the simplest answer would be to reconstruct the palatalization of labial onsets in *chongniu* IV syllables directly to AMC. In either case, some preconditioning changes must have taken place in the donor language—changes which are not reflected in the major MC lineages such as Mandarin or Cantonese. Thus, whatever conditioned the *chongniu* IV apicals in LSV, it was feature of spoken AMC.

4.3   Lenition of Velar Onsets, or "Velar Softening"

Wang Li first pointed out that HV demonstrates a clear lenition process which turned velar onsets in open (*kaikou* 開口; no medial -w-) Grade II syllables either into palatal fricatives or palatal nasals; i.e. *k > j or *ŋ > ɲ (Wang, 1948, pp. 13-14).[213] The stop lenition is reminiscent of Mandarin, where we see *jiāo* for 教 (cf. Cantonese *gaau*1 but Hán-Việt *giao*) and *jiā* for 家 (cf. Cantonese *gaa1* but Hán-Việt *gia*), and was one of the most commonly-invoked

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[212] It also suggests that AMC persisted in the region through the Lý Dynasty—historically, quite a plausible possibility. See Chapter 7 for more on this.

[213] To be precise, Maspero noticed this in 1912, and discussed it briefly in conjunction with a Viet-Muong process whereby Viet-Muong *k-* initials were similarly lenited, as demonstrated by velar-initial Chinese characters used to transcribe <*gi-*> initial words in the 15th century Sino-Vietnamese glossary known as the *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語 (cf. Viet. *gió* ("wind") transcribed by 教, *giờ* ("time, hour") transcribed by 覺). See: Maspero (1912), pp. 23-25. However, these may have been used because a parallel "velar softening" had already been completed in Mandarin (cf. Mandarin *jiāo* for 教, *jué* for 覺), a plausible explanation since the *Huayi yiyu* was produced out of the Nanjing Board of Rites office.

phonological criteria used for Chinese subgrouping (see 3.1, last chapter).   This is summarized below:[214]

Table 4.11: "Velar Softening" in Mandarin, Hán-Việt, Xiang, and Cantonese

#	字	Mandarin	Hán-Việt	Xiang	Cantonese
1.	假	tʂʲa˦˩˥	za˦˥	tɕia˥˩	ka˦˥
2.	加	tʂʲa˥	za˥˥	tɕia˦	ka˥
3.	解	tʂʲɛ˦˩˥	zǎj˦˥	kai˥˩	ka:i˥˥
4.	教	tʂʲaw˥	zaw˥˥	tɕiau˥	ka:u˦
5.	甲	tʂʲa˦˥	zap˥	tɕia˥˥	ka:p˦
6.	牙	ja˦˥	ɲa˥˥	ŋa˥˩	ŋa˦˩˥
7.	雅	ja˦˩˥	ɲa˦ʔ˥	ia˥˩	ŋa˦˥
8.	樂	jчɛ˥˩	ɲak˦˥ʔ	io˥˩	ŋɔk˦
9.	顏	jɛn˦˥	ɲan˥˥	ŋan˥˩	ŋa:n˦˩˥
10.	眼	jɛn˦˩˥	ɲan˦ʔ˥	ŋan˥˩	ŋa:n˦˥

As shown above, both Mandarin and HV demonstrate fronted—and usually lenited—onsets (Mandarin *tʂʲ-* and *j-*; *Hán-Việt z-* and *ɲ-*), whereas Cantonese retains velars (*k-* or *ŋ-*). Exceptions to this very regular correspondence were discussed in Chapter 3. Once again, HV patterns quite differently from Cantonese, and surprisingly more like Mandarin (which demonstrates consistently lenited velar onsets).   There is no comparable lenition of velars in pVM, although there is an unrelated process which spirantized a subset of velars.[215] However, that process produced modern *x-* and *ɣ-*, not the fronted onsets we see here. These "softened" velars cannot therefore be understood as a pVM effect, nor obviously may they be understood as a conservative retention. Thus, we must conclude that the lenition of MC velars in Grade II syllables was another feature of late *Annamese Middle Chinese.*

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[214] Mandarin is given in *pīnyīn*, Cantonese in *jyutping*, and Vietnamese (*Hán-Việt*) in *quốc ngữ.*

[215] As also discussed last chapter, Pulleyblank (1981) lumps these cases in together with a salient process of spirantization (*g/*k- > ɣ-) which swept PV late I history. This is analyzed both by Maspero (1912) and Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (1979) as a "nativization" effect, and I believe it is among some of the only HV idiosyncracies that may be accurately described as such.

Regarding the similarities with Mandarin, a genetic affiliation with proto-Northern has of course already been disproven (see last chapter), and it is far-fetched to imagine an areal affect uniting the Yellow River basin with the northern Vietnam. Note however that Xiang (here, Changsha 長沙 variety) also demonstrates lenited velars with a few exceptions. The Xiang and Pinghua varieties were notoriously affected both by Southwestern Mandarin and by the Yue languages, and some of the exceptionality here may derive from these factors. Nevertheless, it is suggestive that proto-Xiang may also have demonstrated lenited velars as opposed to the Yue languages, another possible feature consonant with AMC.

4.4 High-Series Tones in Low-Series Syllables with Sonorant Onsets

As also described last chapter, another peculiarity of HV is that level-tone syllables with sonorant initials demonstrate high tones, whereas level-tone syllables with voiced stop onsets demonstrate expected low tones.

Table 4.12: Tonal Reflexes for Sonorant-initial Syllables in Level and Oblique Series

#	字	MC	Pinyin	Cantonese	Xiang	Hán-Việt
1.	謀	A2	mou˦˥ (A2)	mau˨˩ (A2)	mɤu˦ (A2)	mɯɯ˩˩ (A1)
2.	文	A2	wən˦˥ A2)	man˨˩ (A2)	uən˨ (A2)	văn˩˩ (A1)
3.	人	A2	ʐən˦˥ A2)	jan˨˩ (A2)	ʐən˨ (A2)	ɲən˩˩ (A1)
4.	然	A2	ʐan˦˥ (A2)	jin˨˩ (A2)	yẽ˨ (A2)	ɲiən˩˩ (A1)
5.	疑	A2	ji˦˥ A2)	ji˨˩ (A2)	ŋi˨ (A2)	ŋi˩˩ (A1)
6.	馬	B2	ma˨˩ (B2)	ma˨ (B2)	ma˦˩ (B2)	ma˦ʔ˥ (C2)
7.	武	B2	wu˨˩˦ (B2)	mou˨ (B2)	wu˦˩ (B2)	vu˦ʔ˥ (C2)
8.	右	B2	jou˦˨ (B2)	jau˨ (B2)	iɤu˨˩ (B2)	hɯɯ˦ʔ˥ (C2)
9.	念	C2	nian˦˨ (B2)	nim˨ (B2)	ŋiẽ˨˩ (B2)	niəm˦˩ʔ (B2)
10.	亂	C2	lwan˦˨ (B2)	lyn˨ (B2)	nõ˦˩ (B2)	lɔan˦˩ʔ (B2)

As shown above, all varieties (including HV) demonstrate expected low series (2) tones in oblique (B/C) syllables.[216] Critically, only HV demonstrates high series (1) tones in level (A) syllables. Not even the Xiang data demonstrates high (A1) tones in 1-5 above. Contrary to the mutations described thus far, this is the kind of correspondence set we would expect if an HV feature resulted from some kind of pVM interference. As noted last section, it is possible that pVM speakers borrowed sonorant onsets as egressives, which were underspecified for voicing in pVM, and subsequently nasalized in Proto-Vietnamese (see Chapter 5). This would explain why the tones are unexpectedly high, but the onsets remain relatively consistent. This would not, however explain those cases in which the sonorant is not a nasal.

Why then include this phenomenon as evidence for a living AMC phonological system? Because a confusion of this kind is only plausible if two active phonological systems are interacting. The low (A2) tone did not merge with high (A1) tone in pVM or PV; if it had, it might be plausible to conjecture that the distinction was simply lost when pVM assimilated the MC values (cf. loss of *r-/l-* distinction in Japanese loans from English). If HV really did result from a conservative set of classroom reading pronunciations, then there is no reason to motivate the forced alignment of these philologically low A2 tones with a new, innovative reflex. If, on the other hand, we posit the interaction of two living phonological systems in which one system develops high A1 tones in a particular condition, then we have a classic case of analogical change via contact to explain the expression of high A1 tones in the other system under the same conditions. Thus, while I do not believe high tones for sonorant-initial level tone syllables was a feature of AMC, I do believe that their expression as such in modern Vietnamese is the result of a living AMC phonology mutating via analogy with pVM.

On a separate note, observe the vocalic similarities between Xiang and HV in cases like #1 and #8 above. These involve the diphthongization and centralization of several vowels in

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[216] Remember that LSV reverses B- and C-series oblique tones.

AMC (and possibly Proto-Xiang), which accounts for one of the most salient features of HV (discussed below).

4.5   Centralization & Diphthongization of high/front and low/back vowels

The last mutation is of particular note because it involves a very salient set of "doublets" preserved in HV vowels. While the HV system is remarkably consistent and uniform, both Wang Li (1948) and Mineya (1972) noted the conspicuous alternations of one series of syllables, called the *dàng* rime group (宕攝), which often exhibits both *-a-* (/-a-/) and *-ươ-* (/-ɯə-/) in modern HV, while Maspero (1916) noted similar alternations in what amount to the *shān* (山) and *xiè* (蟹) rime groups which demonstrate expected *-a-* /-a-/ alternating with a centralized *ơ* (/ʌ/). Wang Li lists the diphthongized *-ươ-* forms as "exceptions" (列外) to a regular *-a-* reflex, and Mineya concurs, suggesting that the *-ương* forms may have replaced a "basic" (基本的な) *-ang* form at some point in history (Wang, 1948, p. 39; Mineya, 1972, p. 117).

Doublets in the *dàng* rime group (宕攝) are extremely common, though more obscure words do not seem to demonstrate a diphthongized version. For example, the very common progressive marker 當 attests both *đang* (/ɗaŋ˦˦/) and *đương* (/ɗɯəŋ˦˦/), but the obscure and rather literary 瑲 ("jade worn in pendants or jewelry") only attests *đang* (/ɗaŋ˦ˀ˨/). For the *shān* (山) and *xiè* (蟹) rime groups a centralized form has gone further in supplanting uncentralized *-a-*, and sometimes the uncentralized form only surfaces under hyper-elevated conditions (as in poetry or names); hower, more obscure terms still tend not to demonstrate a centralized form. For example, common "mountain" 山 generally surfaces as *sơn* (/sʌn˦˦/) but is still attested in names and poetry as *san* (/san˦˦/), while the rather literary 潸 ("tearfully") only surfaces as conservative *san* (/san˦˦/). In general, a conservative reading is always available (though it may

be quite marked and rarely used), while the diphthongized or centralized reading (usually the unmarked or more common form) tends only to surface in higher-frequency words. Bear in mind that even these diphthongized/centralized forms are still unequivocally considered elevated vocabulary in comparison to a native pVM alternative (when one is available). If we take the lexeme "mountain" as an example, (non-Sinitic) Vietnamese *núi* would be the unmarked, common word, while HV *sơn* (山) would represent the normal, commonly-used elevated form, and HV *san* (also 山) would represent a hyper-elevated, prescriptive form. Note that the hyper-elevated form is the one which demonstrates a non-centralized vowel (i.e. one more faithful to the EMC/ESV form). It is in this sense a "conservative" value when compared with the centralized vowel. This is the kind of conservatism we would expect from a "classroom" glossolect—the preservation of a value that had changed in vernacular speech (cf. English "careful pronunciation" of *wh-*, which is neutralized to *w-* in normal speech).

Neither Wang Li nor Mineya provide a rationale for the robustness of these competing vowel forms nor for their distribution across social registers. As noted above, both Wang Li and Mineya are in fact forced to marginalize these very salient forms in order to preserve their notion of HV as a non-spoken, classroom tradition—i.e. an inert, "dead or half-dead language," as Wang Li put it.

Table 4.13: Some Examples of Hán-Việt Vowel Doubleting

#	字	Gloss	Centralized HV	Non-Centralized HV
1.	兩	two, both	lượng – luɯəŋ˧˩ˀ	lạng – laŋ˧˩ˀ
2.	剛	hard, firm	cương – kuɯəŋ˧˧	cang – kaŋ˧˧
3.	啊	ounce	lượng – luɯəŋ˧˩ˀ	lạng – laŋ˧˩ˀ
4.	場	threshing floor, platform	trường – dʐuɯəŋ˧˩	tràng – dʐaŋ˧˩
5.	觴	feast, goblet	trường – dʐuɯəŋ˧˩	tràng – dʐuɯəŋ˧˩
6.	檔	official records	đương – ɗuɯəŋ˧˧	đáng – ɗaŋ˧˥
7.	癢	itch, tickle	dưỡng – zuɯəŋ˧ˀ˥	dạng – zaŋ˧˩ˀ
8.	腸	intestine	trường – dʐuɯəŋ˧˩	tràng – dʐaŋ˧˩
9.	長	long	trường – dʐuɯəŋ˧˩	tràng – dʐaŋ˧˩
10.	襠	crotch, pair of trousers	đương – ɗuɯəŋ˧˧	đang – ɗaŋ˧˧
11.	縛	bind	phược – fuɯək˧˩ˀ	phọc – fɔʷk˧˩ˀ
12.	丹	cinnabar, red	đơn – ɗʌn˧˧	đan – ɗan˧˧
13.	山	mountain	sơn – sʌn˧˧	san – san˧˧
14.	單	simple, single	đơn – ɗʌn˧˧	đan – ɗan˧˧
15.	襌	unlined garment	đơn – ɗʌn˧˧	đan – ɗan˧˧

As the cases shown in 4.13 above demonstrate, these words are not literarily obscure or esoteric; nevertheless, they include vocabulary that is somewhat specialized (e.g. nos. 5, 6, 8) and do suggest perhaps a metropolitan demographic. Some cases of alternation may be due to reading mistakes, as in no. 6, whose diphthongized form bears an unexpected level tone and was probably produced via analogy with the more common 當. Cases like no. 7 may actually reflect an ESV/LSV split, since the conserative -a- form demonstrates an ESV rising B-type tone, but this is atypical, and these doubleted forms are all consistent with LSV, and are also consistently viewed as *Hán-Việt*.

4.51 Maspero's partial explanation: A "nativizing" effect?

Maspero attempted to explain the diphthong subset of these doubled forms as the product of a "nativizing" pVM effect. Maspero was motivated by the observation that the change -a- > -ɯə- / __C [+velars] is also attested in non-Chinese, native Vietnamese words before *all* codas, as demonstrated by the following words:

Table 4.14: Maspero's (1916) Evidence for *-a-* to *-ươ-* in Vietnamese[217]

#	Gloss	Quốc Ngưữ	Tonkin	Yên Dũng	Phu Diễn	Quỉnh Lưu	Hà Tĩnh	Nhổ Lâm	Quảng Bình
1.	water	nước	*ɳưok²*	*ɳak²*	*ɳưok²*	*ɳak²/ɳ ưok²*	*ɳak²*	*ɳưok²*	*ɳak²*
2.	person	người	*ɳ̇ưay1*	*ɳ̇ưay3*	*ɳ̇ưay3*	*ɳ̇ưay3*	*ɳ̇ay3*	*ɳ̇ay3*	*ɳ̇ay3*
3.	before	trước	*čưok²*	*ṭṣưok²*	*ṭṣưok²*	*ṭṣưok²*	*ṭṣưok²*	*ṭṣưok²*	*ṭṣak²*
4.	borrow	mượn	*mươɳ 4*	...	*mươɳ 4*	...	...	...	*maɳ 4*
5.	tongue	lưỡi	*lưay⁴*	*lay4*	*lưay4*	*lưay4*	*lay4*	*lay4*	*lay4*
6.	net	lưới	*lưay²*	*lay²*	*lưay²*	*lưay²*	*lay²*	*lay2*	*lay²*

As shown above, Maspero has compared a Hanoi-based variety (*Tonkin*) with various forms of what he called "Haut-Annamite"—a range of conservative forms of Vietnamese spoken in mountainous areas surrounding the major Red, Mã, and Cả (Lam) River valleys, but differentiated from the *Mường* languages (Maspero, 1912, pp. 1-3).[218] Yến Dũng lies northeast of Hanoi, in modern Bắc Giang province, while Phú Diễn, Quỉnh Lưu (i.e. "Quỷnh Lưu), Hà Tĩnh and Quảnh Bình all fall between the modern cities of Hue and Hanoi, in the thin strip of north-central Vietnam.[219] On the basis of these words, Maspero implied that Sino-Vietnamese etyma, which demonstrated *-ươ-* for Middle Chines *-a-*, all reflected the influence of native, non-Chinese sound-changes on a form of Chinese—a suggestion parallel in structure to his argument for the source of the labialized *-uô-* diphthongs, which he argued must have predated the formation of *Sino-Annamite* (discussed last chapter).

For Maspero, then, all these diphthongs were most likely the products of the vulgar (i.e. Vietnamese) language *affecting* the SV system one way or another. However, there are several problems with this position. First, the conditions under which diphthongization occurred in native Vietnamese words are demonstrably different from those which restricted Sino-Vietnamese diphthongization, and they appear to be quite sporadic and irregular in Vietnamese. Maspero himself notes this, when he introduces his comparative data on the *-a- > -ươ-* change by

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[217] As previously, I have tried to reproduce Maspero's transcription as much as possible. See Maspero (1916), p. 38.
[218] This distinction was largely based on initial mutations, and was clarified by Michel Ferlus in the 1970s (see next section).
[219] I was unable to locate Nhổ Lâm, though it seems likely that this was another site in within the stretch of north-central "Haut-Annamite" zone.

saying "[i]n Annamese proper, *ā* [-a-] tends to become ươ [-ɯə-] no matter what the final consonant is" (Maspero, 1916, p. 38). Maspero was admitting that there was no systematic condition for the diphthongization in pV (and indeed none has yet been identified). Furthermore, Vietnamese instances of the diphthong are far fewer. In fact, Maspero only provides six cases (see **Error! Reference source not found.** above), and other examples are actually difficult to find. On the other hand, cases where Vietnamese demonstrates a low -*a*- before the same finals as those demonstrated by Maspero's diphthongs are plentiful:

Table 4.15: Examples of Maintained -*a*- Vowels in Vietnamese and Three Varieties of Mường[220]

#	Gloss	Viet.	Muốt	Chỏi	Nàbái
1.	fork of tree/antler	ɣac	ɣak˧˩*	(kʰɯŋ˥˧)	kak˥˥*
2.	gills (of fish)	mang	vaŋ˥˥	maŋ˥˧˥	maŋ˦˦
3.	village, hamlet	làng	laŋ˥˥	(kwen˥˧˥)	laŋ˥˧˥
4.	carry/bring	mang	vaŋ˥˥	vaŋ˥˧˥	ɓaŋ˦˦
5.	cross, go across	sang	faŋ˥˥	(laj˧˩˥)	saŋ˦˦
6.	liver	gan	(lɔm˥˩)	(lɔm˥˧˥)	ɣan˦˦
7.	weave	đan	taŋ˥˥	taŋ˥˧˥	taŋ˦˦
8.	beseech	van	van˥˥	van˥˧˥	ʔwan˦˦
9.	do, make, work	làm	mən˥˩	(la˥˧˥)	(la˥˧˥)
10.	overflow	tràn	tlaʲn˥˩	tlan˥˧˥	tʲlan˥˧˥
11.	sell	bán	paʲn˥˩˩	paʲn˥˩˩ʔ	paʲn˥˥
12.	bow (low)	lạy	lăj˥˥	lăj˥˩˥	lăj˥˥
13.	continue/forever	mãi	maj˧˥	maj˥˥	maj˥˥
14.	flow	chảy	căj˧˥	căj˧˩ʔ	caj˥˥
15.	must	phải	faj˧˥	pʰaj˧˩	pʰaj˥˥

No. 1 demonstrates a final -*k*, nos. 2-5 a final -*ŋ*, nos. 6-11 final -*n*, and nos. 12-13 final approximate/glide -*j*. Thus, low -*a*- does not seem restricted, and appears before all the codas demonstrated by Maspero's diphthongized data. Furthermore, low -*a*- is also shown to surface in the Mường cognates of three different varieties, strongly suggesting that these are reconstructable as pVM *-*a*-, and not the product of some later shift in Proto-Vietnamese. If these are indeed reflexes of pVM *-*a*-, then the question remains why they didn't diphthongize

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[220] Mường Muốt, Chỏi and Nàbái data were collected by the author in field-trips conducted between 2009-2010.

in Vietnamese (as one would expect them to do, given Maspero's scenario). Indeed, the occurrence of low-front -*a*- is by no means rare in modern Vietnamese. Even if we narrow the scope only to those -*a*- vowels occurring before final eng (as in the many *dàng* rime examples in HV), we find no shortage of Vietnamese examples, and occurring after a broad range of onsets and under virtually every tone:

Table 4.16: Examples of Vietnamese –*ang* Type Rimes

#	Gloss	Viet.	#	Gloss	Viet.
1.	roan cow	lang	16.	stand astride	chạng
2.	smooth, glassy	láng	17.	type of stork	giạng
3.	slip away	lảng	18.	rinse, coat	tráng
4.	board, table	bảng	19.	open with hands	gang
5.	malabar tree	bàng	20.	pincers; adv. more	càng
6.	ascites; bamboo pipe	báng	21.	palanquin	cáng
7.	throw stick at	phang	22.	cross	sang
8.	machete	phạng	23.	to sieve	sàng
9.	echo, resound	vang	24.	bright	sáng
10.	filth, scum	váng	25.	to rave, rant	sảng
11.	innards	tạng	26.	roast	rang
12.	slab, block	tảng	27.	fasten, bind	ràng
13.	dry out in the sun	dang	28.	endeavor	ráng
14.	month	tháng	29.	begin to break	rạng
15.	youth	chàng	30.	sunny	chang

Examples like those in Tables 4.15-4.16 above, when compared with the six cases of diphthongization gathered by Maspero, rather suggest that such diphthongization was sporadic and irregular at best. Thus, examples of *-a- diphthongizing to -ɯə- in pVM vocabulary is quite limited and unsystematic when compared with the regular and robust diphthongization we find in the HV vocabulary.

This dynamic actually suggests contact in the opposite direction—that is, from a Sinitic donor to pVM—much like the Bantu languages famously exhibit simplified and reduced click inventories, which they borrowed and streamlined from the more complex and systematic inventories of the Khoisan languages (see Bostoen & Sands, 2009; Louw, 1979 etc.). It is

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entirely plausible that those few cases Maspero cites are examples of high-frequency words (e.g. *người,* "person"; *nước,* "water") and represent etyma that were changed by analogy to conform to a more powerful and robust system in AMC. If so, then the case for AMC is even stronger, since this would describe the contact and interaction of two live phonological systems.

Alternatively one cannot discount the possibility that an -ɯə- diphthong is also reconstructable to pVM itself, or that there may have been sources other than pVM *-a-* for it in Modern Vietnamese. This possibility may find support in cases like: (1) Viet. *xương* ("bone") versus Nàbái *suəŋ*˦˩, Muốt *suəŋ*˩˩, and Chỏi *suəŋ*˩˩˦; (2) Viet. *mương* ("canal," "ditch") versus Nàbái *muəŋ*˦˩, Muốt *muəŋ*˩˩, and Chỏi *muəŋ*˩˩˦; (3) Viet. *bươm bướm* ("butterfly") versus Nàbái *puəm*˦˩, Muốt *puəm*˦˩ *puəm*˦˩, and Chỏi *puəm*˦˩ʔ *puəm*˦˩ʔ; (4) Viet. *rước* ("welcome; greet") versus Nàbái rɯək˦˥*, Muốt rɯək˦˩*, and Chỏi rɯək˦˦*; and (5) Viet. *bưởi* ("pomelo") versus Nàbái pɯəj˦˥, Muốt pɯəj˦˦˥, and Chỏi pɯəj˦˦. While it is always possible that these words were borrowed from Vietnamese, their regular tonal correspondences, the lack of implosivization in the bilabial onsets, and very basic lexical nature suggest otherwise.

Thus, cases of modern Viet -ɯə- corresponding to Mường (or "Haut-Annamite") -a- are rather rare, while -a- seems to surface without restraint. Conversely, a Viet -ɯə- to Mường -ɯə- also seems to surface with some robustness. This makes it difficult to accept pVN as the source of HV diphthongs. In fact, the small number and sporadic nature of these Vietnamese diphthongs may even suggest that pVN was the recipient of a diphthongizing wave rather than the initiator. In any case, HV diphthongs are intelligible as part of a broader set of vocalic changes which effected not pVN, but the donor of HV.

4.5.2 Vowel Centralization in AMC

In fact, the diphthongization discussed by Maspero can be united with other processes of centralization as permutations of two very basic vowel changes: one which raised MC low/back

-a-, and one which lowered MC high/front *-i-*. The conditions of these changes are specific and systematic, and the products of the vowel centralization are quite robust.

The raising rule is slightly more complicated, so I will begin with that. The effects of the raising of MC low/back *-a-* are charted below:

TABLE 4.17: VOWEL RAISING IN HÁN-VIỆT

			Labial. (*hékǒu* 合口)	Unlabial. (*kāikǒu* 開口)
V [- High, -Front] → V [+ High]	Before final -n (*shān* 山 rime group)	labial onset	-ʷa- > -a- : (半) ɓan˧˩ (*bán*) -ʷiə- > -iə- : (變) ɓiən˧˩ (*biến*)	-(ʲ)a- > -iə- : (編) ɓiən˧˩ (*biên*)
		non-labial onset	-ʷa- : (完) hʷan˧˩ (*hoàn*)	-a- > (-ɯ-) > -ʌn: (單) dʌn˧˩ (*đơn*)
			-ʷʲa- > -ʷiə- : (原) ŋʷiən˧˩ (*nguyên*)	-ʲa- > -iə- : (仙) tiən˧˩ (*tiên*)
	Before final velars (*dàng* 宕 rime group)	labial onset	x	-a- > -ɯə- : (唐) dɯəŋ˧˩ (*đường*)
		non-bilabial onset	-ʷa- : (壙) xʷaŋ˧˩ (*khoáng*) -ʷʲa- > -uə- : (匡) xuəŋ˧˩ (*khuông*)	

Table 4.17 charts permutations of a single rule: V [-high, - front] → V [+ high]. However, the application of this rule is subject to the interfering presence of either labial medials (*hé-* vs. *kāikǒu*) or palatal medials (the medials corresponding to Grade III or IV), and secondarily to the presence of labial onsets. Finally, the presence of nasal or velar finals exerts a regressive influence over the resulting vowel. The presence of labial medial (-ʷ-) insulates low/back -*a*- from raising, and the combination of labial medials with a labial onset predictably leads to the assimilation of the medial to the onset. The presence of palatal medial (-ʲ-) fronts and raises the vowel all the way to -i-, forcing a diphthong parallel in effects to Mandarin, which was subsequently monopthongized in Cantonese through loss of the vowel nucleus (cf. 仙, "immortal": LMC *sian; HV tiən˧˩; Mandarin ɕiɛn˥; but Cantonese ʃin˥). Where labial interferences are absent (i.e. *kāikǒu* Grades I and II) we see the purest application of the rule, in

which the unrounded back vowel raises to -ɯ-, creating a diphthong (-ɯə-) before final velars, but lowering back to -ʌ- before final nasals (through a final dissimilation; -ɯn is prohibited in modern Vietnamese). Thus, the diphthongs observed by Maspero are simply the quite regular results of a vowel raising which affected not pVM vowels, but MC low/back *-a- in ways predictably conditioned by the various MC medials.

This process operated in tandem with a separate lowering process which mutated high/front -i- to -ə- in closed syllables and -ʌ- in open syllables:

Table 4.18: Centralization of MC *-iN in Mandarin, Cantonese, Xiang, and Hán-Việt

#	字	Gloss	Mandarin	Cantonese	Xiang	HV
1.	心	heart	ɕin˥	ʃam˥	sin˦	tâm – təm˥˥
2.	侵	invade	tɕʰin˥	tsʰam˨˩	tsʰin˦	xâm – səm˥˥
3.	林	forest	lin˧˥	lam˨˩	nin˩˧	lâm – ləm˥˥
4.	淋	drench	lin˧˥	lam˨˩	nin˩˧	lâm – ləm˥˥
5.	琴	zither	tɕʰin˧˥	kʰam˨˩	tɕin˩˧	cầm – kəm˨˩
6.	鎮	subdue; garrison	tʂən˥˩	tʃan˦	tʂən˥	trấn – dzən˥˥
7.	沉	submerge	tʂʰən˧˥	tʃʰam˨˩	tʂən˩˧	trầm –dzən˨˩
8.	針	needle	tʂən˥	tʃam˥	tʂən˦	châm – cəm˥˥
9.	深	deep	ʂən˥	ʃam˥	ʂən˦	thẩm – tʰəm˦˥
10.	任	responsibility	ʐən˥˩	jam˦	ʐən˥	nhậm – ɲəm˦˩ʔ

As shown above, MC *-in (cases above drawn from the *shēn* 深 rime group) regularly lowers to <-â-> (/-ə-/) in HV. As also shown above, similar lowering effects are observable in Cantonese—a fact which misled Miyake (2003) into theorizing a connection between the Yue languages and the donor of HV. Observe also that in nos. 6-10, some form of lowering or centralizing affected Mandarin as well. The Xiang forms generally align with Mandarin, and so it is unclear whether these are native to the Xiang group or the effect of SW Mandarin prestige. These affects may straightforwardly be considered varying degrees of regressive influence from the final nasal. However, the effect is complete in the donor of HV and Cantonese, whereas it is confined to syllables with non-front onsets in Mandarin (and Xiang). HV also centralizes high/front vowels after velars in open syllables:

Table 4.19: Centralization of MC *-i in Mandarin, Cantonese, Xiang, and Hán-Việt

#	字	Gloss	Mandarin	Cantonese	Xiang	HV
1.	其	sentence-final p.	tɕi˥	kei˥	(tɕi˦)	cơ/ky – kʌ˦˦/ki˦˦
2.	奇	odd	tɕʰi˦˥	kei˥	(tɕi˦˥)	cơ – kʌ˦˦
3.	期	period, phase	tɕi˥	kei˥	(tɕi˦)	cơ/ky – kʌ˦˦/ki˦˦
4.	機	machine, craft	tɕi˥	kei˥	tɕi˦	cơ – kʌ˦˦
5.	幾	several, few	tɕi˥	kei˥	tɕi˦	cơ – kʌ˦˦
6.	旗	banner, flag	tɕʰi˦˥	kʰei˩˩	tɕi˦˥	cờ/kỳ – kʌ˩˩/ki˩˩
7.	棋	chess	tɕʰi˦˥	kʰei˩˩	tɕi˦˥	cơ/ky – kʌ˦˦/ki˦˦
8.	基	foundation	tɕi˥	kei˥	tɕi˦	cơ – kʌ˦˦/
9.	譏	ridicule; inspect	tɕi˥	kei˥	tɕi˦	cơ – kʌ˦˦
10.	飢	hunger, famine	ɕi˥	kei˥	tɕi˦	cơ – kʌ˦˦

Cantonese lowers its vowels but does not move them back; Mandarin (and Xiang) maintain both high and front qualities. Only HV fully centralizes, in a mutation parallel to that shown in 4.17. Maspero (1920) suggested, on the basis of such evidence, that Viet. orthographic <â> and <ơ> represented short and long versions of the same central vowel (Maspero, 1920, p. 6). I do not believe this is precisely correct. Given the vowel raising process discussed above, a better explanation would be that <ơ> corresponds to a lower central vowel slightly further back (i.e. -ʌ-), which resulted from raised *-a-, while <â> represents a more schwa-like segment resulting from lowered *-iN (as shown 4.19). Thus we can easily explain the data in 4.19 along lines somewhat closer to Maspero's insight, by invoking the well-known bi-moraic requirement of Vietnamese syllables, which necessarily lengthens (and subsequently lowers and backs) -ə to -ʌ in open syllables.

Thus HV demonstrates two centralization processes: one which lowered high/front *-i- to either -əN- or -ʌ, and one which raised low/front *-a- to diphthong -ɯə- before velars and central -ʌ- before final nasals (pending the interference of various medial factors). Cantonese also regularly centralizes high/front *-iN, while lowering but not backing *-i in open syllables. Mandarin (and Mandarin-influenced Xiang) also demonstrates limited centralization in *-iN after

non-front vowels, as well as raising/diphthongization of *-a- after palatal onsets or medials as in HV, while Cantonese maintains an unbroken vowel but raises it to -i-.

These facts suggest that a general tendency toward vowel centralization was changing MC vowels across the family during the LMC period, to varying effects. HV diphthongized/centralized vowels represent innovations from conservative MC sources which are generally preserved in the other Sinoxenic varieties, but which evolve into various vocalic forms across the modern Sinitic languages. Since HV does not reflect the conservative *-a- or *-i- values—*except* in the hyper-elevated doubleted forms—this strongly suggests that its donor was a spoken variety that underwent these changes as part of the broader LMC dialect continuum. In other words, we may attribute the specific centralization effects discussed here to mutations in AMC as well. Furthermore, the fact that conservative values do surface, especially in esoteric or hyper-elevated contexts, suggests that the standard vision of a hyperglossic classroom "glossolect" may not be entirely incorrect. Rather, it suggests that AMC itself demonstrated a diglossic pattern during the Tang era. That is, AMC must have had a spoken, colloquial layer which underwent the vocalic changes described above, as well as a literary layer—much like other Sinitic varieties attest even today—in which conservative vocalic forms were preferred and maintained. This diglossic AMC coexisted alongside pVM to form a kind of triglossic landscape. This explains the doubleting effect fossilized within HV—as spoken AMC obsolesced in the region, a new diglossia was forming to replace the former tripartite sociolinguistic structure, in which pVM or PV ascended to become the dominant spoken language while a new hyperglossic "glossolect" was formed out of the spoken and literary layers of AMC.

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The cases discussed in 4.1-4.5 above make it difficult to analyze HV as the result of a literary mechanism of borrowing, in which a conventionalized set of reading pronunciations was perpetuated by a few bi-literates. Rather, these mutations suggest the existence of a living phonological system that underwent its own endogenous changes as part of a broader MC dialect continuum, and which was in bilingual contact with pVM; in other words, an "Annamese Middle Chinese" native to the region. This AMC demonstrated its own diglossic structure, as evidenced by the maintenance of conventional vowel forms in obscure and hyper-literary HV vocabulary. This diglossic AMC cohabitated with pVM in a mutually influential relationship, until it obsolesced as a spoken language in favor of pVM. After the Annamese shifted from a bilingual AMC/pVM society in which persisted a hyperglossic "glossolect" for Literary Sinitic, a new "glossolect" out of the fossilizing remains of spoken and literate AMC eventually formed, establishing the basis for what we now call Hán-Việt. At this point, it becomes relevant to ask: what was the range and extent of this AMC? Where was its center of gravity and to what other Sinitic languages may it be related? While we cannot offer an exhaustive answer to these questions here, there are already some tantalizing indications to consider.

4.6 Mapping the parameters of Annamese Middle Chinese

The idea of an AMC is closely related to Hashimoto's (1978) theory of a *southern koine*, and other research independent of Sino-Vietnamese has entertained the notion as well. The most promising indications of a southerly variety of Middle Chinese revolves around the Xiang and Pinghua varieties briefly mentioned in Chapter 2. Xiang has been divided into an "old/southern" group and a "new/northern" group, with New Xiang (spoken in the northern parts of Hunan) sometimes categorized as a branch of Northern Chinese (esp. as part of "Southwestern

Mandarin" 西南官話), and Old Xiang (spoken especially in southwestern Hunan) variously grouped with other southern families, and sometimes even with non-Chinese languages spoken in the area. The Pinghua varieties were previously categorized as Yue languages, but a number of Chinese linguists have recently hypothesized an underlying common ancestry between Pinghua and Old/Southern/Southwestern Xiang.

Li Dongxiang 李冬香 (2004) has argued for a genetic affiliation between Pinghua, "Southern Xiang" (南湘土話), and Northern Yue varieties using a lexical analysis based on 13 regional etyma (Li D. , 2004). In essence, Li claims that these words are either retained from an older form of Chinese, representatives of a surviving stratum of an ancient Yue State 越/粵國 (non-Chinese) language, or the products of a region-specific (i.e. colloquial) dialect (Li D. , 2004, p. 138).[221]

Table 4.20: 13 Regional Etyma shared between Pinghua, Southern Xiang, and Northern Yue
according to Li Dongxiang (2004)

#	字	Gloss	Mandarin equ.	Notes
1.	鐺	wok	鍋	in all varieties
2.	箸	chopsticks	筷子	does not appear in *Northern Yue*
3.	着	to wear	穿	in all varieties
4.	恐	fear	怕	in all varieties
5.	�公/姪婆	maternal grandparents	外公/外婆	does not apear in *Guangxi Pinghua*
6.	息	great-grandson	曾孫	in all varieties
7.	飛鼠	bat (animal)	蝙蝠	in all varieties
8.	白公/白婆	great-grandfather	曾祖父/曾祖母	does not apear in *Guangxi Pinghua*
9.	生鸡	rooster	公鸡	does not apear in *Guangxi Pinghua*
10.	臊甲	cockroach	蟑螂	does not appear in *Northern Yue*
11.	馬薺	water chestnut	荸薺	in all varieties
12.	杰	crowded, dense	稠	in all varieties
13.	鼻頭	nose	鼻子	does not apear in *Guangxi Pinghua*

Li included over twenty varieties in his study, relying largely on dialect dictionaries for his data. The wordlist is quite short, but the basic quality of the vocabulary is compelling.

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[221] "這些詞或者是古漢語傳承詞，或者是古越語底層詞，或者是方言創新詞" (ibid).

According to Li, #1-#2 (鐺 and 箸) are glossed as "wok" and "chopsticks" in the *Shuowen jiezi* (though these meanings are no longer current in northern varieties) (Li D., 2004, p. 140). Similarly, #4 (恐) is also glossed as "fear" (懼), as early as the *Shuowen jiezi,* though this value has been retained in northern varieties as well (ibid). #3 (着) is attested in the *Guangyun* with the gloss of "to wear [clothes]" and also appears with the same value in some poems by Wang Wei (ibid). In the cases of #5 (姼公/姼婆) and #7 (飛鼠), Li cites entries from the *Fangyan*, which attributes #5 to a "Southern Chu" (南楚, present-day Henan and Hunan provinces—Xiang-speaking areas) dialect and #7 to "Yue" varieties (ibid). Cases like #8-#10, Li argues have a non-Chinese origin, while cases like #13 he argues to be remnants of branch-specific vocabulary (i.e. Wu).

Based on these 13 etyma, Li argues for a preexisting southern variety spoken throughout Guangxi, Guangdong, and parts of southwestern Hunan, that was disrupted and largely wiped out by the expansion of other prestige varieties into the area. Li explains current discrepancies between Southern Xiang, Pinghua and Northern Yue as consequences of contact with either expanding prestige varieties of Chinese, or contact with ethnic minority languages (e.g. Tai-Kradai languages). This "southern koine," Li tentatively labels "Old Pinghua" 古平話 (Li D., 2004, p. 141).

Li himself admits that his argument is tentative at best, but his research builds on previous research into the same possibility—notably the works of Zhang Shuangda 張雙慶 and Wang Bo 王波 (1998), and Luo Xinru 羅昕如 (2003). Zhang & Wang (1998) presented a study of modern correspondences for Middle Chinese voiced (全濁) stops in Lechang 樂昌—a so-called "Northern Yue" variety spoken in northern Guangzhou (also known as Changlai 長來)—and found that the pattern of aspiration (as a reflex of Middle Chinese voicing) was similar to the pattern found in Rucheng 汝城 (an unclassified variety spoken on the border of Hunan and Guangdong). Zhang & Wang remind us that Middle Chinese demonstrated a three-way contrast

between voiced onsets (全濁), plain voiceless onsets (全清), and voiceless aspirated onsets (次清).

Zhang & Wang note that most major varieties of Chinese fall into the following categories, with regard to aspiration as a reflex of voicing: 1) varieties which demonstrate aspirates in all cases without regard for level vs. oblique tone categories (as in Hakka and Gan); 2) varieties which demonstrate plain (unaspirated) correspondences without regard for level vs. oblique tone categories (as in some varieties of Xiang and Pinghua); 3) varieties which demonstrate aspirates in level-tone cases but not in oblique cases (as in Mandarin); 4) varieties which demonstrate aspirates in level- and rising-tone cases, but not in departing- or entering-tone cases (as in Yue languages); or 5) varieties that maintain the three-way contrast, as is famously the case of the Wu languages (Zhang & Wan, 1998, p. 178). However, Zhang & Wang found that in Lechang, the presence or absence of aspiration (in words that were etymologically voiced in MC) corresponded strongly with place & manner of articulation of the onset: aspiration was found in cases where the onset was an affricate or a velar stop (regardless of tone), whereas bilabial stops and apical stops (i.e. alveolo-dentals) were aspirated only in rising tone, but unaspirated in level, departing, and entering tone syllables (Zhang & Wan, 1998, p. 187).

Table 4.21: Summary of Lechang Aspiration Contrast in Philologically Voiced Etyma
(Zhang & Wan, 1998)

	字	Lechang	Condition
1.	邪	tsʰi˩˨˩	affricate
2.	其	kʰai˩˨˩	velar
3.	皮	pai˩˨˩	bilabial, non-rising tone
4.	題	ti˩˨˩	apical, non-rising tone
5.	並	pʰiŋ˦	bilabial, rising tone
6.	斷	tʰɛŋ˦	apical, rising tone

Zhang & Wan noted that their findings strongly resembled patterns found in Rucheng 汝城, an unclassified variety spoken near the Hunan-Guangdong border (affiliated with the so-called Shaozhou local variety 韶州土話). Wan & Zhang argue that this area was particularly prone to

great numbers of émigrés from Jiangxi (which was an important staging ground for Han wars on the non-Chinese peoples of the deep south), and thus patterns of aspiration have been subjected to contact-induced influence from Gan, Hakka, (presumably "new") Xiang and southwestern Mandarin (Zhang & Wan, 1998, p. 187). The uniqueness of the Lechang and Rucheng patterns, however, led Zhang & Wan to hypothesize a deep genetic connection between Shaozhou varieties and Southwestern Xiang *underlying* the intrusion of these other groups (ibid).

Li Dongxiang's "Old Pinghua" is therefore an expansion of Zhang & Wan's hypothesis of an underlying southern progenitor, to include other varieties of Northern Yue. According to Li Dongxiang, this "Old Pinghua" was both a colloquial speech used across Southern Hunan, Northern Guangxi and Northern Guangzhou, as well as the basis for that region's literary register, for well over a thousand years before the intrusion of Southwestern Mandarin and Yue languages into the area however (Li D. , 2004, p. 141).

A related hypothesis is forwarded by Li Lan 李藍 (2004) in his book on the language of the "Chengbu Blue Miao" (湖南城步青衣苗族), an unclassified language spoken in the Chengbu autonomous district in Hunan Province (Li L., 2004, p. 240).[222] Despite a superficially Chinese structure, Li rejects the notion that Chengbu Blue Miao can be classified with any of the southern Chinese varieties (i.e. Wu, Min, Yue, Hakka, Gan or Xiang), or that it should be considered a Southern Xiang language (ibid). Rather, Li claims that Chengbu Blue Miao should be considered what he calls a "Min Hanyu" language (民漢語) which he defines as a hybridized language possessing a general Chinese structure, but which bears a non-Chinese substratum retained from a non-Chinese ancestral language (Li L., 2004, p. 240). Li suggests a three step progression from "Old Hmong" (古苗語) to an "Old Hmong-Han Hybrid" (古苗漢混合語), finally to present-day Blue Miao (青衣人話). In this way, Li suggests that the "Chinese" variety spoken by these ethnically non-Chinese peoples is in fact the result of a language shift away

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[222] Chengbu Autonomous District (城步自治縣) is located in Shaoyang 邵陽 prefecture, southwestern Hunan, and is comprised mostly of ethnically Hmong (Miao) and Han populations.

from an ancient (Hmong) language, toward some variety of Chinese, thus explaining a skeletally Chinese infrastructure coupled with a non-Chinese substratum. This is a kind of inverse of Li Dongxiang's "Old Pinghua" argument, which explained discrepancies between Southern Xiang, Pinghua, and Northern Yue partially as the result of contact with non-Chinese (in this case, Tong) languages.

Hu Ping 胡萍 (2007) who conducted an analysis of 13 varieties of Southwestern Xiang, also suggested the existence of a non-Chinese substratum in some southwestern languages. Toward the end of her seventh chapter, Hu discusses similarities between Southwestern Xiang and the "Pinghua" spoken in Suining 綏寧 County, southwestern Hunan (not to be confused with the Suining located in Jiangsu), as well as the "indigenous languages" 本地話 spoken in Tongdao 通道 county—that is, Tong (non-Chinese, Tai-Kradai) languages—also of southwestern Hunan (Hu, 2007, 頁 161-176). Hu first notes that the Qingwuzhou 青蕪洲 "indigenous languages" do not demonstrate an aspiration contrast between level and oblique tones—which, as we know from Zhang & Wan (1998) is characteristic of some Xiang and Pinghua varieties (Hu, 2007, pp. 174-175).[223] Hu further observes that while some strata of Xikou 溪口 indigenous languages *do* demonstrate an aspiration-based contrast between level and oblique tones, the contrast is demonstrably absent in reading pronunciations. Furthermore, older generations—notably the mothers of her consultants—were said to retain unaspirated pronunciations of a number of commonly used level-tone etyma, such as /tsɿA2/ for 錢 and /toŋA2/ for 同 (Hu, 2007, p. 175).[224] Hu suggests that this is evidence for a Chinese influence on these Tong languages *not* sourced in Southwestern Mandarin (i.e. something related to southern Xiang or Pinghua). This argument clearly resonates with Zhang & Wan's (1998) work

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[223] The expression of aspiration in certain level tones has to do with the loss of voicing and tonogenesis in Chinese, through which—in certain varieties of Chinese, including notably Mandarin and Cantonese—voicing became a form of breathiness, which in turn survives as aspiration in level tone syllables (but is lost in oblique tone syllables). This process will be discussed at greater length later in the study. Here it is only important to note that this is a conspicuous feature of the northern/Mandarin branch of Chinese.

[224] Cf. Mandarin aspirated cognates /tsʰiɛnA2/ for 錢 and /tʰoŋA2/ for 同.

referenced above, though Hu apparently does not specify whether rising tone conditions a separate set of aspirated onsets.

Hu goes on to note that the "Pinghua" of Suining is actually one and the same with the speech of Li Lan's "Chengbu Blue Miao" (its relationship to other varieties called "Pinghua" and spoken by ethnic Han is unclear). Hu then suggests that Suining Pinghua (i.e. the language of Li's "Blue Miao of Hunan City"), as well as the indigenous languages of Tongdao discussed above represent "topolect islands" (方言島)—remnants of a once widespread southwestern Chinese language of which Southwestern Xiang varieties are survivors. The influx of Southwestern Mandarin (and, if we may infer from Li Dongxiang's work, the Yue languages) inundated the region, thus creating these isolated "topolect islands." In other words, these hybridized languages, while bearing shallow influence from Southwestern Mandarin (or Yue), all bear substratal evidence for a kind of southwestern koine of Middle Chinese. Again, this idea is very similar to the hypothesis forwarded by Zhang & Wan in 1998; however, in arguing that Suining Pinghua/Chengbu Blue Miao is a remnant "topolect island" of an older southern Chinese variety, Hu seems to disagree slightly with Li Lan's argument that it is the result of hybridization between an underlying Hmong-Mien language and layers of Chinese influence. Both scholars, however, suggest the existence of some kind of "southern koine" connecting varieties of Pinghua and Southern Xiang.

Based on these various works, such a hypothetical koine would have reached—at its maximum extent—from southwestern Hunan province, down into Guangxi and through to the northern regions of Guangzhou. Such a distribution would encompass the Hunan/Guangdong border varieties analyzed by Zhang Shuangda and Wan Bo, the Southwestern Xiang varieties analyzed by Hu Ping, the Suining "Pinghua" and Tongdao languages discussed by both Hu Ping and Li Lan, as well as the Pinghua, Southern Xiang and northern Yue varieties discussed by Li Dongxiang.

As discussed in Phan (2010) and section 4.1 above, LSV may be described as falling into the third category of Sinitic varieties with regard to aspiration as a reflex of voicing—that is, LSV demonstrates non-aspirated onsets in both level and oblique tones, with one notable exception (discussed below). Notably, this is precisely the category that the Xiang and Pinghua languages fall into—as opposed to the Yue languages, which demonstrate aspiration in level and rising tone but not in departing or entering tone, or of course, Mandarin (which was Pulleyblank's flagship example in his discussion of "Grassman's Law"). While by no means conclusive evidence, this is strong indication that AMC belonged to a broader dialect continuum—i.e. a Southwestern Middle Chinese—which eventually diversified into at least some of the Xiang and Pinghua varieties remaining today.

The exception to the rule of unaspirated reflexes for MC voiced onsets in LSV is also striking. Aspirates of course do exist among the LSV onsets—but only as a reflex of Old and Early Middle Chinese voiceless aspirated onsets (i.e. 次清). There is one exception to this—the palatal affricate series, or 正齒₌ onsets in traditional philological terms. The *zhengchi* class of onsets is traditionally split into a 2nd (二) and 3rd (三) series, to reflect separate retroflex (二) and palatal (三) series that had merged by the time of the *Yunjing*. These remain distinct in LSV, though they have merged in most of the prestige varieties of the southern Chinese languages.

Table 4.22: Summary of 正齒 Correspondences in EMC, LSV, and 7 Varieties of Modern Chinese[225]

字母	EMC	LSV	Bei	Yue	S. Wu	Gan	Xiang	Hakka	Min
照₃(章)	tɕ-	c-	tʂ-	tʃ-	tɕ-, ts-	tɕ-, ts-	ts-	ts-	ts-
穿₃(昌)	tɕʰ-	s-	tʂʰ-	tʃʰ-	tɕʰ-	tsʰ-	tɕʰ-, ts-	tsʰ-	tsʰ-
牀₃(船)	zʐ-	tʰ-	ʂ-	ʃ-	z-	s-	s-	s-	s-
審₃(書)	ɕ-	tʰ-	ʂ-, tʂʰ-	ʃ-	s-, ɕ-	s-, tsʰ-	s- ??	s-	ts-, s-
禪₃(禪)	dʐ-	tʰ-	tʂʰ-, ʂ-	ʃ-	z-	s- ?	s-, ɕ- ?	s-	s-
照₂(莊)	tʂ-	tʂ-	tʂ-	tʃ-	ts-	ts-	ts-	ts-	ts-
穿₂(初)	tʂʰ-	ʂ-	tʂʰ-	tʃʰ-	tsʰ-	tsʰ-	tsʰ-	tsʰ-	tsʰ-
牀₂(崇)	dʐ-	ʂ-	tʂʰ-, tʂ-	tʃʰ-, tʃ-	z-, dz-	tsʰ-	ts-	tsʰ-	ts-
審₂(崇)	ʂ-	ʂ-	ʂ-	ʃ-	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-

As shown in Table 4.22 above, continuancy and aspiration may vary but place of articulation between in the retroflex (二) vs. palatal (三) series are generally indistinct in all varieties but LSV. More importantly, SV aspiration in 正齒 initials does not seem to correspond to the MC category of 次清 (i.e. voiceless aspirates). The 穿 initial is 次清, but both 穿₃ and 穿₂ correspond to fricatives in SV. There is no aspiration contrast in Vietnamese fricatives, however, so it is possible that 次清 aspiration was just neutralized here. Critically there are three aspirated onsets in the palatal (三) series, but neither corresponds to the MC category of 次清 (i.e. voiceless aspirate): 牀₃ and 禪₃ are 全濁 (voiced onset) while 審₃ is 全清 (voiceless unaspirated). Thus it is clear that even if 次清 is a source for aspiration in SV (modulo neutralization in fricative reflexes), it was not the only source.

This situation—in which place of articulation seems to be involved in the conditioning of the modern aspiration reflex—is strikingly similar to the situation described by Zhang & Wang (1998) for Lechang. These facts, as well as the overall profile of LSV—together with Xiang and

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[225] EMC forms are taken from Pulleyblank (1991); Chinese varietal forms were taken from the online *Dialects of China* database (blyt.net). The following specific varieties were used: Bei = Beijing 北京, Yue = Guangzhou 廣州, S. Wu = Wenzhou 溫州, Gan = Nanchang 南昌, Xiang = Changsha 長沙, Hakka = Meixian 梅縣, and Min = Fuzhou 福州.

Pinghua as Sinitic varieties that do not express aspiration as a reflex of voicing—provide compelling indications for a broader southern variety of Middle Chinese.

Figure 4.2: Map of Pinghua Distribution (De Sousa, 2012; based on Würm & Li, 1987)
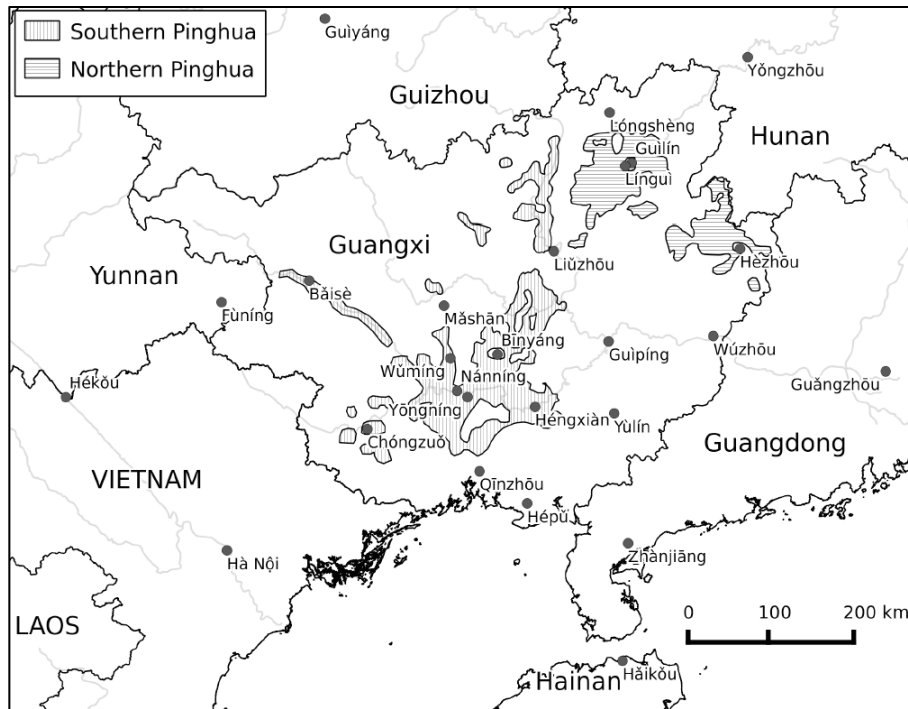
The map in 4.2 above shows the distribution of Pinghua in the region. Lechang, the so-called "Northern Yue" variety discussed above, is spoken to the east of Hezhou, in the northeastern crook of Guangdong province abutting against the regions where Southwestern Xiang is spoken.[226] As mentioned in Chapter 1, Yue varieties have intrusively spread into this region from the east, while in recent times, Mandarin has encroached from the north and northeast. The Southwestern Xiang, Pinghua, and so-called "Northern Yue" patois are not well understood and don't necessarily form a subgroup. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in this chapter plus their suggestive distribution in the northwestern corner of what once was the Tang empire

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[226] See Figure 1.1 for a map of the distribution of Xiang and Pinghua (plus other varieties) across southern China.

provide compelling evidence for our Southwestern Middle Chinese continuum. While further comparative work is clearly needed, these few indications suggest that AMC may have belonged to just such an SWMC continuum, ranging from the Red River Plain through Guangxi, eastern Guangdong, and even up into the southwestern corner of Hunan. More work, with particular attention to the vowel inventories of these unclassified varieties, promises to shed much-needed light on the issue.

4.7   Contextualizing AMC in history

The phonology of SV requires us to differentiate it from SK and SJ *Kan'on*: whereas SK and SJ *Kan'on* developed out of the hyperglossic study of a set of character glosses, LSV descended from a living variety of Middle Chinese spoken in the Annamese Protectorate. When Wu Quan defeated the Southern Han, the Sinitic population of Annam did not magically disappear overnight, nor is there any record of mass migrations out of the protectorate at the time. Yet today, Vietnam speaks a Mon-Khmer language directly descended from pVM. What happened to Annamese Middle Chinese?

The Nanzhao conquest introduced a fracture into the crystalline structure of Jiao Sinitic culture. Until that point, power and authority were Sinitic by definition. Even the Phùng clan of the 7th century relinquished control of Annam to the Tang when they returned in force. But with Nanzaho, for the first time Sinitic power had been defeated unquestionably by a rival state, and in the brief but stark absence of a Sinitic imperial authority, strongmen without any connection to Sinitic forms of power rose up and became local leaders. Non-Sinitic clans from the frontier areas, as well as quasi-Sinitic clans from areas like Feng may have benefited at this time, as the cultural and political power of the Sinitic delta was crushed. However the rapacity of the

Nanzhao occupation led to a rapid revival of Tang power, and the Annamese welcomed the return of imperial order with open arms. Nevertheless, the sociopolitical structure of Annam had been altered, and we may conjecture a rise in the status of non-Sinitic cultural, linguistic and political elements at this time. As the Tang report described, Sinitic authorities (and we may extend this to the great Sinitic clans of Jiao in general) were forced to "befriend" and form alliances with powerful non-Sinitic clans and "aboriginal tribes," which probably refers to hybridized pVM-Sinitic families like the Phùng in Feng. These families may have borne less staunch loyalty to Sinitic forms of power, being from areas outside the Jiao heartland, despite participating in a broader Jiao-centered elite cultural system (remember, the Phùng were a wealthy and powerful clan, and Feng was still within the Red River plain).

Some time after the 10th century, the Sinitic complexion of these mixed clans weakened, and the pVM complexion was fortified. The rupture of an administrative connection with the north probably led to the end of free and large-scale demographic flow between the former protectorate and the rest of the Sinitic ecosystem. While mercantile contact certainly continued (see next chapter), this kind of contact was of a different order than the kind that had existed during the Tang. That meant that the Sinitic speakers in Jiao were effectively cut off from the rest of the Sinitic speaking world. Although they represented the cultural, social, and political elite of the new kingdom, it is plausible to imagine a slow capitulation to non-Sinitic language as occurred among the French-speaking Norman minority in early 14th century England. This becomes even more plausible once we consider how the necessity to cater to "aboriginal" clans must have compounded after the withdrawal of northern Sinitic administration in the region. Inevitably, a generation of Annamese elites were reared who did not speak AMC, but only pVM. In this way, spoken AMC obsolesced in the region, while spoken pVM—which had probably grown in prestige and popularity steadily since the Nanzhao invasion—replaced it as the dominant speech of the society.

The scenario I have just described is called *language shift*, a phenomenon which does not appear overly uncommon in the history of languages. Winford (2003) defines language shift as the "partial or total abandonment of a group's native language in favor of another" (Winford, 2003, p. 15). A condition of stable bilingualism is somehow disrupted, which leads a given population to abandon their own language (L1) in favor of another (TL or L2). Under this scheme "interference" is a measure of the effect that L1 exerts over TL, i.e. the amount and character of change undergone by TL as a result of language shift.

Although the conditions under which a speaker population might shift are quite varied, there are two major subcategories to speak of. Cases like Irish-speakers shifting to English (i.e. Hiberno-English) or the ancient Gauls abandoning Gaulish in favor of Latin represent examples of a group of speakers shifting toward a prestige variety. This means that the nature of "interference" is substratal (i.e. from the bottom up). Cases like the Normans losing their French after severing ties with the mainland involve a prestige sector shifting to the language of the surrounding community. This means that the nature of "interference" is adstratal (i.e. from the top down). In either case, however, features of L1 are brought into the TL, which may produce a new topolect, dialect or even a creole in extreme cases. In the second scenario described above, the shifting group is completely absorbed into the TL community, and since they occupy the socially prestigious class, "the innovations that [the shifting group] introduced are imitated by the TL community as a whole, thus becoming permanently established in the language" (Winford, 2003, p. 15)[227].

Applied to post-Tang Annam, this means that a population of AMC speakers shifted to pVM, thereby inducing a number of adstratal linguistic innovations that were then imitated by the pVM community as a whole, "thus becoming permanently established in the language." This sinicized pVM subsequently demonstrated a number of superficial Sinitic qualities as well as a

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[227] For basic treatments of these examples, see Thompson & Kaufman (1988).

large number of Sinitic loanwords as adstratal relics of the abandoned L1. Thus, many LSV words in common Vietnamese usage are of a grammatical or functional nature, as shown below:

Table 4.23: LSV Grammatical Words

#	字	LSV	Gloss
1.	在	tại	prep. "at"
2.	如	như	"like, as"
3.	為	vì	comp. "because"
4.	被	bị	advers. Marker
5.	得	được	"to get"
6.	只	chỉ	"only"
7.	仍	nhưng	"but"
8.	雖	tùy	"although"
9.	個	cái	gen. classifier
10.	卷	cuốn	classifier
11.	額	loại	classifier/"type"
12,	條	điều	classifier
13,	封	phong	classifier
14.	分	phần	classifier/"part"
15.	當	đương/đang	present/progressive marker
16.	來	lại	aspect marker
17.	過	quá	adv. "excessively"
18.	實	thực	adv, "truly, really"
19.	各	các	quantifier, "every, all"
20.	每	mỗi	quantifier, "each"

These stand in stark contrast to the complexion of ESV words discussed last chapter, which were mostly nouns and largely culturally-specific terms. To be sure, there are a great many LSV words of elevated intellectual or cultural persuasion, but that is because, as in Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese, in principle, every sinographic character in existence has an LSV reading. However, the LSV words in common Vietnamese usage are largely of the kind shown in 4.23 above. Alves (2009) has argued against the idea that Sino-Vietnamese grammatical words properly belong to an LSV stratum, based on the the claim that they were neologically manufactured late in history. Alves is correct that such a relexification occurred, but it mostly produced duplex grammatical words that to this day still retain an elevated or abstruse flavor.

The words shown above are rarely or only distantly recognized as Sinitic by the average speaker, do not possess any elevated connotations, and in most cases do not even possess a native counterpart. As will be shown in Chapter 6, most of these are also attested in Alexandre de Rhodes 1651 Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary as well, confirming their presence in the language before the relexification processes described by Alves occurred (in the 18th and 19th centuries).[228] These words, therefore, are not "inkhorn" creations, but the lingering adstratal effect of a shift from AMC to pVM, which occurred in the region of the Red River plain some time after the discorporation of the Tang empire.

This basic process is somewhat complicated by the fact that AMC demonstrated an internal diglossic format and possessed both a spoken (colloquial) and literary (classroom) register much like Sinitic did elsewhere in the Tang empire (and continues to today; cf. Chapter 3). These two registers were collapsed into a new literary language in the form of *Hán-Việt*, which eventually came to occupy a hyperglossic partnership with the sinicized pVM that emerged out of the obsolescence of spoken AMC. This entire process can be schematized as follows:

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[228] I will refute Alves' objections fully in Chapter 6

Figure 4.3: Shift from AMC-pVM Triglossia to pVM-HV Hyperglossia
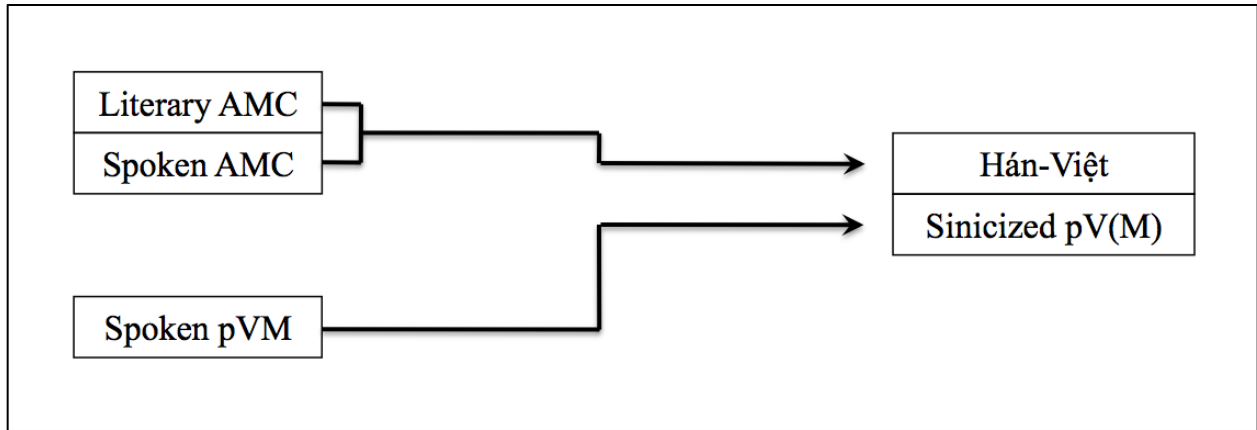
Spoken and Literary (or elevated) AMC were collapsed into a single form, which provided the basis for the set of reading glosses we now refer to as *Hán-Việt*. This probably occurred as the result of a decay in the Sinitic educational system during the years of warlordship following the Tang disintegration. The mixed base of this fossilized reading system is reflected in the robustness of centralized vs. non-centralized vowel doublets in LSV, and the fact that etyma without a centralized form are more often than not esoteric or abstruse in complexion. Thus, during the Tang era a diglossic AMC cohabitated in a sort of "triglossic" relationship with pVM (two spoken languages, one of which carried a diglossic literary partner). At a certain point, AMC obsolesces and Sinitic literacy wanes. pVM is sinicized by adstratal effects of the AMC obsolescence and becomes the dominant spoken language in a society. As a result, the AMC diglossia has now been replaced with pVM's hyperglossic relationship to Literary Sinitic, which is preserved as a set of reading glosses based on the mixed, fossilized remains of AMC. This explains the various phonological features discussed in 4.1-4.4, the vowel doubleting prevalent in AMC discussed in 4.5, and finally, the fact that LSV vocabulary in common Vietnamese usage is saliently grammatical in complexion, discussed above.

In summary, the phonological profile of LSV strongly indicates bilingual origins, rather than the literate, glossing-based origins associated with either Sino-Korean or Sino-Japanese. It

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was bilingual contact between a regional variety of Middle Chinese—an "Annamese Middle Chinese"—and contemporary Vietic forms that produced this largest stratum of Sino-Vietnamese lexica. Furthermore, LSV resembles a number of unclassified varieties spoken in modern south and southwestern China, suggesting that AMC once belonged to a broader dialect continuum of Middle Chinese (Southwestern Middle Chinese) that stretched from the Red River plain up through parts of Guangxi and Guangdong and possibly as far north as southwestern Hunan. This Annamese Middle Chinese eventually died out some time following the discorporation of the Tang, inducing in its wake an adstratal effect on the varieties of pVM to which its speaker population shifted. Finally, it is most likely that pVM itself was in the midst of diversifying into its modern descendents over the course of this process. That linguistic split, which resulted in the emergence of a phonologically distinct Vietnamese language, is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The Viet-Muong Speciation

5.0   Introduction

Thus far, I have calling the primary non-Sinitic actor "pVM" (Proto-Viet-Muong), because I have been referring to the ancestor of both Vietnamese and its closest living relative, *Mường*. But modern Vietnamese is distinct from and mutually unintelligible with *Mường*, and so to properly speak of the "Vietnamese language" we must account for its speciation from pVM and as well as the relationship of that process to the obsolescence of AMC.

5.01   Historical context

As noted last chapter, Wu Quan declared himself "King of Annam" in 939, but the former protectorate would suffer through nearly eighty more years of division and warfare before the first truly stable (and justifiably "Vietnamese") polity was established. Wu Quan's actions were typical of the late 9th and 10th century (i.e. the period of the "Five Dynasties & Ten Kingdoms" 五代十國) during which northern China saw the rise and fall of five rapid-fire dynasties, while southern China (including Annam) was divided into at least a dozen petty kingdoms. From this point of view, Wu Quan's Annam was merely another post-Tang princedom in an era when the entire empire was consumed by warlordship.

Even within Annam, the unity of Wu Quan's rule failed as soon as he died in 944. Wu Quan's children were all too young to rule at his death, and a nephew of the Queen, Yang San'ge 楊三歌 (son of Yang Tingyi), usurped the throne and named himself the "Stability King" 平王 (Taylor, 1983, p. 271). Taylor argues that Yang San'ge (whose father had been murdered by the Southern Han supporter Qiao Gonghan) was deeply anti-Chinese, and so Wu Quan's sons found

natural allies in Jiao—still the heart of Sinitic culture and power in Annam (ibid.). Wu Quan's sons were sheltered by the powerful Sinitic clans of Jiao, and eventually his second son, Wu Changwen 吳昌文 (Viet. *Ngô Xương Văn*) returned to the capital at Daluo 大羅 (Viet. *Đại La*; i.e. Luocheng 羅城 in present-day Hanoi) to depose the usurper. Wu Changwen declared himself "King of the Southern Jin" 南晉王, an apparent bid to tap into the prestige of one of the "Five Dynasties" of the north (the Northern Jin 北晉) which had ruled from 936-946—i.e., during Wu Quan's reign in Annam (Taylor, 1983, p. 273). This shows that Wu Changwen still perceived himself and his state very much in Sinitic imperial terms, and though the empire had crumbled, Sinitic culture and politics still formed the underlying fabric of the region. Wu Changwen was eventually deposed by his own brother, Wu Changji 吳昌岌 (Viet. *Ngô Xương Ngập*), whom he had invited to share the throne.

Wu Changji died in 954, and his brother Wu Changwen returned to the throne. Taylor (1983) notes an interesting development at this point: upon reclaiming the throne, Wu Changwen made overtures of allegiance to the Southern Han and sent envoys to Guangzhou, but then reversed his position when the Southern Han responded by sending an official to take up office over the protectorate (Taylor, 1983, p. 275). It appears that the idea of an imperial affiliation was still attractive for its prestige, but the reality of political reintegration was no longer desirable.

Wu Changwen died in 963, and Annam was plunged into a period of warlordship known as the *Chaos of the Twelve Provinces* 十二州大亂 or the *Twelve Lords* 十二使君. According to Taylor (1983a), the appellation of *Twelve Provinces* was a Song misinterpretation of a Vietnamese envoy's use of a literary allusion to Shun's 舜 12 Regions, which the Song took at face value (Taylor, 1983a, p. 52). The Song usage was then reinterpreted by later Vietnamese historians as *Twelve Lords*; thus the term for the era is a misconception of a misconception (ibid.). Nevertheless, Annam was indeed torn apart by several warlords at this time, arranged in strategic competition with one another. Taylor counts as many as nine lords ruling in the area of

Jiao (by now an ancient site of Sinitic culture), and this region appears to have maintained a continuity with the system of royalty established by Wu Quan and his sons (Taylor, 1983a, p. 55). The former province of Feng upriver from the delta (where Phùng Hưng came from) was under the control of Qiao Gonghan's clan (i.e. the man who had assassinated Yang Tingyi), and southern border of Jiao looking out on to the former province of Chang was under the power of a kinsman of one of the Jiao aristocrats who had sheltered Wu Changwen before he had ascended the throne. As Taylor (1983a) notes, the 10th century politics of the Red River plain and its environs "show a strong continuity with the provincial system established during the T'ang period" (Taylor, 1983a, p. 61). It was in the frontier zones of Ai and Huan that political power of a distinctly different complexion was on the rise.

It was from these regions that a son of the governor of Huan—a man named Ding Buling 丁部領 (Viet. *Đinh Bộ Linh*) eventually conquered the warring clans of the *Twelve Lords* and reunited Annam. As his name suggests, Ding Buling (probably a pVM name reflecting initial cluster *bl-*) was probably not of Sinitic stock, and indeed, he was born in Hualu 華閭 (Viet. *Hoa Lư*), a natural bowl surrounded by peaks just south of the Jiao heartland. For this reason, I will use Vietnamese orthography to render his name henceforth. Đinh Bộ Linh had remained an independent ruler of the region of Chang into the era of the Twelve Lords. After Wu Changwen's death, Đinh forged a strategic alliance with the lord who ruled the area of the Red River estuary (a man of Cantonese descent named Chen Lan 陳覽). The frontier lord of of lower Jiao quickly followed suit, and with his own army plus the armies of these two lords and another force of some 30,000 men raised in Huan by his son, Đinh swept through Jiao and Feng, defeating the last major threat to his power in a northwestern region called Xianyou 仙遊 (Viet. *Tiên Du*) (Taylor, 1983, p. 279). Đinh ultimately rejected Jiao as a site for his capital because it remained the heart of Sinitic culture in the region, and built his chief settlemant in his home reigon of Hoa Lư instead. Although in 965 he merely proclaimed himself a king (as the Wu clan had before him), by 966, Đinh proclaimed himself "emperor" 皇帝, thus simultaneously

mimicking and overtly breaking with the Sinitic political order (Taylor, 1983, p. 280). The name for his kingdom was also hybridized pVM-Sinitic in form: *Đại Cồ Việt* 大瞿越, in which the middle element (*cồ* - 瞿) is a pVM word meaning "strong" or "powerful." Đinh Bộ Linh was eventually assassinated in 979 along with his son, which initiated a brief civil war ended by one of Đinh's commanders, a former peasant from Ai province named Li Huan 黎桓 (Viet. *Lê Hoàn*; 941-1005). Upon Li's death, his sons vied for power until the commander of the palace guard, a man from the epicenter of Sinitic culture in Jiao named Li Gongwen 李公蘊 seized power, initiating the first stable polity in the region, the Lý 李 Dynasty (1009-1225), which would succeed in gathering together all the former territories of the Annamese protectorate under a single, centralized government that would last for over two centuries.

It was most likely during this dynasty that AMC finally obsolesced as a spoken force in the region, and by the following dynasty (the Trần 陳 1225-1400), we have documented evidence of pVM as the predominant spoken language of the kingdom (see next chapter). It was also very likely over the years of division before the Lý managed to assert a firm and pervasive control over the former Annamese regions during which Vietnamese emerged as a distinctive linguistic form in the heartlands of Jiao. What occurred outside of Jiao during this time involves the language called *Mường.*

5.02 Who are the *Mường?*

The status of the "Mường" language has not been well understood. The term itself—a Tai loanword—was once applied liberally to a number of relatives of modern Vietnamese. Following Michel Ferlus' crucial research into a number of conservative Vietic languages spoken in the central highlands, the term became restricted to those related languages which—like Vietnamese—exhibit pervasive monosyllabicity and lexical tone systems. Subsequently,

"Mường" and Vietnamese are now often treated as forming the "Viet-Muong" subgroup of a Vietic language family.[229]

The phonological innovations which formed a distinct Vietnamese language from Proto-Viet-Muong (henceforth, pVM) are fairly well understood.[230] These innovations mean that a "Proto-Vietnamese" level is reconstructable—i.e. that Vietnamese represents the evolution of a subgroup of pVM dialects. In the articulation of this Vietnamese subgroup, the assumption has crept in that "Mường" also represents a subgroup. This does not appear to be the case. New fieldwork conducted in 2009-2010 reveals pervasive diversity in the initial consonant inventories of three "Mường" varieties, which contradict the likelihood of a "Proto-Muong" stage of linguistic development. This diversity of innovations describes, rather, the mutually distinct evolutions of an already diversified array of pVM dialects. In other words, "Mường" is not a subgroup.

And yet, the varieties called "Mường" today are often assumed to exist in mutual intelligibility with one another. This habit has contributed to the scholarly treatment of "Mường" as a single evolutionary subgroup. However, the assumption that the Mường varieties are mutually intelligible has, to my knowledge, never been tested, and among the Mường communities visited in my fieldwork of 2009-2010, the prevalent assumption was that a given variety of Mường extended only as far as a particular commune or valley. The exception to this is in the large, heavily "Mường" province of Hoà Bình, which demonstrates exceptional unity and interconnectivity among Mường communities. Indeed, the province was formerly called "tỉnh Mường" ("Mường Province"). The varieties spoken in Hoà Bình are relatively prestigious, and in the recent campaigns to create a unified "Mường" culture as one of the official "54

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[229] In the French literature, the terms are opposite: "viet-muong" refers to the larger family (including the conservative languages documented by Ferlus), while "vietique" refers exclusively to the Vietnamese and Muong group.

[230] Ferlus (1975) first noticed a set of initial mutations in Vietnamese that were conspicuously lacking in the Mường varieties. However, many of the details of this article are now out of date, because Ferlus was forced to rely on unreliable data provided by the Barkers. Ferlus (1982) updates these ideas somewhat, especialy pertaining to spirantization of medial stops.

Ethnicities of Vietnam" (Viet. *54 dân tộc Việt Nam*), Hoà Bình Mường communities are usually selected as models. However, even within Hoà Bình, a traditional division of four subtypes is popularly observed in the following saying: *nhất Bi, nhì Vang, tam Thàng, tứ Động* (first Bi second Vang, third Thàng, fourth Động). The saying represents a listing of the four most populous varieties of Mường based on ethno-toponyms in descending order of prominence. These four categories (Bi, Vang, Thàng, and Động) encompass multiple communes while most Mường tend to identify their own ethnolinguistic group by commune or small communities of communes, perhaps defined by a valley. The concept that these four belong to a single language, or that these four should be considered the same language as any of the other "Mường" varieties spoken across north-central Vietnam seems to be a fairly new (though now, prevalent) assumption, and one—like the name "Mường" itself—imposed from the outside.

Nevertheless, the differences between the Mường varieties—and the differences between these varieties and modern Vietnamese—are relatively shallow, and modulo the impressionistic nature of "mutual intelligibility" as a criterion of defining language, it remains possible that some level of mutual intelligibility exists among these forms. Does this not constitute evidence that "Mường" is a single language, and as such, a single clade? As I will demonstrate in this study, the one does not necessarily require the other. The "Mường" varieties may be mutual intelligible, but (leaving aside the problematically impressionistic nature of this criterion) the fact remains that defining a language in terms of mutual intelligibility is not the same thing as defining it terms of genetic history. There are other paths by which linguistic varieties may obtain this phenomenon of unity (e.g. convergence) and other conditions that may explain its presence in non-convergent cases.

In his discussion of Austronesian classifications, Robert Blust (1999) argued against subgrouping the so-called Formosan languages together, and proposed at least nine primary branches radiating out of Proto-Austronesian (an argument picked up and echoed by Greenhill & Gray's 2009 study of phylogenetics). The "Formosan languages," in common parlance

excluding the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, thus bear a conservative resemblance to one another, but do not form a subgroup of their own since their most recent shared ancestor is also shared with Malayo-Polynesian.

The condition of the Formosan languages is analogous to biological paraphyly, which describes organisms of a single subgroup minus one or more of its constituent branches. They are, as such, considered ill-formed groups from an evolutionary perspective (thus "*para-phyla*"). The most recognized example of this is the class of Reptilia, which (again, in common parlance) excludes the monophyletic clade of Aves (birds), with whom their most recent common ancestor is shared. As I will show in this study, the most recent shared ancestor of the "Mường" varieties is pVM—which is, of course, also the shared ancestor of Vietnamese.

"Paraphyly" as a means of labeling mistakes in subgrouping has been used in linguistics before (see Rexova et al, 2003 on Armenian-Greek and Indo-Iranian; and Holden, 2002, 2005 on the West Bantu languages). In the case of the Mường varieties, however, "paraphyly" may be useful for more than simply correcting a previous error in phylogenetic classification, because mutual intelligibility lends a kind of reality to the group, which bears no analogy in biology.

Through an examination of the stop onset inventories of three "Mường" varieties, I will demonstrate that "Mường" is not a subgroup, but a paraphyletic taxon. Consequent to this argument, I will also present a model for pVM diversification in which a subgroup of pVM dialects branches off to form the modern Vietnamese language, leaving several distinct (but mutually intelligible) lineages behind. Thus, we must posit an innovating set of dialects in the Red River delta which evolved to the exclusion of these other forms (and not the other way around).

This model of pVM speciation also allows us to reconstruct something of the demographic history of this transitional time. while the modern distribution of the Mường is in the midlands, higher up than the lowland paddy cultures of the majority Vietnamese, the fact that they do not represent a single evolutionary subgroup suggests that they are remnants of a broader

dialect continuum that was wiped out as Vietnamese speakers flooded the lowlands. The Mường, in other words, represent island topolects which survived the spread of Vietnamese across the lowlands—probably as the Lý administration stretched itself across the former territories of the Annamese protectorate.

Organization of the chapter:

In section 5.1, I provide an introduction to the Mường language and ethnic group. 5.2 briefly discusses the presence of Sinitic loanwords in Mường. In 5.3, I present a preliminary analysis of novel data collected in the field between 2009-2010, on three varieties of Mường spoken throughout north/central Vietnam. These data shows that Mường cannot be considered an evolutionary subgroup. In 5.4, I summarize the speciation of pVM into its modern descendents based on these findings.

5.1   Introduction to the Mường and their language

The Mường are currently the third-largest ethnicity in Vietnam (after the majority Kinh, and the highland Tay), with a population of roughly 1,140,000 spread out over an area west, southwest, and south of the Red River (1999 census; Lewis, 2009).[231] They are most heavily concentrated in the provinces of Hòa Bình, Thanh Hóa, and Phú Thọ,[232] with communities as far west as Yên Bái and Sơn La, and as far south as Nghệ An (Lewis, 2009). Mường communities are generally situated in low mountain valleys surrounded by peaks, which places them in

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[231] See **Error! Reference source not found.** below.
[232] Vinh Phú province was split into Phú Thọ and Vinh Phúc provinces in 1996; the *Ethnologue* description of Mường still lists "Vinh Phú" (rather than Phú Thọ) as a Mường area.

geographical zones contiguous with the Kinh (Vietnamese-speaking) majority, as opposed to the higher elevations inhabited by the Hmong or Dao.

Figure 5.1[233]: Nàbái Valley, Hoà Bình Province

The Mường themselves are subsistence farmers who cultivate rice and corn as staples, alongside a number of small cash-crops including tea (Phú Thọ), sugarcane (Thanh Hóa, Phú Thọ, Hòa Bình), and, recently, acacia lumber (Phú Thọ, Hòa Bình).

As shown in 5.1 above, the Mường engage in un-terraced, wet-rice cultivation in their low valleys (rather than the dry or terraced cultivation practiced by true highland peoples like the Hmong or Dao). These valleys tend to be formed by rings of the karst peaks which typify upland north-central Vietnam; and incidentally, it is throughout this terrain that one finds many "caves and grottoes" such as those described by the 9th century Tang report discussed in Chapter 4.

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[233] Photo taken during fieldwork on site in June, 2010.

As briefly discussed in the Introduction, the genealogical status of Vietnamese (and by association, Mường) was once a subject of some controversy. Long held to be a simple offshoot of Chinese (see Taberd, 1838), Henri Maspero later recognized an affinity between Viet-Muong and other Southeast Asian language groups (like Tai and Mon-Khmer), but argued for a principal connection with Tai because of the presence of tone (Taberd, 1838; Maspero, 1912). The issue was finally laid to rest by André Haudricourt in his seminal 1954 account of tonogenesis (discussed in 2.1; see Table 2.3) which demonstrated not only that Vietnamese (and Mường) tones evolved from consonants (and not a unique genetic inheritance), but that Vietnamese (and Mường) was a member of the Mon-Khmer family, and completely unrelated either to Tai or Chinese languages (Haudricourt, 1954).

This genetic classification was further refined in the '90s, when work by Michel Ferlus and Gerard Diffloth argued for a principal relationship with the Katuic branch of the Mon-Khmer family (see Figure 0.3), though they differed on the details (Diffloth, 1991; Ferlus, 1994; Ferlus, 1996). This position was supported by Alves (2005), who expanded the argument with a body of lexical evidence, but was contradicted by Sidwell (2005, 2010), who argued for a more or less flat tree structure out of which radiated as many as thirteen independent branches—including distinct Bahnaric and Vietic lines (Alves, 2005; Sidwell, 2005; Sidwell, 2010). As such, there are now two opposing views on the placement of Vietnamese within Mon-Khmer—one, following Diffloth and Ferlus, that argues for an affiliation with Katuic; and the other, following Sidwell, arguing for direct diversification (alongside a number of major branches) from Proto-Mon-Khmer itself.

What is of most interest to us, however, is what is meant by the term "Mường"—in all of its connotations. It is quite plain that "Mường" as both a language and ethnicity has suffered from a long history of ambiguity. Cuisinier's (1946) singular and exhaustive study described the Mường as culturally and linguistically, *des Annamites attardés*—"backward Annamese", establishing a strong bias toward understanding the Mường as primitive, fossilized cousins of the

lowland Vietnamese[234] (Cuisinier, 1946, pp. 562-563). This characterization was ultimately challenged by Taylor (2001), who argued that French ethnological categories forced the Mường into an artificially distinct subgroup, necessarily subordinate to the lowland Vietnamese (Taylor, 2001). Although not linguistic in character, Taylor's criticism is largely applicable to early scholarship on Mường and other ethnic minority languages related to Vietnamese.

As early as Maspero (1912), Vietnamese was recognized as the largest member of a small group of languages, which for Maspero was defined by two languages: "l'annamite et le mường" (Maspero, 1912, p. 1). Haudricourt (1966), decades later, was the first to name the family (*groupe Vietnamien-Mu'ong*), and since then the concept of a Viet-Muong or Vietnamese-Muong group has remained constant though nebulously defined. Vương Hoàng Tuyên (1963) counted at least three Vietic languages, identified by place-name, all as "Mường", which he listed alongside yet another (simply) "Mường" heading. Thompson (1976) likened this to the "presentation [of] three or four Swiss German dialects, identified by village names, besides a list headed simply 'German'" (Thompson, 1976, p. 1115). Thompson was right to point out the ambiguity in Vuong's practice, but his German analogy only illustrates a confusion of nomenclature; the real error here lies in what both Vương and Thompson appear to accept as "Mường." As Thompson notes, the plain "Mường" listed was probably a Hòa Bình dialect of Mường (as defined today). However, the other three "forms" (May/Rục, Arem, Tay Pong) are in fact, distinct languages more closely related to each other than either to Vietnamese, or— significantly—to Mường (Ferlus, 1975). Evidently, the habit of labeling any "primitive" relatives of the Vietnamese as "Mường" led to what Taylor justly called an artificial category, which lumped together groups of very different lineages, all in opposition to the lowland, urbanized civilization of the Kinh. In fact, the "Mường" spoken in Hòa Bình (as well as Thanh Hóa and Phú Thọ) is better grouped with Vietnamese than with these other languages.

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[234] For an excellent review of early French ethnographic scholarship on the Mường, see Taylor (2001).

Ferlus (1996) eventually clarified the situation in his discussion of "conservative" (*conservatrice*) Vietic languages, including Rục, Arem, Pong, Maliêng, Thavưng and others, opposed to Vietnamese and Mường, both of which notably share full-blown tone systems, pervasive monosyllabicity, and impoverished cluster inventories. To this we may add the presence of large bodies of Chinese loanwords, as first documented by Maspero (Maspero, 1912). This typological grouping was taken as a cladistical divide as well, with Vietnamese and Mường occupying a single "Viet-Muong" subgroup (cf. Maspero's original formulation of 1912). Unfortunately, the impression that Mường itself represents a cohesive subgroup coordinate with Vietnamese has somehow also passed into modern scholarship (e.g. Rischel, 1995). Ferlus (1996) expressed caution over this popular assumption, however, summarizing the issue of the *Mường* when he wrote: "It is not proper to speak of one *Mường* language, but rather a group of dialects that are each named according to locality" (Ferlus, 1996, p. 17).[235] Here, Ferlus critically recognizes that at least on some level, the Mường, as they had come to be called, were not a unified group. However, Ferlus refrains from making a subgrouping argument about the Mường and rather ambiguously describes them as a "group of dialects." The question, of course, is a dialects of what language?

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[235] "Il n'y a pas à proprement parler une langue *mường* mais plutôt un ensemble de dialectes dont chacun est nommé par sa localisation."

Figure 5.2[236]

As shown in above, the area of highest Vietic diversity is south and to the west of the northern river plains, while the Mường varieties occupy the midlands between the Red River and the Ca River. "Mường" areas are thus in contiguous distribution with the Vietnamese heartland, and more or less correspond to th western and southwestern periphery of the Annamese Protectorate.

Milton and Muriel Barker were the first to work on a single language defined as *Mường*, and their substantive fieldwork was, for many decades, the only Mường data available in the west (it was this data on which Thompson based his 1976 reconstruction). Unfortunately, the data collected by the Barkers was severely contaminated by language-mixing with Vietnamese, probably because of the migrant conditions under which it was collected. The languages are so very closely related that "register-switching" between a natural voice, and a more "Vietnamese-like" Mường is extremely common, a habit fueled by the prestige status of Vietnamese. Even today, when it is relatively fashionable to celebrate the ethnic diversity of Vietnam, Mường

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[236] Map taken from Paul Sidwell's *mon-khmer.com* (Sidwell, 2009).

speakers are extremely prone to "Vietnamicizing" their own language (a constant threat in field elicitation).

These issues aside, the most binding constraint of the Barkers, and those who used their data, is that they were forced to rely on a single dialect—the "Mường Khẻn" of Tân Lạc District, Hòa Bình (a sub-dialect of Mường Bi). In a linguistic group as diverse as Mường, no single dialect can really be taken as universally representative—and indeed, that is largely the point.

Nguyễn Văn Tài did later collect data from a very broad range of dialects, but these also suffer from contaminated tonal transcriptions, similar to the Barker data mentioned above, and noted by Nguyến himself (Nguyến, 1982). This lack of reliable, representative Mường data was the primary motivation for my fieldwork in 2009-2010

5.11   Fieldwork in 2009-2010

In order to redress the limitation of available data on Muong, I traveled to Vietnam from 2009-2010 to conduct full descriptions of three representative Muong dialects: the Mường Chám dialect of Muốt commune in Thanh Hóa; the Mường Chỏi dialect of Chỏi comune in Phú Thọ, and the Mường Vang dialect of Nàbái commune in Hoa Bình. For simplicity, I will hereafter refer to variety dialect by commune-name. The locations of each of these communes is mapped below:

Figure 5.3: Relative Distribution of Field Sites:
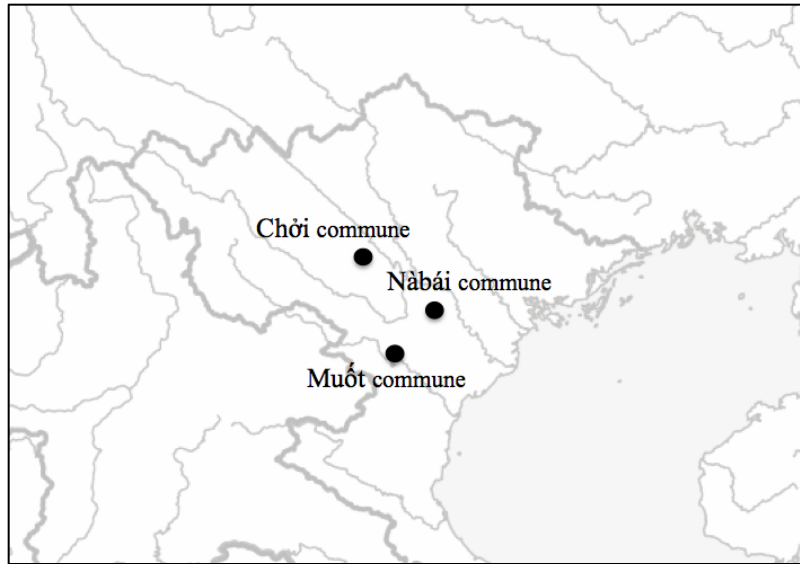
During extended stays in each commune, I established a full phonological description of the local variety and then collected and recorded a 1,000-entry core wordlist. At all sites I relied on one male and one female consultant. The ages and gender of these consultants are provided below:

Table 5.1: Primary Consultant Information

Site	Name	Sex	Age
Muốt Hamlet	Bùi Chí Hăng	M	64
(Thanh Hóa)	Bùi Thị Viễn	F	45
Chởi Hamlet	Hà Hồng Triệu	M	62
(Phú Thọ)	Trần Thị Duyên	F	40s
Nàbái Hamlet	Bùi Văn Thỷ	M	46
(Hoa Bình)	Bùi Thị Vuông	F	42

Preliminary analysis of these data reveals pervasive diversity among stop onset inventories, deriving from at least two complexes of phonological innovation unshared across these varieties. Below, I will present three salient innovations attested among the Mường varieties. None of these innovations are shared universally, and all represent mutations from the pVM level. As

such, they strongly suggest that Mường represents a collection of distinct lineages, rather than a single, innovating subgroup.

5.12 Vietnamese is a subgroup

While this study argues against a Mường subgrouping, there is in fact good phonological evidence for subgrouping Vietnamese. Most of this evidence was collected by Michel Ferlus, and published in a series of ground-breaking articles on Viet-Muong (Ferlus, 1975, 1982, 1986, etc). The essential sound changes that defined a "Proto-Vietnamese" level of mutation include the nasalization of pVM implosives in concert with the devoicing of regular stops. These changes, together with plosivization of continuants, may be analysed in terms of a pull-chain that mutated most Vietnamese onsets into forms distinct from their Mường counterparts. I have diagrammed this push-chain below for reference:

Figure 5.4: Diagram of Proto-Vietnamese Push-Chain[237]

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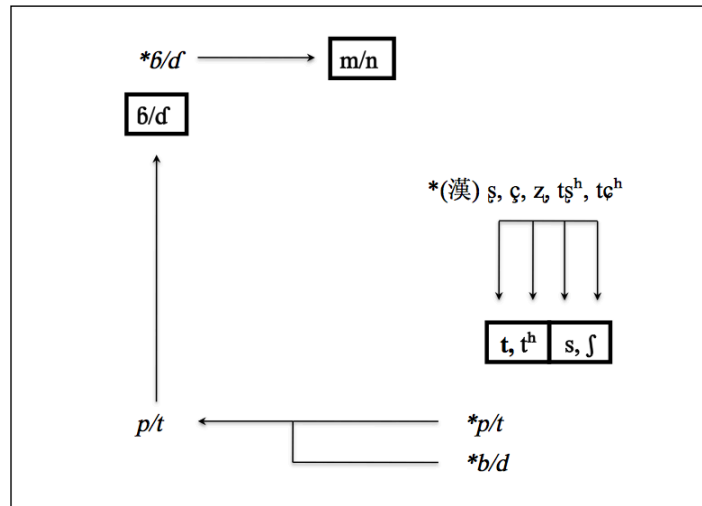
[237] The character (漢) indicates that this step in the drag chain also involved phonemes imported via Sinitic loans.

Ferlus (1975) noticed that modern Vietnamese nasals (m-, n-) evolved from an ancient set of implosives, while modern Vietnamese implosives evolved from ancient pVM explosive stops. As diagrammed above, we may add a separate process (not linked with the push-chain) through which ancient fricatives were plosivized (a process now ongoing, but not yet complete in Mường), while affricates (in Sinitic loanwords) were reduced to a new series of fricatives. These, together with diphthongization of low front vowels, are reflected across all modern dialects of Vietnamese in some form or another, and provide a firm collection of shared innovations upon which to ground the argument for a Vietnamese subgroup. As we will soon see, there is no such corresponding body of shared innovations in Mường. Rather, mutations in the onset inventory are manifestly unshared.

5.2   Sinitic loanwords in the Mường varieties

Before we apply a comparative analysis to Mường, we should first answer the question of whether or not Vietnamese had emerged as a separate language by the time AMC died out, and there is a fairly straightforward way of determining this. As Maspero noted so very long ago, Mường does indeed demonstrate a very high number of Chinese loanwords. There are three ways of interpreting this fact: 1) these words could have been borrowed through Vietnamese, which indeed has been the prestige language of the region for centuries; 2) these words were borrowed directly from AMC, but after Mường and Vietnamese had become separate languages; or 3) these words were borrowed directly from AMC *before* Muong and Vietnamese had become separate languages. Let us take a brief look at some examples.

Table 5.2: Examples of Sino-pVM Grammatical Words

#	字	Gloss	LSV	Muốt	Chỏi	Khẻn
1.	慣	accustomed	kwɛn˦˥ (quen)	kwɛn˦˥	kwɛn˦˥˦	kwɛnA1
2.	聯?	adjoining	liən˨˩ (liền)	liən˥	liən˥˦	liənA2
3.	全	all (2)	tɔan˨˩ (toàn)	twan˥	twan˥˦	tanA2
4.	在	at; because	taj˦˨ʔ (tại)	taj˥˨	taj˨˥	tayB2
5.	為	because	vi˨˩ (vì)	vi˥	vi˥˦	bìA2
6.	成	become	tʰajɲ˨˩ (thành)	sajɲ˥	tʰajɲ˥˦	tʼăŋA2
7.	每	each	mɔj˦ʔ˥ (mỗi)	mɔj˨˥	mʷɔj˨˥	moyC2
8.	平	equal	ɓăŋ˨˩ (bằng)	păŋ˥	păŋ˦˨˥	pằŋA2
9.	實	exact, true	tʰət˨˨ʔ (thật)	sət˨˥*	tʰət˨˦*	tʼətD2
10.	過	excessive	kʷa˨˥ (quá)	kʷa˨˥	kwa˨˥ʔ	kwaB1
11.	一	first	ŋət˥˥ (nhất)	ŋət˨˥*	ŋət˨˥ʔ	ŋətD1
12.	如	like	ŋɯ˦˥ (như)	ŋɯ˦˥	x	ŋëA1
13.	近	near	ɣən˨˥ (gần)	kʰajɲ˦˥	kʰin˦˥˦	xəŋB2
14.	只	only	ci˦˨˥ (chỉ)	ci˦˨˥	ci˦˨	cíC1
15.	外	outside	ŋɔaj˨˥ (ngoài)	vaj˥	ŋwaj˥˦	wàyA2
16.	分	part	fən˨˥ (phần)	fən˥	fən˥˦	fənA2
17.	過	pass by (v.), exceed	kʷa˦˥ (qua)	kʷa˦˥	kwa˦˥˦	kwaA1
18.	各	plural particle (quant. each/every)	kak˦˥ (các)	kăk˨˥*	kak˨˥ʔ	kákD1
19.	當	present (progressive) particle (asp)	ɗɯəŋ˦˥ (đương)	taŋ˦˥	(tʰa˨˥ʔ)	taŋA1
20.	邊?	side	ɓiən˦˥ (biên)	van˨˥	pen˦˥˦	penA1
21.	萬	ten thousand	van˦˥ʔ (vạn)	van˨˥	van˨˥˦	banA1

As Table 5.1 shows, a substnatial number of basic Sino-Vietnamese words also bear Sino-Mường counterparts. Note, furthermore, that the Muong tokens do *not* reflect the effect of the push-chain diagrammed in Figure 5.4 above. For example, nos. 8, 19 and 20 do not demonstrate implosive onsets in Sino-Mường as in LSV, and no. 6 does not demonstrate a plosivized stop in Sino-Mường as in LSV (this is also true of no. 9 in the Muốt data). No. 13 also fails to

demonstrate spirantization in the Sino-Mường as in the LSV.[238] The tonal correspondences (excepting the Khẻn data, the quality of which I cannot verify) also reflect expected Mường values, which is especially revealing in the "D-type "departing" tone cases where there is a final stop. The Mường varieties, unlike Vietnamese, preserve a clipped departing tone that is distinct from non-clipped B-type rising tone forms. Cases like nos. 9, 11 and 18 above all show clipped realizations as opposed to the Sino-Vietnamese forms. These facts all indicate that the Mường borrowed these etyma directly from AMC, and not through a Vietnamese intermediary. This suggests that the pVM speciation occurred after these were borrowed, a fact we will return to in 5.4 below. This challenges the received wisdom that Vietnamese was distinguished from its "primitive" Mường relatives by intensive contact with Chinese. While there is certainly some measure of truth in this, it appears that at a large portion of the sinicizing influence Vietnamese demonstrates actually represents a heritage shared with the Mường varieties. However, this does not mean that AMC had obsolesced cleanly before Vietnamese emerged as a distinct language, and it remains extremely likely that the two processes of AMC obsolescence and Viet-Muong speciation occurred overlapped a great deal. This means that we should expect to find varieties of Mường with little or no Sinitic influence (probably further away from the traditional Jiao territory), and also find some levels of Sinitic influence in Vietnamese but not apparent in any Mường variet (for example, the processes of vowel centralization and diphthongization discussed in 4.5). More research into Sino-Mường vocabularies is required. At this point, however, we may conclude that based on the existence of large Sinitic vocabularies in all three geographically

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[238] No. 19 is a special case because we have reconstructed vowel raising/breaking as an AMC feature; however it does not appear to be reflected in the Mường. Recall that the -a- form is also attested in Vietnamese. There are three possible explanations: 1) vowel raising/breaking as discussed last chapter was not a feature of AMC; 2) it was a feature of AMC but occurred after the pVM speciation; and 3) it was a feature of AMC but these varieties of Mường only received the classroom register form. As discussed last chapter, internal Vietnamese evidence does not support vowel raising as a PV feature, and so the first possibility is out. As for the second and third possibilities, either is possible since, in the former case, AMC was spoken probably as late as the Lý Dynasty—exactly during the same period that pVM was probably speciating, and in the latter case, Mường varieties may have borrowed this as a prestige word instead of a high-frequency functional particle. Until a larger amount of Sino-Mường data is collected, this question is not answerable.

diverse Mường varieties shown above, that AMC affected the ancestor of more than just modern Vietnamese to a significant extent.

5.3   Unshared innovations in Mường

I will now turn to the nature of the Mường varieties themselves, and respond to the common wisdom that they represent a single evolutionary subgroup. I will discuss three sets of data here: two sets that correspond to pVM implosives *ɓ- and *ɗ- respectively, and one set that corresponds to pVM *r-. In the following tables, data from Muốt, Nàbái, and Chỏi varieties derive from my own fieldwork introduced above, while Khẻn data draws from the Barker data (Barker, 1966).

The phoneme reconstructable as pVM *ɗ- corresponds either to (retained) alveolar stops, or an innovative rhotic in modern Mường:

Table 5.3 Mường Correspondences for Ancient pVM Implosive *ɗ-

#	Gloss	N. Standard Vietnamese	Muốt	Nàbái	Chỏi	Khẻn
1.	ought to, must	nen˦˦ (nên)	rein˦˦	ɗein˦˦	rein˦˦˦	deinA1
2.	deer	naj˦˦ (nai)	raj˦˦	ɗaj˦˦	raj˦˦˦	dajA1
3.	sunny/bright	năŋ˦˩ (nắng)	răŋ˦˩	ɗăŋ˦˦	răŋ˦˩ˀ	dăŋB2
4.	water	nuǝk˦˩ (nước)	rak˦˩*	ɗak˦˦*	rak˦˦*	dakD1
5.	crushed	nat˦˩ (nát)	raʲc˦˩*	ɗaʲc˦˦*	x	dacD1

As Table 5.3 shows, the regular Vietnamese reflex for pVM *ɗ- is /n-/. This is true across all dialects of Vietnamese (cf. Figure 2). However, the Mường data clearly demonstrates at least two

major correspondences for Proto-Việt-Mường *ɗ-: /r-/ in Muốt and Chỏi, and either /ɗ-/ or /d-/ in Nàbái and Khẻn.[239] Thus the innovation of *ɗ- to r- is not shared universally in Mường.

It is tempting to reconstruct *ɗ- ➔ r- as an innovation shared between Muốt and Chỏi; however the correspondences do not always line up. For example, the verb "to cook" (Viet. <**nấu**>) corresponds to Chỏi /**r**o3/, but to Muốt /**n**o3/; similarly, the verb "to fold, crease" (Viet. <**nếp**>) corresponds to Chỏi /**r**ep3*/, but to Muốt /**n**ep3*/. Thus the relationship between Chỏi and Muốt remains unclear; however the distinctively conservative aspect of the Hòa Bình varieties is consistent.[240]

Reflexes for pVM labial implosive ɓ- also reflect this division:

Table 5.4: Mường Correspondences for Ancient pVM *ɓ-

#	Gloss	N. Standard Vietnamese	Muốt	Nàbái	Chỏi	Khẻn
1.	lose	mət˧˩ (mất)	văt˦˩	ɓət˧˩*	vət˧˩*	bətD1
2.	carry	maŋ˧˧ (mang)	vaŋ˧˧	ɓaŋ ˦˦	vaŋ˧˧˧	baŋA1
3.	salt	muəj˧˩ (muối)	voj˧˧	ɓoəj˦˦	vwaj˦˩ˀ	bɔjB1
4.	misshapen	mɛw˧˩ (méo)	vɛw˦˩	ɓɛw˦˦	vɛw˦˩ˀ	bɛwB1
5.	salted fish	măm˧˩ (mắm)	văm˦˩	ɓăm˦˦	văm˦˩ˀ	bămB1

In these cases, Muốt and Chỏi demonstrate a spirantized *v-*, whereas Nàbái and Khẻn again demonstrate a conservative *ɓ/b-*. It is possible that the Muốt-Chỏi innovations of *ɗ- ➔ r and *ɓ- ➔ v- represent a single, complex phonological change in which voiced onsets are fricatized at different points of articulation; a model that would explain both sound-changes by means of a single mechanism.

Note that Vietnamese also famously demonstrates spirantization from pVM stops; however, in Vietnamese, this spirantization has been argued to have been catalyzed by the intervocalic positioning of medial onsets in PV sesquisyllabic etyma (including *-p-), whereas

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[239] For simplicity, I have rendered the Barker data in my own transcriptional system, but since the tonal values are uncertain, I have simply given them their etymological assignment. It is unclear whether or not the dentals in the Muong Khẻn data are implosive or not; for this reason, I have faithfully rendered them as "d-".
[240] Of course, the shared retentions between Nàbái and Khẻn do not show a subgrouping relationship.

ancient initial *p- was nasalized (Ferlus, 1975; Ferlus, 1982).[241] The mechanism underlying spirantization in Vietnamese is therefore distinct from the mechanism in Muốt and Chỏi, and subsequently affected different parts of the phonology.

Thus, the only trait grouping the four Mường dialects together so far is their *lack* of the nasalization seen in Vietnamese. But the lack of an innovation does not constitute a basis for subgrouping, and unshared *ɗ- → r and *ɓ- → v- innovations suggest distinct, rather than shared lineages.

As noted above, it is tempting to posit a Muốt-Chỏi dialectal subgroup since these seem to share two innovations: the rhoticization of dental implosive ɗ-, and the spirantization of labial implosive ɓ-. As also noted above, however, there exist counter-examples to the rhoticization innvoation that complicate the matter. Furthermore, each of these dialects is spoken on either side of Hòa Bình—Phú Thọ to the north, and Thanh Hóa to the south. This calls to mind the classic scenario of innovation expanding from a center (in Hoa Bình), leaving conservative fringes around the perimeter. However, in this case it is the perimeter which appears to be innovating, while the Hoa Bình dialects manifest more conservative retentions—suggesting a migration pattern of one group out of Thanh Hóa, northward around Hoa Binh, up into modern Phú Thọ.

Let us now take a brief look at the reflexes for Proto-Việt-Mường *r-.

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[241] Note that while Ferlus' model works quite well for Vietnamese, it manifestly does not apply to any of the Mường varieties under study here. Medial *-p- corresponds to non-spirantized stops in Mường, whereas the spirantized onsets in Chỏi and Muốt displayed in Table 3 result from pVM implosivized onsets. These two processes are therefore completely distinct. The fact that medial stops did not spirantize in the Mường varieties suggests either that the loss of minor syllables was part of the chain of innovations which defined a separate Vietnamese language, or that the mechanism of spirantization was not an ancient intervocalic position. Ferlus (1975) was misled by the contaminated Barker data, which includes many cases of hyper-corrected spirantization resulting from the self-"Vietnamicization" of the Barkers' consultant.

Table 5.5: Mường Correspondences for Ancient pVM *r-

#	Gloss	N. Standard Vietnamese	Muốt	Nàbái	Chỏi	Khẻn
1.	fence	zaw˨˩ (rào)	raw˦˥	haw˧˥˥	raw˥˥˩	rawA2
2.	forest	zɯŋ˨˩ (rừng)	ruŋ˦˥	həŋ˧˥˥	ruŋ˥˥˩	rəŋA2
3.	stubble (rice)	za˨˩ˀ (rạ)	ra˦˥	ha˥˥	ra˥˩˥	ra-B2
4.	intestine	ruət˨˩ˀ (ruột)	roⁱc˦˥	hwoaⁱc˥˥*	roⁱc˥˥˩	rɔc-B2
5.	spirits	rɯəw˨˩ˀ (rượu)	raw˥˥	haw˥˥	raw˥˥˩	raw-B2

We see fairly consistent r- realizations across Mường, except for the surprising h-reflexes in Nàbái. This laryngealization represents the first positive innovation we have seen in the Hoa Binh dialects. Interestingly, this innovation is not shared in the Barker data—and indeed, there is no reason to expect that it would have been, since (once again) the retentions they are shown to share in Tables 2-3 do not demonstrate a subgrouping relationship.[242]

5.211   Mường is not a subgroup

What is needed to prove the validity of a Mường subgroup are innovations shared by all Mường varieties to the exclusion of Vietnamese. And yet, all we seem to have that unifies Mường are retentions. To name a few, these include the preservation of medial liquid clusters tl- and kl- (cf. Muốt /tleɲ1/ for Viet . /cen1/ "on"; /tlɯj2/ for /cɯj2/," "heaven"), non-spirantized plain stop p- (Muốt /pɔ5/ for Viet. /vɔ̉5/," "to peel"), and low-front vowel –a- (Chỏi /rak3/ for Viet . /nɯək3"; "water"). These characteristics are shared by all the Mường varieties shown above; yet as retentions, all they really demonstrate is the validity of a Vietnamese subgroup. Instead, the innovations we were able to identify (processes of spirantization, rhoticization, and laryngealization) were manifestly unshared across the four varieties. From a comparative standpoint, this diversity requires us to reconstruct separate, coordinate lineages, in order to explain their individual mutations from a reconstructable pVM base.

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[242] Nguyễn Văn Tài (1982) also documented an uneven distribution of laryngealized *r- > /h-/ across Hòa Bình.

A possible objection to this argument is that the evidence considered has been restricted to phonological innovations. In future research, innovations involving lexical innovations in the basic vocabulary should also be examined as potential evidence for or against subgrouping.[243] At this stage in our knowledge, however, the lack of any shared innovations coupled with the presence of these unshared phonological changes supports a model of distinct, coordinate lineages.

As is frequently pointed out in discussion of linguistic affiliation, It is impossible to prove a negative—and indeed, the possibility remains open that further research will produce innovations shared among all or even the majority of Mường dialects. However, the major innovations governing Mường onsets visited here appear to contradict such a likelihood. Rather, Mường seems to represent the collective descendants of an already diverse array of pVM varieties.

5.31   Clades, Taxa and the Mường Language

Today, the Mường varieties are often assumed to be mutually intelligible. But as noted above, this has never been tested, and is not supported by the attitudes of the Mường themselves. Nevertheless, the near mutual intelligibility of Vietnamese and various Mường varieties suggests that there may in fact be levels of mutual intelligibility among the Mường after all, or perhaps, more to the point, that with small and closely related varieties like the Viet-Muong languages, mutual intelligibility becomes a rather arbitrary and impressionistic criterion for defining languages. Would mutual intellibility confirm that Mường is a subgroup? Until recently, the

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[243] I am currently conducting a lexical analysis of Mường cognate sets. Early results appear to corroborate the phonological evidence thus far, and reveal shared retentions, but no apparent shared innovations. For example, all Mường varieties seem to retain some morphologically reduplicative nouns, as in "bladder" (Muốt /pɔŋ2 pɔŋ3/, Chỏi /pɔŋ1 pɔŋ3/, Nàbái /pɔŋ1 pɔŋ3/), cognate with older Vietnamese /ɓɔʷŋ1 ɓɔʷŋ3/ (replaced in modern standard Vietnamese by /ɓɔʷŋ1 ɗaj3/). Similarly, all Mường varieties demonstrate cognates of pVM *tlocˀ for "head" (cf. Middle Vietnamese /trɔʷk3/ replaced by modern Vietnamese /ɗəw2/, ultimately of Chinese origin). However, I have not yet found any lexical innovations to be shared across all Mường varieties to the exclusion of Vietnamese.

existence of a "language" defined by the mutual intelligibility of its "dialects" has constituted evidence *prima facie* of its status as an evolutionary subgroup (or clade). However, it is becoming increasingly clear that mutual intelligibility does not require the cladistical unity of a given group of linguistic varieties.

The possibility of convergence as an alternative form of language-formation has, for example, recently been proposed as playing a larger role than previously imagined.[244] Regarding Mường, it is possible that convergence may be playing a role in the formation of a new Mường language. Garrett (2006), for example, forwards such an argument for the formation of Ancient Greek. However, were this the case, we should still be able to detect new, convergent innovations shared across the varieties, post-dating the diversity documented here (still a possibility, but none discovered yet).

Rather, the apparent mutual intelligibility of the Mường varieties seems more like dialectal variation than the product of convergence. In fact, this is not inaccurate, except that the Mường varieties would represent coordinate dialects of a pVM node—rather than a "Proto-Mường" node—and thus are also coordinate with the ancestor of the modern Vietnamese dialects (Proto-Vietnamese). But the evolution of Proto-Vietnamese out of mutual intellilibility with the remaining pVM dialects does not make these dialects a subgroup in and of themselves. How then, do we deal with a group of varieties that have maintained mutual intelligibility, but have never apparently undergone a stage of shared evolution?

To refine our arsenal of groupings in linguistic evolution, Babel, Garrett, Houser, & Toosarvandai (forthcoming) suggested the term *taxon*, defined as groups of dialects or languages

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[244] Following Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) basic observation that "any linguistic feature" can be transferred from one language system to another, Braunmueller & House argued for a larger role for diffusion and convergence in processes of language formation than prevailing views which restricted such processes to the formation of creoles (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Braunmuller & House, 2009). Braunmuller & House' edited volume is preceded by a number of other works on language contact and convergence, including Winford's (2001) study of contact linguistics, Heine and Kuteva's *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, and importantly, Aikhenvald & Dixon's *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance* (2007), which established a strong foundation for our understanding of the interaction of inheritance and borrowing in the formation of languages.

whose shared features may *either* be retentions *or* innovations. *Taxa* are thus broader than "clades," which correspond to our understanding of evolutionary subgroups proper, and must be defined by evolutionarily shared innovations. As noted in the introduction, the term "paraphyletic taxon" has been used to describe a subset of constituents in a proper subgroup, to the exclusion of one or more of its member branches. This description fits perfectly our suggestion for the nature of Mường.

The issue is not merely one of nomenclature. It calls attention to a subtle assumption embedded within diachronic linguistics—that language diversification always results in clean binary branching. The term "paraphyletic taxon" allows us to do more than recognize previous mistakes in subgrouping—it allows us to describe situations like modern Mường, in which a group of varieties maintain mutual intelligibility despite the innovation of a coordinate branch. In conclusion, Mường may be a language in terms of mutual intelligibility, but it is not a subgroup. It is a paraphyletic taxon.

5.4   The Viet-Muong Speciation

If the Mường language does not represent a cohesive subgroup, then we must conclude that it was Vietnamese which split off from pVM. The varieties of pVM "left behind" simply continued to evolve independently of one another, and it was these varieties that were eventually named "Mường" by early French ethnographers.

Figure 5.5: pVM Diversification
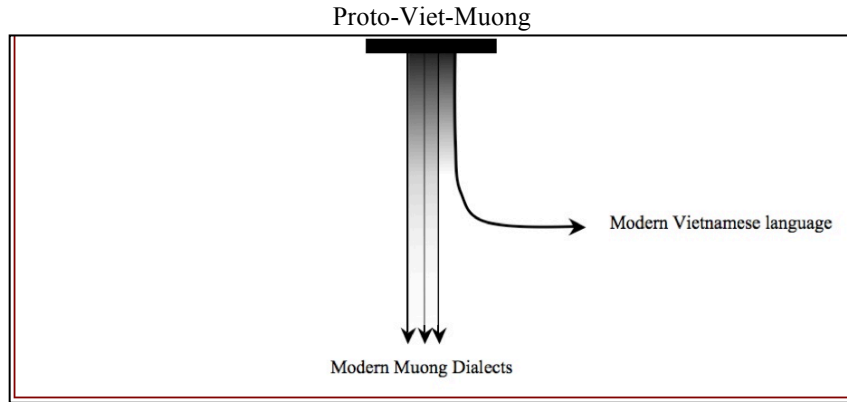
Under this model, Vietnamese is properly understood as a subgroup, but Mường is not. Mường is represented as a paraphyletic taxon, rather than a single clade. There is, therefore, no "Proto-Muong" node, and modern Mường varieties are schematized as coordinate with Proto-Vietnamese.

However, as Maspero (1912) pointed out indirectly, the Mường varieties also demonstrate heavily sinicized vocabularies. As we saw in 5.2 above, this includes substantial numbers of grammatical words—exactly the same vocabulary that resulted from the shift of AMC speakers to pV(M). Furthermore, the Sino-Mường forms did not appear to be consistent with Vietnamese loans. These facts strongly indicate that the language shift event was indeed from AMC to pVM and not simply from AMC to pVN. In light of this, we may emend the staumbaum in Figure 5.5 as follows:

Figure 5.6: AMC-pVM shift & pVM Diversification[245]
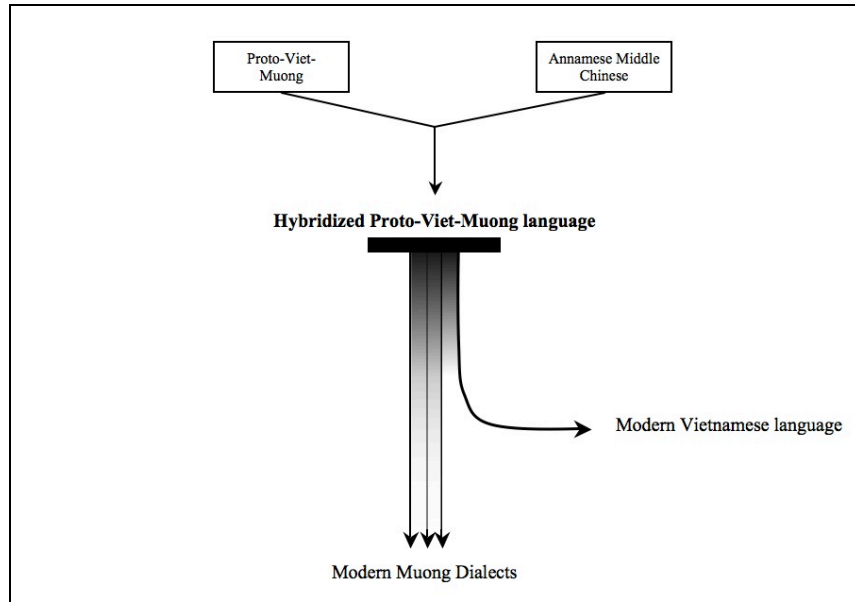
A more complete study of Mường, with particular attention to Sino-Mường, will allow us to pinpoint with more accuracy how much of the diversification process overlapped with the separate processes of borrowing and language shift that resulted in so sinicized a complexion for both Mường and Vietnamese—as well as allow us to form subgroups within the Mường language, if these are to be found. In the meantime, it seems clear that Mường itself should not be understood as a single clade, but rather the descendants of a diverse array of pVM dialects whose most recent common ancestor is shared with Vietamese (i.e. pVM). In other words, Mường is not a subgroup, but a paraphyletic taxon.

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[245] In this scheme, I use the term "hybridized" loosely and not to indicate full convergence or the formation of a true creole.

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The nature of Mường as discussed in this chapter requires us to modify the received wisdom concerning Vietnamese demographic and linguistic history in two important ways: 1) the apparent fact of Sino-Mường grammatical vocabulary not borrowed via Vietnamese suggests that at least some varieties of Mường also descend from areas affected by the death of AMC (i.e. it was partly an AMC > pVM shift, not solely an AMC > pV shift); and 2) the evolutionary non-unity of the Mường varieties means that we must understand them as distinct lineages as old as Vietnamese, and not more closely related to each other than to Vietnamese. These findings correspond well with the history summarized at the beginning of the chapter. As has been shown over the last four chapters, the Annamese protectorate was a Sinitic place beginning at least in the mid 1ˢᵗ century, when Ma Yuan destroyed the Trưng sisters. Although Jiao was consistently the epicenter of Sinitic culture and power, we must imagine that the margins of the Sinitic world extended beyond the delta. Certainly to the south the Han commandery of Jiuzhen (i.e. the Tang provinces of Ai and Huan) separated Jiao from the non-Sinitic frontier with Linyi; and in later times we know of at least two celebrated metropolitan graduates who came from Tang-era Ai (i.e. Jiuzhen). Regions like Ai and Huan (i.e. Jiuzhen) as well as Feng (at the northwestern perimeter of the Red River plain) may be understood as border zones in which bilingual hybridization was likely to occur. In fact, it is quite plausible that Jiao itself was actually highly monolinguistic in Sinitic, and that the true zones of bilingual society lay in these outer provinces.

However, as discussed in Chapter 4, the Nanzhao war provided an opportunity for non-Sinitic elements to gain power briefly, while fracturing the Sinitic cultural hegemony of the Red River Delta. As we draw closer to the final disintegration of Tang power, we see again and again the encroachment of forces from these outer provinces into the Jiao heartland. Phùng Hưng was from Feng, as was Qiao Gonghan and Wu Quan; though the Qu family was a strong Sinitic clan, one of their chief generals, Yang Tingyi, was a native of Ai, and of course, Đinh Bộ Lĩnh himself came from south of the Jiao perimeter in Chang. Although Đinh would eschew Jiao in favor of his homeland for the location of his stronghold, he was unique in this; the norm when grabbing

for power in Annam was to grab for Jiao. Thus we can imagine that hybridization was something that may actually have begun on the perimeters, which subsequently found its way into the heart of Jiao as the Sinitic monopoly on power broke down and families of hybridized lineage began to claim power in the delta.

The death of AMC was probably a complex and gradual affair that overlaid these reversals and upheavels of the sociopolitical order. What we can know for certain is that spoken AMC obsolesced—even in the delta—and it was probably in the delta where the heaviest adstratum effect was felt. This was, after all, the center of the Sinitic speaking culture in Annam. After Đinh Bộ Lĩnh's assassination, the Red River Delta was eventually restored as the capital of the durable Lý Dynasty (1009-1225). Lý mastery of the former lands of Annam was not immediate. It is plausible to imagine that the mutations which created a distinct Vietnamese language occurred in Jiao (i.e. the Delta) during the century or so of upheavel which separated a stable Annam from the strength of a mature Lý polity. As the Lý came to extend their control over the rest of the former protectorate, they would have found their own speech curiously altered from the speech of these other (disparate) communities.[246] Eventually, however, the lowlands of Annam were filled with Lý people—which eventually means Vietnamese-speaking people. Those who lived in the lowlands shifted from their own—already quite similar varieties of speech—to the newly established prestige-dialect of the Lý. This left only isolated communities in the midlands to resist the successful spread of Vietnamese. It was these isolated

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[246] A passage in the ĐVSKTT describing the results of an examination held in the 13th century, to select scholars interestingly refers to two different categories among the 43 graduates: 42 so-called *kinh* 京 graduates and 1 so-called *trại* 寨 graduate (ĐVSKTT, 5.21a-21b). It is tempting to read *kinh* as "metropolitan dwellers," i.e. those who live in the densely populated lowlands, and *trại* as "frontiersmen," i.e. those who live on the periphery (寨 = literally "outpost," or "stockaded village"). Such a spacially-oriented set of terms strikingly recalls the conditions under which the Viet-Muong speciation is theorized in this chapter. This is even more seductive since the term *kinh* has come to into wide usage as an ethnic term for the majority Vietnamese (though this is largely a post-1975 usage). The division of *kinh* and *trại* is, furthermore, tantalizingly similar to the *Mingshi* account of the Ming conquest of Vietnam, in which 3,120,000 "pacified civilizans" 安撫人民 are listed alongside 2,287,500 "captured barbarians" 獲蠻人 among the spoils of war (MS, 321.8316). While it is unclear whether these two pairs of opposing descriptors map on to one another, they both represent fascinating circumanstial support for the historical narrative of Viet-Muong speciation forwarded in this chapter.

communities who became the Mường. As already noted, the Mường are not true highlanders; they are wet-rice cultivating people who live in zones contiguous with the lowlands. As also shown in this chapter, Mường itself does not represent a single, evolutionary subgroup. The Mường, in other words, represent disconnected and unrelated islands of pre-Lý communities who, due to their geographic isolation, resisted the spread of Vietnamese in the lowlands and preserved a diversity of pVM varieties, in the middle country south of the Red river and north of the Ca.

Chapter 6

Recent Sino-Vietnamese

6.0   Introduction

The Red Delta variety of pVM that emerged following the Lý-era AMC obsolescence—which we can justifiably call an early form of Vietnamese (i.e. pVN)—did not stop importing forms and structures from Sinitic sources, though the nature of that borrowing was changed. After the replacement of AMC by a form of pVM, the subsequent emergence of a distinctive Vietnamese language and the fossilization of a *Hán-Việt* reading system, Sinitic influences on Vietnamese very much resemble conditions in Korea and Japan. Forms of borrowing during this recent era include the importation or manufacture of Sinitic loanwords as part of a greater East Asian cultural sphere. Unlike ESV or LSV, these do not fall under a single cohesive mechanism, but result from casual contact and hyperglossic cultural practices. I refer to this these diverse forms of Sinitic loanwords as "Recent Sino-Vietnamese" (RSV).

6.01   Historical context

The accretion of RSV spans the entire history of an independent Vietnamese polity and continues even in the present day. As noted last chapter Li Gongwen 李公蘊 rose to power in 1009, declaring the Lý Dynasty. Because I have theorized the emergence of a dominant Vietnamese language around this time, I will render his name (and the names of all subsequent figures and places) using Vietnamese *quốc ngữ*. In the year following his ascension, Lý Công Uẩn—posthumously Lý Thái Tổ 李太祖, moved the capital back to the heart of Jiao, at the site of the Đại La 大羅 (Daluo) citadel. Upon seeing a vision of a flying dragon, he named the site of his new capital "Thăng Long" 昇龍 (present-day Hanoi), and it would remain a significant

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political center for the Vietnamese (with only a brief interruption at the dawn of the 15th century) until the Nguyễn 阮 Dynasty of the 19th century. Đinh Bộ Lĩnh was careful to maintain cordial relations with the Song, who had conquered most of China by the late 10th century, sending envoys to the new court in 971 (Taylor, 1983). The Song, who were not yet in a position to reclaim Annam, confirmed Đinh Bộ Lĩnh's rulership, conferred upon him and his son several titles and praised him for maintaining order in the region (ibid.). A decade or so later, this would change and the Song would launch a full-scale invasion of the protectorate. However (as mentioned last chapter), the Song did not possess the martial vigor of the Han or Tang dynasties, and after fighting the Song to a standstill, Đinh was able to negotiate a Song withdrawal. For the first time, the region of northern Vietnam stood apart politically from a unified northern dynasty. For complicated reasons, the Song would mount yet another attack on the region in the late 11th century. By then the Lý state of Đại Việt 大越 was firmly established, and a war from 1075-1076 ended yet again with failure to recapture the region. Thus by the late 11th century, the former Tang protectorate of Annam was firmly established as a political entity separate from a unified northern empire for the first time in Chinese history.

John Whitmore has noted the rise in the importance of coastal trade at this time, and Đại Việt subsequently enjoyed a prosperous commercial relationship with the Song (Whitmore J. , 2006). Buddhism was also prevalent in the Lý and erudite Buddhists occupied key positions in society (Whitmore, 1984; Taylor, 2002). Although the Lý themselves came from the very heart of Sinitic culture in Jiao, their rule also incorporated elements of a potentially non-Sinitic flavor. Whitmore (1986) mentions the establishment of cults to Indra and Brahma in 1057, and a visit to an image of Indra by the Lý emperor in 1134 (Whitmore J. , 1986, p. 126). The Lý also initiated a loyalty oath in 1028, in which lords of the court pledged their loyalty to the emperor in the name of a "spirit of the Bronze Drum Mountain," and sealed their allegiance by drinking the blood of a sacrificed animal and calling on the spirit to destroy them if they broke their oath (ibid., p. 127). Although Whitmore underscores a Southeast Asian complexion to the blood oath,

such a ritual was not uncommon in China either, at least during the classical period. Indeed, the Lý oath is exactly parallel to the *Zhou* era *covenants* 盟 formed between the king and his retainers, in which blood was smeared on the lips of the servant as a sign of his pledge of loyalty and spirits were called upon to enforce the terms of the contract (Lewis, 1999, p. 19). It is plausible that the aristocratic and entourage-centered organization of the Lý may have encouraged a classical mode of political ritual, as opposed to the bureaucratic style of the contemporary Song.

The Lý declined into rivalry among the great clans and a man named Trần Thủ Độ 陳守度 (1194-1264) eventually secured the throne for his nephew Trần Cảnh 陳煚 (1218-1277), proclaiming the Trần 陳 Dynasty in 1225. The Trần 陳 Dynasty replicated many of the forms of power of the Lý, including the blood oath, as well as a deeply buddhistic complexion. We also find a rise in literary development during the Trần, including the publication of an important work focusing on a canon of political significant heroes and spirits (the *Việt điên u linh tập* 越甸幽靈集, 13th century), as well as a rise in the popularity of rhapsodies 賦 (see Chapter 7). It is also during the Trần that we have our first historical references to the vernacular being spoken—and indeed, even being written.[247]

The Trần Dynasty ended when Hồ Quý Ly 胡季犛 (1336-1407?) took power and proclaimed the short-lived but influential Hồ 胡 Dynasty (1400-1407). During this brief period, Hồ moved the capital from Thăng Long to a location in the former Tang province of Ai (modern-day Thanh Hoá province), calling his new citadel the "Western Capital" 西都 (Viet. *Tây Đô*) and delegating Thăng Long the "Eastern Capital" 東京 (Viet. *Đông Kinh*)—an appellation that eventually led to the French colonial term for northen Vietnam: *Tonkin.* Hồ also changed the name of the state from Đại Việt to Đai Ngu 大虞.[248] Hồ Quý Ly is most notable for having

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[247] This is discussed at length in Chapter 7.

[248] Taylor (forthcoming) explains that Hồ Quý Ly named his kingdom Ngu after the legendary ruler Ngu Thuấn 虞舜, who was appointed ruler by Yao based on his merits and not his lineage, and did the same by appointing Yu (the tamer of the floods) to succeed him instead of his own son. In this way, Taylor argues, Hồ Quý Ly "evoked the

pushed several reforms that promoted the use of vernacular language and writing as a pedagogical tool for mastering Literary Sinitic (see next chapter).

Hồ Quý Ly enjoys a rather notorious reputation in Vietnamese history, not only for overthrowing the Trần but most importantly for falling to the Ming Dynasty invading force of the Yongle emperor 永樂帝 (1402-1424). The Ming conquered Hồ Quý Ly's state of Đại Ngu in 1407, reclaiming the Annamese territories for the first time since in over four centuries. The Ming occupation only lasted for 20 years (1407-1427), but it left a lasting effect on Vietnamese society. The Ming thoroughly renovated Vietnamese educational, social and political order, built many schools and introduced a rigorous Neo-Confucian orthodoxy to the intellectual landscape. The Ming may also have introduced a Mandarin-based prestige form of Sinitic at this time, which competed (not very successfully) with the (by now, established) HV convention (see 6.3 below). After the Lê 黎 succeeded in ejecting the Ming and establishing a new dynasty in 1407, they eventually laid down a Neo-Confucian institutional system in its place, complete with regular civil service exams.[249]

The Lê Dynasty officially lasted from 1428 to 1788. The 15th century marked a highpoint in Vietnamese political and military power, culminating in the Hồng Đức (1470-1497) reign of Emperor Lê Thánh Tông 黎聖宗 (1442-1497). The memory of this era as a golden age played an important role in the politics of the next few centuries. The middle of the Lê was interrupted by the rise of the Mạc 莫 clan, who established a dynasty in Thăng Long from 1527-1592. The Mạc rise led to an alliance between two powerful clans at the time,: the Trịnh 鄭 and the Nguyễn 阮, both from the area of modern Thanh Hoá province (formerly, the Tang province of Ai), and who fought in the name of a Lê restoration. The Trịnh ultimately succeeded in ousting the Mạc from the Red River plain in 1592, reclaiming Thăng Long and restoring the Lê

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principle of succession based not on blood but on merit," and "aimed to portray the change of dynasty from Tran to Ho as following a pattern for which the sage kings of antiquity were praised" (Taylor, forthcoming).
[249] Exams had been held irregularly during the Lý and semi-regularly Trần, but became fixed and consistent during the Lê period (Taylor, 2002).

Dynasty (in name only). The Mạc retreated to the valley of Cao Bằng on the northern border with China, establishing an enclave which persisted for many decades under Ming protection.

By the 17th century, the Trịnh and the Nguyễn had fallen out of terms, initiating nearly two centuries of clan warfare. It was also roughly during this time that Vietnamese power was extended increasingly into the center region of modern Vietnam.

The kingdom was effectively split into two realms, which the southerners referred to as Đàng Ngoại (the "outer" realm) in the North and Đàng Trong (the "inner" realm) in the south (Ang, 2012, p.1). The Trịnh ruled in the name of the Lê emperors from Thăng Long in the Red River Delta, while the Nguyễn ruled from the site of modern-day Huế (i.e. former Cham lands). When the Ming fell to the invading Manchus in the middle of the 17th century, Ming loyalists and refugees flooded the south, and in one instance, some three thousand were granted refuge in Đàng Trong (Wook, 2004 p. 38). These refugees were one early source of RSV colloquial borrowings, and may also have contributed to some relexification (see 6.1 and 6.2 below). As Claudine Ang describes in her 2012 dissertation, these Ming loyalists developed complex social and intellectual networks with Chinese literati on the southern and southeastern coast. These populations also led to the settlement of the far south, including notably the areas around modern Biên Hoà and Hồ Chí Minh City (i.e. Sài Gòn) and Hạ Tiên. As will be discussed next chapter, this was also a watershed moment in the history of vernacular literature, and the next two centuries witnessed a dramatic increase in vernacular forms of expression. It was probably shortly thereafter (the 18th and also 19th century) that substantial relexification and neologic production took place (another important category of RSV; see 6.2 below).

In the late 18th century, a rebellion begun in the south by three brothers known as the Tây Sơn 西山 swept through the Nguyễn polity, forcing the Nguyễn lord, Nguyễn Phúc Ánh 阮福映 (1762-1820) to flee to Siam. The Tây Sơn ultimately defeated the Trịnh before their primarily leader, the self-proclaimed Emperor Quang Trung 光中黃帝 (1753-1792), died. By the dawn of the 19th century, Nguyễn Phúc Ánh returned to southern Vietnam and succeeded in retaking the

entire country. In 1802, Nguyễn Phúc Ánh proclaimed himself Gia Long Emperor 嘉龍帝 of the new Nguyễn 阮 Dynasty, which he ruled from Phú Xuân 富春 (i.e. modern-day Huế). This was the first time the entire map of modern Vietnam was ruled by the Vietnamese. The Nguyễn ruled Vietnam until the advent of French colonialization, in the mid 19th century.

Probably over the course of the Lý and early Trần (12th-14th centuries) the Vietnamese language not only emerged as a distinctive variety of the Red River Delta, but came to replace AMC as the primary spoken language of the region's political elite. From the Lê to the Nguyễn (15th-20th centuries), Vietnamese transformed from a form of speech in hyperglossic partnership with a form of Literary Sinitic (whose phonological dimension we may call *Hán-Việt*), to a language with its own meta-diglossic infrastructure, whose ("vernacular") literary form was deeply enriched by and indebted to Literary Sinitic. Throughout the entire millennium, Vietnamese continued to import words and forms from Sinitic sources. However, these did not result from a single, cohesive mechanism as ESV (via intensive Han and Jin contact) or LSV (via post-Tang adstratum effect) did, but from sporadic and diverse sociolinguistic mechanisms.

6.02   Defining RSV

RSV refers to words acquired after the obsolescence of spoken Annamese Middle Chinese, the fossilization and conventionalization of *Hán-Việt*, and the speciation of proto-Vietnamese from its sisters, the *Mường* languages. In contradistinction to the Han-era ESV loans and the diglossic forms of post-Tang LSV just discussed, Recent Sino-Vietnamese (RSV) words are by nature sporadic and unsystematic, resulting from a range of different mechanisms. There are four major categories of Recent Sino-Vietnamese that I will discuss in this section; the first two have enjoyed some treatment in the literature, while the latter two have received little or no attention. These are: 1) Colloquial borrowings from southern varieties of Chinese; 2) Neologisms; 3) Competing literary prestige forms; and 4) Reading mistakes.

Nguyễn Khắc Khâm (1969) and others have described colloquial terms that were imported to Vietnamese from various southern varieties of Chinese (Nguyễn K. K., 1969). Nguyễn identifies only a set of Cantonese loans, though some are probably from Min languages as well (ibid.). Many of these are culinary or culture-specific terms, and are characteristic of southern modern Vietnamese, spoken in areas most in contact with recent Chinese migrant populations.

Sino-Vietnamese neologisms, which result from native Vietnamese processes, as well as late 19th-20th century Japanese and Chinese processes, have been discussed at length by a number of scholars, including Nguyễn Khắc Khâm (1969), Lê Đình Khẩn (2002), and Mark Alves (2009, 2009a), and—indirectly—Shen Guowei (2010) as well. They occupy a unique (and uniquely deceptive) position in Recent Sino-Vietnamese, because as a general rule, their composition is drawn from LSV phonological forms. It is this body of Sinitic neologisms, more than anything else, that contributes to the superficial lacquering of Vietnamese vocabulary that makes it seem so similar to the Korean and Japanese cases.

The possibility of alternate prestige forms opposed to the (by then) fossilized *Hán-Việt* system arises with forms that demonstrate non-ESV phonology, but conspicuously violate one of two important characteristics of LSV: 1) the dentalization of *chongniu IV* bilabial onsets; and 2) the maintenance of final -p, -t, -k. The *chongniu* (重紐 lit. "doubled buttons"), as discussed briefly in Chapter 4, were syllables that appeared in more than one of a system of phonological divisions called the "Four Grades" (四等). The relevant syllables for RSV are those *chongniu* syllables that appear in the fourth grade (hence *"chongniu IV"*). It is possible that these forms resulted from new prestige forms introduced when the Ming Yǒnglè Emperor conquered and colonized Vietnam in 1407, a period which lasted some twenty years.[250]

Finally, the concept of "reading mistakes" falls into a ubiquitous Sinoxenic category resulting from erroneous character readings that subsequently became fixed in the lexicon (cf.

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[250] The literary consequences of the Ming occupation are discussed at length in the final chapter.

Kan'on "sen," "wash;" from 洗). These are particularly interesting because of what they possibly reveal about early modern Vietnamese literary practices. We will take a brief look at each of these categories of "Recent Sino-Vietnamese" in turn.

Organization of the chapter:

Section 6.1 briefly explores the importation of culturally-specific (mostly culinary) terminology from various southern Sinitic languages. Section 6.2 addresses the deceptive practice of neologistic manufacturing, using HV phonological material. 6.3 turns to non-HV prestige borrowings and 6.4 discusses variant forms which arise from reading mistakes. 6.5 concludes with a brief discussion of the nature of Vietnamese *hyperglossia* in comparison with the Sinitic diglossia of the imperial era.

6.1   RSV Colloquial Borrowings from Southern Varieties of Chinese

Borrowings of this type are numerous—though their precise origins are often difficult to pinpoint, since they are by nature sporadic. The most conspicuous cases are culinary items, but other culture-specific loans are evident as well. Typical examples are gathered and provided below; I have also provided their renderings in *Hán-Việt* for comparison.

Table 6.1: Some Examples of Recent Sino-Vietnamese Loans and their Hán-Việt Equivalents

#	詞	Recent SV	Hán-Việt	Gloss
1.	豉油	xì dầu	thị du	soy sauce
2.	豆花	tào phớ	đậu hoa	sweet beancurd custard
3.	粿條	hủ tiếu	(quả ?) điều	flat noodle dish
4.	水餃	sũi/sủi cảo	thủy giáo	dumplings
5.	餛飩	vần thấn, hoành thánh	hồn đồn	wontons
6.	煎	chiên	tiên	pan-fry
7.	海鮮	hải sằn	hải tiên	hoisin (sauce)
8.	油炸鬼	giò cháo quảy	du tạc quỷ	fried dough stick
9.	緬	mỳ	miễn	noodles
10.	粥	cháo	chúc	congee
11.	點心	điểm sấm	điểm tâm/tim	dim sum
12.	燒賣	xíu mại	thiêu mại	shaomai
13.	叉燒	xa xíu	xoa thiêu	bbq pork
14.	臘腸	lạp xưởng	lạp trường	sweet sausage
15.	蝦餃	há cảo	hà giáo	shrimp dumpling
16.	衰	xui	suy	unlucky
17.	使(錢)	xài (tiền)	sử (tiền)	spend (money)
18.	利市，利是	lì xì	lợi thị	New Year's money
19.	味精	mì chính	vị tinh	MSG
20.	小	xíu	tiểu	little, small, few

The majority of these words are of Cantonese origin, and mimic their transfusion into other varieties of contemporary Chinese, as well as other Southeast Asian languages today. No. 9 is probably a Min contribution, since it has lost its final nasal. Most of this vocabulary is characteristic of modern southern Vietnamese, and bear more conventional Sino-Vietnamese counterparts, or non-sinoid equivalences in modern northern Vietnamese. Compare, for example, southern *xì dầu* (豉油; "soy sauce") with northern *tương* (醬), and southern *chiên* with northern *rán* (non-Chinese). This kind of vocabulary probably began entering southern varieties of Vietnamese after the fall of the Ming Dynasty, when the Nguyễn polity (i.e. *Đàng Trong*, "Inner Lands") offered amnesty to some three thousand Ming refugees in 1679 (Wook, 2004, p. 38). These exiles, known as the *Minh Hương* (明香), came to play an integral role in the formation and development of southern Vietnam, from the 17th century to the present day,

creating a major Chinese cultural center in the Mekong delta that eventually became modern-day

Hồ Chí Minh City (i.e. Sài Gòn, or more specifically, Chợ Lớn).

6.2   RSV Neologisms

As suggested above, this is the best-recognized category of Sino-Vietnamese and, in common Vietnamese parlance, the most typical and well-known species of HV. During the intellectual foment and restlessness of the 19th and early 20th centuries, a number of neologisms were coined in Japan and then borrowed into China, or produced separately there (Shen, 2010). Many of these forms made their way into Vietnamese as well.

Table 6.2: Some 19th-20th Century RSV Neologisms

#	字	Sino-Viet.	Gloss
1.	文學	văn học	literature
2.	說明	thuyết minh	to explain
3.	有益	hữu ích	useful
4.	文化	văn hóa	culture
5.	政府	trính phụ	government
6.	社會	xã hội	society
7.	工產	Cộng Sản	Communism
8.	生學	sinh hộc	biology
9.	學院	học viện	"research institute"
10.	風俗	phong tục	"customs, mores"

Lê Đình Khẩn calls these kinds of borrowings *Sinographic Japanese words* ("từ chữ Hán tiếng Nhật;" 日語漢字辭), and provides a substantial list of examples in her book (Lê Đ. K., 2002, pp. 131-134). As Shen (2010) did later, Lê stressed the fact that these were borrowed via graphic routes, and differences in the reading glosses for these character compounds from Japanese to

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Chinese (to Vietnamese) was absolutely ignored, with speakers of each respective language relying on their own native systems to constitute the pronunciations of these words (Lê Đ. K., 2002, p. 131). Recent work on the reading practices of Japanese and Korean intellectuals with regard to Chinese graphs shows that this kind of graph-oriented processing (or "glossing") was a common practice, not only in early modern East Asia, but in many places around the world (Whitman, 2011).

Indeed, well before the 19th century, Vietnamese intellectuals were creating new words based on HV material, resulting in what Lê Đình Khẩn called *pure Han compound words* ("từ ghép thuần Hán"), in contrast with the *Sinographic Japanese words* described above (Lê Đ. K., 2002, p. 130). These processes of creating new "Chinese" words mirrored similar practices adopted throughout the Early-Modern Sinosphere. One conspicuous product of these artificial "sinicizations" was a large body of compound grammatical phrases of an abstruse or erudite flavor:

Table 6.3: Some Sinoid Grammatical Neologisms

#	字	RSV Neologisms	Gloss
1.	當然	đương/đang nhiên	"of course"
2.	大抵	đại để	"in all"
3.	非常	phi thường	"extraordinary"
4.	所以	sở dĩ	"therefore"
5.	或者	hoặc giả	"or"
6.	基本	cơ bản	"basically"
7.	假如	giả như	"if"
8.	甚至	thậm chí	"even so, so much "
9.	雖然	tuy nhiên	"even though"
10.	隨便	tuy tiện	"as [you] like"
11.	極力	cực lực	"at all costs"
12,	未必	vị tất	"not necessarily"
13,	自然	tự nhiên	"naturally"
14.	云云	vân vân	"et cetera"
15.	相當	tương đang/đương	"equivalent to"
16.	必然	tất nhiên	"of course"
17.	不過	bất quá	"but"
18.	除非	trừ phi	"only if"
19.	大概	đại khái	"roughly"
20.	根據	căn cứ	"based [on]"

These words probably resulted from an internal sinicization of Vietnamese language in the centuries when the adoption and flourishing of Chữ Nôm literature forced intellectuals to enrich native Vietnamese vocabulary with Chinese material, forged from HV phonological stock. Lê noted that it was notoriously difficult to differentiate between *Sinographic Japanese words* and *pure Han compound words* (Lê Đ. K., 2002, p. 134). This is because, in both cases, the phonological shapes were drawn from pre-existing *Hán-Việt* stock, and so from a phonological point of view, they are indistinguishable.

In fact, the practice of reviving or creating new lexical items using HV phonological stock presents a unique problem for those trying to make claims based on the lexical composition of Sino-Vietnamese. Take, for example, the large number of simplex grammatical words of sinoid stock now current in Vietnamese language (already discussed at the end of Chapter 4). These words often employ the same or nearly the same semantic functions as their counterparts

in Literary Chinese, and so cannot easily be traced to neologic manufacturing processes like the *Sinographic Japanese words* and *pure Han compound words* described above.

Table 6.4: Simplex SV Grammatical Words

#	字	Sino-Viet.	Gloss
1.	在	tại	prep. "at"
2.	如	như	"like, as"
3.	為	vì	comp. "because"
4.	被	bị	advers. Marker
5.	得	được	"to get"
6.	只	chỉ	"only"
7.	仍	nhưng	"but"
8.	雖	tùy	"although"
9.	個	cái	gen. classifier
10.	卷	cuốn	classifier
11.	額	loại	classifier/"type"
12,	條	điều	classifier
13,	封	phong	classifier
14.	分	phần	classifier/"part"
15.	當	đương/đang	present/progressive marker
16.	來	lại	aspect marker
17.	過	quá	adv. "excessively"
18.	實	thực	adv, "truly, really"
19.	各	các	quantifier, "every, all"
20.	每	mỗi	quantifier, "each"

As briefly mentioned in 4.7 and counter to the claim made there, Mark Alves has claimed that these words were among those resulting from the early-modern and modern relexification process described above. Toward this end, Mark Alves (2009) showed that a number of simplex grammatical words current in modern Vietnamese bore non-sinoid, pVM-stock words in Alexandre de Rhodes' 1651 dictionary.

Table 6.5: 17th Century Non-Sinoid Grammatical Words and their Modern Sinoid Replacements
(Alves, 2009, p.6)

#	Gloss	Non-Sinoid	Sinoid	
1.	every	đòi	mỗi	每
2.	various	phô	các	各
3.	but	bèn	nhưng	仍
4.	because	chưng	vì	為
5.	or	âu là	hoặc	或
6.	no/not	chẳng	không	空
7.	at	ca	tại	在
8.	equal to	ngất	bằng	平
9.	progr. marker	chưng	đang	當
10.	time/instance	đạc	lần	輪
11.	only	bui	chỉ	只
12.	truly	chỉn	thật	實
13.	by oneself	nghĩ	tự	自

As shown above, Alves provides thirteen examples of non-sinoid functional words that have since disappeared from the Vietnamese lexicon, apparently replaced by Sino-Vietnamese. This is powerful evidence for the kind of internal sinicization process described above, and shows that important processes of relexification took place over the 17th-20th centuries.

However, while admitting that more detailed statistical analysis was needed, Alves also suggests that the bulk of sinoid grammatical words (and perhaps the bulk of Sino-Vietnamese in general) resulted from literary transmission of words that came to replace native vocabulary late in history. Alves bases this claim on two observations of the contents of De Rhodes' dictionary. First, Alves notes that De Rhodes' dictionary highlighted the "highly formal status of Chinese vocabulary in … the 17th century" (Alves, 2009, p. 7). Alves may be referring to a practice whereby De Rhodes would gloss a Sino-Vietnamese word first in Vietnamese, then in the characteristic Portuguese and Latin. For example the entry for *tại* reads as follows:

tại, ở ſer, eſtar : ɾum, es, elt. maneo, es.
(De Rhodes, 1991, p. 715)

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In the entry above, a succession of definitions are given: first in Vietnamese ("ở"), then in italicized Portuguese ("ſer, eſtar"), then in Latin ("ſum, es, elt. maneo, es"). The Portuguese gives a copular definition; the Latin gives both a copula and "to stay, abide" (*maneo*) as definitions. Most entries in the dictionary skip the "Vietnamese" gloss, and include only an italicized Portuguese definition, followed by the Latin. Alves' argument that De Rhodes highlighted the "formal status of Chinese vocabulary" suggests an explanation for this kind of lexicographic practice, and provides a neat and elegant rationale for the added Vietnamese glosses. If this is the practice Alves had in mind, I would concur in large part with his interpretation of its nature. This is borne out by cases where a Sino-Vietnamese entry is given a perceived "native" gloss but the perceived "native" entry is not given a Sino-Vietnamese gloss, or the Sino-Vietnamese equivalent is only listed as a synonym:

>
> (1a) thành, nên: *fazer, fazerſe* : facio, is, fio fis…
>   (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 715)
>
> (1b) nên : *connem* : conuenic, làm cho nên *fazer conto con uem*: facere vt decet…
>   (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 512)
>
> (2a) vạn, muôn : *desmil ;* decem millia: vạn tuế, muôn tuổi: *des mil annos idade:* decem mille ætatis anni…
>   (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 858)
>
> (2b) muôn *dès mil,* decies mille : muôn muôn : *ſem conto* : innumerabilia muôn muôn vân vân : *milbares demilbares* : millionum millia. man vạn idem : muôn tuổi: *muitos annos de vida*; viue diù...
>   (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 715)

As shown in (1a) above, Sino-Vietnamese "thành" (成) is glossed with non-sinoid "nên;" however, the converse is not true in (1b). As shown in (2a), *Hán-Việt* "vạn" is glossed with "muôn;" however, the entry for "muôn" in (2b) only lists *vạn* (along with *man*) as synonyms lower down in the definition. Of course, "muôn" itself is a sinoid word, and descends (along with *vạn* along with *man*) from Chinese (萬). This says something not only about De Rhodes'

own awareness of Sino-Vietnamese etymology, but also about the flexible, complex, and probably at times, contradictory awareness of what was "formal Chinese vocabulary" in the minds of his consultants.

Similar to the case of "ten thousand," Alves himself also admits that two of his examples are not conventional *Hán-Việt* (*bằng,* 平; and *vì,* 為), one of which is probably an Early Sino-Vietnamese loan (*bằng,* 平) (Alves, 2009, p. 6) This makes them poor candidates for late, elevated "replacements," since they do not reflect the phonology of the literate and elite *Hán-Việt* system, and it is not likely that they were even recognized as Chinese.

For these reasons, I believe that these dictionary entries are better understood as examples of multiple registers of vocabulary that coexisted in the 17th century, rather than straightforward evidence for the strong-arm sinoid relexification of Vietnamese vocabulary.

It is furthermore notable that all but two of Alves' examples (*không,* 空; and *chỉ,* 只) do in fact appear in De Rhodes' dictionary, and of these eleven words, only one of them is given the kind of special "Vietnamese" glossing described above (i.e. *tại,* 在). In fact, in a list of 102 Sino-Vietnamese words of which 24 were function words, I found that 90/102 were attested in De Rhodes, and of these, 23/24 of the grammatical words were also represented.   Of these 90/102 Sino-Vietnamese words found in De rhodes, only 10 were given "Vietnamese" glosses.[251] This strongly suggests that the hyperglossic situation of the 17th century was far more fluid and complex than Alves imagines, and probably contained multiple sociolinguistic registers—or even geographically designated topolects, some of which probably quite old sinoid words—both grammatical and otherwise (we can imagine such a topolect in Hanoi, at the center of the old Jiao territory), which existed alongside other registers of a less Chinese complexion (outside of the Delta).

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[251] Data available upon request.

Finally, it is also important to note that the "Vietnamese" glosses in De Rhodes often merely provide context or usage information, rather than supplying a "colloquial," non-sinoid counterpart.

(1)   tim, blái tim: *coração:* cor, dis.
        (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 715)

(2)   lần, một lần, hai lần : *bŭa ves, duas vezesi*: fernel,
        bis&c.[252]
        (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 395)

(3)   tin, bảu tin: *dar nuas:* noua referre. thăm tin: *eſpiar:*
        exploro, as. măng tin: *corre fama:* fama est. măng tiếng,
        idem.
         (De Rhodes, 1991, p.800)

(4)   qua, thâu qua: *treſpaſſar algŭa couja* : perforare aliquid,
        persuadere.
        (De Rhodes, 1991, p.616)

(5)   thần, thiên thần: *Anjos* : Angeli: qui thần: *diabos :*
        dœmones. . .
        (De Rhodes, 1991, p.741)

(6)   phân, một phân: *bŭ condorim* : pars argenti quæ romano
        bayoco æquiualet.
        (De Rhodes, 1991, p. 594)

As shown above, these intermediate Vietnamese glosses often provide context for the word (as in providing the classifier in no. 1) or information on usage (as in no. 2), rather than a non-sinoid gloss; in cases like (5), it also serves to differentiate the various sub-definitions of a word (i.e. *angelic* vs. *demonic* spirits). Thus we cannot claim with confidence that De Rhodes was actively or specifically defining a "highly formalized" status for Sino-Vietnamese words in his glossing techniques. While I agree with Alves that De Rhodes probably was, here and there, reflecting a register continuum crowned by a highly formal, sinicized vocabulary, it seems clear that many of the Chinese words identifiable today were not treated as such in the dictionary, and that

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[252] Note, *femel* is probably meant to be *semel* (Latin "one time, instance").

simultaneously, many of the words that were given a special glossing were in fact, done so for reasons other than delimiting their "formal" nature.

These facts all suggest that much of the Chinese vocabulary present today was not only present in the 17th century, but in an informal, unmarked way. Thus, rather than attributing the bulk of Sino-Vietnamese words to recent philological manufacturing, I suggest that many of the simplex morphemes that exist today were probably the result of Late Sino-Vietnamese borrowings that coexisted with non-sinoid forms from less sinicized quadrants of Vietnamese linguistic society (and may ultimately be attributed to Annamese Middle Chinese).

The second observation that Alves makes of De Rhodes is that evidence for Cantonese borrowing is quite limited, which Alves interprets as evidence for the relative unimportance of spoken bilingualism "after the first few centuries of Sino-Vietnamese contact" (Alves, 2009, p. 7). It is on these bases that Alves concludes that Sino-Vietnamese spoken bilingualism was really only a factor in Han-era (i.e. Early) Sino-Vietnamese loans, and in the limited examples of Cantonese borrowings that emerge in the contemporary period (ibid.). However, Alves' remark about Cantonese is only valid if Cantonese (and the other Yue languages) were the only possible spoken sources for Sino-Vietnamese.

But as we have already discussed at length in Chapter 4, LSV demonstrates several phonological features that must derive from a spoken language. The fact that that language was not proto-Yue does not contradict anything, especially since Yue is not the only possible source. Indeed, as the maps in Figures 1.1 and 4.2 show, the more plausible source for LSV is a southwestern variety (i.e. SWMC), and as discussed in 4.6, the donor of LSV (i.e. AMC) probably belonged to a broader dialect continuum whose modern descendents are represented by scattered and poorly described Southwestern Xiang, Pinghua and Northern Yue varieties. Thus, Alves' Cantonese-based argument evaporates once one admits that Yue is not the only—nor is it even the logical—donor of LSV.

In summary, evidence for the existence of AMC, combined with the adjustments to Alves' arguments pertaining to diglossia in De Rhodes' 1651 dictionary presented above, suggest that Middle Vietnamese demonstrated a number of sociolinguistic and topolectic varieties, some of which possesed LSV words that still bore non-Sinitic counterparts elsewhere. I completely agree with Alves that a powerful relexification occurred in early Modern Vietnamese, but I suggest that this relexification must be viewed as a combination of the production of neologisms such as Lê Đình Khẩn's *pure Han compound words* and *Sinographic Chinese words*, and the successive extirpation of non-metropolitan (i.e. sinicized) registers of Vietnamese in the wake of the early-modern expansion of state control, and that it does not account for the kind of commonly-used, simplex grammatical words seldom recognized as Sinitic, described in Table 6.4 above.[253] Rather, as argued in 4.7, these types of words reflect the adstratal effect of an obsolescent AMC on the set of pVM varieties to which its speaker population shifted.

6.3   Possible alternate prestige borrowings: Coda-Dropping, *Chongniu* and RSV

Another layer of Recent Sino-Vietnamese words may be determined by their opposition to or violation of certain regular *Hán-Việt* principles. The most salient and reliable of these, are the dentalization of *chongniu IV* bilabials, and the preservation of final codas. These words either do not demonstrate the dentalization of *chongniu IV* bilabials, or they lose their final stop codas, or both. As noted in Chapter 3 of my dissertation, the loss of final -p, -t, -k is a major feature of the northern branch of Chinese; however, some forms of Min also coda-drop, as do

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[253] Most notably, the flourishing of Nôm literature starting in the 18th century, and the foundation of the Nguyễn Dynasty at the dawn of the 19th century. For a discussion of this phase of "literarization" of Vietnamese (to borrow Pollock's term), see Chapter 6.

Wu languages, and since no modern form of Chinese expresses the kind of dentalization of *chongniu IV* bilabials as Sino-Vietnamese, the source of the Sino-Vietnamese forms discussed in this section is rather mysterious.

6.31   Unexpected Coda-Dropping

The loss of final -p, -t, -k is fairly simple: virtually all northern varieties of Chinese lose final -p, -t, and -k, whereas most southern varieties (exemplified by Cantonese and the Yue languages) maintain them.   This is illustrated quite easily by comparing Cantonese and Mandarin:

Table 6.6: Coda-dropping in Mandarin vs. Cantonese & Hán-Việt

#	字	Pīnyīn	Jyutping	Hán-Việt	Gloss
1.	立	lì	laap6	lập	stand, establish
2.	渴	kě	hot3	khát	thirsty, parched
3.	法	fǎ	faat3	pháp	law, regulation
4.	譯	yì	jik6	dịch	translate
5.	白	bái	baak6	bạch	white

As shown above, the Mandarin forms (in *Pīnyīn*) do not demonstrate any final -p, -t or -k, as opposed to the Cantonese (in *Jyutping*) and *Hán-Việt* (in *Quốc ngữ*), which regularly retain them.

Table 6.7: Maintained vs. Dropped Codas in Hán-Việt, with Mandarin and Cantonese for Comparison

#	字	Pīnyīn	Jyutping	Hán-Việt	Alt. SV	Gloss
1.	值	zhi2	zik6	trực	trị	price
2.	撅	jue1	kyut3	quyết/quyệt	quệ	protrude; snap
3.	栢	bai3	baak3	bách	bá	cypress; cedar
4.	楬	jie2	kit3	kiệt	kệ	tablet; signpost
5.	淅	xi1	sik1	tích	tý	water used to wash rice
6.	獗	jue2	kyut3	quyết	quệ	unruly, wild
7.	率	shuai4	seot1	suất	súy	to lead; ratio; limit
8.	織	zhi1	zik1	chức	chí	weave, knit; organize
9.	著	zhu4	zoek3	trước	trứ	manifest; wear
10.	質	zhi4	zat1	chất	chí	matter, material

In the cases above (with the exception of no. 6), the segmental and tonal material is consistent between the two forms and characteristic of non-Early Sino-Vietnamese. However, in the alternate forms, the coda has dropped. It is unclear what may have been the source for these forms; however, since they depart from Late Sino-Vietnamese in an innovative way, I have analyzed these as yet another form of *Recent* Sino-Vietnamese.

6.32   The "Non-Chongniu" Chongniu Doublets

As also discussed previously, Sino-Vietnamese famously demonstrates dentalized onsets for *chongniu IV* syllables with bilabial onsets. Recall the following examples (discussed in Chapter 4):

Table 6.8: Chongniu III/IV Pairs in Mandarin and HV[254]

#	字	Gloss	MC	Grade	Mandarin	HV
1.	秘	secret	pij^h	III	pi˥˩	ɓi˦˥
2.	庇	cover	pjij^h	IV	pi˥˩	ti˦˥
3.	貧	poor	bin	III	pin˧˥	ɓən˨˩
4.	嚬	frown	bjin	IV	pin˧˥	tən˨˩
5.	縻	ox halter	mje	III	mi˧˥	mi˧˥
6.	彌	extensive, full	mjie	IV	mi˧˥	zi˧˥
7.	岷	toponym	min	III	min˧˥	mən˧˥
8.	民	people, subjects	mjin	IV	min˧˥	zən˧˥

As shown above, the syllables in Grade *IV* in a *chongniu* pair demonstrate dental onsets instead of expected bilabial onsets, in Sino-Vietnamese. However, a number of alternate Sino-Vietnamese forms do not demonstrate this expected correspondence.

Table 6.9: Dentalized and Un-dentalized Chongniu IV Syllables in Sino-Vietnamese

#	字	Pīnyīn	Expected HV	Alternate SV	Gloss
1.	並	bìng	tính, tịnh	bính	equal to, side by side
2.	僄	piāo	tiêu	phiêu	light, airy
3.	岷	mín	dân	mân	name of mountain/river
4.	幷	bìng	tính	bính	combine
5.	摒	bìng	tính	bính	expel, cast off; arrange
6.	擗	pǐ	tích, tịch	phích	to beat the breast
7.	杪	miǎo	diểu	miểu	tip of twig; top of tree
8.	標	biāo	tiêu	phiêu	mark, symbol, sign; standard
9.	比	bǐ	tỉ, tị	bỉ	compare, liken
10.	毗	pì	tì	bì	help, assist; connect, adjoin
11.	泯	mǐn	dân	mẫn	destroy, eliminate; perish
12.	淼	miǎo	diểu	miểu	a wide expanse of water
13.	渺	miǎo	diểu	miểu	endlessly long; boundless
14.	癖	pǐ	tích	phích	craving, weakness for
15.	緬	miǎn	diễn	miễn, miến	distant, remote; think of
16.	緲	miǎo	diểu	miểu	indistinct, dim; minute; distant
17.	袂	mèi	duệ	mệ	sleeves
18.	鞞	bì	tất	bí	leather arm guard

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[254] Etyma taken from Jacques (2003).

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As shown in the "Alternate SV" forms above, a number of *Chongniu IV* etyma with bilabial onsets, expected to demonstrate dentalized *d-* or *t-* forms, also manifest doublet forms with unexpected bilabial onsets. Again, (with the exception of no. 11, and possibly 15), the tonal and other segmental material is consistent between the two forms, confirming that these are not ancient/ESV borrowings.

It may be possible to formulate an even more specific origin for these words. The fact that, with some important exceptions (並,比), most of the lexical items here are rather obscure mitigates the possibility that they were simply borrowed via colloquial (e.g. mercantile or migratory) contact between Vietnamese and Chinese speakers. Rather—and I admit that this is speculatory at this point—these may be the products of a new lineage of prestige forms introduced by northern Chinese during the Ming occupation of 1407-1427, which ultimately failed to supplant the older *Hán-Việt* reading tradition, but survived alongside these forms, freely alternating with them. However, if this is the case, the consistency of the tonal correspondences is actually surprising, since we would expect tonal approximations of the source language (rather than philological faithfulness to *Hán-Việt*).[255] One last possibility is that these represent another vestige of the literary register of AMC, which resisted the dentalization of *chongniu IV* bilabials when this transformed the colloquial register.

6.4   Reading mistakes

The early-modern Sino-Vietnamese dictionary known as the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* 指南玉音解意 (discussed at length in Chapter 7) demonstrates a number of examples wherein a

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[255] For a discussion of these topics, please see my article entitled "The Taming of the South: Bilingual Arguments for the Civilizing Power of Chữ Nôm in an Early-Modern Sino-Vietnamese Dictionary," forthcoming in *the Journal of Vietnamese Studies*.

given Chinese character is glossed (in *dŭrùo* style, "音 X") by simply duplicating the phonetic radical of the glossed character, whether or not it is a homonym for the word being glossed.

Table 6.10: Radical-based Glosses from the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*

#	Term	*Dŭruò* gloss	Meaning
1.	野燐	粦 : lân	will o' wisp
2.	水湄	眉 : mi	water margin
3.	X[256]雨	見 : kiến	when rain stops
4.	石矼	工 : công	sluice gate
5.	畧杓	勺 : thược	buoy

As shown above, all cases of glossing simply duplicate the body radical from the glossed character; however, only in nos. 1-2 are the body radicals actually homonyms of the glossed character. In nos. 4-5, a "correct" *Hán-Việt* reading persists today (*cang* and *dược* respectively) in contradistinction to the glosses given here. The point of these examples is to illustrate that in the Recent period, literate people were determining pronunciations for characters on a number bases, only one of which was the received "*Hán-Việt*" tradition. When confronted with words that were particularly obscure, or words which they otherwise simply did not know the pronunciation value of, literati would spontaneously assign readings of this (erroneous) kind, which may account for a number of alternations observable in surviving Sino-Vietnamese.

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[256] [雨] over two [見] side-by-side; Mandarin *xì* or *xī*: "when rain stops." See: *Hanyu dazidian* (1990), pp. 4080-4081.

Table 6.11: Examples of RSV Words derived from Reading Mistakes

#	字	Expected HV	Alternate Form	Confused with:		Gloss
1.	撚	niễn	nhiên	然	nhiên	twirl in fingers
2.	攏	lũng	long	龍	long	collect
3.	沸	phí	phất	弗	phất	boil, bubble up, gush
4.	浼	mỗi	miễn	免	miễn	ask a favor; contaminate
5.	笱	cú	cầu	句	câu	basket-trap for fish
6.	胝	chi	đê	氐	để	callous; corn (on foot)
7.	舐	thỉ	để	氏	để	lick with tongue
8.	虺	hủy	trùng	虫	trùng	a type of large, poisonous snake
9.	輸	thâu	du	俞	du	transport, haul
10.	鉑	bạc	bạch	白	bạch	platinum; thin sheet of metal
11.	摑	quách	quắc	國	quốc	to box the ears, slap
12.	茆	mao	lữu	柳	liễu	water mallows
13.	裸	lõa	khỏa	棵	khỏa	bare, nude; undress
14.	跟	cân	ngân	銀	ngân	heel; to follow, accompany
15.	輻	bức	phúc	福	phúc	spokes of a wheel

In cases 1-11 above, the confusion seems quite straightforwardly due to a reliance on the body radical (excepting no. 7, which appears to be a misreading of the body radical, and then a subsequent reliance on the result). Nos. 12-15 appear to be confusions with other prominent characters that share a body radical. Note also that the words in Table 22 are strikingly (though unsurprisingly) complex or obscure terms. This further supports the argument that in all cases above, the alternate forms appear to result from erroneous readings, and therefore can be regarded as *Recent* Sino-Vietnamese words since they must post-date the obsolescence of spoken AMC and the conventionalization of a literary HV reading tradition. They also interestingly suggest that exegetical resources may not have been readily available to provide orthodox rime studies guidelines for the calculation of these pronunciations. Mineya Tōru also suggested that Vietnamese intellectuals were not privy to riming literature (Mineya, 1972, p. 168). If not, then the consistency of HV in the centuries after the Annamese secession is a testament to the cohesiveness and durability of Sino-literary education in classical and early-modern Vietnam.

6.5   RSV and the new Vietnamese *Hyperglossia*

As shown in this chapter, contact with the Sinitic languages did not end with the obsolescence of AMC. However, whereas ESV represents intensive borrowing between Han and Jin forms of Sinitic and pVM, and LSV resulted from the adstratal effect of the AMC > pV(M) shift, RSV represents a collection of unsystematic and irregular loans from a variety of sources and mechanisms. The type of colloquial borrowings discussed in 6.1 are analogous to any number of loanwords in the world's languages brought about by casual sociolinguistic contact, from *sushi* and *pork* in English to *fakusu* ファックス ("fax machine") and *bakansu* バカンス ("vacation") in Japanese.

RSV neologisms are a different matter. These are more analogous to Greco-Latin intellectual vocabulary prevalent in European languages (e.g. *biology*, *capacity*, *tachyon*, etc.). More important than this comparison, these types of RSV are precisely analogous to the kinds of neologic production going on in early modern Korea and Japan (and as already noted, a number of these were in fact adapted from Sino-Japanese). This similarity is partly responsible for the great misconception that Sino-Vietnamese more generally resulted from the same processes as Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese. While I have spent the last five chapters disproving this position, there is perhaps a set of reasons more significant than the technical vocabulary of the 19th-20th century as to why this misconception arose.

In fact, the reason why Sino-Vietnamese appears so much like Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese is that, following the obsolescence of AMC, Vietnamese entered into a hyperglossic arrangement with its form of Literary Sinitic precisely analogous to the arrangements found in Korean and Japanese. That is to say, after the death of AMC, the spoken vernacular (Vietnamese) was partnered with a fossilized, literary language that was performed and perpetuated in an erudite setting. That language was, of course, *Hán-Việt*—or more accurately, *Hán văn* 漢文 (since we are now not speaking not of individual words, but an entire language

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and a literary tradition), and thus from a social and cultural point of view, *Hán văn* is exactly analogous to *Hanmun* and *Kanbun* in Korea and Japan. They were all, in fact, a single language: a single, cosmopolitan *literary language*, that connected elites from Edo to Hanoi in a vast intellectual network analogous to Sheldon Pollock's "Sanskrit Cosmopolis."

Alongside *Hanmun, Kanbun* and *Hán văn* (incidentally, all sinographically 漢文), we may include the various permutations of *wenyan* 文言 underlying the (by now) greatly diverse family of Sinitic languages. As discussed in Chapter 3, the concept of a cosmopolitan literary language began in the Sui and Tang, in part catalyzed by the revolutionary effects of the *Qieyun*. Following Pollock (2006), I have called the Chinese arrangement an internal, "diglossic" affair, and I have contrasted this with the hyperglossia of East Asian appropriations of Sinitic graphs and literature. The socialinguistic history of Vietnam lies somewhere in between Sinoxenic Korea and Japan on one side, and the diglossic arrangements of the Chinese languages on the other. That is because while AMC persisted, it persisted in diglossia. When AMC obsolesced, Vietnamese rose to replace it, entering into a hyperglossic partnership with the fossilized remains of both AMC registers (see Figure 4.2). Thus Vietnamese speakers inherited a diglossia, but this was compressed into a new hyperglossic condition analogous to the other Sinoxenic languages (i.e., the establishment of *Hán-Việt*). As the Sinitic-speaking past of the Vietnamese state grew further and further into the distance, the intellectual and cultural architecture of the Vietnamese language (together with its cosmopolitan partner) became increasingly similar to the Japanese and Korean cases. This is most clearly seen in the rise of the vernacular, and the emergence of a new literary tradition, not based on membership within a broader intellectual world, but interested in the peculiarity of the Vietnamese language itself. This process, through which both the lexical composition and the cultural and intellectual dimensions of the Vietnamese language were once again deeply impacted by Sinitic models, involves the development of the first graphical system to represent the Vietnamese language: the logographic script known as *Chữ Nôm.*

Chapter 7

Chữ Nôm and the Vernacular Horizon

7.0   Introduction

We have now accounted for the emergence of a Vietnamese language distinct from its pVM relatives, and also accounted for the two great layers of Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary that are evident in the modern language: ESV as the result of intensive Han and Jin contact, and LSV as the result of language shift and the adstratum effect of the obsolescence of AMC. We have also described some continuing forms of Sinitic borrowing, as well as the production of Sinitic neologisms, the whole diversity of which constitute RSV. However, Vietnamese as a multifaceted, cultural artifact would undergo at least one other major transformation in its history before arriving at the shape and complexion with which we recognize it today. That transformation involves the creation of a literary dimension for the language, and the production of an intellectual, aesthetic, and imaginitive register tied—not to Literary Sinitic—but to Vietnamese. This last process was also linked to the relexifications described last chapter, because as Vietnamese developed a literary form for itself, its major source of structures, themes, images and yes, words, was of course, Literary Sinitic.

For most of its history as a written language, Vietnamese took the form of the Chinese-based logographic script known as *Chữ Nôm* (𡨸喃, 𡦂喃, or 字喃). Like the Chinese script it mimics, Nôm occupies square graphemes designed to represent discrete morphosyllables in the language.[257] Not including some transliterated vernacular words in two Han-era texts, the earliest extant example of written Vietnamese appears to be two characters on a bronze bell from Vân Bản temple at Đồ Sơn (near present-day Haiphong City), possibly dated to the 11th century

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[257] The compatibility of such a graphemic architecture with the Vietnamese language will be addressed later in the study.

(Đào, 1975, pp. 1-14).[258] The characters read *"Ông Hà"* 翁河, and while both are Chinese words (meaning "Mr./Senior Ha"), they are recorded in Vietnamese word-order (with the modifier trailing). Nôm development over the next few centuries is slow, until an explosive increase in production following the 17th century. We have a conspiracy of circumanstial evidence for a vernacular poetic composition over the 13th-14th centuries, which nevertheless was confined by a proscribed, suboordinate relationship with Literary Sinitic. As noted last chapter, the vernacular appears to have gained some legitimacy during the short-lived Hồ Dynasty (1400-1407), during which its function as a pedagogical tool for mastering Literary Sinitic gained imperial recognition. However, vernacular practices—even of this limited species—were severely disrupted by the Ming conquest of Đại Việt (1407-1427), and the establishment of a strong Neo-Confucian intellectuality by the subsequent Lê Dynasty (1428-1778).

It was during this period—the 15th-16th centuries—when Buddhist intellectuals, disinherited from their traditional roles at the center of elite intellectuality, retreated to sector of society more responsive to vernacular modes of transmission (Taylor, 2002). During these centuries, vernacular production is quite limited, and of a distinctly buddhistic complexion, as exemplified by the accreted layers of texts like the *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh* 佛說大報父母恩重經 (hereafter, the *Phật thuyết*) and the *Cổ Châu pháp văn phật bản hành ngữ lục* 古州法雲佛本行語錄 (hereafter, the *Cổ Châu*). However, as classical (Sinitic) literacy eroded during the clan wars of the 16th-17th centuries, Nôm writing cultivated by subaltern literati continued to grow, to the point where intellectuals felt the need to reconceptualize the nature and function of Chữ Nôm. This required the reconciling of two intellectual worlds, social enclaves, and modes of expression: the orthodoxy of a Neo-Confucian court ruled by Literary Sinitic; and

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[258] Norman & Mei (1976) discuss Chinese transcriptions of "Yue" 越 words for "die" and "dog" in two separate Han-era texts: Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127-200) commentary to the *Rites of the Zhou* 周禮 and Xǔ Shèn's 許慎 (58-ca. 147) *Articulating Patterns and Explicating Characters* 說文解字 (Norman & Mei, 1976, pp. 277-280). According to Norman & Mei, Zheng Xuan transcribes the Yue word for "die" as 札 (Schoessler's Minimal Old Chinese *tsrêt; cf. modern Vietnamese *chết*), while the *Shuowen* transcribes the "Nanyue" 南越 word for "dog" as 獶獀 (Schuessler's *nû-sro*; cf. modern Vietnamese *chó*). Norman & Mei rely on Karlgren's reconstructions for these words, which are now outdated; I have replaced them with reconstructions from Schuessler (2007).

the heterodoxy of vernacularity nurtured by marginalized Buddhist intellectuals. The effort to fuse these two realms in order to expand the role of the vernacular is remarkably articulated in the prefaces to a 17th century Sino-Vietnamese dictionary entitled *Explication of the Guide to Jeweled Sounds* 指南玉音解義 (*Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*), which contains one preface written in Vietnamese (Nôm), and one preface written in Literary Sinitic. The *Chỉ nam* was produced at a crossroads in the history of vernacularization; it redefined the nature of Nôm so as to broaden the legitimate range of its expressiveness. In the two centuries that follow the dictionary's production, vernacular writing erupts across the Vietnamese literary scene, igniting the imagination of the intellectual elite with the possibilities of a new voice, expressive medium, and intellectual mode. Yet the rapid march of the vernacular to the avant-garde of literary imagination did not signify the retirement of Literary Sinitic. Indeed, it was in the contemplation of Literary Sinitic forms and content that the vernacular located its creative drive, and much of 18th-19th century literature is characterized by the playful and inventive adapation, subversion and transmutation of those models.

This brief history of the rise of the vernacular may be summarized as follows:

Figure 7.1: Summary of Vernacular Development with Key Texts
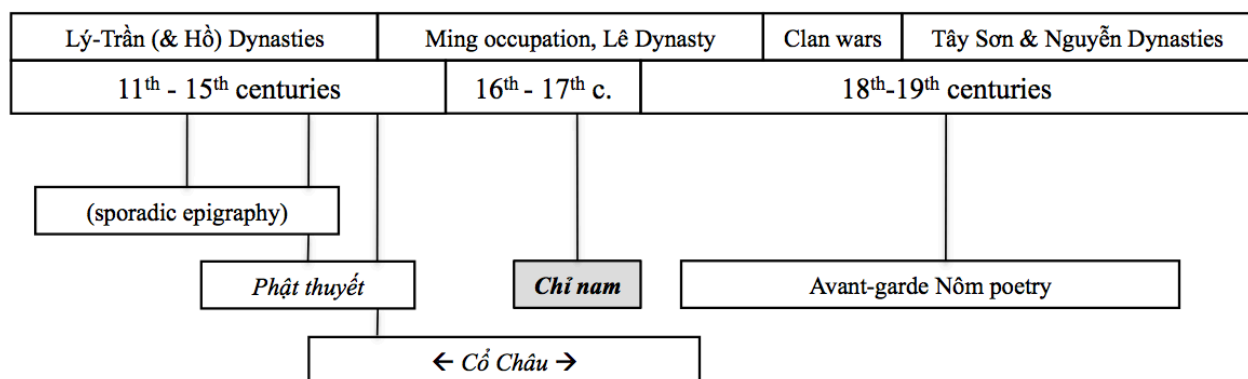
Throughout the entire history described in above, Vietnamese occupied a diglossic relationship with Literary Sinitic.   However, beginning with the *Chỉ Nam*, Literary Sinitic shared a complementary relationship with a literary form of Vietnamese, which drew enthusiastically from Literary Sinitic throughout its adolescence.   As indicated in 7.1, the *Chỉ Nam* occupies a distinctly transitional moment in the history of vernacular development, and provides a remarkable articulation of the paradigm shift required to get from the kind of vernacular writing found in pre-17th century literature to the type we see flourishing by the 18th-19th centuries.

Organization of the chapter:

The production of a literary dimension to the Vietnamese language was enabled by the cultivation of a writing script designed to represent Vietnamese speech (i.e. *Chữ Nôm*). Section 7.1 thus discusses the structure of Nôm and evidence for its use in pre 15th-century Vietnam, followed by a discussion of its cultivation by marginalized Buddhist intellectuals during the 16th and 17th centuries. Section 7.2 jumps forward in history to the 18th-19th centuries, and briefly discuss some representative examples of avant-garde Nôm poetry to provide a sense of how vernacular Nôm writing came to be used during its "golden age." Finally, in section 7.3 I will turn back to the watershed of the 17th century and engage in a close reading of the prefatory texts of the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa.*

> *Nota bene: I will use the accepted term "Literary Sinitic" to refer to Vietnam's classical literary language throughout this study. When referring to the Chinese script itself, I will follow Vietnamese scholarly usage, and use the term "Han" (cf. Viet. "Hán" 漢) in opposition to "Nôm (for Chữ Nôm).*

7.1   The structure, origin, and early uses of Nôm

As will be discussed below, there is a paucity of vernacular texts before the 15th century, despite a number of historical references to a vernacular tradition at this time. Furthermore, due to its unofficial and heterodox position in literary society, even texts produced after the 15th century are often poorly or inconsistently dated. Nevertheless, a few key texts demonstrate accreted redactive layers that stretch back to earlier stages of Nôm development. For that reason, it is important to grasp the basic graphemic structure of Nôm before visiting its origins and early uses.

7.11   Structure of Nôm

Unlike other forms of vernacular writing in East Asia, Chữ Nôm was never systematized. This was due to an extremely durable loyalty to Literary Sinitic: both the Hồ 胡 Dynasty (1400-1407) and the Tây Sơn 西山 Dynasty (1788-1802) attempted to expand the use of Nôm, but both dynasties were quickly overturned. In an 1867 petition to Nguyễn 阮 Dynasty (1802-1945) emperor Tự Đức 嗣德 (1829-1883) entitled *Eight Points to Aid in a Crisis* (*Tế cấp bát điều* 濟急 八條), 19th century literatus, Catholic, and reformist Nguyễn Trường Tộ 阮長祚 (ca. 1830-1871) also promoted a form of systematization for Nôm. In this petition, Nguyễn not only railed against what he considered a slavish and backward devotion to Literary Sinitic, but he also urged the court to establish a conventionalized (and imperially mandated) set of Han characters that would accurately and systematically represent vernacular speech.[259] This, Nguyễn believed, was needed to facilitate, expedite and broaden the Vietnamese educational system. Nguyễn called this theoretical system *Chinese Characters for the Nation's Sounds* (*Quốc âm Hán tự* 國音漢字).

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[259] Note that Nguyễn Trường Tộ desired not only a standardization of Nôm, but its transformation into a purely phonographic system.

However, Nguyễn's petition was rejected by the staunchly Confucian Tự Đức, and Nôm continued to be used –as it had been for centuries—without the benefit of a standard.

The absence of a standardized Nôm system means that any given text can (and certainly will) demonstrate a number of forms for the same word. Nevertheless, coherent principles governed the construction of these forms. Nôm is traditionally described as adhering to the Chinese graphemic principles known as the "six graphs" 六書.[260] These are: 1) 象形 (Viet. *tượng hình*), *pictographs*, such as "山" for "mountain;" 2) 指事 (Viet. *chỉ sự*) *simple indicatives* including diacritic manipulation of existing characters, such as 一, 二 and 三 for numerals 1-4, or 木 ("tree") + 一 = 本 ("root"); 3) 會意 (Viet. *hội ý*), *semantic compounds* (sometimes called *compound indicatives*), which combine the semantics of two graphs to create a new graph, as in 林 (two 木 or "trees" side-by-side) for "forest;" 4) 假借 (Viet. *giả tả*), *phonographic* characters (i.e. rebus borrowings based only on pronunciation), as in 才 meaning "talent," from the character for a homonymic word meaning "sprout;" 5) 形聲 (Viet. *hình thanh*) *semantosyllabic* characters, which again encode both semantic and pronunciational information, such as 氵 (meaning "water") + 可 (Old Chinese *khâiʔ) = 河 (meaning "river," Old Chinese *gâi); and 6) 轉注 (Viet. *chuyển chú*), *diacritized* (or *derived*) *characters*, which are characters whose forms have been altered to indicate etymological divergences, as in 老 ("old") and 考 ("test"), which share an etymological root.[261]

One of the earliest extant characterizations of Nôm in terms of the *six graphs* was made by 18th century literatus and revolutionary Ngô Thì Nhậm 吳時任 (1746-1803), who, in his preface to a Sino-Vietnamese primer stated that Nôm, like all (civilized) writing, followed the *six graphs*. The importance of conceiving of Nôm as governed by the *six graphs* was expressed succinctly by Đào Duy Anh (1975) when he wrote: "[a]ll classical scholars of our nation from the past to present have agreed that our Chữ Nôm imitates the *six graphs* … of China and was

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[260] Systematized by Xǔ Shèn's 許慎 (58-ca. 147) in the *Shuōwén Jiězì* in the early 2nd century.
[261] Old Chinese forms taken from Schuessler (2007).

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created based on Chinese characters" (Đào, *Chữ nôm: Nguồn gốc, cấu tạo, diễn biến*, 1975, p. 59).[262] Nevertheless, the habit of referencing the *six graphs* in discussions of Nôm reflects a cultural preference for identifying Nôm as a relative of the Han script more than its accuracy and appropriateness as a model for vernacular graphemics (something that will be discussed at length in section 3).

In fact, the privileging of a *six graphs* conceptualization of Nôm generates some important consequences. Most critically, it ignores the fact that Nôm is an adaptation of another writing system and thus does not capture effects of graphemic borrowing. For this reason, Nguyễn Tài Cẩn & N.V. Xtankevich (1976; reprinted 1985) presented a typology of Nôm based not only on its graphemic architecture, but on its loan strategy. I have replicated their typology below, and have given each type a descriptor for the sake of convenience:

<div style="text-align:center">

NGUYỄN-XTANKEVICH (1976) TYPOLOGY OF CHỮ NÔM CHARACTERS[263]

</div>

A.   Wholesale (graph + lexeme) borrowing:
     A1: Wholesale loans with orthodox Sino-Vietnamese readings
         - 符 ("amulet") for Viet. *phù* ("amulet")
     A2: Wholesale loans with unorthodox Sino-Vietnamese readings
         - 符 ("amulet") for Viet. *bùa* ("amulet")

B.   Semantic borrowings:
         - 斧 ("axe") for Viet. *búa* ("axe")[264]

C.   Phonographic borrowing (i.e. *giả tả* 假借):
     C1: Phonographic borrowings based on orthodox Sino-Vietnamese
         - 沒 (neg.) for Viet. *một* ("one"); cf. orthodox Sino-Viet. *một*
     C2: Phonographic borrowings with altered readings
         - 別 ("separate") for Viet. *biết* ("to know"); cf. orthodox Sino-Viet. *biệt*

D.   Diacritized characters (i.e. *chuyển chú* 轉注):
         - 其 (minus bottom-left stroke) for Viet. *khà* ("sigh; snort")[265]

Đ.   Syllabo-alphabetic characters
         - 巴 + 賴 for (Middle) Viet. *blái* ("fruit")[266]

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[262] Original: "Các nhà nho học nước ta từ trước đến nay đều cho rằng chữ Nôm của ta là phỏng theo lục thư … của Trung-quốc và căn cứ vào chữ Hán mà tạo thành."

[263] For the sake of consistency, I have replicated Nguyễn & Xtankevich's lettering system here, which follows the Vietnamese alphabet. Please note the differences with English (A, B, C, D, **Đ, E, G**).

[264] This example, as discussed below, is not properly correct, but actually represents another case of A2-type borrowing.

[265] Nguyễn & Xtankevich divide this category up into two: those characters with a diacritic added, and those (as in the example cited) which remove a stroke to indicate that the character is a vernacular word.

E.	Semantic compounds (i.e. *hội ý* 會意)
- 天 + 上 for Viet. *trời* ("heaven")[267]
G.	Semantosyllabic characters (i.e. *hình thanh* 形聲)
- ⁺⁺ + 古 (= 苦) for Viet. *cỏ* ("grass")[268]

What Nguyễn & Xtankevich describe as 'orthodox' (lit. "correct," Viet. *đúng*) Sino-Vietnamese readings refers to the fossilized remains the AMC-pVM diglossic system described in 4.7, and essentialy correspond to LSV/HV. As will be discussed below, the basic phonological stock for Nôm is LSV/HV.   However, in cases like (A2) above, the "unorthodox" Sino-Vietnamese reading actually derives from an ESV pronunciation.   This does not mean that ESV pronunciations constituted a regular alternative to "orthodox" LSV/HV values in the production of Nôm; rather, it means that in some cases the etymological linkage between an ESV loanword and its Chinese character was still transparent enough for intellectuals to "short-cut" Nôm writing by simply using the original graph.   There are also many cases where an A2-type Nôm graph represents a native (i.e. non-borrowed) word.   While departing from the strict form of the LSV syllabic value, they do not appear to be systematically relying on ESV values either.   These are probably cases of relying on LSV syllabic values that are close enough to trigger the right native word, but since the syllabic inventory of Middle Vietnamese was quite different from LSV, such discrepancies were unavoidable.   The A2-type also applies to type B above, since Viet. *búa* can be shown to be etymologically derived from Late Han **pua^B* (斧). Nguyễn & Xtankevich state that type B (which would correspond to Japanese *kun'yomi* readings of Chinese characters) is one of the rarest forms of Nôm, and that many examples claimed to be semantically-based in this way, as in the case cited here, actually result from the obfuscation of the Chinese cognacy (Nguyễn T. C., 1985, pp. 55; 83, note 11).   Type Đ is of special note

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[266] The Nôm character stacks 巴 directly on top of 賴 to create a single, square character.

[267] As in the example from E, the Nôm character here stacks 天 directly on top of 上 to create a single, square character.

[268] Because this character actually exists in the Chinese inventory with a similar pronunciation (and meaning "bitter"), this example could also be analyzed as a phonographic character. The variance in the onset (it is aspirated in Chinese) discourages this interpretation however, and at any rate, the character operates perfectly as a semantosyllabic construction.

because it attempts to represent segmental information, which is finer than the otherwise syllabic-style writing.   These also represent an earlier stage in Vietnamese phonological development, during which the language demonstrated complex consonant clusters such as *bl-, kl-, tl-* (we will return to this form of Nôm later in the study).

As can be seen by the typology above, the only *six graphs* categories that are really relevant to Nôm are phonographic (i.e. *giả tả* 假借) characters, semantosyllabic (*hình thanh* 形聲) characters, and to a far lesser degree, semantic compounds (*hội ý* 會意) and diacritized (*chuyển chú* 轉注) characters.   Far and away the most common types of characters are phonographic characters, followed at quite a distance by semantosyllabic characters.   The default form of Nôm representation in its earliest stages appears to have been rebus-based, or phonographic.   However, phonographic characters—especially commonly-used characters—tend to be supplemented with semantic elements in later texts, such that formerly phonographic characters (like 南 for *năm*, "year;" 巴 for *ba*, "three;" and 昆 for *con*, "child") are eventually replaced with semantosyllabic forms (as in 年 + 南 for *năm*, "year;" 三 + 巴 for *ba*, "three;" and 子 + 昆 for *con*, "child").   Thus, earlier forms of Nôm tend to demonstrate greater numbers of phonographic characters, while later forms of Nôm tend to demonstrate fewer numbers of phonographic characters (in favor of semantosyllabic characters).   For this reason, a number of scholars have tried to use phonographic/semantosyllabic ratios in the character inventories of a given text (or portion of a text) to try and determine its chronology (see Đao D.A., 1975, Lê V.Q., 19 Trần, Lê, 1981; and Trần Thị, N.L., 1985 for examples).[269]   Perhaps more significantly, this graphemic development demonstrates an intellectual preference for semantosyllabic characters as more fully formed than their phonographic counterparts, an attitude that plays an important role in the arguments presented in the prefaces to the *Chỉ nam* (discussed in 7.3 below).

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[269] In lexicographic dating of this kind, it is extremely important to control for type A (i.e. wholesale loan) characters, since these loangraphs do not represent vernacular creations and thus cannot be counted as reflecting changes in Nôm formation (whatever their native graphemic construction). This methodology (and its restrictions) plays an important role in the dating of the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*, discussed in Section 2.

7.12 Origins of Nôm

Virtually all extant Nôm publications post-date the 15th century. It is a commonly held view that the Ming Dynasty annexation of Vietnam (1407-1427) led to the removal or destruction of the great majority of pre-15th century literature, including any vernacular texts.[270] Although the effects of the Ming occupation are prone to inflation, there are some indications that literary works—especially concerning Vietnamese history—were sought out and collected by Ming officials. The Lê 黎 Dynasty (1428-1778) historical chronicles called the *Complete Records of the Historical Annals of Đại Việt* 大越世紀全書 (Viet. *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*; hereafter, ĐVSKTT) notes that in the 7th lunar month of the year *mậu tuất* 戊戌 (1418), the Ming court "dispatched the courier Xia Qing 夏清 and the metropolitan graduate Xia Shi 夏詩 to come and collect works and records of our country from past to present" (ĐVSKTT, 10.3b).[271]

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[270] The idea that a Ming-sponsored vandalism or theft explains the paucity of Vietnamese literature before the 15th century can be found in a number of historical studies on Vietnam. Nguyễn Khắc Viện (2009; originally published in French in 1976) rather exuberantly claims that "Ming troops sought to destroy all traces of our nation's culture; they burnt or took away books that were specifically Vietnamese" (Nguyễn, K.V., 2009, p. 72). Huỳnh Sanh Thông (1996) also levies the same accusation, writing: "Unfortunately, all such [vernacular] works were lost in the early part of the fifteenth century; during that holocaust, the Ming occupation, the avowed policy of the Chinese emperor Ch'eng-tsu was to destroy Vietnamese culture through book burning and other means" (Hùynh, S.T., 1996, p. 6). Trần Trọng Kim (1921, 7th edition reprinted in 1971) also mentioned such an event in his *Summary of Vietnamese History* (*Việt-nam sử lược*), the first vernacular history of Vietnam composed in the alphabet (Trần, T. K., 1964, p. 199). Alexander Woodside also notes this in his influential *Vietnam & the Chinese Model*, where he mentions three titles supposedly lost at this time; these are: the Lý Dynasty *Book of Justice* 刑書 (Viet. *Hình Thư*), the Trần Dynasty *Comprehensive Rites of the Royal Court* 國朝通禮 (Viet. *Quốc triều thông lễ*) and *Statutes of the Trần Court* 陳朝大典 (Viet. *Trần triều đại điển*) (Woodside, 1971, p. 125). William Nienhauser also replicated this claim in his article on "Chinese as a Literary Language-Vietnam," in the *Indiana Companion to Chinese Literature* (Nienhauser, 1986, p. 298). While (as discussed above) there are not insubstantial historical indications of the Ming removal of books at this time, the notion was greatly amplified by the national sentiments of the 20th century. The idea of Ming vandalism has become an important cornerstone in the national mythos of the Vietnamese, and has generated firm belief in an ambiguously defined (but always extensive) library of lost works. There does not appear to be any documentable evidence of intentional destruction, though (as noted above) the collection of works on Vietnamese history is explicitly noted, and there are multiple references in the Lê chronicles to literary works (in both Vietnamese and Literary Sinitic) from the 14th century that are now lost. In personal communications, Dr. Keith Taylor has also pointed out the fact that the Cham invasions of 1370-1390, during which Thăng Long was plundered several times, may have played a role in the loss of pre-15th century texts, though these wars are never mentioned in these discourses.

[271] " 秋，七月，明遣行人夏清，進士夏時，來取我國古今事跡志書。" Though Ngô Sĩ Liên completed his history in 1479, it was expanded to include the later Lê emperors and republished several times. The 1697 edition, referred to as the *Grand Secretariat Edition* (*Nội các quan bản* 內閣官本) or the *Chính Hoà* 正和 Edition (after its reign title), which survives in is now the most widely used. The ĐVSKTT drew largely on an earlier work by Trần Dynasty Confucian scholar Lê Văn Hưu 黎文休 (1230-1322), called the *"Historical Records of Đại Việt"* (*Đại Việt sử ký* 大越史記), completed in 1272.

However, there is no mention of their number or linguistic composition, nor of their destruction or removal from Vietnam.[272] There is some evidence for actual texts that may have been lost at this time, however.[273] For example, another chronicle entitled the *Historical Records of the Viet* (*Việt sử lược* 越史略) is a late 14th century history focusing on the Lý 李 Dynasty (1009-1225) included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 but conspicuously absent from Vietnamese collections— even as a title. Keith Taylor (1986) argued that this text was in fact the same as a document known from Vietnamese sources as *A Detailed Sketch of Viet History* (*Việt sử cương mục* 越史綱目), attributed to Hồ Tông Thốc 胡宗簇 (14th century), but stripped of commentary possibly unpalatable for Chinese readers (Taylor, 1986, p. 50). Regarding the *A Detailed Sketch*, Ngô Sĩ Liên 吳士連 (author of the ĐVSKTT) states that "after the fires of war, this book was not transmitted, and thus assembling a complete set [of it] has become difficult" (ĐVSKTT, 1:1b-2a).[274] Ngô goes on to describe how Emperor Lê Thánh Tông 黎聖宗 (i.e. Lê Tư Thành 黎思誠, 1442-1497) sought out any surviving texts or unofficial histories (野史) held in private collections, but that by the time Ngô himself had served in the Junior Compilers (史院) of the Hàn Lâm (翰林) Academy, *A Detailed Sketch* was nowhere to be found (ĐVSKTT, 1:2b).[275] Thus as Taylor (1986) argued, it is quite likely that *A Detailed Sketch* was among those texts

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The Nguyễn Dynasty historian Quốc Sử Quán 國史館 (19th century) provided an account of the Ming removal of books in his *Officially Mandated Detailed Sketch of the Comprehensive Mirror of Viet History* 欽定越史通鑑綱目 (*Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục*) that differs slightly from what is found in the earlier ĐVSKTT. In his *Detailed Sketch*, Quốc Sử Quán claims that in 1419 (compare with 1418, in the ĐVSKTT), all manner of literature pertaining to the kingdom since the Trần Dynasty were seized and taken to Jinling 金陵 (Viet. Kim Lăng; modern-day Nanjing) (Quốc, S. Q., 1884, republished 1998, p. 765).

[272] The ĐVSKTT does note several cases of what appears to have been a broad movement of social reform initiated by the Ming, including the establishment of Confucian temples in all districts, the regulation of sacrifices for all local geomantic spirits, the enforcement of northern hair and dress codes, and the opening of schools and general summons for all Confucian scholars, medical doctors, physiognomers, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests (all in 1414; see p. 25B of the Chính Hoà edition). The ĐVSKTT does mention that in the following year (1415), the Ming ordered imperial officials to forcefully escort groups of Confucian scholars, medical doctors, physiognomers, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests back to Yanjing (燕京, i.e. Beijing) to be given official duties and redistributed for work among the various mandarinates (p. 26b). Thus it is possible that some removal or even destruction of texts took place, but I do not know of any direct evidence for such an event.

[273] See note 14.

[274] "然而兵火之後，其書不傳，蓋成之至難。"

[275] Ngô wrote: "臣前在史院，而其書已上進藏之東閣，莫得之見。" The "Eastern Pavilion" (東閣) was a Ming Dynasty term for an arm of the "School of the Sons of State" (國子監).

concerning Annam that the Ming deliberately collected in 1414, and was subsequently carried away, redacted and finally renamed *Historical Records of the Việt* (*Việt sử lược*).

There is no comparable evidence for the loss of any vernacular texts, at least to date. However, there are several historical references to early vernacular writing, especially during the Trần 陳 Dynasty (1225-1400). These include a reference to the beginning of a tradition of composing vernacular rhapsodies, some poems from later publications attributed to a Trần emperor, mention of the translation of parts of the *Book of Songs* and *Book of History*, as well as a few anecdotes featuring the composition of vernacular poetry (all discussed in the section on *Early Nôm* below).

Vietnamese philologists have also pointed to the supposedly 15th century publication of a set of vernacular poems to indicate that Nôm was already well-developed and functioning by that time. The anthology, entitled *Collected Poems in the Kingdom's Speech* 國音詩集 (Viet. *Quốc âm thi tập*) and attributed to celebrated Lê statesman Nguyễn Trãi 阮廌 (1380-1442), includes over 250 vernacular poems of mixed styles, ranging from orthodox regulated verse (*luật thi* 律詩) to six-syllable folk meters. However, the anthology survives only as part of a collected works published in 1868. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that Nguyễn Trãi produced at least some of the vernacular poetry preserved thus; we also have another anthology from the 15th century entitled the *Hồng Đức Collection of Poems in the Kingdom's Speech* 洪德國音詩集 (Viet. *Hồng Đức Quốc âm thi tập*), which includes 328 poems written according to four different themes (*heaven & earth, historical figures, scenery, nature*) plus a fifth miscellaneous category. This second anthology is thought to have been produced during the titular *Hồng Đức* period (1470-1497) of Emperor Lê Thánh Tông (mentioned above), and includes works attributed to poets who would join the Tao Đàn 騷壇 literary association in 1495, thus suggesting a late 15th century date (Đỗ, Nguyễn, Phùng, & Trần, 2004, p. 653).[276]

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[276] The dating of the surviving edition (manuscript AB.292 in the Hán-Nôm Institute collection) is unclear.

If Nôm was already a working system by the early 15th century, then the question to ask is: *when* exactly did such a system emerge? Scholars have accordingly generated a broad range of theories, with some inevitably reaching back to the legendary Hùng Kings of the 1st millennium BCE. Credible theories, however, mostly fall into two camps: 1) Nôm developed over the course of the Chinese imperial era (Han through Tang dynasties); and 2) Nôm developed after the establishment of an independent polity in the area of the Red River Plain (i.e. post-10th century).

Adherents to the first theory often attribute the creation of vernacular characters to Shi Xie 士燮 (Viet. *Sĩ Nhiếp*: 137-226)—the well-loved Han administrator, who governed Jiao in relative autonomy in the 3rd century (see Chapter 2). This idea is largely informed by the text that is the focus of this study, the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*, which provides the earliest extant commentary on the history of Nôm. Both prefaces to the *Chỉ nam* pause to eulogize the sagely rule of Shi Xie and attribute him with composing a guide to southern songs and customs called the *Guide to Collected Works* (*Chỉ nam phẩm vị* 指南品彙).[277] Shi Xie is also traditionally described as a great erudite and scholar, as well as deeply loved by the people of his jurisdiction (ĐVSKTT, 3.10b-11a; see also VĐULT under *sovereigns*). This reputation combined with the supposed existence of the *Guide to Collected Works* (which is thought to have employed some kind of glossing for the vernacular) have led some to believe that Shi Xie created the first system of Nôm for pedagogical or exegetical purposes.

The idea that Nôm developed as a pedagogical tool to decode Literary Sinitic is quite plausible; however, the *Collected Works* is known only by title, and there is no documented evidence for any kind of vernacular glossing or notation before the 2nd millennium. [278]

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[277] Discussed briefly in Chapter 2. This (lost) work is claimed as the basis for the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* itself, and the dictionary is thus presented as an "explication" (*giải nghĩa* 解義) of Shi Xie's book.

[278] There is circumstantial evidence indicating some representation of vernacular words during the 1st millennium, such as the posthumous title awarded to the 8th century Annamese rebel commander Phùng Hưng 馮興 (died 789), (*Vua cả đại vương*) discussed earlier, of which the first two characters (*bố cái*) represent the 8th century vernacular words "great" (*cả*) and "king" (*vua*), while *đại vương* = 大王. The text in which this title is discussed, the *Việt điện u linh tập* (越甸幽靈集, published in 1329 and written in Literary Sinitic), explains the title by stating that

Furthermore, the idea of a 2nd century origin for Nôm was disproven on phonological grounds by Nguyễn Tài Cẩn in his 1971 "Phonological Data and issues of the Era of Production of Chữ Nôm" (*Cư liệu âm lịch sử với vấn đề thời kỳ xuất hiện của chữ Nôm*), and a supplemental published in the following year (reprinted in Nguyễn, 1985, pp. 86-138). Nguyễn showed that Nôm was essentially built from a preexisting system of character pronunciations best preserved by the *Hán-Việt* orthodoxy, and which critically only took shape toward the end of the 1st millennium. While earlier forms or vernacular writing may have existed before Nôm, the fact that Nôm itself relies on HV values for cenemic representation precludes its existence before the fossilization of LSV, which we have established as occurring sometime over the Lý Dynasty (i.e. even later than Nguyễn proposed).[279]

There are some possible cases during the 1st millennium of place names or personal names being recorded using Chinese characters in rebus-fashion, and a competing notion has arisen that Nôm evolved during Chinese rule as a means to facilitate bureaucratic administration (Nguyễn D. H., 2005, p. 81). However, as Nguyễn Quang Hồng (2008) pointed out succinctly, scattered examples of transliterated names (which should not be interpreted as representing a widespread system) are of a completely different order than a functioning, systematic method of writing the vernacular (Nguyễn Q. H., Khái luận văn tự học Chữ Nôm, 2008, pp. 121-122). There is no reason to believe that these transliterations represent an underlying system, and indeed, these practices continued long after the production of mature Nôm texts, as can be seen in the Ming Interpreters Institute (各國通事) glossaries called the *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語, in

"according to local usage, father was called *bố* and mother was called *cái*" (*VDULT*, p. 6). However, as already discussed, Keith Taylor has made the convincing claim that this is a folk etymology, and that the correct transcription of the first two characters should be *vua cả* rather than *bố cái*. The term has been discussed a number of times as an early example of Nôm, including Đào D.A. (1975, p. 42), Nguyễn T.C. (1985, p. 35), and Taylor (1985, p. 204; 1986, p. 10). For a translation of the *Việt điện u linh tập*, please Lý (1999).

[279] For an excellent review of various claims on the origins of Nôm, please see Nguyễn Q.H. (2008), pp. 117-127. Nguyễn more or less adheres to the possibility of an 8th-10th century origin for HV, but this is simply reflects a his careful use of LMC sound-changes to bracket the possible span of time.

which early 17th century Middle Vietnamese words are transliterated using Chinese characters.[280] What is important about these practices is the establishment of a habit of appropriating Chinese characters for recording the vernacular—but that is not the same thing as creating a *system* for composing in the vernacular.

Most scholars now assume that Nôm was formed sometime near to or following the disintegration of Tang control in the region, using the fossilized phonological materials of a form of late-Tang Chinese (i.e. the second theoretical camp listed above). The issue remains of how to characterize the gulf of textuality between the establishment of a *Hán-Việt* pronunciation system and the full-blown (if comparatively unsophsiticated) writing system attested by the mid 15th century.

7.14 Early Nôm

Nguyễn Quang Hồng (2008) proposed three stages in the initial development of Nôm to bridge this gap (Nguyễn Q. H., Khái luận văn tự học Chữ Nôm, 2008, p. 126):

1) Germination (*giai đoạn manh nha*): 8th-11th centuries;

2) Formation (*giai đoạn thành hình*): 11th-13th century; and

3) Coalescence (*giai đoạn hoàn chỉnh*): 13th-15th century

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[280] This text is not to be confused with Qoninči's (Huǒ Yuánjiē 火源潔 ca.1376-ca.1394) original Mongolian-Chinese dictionary, of the same name (presented to the Ming court in 1389). The early 17th century *Huayi yiyu* (actually named after the original Sino-Mongolian *Huayi yiyu*) is a collection of glossaries for commonly used words designed to support diplomatic missions, and includes wordlists for Korean, Ryukuan, Japanese, Annamese (Vietnamese), Cham, Tartar, Siamese (Thai), Uighur, Tibetan, Persian, Malaccan, Jurchen, and Baiyi. The Vietnamese glossary is usually specifically referred to as the *An Nam dịch ngữ* 安南譯語. The dictionary has been well-studied as a source for Middle Vietnamese (and early Mandarin), and has also been the focus of several lengthy studies including early work by Leóard Aurousseau (1912) and Émile Gaspardone (1953), as well as later work by Jeremy Davidson (1975) and a full book by Vương Lộc (1995).

Nguyễn Quang Hồng's model characterization is a convenient way to organize the evidence for early Nôm, and I will use his scheme to discuss what indications we have for a vernacular tradition before the 15th century.

Germination

Despite his reservations about isolated transliterations interspersed within Literary Sinitic texts, Nguyễn places instances of this type in the first stage. For our purposes as well, this stage is only relevant for having established a precedent for using Chinese characters in a rebus-fashion, and does not really evince a functioning writing system. There are a few key examples of this kind of unsystematic rendering of the vernacular, all from epigraphic texts. We have already mentioned the two characters *Ông Hà* 翁河 arranged in vernacular syntactic order on the 11th century Vân Bản temple bell. There is also the notable example of 20-odd vernacular characters interspersed within the Literary Sinitic text of a stele found at Tháp Miếu Temple (present-day Phú Thọ Province). The text is entitled *Inscribed Record of the Thien* [Zen] *Temple of Bao An* (*Báo ân thiền tự bi ký* 報恩禪寺碑記) and is dated to the year 1210 (Đào, 1975, pp. 14-18). The stele includes vernacular terms of address, such as multiple instances of Viet. *thằng* (for males) written as 尚 (phonographic, from LSV *thượng*). The stele also includes several vernacular place names like "Bơi Điền" X田 ("Swimfield"), in which X = "bơi" ("swim-"), and is written with a semantosyllabic character combining 氵with 悲 (LSV *bi*). The existence of semantosyllabic characters suggests principled Nôm character production already active by the early 13th century, and provides strong indication of Nguyễn Quang Hồng's "germination" stage of Nôm graphemic development.

These two instances are followed by a well-known stele at Hồ Thành 護城 Mountain dated to 1343, which contains 11 common vernacular words and 18 personal and place names (Shimizu, Lê, & Shiro, 1998, p. 1). These include monosyllabic words like *một* ("one;"

phonographic: 沒) and *bạn* ("footpath between rice fields;" phonographic: 伴), but also a number of syllabically complex place and personal names, such as *Cá-ni* (个尼 ; personal name) and *A-châm* (阿砧; place name)—a kind of subspecies of what Nguyễn Tài Cẩn & N.V. Xtankevich (1976) labeled "type Đ" (i.e. syllabo-alphabetic) characters (Shimizu, Lê, & Shiro, 1998, pp. 171-172). These multisyllabic renderings, however, take up more than one character block and so are actually in violation of the otherwise relatively strict logographic principle of Nôm.

The sparseness of these examples combined with the fact that they are all interspersed within Literary Sinitic texts supports the notion that these are isolated, unsystematic renderings rather than survivors of a thriving tradition. Nevertheless, they do show that the paradigmatic restriction of writing to Literary Sinitic had been breached, and a habit of rendering vernacular words was forming. In fact, Shimizu, et al. (1998) showed that the characters used to represent four presyllables (*pə-, *tə-, *kə-, and *a-) in the Hồ Thành stele are relatively consistent with those used to transcribe the same presyllables in the Buddhist sutra *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh* 佛說大報父母恩重經, the latest layers of which date to the 15th century (Shimizu, Lê, & Shiro, 1998, p. 174; Shimizu, 1996).[281] This suggests a direct link between the representational habits of these scattered instances and full-blown Nôm texts composed later.

Formation

Nguyễn Quang Hồng dates his second stage to the establishment of the Lý 李 Dynasty (1009-1225), which constituted the region's first stable polity since Tang rule. Nguyễn Quang Hồng characterizes this stage by the desire to write the vernacular in daily operations, and chiefly by the urge to decode and transmit Buddhist texts (Nguyễn Q. H., Khái luận văn tự học Chữ Nôm, 2008, p. 126). Nguyễn's chief example is the Buddhist sutra known as the *Phật thuyết đại*

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[281] As noted earlier, Nguyễn Quang Hồng believes that the oldest layers of the text may be dated to the 12th century (Nguyễn, Q.H., 2008, p. 144). I will discuss this in greater detail below.

báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh 佛說大報父母恩重經. As previously noted, the text has been dated to the 15th century, notably by Shimizu Masāki (1996, 2008, pp. 2-3); however, Nguyễn contends that the earliest form of the text must have been produced no later than the mid 12th century (ibid.).[282]

Because of the importance of the *Phật thuyết* as one of the earliest substantive examples of Nôm, it is worthwhile to pause here and review the controversy over its dating, as well as some unique features of its vernacular graphemics. Both Shimizu (1996, 2008) and Nguyễn (2008) discuss the presence of archaic consonant clusters and/or minor syllables phonographically rendered either by a prefixed character (in a two-character compound) or by combining two characters into a single grapheme.

Compound phonographic characters:[283]

-阿計: HV *a-kế* > Modern Viet. *gầy*
-巴低: HV *ba-đê* > Modern Viet. *để*
-多本: HV *đa-bản* > Modern Viet. *bản*
-可如: HV *khả-nhữ* > Modern Viet. *nhớ*
-麻吝: HV *ma-lận* > Modern Viet. *giận*

Combined (syllabo-alphabetic) phonographic characters[284]

-阿 + 路: HV *a + lộ* > Modern Viet. *lò* (top + bottom)
-來 + 巴: HV *ba + lai* > Modern Viet. *vai* (left + right)
-巴 + 低: HV *ba + đê* > Modern Viet. *để* (top + bottom)
-巴 + 例: HV *ba + lệ* > Modern Viet. *trời* (top + bottom)

As already noted, there is some consistency between presyllabic rendering (i.e. compound characters) and those characters found in the Hồ Thành stele. Nguyễn Quang Hồng further argues that Nôm of this complex phonographic nature is quite different from the kind of Nôm

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[282] Shimizu came to this conclusion by comparing the images contained within the text with the images in the Korean and Japanese versions, as well as performing a phonological analysis of the Nôm in the sutra. See Shimizu (1996), pp. 83-104. See also an update of this work entitled "A Phonological Reconstruction of 15th Century Vietnamese using Chữ Nôm Materials," presented at the 2010 Conference on Vietnamese & Taiwanese Studies, held at National Cheng Kung University. Like the *Cổ Châu pháp văn phật bản hành ngữ lục* 古州法雲佛本行語錄 discussed earlier, there is evidence for accretive layers in this text, and the dates offered by Shimizu and Nguyễn—though differing in some 300 years—are not necessarily mutually exclusive.
[283] Examples taken from Nguyễn (2008), pp. 132-135.
[284] Examples taken from Nguyễn (2008), pp. 135-136.

found in Nguyễn Trãi's *Collected Songs in the Kingdom's Speech* (15th century), which suggests an earlier dating (Nguyễn Q. H., 2008, p. 139). Nguyễn further cites the use of the characters 閩 閩 to render Vietnamese *dần dần* ("gradually"), which is quite significant due to the fact that—contrary to expectation—the character (閩) is not a *chongniu IV* word, and thus should not condition a palatalized initial in the Vietnamese form (Nguyễn Q. H., 2008, p. 143).[285] This suggests that the palatalization of labial onsets in *chongniu IV* words must have been ongoing at this time. In other words, the *Phật thuyết* use of characters 閩閩 for Viet. *dần dần* suggests that the change was still in process, in turn supporting an earlier date for the production of the sutra's Nôm text.

On the other hand, Shimizu (2010) points out the existence of two taboo characters in the sutra activated during the 15th century Lê Dynasty. The first is a common taboo for the given name of Emperor Lê Thái Tổ 黎太祖 (r. 1428-1433), *Lợi* 利 (Shimizu, 2010, p. 2). The taboo character is independently attested in the ĐVSKTT and was activated in 1428 (ibid). The second taboo character was activated in 1497 for the given name of Emperor Lê Hiến Tôn 黎憲宗 (r. 1498-1503), also attested in the ĐVSKTT (Shimizu, 2010, pp. 2-3). These taboos are not exhaustively observed, and based on other evidence from the illustrations of the sutra, Shimizu hypothesizes that there are at least two layers to the text: one layer published in the 15th century, and one layer published in the 18th century (Shimizu, 2010, p. 5).

The dating of the *Phật thuyết* remains unclear. However, the complex phonographic rendering found in the sutra strongly suggests that at least some layers of the Nôm text significantly predate the 15th century. As is manifestly evident in the second major Buddhist text we will examine, the unorthodoxy of vernacular literature meant that redactive layers could accumulate within a single text, without clear or consistent (or in many cases, *any*) notation of dates other than its final printing. Most likely the *Phật thuyết* was produced in multiple stages,

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[285] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Chongniu phenomenon.

with some vernacular glossing rendered as early as the 12ᵗʰ century, while the bulk was produced in the 15ᵗʰ.

Coalescence

As noted earlier, there are several historical references to vernacular writing practiced during the Trần Dynasty (again, 1225-1400). All of Nguyễn Quang Hồng's evidence for this stage of development is based on these references. For *coalescence* (which Nguyễn commences with the Trần), Nguyễn cites references in the ĐVSKTT to Nôm poems by authors Nguyễn Thuyên 阮詮 (13ᵗʰ century) and Nguyễn Sĩ Cố 阮士固 (? -1312); as well as a rhapsody (*phú* 賦) and a ballad (*ca* 歌) attributed to Emperor Trần Nhân Tông 陳仁宗 (i.e. Trần Khâm 陳昑: 1258-1308), who was famous for his Buddhist erudition and skill in poetry. And yet the earliest layer of the ĐVSKTT dates to the 15ᵗʰ century, while the two poems of Emperor Trần Nhân Tông only survive in a Chan Buddhist collection entitled *Thiền tông bản hành* 禪宗本行, the extant version of which was published in 1802. Therefore, once again, we lack a smoking gun for the active practice of vernacular writing during this period. Nevertheless, these few references, plus several more not explicitly listed by Nguyễn, are worth a closer look.

Nguyễn Thuyên is particularly notable for having supposedly initiated a tradition of composing poetry in the vernacular. In a brief note from the ĐVSKTT, Nguyễn Thuyên is described as having driven away a crocodile from the Lô (i.e. Red) river by casting a charm into the waters (ĐVSKTT, 5:41b). The emperor (Trần Nhân Tông) then renamed him *Hàn* Thuyên after the Tang Confucianist Hán Yù 韓愈 (Viet. *Hàn Dũ*, 768-824), who drove away a crocodile in Chaozhou 潮州 by issuing it an official proclamation.[286] More importantly, the ĐVSKTT makes the following aside:

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[286] See Han Yu's 鱷魚文. A translation is included in Birch & Keene's *Anthology of Chinese Literature* (1965), 23-255. (Birch & Keene, 1965)

Note, [Nguyễn Thuyên] could also compose poems in the vernacular, and an increase in using the vernacular to compose poems in our country actually began with him [lit. "this"].

詮又能國語賦詩，我國賦詩多用國語，實自此始。(ĐVSKTT, 5.41b.)

Note that I have somewhat loosely translated 國語 (Viet. *quốc ngữ*) as "the vernacular," and have elsewhere translated it more strictly as "the kingdom's speech."[287] Unfortunately, Nguyễn Thuyên's rhapsodies, as well as those by Nguyễn Sĩ Cố, are nowhere to be found, and so there is no independent corroboration for this note.

Đào Duy Anh (1975) also mentions other lost vernacular titles attributed to this era, notably a poetic anthology called *Collected Poems in the Kingdom's Speech* 國語詩集 attributed to Trần Dynasty educator Chu Văn An 朱文安 (?-1370) (Đào, 1975, p. 16). It is possible that these were among the books lost during the Ming occupation, though that is difficult to verify. Additionally, Đào (1975) discusses three Nôm rhapsodies and one Nôm ballad discovered at Hoa Yên Temple in present-day Quảng Ninh province (northeastern Vietnam), which are claimed to have been written by Trần Dynasty authors (Đào, 1975, p. 20). Đào himself expresses doubt over the penned authorship, but nevertheless theorizes that these are pre-Lê texts.

Finally, to these few possibilities we may add several other references in the ĐVSKTT to vernacular writing, mostly associated with the ascendance of a man named Hồ Quý Ly 胡季犛 (1336-1407?). Hồ Quý Ly was an official under the Trần who deposed the last Trần emperor, placing himself and his son on the throne and inaugurating the short-lived Hồ 胡 (1400-1407) Dynasty, which fell to the Ming in 1407. There are five references to vernacular writing of note. The first involves an imperial prince Trần Ngạc 陳顎 (?-1391), who exchanged poems

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[287] For a discussion of the history of the term 國語, especially with the connotation of "vernacular language" or topolect, see Mair's (2008) article on the role of Buddhism and the vernacular in East Asia, especially pp. 725-728. Mair points out the interesting fact that the first clear use of the term to mean "vernacular" was in application to the language of the non-Sinitic Tagbach people (Mair, 2008, pp.726-727).

discussing the need to restrain Hồ Quý Ly's power at court with retired official and fellow imperial clansman Trần Nguyên Đán 陳元旦 (1325-1390). When Hồ Quý Ly found them out, Prince Ngạc turned on Nguyên Đán, using the vernacular as a literary barb:[288]

> Ngạc then composed a two-part allegorical poem in the vernacular, satirizing Nguyên Đán with it.
>
> 顎又作國語歇後詩，以諷元旦。 (ĐVSKTT, 8.7b; Chen, C.H., 1984, p. 458.)

This suggests that vernacular writing had some prevalence among the Trần literati and was a regular (if unorthodox) part of their intellectual arsenal.

Later in the same year (1385), Nguyên Đán's daughters were supposedly seduced by their classical tutors by poems and songs composed in the vernacular:

> Nguyễn Ứng Long taught Thái, and Nguyễn Hán Anh taught Đài. Ứng Long thereupon became inappropriately intimate, and composed vernacular poems and songs to have congress with Thái. Hán Anh also composed vernacular poems to imitate him.
>
> 阮應龍教太，阮漢英教臺，應龍因狎近，作國語詩歌，挑太通焉。漢英亦作國語詩效之。 (ĐVSKTT, 8.7b.)

This anecdote is interesting because it suggests the prevalence of vernacular songs and poetry outside the narrow scope of orthodox classical education, not to mention female literacy as well. The society suggested here is one in which the vernacular was preponderant in all but the highest levels—quite different from Annamese society during Tang administration, and, as mentioned earlier, probably even during the much or all of the Lý .

The third instance involves an exchange with the emperor himself. In 1387, Hồ Quý Ly was bestowed a new title and gifts, and thanked the emperor by composing a vernacular poem:

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[288] Ch'en Ching-ho supplies the character [奭+頁] for Prince Ngạc's name (Chen C., 1984, p. 458). It is important note the possibility that the verb 作 (Viet. *tác*) may connote "to compose" without connoting "to write down." However, as cases discussed below will show, there is clear precedence in the Vietnamese usage for the verb to carry a written dimension.

> In the third month, because Lê Quý Li [was made] Joint Manager of Affairs, [the emperor] bestowed one sword and one banner with motifs reading "Complete Endowments of the Civil and Martial" and "Lord and Servant United in Virtue." Quý Li composed a vernacular poem in thanks.

> 三月，以黎季犛同平章事，賜釴一把，旗一隻，題曰：「文武全才，君臣同德。」季犛作國語詩謝之。[289] (ĐVSKTT, 8.10a.)

This anecdote is rather remarkable, since a poem of gratitude for an imperial title would logically call for an orthodox composition in Literary Sinitic. It is possible that Quý Ly was making some kind of political statement by deliberately using the vernacular (his power at court was steadily growing); however, if so, no comment is made in the chronicle. Rather, Ngô Sĩ Liên only pauses to note that Hồ's scheme to usurp the throne was long in the planning. Rather, this kind of exchange suggests that vernacular poetry had already gained considerable prominence in Trần intellectual society (remember that Emperor Trần Nhân Tông, who lived roughly a century earlier, was also said to have composed in the vernacular).

The last two anecdotes are perhaps the most suggestive because they describe pedagogical translations of classical texts. In 1395, Hồ Quý Ly was given even greater access to the imperial center of the government, and used this opportunity to start effecting serious changes in Đại Việt society (Whitmore J. K., 1985, p. 40). Of particular note, Hồ compiled a translation of a section of the *Book of History* to help in the education of the elite:

> …Thereupon Quý Ly compiled the chapter "Against Leisure,"[290] translated it into the vernacular, and used it in the education of government officials. It bore a set of ethical guidelines for assising in the essential education of the Emperor.

> 。。。季犛因編無逸篇，譯為國語，以教官家，有令則稱輔政該教黄帝 (ĐVSKTT, 8:25a-25b; Ngô, 1984, p. 459)。

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[289] Hồ Quý Lý's clan had adopted the Lê surname in the 13ᵗʰ century, and Hồ Quý Lý himself was in the fourth generation to have borne the adopted name. Chen Ching-ho notes that 釴 was later changed to 劍 (Chen, C., 1984, p. 456).

[290] More lit. "Lacking Leisure" or "To Lack Leisure."

The chapter that Hồ Quý Ly selected (無逸) perhaps unsuprisingly focuses on the Duke of Zhou, in whose role Hồ was rather transparently casting himself. The important point here, however, is that an official pedagogical text (for the emperor's education, no less) was apparently produced in the vernacular, suggesting not only that a systematic form of Nôm was in place but that the practice of writing and reading the vernacular was far from exceptional.

This is, furthermore, not the only time Hồ Quý Ly produced such a pedagogical text. Near the end of 1396, Hồ Quý Ly also produced a vernacular exegesis of the *Book of Songs* for similar purposes:

> In the 11th month, Quý Ly composed the *Vernacular Explication of the [Book of] Songs* with preface, and commanded Buddhist nuns to instruct the empress, concubines and officials to study. The contents of the preface mostly forwarded his own ideas, and did not follow the Collected Writings [lit. transmissions] of Zhu Xi.
>
> 十一月，季犛作國語詩義幷序，令女師教后妃及官人學習，序中多出己意，不從朱子集傳。(ĐVSKTT, 8.27b.)

Of note here is Hồ Quý Ly's use of educated nuns as instructors. The production of this text and Hồ's partial translation of the *Book of History* also suggest that Nôm was a pedagogical stepping stone that facilitated mastery of Literary Sinitic, rather than a dilettante script used only by those already in possession of strong classical skills.[291] Incidentally, the comment about his preface clearly demonstrates the (15th century) Lê Dynasty's powerful adherence to Neo-Confucianism, which had not yet taken root during Hồ's time.

Of course, none of the vernacular material referred to in these five instances is extant, making it difficult to reconstruct a substantive picture of vernacular writing during this time. These anecdotes do support a not insignificant loss of texts during the Ming occupation, though whether or not this resulted from a systematic project is far from clear. Most crippling, the lack

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[291] Keith Taylor made a similar claim for Nôm in his discussion of the *Chỉ nam* and literacy in the 17th century (Taylor, 2011, p. 187).

of any extant texts means that we have no picture of the structure of vernacular writing at this time. All we have are texts like the *Phật thuyết* discussed above, whose oldest layers show phonological archaicisms that could plausibly date to the Trần Dynasty (or, as argued by Nguyễn Quang Hồng, even earlier).

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Ultimately, the available evidence for vernacular writing before the 15th century (with the exception of sporadic words in epigraphic literature and potentially ancient strata in works like the *Phật thuyết*) is circumstantial at best. Yet the historical anecdotes discussed above, combined with the philological evidence from epigraphy and the *Phật thuyết* strongly indicate that vernacular writing had gained noticeable (if still unorthodox) prominence by late Trần society. The evidence for pre-15th century vernacular writing may be summarized in the four following categories: 1) there are a few substantial examples of scattered vernacular characters in 11th-13th century epigraphic texts; 2) one mid 14th century stele seems to bear vernacular characters consistent with a Buddhist sutra whose Nôm glosses were probaby produced over the 12th-15th centuries; and 3) there are a number of historical references describing a widespread practice of vernacular writing by the late 14th century, culminating with Hồ Quý Ly's endorsements at the turn of the 15th century. This supports Nguyễn Quang Hồng's division of the 10th-14th centuries into a period of *formation* (Lý Dynasty) and *coalescence* (Trần Dynasty). However, whatever vernacular practices were in place by the end of the Trần, and however they may have been enhanced when Hồ Quý Ly came to power, such practices must have been severely disrupted by the Ming occupation of Đại Việt in 1407. Aside from the potential loss of a vernacular texts at this time one of the lasting effects of the occupation was the establishment of a powerful Neo-Confucian order which rebooted the primacy of Literary Sinitic and produced the first vigorously Confucian society in Vietnam's history. The thread of a vernacular tradition

among the mainstream elite was severed at this time; though, importantly, Nôm was picked up by one group of Đại Việt society that found itself suddenly bereft of social and political power: the Buddhists.

7.15   A Buddhist incubation for vernacular writing?

As noted last chapter, the Lý and Trần dynasties (11th-14th centuries)—like both Korea and Japan—were heavily buddhistic in complexion and buddhist intellectuals enjoyed mainstream endorsement as the educated elite. This can be seen even in one of the late Trần anecdotes discussed above, when Hồ Quý Ly employs buddhist nuns to instruct the palace community in the *Book of Songs*. Ostensibly, the nuns were capable of both Literary Sinitic and the vernacular, and were thus suitable instructors for aristocrats whose classical abilities were less keen. Similar to Hồ's practice in the late 14th century, a text like the *Phật thuyết* may have been given vernacular glossings for pedagogical reasons. The *Phật thuyết* or texts like it may have even served as a model for Hồ's work. The anecdote about the *Book of Songs* also suggests that Buddhist intellectual elites at this time were the major transmitters of classical (i.e. secular) education as well, and that this was not yet a contradiction in terms.

Note, however, that most of the ĐVSKTT references to vernacular writing in the late Trần took the form of (secular) poetry, with the exception of the (non-extant) rhapsodies of Emperor Trần Nhân Tông (himself a great patron of Buddhism).[292] This suggests that, as mainstream educational transmitters, buddhists were less invested in the vernacular and more invested in the orthodoxy of Literary Sinitic, which was viewed as a source of knowledge and legitimacy.   In contrast to these educated buddhist intellectuals of Lý-Trần society, the

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[292] The early 15th century *Collected Songs in the Kingdom's Speech* of Nguyễn Trãi, as well as a well-known anthology of vernacular poems produced not much later entitled the *Hồng Đức Collection of Songs in the Kingdom's Speech* 洪德國音詩集 (Viet. *Hồng Đức quốc âm thi tập*) may represent early Lê echoes of this. These represent important exceptions to the supremacy of Literary Sinitic during the early Lê.

aristocracy practiced vernacularity as an unorthodox habit, tolerated but not exalted. At most (as we saw with Hồ Quý Ly), the vernacular was encouraged as a pedagogical tool to help in mastering the classical and, indeed, the buddhist elite seem to have served as facilitators between heterodox vernacular literacy and orthodox mastery of Literay Sinitic. This may also explain the comparatively limited profile of vernacular writing during the Lý-Trần—it comes across as a kind of tolerated pastime, rather than an accepted vehicle of expression. Its purpose was to help one reach up to Literary Sinitic, and once this was accomplished it was put away, except for exceptional (and in the anecdotes above, either naughty or biting) use.

If this was the case during the Lý-Trần period, then conditions were greatly changed by the 1407-1427 Ming occupation and the subsequent establishment of the Lê Dynasty. The Neo-Confucian reforms enacted under Ming rulership (1407-1427) altered Vietnamese social infrastructure, and Confucianized models of state and society were embraced by the subsequent Lê emperors—to the dispossession of Buddhist intellectual elites (Taylor, 2002, p. 345). As Keith Taylor (2002) argued, the ascendance of the Neo-Confucians during the Lê Dynasty (1428-1778) actually catalyzed the development of Nôm vernacular writing, because "Buddhist leaders, distanced from centers of political power, reoriented their attention to the villages and began to translate their texts into more popularized forms of language" (Taylor, 2002, p. 349). Similar to the effect of huge numbers of educated, failed civil service candidates in early modern China (see Elman, 2000), these dispossessed buddhist intellectuals galvanized a subaltern intellectual tradition, which in the case of Vietnam, led to a new interest in vernacular culture, language, and ultimately writing.

The role of Buddhism in early vernacular production is complex, though its preeminence in Nôm production before the 17th century is uncontroversial. There are two texts important texts for this issue; one, already discussed, is the imported sutra entitled *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu an trọng kinh*, which demonstrates at least two (and possibly more) strata of Nôm glossings, from the 12th-15th centuries. The second text, discussed at length by Taylor (2002, 2005), is the

origin narrative of Vietnam's oldest temple lineage, entitled *Recorded Sayings of the Native Practices of the Cloud-Dharma Buddha of Cổ Châu* 古州法雲佛本行語錄 (Viet. *Cổ Châu pháp văn phật bản hành ngữ lục*; henceforth the *Cổ Châu*). The later Nôm layers of the *Phật thuyết* and the earlier Nôm layers of the *Cổ Châu* were produced during this time, when Neo-Confucianism had become the state orthodoxy of Đại Việt. They represent an effort by the dispossessed buddhist elite to interpret and popularize buddhist Literary Sinitic literature among sectors of the society unable to access Literary Sinitic.

Like the *Phật thuyết,* the *Cổ Châu* vernacular glossings represent the work of educated bonzes catering to an audience who could not read Literary Sinitic. Unlike the *Phật thuyết*, the *Cổ Châu* was composed natively, and its narrative is filled with region-specific animism, magic and folk imagery that seems particularly geared toward a vernacular audience (rather than, say, an aristocracy trying to learn Literary Sinitic). Furthermore, Taylor (2002, 2005) has shown that the "translation" of the Literary Sinitic core of the *Cổ Châu* demonstrates considerable creative agency calibrated for a non-elite audience. Although, as the genre *ngữ lục* 語錄 implies, the text deals with the legitimacy of a figurehead in the tradition of Buddhism associated with the temple, there is very little that is Chan (or even Buddhist) about either the figure (a woman called *A Man* 阿蠻) or about her hagiography. Before looking at the form and structure of the text, it is worthwhile to summarize the main narrative.

The story is set during the time of Shi Xie (2nd century), and begins with A Man's impregnation by a traveling Brahmin named Khâu Đà La. After fourteen months of pregnancy, A Man gives birth to a girl. The Brahmin then places the infant into the opening of a banyan tree, which seems to pull the baby into itself. Khâu Đà La then gives A Man a magical stick which has the power to call forth a spring of water. Unsurprisingly, the kingdom is struck by a terrible drought, and A Man performs a number of miracles with her magical stick. Some time later, a great storm washes the banyan tree into a river, and despite many efforts to dredge it from the water, no one is able to move it—except for A Man, for whom the tree complies like a child

obeying its mother. The tree is carved into four icons, which are given to inaugurate four new temples: The temples of the Cloud Dharma (*Pháp Vân* 佛雲), Rain Dharma (*Pháp Vũ* 佛雨), Lightning Dharma (*Pháp Lôi* 佛雷) and Thunder Dharma (*Pháp Điện* 佛電). When attempting to transport the wood for the Cloud Dharma icon, a stone is discovered inside (i.e. the transfigured form of A Man's baby), which comes to be known as the "Luminous Stone Buddha" *Thạch Quang Phật* 石光佛). The temple at which the woodblocks of the text were discovered is the modern descendent of the "Cloud Dharma" Temple (hence the title of the text), now called "Mulberry Temple" (*Chùa Dâu*), and lies some 30km from modern-day Hanoi.

The text thus bears deep agricultural and animistic currents rather dissonant with the Chan complexion of the genre, and these may reflect the story's (possibly 4th century) origin as an initial Southeast Asian digestion of Buddhism. Indeed, the text bears certain similarities to a Cambodian animist-Buddhist folktale, in which the Lady Penh spots a large tree flowing down a river from Lao. Despite its massive size, the tree is easily dredged from the river and brought to a temple, where it is discovered that Buddhist icons are hidden inside. Such similarities may result from the actual exchange of mythological material, or may result from analogous conditions in which animistic beliefs tied to a Southeast Asian landscape appropriated Buddhist prestige iconography, to form new and hybridized mythologies. The agricultural and animist overtones of the Vietnamese story, not to mention the sense of drama and magic, indicate a plebian audience. The difference could not be more striking when compared with the canonical *Phật thuyết* sutra, discussed above, and—unlike the sutra—the marvelous nature of the story makes it difficult to accept as an orthodox pedagogical text.

The woodblocks of the *Cổ Châu* text were discovered by researchers from the Hán-Nôm Institute along with those of two other related texts, in a storehouse of some hundred-odd woodblocks at Chùa Dâu (Nguyễn Q. H., 1997, p. 8). The extant text was produced in 1752 by a team of bonzes of whom we know little more than their religious names: the calligraphy was done by a Hải Tịch 海寂), and the carving by Tính Mộ 性慕 (1706-1755)—a resident of the

Chùa Dâu who was assisted by several disciples with the religious prefix *Hải-* 海 (Nguyễn Q. H., 1997, p. 10). In other words, the text is a temple product, carved, printed, preserved—and probably originally composed—in the literate (but un-Confucian) setting of Chùa Dâu. This 1752 publication claims to be the reprinting (*trọng khan* 重刊) of an "old edition" (*cổ bản* 古本), in turn supposedly based on an ancient text called the *Báo cực truyện* 報極傳 whose dating is unclear. Based on the progression of historical settings in the text, mention of the title *Báo cực truyện* in the early 14th century collected myths called the *Việt Điền u linh tập* 越甸幽靈集, as well as a reference to the story in the late 15th century strange tales anthology entitled *Lĩnh Nam trích quái* 嶺南摭怪, Nguyễn Quang Hồng concluded that the Literary Sinitic text was produced between the late 14th-early 15th centuries (Nguyễn Q. H., 1997, pp. 10-13). This is consistent with the zenith of buddhist intellectual influence at that time, though the magical flavor of the text makes it difficult to believe that it was accepted as canon. Keith Taylor (2005) pushes this date back even further, theorizing that the bones of the story may have formed as early as the 4th century.

The composition of the Nôm exegesis is, of course, of more interest. The Nôm text is attributed to another religious name, "Viên Thái" (圓態), of whom we know nothing. Nguyễn Quang Hồng notes that there are many characers of advanced Nôm (semantosyllabic) form; however, there are also large numbers of phonographic characters, as well as archaicized vocabulary more consistent with the 16th-17th centuries, such as *cóc* for modern *biết* ("know"), *ghín* for modern *gìn* ("keep"), and *thốt* for modern *nói* ("say"). The text also famously attests an archaic, disyllabic form for the word "stone": *la-đá* for modern *đá*. Thus, Nguyễn Quang Hồng theorizes that the Nôm exegesis was produced somewhere between the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, "during the initial steps of the formation of Chữ Nôm literature" (Nguyễn Q. H., 1997, p. 15).[293] This dating would place the text well into the Neo-Confucian

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[293] Original: "Xem ra, diễn Nôm … có thể là phong khí một thời (vào khoảng cuối thế kỷ XVI đầu thế ỷ XVII) trong bước đầu hình thành nền văn xuôi chữ Nôm ở nước ta ..."

expanse of the Lê Dynasty, but (as Nguyễn Quang Hồng noted) on the cusp of a substantial Nôm literary tradition.

Importantly, Keith Taylor argued that the Nôm exegesis of the *Cổ Châu* demonstrates a subversive current spearheaded by dispossessed Buddhist intellectuals and circulated in the vernacular mode. In both his (2002) and (2005) articles on the text, Taylor analyzes a range of discrepancies between the Literary Sinitic text and its vernacular exegesis to show that alongside errors in translation, the act of exegesis itself involved a conscious reorienting of the material, a reworking of it for a different mode that in many cases required the subversion of the original. Some of the mutation of the original text naturally results from syntactic or lexical negotiation (Taylor, 2002, pp. 355-356). At other times, the cultural and aesthetic needs of the vernacular audience seem to dictate the pen of the Nôm exegete, as in the following case from Taylor (2005, p. 182):

Literary Sinitic:

[He] customarily took the pleasure of meditation as food and the joy of dharma as happiness (Taylor, 2005, p. 182).

常以禪悅為食，法喜為樂 (ibid.).

Vietnamese (Nôm):

[He] customarily took the fragrance of the joy of meditation as food and the sound of reciting sutras as happiness (ibid).

Hằng lấy mùi thiền duyệt làm ăn, tiếng kinh phép làm vui (ibid.)

I have preserved Taylor's (2005) translations here, although I have changed the punctuation (in the original, the line is broken up into two sentences). The vernacular line essentially adds sensual information to its rendering: the *fragrance* ("mùi") of the joy of meditation and the *sound* ("tiếng") of reciting the sutras. These sensual dimensions are perhaps implicit in the Literary Sinitic, but they become explicitly described in the vernacular. As Taylor notes, "[t]he

vernacular voice seeks to unfold terse classical terms with more prosaic expressions to reveal indications of what are imaginted to be their full sense" (Taylor, 2005, p. 182). The text is interpreted, and then transmuted. The Literary Sinitic text is thus not merely translated, it is expanded, colored, infused with the tastes and demands of the vernacular. In this way, exegesis became a creative act in itself, responsive to the needs and potentials of the vernacular.

I have taken the time to review Taylor's arguments because the type of creative translation he describes foreshadows the hybridizing complexion of 18th-19th century avant-garde Nôm poetry. Writers in this "golden age" of Nôm literary production luxuriated in the juxtaposition of Literary Sinitic forms and themes with vernacular language and substance, and vice versa. The collision of these two intellectual worlds seems to have galvanized their imagination, and the crackling inventiveness of their vernacular experimentation is rooted in a delighted contemplation of Literary Sinitic forms and content.

7.2   The Flowering of Nôm poetic expression

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I will defer treatment of the watershed 17th century in order to provide a contextualizing glimpse of the Nôm "golden age" which followed. Jumping forward from the dearth of vernacular writing in the 15th-16th centuries to the 18th-19th centuries, we are met with a sudden explosion in the production of Nôm poetry. While vernacular poems were composed earlier, these were either recorded folk songs or works written largely in the mold of the classical models they emulated. The poetry of the 18th-19th centuries, however, expressed deliberate thematic and stylistic breaks with the classical mold, and a certain luxuriating in the vernacular voice. During this time, Vietnamese literati began experimenting with Nôm as a new medium for aesthetic expression, capable of the complexity of Literary

Sinitic but equipped with an entirely different set of innuendos, assumptions, tropes, and imagery.

Much of the literature produced in this era involved the embellishment, subversion, expansion, or transmutation of Chinese models and themes. This is not restricted to imported Literary Sinitic material; throughout this period, the native production of intellectual and belletristic literature in Literary Sinitic continued to thrive. Poets like Phạm Quý Thích (范貴適 (1760-1825) Bùi Dương Lịch 裴楊歷 (1757-1828), and Cao Ba Quát 高伯适 (1808-1855)—who is also famed for a few Nôm works, like the rhapsody *Talented men are prone to hardship* 賦才子多窮 (Viet. *phú Tài tử đa cùng*)—are all important literary figures of the period who composed primarily in Literary Sinitic. Indeed, early-modern literati even nurtured a tradition of composing novels modeled on Chinese vernacular *xiaoshuo* 小說 (Viet. *tiểu thuyết*), mimicking the mixed language and style of the genre (while Vietnamese-language fiction would not really emerge until the 20th century). Those who did take up Nôm often drew upon both imported Chinese literature and this thriving body of native Literary Sinitic work. For example, one of the best known rhapsodic poems from the era, *Chant of the Soldier's Wife* 征婦吟 (Viet. *Chinh phụ ngâm*) by Đặng Trần Côn 鄧陳琨 (18th century) was popularized in Nôm by Phan Huy Ích 潘輝益 (1750-1822), who himself composed in both Literary Sinitic and the vernacular. A number of Literary Sinitic novels or prose narratives were also transmutated into long narrative poems, among them the epic that was later embraced by one early 20th century nationalist as the quintessence of Vietnamese literature (the *Tale of Kiều*; discussed below). Thus the flourishing of Nôm by no means required the obsolescence of Literary Sinitic. Indeed, vernacular expression was constantly referring back to Literary Sinitic literature, and much of its creativity and imaginativeness was ignited by the movement from one medium to the other.

By the 18th century, the vernacular was popularly used to compose poems in metrically accurate regulated verse or *luật thi* 律詩 (a precedent already established by Nguyễn Trãi's 15th century work). Nguyễn Công Trứ 阮公著 (1778-1858), who grew up during the Tây Sơn

uprising and lived to serve the first three emperors of the Nguyễn Dynasty, is said to have eschewed Literary Sinitic in favor of Nôm, but nevertheless favored regulated verse as poetic mode. At times, Nguyễn Công Trứ infuses the terse and laconic form with what could almost be described as an inappropriate colloquiality. Take the following example (my translation):[294]

Lovesick	Tương tư
When lovesick, what is there to do?	Tương tư không biết cái làm sao
I yearn to move on, but can't find the way	Muốn vẽ mà chơi vẽ được nào?
When standing, when sitting, when speaking words	Lúc đứng, khi ngồi, khi nói chuyện,
When drunk, when sober, when dreaming a dream.	Lúc say, lúc tỉnh, lúc chiêm bao.
The moon dazzles me and I stumble	Trăng soi trước mặt ngờ chân bước,
The wind whispers in my ears, as if to say hello	Gió thổi bên tai ngỡ miệng chào.
One sea, one hill, one heart divided	Một nước một non người một ngã,
When lovesick, what is there to do?	Tương tư không biết cái làm sao?

The poem is an exemplary piece of regulated verse, right down to the tripartite structure: the first couplet introduces the emotional landscape, the second and third couplets are expansion that showcases Nguyễn Cong Trứ's virtuosity, and the closing couplet cinches the poem together with a concise emotional comment. Parallelism is also strictly observed, especially in the expansive couplets; indeed, the syntax of the third couplet is almost perfectly parallel (*moon shines/wind blows; in eyes/in ear; doubt/open; footsteps/a greeting*). And yet the language is plain and frank, and the emotional spectrum is familiar, pedestrian, even low-brow. The poetic voice is a that of a lovesick boy, unwilling and unable to shake himself loose from his infatuation. The theme and the rhythmic repetition (e.g. *muốn **vẽ** mà chơi **vẽ** được nào*; ***lúc** say, **lúc** tỉnh, **lúc** chiêm bao; **một** nước, **một** non, người **một** ngã*) are more consistent with folk

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[294] In line 2, the sense of "vẽ" ("to draw") may be understood as "vẽ đường đi": "to plot out a path," with the sense of "to find a way through or out" of a situation. A second, related sense carries the sense of to stop pining or complaining and to move on. In the fourth couplet, the sense is of the wind mimicking the voice of the poet's lover. In the penultimate line, I have liberally translated *người* (people, humans)—here referring to the couple—as "heart."

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traditions like *ca dao* 歌謠; and yet, Nguyễn Cong Trứ's casts them into the tight structure of regulated verse to cultivate a sense of trapped anxiety. These repetitions, which accent the alternation in level and oblique tones, seem to bounce against invisible walls, rattling against each other and giving the reader a sense of restless futility. The poem is thus squarely vernacular in its texture and sentiment; but it is not a vernacular that is caged by the classical form—rather, it is a vernacular expression that is reveling in it.

One of the most celebrated Nôm poets and contemporary of Nguyễn Công Trứ was a woman named Hồ Xuân Hương 胡春香 (ca. 1770s-ca. 1820s), known for dressing anti-establishment—and often salacious—themes in classical forms. She too wrote largely in regulated verse (律詩), but riddled her poetry with vernacular double-entendres and bold imagery which frankly described the plight of women in a male-dominated, Confucian dystopia. Take for example the following poem (my translation):

Offering Betel	Mời ăn Trầu
A small areca nut, a piece of betel	Quả cau, nho nhỏ, miếng trầu ôi,
Xuân Hương's are already smeared	Này của Xuân Hương đã quệt rồi.
Does the color deepen with love?	Có phải duyên nhau thì thắm lại
The leaf is no longer green, nor lime white.	Đừng xanh như lá, bạc như vôi.

"Offering Betel" is a metrically accurate regulated quatrain (*tuyệt cú* 絕句); however, it showcases the rather un-classical and Southeast Asian metaphor of betel and areca. The custom of chewing an areca nut wrapped in betel leaf spread with lime (which produces a heady effect), is commonplace throughout the tropical and subtropical belt stretching from India to Southeast Asia and southeastern China. In Vietnam, these are old images for romance and love; betel and areca are traditional gifts in Vietnamese wedding ceremonies, and the phrase "matters of betel & areca" (*chuyện trầu cau*) refers to marriage. Nevertheless, Hồ subverts even this vernacular convention by describing the combination of betel and areca as the spoiling and ruination of its

constituents—a "smearing" of colors—rather than a synergistic union. Marriage is thus recast as a loss of individuality and a corruption of personal integrity, rather than the amplification of the life experience through union with another (as the properties of betel and areca are amplified through their consumption together).

Vernacular poetry was also practiced in the south, which had been politically separated from the north for some two hundred years during the clan wars of the 17th and 18th centuries. Southern literati of the subsequent Nguyễn dynasty thus demonstrate a cultural and intellectual complexion noticeably distinct from their northern contemporaries. As noted last chapter, the south was also deeply influenced by the fall of the Ming Dynasty, and on one occasion the Nguyễn polity offered amnesty to some three thousand Ming refugees in 1679 (Wook, 2004, p. 38). Huỳnh Mẫn Đạt 黃敏達 (1807-1883), a native of Gia Định (now part of Hồ Chí Minh City), was notably fond of eulogizing the scenery around Đồng Nai (present-day Biên Hoà). His poetry often employs region-specific visuals and themes, as in the following poem, which uses the metaphor of a coconut tree (my translation):

The Coconut Tree

In three springs the peaches and plums are
    graceful and fine,
Yet year after year they cannot match the coconut.
Splendid phoenix tails hide the sun and
    wind,
Endless dragon coils hail the rainy clouds.
Its oil is useful at evening meals,
Its waters cheer us on parched afternoons,
The pillars of the Court are not worth a glance,
Their defense of the realm, a rather feeble thing.

Cây dừa

Ba xuân đào lý phải duyên ưa,
Cây trái liền năm chẳng kịp dừa.
Đuôi phượng vẻ vang che nắng gió,
Mình rồng chan chứa gọi mây mưa.
Dãi dầu giúp kẻ khi xơi tối,
Giúp nước vui người buổi khát trưa.
Rường cột miếu đường không xứng mặt,
Chống ngăn bờ cõi cũng bưa bưa.

In contrast to Nguyễn Công Trứ's poem discussed above, the language in this vernacular poem is refined and erudite. The term *peaches and plums* 桃李 (more properly, "peach and plum blossoms") is a metaphor for the next generation of educated elite—the future of the civil service. Huỳnh Mẫn Đạt witnessed the fall of the south to the French in 1861 and the inability of the Huế court to maintain the integrity of the kingdom.[295] This poem probably expresses his frustration with Huế's anemia in the face of colonization. Huỳnh Mẫn Đạt deliberately sets the classical (and Literary Sinitic) metaphor of "peaches and plums" against the region-specific (and Vietnamese) metaphor of the coconut tree, an almost heteroglossic juxtaposition that gives his frustration a biting edge. The metaphor is not idly invoked—the entire expansive portion of the tripartite structure eulogizes the coconut, from the protective shelter of its fronds (i.e. *phoenix tails*) to the twisting height of its trunk (*endless dragon coils*). The description of the coconut— right down to its oils and juice—constitute an extended metaphor for an old but effective (southern) official, and it is the specificity and vibrancy of the image which ultimately consumates the poem. Note finally, that despite the relatively elevated register of Huỳnh's diction, he injects his last, parting shot with the quite plebian—and dialect-specific *bưa bưa* ("so-so;" compare Northern Standard Vietnamese *vừa vừa*).

By the 19th century, the reverse of these literary practices was also taking place. That is, instead of the vernacularizing use of classical forms for avante garde poetic expression, vernacular forms were being elevated to produce hybridized elite literary compositions. This famously includes the cultivation of what is called *six-eight meter* for epic narrative poems (Viet. *truyện thơ* 傳詩 or *truyện Nôm* 傳喃), many of which were adaptations of Chinese vernacular fiction. Six-eight meter originated as an oral form for chanted myths, stories and aphorisms, and the Mường peoples—close relatives of the Vietnamese majority Kinh—continue to employ it in their nonwritten literary traditions.[296] A substantial number of these elevated six-eight narrative

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[295] "Their defense of the realm" is more literally translated as "resistence to the division of the realm."
[296] For a concise summary of its metrics and those of the related meter *double-seven six-eight*, see Huynh Sanh Thong's *An Anthology of Vietnamese Poems* (1996), pp. 8-14.

poems were produced in the 19th century, including the two most beloved examples: Nguyễn Đình Chiều's 阮廷沼 (1822-1888) *Lục Vân Tiên* 陸雲僊 and Nguyễn Du's 阮攸 (ca.1766-1820) *Tale of Kiều* 傳翹 (*Truyện Kiều*).[297] Another well-known example, the *Marvelous Encounter at Blue Creek* (*Bích câu kỳ ngộ* 碧溝奇遇) appears to have been a late 19th century Nôm adaptation of an 18th century prose tale, attributed either to the female scholar Đoàn Thị Điểm 段氏點 (1705-1748) or Đặng Trần Côn, the author of *Chant of the Soldier's Wife* (Huỳnh, 1996, p. 244). The *Marvelous Encounter* takes place during the reign of Emperor Lê Thánh Tông (r. 1460-1497) and is thus firmly rooted in a Vietnamese time and space. However, the narrative assumes the conventional form of a mortal's encounter with (and subsequent marriage to) an immortal fairy—a familiar trope in Chinese literature. Like the more famous *Tale of Kiều* (傳翹) from which it seems to draw, the *Marvelous Encounter* is also bedecked with numerous classical references, and was clearly composed by someone with rich knowledge of and devotion to Literary Sinitic.

Like the *Marvelous Encounter*, many of these narrative poems were based on earlier Literary Sinitic prose texts (whether imported or composed natively), and the translation or transmutation of these into the poetic vernacular seems to have made up a large part of the artistic challenge. Unlike the *Marvelous Encounter*, many of these narrative poems are situated in overtly Chinese settings. For example, the *Tale of Phan and Trần* (*Phan Trần Truyện* 潘陳傳) is set in the year 1126 of the Song Dynasty, and follows the intertwined fates of the children of two families who were sworn to marry each other. The son of the Phan clan fails the metropolitan examination, and—too ashamed to return home—stays in the capital to study for the next cycle. Meanwhile, the Trần patriarch dies and his wife and daughter fall into hardship. The Trần girl eventually makes her way to a temple where a relative of the Phan clan's son

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[297] "Lục Vân Tiên" is the name of the poem's main character; the poem is also referred to as the *Tale of Lục Vân Tiên* 傳陸雲僊/陸雲僊傳 (*Truyện Lục Vân Tiên/Lục Vân Tiên truyện*) or the *Poem of Lục Vân Tiên* 詩陸雲僊 (*Thơ Lục Vân Tiên*). The *Tale of Kiều* is known by many names, including its original name as a Chinese novel, *Kim Vân Kiều* 金雲翹 (i.e. the names of three of its major characters), and its publication name: *A New Cry from a Broken Heart* 斷腸新聲 (reflecting it as "inspired by" the Chinese novel).

happens to reside. Eventually the two meet, fall in love, and embrace their destiny to unify the two clans. The *Tale of Phan and Trần* borrows heavily from the popular "talented youth, beautiful woman" (才子佳人) genre of Chinese vernacular fiction, as well as themes of urban society that developed with novels like the *Plum in the Golden Vase* (金瓶梅), *The Scholars* (儒林外史), and the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (紅樓夢). However, unlike each of these novels, which problematize very specific segments of contemporary society, the *Tale of Phan and Trần* employs a distant (Song/Chinese) setting to tell a relatively timeless and locationless story of star-crossed lovers.

Perhaps the most famous of these narrative epics is the early 19th century *Tale of Kiều* by Nguyễn Du. Based on a relatively obscure Chinese novel called *The Tale of Jin, Yun and Qiao* (金雲翹傳) by the (pseudonymic) *Qingxin Cairen* 清心才人, the story follows the tumultuous fate of a beautiful and talented women named Kiều 翹 who sells herself into prostitution to save her father. The narrative poem is popularly read as an allegory for Nguyễn Du's life, who lived through the fall of the Lê, the entire Tây Sơn Dynasty, and died during the early part of the Nguyễn. The poem is riddled with themes of faithfulness and betrayal, and the image of Kiều forced into prostitution (multiple times) despite the purity of her devotion to her first love, Kim Trọng (金重), has often been construed as Nguyễn Du's conflicted service to the Nguyễn emperor. There is, however, little evidence to point to this kind of political soul-searching in Nguyễn's own life, despite its popularity as a reading of the *Tale of Kiều*.[298] What is of interest here is the relish with which the author transmutates the original Chinese prose into 6/8 epic poetry. Compare, for example, the openings of each text (my translations):

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[298] See Keith Taylor's introduction to Vladislov Zhukov's translation of the poem (forthcoming).

Original (Chinese) novel:

This song, "*Yue'er gao*,"[299] makes plain the fragile destiny of a beauty—a rarity among the fairer sex born with matchless talent and allure. She did not encounter the prosperity of a golden house,[300] but instead met with the bitterness of ravage and ruin.   If we look from ancient times to the present, how many of these extraordinary beauties were able to escape a crushing downfall? (my translation)

這一曲《月兒高》，單道佳人命薄，紅粉時乖，生了絕代的才色，不能遇金屋之榮，反遭那摧殘之苦。試看從古及今，不世出的佳人，能有幾個得無破敗？

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(Vietnamese) poetic adaptation:

In a hundred years of this human realm / talent and destiny have often warred[301]
As mulberries reclaim the sea[302] / The things observed will wrench the gut
Is it so strange to lose this, then gain that? / Blue heaven is wont to strike a
        rosy cheek[303] from spite.

Trăm nam trong cõi người ta / chữ tài chữ mệnh khéo là ghét nhau.
Trải qua một cuộc bể dâu / những điều trông thấy mà đau đớn lòng.
Lạ gì bỉ sắc tư phong? / Trời xanh quen thói má hồng đánh ghen.

The Chinese novel opens in typical fashion with a verse that incapsulates the themes of the story (not translated above)—in this case the lament of a beautiful woman who comes to ruin through the jealousy of others.[304] The author uses a discussion of the opening song to establish the basic

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[299] I.e. "to the tune of…" At the end of the verse, this is made explicit: 右調月兒高. The *Yue'er gao* (lit. "Moon On High" 月兒高) is a traditional song composed in 12 rhythmic sections for the Chinese lute (*pí pa* 琵琶).

[300] "Golden house": 金屋, a stock phrase referring to a beautiful woman's dwelling. The phrase originated with the story of Empress Chén Jiāo 陳嬌 of the Han Dynasty, first wife of Han Wudi 漢武帝 (157-87 BCE). In his biography of Han Wudi from the *Hanshu* 漢書, Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) wrote that when the emperor was a young boy, he picked Chen Jiao out of hundreds of attendants and said that he would marry her and build her a "golden house" 金屋. Chen Jiao later fell out of favor for failing to produce an heir. The image of a "golden house" was used by poets throughout the medieval period, to refer to a beautiful woman's chambers. Cf. a line from Liang 梁 Dynasty (502-557) poet Liu Yun's 柳惲 (465-517) *Lament at Changmen* 長門怨: "Without returning to cherish the Golden Chamber, how can I brighten the heart of Changmen?" 無復金屋念，豈照長門心. *Changmen* or "Gate of Perpetuity" 長門 refers to the palace where Chen Jiao was restricted after her fall from imperial favor.

[301] More literally "despised each other."

[302] From *bể dâu*, meaning "seas and mulberries." In other words, a stretch of history in which seas become mulberry fields, or vice versa.

[303] "Rosy cheek": from *má hồng*, lit. "pink cheeks," a metaphor for women.

[304] The last two lines of this lyric (*cí* 詞) are strongly echoed in the Vietnamese version. These are: "As ever, a kingdom's beauty invites others to envy / Hearing of [my beauty], the Lord of Heaven has ruined me" 從來國色招

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mythos of his heroine (翠翹) as a woman doomed to suffer for her remarkable beauty and talent. There is a whiff of melodrama in the author's salvo—something vicarious and vaguely licentious about his foreshadowings. We are, in fact, titillated by the promise that our heroine will suffer through most likely appalling depravity throughout the novel. The Vietnamese adaptation differs at several key points. First, Nguyễn Du de-emphasizes beauty in favor of talent, thus removing the possibility of licentious anticipation from the opening. Nguyễn also ignores the trope of a fragile beauty and instead underscores the enviousness and brutality of heaven, thus preparing the audience—not for the vicarious enjoyment of a melodrama, but for a sort of emotional aria focused on the cruelty of fate.

Given the strikingly disparate genres (novel vs. epic poem), there are deep structural differences as well. The author of the Chinese novel is free to juxtapose the reflective, pseudo-theatrical quality of his first few prose lines with the emotionality and lyricism of the poem he is discussing—a technique unavailable to Nguyễn Du, who is writing in a relatively monoglossic framework. Rather, by couching the themes of the poem in broad and fundamental terms, Nguyễn Du has invited the audience into the psycho-emotional experience of the heroine, thus obliterating our distance from her and preparing us to feel—as she does—the injustice of a spiteful world. This is typical of what Bakhtin (1981) described as the "epic" mode—a shared universal view in this case dominated by the psychological unity of the heroine. The poetic adaptation thus curiously strips away all that is novelistic about the Chinese original, both essentializing and also amplifying the emotional core of the story.

As such, the *Tale of Kiều* should not be considered a "translation" in the sense of the transmission of an original work predicated on an effort at faithfulness, nor should it be understood as an "explication"—i.e. the expansion or simplification of a text to make it ledgible for a different audience. Rather, the *Tale of Kiều* (and other narrative poetic adaptations of its

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人妒，一聽天公斷送咱." Compare with the Vietnamese "Blue heaven is wont to strike a rosy cheek from spite" (*Trời xanh quen thói má hồng đánh ghen*).

kind) derives its artfulness from the transmutation of the original into a new form. In some senses, this transmutative action reflects both a faith in—and curiosity over—the vernacular: faith that the vernacular could successfully consumate high aesthetic expression, and curiosity over what new and unprecented forms such expression would assume when cast in a new language. As shown by Taylor (2002, 2005) discussed above, the precedents of this kind of process are clearly visible in the *Cổ Châu* text, where already authors were deliberately mutating original Literary Sinitic material. Here, however, the constraints of a transmissive ambition have now been all but obliterated, and there is a creative luxuriating in the transmutative process.

The poetry briefly discussed here demonstrates an avant-garde and unrestrained quality to Nôm literature during the 18th-19th centuries that is quite different from the earlier (buddhistic and exegetical) Nôm texts discussed last section. All of these works are distinctly secular; indeed, Buddhist monks are the cynical focus of more than one of Hồ Xuân Hương's poems. The poetry, furthermore, is unique to the fusion of the vernacular voice with classical forms and structures; it is not a mere transcription of Vietnamese folk songs, nor is it simply the exegesis of Literary Sinitic texts. It has outgrown the "buddhist incubation" theorized last section, and become appropriated by the mainstream of the intellectual elite. In so doing, the vernacular has become a suitable vehicle for intellectual and belletristic expression, which furthermore capitalizes on the synergy of the cosmopolitan/vernacular intersection. Contrary to the popular claim that Vietnamese had been, as the venerable Huỳnh Sanh Thông put it, "fighting a difficult battle against classical Chinese since the early part of the 15th century," Vietnamese vernacularity appears to have flourished in its contemplation of Literary Sinitic forms and content (see Huynh, 1983, p. xxi). Therefore, with due respect, I believe Huỳnh Sanh Thông's narrative of a "rescuing" of Vietnamese literature from "the stranglehold of classical Chinese" is neither the most fruitful nor the most accurate way of understanding this period of literary fecundity (ibid). Rather, Vietnamese literary thought appears to have flourished in the soil of the Literary Sinitic landscape. The question to answer is, of course, how do we get from

dispossessed buddhist exegesis and some limited examples of poetry in the 15th-16th centuries to the full-fledged and avant-garde practice described above? This transition required a concerted rebranding of Nôm from a marginalized and vulgar form to something else—something thought capable of the kind of expression normally reserved for Literary Sinitic. Remarkably, we have a description of that rebranding in the bilingual prefaces to a 17th century Sino-Vietnamese dictionary, i.e., the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa.*

7.3   Chữ Nôm rebooted in the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*

The *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*, which can be translated as the "Explication of the Guide to Jeweled Sounds" (henceforth, the *Chỉ Nam*), is a Sino-Vietnamese encyclopedic dictionary comprised of Vietnamese (Nôm) glosses for 3,394 Chinese entries. These are arranged in 6-8 verse (the same meter as the epic poetry discussed above) and organized according to the general architecture of a "compendium" (Viet. *loại tụ*, Chin. *lèijù* 類聚).[305] It was most likely published in 1641, not long after the production of the *Cổ Châu* text but before the advent of Nôm avante-garde poetry. As such, it bears some striking similarities with early Nôm texts: it is the product of someone with the religious name *Pháp Tinh* 法情 and appears to have been produced at a temple on the margins of the intellectual world (more on this below). Nevertheless, its contents are devoid of religiosity and its prefaces assume the voice of a classical literatus discussing the nature and role of writing in human society. In fact, the two prefaces (one in Literary Sinitic, one in Vietnamese) present quite un-Buddhist arguments for the value

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[305] The *lèijù* were encyclopedic handbooks (usually rendered as "compendia" versus the "encyclopedia" of *cóngshū* 叢書) arranged according to topic (e.g. "The Heavens", "Geography", "Man", etc.), and were used by Chinese literati to look up appropriate or literarily sanctioned ways of using different abstruse terms. The genre can literally be translated as "collected categories."

and importance of vernacular writing, which call on both Confucian and Neo-Taoist notions of language and statecraft. The *Chỉ nam* appears to have been produced at a time when the vernacular world had expanded beyond the marginalized buddhist exile of the 15th-16th centuries, and was colliding with the secular world ruled by Literary Sinitic. This required an active and conscious reconciling of the two scripts, languages, and intellectual modes. The effort to reconcile such disparate worlds is remarkably expressed in the two prefaces of the *Chỉ nam* itself, and describes with uncanny prescience the range and tenor of Nôm literary production as it would unfold over the 18th and 19th centuries.

It was not usual to compose prefaces in the vernacular before quite modern times, and so the *Chỉ nam* is rather extraordinary for this fact alone. Furthermore, one preface is by no means the translation of the other. Rather, the two prefaces work in tandem—like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that must be fit together. There are a few, deliberate repetitions, but these are not the vestiges of an act of translation; rather, they are important rhetoric threads which bind the two prefaces together and emphasize the key philosophical points that the author is making about the nature of writing. When read as a single text in this way, a defense of the vernacular materializes that recasts Nôm, not as an immature or unorthodox variant of Chinese characters, but as an authentic extension of Chinese writing technology, and thus capable of the same imaginitive and intellectual expressiveness as its classical model. The joint message of these bilingual prefaces lends voice to a remarkable transition in the Vietnamese conception of the vernacular, from something subservient and childish to something which possesses the same spirit and power as Chinese writing.

But Nôm is not cast as an alternative to Chinese writing; rather it is described as an augmentation of it. In the two prefaces, the author endeavors to fuse vernacular writing together with the exalted Chinese script by arguing that it has evolved to a more fully Chinese form (defined below). In effect, the prefaces attempt to reboot the concept of Chữ Nôm—ejecting the notion that it is something separate and inferior to Chinese characters, and replacing it with the

idea that it is of the same substance as Chinese characters, and operates according to the same principles. The Nôm preface precedes the Literary Sinitic preface, an order that is clear from the woodblocks themselves. To reproduce the "joint" nature of the two prefaces, I will provide a close reading of them in this order, followed by an analysis of them as a single, continuous text.

7.31   The Nôm Preface

The author begins by paying respects to an unnamed "wife of the crown prince of the Imperial family," which may be a reference to the Lê empress Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc 鄭氏玉竹 (17th century; more on the queen below). Unlike the Literary Sinitic text, the Nôm preface thus situates itself firmly in contemporary Vietnam, and even acknowledges the "orthodox" world of the imperial family. The author then provides a terse resume of his own educational background, which encompasses both orthodox Confucian pursuits as well as the esoteric ambitions of Buddhism:

> When young, I was famed in the civil lists
> [Now] old, I range the courses of the Buddha in the immortal realm
>
> Trẻ từng vả đẳng khoa danh
> Già lên cõi thọ tầm doành bụt tiên

Thus the author of the preface is neither a Confucian who frowns upon the vernacular, nor a Buddhist with no orthodox claim to intellectuality. The author then promotes the book with the same equanimity:

> [If you wish to] recite sutras or read the books of the Sages
> [Or to] carry the Three Teachings and participate in the exegesis of
>   writings
>
> Then chose this guide
> Which has penetrated heaven and earth, but also understands the human heart.
>
> Tụng kinh đọc sách thánh hiền

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Tải thông ba giáo dự lên sách bầy.

Bèn chọn quyền chỉ nam này
Đã thông thiên địa lại hay nhân tình.

The author has gone out of his way to proclaim a harmonious union between Confucian and Buddhist pursuits, and describes the book as an indispensable resource for either. Taoism is also alluded to (in the "Three Teachings" 三教); however, it is clearly not a major player in the intellectual landscape. It is thus quite tempting to read a conflict of intellectual worlds into the backdrop behind these kinds of statements—a sort of intellectual margin between Confucian orthodoxy and dispossessed Buddhism, along which the vernacular has begun to blossom.

After this laconic salvo, the author quickly turns his attention to the nature of writing itself:

> When the ancient Sages established characters, [they] considered the
>   form,
> Taking the side to indicate meaning, and the body to indicate sound.
>
> Thánh xưa đặt chữ xem hình
> Lấy bằng làm nghĩa lấy mình làm tên[306]

Here, the author of the preface establishes his core definition of orthodox writing: it is semantosyllabic. The Sages—the ultimate intellectual models—are depicted as creating writing explicitly to be semantosyllabic; thus, any writing which deviates from this pattern is defective (or so the claim goes). This is clearly a fictionalizing of history, but it demonstrates an overt preference for semantosyllabicity, which (as discussed in Section 1) played an important role in the development of Nôm.

The author goes on to track the dissemination of this sagely writing system across many peoples:

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[306] All translations of the *Chỉ Nam* are my own, based on manuscript AB.372, held at the Institute for Han-Nôm Research (Viện nghiên cứu Hán-Nôm) in Hanoi. Because only a small inventory of Chữ Nôm characters have been digitized, I have transliterated all Vietnamese text into the modern alphabetic system called *Quốc Ngữ*.

[This] teaching issued forth to ten thousand nations, who transmitted it over and again;[307]

Different nations [employ] different speech, but characters are printed
        according to one rule.

Giáo ra muôn nước thừa truyền
Khác nước khác tiếng chữ in một lề.

What is striking about this couplet is that writing is described as a subduer of linguistic differences—it unites and overcomes language barriers, and in so doing, spreads civilization. Moreover, the pesky diversity of speech—here depicted as an obstacle to civilization—is not reproduced in writing, which follows the "single rule" of semantosyllabicity. This is, in effect, the superiority of writing over speech. There is no mention of China or the Chinese in this terse history; rather, the Sages are presented as the common progenitors of human civilization, with the only defining characteristic of the "civilized" being the use of a semantosyllabic writing system.

        This broad argument is then directly applied to the Vietnamese context. Here, the author admits that vernacular speech differs from the Sinitic mold:

As for common speech, there are orthodox and unorthodox sounds,
[But] its established script is in accordance with the Sages

Nói nôm tiếng thị tiếng phi
Đến lập văn chữ lại y thánh hiền

Thus, just as in his broader narrative of the world's languages, the author here describes the vernacular (literally *nôm*) as different from the orthodox cosmopolitan (i.e., it bears "improper sounds"); however, this is not a problem, because the script adheres to the sagely principles of writing—i.e. it is semantosyllabic. There is a precision to the author's description of the propriety and impropriety of vernacular sounds. This probably reflects the comparison of the

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[307] Loose translation: lit. "…greatly transmitted [it]."

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vernacular with a fossilized inventory of Chinese syllables—more specifically, the HV syllabary, as necessitated by the graphemic construction of Nôm (see section 7.11). It is a good question whether or not medieval Chinese philological sources like the rime tables and rime books (see Chapter 3) were also drafted in the conventionalization of this orthodox syllabary—a very plausible theory. In any event, it is important to note that this is an overt expression of the hyperglossic awareness of the writer: the gulf between Vietnamese and Literary Sinitic is clearly recognized—so much so, that it has become the rhetorical focus of the preface.

At this point, the author slows down the rhetorical flow of the preface by switching to another meter: double seven, six-eight. The insertion of a seven-syllable couplet disrupts the rhythmic sing-song nature of six-eight meter, lending a more prose-like sensibility and an opportunity for emphasis. As Taylor (2011) noted, it is a kind of metrical stress employed to tether the audience's attention to a particular passage (Taylor, 2011, p. 185). In this case, the author is focusing our attention on the history of Nôm itself. The author begins with the reign of the beloved King Sĩ:

> Assuming the throne within the passes, the mantle of governance[308]
> [He] inherited the former work of Qin and Han ancestors.
>
> Because he compiled and disseminated his book
> The meanings of all categories were understood, the right names never confused.
>
>
> Nhập quan trung ngôi thừa tướng phủ
> Thu được Tần Hán tổ công tiên
>
> Vì chưng có sổ chép biên
> gióng nào hiểu ý thực tên chẳng lầm

Although unnamed, the identity of the ruler is understood to be Sĩ Nhiếp (i.e. Shi Xie), who, as discussed in Chapter 3, took up governance of Jiaozhou just as the Han Dynasty was falling—i.e.

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[308] More literally: "Assuming the throne within the passes, and undertaking the ministerial office."

he "inherited the former work of Qin and Han ancestors."[309] Note that "within the passes" (關中) here refers to the Red River Plain, not the Shaanxi and Central Plains (i.e. the traditional heartland of China). This line reflects the common but ambiguous conception of Shi Xie as a Chinese gentleman—but also an independent Vietnamese ruler (see 3.1). More importantly, Shi Xie is credited with bringing an intellectual clarity to Vietnam by composing a book which orders the right sounds and meanings of things (i.e., a dictionary).[310] He thus acts as a latter-day sage, who brings the luminosity of (implicitly semantosyllabic) writing to Vietnamese lands.

And yet, while casting no blame on Shi Xie's achievements, the author suggests that the vernacular writing of the past was primitive and cumbersome:

> In the past, [scholars] made Nôm convoluted and characters doubled,
> The uneducated found [them] difficult to read or understand
>
> Vốn xưa làm Nôm xe chữ kép
> Người thiểu học khôn biết khon xem

The "convoluted" and "doubled" characters of earlier Nôm probably refers to the kind of complex syllabo-alphabetic spelling discussed in Section 1 (i.e. Nguyễn Tài Cẩn's type Đ characters). These are problematic for the author precisely because they represent flagrant violations of the semantosyllabic principle, and in fact represent the most un-Chinese-like of Nôm writing. It is probably this latter point—the violation of the logographic or morphosyllabic principle (i.e. one meaningful unit per square graph) that was the most difficult to ignore from a sinographic point of view.

These primitive forms of Nôm are then compared with the allegedly refined forms of the author's time. Indeed, at the heart of the author's claims about Nôm lies the idea that it has *evolved*:

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[309] The language here implies that the "Qin and Han" ancestors were also the ancestors of the Vietnamese.

[310] In an appendix to the VĐULT, Shi Xie is praised as the "ancestral king of Southern literature" 南文宗王 (VĐULT, 1.224).

Now, Nôm is taught with simple characters,
So that even beginners may easily read and master [them].

The sounds of the graphs are intuitive; they require no explanation[311]
[So] do not laugh, saying that lacking stokes they are rustic.

Bây chừ Nôm dạy chữ đan
Cho người mới học nghỉ xem nghỉ nhuận

Âm tự gần học lọ dạy biết
Mựa cười rằng mất nét thì quê

Nôm is now streamlined, learnable and clear. There is, however, a tension in the claims of the author at this point. From the beginning of the preface, the author has been building a case for the luminosity of semantosyllabic writing; yet here, his praise for contemporary Nôm is that its *sounds* (音字) are close to the spoken language. The author even goes so far as to preempt ridicule for the visual simplicity of the characters. As Taylor (2011) noted, this suggests phonographic improvements in writing, rather than a semantosyllabic development (Taylor, 2011, p. 184). And yet the author has proclaimed his reverance for semantosyllabicity over and again, and we know from the textual record that Nôm grows steadily more semantosyllabic through time. How to reconcile this tension?

One possibility is to theorize that the syllabically complex forms which required syllabo-alphabetic transcription were falling steadily out of the language. As noted briefly in 4.2, these persist until the 17th century: we have a few attested in the Ming diplomatic vocabulary aide, the *Huayi yiyu* (early 17th century; mentioned in Section 1), as well as a few clusters in Alexandre de Rhodes (1591-1660) 1651 Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary. However, those attested in the de Rhodes dictionary are quite limited (essentially only medial-liquid clusters remain), and these quickly disappear as well. It is very possible that the variety of Vietnamese spoken by the *Chỉ Nam* compiler was largely devoid of these syllabic complexities, meaning that Vietnamese was now better shaped for a script whose smallest unit was a syllable. In other words, it is

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[311] More literally: "The sounds of the characters are close to what is learned; there is no need to teach them."

possible that the enhanced phonography of Nôm as reported by the author here, refers to changes in the Vietnamese language rather than changes in the graphemic architecture of the script.

Ultimately, the author's claim is that Nôm is "in accordance with the Sages"—it is an elegant, readable, semantosyllabic script just like Chinese characters. This is an absolute fiction. The Nôm of the *Chỉ Nam* is neither standardized nor even very semantosyllabic; according to one count, the text is comprised of 82% phonographic characters to a mere 18% semantosyllabic characters (Trần Xuân, 1985, p. 51). Nevertheless, what is important is the conceptualization of Nôm as something sagely and on-par with Chinese characters, rather than something heterodox and childish. Note also that there is virtually no mention of China or the Chinese anywhere in the Nôm preface, with the slight and indirect exception of the "Qin and Han ancestors," which are also implied as a common heritage. The Sages are presented as nationless progenitors of human civilization, which is defined principly by the use of semantosyllabic writing. The absence of the Chinese in the invention and dissemination of that writing is an importance silence of the Nôm preface, conspicuously voiced in the Literary Sinitic text.

7.32 The Literary Sinitic preface

In contrast to the historically and geographically rooted Nôm preface, the Literary Sinitic preface opens on to a primordial stage:

> Lo, when the positions of the Three Fundamental Powers were established, all
> was a jumbled vastness, [and] men and phenomena were difficult to name.
>
> 夫，三才定位，盖混茫，人物難名。

Use of the cosmopolitan medium licenses the author to amplify his discussion to cosmological levels. The primordial past is characterized by a fundamental confusion of names and meanings. This intellectual wilderness is tamed by the Five Thearchs 五帝, who "established the

foundations [of the realm], and set up provinces and districts."[312] The choice to invoke the trope of the Five Thearchs is deliberate and establishes the author's narrative as one of domestication.

The author elaborates on the domesticative power of the Sages in a specifically metalinguistic context:

> Mountains and springs, grasses and trees have their form and have their designation. The numerous categories were extremely complex. **With neither writing nor the proper indication of names, the multitude of ignorants found it difficult to discern [things].**
>
> 山川，草木有其形而有其號。庶類甚繁。**非文字亦非指名，群蒙難識。**
> (my emphasis)

The author is alluding to a longstanding tradition in Chinese metalinguistics of an underlying logic governing what in Saussurian terms would be *signifiers* and the *signified*. In this case, the author uses *forms* (形) and *designations* (號), but the essential principle is the same—except that there is an orthodoxy dictating which forms are expressed by which designations. In fact, the scrambling of such an order is thought to render both intellectual and socio-political chaos. One of the oldest contributions to this notion can be found in the *Analects*, where the character of Confucius claims: "If names are not proper, then speech is disordered; if speech is disordered, then affairs cannot proceed" (*Analects*, 13:3).[313] Thus if the proper ordering of *forms* and *designations* (to use the *Chỉ Nam* terminology) is confused, the ordering of the state itself is in danger. The hierarchy of forms and their designations was also taken up by Neo-Taoist (*xuanxue* 玄學) philosopher Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249), who described a "distinguishing of names" 辨名 as prerequisite to the accurate parsing of reality.[314] It is in this tradition that the preface author describes the pre-literate chaos of the world.

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[312] The "Five Emperors" or the "Five Thearchs" are: the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝), Zhuan Xu 顓頊, Di Ku 帝嚳, Tang Yao 帝嚳 and Yu Shun 虞舜. They were considered the founders of civilization.

[313] This is the same passage that Lu Deming quotes in his preface to the *Textual Explications of the Classics & Canon*, discussed in Chapter 3. See Note 186 for a full translation of this passage.

[314] See note 188.

Of course, the Sages arrive to alleviate this condition of universal suffering—in this case, by the invention of writing:

> Thus, since ancient times the Sages have established the side to indicate meaning, thereby rectified the speaking of names.
>
> 夫，自古聖人立傍說義，以正言名。 [315]

The "side" here refers to a radical (部首) that occupies the side of a character. Again, the Sages invent writing, and again the writing they invent is semantosyllabic.[316] This is the only moment in the two prefaces where there is an almost word-for-word correspondence between the two texts; compare this with the analogous Nôm line already discussed:

> When the ancient Sages established characters, [they] considered the form,
> Took the side to indicate meaning, and the body to indicate sound.
>
> Thánh xưa đặt chữ xem *hình*
> Lấy bằng làm nghĩa lấy *mình* làm tên

As is by now amply clear, neither preface can be understood as a translation of the other. However, the close-knit similarity between these two lines forms a rhetorical tether between them, both allowing us to read the two prefaces as a single, continous text and underscoring the importance of semantosyllabicity as the guiding principle of sagely writing.

In a striking departure from the Nôm preface, the Literary Sinitic preface goes on to define the role of the Chinese in the history of writing:

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[315] There is another way to read the Literary Sinitic here that produces an even tighter parallelism with the Nôm. Instead of positing an underlying pronoun (之) after the coverb 以 and reading 正言名 as factor- (正) -object (言名), one can take 正 as the object of the coverb 以; thus giving something like "…and took the main [part] to articulate the name." In this reading, the nominal 正 ("main part") would be parallel with the *mình* ("body") of the Nôm line. However, this is not the most natural way to parse the sentence, and so I have preferred the factor-object reading in my translation.

[316] Though not named, the author clearly has in mind Cang Jie 倉頡 (Viet. *Thương Hiệt*), the mythical inventor of Chinese characters, in his cosmological narrative here.

[Semantosyllabic writing] allowed the Middle Kingdom to understand [things] easily, [while] the outer barbarians were left in confusion.

使中國易明，外夷尤或。[317]

The line between civilized and wild is now explicitly drawn between the Middle Kingdom and the outer barbarians. There is no politic silence regarding the Han origin of writing, as in the Nôm preface. Rather, the superiority of the "Middle Kingdom" is explained—as a natural effect of their possession of semantosyllabic writing. The Middle Kingdom is able to order an intellectual wilderness that continues to befuddle and mire the "outer barbarians," ostensibly explaining their cultural and political advantage throughout history. Han supremacy in East Asia, according to the author, boils down to a technological advantage. Of course, the key technology is semantosyllabic writing.

The position of the Vietnamese with regard to both the "Middle Kingdom" and the "outer barbarians" is deliberately ambiguous here. Vietnamese intellectuals with orthodox training considered themselves part of the educated elite of East Asia, and did not by any means place themselves on the "barbarian" side of its intellectual geography. Their participation in a hyperglossic Sinitic order defined them as civilized. Nevertheless, the prefaces are discussing the nature and evolution of the vernacular mode, and the vernacular mode was most certainly viewed by Vietnamese intellectuals as a wild and untamed thing. It is therefore important to recognize that the author of the prefaces is culturally delinked from the vernacular he discusses. He is implying that the vernacular, similar to the mired and backward barbarians, is a disorderly and uncivilized realm—but he is not claiming that Vietnam or the Vietnamese intellectual elite are. Indeed, the Vietnamese considered themselves already civilized by their mastery of Literary Sinitic. Nevertheless, the vernacular is envisioned almost as a geographical space within the otherwise civilized Vietnamese realm, that has not yet been cleared or cultivated. For the

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[317] Here, the author uses 或 for 惑.

civilized Vietnamese elite, the vernacular was thus a problem that required a solution, a wild space that needed cultivation.

According to the author of the prefaces, others had attempted to domesticate the vernacular in the past. In another striking repetition with the Nôm preface, the author turns to the reign of Shi Xie next:

> [We] arrive at the time of King Sĭ, who turned his chariot toward our country [and ruled] for over forty years. [He] greatly spread civilization[318] and unraveled the meanings of southern customs. In order to penetrate chapter and verse he gathered together poems and songs in the vernacular [國語]; for the purpose of comprehending their designations and names, he organized their rimes [in the] *Guide to Collected Works* in two fascicles.
>
> 至於士王之時，移車就國四十餘年。大行教化，解義南俗。以通章句集成國語詩歌，以識號名韻依指南品彙，上下二卷。

The prose in this passage is rather dense at points and requires some unpacking. Shi Xie (who is referred to by name here) is attributed with two actions: 1) collecting vernacular poems and songs; and 2) reasoning out the sounds and rimes of the vernacular to understand them, thus creating the first vernacular glossary—i.e. the *Guide to Collected Works*. Note that while Shi Xie chiefly brought up to initiate a narrative about the history of Nôm in the last preface, here, the writing system is ignored and his authorshop of a *book* is lauded as a kind of successful intellectual "taming" of southern culture.

Yet this ancient attempt to order the vernacular was not completely successful. As in the Nôm preface, a deficiency in past vernacularity is described. However, rather then discuss the mechanics of Nôm itself, the author simply comments on the book as a whole:

> Scholars found it difficult to comprehend. This old monk pays homage to Hương Ngọc, who has glossed its characters and unraveled its meanings, and handwritten them into a book. [This work] can be said to elucidate the minute essence of the Sage [i.e. King Sĭ], and allows its readers to navigate rimes and connect tones.

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[318] More literally, "transformed [peoples] through teaching."

學者難詳。茲宿襌謹香玉，音其字，解其義，手寫帙成。可謂明明賢詳之
要，使其讀者走韻連聲。

This is one of the most contested passages of either preface—largely because it appears to attribute the scholarly work of the dictionary to a woman, referred to by the respectful (but suggestively feminine) term *fragrant jade* 香玉 (Viet. *hương ngọc*). I will defer a discussion of the authorship of the dictionary to the next section, in which I contextualize the historical production of the *Chỉ Nam*. At this point, what is important to note is that the Literary Sinitic preface overtly claims the present dictionary to be a clarification of the original work of King Sĩ—i.e. the vernacular glossary to southern songs and poems entitled *Guide to Collected Works* 指南品彙 (Viet. *Chỉ nam phẩm vị*). Nôm was described explicitly as an evolved form of writing in the vernacular preface; in the Literary Sinitic preface, Nôm is ignored and the *Chỉ Nam* itself is described (respectfully) as an improvement over Sĩ Nhiếp's glossary. In this way, the Literary Sinitic preface avoids any overt mention or discussion of Chữ Nôm—an important silence which, as we have already seen, is fully voiced in the Nôm preface.

The Literary Sinitic preface thus narrates the spread of civilization beginning with the Sages, who invent semantosyllabic writing (thus giving the Middle Kingdom a technological edge over the "outer barbarians"), then moving on to the efforts of Shi Xie who domesticated southern culture and language by creating a glossary of poems and songs, and finally arriving at the merits of the present dictionary—a clarification and modernizing of Shi Xie's work. The author, who speaks in the (Literary Sinitic) voice of the classical literatus, identifies the vernacular as an example of the backwardness of the "outer barbarians," which has hitherto suffered from a lack of proper semantosyllabic representation. Semantosyllabic writing (in the form of the Han script) is depicted as the supreme invention of the Middle Kingdom, responsible for its intellectual its unrivaled superiority. Nôm is not mentioned at all.

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The two prefaces interlock like jigsaw puzzle pieces to form a single, continous text. Each text presents a contoured narrative which is complemented by the shape of the other. The Nôm preface describes the history of vernacular writing as an evolution toward sageliness, with no mention of a middle/periphery divide. The Literary Sinitic preface describes the spread of civilization as an effect of the Middle Kingdom's invention of writing, with no mention of Nôm whatsoever. Both prefaces focus on Shi Xie as a source of luminosity, and both prefaces define sagely writing as semantosyllabic in architecture.

If read as a single, continous text, these disparate elements suddenly coalesce. Nôm is reconceived as a legitimate extension of Chinese writing technology. This is accomplished through a kind of rhetorical transitivity. In brief, the Nôm preface praises Chữ Nôm as a fully-formed, semantosyllabic writing system; the Literary Sinitic preface then describes the domesticative and civilizing power of the *Han* semantosyllabic writing system. By rhetorical transitivity, the reader cannot escape the conclusion that Nôm is also a fully civilizing, sagely writing system capable of domesticating intellectually wild and unorthodox spaces just like the Han script. That said, Nôm is not offered in competition with the Han script; the author's emphasis on the shared principle of semantosyllabicity eliminates this possiblity. Rather, by claiming that Nôm operates according to the same principles as Han characters, the author is attempting to recast Nôm as part and parcel of the same technological system—an extension of that technology to cover southern words and ideas. The author is effectively trying to reformat the reigning conception of Nôm: to refute the idea that Nôm is different and inferior, and replace it with the idea that Nôm is nothing more than an extension or augmentation of orthodox, classical, and cosmopolitan Han script. Finally, only the mature, bilingual literatus is capable of accessing this complete message of the two prefaces. As Taylor (2011) noted, students were probably more geared toward the vernacular preface due to defective or incomplete mastery of

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Literary Sinitic (Taylor, 2011, p. 184). However, the mature intellectual—master of both Nôm and Han characters, and thus vernacular speech and Literary Sinitic—would read these prefaces as we have, as a single, continous text thus rebooting Nôm as a legitimate extension of Han writing technology. Indeed, the bilingualism that was required to recognize this joint argument was itself a kind of practical evidence for the claims of the author. If Nôm and Han characters, vernacular speech and Literary Sinitic could coexist within the mind of a single literatus, then surely this was proof that the gulf between the vernacular and the classical had been successfully obliterated. In other words, this last, undomesticated region of the southern civilized world was finally ready for mature, literate cultivation.

7.33 On the compiler of the *Chỉ Nam*

As already noted, the *Chỉ Nam* was most likely published in 1641. This is based on a sexagenary date (辛巳) recorded on all three surviving manuscripts, with one notable exception: the manuscript held by the *Societé Asiatique* coded HM2225 also includes a reign title corresponding to 1761. However, Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985) showed on the basis of textual consistencies and discrepancies between the three manuscripts that the HM2225 manuscript was produced considerably later, which is consistent with a burst of reprintings of old texts that occurred in the mid 18th century (Trần Xuân, 1985, pp. 13-17). Trần Xuân also noted a broad white streak on page 53a of the AB372 manuscript (upon which own my translations have relied), and theorized that the AB372 manuscript was produced first, then suffered damage to three of its woodblocks (among which page 53a occurs), which spurred the carving of three replacement blocks.[319] However this new set of blocks (which corresponds to the second extant manuscript, a personal copy owned by the late Nguyễn Tài Cẩn) was eventually damaged itself, leading to the

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[319] The streak cuts across the middle of the 53a page, cutting those characters in half, and looks very much like a deep crack in the board.

production of an entirely new set of carvings—i.e. the HM2225 manuscript (ibid., p. 15). This explains why the AB372 manuscript and Nguyễn Tài Cẩn's manuscripts are for the most part more consistent with each other in comparison with the divergent HM2225 manuscript, but why Nguyễn Tài Cẩn's manuscript shares certain key consistencies with the HM2225 manuscript around page 53a. It also suggests, as Trần Xuân (1985) concluded, that the re-printers of the HM225 edition noted the sexagenary date of their base manuscript, and simply assigned the most recent (辛巳) year to to their version (ibid.).

This brings us to the question of authorship. The identity of the scholar behind the dictionary has been a matter of some controversy, mostly because of the possibility that it was a woman. Recall the passage in the Literary Sinitic preface where a mysterious *Hương Ngọc* ("fragrant jade") is credited with the compilation of the dictionary. Remember also that the Nôm preface opens with respects paid to a certain "wife of the crown prince." In the first study published on the *Chỉ Nam*, Trần Văn Giáp (1969) raised the possibility of a connection between the dictionary and the wife of Emperor Lê Thần Tông 黎神宗 (1619-1643), a woman named Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc 鄭氏玉竹. This was based on the known religious name of the Lê empress, *Pháp Tính* 法性—a name which also appears in the Nôm preface (see below). However, Lê Văn Quán (1981), Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985) and Nguyễn Định Hòa (1995) all agreed that a female author was unlikely based on the virulently male Confucian society of the Lê and the fact that Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc's meritorious deeds associated with the name *Pháp Tính* did not seem to include any literary achievements (Lê V. Q., 1981, p. 181; Trần Xuân, 1985, pp. 47-48; Nguyễn Đ. H., 1995, p. 120).

However, Taylor (2011) refuted these claims by pointing out that it was quite unlikely that the author of the preface was the compiler of the dictionary—especially given the praise lavished upon the book in both texts (Taylor, 2011, p. 189).[320] I agree with this point and would

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[320] For more information on the historical background of Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc and evidence for her authorship of the dictionary, please see Taylor (2011) pp. 188-191.

add that the unorthodox (i.e. Buddhist temple) site of production further supports the plausibility of a female intellect behind the dictionary.

The controversy over the possible involvement of the Lê empress is centered on the following line from the Nôm preface (not translated above), in which the name *Pháp Tính* appears:[321]

> As for the fragrant worthy of Hồng Phúc, Chân Pháp Tính
> Only by her flowering brush was this book assembled.
>
> Hồng Phúc danh hương, Chân Pháp Tính
> Bút hoa bèn mới đính nên thiên.

The parsing of this text is contested, with Đào Duy Anh (1975) placing the caesura after the second character (i.e. *Hồng Phúc, danh Hương Chân Pháp Tính*), while Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985) places it after the fourth as I have done above (Đào, 1975, pp. 160, 163; Trần Xuân, 1985, p. 75). Notably, Đào Duy Anh subscribes to the theory of a female compiler, whereas Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan does not. According to Đào, the line should be read: "At Hồng Phúc, [she who is] named Hương Chân Pháp Tính," a reading that not only requires a great deal of ellision to understand its connection with the second line in the couplet, but also fails to maintain a satisfying parallelism with it as well.

As shown above, I have followed Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan's parsing, but contrary to her conclusions, I believe this actually supports Empress Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc as the compiler. Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985) notes Đào Duy Anh's reading of the line on page 47, but then moves the caesura to after the fourth word in her transcription of the line on page 75 with no explanation. I believe her punctuation is correct, but with the following interpretation: *Hồng Phúc* = the name of a temple; *danh hương* = "fragrant name" (with the sense of a 'respected personage'), and *chân Pháp Tính* = an exhuberance of the religious name *Pháp Tính* meaning "[True] Dharma Nature."

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[321] These lines actually initiate the double seven, six-eight passage discussed above.

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Both *pháp tính* 法性 and *chân pháp tính* 真法性 are used interchangeably for "dharma nature" or "buddha nature" in Buddhist parlance, and the author probably added the *chân* to the religious name *Pháp Tính* here simply to round out the seven syllable metrical requirement. It reads smoothly and appropriately, since the thrust of the line is eulogistic and the added *chân* lends a bit of a flourish. Furthermore, punctuating it in this way preserves consistent parallelism with the second line of the couplet, i.e. *Hồng Phúc/flowering brush; fragrant name/only then;* and *chân Pháp Tính/ formed into a book.*

Read in this fashion it is quite easy to reconcile *chân Pháp Tính* with Empress Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc, whose religious name was *Pháp Tính.* Do not forgot also, the rather feminine reference to *hương ngọc* 香玉 in the Literary Sinitic text. Finally, Hồng Phúc temple (present day Hoè Nhai Temple) is located in Hanoi (then Thăng Long, the Lê capital), and is thus consistent with royal patronage.[322]

Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985) nervetheless argued that a term of address framing the name *Pháp Tính* in another line negates the possibility of a female author—that is, *tăng* 僧 ("monk") instead of *ni* 尼 or *ni tăng* 尼僧 ("nun") (Trần Xuân, 1985, p. 47). The line in question appears in the (later) HM2225 manuscript and Nguyễn Tài Cẩn's personal copy, but not in the (older) AB372 manuscript:

宿僧法性撰   túc tăng **Pháp Tính** soạn

"Edited by the eminent monk, Pháp Tính (my emphasis)."

The line occurs between the first and second fascicles of the dictionary and certainly does appear to suggest a male monk rather than a woman. And yet, it is striking that the line occurs exactly

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[322] Since the Hồ Dynasty (1400-1407), Hanoi had been referred to as the "Eastern Capital" 東都 (Viet. *Đông Đô*), in comparison with Hồ Quý Ly's main citadel, the "Western Capital" 西都 (Viet. *Tây Đô*) in Thanh Hoá. When the Ming reconquered Vietnam in 1407 they renamed the area Jiaozhou 郊州 after its Han Dynasty designation (Viet. *Giao Châu*). When the Lê ejected the Ming in 1427, they revived the Lý name for the city, "Ascending Dragon" 昇 龍 (Viet. *Thăng Long*). See: Đào Duy Anh (2010), p. 173.

on page 53a of the two later manuscripts—that is, the portion of the original woodblocks that were destroyed and later replaced. The presence of a male title for Pháp Tính is nowhere to be found in the AB372 manuscript, which again was argued by Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan herself to be the original text. It is therefore quite plausible that the producers of the later woodblocks were unaware of the text's original authorship aside from the genderless religious name *Pháp Tính*, and being products of a male-dominated society made the very reasonable assumption that this *Pháp Tính* was a man. When marking the second fascile in their reprinting, they thus assigned a male title to the name.

In summary, the arguments against a female compiler are not as compelling as those in favor. Claims for a male compiler based on the educational resumé provided in the Nôm preface are moot since, as Taylor (2011) noted, the author of the prefaces was almost certainly not the compiler of the dictionary. Furthermore, the male title *túc tăng* 宿僧, which does not occur in the oldest manuscript of the dictionary, was most likely the result of an erroneous (but understandable) assumption on the part of the later printers. More to the point, accepting Empress Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc as the compiler of the dictionary allows us to explain several wrinkles about the *Chỉ Nam* in one stroke. It accounts for the feminine metaphor of "fragrant jade" 香玉 (*hương ngọc*) in the Literary Sinitic preface, explains why the Nôm preface begins with a salutation to a wife of the imperial clan; and most importantly, it provides an easy reading for the phrase *chân Pháp Tính* 真法性 (as a eulogistic exhuberance of the religious name *Pháp Tính* 法性) in the Nôm preface, thus allowing us to connect the attested name of the compiler *Pháp Tính* to its only other known instantiation as a name in Vietnamese history. Finally, this association is consistent with lexicographic evidence gathered by Trần Xuân Ngọc Lan (1985), who—despite her discomfort with the notion of a female compiler—showed that the rate of phonography vs. semantosyllabicity in the text confirms a mid-17th century date for the dictionary. Given the conspiracy of these points, I believe it is only reasonable to conclude, as

Taylor (2011) argued, that the compiler of the dictionary was not only a woman, but was in all likelihood the Lê Empress Trịnh Thị Ngọc Trúc.

7.4   A crossroads in the history of vernacularization

This idea appears to have gained wider support among historians than philologists, for some reason (see: Taylor, 2011, p. 188 & p. 197, note 19). Indeed, the female authorship of such a text makes good historical sense. A 1641 date (which is accepted even by those who reject the possibility of a female compiler) places the *Chỉ nam* directly between the low-level vernacularity of the 15th-16th centuries and the high-level fecundity of the 18th-19th centuries. This timing illuminates the uniquely self-conscious "defense of Chữ Nôm" that we find in the text of the *Chỉ nam* prefaces. We can imagine a slow crescendo of vernacularity building in temples far from the orthodox Neo-Confucianism of the Lê court, to the point where it burst past the confining margins of its buddhist enclosure. Moreover, it is not difficult to imagine that educated women might have embraced vernacular writing in these spaces of unorthodoxy—nor would such a thing be unique in the history of East Asia. The diary tradition in Japan comes to mind immediately, as does the syllabary known as *nüshu* 女書, used by the women of southern Hunan to represent a local variety of Southern Xiang 湘南土話. The marginalized status of the Lê buddhist temple may have provided a natural habitat for intellectually curious women who were barred from orthodox education. Indeed, throughout the early modern period, the temple was considered a feminine space while the *đình* 庭, a sort of Confucian town hall, was the domain of men.[323]

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[323] For a discussion of the social and cultural roles of the temple and community hall, please see Hà Văn Tấn's (1993) *Chùa Việt Nam (Buddhist Temples in Vietnam)*; and (1998) *Đình Việt Nam* (*Community Halls in Vietnam)*.

The *Chỉ nam* was produced toward the end of this "buddhist exile," during another convulsive moment in the educational history of Vietnam. Despite the firm establishment of a Neo-Confucian educational system in the 15th century, classical literacy waned in the 16th and 17th centuries, when Đại Việt plunged into factionalized civil war—first between the Mạc clan and the Trịnh and Nguyễn clans, and then between the Trịnh and Nguyễn themselves. Keith Taylor (2011) describes a "pedagogical crisis" in the 17th century, in which "students were being defeated in their efforts to bridge the gap between vernacular speech and classical literacy" (Taylor, 2011, p. 187). It is not hard to imagine the rising popularity of vernacular practices during a time when classical literacy was being eroded. In fact, this decay of orthodox education may have helped to level the playing field between Confucian scholars, and the Buddhist intellectuals who were engaging with the vernacular. It is exactly during this time—the middle of the 17th century—when the *Chỉ Nam* is produced.

It was thus, perhaps, the felicitious coincidence of a growing (if subaltern) cultivation of Chữ Nôm with the erosion of orthodox literacy among the mainstream, which spurred the author of the *Chỉ Nam* prefaces to redefine the nature of vernacular writing. For the author of the prefaces, Nôm was worthy of broader use because it was no longer something different and inferior to the classical script; it was now one and the same with Han characters, and could be used for both Buddhist and Confucian purposes. In the centuries that followed the production of the *Chỉ nam*, the Vietnamese elite followed suite, reveling in the new possibilities for expression afforded by the hybridizing and synergistic fusion of the classical and vernacular modes.

This chapter thus describes the development of a vernacular literary tradition in constant negotiation with the Sinitic. Though scant and circumstantial, we have historical and philological evidence for a limited tradition of vernacular writing peaking in the Trần Dynasty of the 13th and 14th centuries. This tradition was given imperial endorsement, at least as a pedagogical tool, during Hồ Quý Ly's brief reign from 1400-1407. However, whatever vernacular practices were cultivated until that point were severely disrupted by the Ming

occupation of Vietnam from 1407-1427, and the subsequent establishment of a strong Neo-Confucian society by the Lê of the 15th century. And yet it was during this "golden age" of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy that the vernacular began to grow in earnest, along the margins of intellectual society—specifically fostered in the temples of a dispossessed Buddhist elite. The transmogrification of the Literary Sinitic text of the *Cổ Châu* for non-elite needs and tastes stands out as an important example of early vernacular creativity. This nevertheless subaltern practice laid the foundations for what would ultimately become a thriving—and mainstream—vernacular tradition in the 18th-19th centuries. However, this required a paradigm shift in the conception of Nôm itself—an erasure of the idea that it was an inferior and defective replica of the Han script, and the promotion in its stead of the idea that it was now a legitimate and authentic extension of Han writing technology. These are the claims that we find in the remarkable bilingual prefaces to the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*, a text which cuts across categories of society, religion, language, script and even gender. It stands at a crossroads in the history of vernacular writing; but rather than attempt to rupture with the prevailing mode, it seeks to align, fuse, and unite. It is in this sense an uncanny prediction of the kind of avant-garde, hybridized vernacular literature that would flourish in the following two centuries. Then again, since the author of its prefaces so shrewdly refutes the social biases that had hitherto proscribed the use of Nôm, perhaps this is not so surprising after all. The dictionary was recarved at least twice more after its initial production. In the claims of the prefaces to the *Chỉ Nam*, perhaps Vietnamese intellectuals of the 17th and 18th centuries found exactly the justification and license they needed to explore a new realm of thought, imagination and expression—a guide, as it were, to the re-imagined world of the vernacular.[324]

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[324] It is interesting to note that at roughly the same time (around the second quarter of the 17th century), Christian missionaries were in fact producing large amounts of Nôm writing as part of their religious efforts. For a discussion of Christian Nôm texts, see Ostrowski (2010).

The development of a literary dimension to Vietnamese indicates a reformulation of its social architecture. The obsolescence of AMC as the dominant spoken form meant a severing of the diglossic relationship in the society, and its replacement with a hyperglossic condition reminiscent of Korea or Japan. The dispossession of Buddhist elites and their reorientation away from the court (as a Sinitic institution) catalyzed an interest in and cultivation of vernacular forms of literary expression. However, according to Sheldon Pollock, the "vernacularization" that accompanied the development of Nôm appears stunted or unrealized when compared with the revolution of Kannada in Karnataka, or of course the Romance languages in post-Latin Europe (see Pollock, 2000). Only in Japan, according to Pollock, was a true measure of vernacularization achieved. Some of this judgment must represent an artifact of Pollock's scope of interest; he is focused on the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis" and its comparison with Europe, and East Asia lies mostly beyond the range of his enormous book. Nevertheless, I believe the theoretical apparatus that Pollock introduced actually helps us to understand the nature of Vietnamese so-called "vernacularization."

As the vernacular began to grow under the attention of Buddhist elites, it naturally butted against the only form of written literary expression that the Vietnamese were accustomed to—Literary Sinitic. And yet Literary Sinitic occupied a hyperglossic relation to Vietnamese, not a "diglossic" relationship in which the fantasy of a clear and unbroken connection to the prestige language could be maintained and performed. In practical terms, this means that Literary Sinitic did not represent the Vietnamese language, nor could the Vietnamese pretend that it did. Thus, alongside the growth of Nôm writing, a desire emerged to create a diglossic partner for Vietnamese—a form tethered to Vietnamese speech. This sounds like classic vernacularization. However, Vietnamese elites still harbored the fantasy that Literary Sinitic was in some way naturally harmonious with their own language. The disruption of this fantasy in Korea was specifically recorded by King Sejeong's *Hunmin Jeongeum* 訓民正音 (1446), which states:

The sounds of the kingdom's language are different than [those of] the Middle Kingdom, and in writing, are not compatible with its script.

國之語音，異乎中國，與文字不相流通。(Sejong, 1.1)

In Vietnam, elites clung to the fantasy that this was not the case—in other words, the fantasy that Literary Sinitic existed in a diglossic (and not a hyperglossic) relation to Vietnamese speech. This puts the sentiments of the *Chỉ nam* into perspective: the author is trying to find a way to promote Nôm without sacrificing this fantasy of unity. The only answer, of course, is to claim that Nôm is *no different than* sinographic writing, but rather, represents a critical extension of sinographic technology to extend over hitherto uncultivated intellectual regions. In other words, by re-imagining Nôm as a simple extension of Han civilizing technology, applied to intellectual regions that were yet to be cultivated, the author the *Chỉ Nam* made it possible to reconcile the production of a new literary language without challenging the authority or power of the reigning cosmopolitan.

That arrangement would ultimately change, and by the 19th century a desire to break with the sinographic mold would emerge. But our exploration of Sinitic influences on the social and phonological development of Vietnamese ends with the watershed of the *Chỉ Nam*, which propelled Vietnamese into a whole new relationship with the Sinitic—one in which both languages were technological equals—partners in an aesthetic and intellectual mission to inscribe the world with a civilizing, literary representation. As shown in the past six chapters, Vietnamese and its ancestor have enjoyed a long intimacy with Sinitic forms. That twisting and transformative history is nowhere better recorded than in the alloyed and mosaic forms of Nôm literature, in which we find not only the accreted layers of lexical and phonological influences, but the production of an entire imaginitive world born out of the fusion of Vietnamese and Sinitic expression.

8.0   Interdisciplinarity in practice

The past seven chapters have assembled a new history of Sino-Vietnamese contact that differs sharply from prevailing narratives of its nature and effects. Rather than facilitated by the rote glossing practices that characterized the transfusion of Sinitic language among Korean or Japanese societies, Sino-Vietnamese linguistic contact was anchored in a sustained and intimate bilingualism that stretched from the 1st century BCE through the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium CE. The political and cultural terms of this protracted expanse of time shaped the structural transfusion of Sinitic words and features into Vietnamese and its immediate ancestor, pVM, in ways that fundamentally set it apart from the hyperglossic experiences of other Sinoxenic cultures. The effects of this formative experience continued to shape Sino-Vietnamese linguistic evolution even as Vietnamese speakers entered into the hyperglossic cosmopolitanism of the 2nd millennium.

The history I have presented here is not intelligible in terms of a single disciplinary approach. Nevertheless, while language history is an interdisciplinary affair, the practice of interdisciplinarity must respect disciplinary boundaries in order to fully exploit the powerful investigative tools and methods that are at our disposal. Though culture and society condition, and are in turn conditioned by the structure of language, my analysis of each of these dimensions of the linguistic experience was necessarily conducted separately, to allow each of the disciplines I have engaged in to tell their full story. To do otherwise is to put the cart before the horse, to run the risk of circularity, and to ignore the point of disciplinarity in the first place: to use particular intellectual tools to uncover particular aspects of knowledge. Only by completing these analyses on their own terms can we join them together to form a reliable and informative picture of a given phenomenon.

For these reasons, I will now reconsider the effects of Sino-Vietnamese historical contact cultural and structural perspectives in turn. Section 8.1 reviews the lexical and phonological aspects of Sino-Vietnamese history presented in this dissertation, while 8.2 summarizes its cultural and intellectual developments. In 8.3, I will conclude with some remarks on the nature and tenor of Sino-Vietnamese contact as I have presented in this dissertation.

8.1   Lexical and phonological developments

In Chapters 2, 4 and 6, I provided a phonological profile for each of the three major Sino-Vietnamese strata as well as an analysis of the type of contact responsible for their entry into the Vietnamese lexicon. These strata may be summarized as follows:

TABLE 8.1: SUMMARY OF SINO-VIETNAMESE LAYERS

Phase	Dynastic Period	Description
EARLY SV	Han	-Borrowing via intensive bilingual contact -Specific technological or social terminology (very few verbs or grammatical words)
	Jin	
LATE SV (HÁN-VIỆT)	Lý (post-Tang)	-Adstratal effect from language shift -Grammatical words; some verbs -Combined, fossilized remains of AMC diglossia
RECENT SV	Lê onwards (Ming-Qing)	-Borrowing via casual contact -Colloquial, orally-transmitted words from southern Sinitic varieties -Modern neologisms created by Chinese and Japanese intellectuals, rendered in LSV phonology - Borrowing from contemporary Sinitic prestige forms (i.e. not LSV) - Reading mistakes

Early Sino-Vietnamese

Chapter 2 refined the phonological criteria used to distinguish ESV from other strata of the vocabulary. It also confirmed that most ESV lexica dates to a Jin wave of immigration (following the Yongjia rebellion of the 4th century), and that the bulk of ESV is more consistent with EMC than with OC. ESV thus comprises two distinct waves: a Han ESV initiated by Ma Yuan's sinicizing reforms of the 1st century CE (for which we have only a few distinguishable examples) and a Jin ESV which resulted from the flood of northern émigrés fleeing the Yongjia rebellion of the 4th century. The borrowed lexica are mostly content words consisting of nouns of a specialized social or technological nature, and those few examples of verbs that had previously been suggested as ESV by Wang Li (e.g. *bay* "to fly"; *ngả* "face up") were shown not to be Sinitic in etymology.

Late Sino-Vietnamese

Chapter 4 presented evidence of a regional source for LSV, which I called Annamese Middle Chinese. I furthermore hypothesized AMC to be the Red River Delta instantiation of a

larger dialect continuum, which I called Southwestern Middle Chinese (following Hashimoto, 1978). At its greatest extent, SWMC may have stretched from the Red River Delta up through Guangxi and into the southwestern parts of Hunan. The comparative demographic density of Jiao for much of the first millennium suggests that the Red River Delta may even have been the epicenter of this dialect continuum. Probable modern descendants include Southwestern or Old Xiang 西南/老湘 and the unclassified Pinghua varieties 平話.

When the Tang empire disintegrated in the 10th century and an independent statehood claimed control of the region, cultural, intellectual, and demographic continuity with the Sinitic speaking heartlands, which relied on Tang administration to obtain, was severely disrupted. As Annamese society reoriented itself inward and local forms of power and society began to emerge (in the absence of a strong northern administration), the primacy of Sinitic language began to wane, until ultimately, it was abandoned as a spoken language altogether. The obsolescence of AMC must have occurred over several bilingual generations, and by bilingual I mean individuals capable of both AMC and pVM. The AMC-capable communities probably shrank (and certainly were no longer "fed" by regular administrative circuits) after the fall of the Tang. As the daily cultural relevance of spoken Sinitic receded in the face of an increasingly pVM society, the command of spoken Sinitic in each generation of AMC speakers must also have diminished, while the prominence of pVM grew.

This is exactly parallel to the kinds of processes that obtain in immigrant populations of the United States today, often resulting in varieties of English heavily marked by words and features of their native languages. The difference is that the AMC speaker community was in fact the prestige community in the new Vietnamese kingdom, and so their pattern of sinicized pVM, complete with its hybridized lexicon of grammatical vocabulary (see 4.7 and 6.2), was reproduced and diffused throughout a new social network centered on the Red River Delta. This resulted in LSV. As discussed in 4.7, we must add to this scenario an unbroken educational system that perpetuated a more formal pattern of enunciation, perhaps following models of *vox*

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auctoritas popularized by Tang hyper-literary culture (see chapter 3). This literate tradition survived when spoken AMC was lost, and the fossilized remains of each diglossic register eventually formed the conventionalized system of Sinitic glosses now known as *Hán-Việt*. This history explains not only the largely functional composition of commonly used LSV words but also several phonological eccentricities in LSV, as well as providing an historical explanation for the long-recognized fact that LSV represents the "latest" of the sinoxenic vocabularies.

Recent Sino-Vietnamese

As a set of diverse and unsystematic borrowings acquired through casual contact, RSV cannot be compared with the cohesive and substantial waves of borrowing represented by ESV and LSV. Nevertheless, these are important to identify because they resolve otherwise ambiguous forms that obscure our understanding of the earlier two strata. Notably, the production of Sinitic neologisms late in history but based on LSV phonology can dangerously affect our impression of LSV composition. Indeed, it is largely RSV neologic forms that have infused the Vietnamese lexicon with the Sinitic lustre that makes it appear so similar to its other Sinoxenic contemporaries. This point is well made by Alves (2009), and is the main thrust of that study. However, as I showed in 6.2, Alves takes the notion too far, and misinterprets the facts presented in De Rhodes' 1651 dictionary, which actually supports the presence of LSV grammatical and other vocabulary in Middle Vietnamese—before the major RSV neologic relexifications took place. In 6.2, I therefore distinguished the largely doublet-form grammatical words of Sinitic origin that resulted from "inkhorn" relexification trends late in history, from the largely non-doubleted Sinitic function words that resulted from the adstratal effect of AMC obsolescence.

These "inkhorn" forms have counterparts in a similar phenomenon of late Sinitic borrowing in Korea and Japan, and as discussed in 6.2, some RSV vocabulary was actually borrowed through Japanese routes. It is in the production of these kinds of neo-Sinitic

vocabularies that Vietnamese, Korean and Japanese practices most resemble one another. That is because by the 2nd millennium, AMC had faded out of use in Vietnam, and the region's sociolinguistic landscape was now characterized by a hyperglossic partnership between pVM (or, eventually, Vietnamese) and a Literary Sinitic whose *vox auctoritas* comprised the *Hán-Việt* rimes—a condition exactly analogous to that found in contemporary Korean and Japanese societies (see discussion of Chapter 2 below). The descendents of the AMC-speaking elite were now monolingual pVM (or, ultimately, Vietnamese) speakers who studied Literary Sinitic in much the same manner as their Korean or Japanese contemporaries did. The triglossic conditions of Tang-era Annam (i.e. Sinitic diglossia + pVM) had transformed through the obsolescene of AMC into a hyperglossic arrangement typical of early modern East Asia.

The Viet-Muong Speciation

The obsolescence of LSV overlaid another important development: the emergence of a phonologically distinct Vietnamese language that was mutually unintelligible with other contemporary varieties of pVM. As discussed in Chapter 5, the nature of this process has been misunderstood, and the assumption that the so-called Mường languages represent an evolutionary subgroup coordinate with Vietnamese is unfounded. Rather, these Mường varieties descend from distinct lineages as distantly related to each other as they are to Vietnamese. This forces us to imagine an innovating center in the Red River Delta, cut off from other pVM-speaking regions until a point in time when lost mutual intelligibility with them. That model fits well with the period of warlordship and internecine fighting that separated the old Tang administration from a truly stable Lý authority exerted over the whole of the former province. As the Lý expanded out of the Red River plain to assert pervasive control over their new kingdom, the variety of pVM spoken by their soldiers and settlers (either alongside a fading AMC, or monolingually) swept through the lowlands of north-central Vietnam (i.e. the Mã and Cả river plains) to the extirpation of the pVM dialects native to the region. This left only a few

isolated communities in the midland country of modern-day Phú Thọ, Hoà Bình and Thanh Hoá to resist the spread of Vietnamese, resulting in the current-day distribution of unrelated Mường "islands" clinging to the midland periphery of the north-central Vietnamese-speaking lowlands. Mường is therefore not a subgroup, but a collection of distinct lineages that onl bear a conservative resemblance to one another, in comparison with the innovative Vietnamese subgroup. We can label this kind of artificial, non-evolutionary grouping a "paraphyletic taxon."

8.2   Cultural and intellectual developments

As discussed in chapters 3 and 7, the nature of Sino-Vietnamese contact over the first millennium also ultimately conditioned the terms of a literary vernacularization that would occur centuries later. Cultural and intellectual developments that swept Medieval China left a lasting affect on the sociolinguistic architecture of the region. The 7th century development of a Sinitic diglossia through the construction and adherence to the *Qieyun*'s vision of an authoritative phonology for literary production would set the terms under which a Vietnamese vernacular literature would flourish in the 18th and 19th centuries.

A Diglossic Blueprint

The cultivation of a Vietnamese vernacular tradition is traceable to the production of a diglossic social architecture for Sinitic language during the medieval (Sui-Tang) period. As shown in chapter 2, a self-consciously diglossic linguistic architecture in medieval China (including, ostensibly, in Annam) was in part triggered by the production of the *Qieyun* in the early 7th century. As was typical of the codifying trends of the Sui, the *Qieyun* attempted to synthesize an authoritative phonology based on a perception of the old speech-forms of a Han-

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era Luoyang, but drawing from a number of geographical, philological and dialectal sources. As discussed in 3.42, the *Qieyun* presented its artificial diasystem as a new *vox auctoritas*—an authoritative voice—that could serve as a guide for the vocal aspects of literary production. It sought to resolve the discrepancies and disputes over what phonological form a proper and refined literary language should take, and created the notion of an unchanging literary enunciation that stood apart from (but was still intelligible with) vernacular speech. Accordingly, it became the most important manual for rimes and tones in an era when literary composition became one of the most charged forms of social and political interaction (cf. the discussion of the civil service exams in 3.43).

The primacy of the *Qieyun*, and of the concept of *vox auctoritas* it engendered, mean that diglossia in the Sinitic context is more complicated than the partnership of a single living prestigious dialect with one or more vernacular forms. Rather, the "high form" of Sinitic diglossia—at least in the medieval period—was a fluid, changeable and synthetic thing, and which, most remarkably, was reasoned out, cobbled together and then tweaked and adjusted in the form of the rime books. This Sinitic diglossia meant that among elite circles, the diversity of vernacular speech was always coupled with an orthodoxy of pronunciation—a *vox auctoritas*—tied to literary production. As described in 4.5, this sociolinguistic architecture was replicated among the AMC-speaking community of Annam, which remained an integrated part of the Tang Dynasty through to its disintegration. Even after AMC died out in the region (and thus, a true diglossic partnership with Literary Sinitic), the performance of such an arrangement persisted, deeply shaping the development of the first true Vietnamese vernacular literary tradition: Chữ Nôm.

The Vietnamese Vernacular Horizon

After the obsolescence of spoken AMC in the region, Vietnamese replaced it in its partnership with Literary Sinitic. However the terms of this arrangement were hyperglossic,

since Vietnamese speakers could not maintain the fantasy of a transparent connection between the vernacular and the cosmopolitan. This does not mean that the Vietnamese did not claim ownership over Literary Sinitic; quite the opposite. However, Literary Sinitic was increasingly difficult to maintain, as indicated in some measure by Hồ Quý Ly's late 14th and early 15th century promotion of Nôm as a pedagogical stepping stool. Literary Sinitic was probably reinvigorated during the early part of the Lê, together with the increasing adoption of Neo-Confucian intellectual and institutional models. However, this merely sharpened the hyperglossic distance between Vietnamese speech and Literary Sinitic writing.

As Chapter 7 details, the rise of the Lê led a class of educated Buddhists, dispossessed of their place in the increasingly Confucianized court, to reorient themselves toward a more plebian audience. In this forced negotiation of Literary Sinitic writing with the vernacularized world of non-elite Vietnam, the hyperglossic distance between Literary Sinitic and Vietnamese speech came into focus. As a result, educated Buddhists of the 16th century increasingly cultivated the vernacular mode (in the form of Chữ Nôm), in order to fill the vacuum of a diglossic partner for Vietnamese speech. This allowed the dissemination of Buddhist literary materials in the Vietnamese voice—something that was not possible under hyperglossic conditions. However, these practices eventually forced the question of the position of vernacularity vis á vis Literary Sinitic.

As discussed in 7.3, the reconciliation of Nôm writing with sinographic writing is remarkably expressed in the two prefaces of the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa*. These prefaces form an interlocking argument rebranding Nôm writing, from a backwater and vulgar habit to a fully-formed, sagely script in technological partnership with sinographic characters. The author of the prefaces claims an essential parity between the Han and Nôm scripts, which amounts to recasting the hyperglossic architecture of Vietnamese as a diglossia. This is only achieved, however, by "augmenting" Literary Sinitic and sinographic writing with Vietnamese and Nôm characters, thus in one stroke maintaining the revered position of Sinitic writing and literature in

Vietnam's social and intellectual imaginary, while creating a literary form that was directly related to Vietnamese speech. The cognitive dissonance of such a project echoes that upon which the *Qieyun*'s *vox auctoritas* was founded. Nevertheless, as the idea of an authoritative phonology maintained through philological means affected the structural development of the Chinese languages, the idea that Nôm was somehow in social and technological partnership with sinographic writing also exerted a strong influence on the development of Vietnamese literature. As Nôm flourished in the 18th and 19th centuries, the primary engine of creativity appears to have been a delight in the application of Sinitic forms to vernacular content and visa versa. In a sense, the kind of poetry described in 4.2 represents the fruits of an elite culture that took the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* at its word, and treated the two linguistic systems at their command as a single, fluid and dynamic whole.

8.3   Sinitic cosmopolitanism in the history of the Vietnamese language

The cultural, intellectual, lexical and phonological effects of Sino-Vietnamese contact record a two thousand year history of Vietnam's evolving membership in a continent-wide cosmopolitan network, founded on Sinitic thought, culture, and society and facilitated by the diffusion, cultivation, and performance of Sinitic language. The emerging concept of this "Sinographic cosmopolis" is defined by the hyperglossic perpetuation of Literary Sinitic education, as typified by Korean and Japanese practices. Those practices were flourishing by the mid 1st millennium in both Korea and Japan, and achieve a shimmering polish by the cosmopolitanism of the 2nd millennium. Despite a similar veneer of Sinitic luster in early modern Vietnam, the history of Sino-Vietnamese contact tells a different story.

The two primary strata of Sino-Vietnamese lexica, ESV and LSV, describe an increasingly integrated experience of Sinitic empire. While Han and Jin ESV are characterized

by the transfusion of technical or culturally-specific terminology, LSV is characterized by function words and verbs, and most saliently, by far greater numbers. The protectorate of Annam was, by and large, a stable corner of the Tang empire and its community of AMC speakers (founded on roots thrust down during the Han Dynasty) thrived in a cosmopolitan, multilingual society that was interconnected politically, culturally, demographically and linguistically with the rest of the empire. Compare this situation with that of Korea or Japan, both of which were limited in their exposure to Sinitic language and culture to relatively few travelers, mostly Buddhist clergy, who carried with them what knowledge and materials that they could. The practices of *idu* and *kundoku* that flourished over the second half of the 1st millennium in Korea and Japan respectively, demonstrate the rote, glossing-based nature of their Sinoxenic experiences. Yet over the same few centuries, Annamese Middle Chinese was flourishing in the distant but nevertheless thoroughly Sinitic soil of the Red River Delta.

The key to unlocking Sino-Vietnamese linguistic history lies in recognizing the fact that linguistic descent is not bound to ethnic, cultural, or demographic descent. Who were the ancestors of modern Vietnamese speakers? Of course, the ancestor of the modern Vietnamese language is pVM, not, for example, AMC. Nevertheless, the findings gathered in this dissertation show that AMC speakers *became* pVM speakers over the course of some generations, and that this was facilitated through widespread and pervasive bilingualism. The effects of that bilingualism remain in the form of LSV, and the intellectual repercussions of Vietnam's Sinitic heritage also came to shape the growth of its own vernacular literary tradition. In some ways, the author of the bilingual prefaces to the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* was making a perfectly natural claim when he argued that Nôm was no more than an extension of Literary Sinitic. He and his class considered themselves Sinitic in a broad but real sense, and the disconnect of speaking (and then writing) a completely different language from Literary Sinitic must have seemed less meaningful than the cultural, intellectual, and historical continuity of Vietnam's Sinitic traditions. Although similar claims on an East Asian intellectuality may be

found in both Korea and Japan, I would argue that the tenor of the claim is unique among the early modern Vietnamese elites, who saw themselves not, perhaps, as inheritors of a Sinitic cultural tradition, but as simply the southern instantiation of that intellectual world. For "Vietnamese" society, the shift from AMC to pVM was perhaps, in the end, less dramatic than the rise in a written vernacular. After all a diversity of *guoyu* 國語 overlaying Literary Sinitic was not an unfamiliar situation. But when the vernacular came to be written, the fantasy of a Vietnamese-Literary Sinitic diglossia was seriously undermined. The reaction expressed in the prefaces to the *Chỉ nam ngọc âm giải nghĩa* only make sense when coming from an elite culture that could not understand itself as divorced from its Sinitic heritage.

All of East Asia has been lacquered by "Chinese influence." But just as the non-Sinitic bases of Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese culture differ widely, so too does the texture, color, and depth of the Sinitic influence. Sinitic influence, like all phenomena of human contact, is a complex, multifaceted affair. The Vietnamese language in all of its structural and cultural dimensions is unquestionably a product of its effects. I have only begun the work of describing and analyzing the range, quality and extent of these effects. Many issues remain, chief among them the extent to which the obsolescence of AMC and the Viet-Muong speciation overlapped, and the distribution of SWMC and its relationship to the Sinitic varieties spoken in those regions today. This dissertation seeks only to provide a foundation for future research into these questions of language history.

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