

**The Vietnamese etymological dictionary
and 'new' language families**
(Project in progress)

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The Austroasiatic language family which includes Vietnamese has been the subject of comparative investigation since the last century. However, it is only now, at the end of the twentieth century, that linguists are able to undertake truly detailed comparative study of the family. From this point of view, Austroasiatic is a typical 'new' language family, in contrast to the 'old' families with long and successful comparative traditions: Indo-European, Semitic and many others. The label 'new' does not indicate that the family is young, and formed only by closely related languages, but rather provides us with information about the level at which comparative studies in the family's linguistic prehistory have been conducted.

The following features are common to 'new' families:

- Lack of detailed synchronic descriptions for the majority of languages included in the family. There are usually good and reliable descriptions (phonological studies, grammars and dictionaries) for just a few of the major languages of the family, with the rest known only superficially. In the Austroasiatic family less than 15 languages are known well enough to be included in comparative study.

- No generally accepted genetic classification. In the Austroasiatic case, linguists are able to identify primary groups of closely related languages, like Vietmuong or Munda, but it remains unclear how these groups are related to each other.

- Reconstructions are available for some of the primary groups of the family. Only three reliable reconstructions of Austroasiatic groups are available to

me: Vietmuong (Sokolovskaja MS), Monic (Diffloth 1984) and Katuic (Pejros 1996).

- There is no convincing reconstruction of the proto-language of the family, and linguists usually have to deal with hypothetical structures which are not based on thorough comparative investigation.

- A lack of reconstructions means that it is difficult (and sometimes even impossible) to identify forms borrowed from one related language into another.

One of the basic principles of modern comparative linguistics is the aspiration towards completeness which applies both to the data and its interpretation. The comparative method requires that a reconstruction should be based on a thorough study of all the languages included in the family, and a detailed comparison of each pair of them. 'Mass' comparison (in which a word from language A is compared with a word from language B, while another word of A is compared with a word from language C without any attempt to find its counterpart in language B) is not a valid procedure. All comparisons should be conducted between pairs of languages (A and B, B and C, A and C, etc.), and the overall investigation should include a thorough comparison for each of the possible pairings of the chosen languages. The reasons for this requirement are clear: the aim of a proper comparative study is to find regular patterns which connect the systems of all languages under investigation, in order to reconstruct the ancestral proto-language. This necessitates a knowledge of relationships between the systems of all the languages studied. Only a comparison of each and every pair of these languages, one by one, is sure to discover all possible connections between their systems.

Completeness is thus a central principle of modern comparative studies. Applying this principle to the study of 'new' families, the first stage of our investigation must involve:

(i) compilation of a provisional comparative dictionary, which includes morphemes of presumed common origin found in any two, three or more languages of the family;

(ii) establishment of a set of phonological correspondences which connect all the phonemes of all languages of the family.

These two components lead linguists to:

(iii) identification of systematic phonological correspondences which are traces of phonological distinctions of the proto-language
 (iv) reconstruction of the system of proto phonemes; and
 (v) reconstruction of lexical and grammatical morphemes of the proto-languages (with the aid of the phonological reconstruction and the provisional comparative dictionary). A collection of these reconstructed proto-forms is usually called an 'etymological dictionary' of the family. An etymological dictionary differs considerably from the provisional comparative dictionary used in its completion, as it comprises only genetically related morphemes of the languages, omitting resemblances which are due to borrowing, chance similarities, local influences or other non-genetic factors.

It is clear, however, that everything in comparative linguistics depends on success in the completion of a provisional comparative dictionary, and on our ability to interpret its evidence. This is the basis upon which a linguist can conduct a morphological reconstruction, create a genetic classification of the family, and engage in other comparative research.

An etymological dictionary for a particular language – a culmination of comparative investigation into that language's history – is based on intensive lexical studies and on a deep knowledge of the historical phonology of the language and its family. Does this imply that any attempt to compile an etymological dictionary for a language of a 'new' family is *a priori* premature? I do not think so and for several years now I have been completing an etymological dictionary of Vietnamese. The theoretical foundations of this project are discussed below.

As mentioned above, a 'new' family is usually known only partially with detailed reliable descriptions being unavailable for most of its languages. In dealing with such a family, then, we need a strategy which will meet the principle of completeness. One strategy is to include data from every language or dialect mentioned in the literature, regardless of the possibility that this data is by no means complete. If, for example, a language is known only by a list of 200 words, we could include it in our investigation, but we would not expect to be able to draw detailed conclusions about this language. If the number of such poorly recorded languages is significant, then a provisional comparative dictionary and

phonological correspondences based this strategy will be complete, but not adequate for a reconstruction.

Another possibility is to concentrate only on well-known languages but extract all possible information from their comparison. In such a strategy the emphasis is on the complete interpretation of the data rather than on the completeness of the data itself. Both of these strategies are represented in the literature, but I think that the second one is more appropriate in the circumstances of 'new' language families such as Austroasiatic. My project is therefore based on a study of several languages chosen as primary sources, and an attempt is made to identify all possible comparisons between these languages and Vietnamese.

The starting point of the project is a list of common Vietnamese morphemes represented in the major modern Vietnamese dictionaries. To it I have added some archaic morphemes with interesting etymologies. Recent borrowings, mostly from European languages, are not included. Altogether the list comprises about 5,000 entries.

Vietnamese, together with many closely related languages, belongs to the Vietmuong group of Austroasiatic. In principle, this group should be investigated before a comparison with other Austroasiatic languages begins. However, it is not possible to compile a full scale Vietmuong comparative dictionary because published data is not available for most Vietmuong languages (Barker 1993). With the exception of Vietnamese, only one Muong dialect has been described in any detail (Materialy 1987), although there are short dictionaries of Ruc (Nguyen et al. 1988) and Thavung (Ferlus 1979). Nonetheless the history of the group has been the subject of intensive investigation, and numerous reconstructions have already been proposed (Barker 1963; Barker 1970; Ferlus 1975; Thompson 1976; etc.). In my opinion the best reconstruction is Sokolovskaja's (MS), which is based on interesting and important data including Nguyen Van Tai's dissertation, and unpublished field materials of joint Russian-Vietnamese linguistic expeditions. Sokolovskaja identifies more than 700 cognates showing good semantic and phonological correspondences between the selected languages. The Proto-Vietmuong reconstruction includes many initial consonantal clusters, and some disyllabic roots. There is no evidence of tonal oppositions, and the tones of modern languages are explained as having developed from two suffixes *-x and

*-ʔ. These suffixes, which follow the obligatory final consonant of the root and are of uncertain grammatical meaning, have been maintained in Arem. Their existence in Proto Vietmuong was first suggested by Haudricourt (1954).

According to Sokolovskaja the development of Vietnamese tones can be represented as follows:

Figure 1
Vietnamese tones

PVM initials	PVM terminals			
	*-N	*-N+h	*-N+ʔ	*-C
*p, *ʔp	a	ǎ	á	
*b, *m	à	ã	ã	

-C - finals *-p, *-t or *-k

-N - any other final consonant or \emptyset .

Figure 2 represents the development of modern Vietnamese initials from the Vietmuong system suggested by Sokolovskaja:

Figure 2
Development of Vietnamese initials
(after Sokolovskaja MS)

Vietn.	PVM	Vietn.	PVM
<i>b</i>	*p	<i>ɗ</i>	*t
<i>ph</i>	*ph	<i>th</i>	*th
<i>v</i>	*b, *w	<i>d</i>	*b, *j
<i>m</i>	*m, *ʔp	<i>n</i>	*n, *ʔt
		<i>l</i>	*l, *lh
		<i>l ~ nh</i>	*ml
<i>ch</i>	*c		
<i>x</i>	*ch	<i>nh ~ r</i>	*ʔc

<i>gi</i>	<i>*j</i>	<i>gi ~t r</i>	<i>*pl</i>
<i>nh</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>nh ~ l</i>	<i>*ml</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>*pr, *kr</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>*r, *rh</i>	<i>r ~ nh</i>	<i>*?c</i>
		<i>tr</i>	<i>*kl</i>
		<i>tr ~ gi</i>	<i>*pl</i>
<i>c, qu, k</i>	<i>*k</i>		
<i>kh</i>	<i>*kh</i>		
<i>g</i>	<i>*g</i>		
<i>ng</i>	<i>*i</i>		
<i>o</i>	<i>*?</i>		
<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>		

Using these two figures and a chart of development of Vietnamese finals, one can predict a proto form for any Vietnamese morpheme. These forms can then be checked (where possible) against Sokolovskaja's Proto-Vietmuong reconstructions. The Vietnamese root *sũa* 'to bark', for example, can be traced back to hypothetical **[p,k]-rhua-x* which can be compared with *Wa ruah* 'to bark' and Written Khmer *bruh* 'to bark'. In this case the Vietmuong form is known, and is reconstructed as **k=rhua-x*. The proto-form of Vietnamese *trùm* 'to cover', 'to wrap' is not known, but we can postulate it as **k=lum* and thus to compare it with Pakoh *lùm* 'to cover completely', and Nyakur forms like *khl'im* 'cover the ridge of a roof'. Most Vietnamese words are not represented in Sokolovskaja's manuscript or any other Vietmuong study, and in these cases I am forced to accept the strategy of historical extrapolation of forms.

Dictionaries of four Vietmuong languages are included in my list of primary sources and are to be investigated in detail:

- (1) Vietnamese
- (2) Ruc (Nguyen et al. 1988)
- (3) Thavung (Ferlus 1979)
- (4) Muong (Materialy 1987)

Additionally seven of the main Mon-Khmer languages are identified as primary sources, and their lexicons will also be included in my database:

(5) Khmer, represented in traditional orthography;

Several Khmer dictionaries are available to me, but for purely practical reasons Gorgoniev's Khmer-Russian dictionary (1984) forms the main source of information, and its data has already been thoroughly investigated.

(6) Mon, with the addition of Diffloth's Monic reconstruction;

Two Mon dictionaries by Shorto (1962; 1971) are the main source of lexical information. Since Nyakur vocabularies have been investigated by Diffloth I do not plan to conduct additional investigation.

(7) Proto-Katuic represented by my reconstruction (Pejros 1996);

The reconstruction is based on the direct comparison of four Katuic languages (Bru, Kui, Pakoh and Katu), each presented in a substantial dictionary. Reconstructed proto-forms as well as forms of these spoken languages are included in the database.

(8) Khmu;

Only the dictionary of Northern Khmu (Suwilai Premsrirat) is currently available to me. I plan to use the dictionary of Southern Khmu published in Laos if I can obtain access to it.

(9) Parauk-Wa;

as it is represented in the Chinese dictionary (Yan et al 1981). To this I will add my comparative Proto-Palaungic data, which includes etymologies given in the literature (Luce 1965, Diffloth 1980, Svantesson 1988; Paulsen 1989, etc.), and those obtained through direct comparison of major Palaungic sources (Milne 1931; Zhou & Yan 1986; Li et al 1986; Chen et al. 1986). Additional investigation is needed to obtain a thorough Proto-Palaungic reconstruction.

(10) Khasi;

two Khasi dictionaries are available to me (Singh 1906; 1920).

(11) comparative Bahnaric lexicon;

The project conducted by Paul Sidwell (Melbourne) will ultimately include a comparative phonology and lexicon of the main Bahnaric languages and a

The next problem I need to address is the identification of loans which came to Vietnamese from languages other than Mon-Khmer. I plan to investigate it following the principle as discussed above: maximum completeness of data interpretation, at the expense of the range of languages studied.

The Chinese influence is very strong in Vietnamese, which makes Chinese data essential for the project. The list of Vietnamese words included in the project has already been analysed from this point of view, and for each Chinese loan I have the following information:

- Modern, Middle and Old Chinese readings of the corresponding character;
 - information about the period from which the word is recorded in Chinese;
 - information about the possible period of borrowing into Vietnamese.
- This part of the project is the work of Starostin (Moscow).

Theoretically, there could be loans in Vietnamese from any other Southeast Asian language, even if we have no good evidence of them yet. For this reason, I have included in my list of primary sources the following languages:

- (12) Thai (Siamese) with my Proto-Kadai reconstruction and etymologies (Pejros to appear);
- (13) Yao (Lombard 1968) with my Proto Miao-Yao reconstruction and Miao and Miao-Yao etymologies (Pejros to appear);
- (14) the main Austronesian reconstructions.

These will be included in the main database and compared with Vietnamese and other Mon-Khmer languages along the lines discussed above.

The results of this project will be a comprehensive set of historical data, *including:*

- (i) all Mon-Khmer comparisons from the database, with or without Vietnamese;
- (ii) *various loans from one Southeast Asian language into another, regardless of the direction or period of borrowing.*

From these results I plan to extract the cases where the Vietnamese forms are known, and to publish them with necessary comments as a Vietnamese Etymological Dictionary.

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