

# Journal<sup>o</sup><sub>F</sub> Viet Nam Hoc

TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC

Oát-lâm-hàk Gián-kiu ベトナム越南學研究

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# Journal<sup>o</sup><sub>F</sub> Việt Nam Học

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Kok-lip Tong-hôa Tāi-hak Tāi-oân Bûn-hòa Hē

### Tiah-iàu

Cháp-peh koài sī Tiong-kok-lâng chhiam-tùi chit-ê tē-hong tiám-chhut chấp-peh ê hāng-bók ê thong-siòk biâu-siá. Cháp-peh koài sī Tiong-hôa tiong-sim ê koan-tiám, só-í tī kó-chá thian-tiâu tē-kok tiong-sim í-gōa ê só-chai, chhan-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Kng-tang, Hùn-lâm, Tang Thó-ní-kí-su-thàn (Sin-kiong), kap Thi-pek (Se-chōng), lóng-ú chấp-peh koài ê kóng-hoat. Oát-lâm sui-bóng m̄-sī Tiong-hôa-jîn-bîn Kiōng-hô-kok ê chit-pò-hūn, m̄-koh Tiong-kok-lâng mā-sī ũ liū-thoân Oát-lâm ê chấp-peh koài. Oát-lâm chấp-peh koài ê pán-pún m̄-nā chit-ê, m̄-koh in lóng-ē kóng tiōh kái-kek khai-hòng liáu-āu ê siā-hōe hiān-siōng, mā-ē kóng tiōh Tiong-kok-lâng sim-bak tiong ê “Oát-lâm thoân-thóng bûn-hòa”. Tùi Tiong-kok-lâng kóng--lâi, chit-chióng hoan-pang hong-bī ê chấp-peh koài tī bûn-hòa kap sim-lí siōng giú-kīn Oát-lâm hām in ê koan-hē. M̄-koh, khiā-tī Oát-lâm-lâng lip-tiū<sup>n</sup>, Oát-lâm chấp-peh koài ê kóng-hoat sī ká Oát-lâm bûn-hòa bîn-siòk-hòa, ká i tùi kok-ka bîn-chòk bûn-hòa ê tē-ūi giú-chò tē-hong hong-siòk .

Koan-kiàn-sū: Cháp-peh koài, Oát-lâm, gē-khiat-á-si, Tiong-hôa bîn-siòk-hòa

# **The 18 oddities of Vietnam: Chinese folklorization of contemporary Ethno-Geographical Others \***

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## **Abstract**

The 18 oddities is the Chinese popular description of things that are considered to be odd in a specific area by categorizing them into 18 items. The 18 oddities of geographical areas, which is Sino-centric in nature, are normally applied to places that are remote from the core of the ancient Celestial Empire such as Guangdong, Yunnan, Hainan, Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang), and Tibet (Xizang). Nevertheless, Vietnam is one of the very few cases that do not belong to the PRC, but has been added to the list of places with 18 oddities circulating among the Chinese. The 18 oddities of Vietnam have more than one version, but they all share one thing in common: items mirroring the post-Đổi Mới social phenomenon. Nevertheless, the 18 oddities of Vietnam still contain items that could be considered as the practices of “traditional Vietnamese culture” from the Sino-centric viewpoint. For the Chinese, the exoticism creates a cultural proximity and psychological intimacy with Vietnam. However, for the Vietnamese, it is probably achieved at the risk of folklorizing Vietnamese cultural practices from the status of the national ones to merely the local ones.

**Keywords:** 18 oddities, Vietnam, doggerel, Chinese folklorization

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\* The article is a revised version originally presented at the 5th “Engaging with Vietnam - An Interdisciplinary Dialogue” Conference, Thái Nguyên University, Thái Nguyên, Vietnam, 16-17 December 2013. I would like to thank Mr. Pek Wei-chuan for his assistance in cartographic works.

## 1. Introduction

The term *shíbā guài* 十八怪 or 18 oddities refers to the Chinese popular description of things considered to be odd by categorizing them into 18 entries.<sup>1</sup> Each entry ends with the vowel *ài* which makes the 18 entries into a rhyming pattern. The nature of the 18 oddities is considered to be *dǎyóushī* 打油诗 / *shùnkǒuliū* 顺口溜 or doggerel, which is thought to have been first composed by Zhang Dayou 张打油 during the period of the Tang Empire of contemporary social phenomena. Normally, scholars would not treat it as a serious literature genre but simply a doggerel which is sarcastic in nature.

Nowadays, the 18 oddities being circulated in China on the internet can be divided into 3 thematic categories: contemporary social phenomenon, specific ethnic groups, and geographical areas. The 18 oddities of contemporary social phenomenon take the form of a critique.<sup>2</sup> The 18 oddities of the ethnic groups usually reveals the (Han) Chinese perception toward the non-(Han)-Chinese within the territory of the People's Republic of China (PRC).<sup>3</sup> The majority of 18

<sup>1</sup> Some works translate *guài* into “characteristics” rather than “oddities” but the former has the meaning of *tèxìng* 特性, *tèzhēng* 特征, or *tèsè* 特色 rather than that of *guài*. See Ning (2011: 8).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, there is the 18 oddities of China (*zhōngguó shíbā guài* 中国十八怪) that satirizes contemporary Chinese society, and it largely reflects the dissatisfaction of the people toward the government, and so does a renewed version called the 18 oddities of Chinese characteristics (*zhōngguó tèshè shíbā guài* 中国特色十八怪), which is distributed among the supporters of Falun Gong 法轮功 (Dharma Wheel Practice or Law Wheel Practice), a religious sect that is proclaimed as illegal by the PRC. This type of 18 oddities, which emphasizes the contemporary social or political phenomenon, could extend to a variety of themes which are not geographical locations. Thus, we have the 18 oddities of 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing (*Běijīng àoyùn* 北京奥运), village election (*Cūnmín xuǎnjǔ* 村民选举), Court in China (*Zhōngguó fǎyuàn* 中国法院), the Chinese stock market (*Zhōngguó gǔshì* 中国股市), a Chinese professional football club (*Běijīng guó'ān* 北京国安), modern cities (*Xiàndài dūshì* 现代都市), the FDI project of Singapore in Chengdu (*Xīnjiāpō zài chéngdū kāifā* 新加坡在成都开发) etc., and some even cover anecdotic themes such as the 18 oddities of red deer (*mǎ lù* 马鹿), or the campus of Xidian University (*Xī kē xiàoyuán* 西科校园).

<sup>3</sup> For example, we have the 18 oddities of Yi People 彝族 of Sichuan (*Xún diān huízú yízú shíbā guài* 寻甸回族彝族十八怪). Its contents are basically the cultural practices of the Yi which are treated as bizarre from the standard of the (Han) Chinese.

oddities is that of the geographical areas. Its contents range from local customs to physical landscapes which are considered as odd.

Doggerel referring to oddities could employ various even numbers of entries, but the majority of them are those of 8, 12, and 18. The reason why the narrators use the number 18 is unknown. The number 18 can be applied to the 18 layers of the Buddhist underworld, i.e., *shíbā céng dìyù* 十八层地狱, or the number of provinces of the Qing Empire of China in the 18th and 19th centuries, i.e., *shíbā xíngshěng* 十八行省. It is the latter which is related to geographical areas.

## 2. The 18 oddities of Geographical Areas

The 18 oddities of geographical areas not only contain the places within the jurisdiction of the PRC but also those outside China. For those associated with geographical areas in China, those at provincial level or their equivalents such as autonomous regions are Guangdong 广东, Guangxi 广西, Guizhou 贵州, Yunnan 云南, Hainan 海南, Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang 新疆), Manchuria (Guandong, 关东), Tianjin 天津, Beijing 北京, and Hong Kong. For those below the provincial level, we have cases within the provinces or autonomous regions of Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, Eastern Turkestan, Sichuan 四川, and Anhui 安徽. These are Chaoshan 潮汕 (in Guangdong), Nanning 南宁 (in Guangxi), Liuzhou 柳州 (in Guangxi), Guilin 桂林 (in Guangxi), Lipu County 荔浦县 of Guilin (in Guangxi), Lijiang 丽江 (in Yunnan), Yuxi 玉溪 (in Yunnan), Jianshui 建水 (in Yunnan), Turpan 吐鲁番 (in Eastern Turkestan), Chongqing 重庆 (in Sichuan), Wawushan 瓦屋山 of Hongya County 洪雅县 (in Sichuan), Fengdu 丰都 of Chongqing (in Sichuan), and Wuhu 芜湖 (in Anhui).

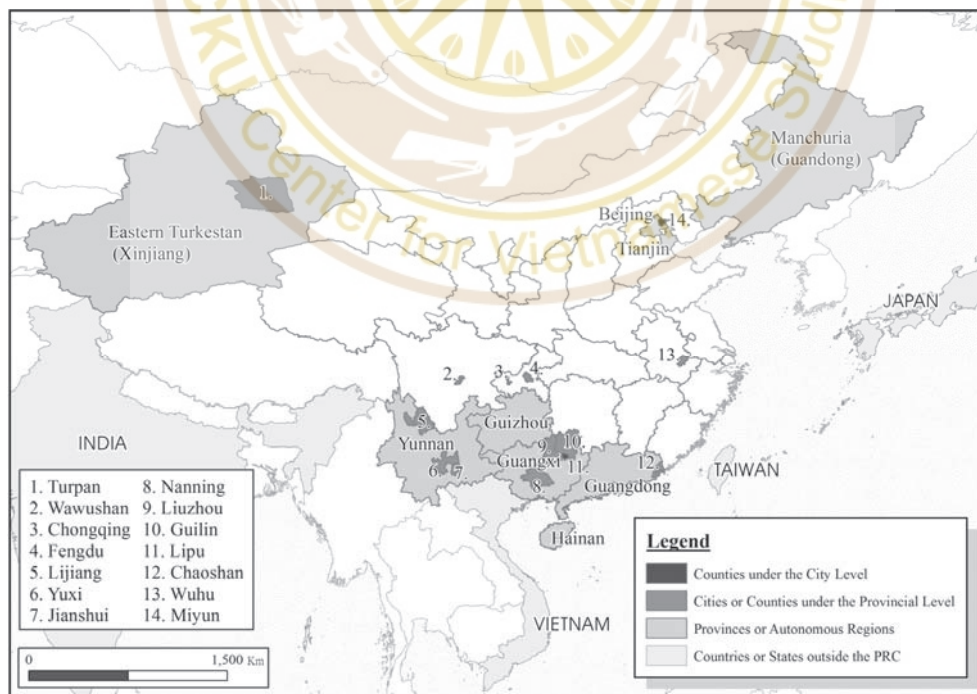
Except for urban and metropolitan areas such as Wuhu, Tianjin, Beijing, of which their 18 “oddities” concentrate on contemporary socio-cultural phenomena reflecting the rapid urban growth of the recent decades, most of the aforementioned geographical areas are or were once considered to be beyond the pale of ancient Chinese civilization, and among them there is a relatively high





proportion in southern China, especially those areas where the local inhabitants were Sinicized only in the recent centuries such as Guangxi and Yunnan. The contents of the 18 oddities associated with geographical areas that are culturally remote from the core of the ancient Celestial Empire share something in common: the higher percentage of entries on the customs of local inhabitants. Nevertheless, the customs of local inhabitants are usually the contents of the 18 oddities of a specific ethnic group.

For the 18 oddities of geographical areas outside the jurisdiction of the RRC, we have Vietnam, Taiwan, Japan, India, Canada, the US, and Paris, France on the list of 18 oddities, while Vietnam is one of the cases that does not belong to the territory of the PRC but probably the most well known outside China of the 18 oddities circulating among the audience in China. An observant student would soon notice that Vietnam borders the provinces of Guangxi and Yunnan, the areas with many examples of 18 oddities. Map 1 is the distribution of the 18 oddities of geographical areas inside and outside China being circulated on the internet.



*Map 1. Distribution of the 18 oddities inside and outside China*

The 18 oddities of Vietnam have more than one version although the variations among them are few. Version A is the one circulating on the website Baidu 百度. Version B, which varies most from version A among all of the versions, is posted by a tourism agency in China on its official website, the Yuntong International Travel Service Beihai 北海远通国际旅行社. Table 1 lists all of the 18 entries of the two versions.

Table 1. Two Versions of the 18 oddities of Vietnam

Version A	Version B
1. <i>Gōnglù miáotiáo xiàng gēn dài</i> 公路苗条像根带 or Highway slim like a belt	1. “ <i>Sì gè miáotiáo</i> ” <i>yáng hǎiwài</i> “四个苗条”扬海外 or “Four slims” being known overseas
2. <i>Fángzi miáotiáo jiāndīng gǎi</i> 房子苗条尖顶盖 or House slender with sharp roof	2. <i>Zhōnghuá wénhuà chǔ chù zài</i> 中华文化处处在 or Chinese culture everywhere
3. <i>Nánrén tóushàng lǜ mào dài</i> 男人头上绿帽戴 or Man wearing a green hat	3. <i>Nánrén lǜ mào tóu shàng dài</i> 男人绿帽头上戴 or Man wearing a green hat
4. <i>Nǚrén liǎn shàng shā jīn gài</i> 女人脸上纱巾盖 or Woman's face covered with a veil	4. <i>Nǚrén shǒupà liǎn shàng gài</i> 女人手帕脸上盖 or Woman's face covered with a handkerchief
5. <i>Rén rén dōu bǎ tuōxié chuài</i> 人人都把拖鞋踹 or Everybody wears slippers	5. <i>Mǎn jiē mótuō zhèn tiānwài</i> 满街摩托震天外 or Streets filled with thundering motorbikes
6. <i>Qípào kāi chā dào yāodài</i> 旗袍开叉到腰带 or Cheongsam slit up to the waist	6. <i>Dì shì diànhuà hǎo jìzài</i> 的士电话好记载 or Taxi phone numbers easy to remember
7. <i>Hēi chǐ hóng chún lǎo tài tài</i> 黑齿红唇老太太 or Old women with black teeth and red lips	7. <i>Rén lì chēzi dào zhe cǎi</i> 人力车子倒着踩 or Rickshaw with the driver in the rear
8. <i>Shuìjiào diào zài dà mén wài</i> 睡觉吊在大门外 or Sleep hanging outside the house gate	8. <i>Chángpào tào zài cháng kù wài</i> 长袍套在长裤外 or Trousers worn beneath the robe
9. <i>Dǔchǎng zhuānmén zhuān wàikuài</i> 赌场专门赚外快 or Going to the Casino to earn extra money	9. <i>Huò běn xiǎoqiǎo jiētóu mài</i> 货本小巧街头卖 (Xiǎo dǎ xiǎo nào zuò mǎimài 小打小闹做买卖) or Small items sold in the street (Vending in a small noise)
10. <i>Diànshì pèiyīn yīrén dài</i> 电视配音一人代 or TV dubbing done only by a person	10. <i>Huā qián yào yòng dà mádài</i> 花钱要用大麻袋 or Using a large sack to carry money for spending
11. <i>Chī wǎn mǐfěn shàng wàn kuài</i> 吃碗米粉上万块 or A bowl of rice noodle costs ten thousand dollars	11. <i>jiǎnzi dāng dāo jiǎn shūcài</i> 剪子当刀剪蔬菜 or Scissors instead of knife to cut vegetables
12. <i>Máo yā zǎi dàn shàng jiā cài</i> 毛鸭崽蛋上佳菜 or Nearly hatched duck egg as gourmet dish	12. <i>Méiyóu níngméng bùxià cài</i> 没有柠檬不下菜 or All dishes served with lemon
13. <i>Zōngzi zuò chéng sì fāngkuài</i> 粽子做成四方块 or Steaming rice dumplings in a rectangular shape	13. <i>Zhuō shàng yú lù rén rén ài</i> 桌上鱼露人人爱 or Everyone loves fish sauce on the table
14. <i>Shǒu zhuā shēng chī yě qīngcài</i> 手抓生吃野青菜 or Eating uncooked wild vegetables with hands	14. <i>Kōngxīncài huà chéng xì sī er mài</i> 空心菜划成细丝儿卖 or Water Spinach cut into filaments for sale
15. <i>Sānlínchē dào guólái chuài</i> 三轮车倒过来端 or Tricycle with the driver in the rear	15. <i>Hónglǐngjīn cháo liǎngbiān shuāi</i> 红领巾朝两边甩 or Red scarf swinging on both sides
16. <i>Huōchē pǎo zài jiā mén wài</i> 火车跑在家门外 or Trains run outside one's home	16. <i>Shuǐguǒ tǎn er chuánshàng bǎi</i> 水果摊儿船上摆 or Fruit stand placed on a board
17. <i>Qìchē méiyóu mótuō kuài</i> 汽车没有摩托快 or Motorcycles run faster than cars	17. <i>Shǔ zhǐ shāo huī qiú shénguài</i> 疏纸烧灰求神怪 or Burning paper into ashes for genies
18. <i>Mótuō néng bǎ huò shān zài</i> 摩托能把货山载 or Motorcycles can load a cargo as high as a hill	18. <i>Hēi yá wèi měi běn bù guài</i> 黑牙为美本不怪 or Black teeth as beautiful and not strange at all



Table 2 shows the numbers of entries of the two versions by dividing all the entries into two subcategories: those related to the traditional cultural practices (e.g., food, dress, house etc.) versus those of contemporary social phenomena (e.g., transportation mode, behavior, economy etc.). The two versions of the 18 oddities of Vietnam roughly have an equal share of both subcategories.

*Table 2. Contents of the 18 oddities of Vietnam*

	<i>Tradition: Food, Dress, House</i>	<i>Contemporary Phenomena: Transport, Behavior, Economy</i>
<i>Version A</i>	9	9
<i>Version B</i>	11	7

### 3. Comparison and Analysis of the Different 18 oddities

If we compare the 18 oddities' different themes in terms of the proportion of contents of entries devoted to both the traditional practices and the contemporary social phenomena, we will observe that not all of them have an equal share in both subcategories. Table 3 demonstrates the proportion of entry contents of the 18 oddities of selected themes, in which we have highlighted 6 cases to represent the 18 oddities of ethnic groups (1), geographical areas (2a, 2b, 2c) and contemporary social phenomena (3a, 3b).

*Table 3. Contents of the 18 oddities of selected themes*

	<i>Tradition: Food, Dress, House, Transport (Yunnan)*, Language</i>	<i>Landscape</i>	<i>Contemporary Phenomena: Transport (E. Turkistan, Wuhu)*, Contemporary Behavior, Economy, Government</i>
<i>1. The Yi people</i>	17		1
<i>2a. Eastern Turkistan</i>	14	1	3
<i>2b. Yunnan</i>	10	2	6
<i>2c. Wuhu of Anhui</i>	1		17
<i>3a. The housing market in Shanghai</i>			18
<i>3b. The university campus</i>			18

\* For the content of entries referring to transport, the case of Yunnan is the traditional transportation mode whereas the cases of Eastern Turkistan and Wuhu of Anhui are the modern ones.

This is no doubt that none of the content of 18 oddities of contemporary social phenomena such as the housing market in Shanghai (3a) or the university campus (3b) fall into the subcategory of the traditional practices. On the contrary, among the 18 oddities of the ethnic groups, the Yi people in Table 3, displays the largest proportion of traditional practices in entry contents. Those of geographical areas fall between the aforementioned two extremes. The 18 oddities of Eastern Turkestan (2a) illustrates a high percentage of traditional practices since the said area is perceived as an area of ethnic minority from the perspective of the (Han) Chinese, whereas that of Wuhu of Anhui (2c) reveals a large proportion in the subcategory of contemporary social phenomena due to this area being perceived as (Han) Chinese in essence. Nevertheless, the 18 oddities of Yunnan (2b) reveals a pattern close to that of Vietnam, a roughly equal share in both subcategories. Figure 1 is the conceptual sketch of how the 18 oddities of different themes are related to each other on the axis of the aforementioned two subcategories.



Figure 1 Conceptual sketch of the relationship between the 18 oddities of various themes

The 18 oddities of social phenomena on the extreme left are mostly related to social critique or sarcasm while the 18 oddities of ethnic others on the extreme right are mostly associated with the Sino-centric perspective of other people's cultures. The 18 oddities of geographical areas in the middle lie between the aforementioned two extremes. Nevertheless, there are still variations among all of the 18 oddities of geographical areas. Urban geographical areas or those in northern China would incline to the extremes of social phenomena in terms of the content of their 18 oddities while geographical areas outside China Proper such





as Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) would be closer to the extreme of ethnic others. Those of southern China and Vietnam would occupy the space in the middle.

#### 4. Why Vietnam and Southern China?

The geographical areas with 18 oddities in southern China were once dominated by *Bách Việt* or the One hundred Yue 百越 before the areas were brought into the Chinese empire. The advancing (Han) Chinese from the North mostly regarded the local cultures as barbaric and less civilized. For instance, the manners and customs of the Miao people of Yunnan and Guizhou in South China were thought to be the “wild”, while the Miao speech was still denigrated as bird-like by the Chinese writers in the 18th century (Sutton 2006: 206). In the early 15th century, the Vietnamese were also once regarded as the uncivilized tattooed speakers of a language that sounds like the squawking of birds, according to the Chinese general who proposed to annex Vietnam into the Ming Empire of China (Baldanza 2013: 57-58). In other words, to the (Han) Chinese, most of the 18 oddities of geographical areas are the legacy of the perception toward the southern barbarians in the past few centuries. In this sense, Vietnam also serves as an extension of the exotic images and geographical imagination of the *Bách Việt* and other non-(Han)-Chinese such as the Việt back into history.

The cultural image of Vietnam in the mentality of (Han) Chinese still fell between two polarities a century ago—that is-being highly related to the Chinese cultures or not. For instance, when Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865 - 1898 AD), a philosopher and also one of the radical reformers in the late imperial China, endeavored to forge a new collective identity by remodeling the world as a response to the encroachment of the Western powers in the late 19th century, Vietnam was grouped together with China, Korea, Tibet, and Burma to form the core of the world, called *huáxià zhī guó* 華夏之國, or Chinese states (Dikötter 1992: 49-51). Version B of the 18 oddities of Vietnam, which claims that one of the oddities is “Chinese culture everywhere”, reveals this type of mentality,

even though more oddities in this version contribute to the exclusive Vietnamese cultural practices from the Chinese perspective. However, a draft of the earliest anthropological study to be published in China and believed to be written in the 1900s described the Burmese as lazy, the Thais as cowards and the Vietnamese as frivolous and dishonest (Dikötter 1992: 147-148). Here the Vietnamese were perceived as the cultural/ethnic others different from the Chinese.

How similar would the culture of Vietnam to that of South China be? A recent research on gastronomy and ethnic cuisine to explore the cultural identity of food based on Vietnamese *bánh cuốn* and Cantonese *cheung fan* (肠粉) suggests us to downplay the modern state boundary between Vietnam and China in order to comprehend the culture area of rice-sheet roll, which is an embodiment of a rice-based economy and culture called *Yueh* (Chan 2011: 156-171). As a matter of fact, the close relationship between the cultures of Southeast Asia and that of Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi of South China is also manifested by shading on a map displayed near the entrance of the newly-opened museum of Southeast Asia (*Đông Nam Á*) in Hanoi (*Map 2*).



Map 2. Map of *Đông Nam Á*



## 5. The Nature of the 18 Oddities of “Ethno-geographical” Others

The geographical areas having their own 18 oddities, circulated on the internet and being culturally remote from the core of the ancient celestial empire, share one thing in common in terms of the nature of the said doggerel - that is, they have a Sino-centric perspective on the nature of the “ethno-geographical” others. This involves not only a curiosity toward an alien culture but also a re-conceptualization of the frontier or the periphery to the audiences in China proper. The discourse itself would lead to a change in the imagined geography of Chinese culture, and by representing distant lands and diverse peoples of the peripheries, the discourse transforms places once being considered as non-(Han)-Chinese into familiar parts of the Chinese domain, which in turn assists in the naturalization of the dominance and expansionism of Chinese culture.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the discourse of oddities related to the traditional cultures of the ethnic others could also be perceived as a procedure of folklorization and domestication of the exotic others.

The folklorization of other people’s cultural practices is perceived as a step to reduce the culture of other peoples into the minor customs in the narrators’ minds, in which the narrators usually utilize their own culture as the norm to judge others by. The narrators would mostly offer explanations to those cultural practices being perceived as oddities, with some of the explanations being discriminating while most of them are served to make them reasonable to the narrators. The explanation mostly serves as a function for people to get familiar with those foreign cultural practices being treated as odd. By doing so, the narrators and the readers could psychologically reduce an utterly foreign culture into their own minor variation. Therefore, to the modern nation-state, the

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4 See Emma Teng's discussion on the relationship between discourses in travel writing and Qing expansionism (Teng 2004). For the discourse based on visual representation in relation to the process of empire-building, see Laura Hostetler (2001). For the case of the Tai people in adopting the Chinese language, the hairstyle and imperial robes of the Qing Empire of China, as well as the final folklorization of the local people, see C. Patterson Giersch (2006).

folklorization of other people's culture is also a process of nationalizing others. For instance, in the case of Belarus, the Polonization of the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the early 19th century involved the effective completion of the Polonization of the small group of nobility, the shrinking of the area of contemporary Belarusian language usage, and the successful folklorization of the Belarusian culture.

Nowadays the spread of discourse on folklorization has been greatly facilitated with the advance of internet technology. Thus, we may perceive the folklorization of others as another way of a nationalizing project different from that carried out by the political elites,<sup>5</sup> but by the commoners such as tourists, as in the case of version B of the 18 oddities of Vietnam, which has been posted by a tourist agent. Nevertheless, the folklorization of the ethnic or national others could also face local appropriation.

## 6. The 18 oddities and Tourism Industries: a case of local appropriation

Although the 18 oddities are supposed to be created by and circulated among the outsiders, in some cases, the local people have appropriated their own 18 oddities as unique traits of their hometowns in order to promote tourist business. This occurs mostly for domestic tourists in China due to the linguistic nature of the said doggerel. The most well-known case is from Yunnan. In addition to the fact of an entry with the title "eighteen oddities" in Wikipedia to introduce the 18 oddities in Yunnan (or 18 wonders of Yunnan),<sup>6</sup> the academic world in Yunnan also involves the promotion of 18 local oddities for the purpose of tourism. For instance, the Yunnan University Press (*Yúnnán dàxué chūbǎn shè* 云南大学出版社) in 2005 published a book titled *Eighteen oddities of Yunnan*

5 For the case of how the political elites in the early 20th century China used the inclusive narratives of cultural innovation to construct the Chinese identity on the non-Chinese minorities after the collapse of the Qing Empire, see James Leibold (2007).

6 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eighteen\\_Oddities](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eighteen_Oddities)





(*Yúnnán shíbā guài* 云南十八怪) for this purpose (Li 2005), and how to promote tourist business by way of promulgating the promotional materials such as the 18 oddities in Yunnan has even become an academic issue for scholars. Discussions such as the design of cultural products related to the 18 oddities of Yunnan (Sun 2009: 85-91), a survey of tourist products related to the 18 oddities (Ning 2011: 8-11), the construction of a theme park on the 18 oddities for tourists (Ning and Ning 2011: 151-153) have been published in academic journals in the recent past.

The local appropriation by tourism industries has been mostly achieved by enhancing some of the 18 oddities whose images are thought to be either tourist-friendly or able to generate profits from the tourists by related cultural products. The appropriated images of selected oddities for tourism are basically cute in nature, just as that of the economy of cuteness or *kawai* (かわいい) in the context of Japanese popular culture and entertainment. Thus, the local appropriation is a result of mixing of both the stereo-types of ethnic others and the tourist economy by appropriating the former into cute, harmless and friendly images for consumption.

## 7. Conclusion

The discourse regarding the 18 oddities of Vietnam reflects both the contemporary society and the stereotyped cultural practices of the Vietnamese from the Sino-perspective. It serves as the moral transformation through the folklorization of ethnic or cultural others by admitting both the dynamics of socio-economic change and traditional cultural practices based on contemporary observation. As a matter of fact, we may treat the 18 oddities of Vietnam as a historical legacy of the (Han) Chinese perception from the North toward the southern frontier, which was an endless territory inhabited by hundreds of kinds of barbaric peoples waiting to be civilized/sinicized. Although the international borders of modern nation-states since the last century has crystallized this limitless territorial expansion and geographical imagination, the folklorization

of ethnic and cultural others by the commoners still prevails. The local appropriation of 18 oddities for tourist consumption may generate economic profits, but it is probably achieved at the risk of emphasizing the stereotypes and the folklorization of the autonomous cultural practices.

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# **Hoạt động của GS. Trần Kinh Hòa ở Việt Nam và công hiến của ông với học thuật Việt Nam**

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## **Tóm tắt**

GS. Trần Kinh Hòa (1917-1995), tự là Mạnh Nghị, hiệu Thương Nhai, tên thánh Augustin Georges, người làng Long Tỉnh, huyện Đài Trung, Đài Loan. Chọn lịch sử cổ trung đại Việt Nam làm mục tiêu nghiên cứu trọn đời, cuộc đời ông có rất nhiều “duyên nợ” gắn với Việt Nam, đồng thời cũng lưu lại dấu ấn sâu sắc đối với nền học thuật nước này. Hiện những bài viết về cuộc đời và thành tựu nghiên cứu của ông khá nhiều, ví như “Cuộc đời và thành tựu nghiên cứu của Nguyên Sở trưởng Trần Kinh Hòa” đăng trên tạp chí Nghiên cứu Châu Á (số 15) của Đại học Soka, “Chingho A. Chan (1917-1995)” của tác giả người Pháp Léon Vandermeerch, hai bài “Mục lục trữ thuật của GS. Trần Kinh Hòa” và “Ghi chép mười năm dưới cửa thầy: GS. Trần Kinh Hòa và tôi” của GS. Chu Gia Vinh, “Về hoạt động của nhà Đông Phương học Trần Kinh Hòa trên đất Việt Nam” của Nguyễn Văn Đăng, “Trần Kinh Hòa và công hiến của ông với mảng nghiên cứu lịch sử Việt Nam” của Khuất Hiến Phong, hai bài “Trần Kinh Hòa và công tác chỉnh lý sử liệu ở Đại học Huế” và “Kế hoạch chỉnh lý và nghiên cứu sử liệu Việt Nam” của Liam Kelley... Tuy vậy, vẫn còn không ít khía cạnh cần tiếp tục thúc đẩy nghiên cứu. Bài viết này trên cơ sở điểm qua thân thế, sự nghiệp của GS. Trần Kinh Hòa, ghi nhận những đóng góp của ông ở các lĩnh vực giảng dạy, nghiên cứu, đặc biệt là công lao to lớn của ông trong việc khai thác nguồn sử liệu Hán Nôm của Việt Nam trong thời gian công tác tại Đại học Huế (1958-1962). Trải qua cả đời tận tụy nghiên cứu, GS. Trần Kinh Hòa đã để lại rất nhiều công trình khảo cứu sử liệu có giá trị cho nền sử học Việt Nam, đặc biệt cho giới nghiên cứu lịch sử cổ trung đại Việt Nam cũng như cổ sử Đông Nam Á.

Từ khóa: Trần Kinh Hòa, Sử liệu Hán Nôm, Nghiên cứu Sử Địa, Hoa Kiều ở Việt Nam, Nghiên cứu Hán Nôm.

# **Professor Chen Chingho's activities in Vietnam and his contributions to Vietnamese academics**

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## **Abstract**

Professor Chen Chingho (1917-1995), also known as Mengyi (孟毅), Cangya (蒼崖) or Augustin Georges, was a native of Longjing township, Taichung county in Taiwan. Choosing ancient Vietnamese history as a lifelong research object, he had a lot of “fates” with Vietnam in his life and left a deep impression on the country’s academics in all aspects. At present, there are many articles about his life and academic achievements, for example, “Chen Chingho Former Director’s Experience and Research Achievements” published in the fifteenth volume: The Asian Studies of Soka University, “Chingho A. Chan (1917-1995)” by Léon Vandermeerch, “Professor Chen Chingho's Bibliography” and “The Ten Years of the Teacher's Gate: Professor Chen Chingho and Me” by Zhou Jiarong, “Career of the Orientalist Tran Kinh Hoa in Vietnam” by Nguyen Van Dang, “Chen Chingho's Contribution to the Study of History of Vietnam” by Ou Xianfeng, “Chen Jinghe and the Historical Document Translation Project at the University of Hue” and “The Vietnamese Historical Sources Project - A Proposal” by Liam Kelley and so on, but there are many things that need to be filled. This article tells about and career of Prof. Chen Chingho, noting his contributions in the fields of teaching, scientific research, especially his credit for exploiting historical source of Sino-Nom language during his collaboration with the University of Hue (1958-1962). After a lifetime of research, Prof. Chen Chingho left many works of historical research value for the history of Vietnam, especially for the researcher of ancient history of Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

**Keywords:** Professor Chen Chingho, Historical Source of Sino-Nom Language, Historical and Geographical Research, Overseas Chinese in Vietnam, Sino-Nom Studies.

## 陳荊和教授在越南的活動 及其對越南學術的貢獻

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### 摘要

陳荊和教授（1917-1995），字孟毅，號蒼崖，聖名為Augustin Georges，台灣台中縣龍井鄉人。他選擇越南古代史作為終身的研究對象，一輩子與越南有很多“緣分”並對該國學術在各方面留下了深深的印象。目前學界有關陳荊和生平經歷及學術成就的文章不少，如《創價亞細亞研究》第十五集所列的〈陳荊和前所長經歷及研究繼業一覽〉、法國遠東學院學報〈陳荊和生平簡介〉、周佳榮〈陳荊和教授著述目錄〉、〈師門十年記：陳荊和教授與我〉、越南阮文登〈東方學家陳荊和在越南時期的活動〉、區顯鋒〈陳荊和對越南史研究之貢獻〉、蘭姆·金利（Liam Kelley）〈陳荊和與順化的史料整理工作〉、〈越南漢文史料工程〉等，但多有需要補苴之處，這是我們撰寫此文的主要動因。本文針對陳荊和教授一生中在越南的活動及其對越南學術各方面的貢獻，擬定探討下列三個問題：第一，陳荊和教授一生與越南的“特別緣分”；第二，陳荊和教授學術事業中的越南研究；第三，陳荊和教授對越南學術的突出貢獻及其深遠的影響。

關鍵詞：陳荊和、越南史料、史地研究、越南華僑史、漢喃研究



## 1. 陳荊和教授一生與越南的“特別緣分”

陳荊和教授，字孟毅，號蒼崖，聖名為Augustin Georgés，西文著作慣以Chen Chingho或 Ching Ho A. Chen署名；1917年生於台灣台中市（原為台中縣龍井鄉），祖籍福建漳州漳浦縣，為家中長子。他幼時隨父親，即著名婦科醫生陳茂堤（1893-1977）赴日生活，並在東京完成了小學和中學教育。1936年，他入讀慶應義塾大學預科部，師從松本信廣教授（Matsumoto Nobuhiro, 1897-1981），專攻東洋史，尤以東南亞史為主。當時慶應義塾大學是日本的越南史研究重鎮，松本信廣教授精通漢文、法文，具有深廣的交友範圍及廣泛的研究興趣<sup>1</sup>。公元1933年八月至十月，得到親友埃米爾·加斯帕頓<sup>2</sup>（Émile Gaspardone, 1895-1982）和昂利·馬伯樂（Henri Maspero, 1882-1945）等兩位教授的幫助，松本信廣教授來到法國遠東學

<sup>1</sup> 松本信廣於1897年十月十一日在東京出生；1920年從慶應義塾大學畢業。1924年至1928年，遠赴法國巴黎索邦大學（Sorbonne）留學，專攻東方學研究。留學期間曾與馬塞爾·莫斯（Marcel Mauss, 1872-1950）、馬塞爾·葛蘭言（Marcel Granet, 1884-1940）、普祖魯斯基（Jean Przyluski）、昂利·馬伯樂（Henri Maspero, 1882-1945）等法國著名人士有過較密切的來往。[馬塞爾·莫斯，法國人類學家、社會學家、民族學家，迪爾凱姆（Emile Durkheim, 1858-1917）的學術繼承人，被尊為法國實地民族學派的創始人。主要論著有《早期的幾種分類形式：對於集體表象的研究》、《天賦》、《關於原始交換形式—贈予的研究》等。馬塞爾·葛蘭言，20世紀法國著名的文學社會學家和漢學家，是法國著名漢學家埃瑪紐埃爾·沙畹（Emmanuel Edouard Chavannes, 1865-1918）的學生。代表作品有《中國古代的節慶與歌謠》、《中國宗教》、《中國古代舞蹈與傳說》、《中國古代之婚姻範疇》、《中國文明》等。普祖魯斯基，法國著名漢學家，1924年提出“漢藏語系”並對其進行分類。昂利·馬伯樂，法國著名的中國學家，沙畹的學生。1908年至1920年，他被任命為越南河內法國遠東學院研究員。1919年至1927年，回到巴黎法蘭西學院接任剛去世的沙畹為東方語言教授。1927年至1928年，到日本東京的“法、日之家”工作。其代表著作有《唐代長安方言考》、《有關安南語的歷史語音學研究論文集》、《道教與中國的宗教》等。]1928年，松本信廣在巴黎出版《日語與南亞語系的各種語言：詞彙比較研究》（*Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*）與《日本神話研究》（*Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*），其中前者為其在巴黎完成的博士論文。

<sup>2</sup> 1926年至1936年，埃米爾·加斯帕頓（Émile Gaspardone）被任命為越南河內法國遠東學院研究員。1933年，他被派往日本東京工作。在此，他結識了很多日本當時有名的教授，並將《大南實錄》木刻本贈送給慶應義塾大學和東洋文庫（Toyo Bunko）。1936年至1965年，返回法國任教，專門教授越南語、漢字。因其妻為日本人（Kazu Muramastu），晚年他到日本定居，並把自己一生積累的資料贈送給慶應義塾大學。其代表著作有《越南書目》（*Bibliographie Annamite*）等。



院 (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 縮寫EFEO) 駐越南河內分院參加越南實際考察旅遊活動。那次考察的重大收穫使得他的研究方向從此完全轉向越南 (安南), 並與其友山本達郎<sup>3</sup> 教授 (Yamamoto Tatsuro 1910-2001) 成為在日本越南史、越南綜合研究的開創者及最有成就的學者。這樣十分特殊的學術背景對陳荊和的人生及學術生涯產生了深遠的影響, 大概可以列舉一下四點:

第一, 跟隨松本信廣教授學習, 得到他的細心指導, 促使他選擇越南史作為自己的研究方向, 他預科的畢業論文即與越南相關, 其中文題目為《乾隆帝出征安南的始末》。不僅如此, 就連他後來的碩士、博士畢業論文都與該課題息息相關。

第二, 促使他對語言重要性的認識。作為越南的研究者, 除了漢文, 還要精通法文及越南語, 尤其是與越南語相關的歷史越南語及越南方言。為了實現自己的宏大目標, 也許也是來自老師的要求, 預科期間他除了學習和研究工作之外, 還在東京外國語學校夜校部兼習法語。到了越南河內法國遠東學院深造之後, 他又積極地學習越南語, 期間還結識了越南女子鄧氏和 (Đặng Thị Hòa) 並與其成婚 (他們共有二子三女, 其中二人入法國國籍, 其餘三人定居於美國舊金山)。

第三, 松本信廣與法國學界有著深廣的交往, 這是陳荊和後來走出日本國門的重要助力。無論是二十世紀四十年代南下越南, 並在河內法國遠東學院留學三年的時間, 還是五十年代遠赴法國巴黎索邦大學 (Sorbonne), 完成自己的學位論文, 究其因由, 除了他個人的努力之外, 都免不了此種不凡的學術際遇。

第四, 因受日法、東西兩種學術傳統的培訓, 陳荊和一生的學術風格不僅以重視考證、重視文獻為其突出點, 還特別看重從綜合角度的、理論

<sup>3</sup> 公元1939年, 松本信廣與山本達郎同時被聘為南亞細亞研究所 (Research Institute for South Asian Culture) 研究員, 此後二人有很多在學術上的合作。山本達郎傾其一生專治東洋史, 尤以越南史研究著稱。他所撰寫的《安南史研究》以及一系列專題論文, 已經成為後學研治越南歷史的“枕中鴻寶”。1938年, 山本達郎到越南北方海防、河內等地考察旅遊, 並到河內法國巴黎法國遠東學院進行考察和資料收集。隨後又赴越南清化、順化、西貢等地進行考察訪問。他對越南史的研究, 很注重原始資料的收集, 在赴越南考察過程中, 對於越南史書、輿地志、法律文書、家譜等都進行了收集研究。

性的去尋求問題的答案。他的研究方法大致可以用“文獻”和“理論”兩個詞彙來概括。

1942年，順利地從文學部史學科東洋史專業畢業後，陳先生留校擔任語言研究所助手。1943年3月至1945年9月，以日本印支交換生身分，陳荊和前往河內的法國遠東學院從事東南亞史的研究和學習，廣泛涉獵學院所搜羅的越南史料，還精習越南語，更有半年時間向越南近代著名學者陳重金（1883-1953）討教史學和越文，為以後越南史地研究另闢蹊徑。其後他又回到慶應義塾大學服務，二戰結束後復歸台灣。

1946年，他赴任國立台灣大學文學部史學科講師，專門教授東南亞史及日本史。在此期間，獲取中華文化教育基金的贊助，他致力研究《華夷譯語》中有關越南語的注音及其聲韻的變化，1952年完成初稿，1953年定稿，題為〈安南譯語考釋〉，該文成為他後來博士論文的基礎。

1954年9月至1955年10月，他獲紐約中國基金會獎學金（China Foundation），赴法國的巴黎大學高級中國研究所（Institute des hautes études Chinoises de Paris）研究近代遠東的歷史，並留學巴黎索邦大學，在短短兩年間完成學位論文，其中文題目為〈十七至十八世紀越南南圻的華僑〉（*Les Emigrants Chinois au Sud Vietnam, pendant les XVIIe et XVIIIe Siecles*）。之後繼續回台任教。

1957年，越南順化大學成立。1958年，陳荊和先生應高文論（Cao Văn Luận, 1908-1986）神父之請，擔任順化大學訪問教授，其後又接受了西貢大學、大叻大學的邀請，教授中國史、日本史和東南亞史。1954年日內瓦會議後，越南局勢稍定，南越吳廷琰政府委託順化大學整理僅存的檔案，並成立越南史料翻譯委員會。自1959年起，順化大學委任他為該會的總秘書，主持阮朝硃本檔案的整理及編目工作。在1959年7月至9月短短的兩個月間，他帶領該會將阮氏10朝共611卷的硃本檔案完成了分類工作，之後就開始制定目錄。在1960年至1962年，又先後出版嘉隆帝（1902-1919在位）及明命帝（1920-1940在位）兩朝的硃本目錄。

1962年，陳荊和先生在越南擔任訪問教授期滿，隨即獲新亞書院聘為新亞研究所研究員，以及東南亞研究室主任，開始開展在香港的教研。他的研究專長及學養無疑為“新亞史學”添上了不少新氣象。這段期間，儘





管已經離開了越南，但是他仍然兼任順化大學史料翻譯委員會總秘書一職，直到1965年9月才正式結束。1963年，新亞書院等幾所學校聯合成立香港中文系大學，陳荊和又擔任該校東亞研究中心主任。1964年他成為香港中文大學的高級講師，專授東南亞史。1966年，他以〈安南譯語的研究〉一文，獲取了慶應義塾大學文學博士學位，並於1970年，出任中文系大學東南亞研究室主任。

此時的陳荊和教授已經在國際學界卓有聲譽，自1969年至1976年間，相繼受聘擔任多所大學的客座教授。具體的是，1969年7月至1970年6月間，擔任日本慶應義塾大學客座教授；1971年9月至1973年6月間，獲聘為美國南伊利諾伊大學（Sud-Illinoise）客座教授；1974年，獲聘日本創價大學客座教授；1976年，又獲聘為韓國高麗大學客座教授。

1977年，陳荊和教授從歷史系退休，之後又出任日文系系主任。這段期間，除了教學以外，他還在中文大學肩負研究所的行政工作。自1978年至1981年間，他先後四次接受法國外交部之邀請，赴巴黎索邦、巴黎高級中國研究院和法國遠東學院進行訪問和研究。1981年，陳先生在香港延聘期滿，轉而接受日本創價大學教育學部及語言與文化研究中心的特任教授；1986年起，又擔任該校亞細亞研究所所長，同年一月和七月，他還分別接受北京大學、鄭州大學等研究機構的邀請，前往中國進行學術訪問。1993年，因心腦血管病之故，陳荊和先生正式退休，轉赴美國加利福尼亞州奧克蘭市，擔任創價大學環太平洋平和文化研究中心顧問。後來通過越南阮才秋（Nguyễn Tài Thu，生於1931年，被譽為越南針灸最優秀的醫生之一）教授的幫助，他與妻子來到越南胡志明市接受針灸治療<sup>4</sup>。但這次治療未能成功，1995年11月19日，他在胡志明市一家醫院內病故，享年78歲，遺體火化後，骨灰遷葬於美國奧克蘭市。

## 2. 陳荊和教授學術事業中的越南研究

<sup>4</sup> 周佳榮〈師門十年記：陳荊和教授與我〉寫道“荊和師晚年在越南定居”。載《與中大一同成長——香港中文大學與中國文化研究所圖史》，香港中文大學出版社2000年版，頁204。在此，我們採用陳荊和本人晚年（1993年-1995年間）在胡志明市治病用法語寫成的《陳荊和自傳》的觀點。該書目前只在越南流傳。

如上所述，陳荊和很早就受到日法兩種學術傳統的培訓，他一生的學術特別看重第一手材料的收集、整理、注釋、翻譯和出版。對他來講，文獻的收集和整理是科研活動得以開展的必備條件。完全可以說，他一生在學術上所取得的成就都跟自己紮實的文獻基礎有著密切的關係。下表列舉的是陳荊和一生所做過收集、整理的越南重要史籍（內含中國史籍《海外紀事》、《安南供役紀事》兩種）：

表一：陳荊和的越南重要史籍整理書目一覽

序號	書名	出版年月	備註
1	《河仙鎮協鎮鄭氏家譜注釋》	1956	文史哲報
2	《阮朝硃本目錄》，第一集（嘉隆朝）	1960	順化大學出版
3	《十七世紀廣南之新史料：〈海外紀事〉》	1960	台北中華叢書
4	《黎崱〈安南志略〉校定本》	1961	順化大學出版
5	《阮朝硃本目錄》，第一集（明命朝）	1962	順化大學出版
6	鄭懷德《艮齋詩集》	1962	東南亞研究室專刊之一
7	《承天明鄉社陳氏正譜》	1964	東南亞研究室專刊之四
8	潘叔直輯《國史遺編》	1965	東南亞史料專刊之一
9	《宋福玩、楊文珠輯〈暹羅國路》	1966	東南亞史料專刊之二
10	《朱舜水〈安南供役紀事〉箋註》	1968	《香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報》，第1卷
11	《翻譯成國語（拉丁字）的字喃資料》	1969-1970	未出版
12	《嗣德聖制字學解義歌譯註》	1971	香港中文系大學出版社
13	《阮述〈往津日記〉》	1980	香港中文系大學出版社
14	《校合本大越史記全書》	1984-1986	東京大學東洋文化研究所東洋學文獻中心出版
15	《校合本大越史略》	1987	創價大學亞細亞研究所出版

從上表所列舉的情況看，陳荊和對越南史籍整理工作的貢獻實在非常之大，這種偉大不僅體現在數量之多、學術質量之高，更重要的已經將古老的越南介紹給世界各地的讀者，造福了越南，也造福了世界各地想對越





南個方面進行了解、研究的讀者和學人。上表所列舉的是他已出版的書籍，其實那只是他文獻整理計劃中的一部分。根據美國夏威夷大學蘭姆·金利（Liam Kelley）教授的介紹，他曾在越南順化找到一份陳荊和在順化大學時提交的文獻整理計劃。該文除了列舉大部分已經出版的越南重要史籍，如《安南誌略》、《國史遺編》、《越史略》、《校合本大越史記全書》、《大越一統誌》、《大南實錄<sup>5</sup>》、《嘉定城通誌》、《歷朝憲章類誌》等以外，還列舉了第二階段的整理書目，其具體的有《輿地誌》、《抑齋集》、《烏州近錄》、《藍山實錄》、《黎朝帝王中興工業實錄》、《公餘捷記》、《越史標案》、《海陽誌略》、《藝台類語》、《撫邊雜錄》、《見聞小錄》、《雨中隨筆》、《桑滄偶錄》、《洋程起見》、《方亭地誌類》等十五種之多。這份計劃終因他本人越南順化行的結束、政局的動盪、美國助金援助的縮減而擱置，但其字裡行間所透露的宏願及決心，足以讓觀者震撼。陳荊和在越南重要史籍的收集和整理工作儘管立下了很大的功勞，但是就整個越南重要史籍收集和整理事業來講，只是開了一個頭，這也是為什麼後來台灣、中國等地很多大型的越南史籍叢書得以問世的重要原因，如陳慶浩、王三慶主編《越南漢文小說重刊》第一輯（共七冊），陳慶浩、鄭阿財、陳義主編《越南漢文小說重刊》第二輯（共五冊），孫遜、鄭克孟、陳益源主編《越南漢文小說集成》（共二十冊），葛兆光、鄭克孟主編《越南漢文燕行文獻集成》（共二十冊）等。陳荊和先生這種文獻整理活動，在某種程度上是一種對越南古籍的拯危救急，亦是一種理先待後，這種實踐非有優秀史家的度量和眼光而不能為，同時也會給後來學者開闢了方便的門徑。

就陳荊和教授有關越南問題的研究，其一生著作甚豐，大致可以分成古代越南語和史地研究、越南歷史研究、越南華僑史研究等三個部分，並分別以中文、越南文、日文、英文、法文等發表。其中以越南華僑史和越南歷史研究的成果最突出。現將陳荊和的有關文章列出，以供參考：

<sup>5</sup> 據曹永和教授介紹，陳荊和“在當時還參與校訂《大南一統誌》和《大南實錄》的校訂編輯工作”。

表二：陳荊和有關越南華僑史論著一覽

著述名稱	發行或發表的年月	刊載的書刊
“ <i>Les Emigrants Chinois au Sud Vietnam, pendant les XVIIe et XVIIIe Siecles</i> ” (〈十七至十八世紀越南南圻的華僑〉)	1955	在法國巴黎索邦 (Sorbonne) 大學提交的碩士論文，未出版
《華僑初級中學歷史教科書 (東南亞史)》〔越南版〕	1956	台北正中書局
〈鄭懷德嘉定通誌城池誌註釋〉	1957	南洋學報第十二卷，第二輯
〈十七、十八世紀之會安唐人街及其商業〉	1957	《新亞學報》第 3 卷第 1 期
〈清初華舶之長崎貿易及日南航運〉	1957	南洋學報第 13 卷第 1 輯
〈十七、十八世紀之會安唐人街及其商業〉	1958	《新亞學報》第 3 卷第 1 期
<i>Họ Mạc và chúa Nguyễn tại Hà Tiên</i> (〈河仙鄭氏與阮主〉)	1958	<i>Văn hóa Á Châu</i> (《亞洲文化》)
〈承天明鄉社與清河——順化華僑史之一頁〉	1959	《新亞學報》第 4 卷第 1 期
〈鄭懷德嘉定通誌城池誌註釋：十九世紀初年之南圻與華僑〉	1960	文載(堤岸)《遠東日報》
〈清初鄭成功殘部之移殖南圻 (上)〉	1960	新亞學報第 5 卷第 1 期
<i>Mấy điều nhận xét về Minh Hương xã và các cổ tích tại Hội An</i> (〈明鄉社與會安古跡的幾個問題〉)	1960	<i>Việt Nam Khảo cổ tập san</i> , số 1 (越南《考古輯刊》第一期)
<i>Làng Minh Hương và phố Thành Hà thuộc tỉnh Thừa Thiên</i> (〈承天明鄉社與清河鋪〉)	1961	<i>Tập san Đại học</i> (Viện Đại học Huế), số 3 [《大學輯刊》(順化大學)第三期]
〈艮齋鄭懷德：其人其事〉	1962	載鄭懷德《艮齋詩集》，香港新亞研究所東南亞研究室
<i>Mấy điều nhận xét về Minh Hương xã và các cổ tích tại Hội An</i> (〈明鄉社與會安古跡的〉)	1962	<i>Việt Nam Khảo cổ tập san</i> , số 3 (越南《考古期刊》第三期)
〈承天明鄉社陳氏正譜略〉	1964	《承天明鄉社陳氏正譜》，香港中文大學新亞研究所
〈河仙鄭氏の文學活動、特に河仙十詠に就て〉	1967	《史學》第 40 卷第 2-3 號
〈清初鄭成功殘部之移殖南圻〉(下)	1968	新亞學報第 8 卷第 2 期
〈關於“明鄉”的幾個問題〉	1968	王錫易等《明代國際關係》，台北學生書局
〈河仙鄭氏世系考〉	1969	《華岡學報》第 5 期



"On the Rules and Regulations of the 'Duong thuong Hoi quan' of Faifo (Hoi an), Central Vietnam"	1969 (1968 年發報)	Southeast Asian Archives, vol.II
會安明香社に関する諸問題について	1970	《アジア經濟》第 11 卷第 5 號
〈華僑社會の「幫」〉	1972	中村孝志編《東南亞華僑社會》
"Historical Notes on Hoi-an (Faifo)"	1974	(EastAsian Cultural Studies Series No.12) , Center for Vietnamese Studies , South Illinois University at Carbondale
"Mac Thien Tu and Phraya Taksin: a survey on their political stand, conflicts and background"	1979	Seventh Internation of Asian Historian Association

表三：陳荊和有關越南史論著一覽

著述名稱	發行或發表的年月	刊載的書刊
〈五代宋初之越南〉	1956	《中越文化論集》
〈清初華船之長崎貿易及日南航運〉	1958	《南洋學報》第 13 卷第 1 輯
〈越南陳朝事略〉	1961	《台灣陳大宗祠德星堂重建 50 周年慶祝紀念特刊》
"The Imperial Archives of the Nguyen Dynasty"	1962	Journal of Southeast Asia History, Vol. I.III, No. 2
〈《國史遺編》的編者與內容〉	1965	《國史遺編》，香港新亞研究所東南亞研究室
〈十七、八世紀ベトナムにおける南北對立の歴史とその分析〉(大澤一雄譯)	1966-1976	《南洋大學學報》第 2 期；《高麗大學亞細亞研究》第 57 號；《史學》第 38 卷第 4 號。
〈安陽王と日南伝について〉〔譯註〕	1970	《史學》第 42 卷第 3 號
〈安陽王の出自について-藤原利一郎・饒宗頤兩氏の所論をめぐって〉	1970	《史學》第 42 卷第 4 號。
"On the Various Editions of Dai-Viet Su-Ky Toan-Thu "	1976	Center for East Asian Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
〈大越史記全書の撰修と伝本〉	1977	《東南アジア・歴史と文化》，東南アジア史学会 編,第 7 號。

〈《大越史略》-その内容と編者〉	1980	《山本達郎博士古稀記念論文 集：東南アジア・インドの社 會と文化》下。
〈陳仲金著《風塵のさなかに——見聞 録》〉	1980- 1983	《創大アジア研究》第 1 號；第 2 號（1981 年）；第 3 號（1982 年）；第 4 號 （1983 年）。
〈《大南寔錄》と阮朝硃本について〉	1982	《稻・舟・祭——松本信廣先生 追悼論文集》
〈《校合本・大越史記全書》の刊行とその 体裁・凡例について〉	1987	《創大アジア研究》第 8 號
〈越南文明開化之步驟——阮長祚與陳仲 金〉	1987	《南洋與中國——南洋學會四 十五周年記念論文集》
〈阮朝初期の「下洲公務」に就いて〉	1989	《創大アジア研究》第 11 號。
〈西沙群島と南沙群島——歴史的回顧〉	1989	《創大アジア研究》第 10 號
〈嗣德時代ベトナムの近代化志向と香 港〉	1991	《創大アジア研究》第 12 號
〈黎朝の教化條律 47 條に就いて〉	1992	《創大アジア研究》第 13 號
“ <i>Les &lt;missions officielles dans les Hạ châu&gt; ou &lt;Contrées méridionales&gt; de la première periode des Nguyễn</i> ”	1994	法國遠東學報

表四：陳荊和有關越南語言及史地論著一覽

著述名稱	發行或發 表的年月	刊載的書刊
〈順化城研究旅行雜記〉	1948	《台灣文化》第 3 卷第 5 期
〈「字喃」之形態及產生年代〉	1949	《人文科學論叢》第 1 輯
〈越南東京（Tonkin）地方的特稱‘Ke’〉	1950	《文史哲學報》第 1 期。
〈交趾名稱考〉	1952	《文史哲學報》第 4 期。
〈安南譯語考釋〉（上、下）	1954	《文史哲學報》第 5 期。
〈林邑建國之始祖人物：區隣、區連〉	1956	《學術季刊》第 5 卷第 2 期。
〈安南譯語の研究〉（1-6）	1966-1967	《史學》第 39 卷第 3-4 號、 第 41 卷第 1-3 號。
〈十七世紀に於ける河内（Ké Cho’）の 様相と性格について〉	1970	《史學》第 43 卷第 3 號
〈「鼎耳」小考〉	1988	《創大アジア研究》第 9 號。





從上列表格的内容，可以明顯地看出以下幾點：第一，陳荊和在學術研究上每個階段所關注的對象並不一樣，相比之下，早期比較關注越南語言及史地研究，中期更注意越南華僑史及有關問題，晚期又偏向越南歷史，尤其是越南對外關係及阮朝的近代化研究。第二，文章所涉及的問題極其廣泛，並且具有宏觀及微觀研究兩種特點。第三，文章分別以中文、越南文、日文、英文、法文等多種文字完成，並在法國、美國、日本、香港、台灣、越南、馬來西亞、新加坡、韓國等不同的國家發表，其影響力非常之大。有的時候相同的文章卻用幾種不同的文字書寫，並在不同的國家發表。例如，〈十七、八世紀越南之南北對立〉一文，同時用中文、日文等兩種文字書寫，並分別在《南洋大學學報》第2期（新加坡，1968年）、《史學》第38卷第4號（東京，1966年）、《高麗大學亞細亞研究》第57號（漢城，1976年）發表；〈承天明鄉社與清河——順化華僑史之一頁〉一文，同時用中文、越南文書寫，並分別在香港《新亞學報》第4卷第1期（1959年）、《大學輯刊》（順化大學）第三期（1961年）發表等。第四，陳荊和的研究不但在東洋史的傳統領域做出了精神的研究，還開闢很多新的領域，如越南重要史籍的整理及注釋、越南華僑史研究等，這些對後來的學術研究都產生深遠的影響。

### 3. 陳荊和教授對越南學術的突出貢獻及其深遠的影響

陳荊和的越南學術的貢獻非常突出，大致可以概括為下列四點：

第一，對於一個國家來講，其國家形象（軟實力）顯得特別重要，尤其是在現代的世界上。陳荊和的學術事業不僅將有關越南個方面介紹給世界各地的讀者，為他們與越南搭著一座橋樑，同時也為越南政府，特別是現在的越南政府在國家形象的塑造上提供了便利的條件。

第二，越南阮朝硃本及阮朝木刻板之所以分別在2009年7月31日及2014年5月15日順利地被聯合國科教文組織列入世界記憶文獻遺產，這些都與他的學術事業有密切的關係。比如有關越南阮朝的硃本，從1958年至1965年，作為越南史料翻譯委員會的總秘書，他曾直接參與並指導有關文獻的整理工作。當時具體的情況是，在1959年7月至9月短短的兩個月的時間，

他帶領該會將阮氏十朝共611大捆的硃本檔案完成了分類工作，開始制定目錄。在1960年至1962年，先後出版嘉隆帝（1902-1919在位）及明命帝（1920-1940在位）兩朝的硃本目錄。如果阮朝硃本檔案當年沒有得到像他既有豐富的經驗又得到世界學者認可的專家直接參與並指導有關整理工作，而且後來又為其作了很多有關工作如注釋、翻譯、出版、撰寫介紹、研究的文章等，越南政府後來的申請工作肯定會遇到很多困難。有關阮朝木刻板的檔案，儘管跟他沒有直接關係，但是該項目在法國學者埃米爾·加斯帕頓（Émile Gaspardone）和他的兩位老師松本信廣和山本達郎教授（Yamamoto Tatsuro）的不斷努力後，他又補上撰寫並發表了許多有關高質量的學術文章，因此該項目之所以順利地被評為世界記憶文獻遺產，決不能否認他的重要貢獻。

第三，作為一位中國學者，很早就受到日法兩種學術傳統的薰陶，他本人又精通中文（包括各種不同的方言）、英文、日文、越南文等不同語言，因此他所做出來的成果，其學術水準一般都很高。在大多數越南學者的眼中，陳荊和的專著、文章向來都被譽為學術上難以超越的典範。這一點可以從很多不同的領域找到例證，比如，在古籍的收集、整理、注釋、翻譯等方面，越南學者一般都因漢學知識的膚淺、語言的精通性不夠理想而犯了許多不同的錯誤。就越南目前的古籍整理工作情況看，想找到像陳荊和《河仙鎮協鎮莫氏家譜註釋》、《嗣德聖制字學解義歌譯註》、《潘叔直輯〈國史遺編〉》等一樣水平的書籍確實很難。

第四，陳荊和的學生周佳榮教授曾在〈師門十年記：陳荊和教授與我〉寫道：“留日期間，我對東南亞史產生了較大興趣，曾跟隨……發覺荊和師的著作常被日本學者引用，這是我以前不曾知道的。……相對於中國史來說，日本史和東南亞史是“冷門”科目，真正有興趣的學生不多。荊和師的著作亦較專門，《新亞學報》是大家常看的，但〈承天明鄉與清河鋪〉一文，就連題目都難明瞭，《嗣德聖制字學解義歌譯註》更令學生摸不著頭緒。當時歷史系學生只知道《十六世紀之菲律賓華僑》是荊和師的代表作，他用日文發表論著一事則很少人留意<sup>6</sup>。”從這段文字不難看出

<sup>6</sup> 看周佳榮〈師門十年記：陳荊和教授與我〉，載《與中大一同成長——香港中文大學與中國文化研究所圖史》，香港中文大學出版社2000年版，頁201-204。



陳荊和教授的學術專業對不同國家的不同影響，與香港相比，日本學界好像更了解並看重陳荊和在學術上的貢獻，但我們相信這種情況也只是流行在日本有關的專業圈內。與香港、日本的情況不同，陳荊和的著作在越南卻很受廣泛學者的歡迎，因為其著作所涉及的内容極其廣泛，因此對越南社會與人文科學的不同學科如文學、歷史、地理、文化、語言、人類學、哲學等都有參考價值。不僅如此，他在越南工作期間，還在順化大學、西貢大學、大叻大學任教，在他當年教過、指導過的眾多學生當中，後來不少人成為越南的著名學者或各所不同院校的著名教授，如原順化大學教授團擴<sup>7</sup>（Đoàn Khoách）、胡志明市師範大學歷史系的陳曰鶚<sup>8</sup>（Trần Việt Ngạc）、原文科大學的張玉富（Trương Ngọc Phú）或著名學者阮有周潘<sup>9</sup>（Nguyễn Hữu Châu Phan）、尊室慧<sup>10</sup>（Tôn Thất Huệ）等。這些教授和學者多數從事越南歷史、史地或越南傳統文化研究，其研究方法、風格都深受陳荊和學術風格的影響。

#### 4. 結語

陳荊和教授一生的學術事業都與越南的諸多問題有著密切的關係，其學術對該國學術所產生的影響也非常深遠。關於陳荊和的生平和學術成就，向來曾有不少文章提起，但總的來講都不夠全面，還有很多地方需要補充，如平生、師承、他一生對越南的相關研究、其學術事業對越南學術的影響等。本文從陳荊和的學術背景出發，進一步考察陳荊和生平、學術事業與其師松本信廣、山本達郎及諸多法國學者之間的複雜關係，從而發現陳荊和與很多台灣學者、日本學者不同，他從很早就受日法兩種學術傳

<sup>7</sup> 團擴（Đoàn Khoách）生於1930年，原順化大學教授、香港中文大學新亞研究所助理研究員，1989年赴美國加州定居，現為美國加州越南研究中心教授。代表著作有《阮鴈與其〈抑齋詩集〉》（香港，1965年）、《文籍誌》（順化，1970年）、《阮廷沼全集》（越南，1982年）、《爽亭詩集》（美國，2002年）等。

<sup>8</sup> 陳曰鶚（Trần Việt Ngạc）生於1939年，順化大學史地專業畢業，現為胡志明市師範大學歷史系教授，其著作甚豐，專以單篇論文見稱。

<sup>9</sup> 阮有周潘（Nguyễn Hữu Châu Phan），著名學者，順化大學史地專業畢業，現為《順化研究》雜誌主編。

<sup>10</sup> 尊室慧（Tôn Thất Huệ）生於1935年，順化大學史地專業畢業，1978年赴加拿大定居，目前為著名的自由學者。



統的薰陶，這一點對其一生的學術專業在方法上、風格上都留下深深的烙印。就在上述的基礎上，我們進一步考察陳荊和的學術專業中對越南問題研究的部分，並且將其一生對越南的研究分成不同的四個部分，包括越南重要史籍的整理、校合工作、越南語言與史地研究、越南華僑史研究和越南歷史研究。越南在二十世紀下半葉歷盡戰火洗禮，史料、史籍的保存和整理絕非易事。從對戰後的順化宮廷檔案進行分類及目錄整理中，失而復得，又因政變和內戰一再受阻，但陳教授並沒有氣餒，還設法對大量的重要的史籍進行校勘、標點並出版，為研究越南歷史的後學予以方便之門。對於越南華僑史研究，他突破了前人的範圍，透過田野和考古調查大大補足了明鄉研究上資料的缺漏，不論史料，還是方法上，開啟有關課題的門徑，裨益後學。在越南語言及史地研究方面，不僅在有關領域留下自己深深的烙印，還為越南培養一大批優秀學者，促進後來越南學術在此方面的發展。

## 回應

若有任何關於本篇論文的回應，請直接寄給作者阮庭復副教授 (dinhphucnguyen@hcmussh.edu.vn)。

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# タイ・ノムの発展過程に関する仮説— ベト族とタイ族の言語接触の観点から

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本稿は、ベトナム・カオバン省のタイ族が使用する「タイ・ノム」と呼ばれる漢字系文字の体系を紹介するものである。その共時的・通時的分析を通じて、その発展過程におけるベトナム漢字音、ベトナム字喃の役割について検討する。個々の文字の分析により、その表音要素がタイ—漢字音・チワン漢字音からベトナム漢字音に徐々にシフトした可能性、そこから見えるタイ語とベトナム語の長期に亘る言語接触の一側面を指摘する。

キーワード：チュー・ノム，タイ・ノム，ベトナム漢字音

# **On the Development of Tay Nom: from the Viewpoint of Viet-Tay Language Contact**

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## **Abstract**

This study aims to introduce the writing system of Tay tribe in Cao Bang province of Vietnam called Nom Tay which was created based on Chinese characters. We make an analysis on their structure from the synchronic and diachronic viewpoints to make sure the process of their development and the role of Vietnamese elements, that is, Sino-Vietnamese readings and Chu Nom readings. Through the analysis of each case, we conclude that the phonetic components of those characters had been gradually shifted from the Sino-Tay or Sino-Choang readings to the Sino-Vietnamese readings, that reveals the long history of contact between Tay and Vietnamese.

Keywords: Vietnamese Nom, Tay Nom, Sino-Vietnamese Readings



# **Một giả thuyết về quá trình phát triển chữ Nôm Tày - Dưới góc độ tiếp xúc ngôn ngữ giữa hai dân tộc Việt và Tày**

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## **Tóm tắt**

Bài này nhằm mục đích giới thiệu hệ thống văn tự của dân tộc Tày ở tỉnh Cao Bằng gọi là chữ Nôm Tày được sáng tạo trên cơ sở chữ Hán. Đồng thời, chúng tôi cũng phân tích cấu tạo về mặt đồng đại và lịch đại để làm sáng tỏ quá trình phát triển của nó và vai trò của các yếu tố tiếng Việt, tức cách đọc Hán Việt và cách đọc chữ Nôm Việt. Thông qua việc phân tích từng trường hợp, chúng tôi có thể khẳng định rằng các thanh phù theo cách đọc Hán Tày hoặc Hán Choang dần dần được thay thế bằng cách đọc Hán Việt. Điều đó chứng tỏ rằng sự tiếp xúc ngôn ngữ giữa tiếng Tày và tiếng Việt đã xảy ra trong quá trình lịch sử lâu dài.

Từ khóa: Nôm Việt, Nôm Tày, Cách đọc Hán Việt

## 1. Phần mở đầu

Trong giới Việt ngữ học, các nhà nghiên cứu sử dụng khái niệm “Nôm” để chỉ hệ thống văn tự được cấu tạo bằng các thành phần hoặc bộ thủ của chữ Hán để ghi chép các hình vị của các ngôn ngữ phi Hán hoặc được coi là phi Hán, trong khi các yếu tố gốc Hán thì được gọi là “Hán”. Vì vậy, môn khoa học liên quan đến các loại văn bản viết bằng chữ Hán và/hoặc chữ Nôm được gọi là ngành Hán Nôm. Một trong những đặc trưng quan trọng nhất của chữ Nôm Việt (NV) là dựa trên nguyên tắc thanh phù (thành phần biểu âm) được chọn căn cứ vào cách đọc Hán Việt (HV) của chữ Hán đó, chứ không phải theo cách đọc bản địa Trung Quốc hoặc phương ngữ tiếng Hán. Đồng thời, có một số trường hợp chữ Hán được đọc theo âm Cổ Hán Việt (古漢越語) hoặc âm Hán Việt Việt hóa (漢語越化) (Vương Lực 1958) như là cách đọc chữ NV.

Ngoài dân tộc Kinh ra, còn có một số dân tộc thiểu số cũng sử dụng chữ Hán để ghi ngôn ngữ của họ. Trong các dân tộc đó dân số đông nhất là dân tộc Tày. Đối tượng của bài viết này là loại văn tự được dân tộc Tày ở tỉnh Cao Bằng sáng tạo ra để ghi ngôn ngữ của họ. Loại văn tự này cũng giống như NV được cấu tạo bằng chữ Hán hoặc thành phần của chữ Hán, cũng có trường hợp được cấu tạo bằng chữ NV. Loại hệ thống văn tự này được các nhà nghiên cứu Việt Nam gọi là Nôm Tày (NT).

Mục đích của bài viết này là phân tích đặc trưng ngữ âm của NT trong một bộ từ điển để đưa ra quy luật phát triển chung của chúng.

## 2. Khát quát về ngữ liệu Nôm Tày

Ngữ liệu Nôm Tày sử dụng trong bài viết này đã được sưu tầm ở Bó Báng, xã Nam Tuấn, huyện Hòa An, tỉnh Cao Bằng vào năm 2014 (xem phần Phụ lục I). Cộng tác viên là người bản ngữ sử dụng phương ngữ Bó Báng (CTVa: 82 tuổi, nam)<sup>1</sup>. Bộ ngữ liệu thứ nhất là âm thanh đọc lên từng chữ trong tác phẩm Nôm

1 Chúng tôi cũng được sự hợp tác của cháu nội của ông là CTVb (24 tuổi, nam).



Tày là *Khóa Quan* 課官. Bộ ngữ liệu thứ hai là *Từ điển chữ Nôm Tày* (TĐ, 2013) do nhiều tác giả biên soạn, trong đó có CTVa. Vì bài này chỉ là một khảo sát bước đầu nên chúng tôi chủ yếu sử dụng dữ liệu trong TĐ.

Các âm vị trong phương ngữ Bó Báng tiếng Tày và cách phiên âm bằng chính tả chữ La Tinh là như sau:

(1) Cấu trúc âm tiết:

IMVF/T

(2) Phụ âm đầu (I)

p (p)	t (t)	c (ch, tr)	k (c/k/q)	ʔ (φ)
b (b)	d (t)	ɕ (đ)	g (g)	
p <sup>h</sup> (ph)	t <sup>h</sup> (th)		k <sup>h</sup> (kh)	
m (m)	n (n)	ɲ (nh)	ŋ (ng)	
f (ph)		ʃ(∞s) (x)		h (h)
v (v)		ʒ(r)	ʒ(∞z) (d, gi)	
	l (l)			
	ʎ (sl, s)			

Sự đối lập giữa hữu thanh /d/ và vô thanh /t/ không được phản ánh trong chính tả, trong khi các cặp p/b và k/g đều có chữ cái riêng. Về âm sát bên /l/, có khi được ghi bằng chữ *sl*, cũng có khi được ghi bằng *s*.

(3) Giới âm (M)

w (u, o, v)                      j (y, i, d)

Khi giới âm /j/ được ghi bằng chữ *y* hoặc *i*, thì chỉ có phụ âm đầu môi là có thể kết hợp với âm vị đó, còn khi /j/ được ghi bằng chữ *d*, thì không một phụ âm đầu nào có thể kết hợp. Tương tự như vậy, khi /w/ được ghi bằng chữ *v*, cũng không có phụ âm đầu nào có thể kết hợp được.

## (4) Nguyên âm (V)

ie (iê)	uɤ (ươ)	uo (uô)
i: (i)	u: (ư)	u: (u)
e: (ê)	ɤ: (ơ)	o: (ô)
ɛ: (e)	ʌ (â)	ɔ: (o)
a: (a)	a (ã)	

Về mặt ngữ âm, trong một số vần có sự khác biệt rõ rệt về độ dài giữa âm vị nguyên âm /ɔ:/ và /o:/, /ɛ:/ và /e:/ . Nhưng có sự phân bố bổ sung giữa các cặp nguyên âm đó nên được coi là hai biến thể của cùng một âm vị.

## (5) Phụ âm cuối (F)

m (m)	n (n)	ɲ (nh)	ŋ (ng)	ŋ̃m (ng)
p (p)	t (t)	ḳ (ch)	k (c)	k̃p (c)
u (u, o)		i (y, i)		u (ư)

Liên quan đến sự đối lập giữa ɲ/k và ŋ̃m/k̃p trước nguyên âm dòng sau, có xu hướng là ŋ̃m/k̃p xuất hiện trong những từ gốc Việt, còn ɲ/k thì trong những từ gốc Tày, nhưng có một số ngoại lệ nhất định nên vẫn phải coi như hai cặp âm vị khác nhau. Ngoài ra, CTVa phát âm vần -*âur* bằng /u: /, còn CTVb thì bằng /ʌu /.

## (6) Thanh điệu (T)

1 (a) Mid Level	[33]	
2 (à) Mid Falling	[32]	
3 (ả) Falling & Rising	[213]	(cũng xuất hiện với âm cuối tắc)
5 (á) Mid Rising	[35]	(khi xuất hiện với âm cuối tắc: [45])
6 (ạ) Glottalized Falling	[21ʔ]	(khi xuất hiện với âm cuối tắc: [21])





### 3. Phương pháp và kết quả

Đào Duy Anh đã từng nói (1975, tr.214-5):

“... xét thời Trần văn hóa miền xuôi chưa xâm nhập rộng rãi vào miền ngược, chúng tôi đoán rằng chữ nôm Tày xuất hiện vào khoảng thời Lê sơ.

Nếu chữ ấy là do người ta dựa vào chữ Hán-Việt và chữ Nôm Việt-nam mà tạo nên theo qui cách giống hệt như qui cách của chữ Nôm Việt-nam thì có thể xem nó là một thứ phẩm của chữ Nôm Việt-nam, do đó chúng tôi tưởng rằng có thể gọi nó là chữ nôm Tày được. Đến như chữ của người Nùng mà người ta cũng quen gọi là chữ nôm Nùng thì chúng tôi không có tài liệu để nghiên cứu, không rõ nó có quan hệ gì với chữ nôm Tày và với chữ tục của người Choang- người Choang với người Nùng là cùng một gốc -, chỉ có thể nói chắc rằng chữ nôm Tày là do chữ Nôm Việt-nam mà ra chứ không có quan hệ gì với chữ tục Choang”.

Vì công trình này được xuất bản vào năm 1975, ý kiến của Đào Duy Anh coi NT như là ‘thứ phẩm’ của NV đã được công nhận một cách rộng rãi. Trong bài này, chúng tôi sẽ xem xét lại ý kiến của Đào Duy Anh và xác nhận lại mức độ ảnh hưởng của cách đọc Hán-Việt đối với cơ sở để tạo nên NT.

#### 3.1. Tình hình pha trộn ngôn ngữ trong văn bản

Trước tiên, căn cứ vào những văn bản NT, chúng tôi xem xét tình hình thực tế về sự pha trộn lẫn nhau của hai ngôn ngữ Việt và Tày. Khi từ ngữ Việt xuất hiện trong văn bản cả trong trường hợp đoạn ngữ và từ đơn, thì phần lớn các trường hợp đó là yếu tố gốc Hán. Tất nhiên là trong văn viết thì tỷ lệ xuất hiện yếu tố gốc Hán sẽ tăng lên, nhưng đáng lưu ý ở đây là phần lớn các yếu tố Việt trong văn bản NT vẫn là yếu tố gốc Hán (xem phần Phụ lục II).

#### 3.2. Quy luật đối ứng giữa cách đọc NT và cách đọc HV hoặc NV

Căn cứ vào ý kiến của Đào Duy Anh, chúng tôi so sánh cách đọc từng chữ NT với cách đọc HV hoặc cách đọc NV của thành phần biểu âm của chúng. 3.031 chữ trong TĐ đã được phân tích để quy ra quy luật đối ứng giữa âm đọc NT và

âm đọc thành phần biểu âm. Bảng I là kết quả phân tích, trong đó có cách đọc NT, cách đọc HV hoặc cách đọc NV của thành phần biểu âm, với một số âm đọc của thành phần biểu âm trong tiếng Quảng Đông, tiếng Bình Thoại, tiếng Khách Gia, hoặc tiếng Mân ở vùng Quảng Tây (gọi tắt là QT).

Bảng I. Sự đối ứng âm vị phụ âm đầu của thành phần biểu âm

\*Các âm vị có gạch dưới ( ) trong   là theo quy luật chung

NT		HV (NV)		QT	ghi chú
p	{悲+去} <i>pây</i> ‘đi’	<u>b</u>	悲 <i>bi</i>		
	裨 <i>pe</i> ‘hoanh nhà’	t	卑 <i>tī</i>	卑 <i>pi<sup>55</sup>, pi<sup>53</sup>...</i>	vần trung nữ
	分 <i>păn</i> ‘quay’	ph	分 <i>phân</i>		
	莱 <i>piai</i> ‘ngon’	l	来 <i>lai</i>		*pl- > pj-
	冇 <i>piáu</i> ‘không’			冇 <i>byouq</i>	chữ tục Choang
b	保 <i>bấu</i> ‘không’	<u>b</u>	保 <i>báo</i>		
	洩 <i>bén</i> ‘trong’		洩 <i>bén</i> (VN)		
	{門*天} <i>bân</i> ‘trời’	m	門 <i>môn</i>		
	滄 <i>pùng</i> ‘sinh lây’	ph	逢 <i>phùng</i>		
ph	汾 <i>phân</i> ‘mưa’	<u>ph</u>	分 <i>phân</i>		
	{足+拜} <i>phai</i> ‘bước’	b	拜 <i>bái</i>		*phl- > phj-
	{火+为} <i>phây</i> ‘lửa’	(v)	爲 <i>vị</i>		
m	幔 <i>màn</i> ‘chừa’	<u>m</u>	曼 <i>man</i>		
	{文+武} <i>mân</i> ‘hôi’	v-	文 <i>văn</i>	文 <i>men<sup>21</sup>, men<sup>31</sup>...</i>	
	巫 <i>mo</i> ‘thầy mo’		巫 <i>vu</i>	巫 <i>mu<sup>53</sup>, mu<sup>55</sup>...</i>	
	名 <i>mình</i> ‘tiếng tăm’	d-	名 <i>danh</i>	名 <i>miŋ<sup>21</sup>...</i>	
v	{文+日} <i>văn</i> ‘ngày’	<u>v</u>	文 <i>văn</i>		
	{牛+衣} <i>vai</i> ‘con trâu’	<u>h(u)</u>	懷 <i>hoài</i>		
	扒 <i>viát</i> ‘trượt’	b	八 <i>bát</i>		
t	沁 <i>têm</i> ‘đầy’	<u>t</u>	心 <i>tâm</i>		
	{リ+同} <i>toòng</i> ‘đồng’	<u>đ</u>	銅 <i>đồng</i>		
	抒 <i>tư</i> ‘dừng’	d	予 <i>du</i>		
	争 <i>tanh</i> ‘tiếng đàn’	(tr)	争 <i>tranh</i>		



th	湯 <i>thang</i> ‘tìm’	<u>th</u>	湯 <i>thang</i>			
n	{ 孖 + 難 } <i>nạn</i> ‘con nai’	<u>n</u>	難 <i>nạn</i>			
	鸟 <i>neo</i> ‘đỗ’	đ	鳥 <i>diều</i>	鳥 <i>niu</i> <sup>23</sup> ...		
r	{ 石 + 来 } <i>rài</i> ‘cát’	<u>l</u>	来 <i>lai</i>			
	名 <i>rành</i> – ‘rõ ràng lắm’	<u>d</u>	名 <i>danh</i>			
	色 <i>rắc</i> ‘giặt’	s	色 <i>sắc</i>			
	升 <i>răng</i> ‘cái gì’	th	升 <i>thăng</i>			
l	醺 <i>lầu</i> ‘rượu’	<u>l</u>	留 <i>lưu</i>			
sl	縫 <i>slai</i> ‘dây’	<u>s</u>	差 <i>sai</i>			
	心 <i>slăm</i> ‘tâm lòng’	t	心 <i>tâm</i>	心 <i>tem</i> <sup>55</sup> ...		
	十 <i>slip</i> ‘mười’	th	十 <i>thập</i>	十 <i>jep</i> <sup>22</sup> ...		
ch	{ 月 + 正 } <i>chiêng</i> ‘giếng’	<u>ch</u>	正 <i>chính</i>			
	庄 <i>chăng</i> ‘dim’	<u>tr</u>	庄 <i>trang</i>			
	江 <i>chang</i> ‘trong’	<u>gi</u>	江 <i>giang</i>			
	曳 <i>chại</i> ‘ngheêng’	d	曳 <i>dài</i> (VN)			
tr	虫 <i>trùng</i> ‘côn trùng’	<u>tr</u>	虫 <i>trùng</i>			
	槌 <i>trùy</i> ‘cái dùi hình búa’	(ch)	槌 <i>chùy</i>			
đ	都 <i>đo</i> ‘đủ’	<u>đ</u>	都 <i>đô</i>			
nh	戎 <i>nhòng</i> ‘bởi’	<u>nh</u>	戎 <i>nhung</i>			
x	車 <i>xa</i> ‘tìm’	<u>x</u>	車 <i>xa</i>			
	{ 秋 * 耳 } <i>xu</i> ‘cái tai’	<u>th</u>	秋 <i>thu</i>			
	色 <i>xắc</i> ‘nào’	s	色 <i>sắc</i>			
	槌 <i>xùi</i> ‘cái dùi’	ch	槌 <i>chùy</i>			
d	移 <i>dây</i> ‘dịch’	<u>d</u>	移 <i>di</i>			
	間 <i>dàn</i> ‘bò’	<u>gi</u>	間 <i>gian</i>			
	祝 <i>doóc</i> ‘lũ người’	<u>ch</u>	祝 <i>chúc</i>			
	逐 <i>dộc</i> ‘thúc giục’	<u>tr</u>	逐 <i>trục</i>			
	{ 男 + 才 } <i>dài</i> ‘con trai’	t	才 <i>tài</i>			
	淡 <i>dặm</i> ‘mát mẻ’	đ	淡 <i>dạm</i>			
	{ 木 + 蘭 } <i>dàn</i> ‘cái sàn’	l	蘭 <i>lan</i>			
	幽 <i>dú</i> ‘ở’	zero	幽 <i>u</i>	幽 <i>ieu</i> <sup>55</sup> , <i>ieu</i> <sup>53</sup> ...		
	咽 <i>dân</i> ‘rét’	nh	因 <i>nhân</i>	因 <i>ien</i> <sup>55</sup> ...		

gi	降 <i>giàng</i> ‘giơ’	<u>gi</u>	降 <i>giáng</i>			
	引 <i>giễn</i> ‘nghien’	<u>d</u>	引 <i>dần</i>			
	{肉+主} <i>giò</i> ‘giò’	<u>ch</u>	主 <i>chủ</i>			
	茶 <i>gia</i> ‘chữa bệnh’	<u>tr</u>	茶 <i>trà</i>			
	因 <i>giến</i> ‘bởi vì’	nh	因 <i>nhân</i>	因 <i>ien</i> <sup>55</sup> ...		
c/k/q	盖 <i>cái</i> ‘bắc’	<u>c/k/q</u>	盖 <i>cái</i>			
	叫 <i>kéo</i> ‘cái kéo’		叫 <i>kêu</i> (NV)			
	乖 <i>quai</i> ‘khôn’		乖 <i>quai</i>			
	押 <i>cáp</i> ‘kết nghĩa’	gi	甲 <i>giáp</i>	甲 <i>kap</i> <sup>53</sup> , <i>kap</i> <sup>33</sup> ...		
g	琼 <i>goeng</i> ‘vắng vẻ’	<u>c/k/q</u>	京 <i>kinh</i>			
	{斤+人} <i>gân</i> ‘người’	<u>g</u>	斤 <i>gân</i> (NV)			
	穹 <i>goòng</i> ‘lom khom’	kh	穹 <i>khung</i>			
	回 <i>gòi</i> ‘sẽ’	h	回 <i>hôi</i>			
kh	{米+口} <i>khẩu</i> ‘thóc, gạo’	<u>kh</u>	口 <i>khẩu</i>			
	国 <i>khoắc</i> ‘tàng’	c/k/q	国 <i>quốc</i>			
ng	牛 <i>ngầu</i> ‘bóng’	<u>ng</u>	牛 <i>ngưu</i>			
	{虫+光} <i>ngoảng</i> ‘con ve rừng’	c/q	光 <i>quang</i>			
	仟 <i>ngìn</i> ‘nghe thấy’		千 <i>ngìn</i>			huấn đọc
zero	沃 <i>oóc</i> ‘đề’	<u>zero</u>	沃 <i>ốc</i>			
	霍 <i>oác</i> ‘một loại cây gỗ quý’	h	霍 <i>hoác</i>			cũng đọc là <i>vác</i>
h	許 <i>hầu</i> ‘cho’	<u>h</u>	許 <i>hứa</i>			
	乞 <i>hát</i> ‘làm’	kh	乞 <i>khất</i>	乞 <i>het</i> <sup>55</sup> , <i>het</i> <sup>53</sup> ...		
	妄 <i>hoạng</i> ‘lệch’	(v)	妄 <i>vọng</i>			





Tiếng Tày hiện đại có sự đối lập giữa hữu thanh và vô thanh trong các cặp phụ âm đầu môi, răng và ngạc, trong khi cách đọc HV thì không. Vì vậy, sự tương ứng giữa *p* (NT) và *b* (HV), *t* và *đ*, *g* và *c-k-q*, *d* và *ch~tr*, *gi* và *ch* là điều có thể dự đoán được.

Những trường hợp quan trọng nhất là âm đọc ở vùng Quảng Tây có thể coi như là nguồn gốc thành phần biểu âm của NT. Những tiêu chí để khẳng định đó là nguồn gốc âm đọc chữ NT là như sau:

- (a) Sự đối ứng giữa âm đọc NT và thành phần biểu âm của nó không theo quy luật chung.
- (b) Âm đọc QT và âm đọc NT đều có những đặc trưng chung không có trong âm HV hoặc NV.

### 3.3. Dấu vết âm đọc cổ NT và biến thể của nó

Trong một số trường hợp mà nguồn gốc của âm đọc NT có thể là âm QT (trong Bảng I). thì có 11 trường hợp sau đây là có biến thể mà nguồn gốc của âm đọc chúng là âm HV hoặc NV:

#### (1) *cáy* /kaj5/ ‘gà’

- a. 鷄, 雞      鷄HV: *kê* /ke:1/,      QT: *kɛi55*, *kɛi53* ... (744)<sup>2</sup>
- b. {其+鳥} 其HV: *kì* /ki:2/

#### (2) *hắt* /hət5/ ‘làm’

- a. 乞      乞HV: *khăt* (/kʰət7/ >) /xət7/,      QT: *het55*, *het53* ... (2624)
- b. 𪔐      𪔐HV: *hiết* /hixt7/

#### (3) *keo* /kɛu1/ ‘dân tộc Kinh’

- a. 佼      佼HV: *giao* (/ʒa:u1/ >) /za:u1/,      QT: *kau55*, *kau53* ... (1347)
- b. 侨      侨HV: *kiều* /kiɽu2/

2 Số thứ tự trong công trình của Tạ (谢 2007).

(4) *khẻo* /k<sup>h</sup>eu3/ ‘khôn’

- a. 巧 巧HV: *xảo* /sa:u3/, QT: k<sup>h</sup>iu33, k<sup>h</sup>iu35 ... (1363)  
 b. 窖 窖HV: *giáo* /za:u5/,  
 窖NV: *khéo* (/k<sup>h</sup>ε:u5/ >) /xε:u5/

(5) *khốp* /k<sup>h</sup>op5/ ‘cẩn’

- a. 吸 及HV: *cập* /k<sup>h</sup>ap8/, QT: k<sup>h</sup>ap22, k<sup>h</sup>ep22 ... (1987)  
 b. 泣 泣HV: *khấp* (/k<sup>h</sup>ap7/ >) /xap7/

(6) *kin* /kin1/ ‘ăn’

- a. {口+巾} 巾HV: *cân* /k<sup>h</sup>an1/, QT: k<sup>h</sup>en55, kin55, kin33 ... (2604)  
 b. 堅 堅HV: *kiên* /ki<sup>h</sup>n1/

(7) *mân* /m<sup>h</sup>an1/ ‘hôi’

- a. {文+武} 文HV: *văn* /van1/, QT: m<sup>h</sup>en21, m<sup>h</sup>en31 ... (2763)  
 b. {蛮+气} 蛮HV: *man* /ma:n1/

(8) *piúc* /pju<sup>h</sup>k5/ (< /\*pluukD1L/)<sup>3</sup> ‘trồng’

- a. 朴 朴HV: *phác* (/p<sup>h</sup>a:k7/ >) /fa:k7/, QT: p<sup>h</sup>uk55, p<sup>h</sup>uk33, p<sup>h</sup>uk22 ... (3101)  
 b. {才+六} 六HV: *lục* /luk8/

(9) *sao* /la:u1/ ‘cô gái’

- a. 嫂 曹HV: *tào* /ta:u2/, QT: t<sup>h</sup>fau31, t<sup>h</sup>eu21, lau21 ... (1269)  
 b. 娟 捎HV: *sao* /sa:u1/

(10) *sủ* /lu:3/ ‘đựng’

- a. 守 守HV: *thủ* /t<sup>h</sup>u:3/, QT: t<sup>h</sup>eu35, t<sup>h</sup>eu33 ... (1637)  
 b. {受+丑} 丑HV: *sửu* /suu3/

3 Theo sự tái lập của Li (1977).



(11) *suông* /ʈuon̩1/ ‘phu’a. {相+丩} 相HV: *tương* /tuɤŋ1/, QT: *liən̩55, liən̩55, liən̩21* ... (2929)b. 崇 崇HV: *sùng* /suŋm̩2/

Trong tất cả 11 trường hợp trên, các hình thức a. có âm đọc giống như âm QT mà HV hoặc NV của chúng lại khác. Còn các hình thức b. thì có thành phần biểu âm mà âm HV của chúng giống với âm đọc NT. Điều đó chứng tỏ rằng các hình thức a. có khả năng có nguồn gốc trong cách đọc chữ Hán ở vùng Quảng Tây. Còn các hình thức b., trong khi tiếp xúc với ngôn ngữ và cách đọc chữ Hán ở Việt Nam, chúng được nhận thấy là xa lạ với cách đọc Hán Việt nên các tác giả đã thay đổi thành phần biểu âm của những chữ đó theo cách đọc HV hoặc NV.

#### 4. Thảo luận

Nếu chúng tôi coi âm đọc QT trong 3.3. (1.a. ~ 11.a.) như là nguồn gốc của các âm đọc NT và biến thể của chúng (1.b. ~ 11.b.) là hình thức mới hơn, thì đã có sự thay đổi của thành phần biểu âm trong quá trình phát triển của chữ Nôm Tày. Để củng cố thêm giả thuyết này hãy xem 2 tấm bản đồ dưới do Holm đã công bố trong công trình nghiên cứu vào năm 2013. Một điều may mắn là chúng tôi tìm ra các biến thể của hai chữ *hắt* ‘lâm’ và *kin* ‘ăn’ trong các bản đồ số 22.1 (tr. 312) và 23.1 (tr.324).

Nếu như {日+乞} trong bản đồ 22.1 và 𠂔 trong TĐ là hai biến thể của cùng một chữ mà lại là giản thể của chữ 𠂔, thì có thể đặt ra một giả thuyết là hình thức 乞 ((2) a. trong 3.3.) giống như các hình thức phân bố rải rác trong vùng miền Tây của Quảng Tây đã là hình thức cổ hiện vẫn còn được lưu giữ trong tiếng Tày Cao Bằng, và trong quá trình phát triển NT, hình thức đó đã được thay thế bằng một hình thức khác là chữ 𠂔 căn cứ vào cách đọc Hán Việt của nó. Một quá trình tương tự như vậy cũng có thể giả định cho trường hợp (6) *kin* ‘ăn’: {口+巾} > 𠂔.

## 5. Kết luận

Có thể khẳng định là phần lớn những chữ Nôm Tày trong TĐ đã được cấu tạo bằng cách đọc Hán Việt hoặc Nôm Việt. Tuy nhiên, trái với ý kiến của Đào Duy Anh, chúng tôi đã tìm ra số lượng nhất định của chữ NT xuất nguồn từ cách đọc tiếng Hán ở vùng Quảng Tây và có thể có liên quan đến chữ cổ của dân tộc Choang. Thêm vào đó, trong một số trường hợp thì chúng tôi có thể giả định quá trình biến đổi thành phần biểu âm của NT một cách cụ thể.

Khi nhìn vào tình hình pha trộn ngôn ngữ Tày và Việt trong mục 3.2. thì chúng tôi đã thấy các yếu tố gốc Hán đã xuất hiện trong văn bản với tỷ lệ rất cao. Điều này không có gì khó hiểu, vì khi các tác giả có nhu cầu sáng tác chữ mới hoặc tiêu chuẩn hóa các hình thức chữ trong vùng ngôn ngữ chính là tiếng Việt, thì cách đọc Hán hoặc Nôm Việt là một lựa chọn duy nhất trong các âm đọc chữ Hán khác nhau. Như vậy, các yếu tố Hán Việt hoặc Nôm Việt xuất hiện với tần suất cao trong các văn bản Nôm Tày trên lãnh thổ Việt Nam và ngày càng có xu hướng tăng lên là một điều tất yếu trong quá trình phát triển của chúng.

### Correspondence

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Sources: Traditional texts from survey locations.

# Việt Nam Học

# Phụ lục I



(Ito 2008, tr.264)



(Doan Thien Thuat 1996, tr.106)



## Phụ lục II

課官 *Khoả Quan*Bản NT của truyện 沃麻 *Oóc Mả* <sup>4</sup>

[a]	<i>TayNom</i>	a(口秋)	a(木受)	a(女茶)	a(女賢)		
	<i>orth.</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>tậu</i>	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Dín</i>		
	<i>IPA</i>	sɔ:1	du6	ja:3	ji:n3		
	<i>Viet.</i>	xin	gây	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Dín</i>		
	<i>Eng.</i>	beg	stick	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Dín</i>		

[a001]	主	速	b(山同)	a(女茶)	a(女賢)	a(く束く)* a(嗟く)	*dị thể chữ 嫩
	<u>chúa</u> <sup>5</sup>	<i>tóc</i>	<u>tổng</u>	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Dín</i>	<i>nòn</i>	<i>soai</i>
	cuə3	tok5	don3	ja:3	ji:n3	no:n2	la:j1
	chủ	tới	đồng	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Dín</i>	ngủ	trưa
	boss	come	plain	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Dín</i>	sleep	noon

[a002]	律	d(湯豕)	b(山同)	a(女茶)	a(牛衣)	嫩	a(玉京)
	<i>Lọt</i>	<i>thâng</i>	<u>tổng</u>	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Vài</i>	<i>nòn</i>	<i>goeng</i>
	lɔ:t6	thiŋ1	don3	ja:3	wa:i2	no:n2	gwe:ŋ6
	khỏi	tới	đồng	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Vài</i>	ngủ	vắng
	leave	come	plain	<i>Dá</i>	<i>Vài</i>	sleep	absent

[a003]	a(手闊)	旗	a(去悲)	a(人丙)	陵	進	馬
	<i>Quất</i>	<u>cờ</u>	<i>pây</i>	<i>bường</i>	<i>lăng</i>	<u>tiến</u>	<i>mạ</i>
	kwat	kɜ:5	paɪ1	ɸuɔŋ3	laŋ1	tiɛn5	ma:6
	vẫy	cờ	đi	phía	sau	tiền	ngựa
	wave	flag	go	direction	back	lead	horse

[a004]	令	傳	a(去悲)	a(人丙)	b(那面)	進	兵
	<u>Lệnh</u>	<u>truyền</u>	<i>pây</i>	<i>bường</i>	<i>nả</i>	<u>tiến</u>	<u>binh</u>
	lep6	cwiɛn2	paɪ1	ɸuɔŋ3	na:3	tiɛn5	ɸiɲ1
	lệnh	truyền	đi	phía	trước	tiền	binh
		command	go	direction	forwad	lead	soldier

<sup>4</sup> OÓC MẢ: *oóc*: đẻ, sinh *mả*: ra *oóc mả*: sinh ra.<sup>5</sup>    : các yếu tố Hán Việt hoặc Nôm Việt.



- [a005] 主 育 总 連 声 b(又三) 回  
Chúa *dộc* *tổng* liên thanh *slam* hồi  
 cuə3 jək̚p6 toŋm3 lien1 tʰəp1 ʎa:m1 ho:i2  
 chủ giục trống liên thanh ba hồi  
 boss urge dram repeat voice three times
- [a006] 傳 課 官 暫 a(嵬位) 議 酸  
Truyền *Khóa* *quan* *tạm* *thời\** ngủ *toan* \*ngôi?  
 cwien2 xwa:3 kwa:n1 ta:m6 tʰɿ:i2 ɲi:3 twa:n1  
 Truyền khoa quan tạm thời nghỉ ngơi  
 tell *Khoa* *Quan* temporary sit take a rest
- [a007] 招 令 曾 各 官 思 鎮  
Rèo lệnh *tăng* các *quan* *tư* trấn  
 ʒe:u2 lɛp6 daŋ2 ka:k5 kwa:n1 tu:1 caŋ5  
 theo lệnh tất cả các quan tư trấn  
 obey command all each official *Tu* *Tran*
- [a008] a(子手) a(弟)\*a(酉留) d(涓目) 進 天 台 \*dị thể chữ a(食弟)  
Dật *đĩa* *lẩu* *mửa* tiến *thiên* thai  
 ju:6 đĩə6 lau3 mưə2 tien5 tʰien1 tʰa:i1  
 chăm đĩa rượu về tiến thiên thái  
 diligently dish alcohol return proceed *thien thai*
- [a009] a(口屯) 将 芦 才 皆 百 戰  
Chon tướng *tàu* tài *giai* *bách* biến  
 co:n6 tuɿŋ5 tu:2 ta:i2 ʒa:i1 ʙaɿ5 ʙien5  
 chọn tướng nào tài giai bách biến  
 select general wich talent all hundred battle
- [a010] d(眉目) 才 謀 畧 戰 a(口百) 欢  
Mi tài *mưu* *lược* chiến *pác* *van*  
 mi:2 ta:i2 mu:u1 luɿk6 cien5 pa:k5 wa:n1  
 có tài mưu lược chiến ăn nói lễ phép  
 have talent strategy battle be polite

[a011]	法	述	a(界く)	坤	頑	欣	倍
	<u>Phép</u>	<u>thuật</u>	<u>giỏi</u>	<u>khôn</u>	<u>ngoan</u>	<u>hơn</u>	<u>pâu</u>
	p <sup>h</sup> e:p5	t <sup>h</sup> wa:t6	ʒo:i3	k <sup>h</sup> o:n1	ŋwa:n1	hɜ:n1	ɓau6
	pháp	thuật	giỏi	khôn	ngoan	hơn	người khác
	majic		good	clever	obedient	than	others

[a012]	d(湄目)	a(口秋)	a(女茶)	幼	a(木受)	涓	花
	<i>Mưa</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>Dả</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>tậu</i>	<i>quyền</i>	<u>hoa</u>
	muə2	ʃo:1	ja:3	au1	du:6	kwe:n3	hwa:1
	về	xin	Dả	lấy	gây	mời	hoa
	return	beg	Dả	take	stick	give	flower

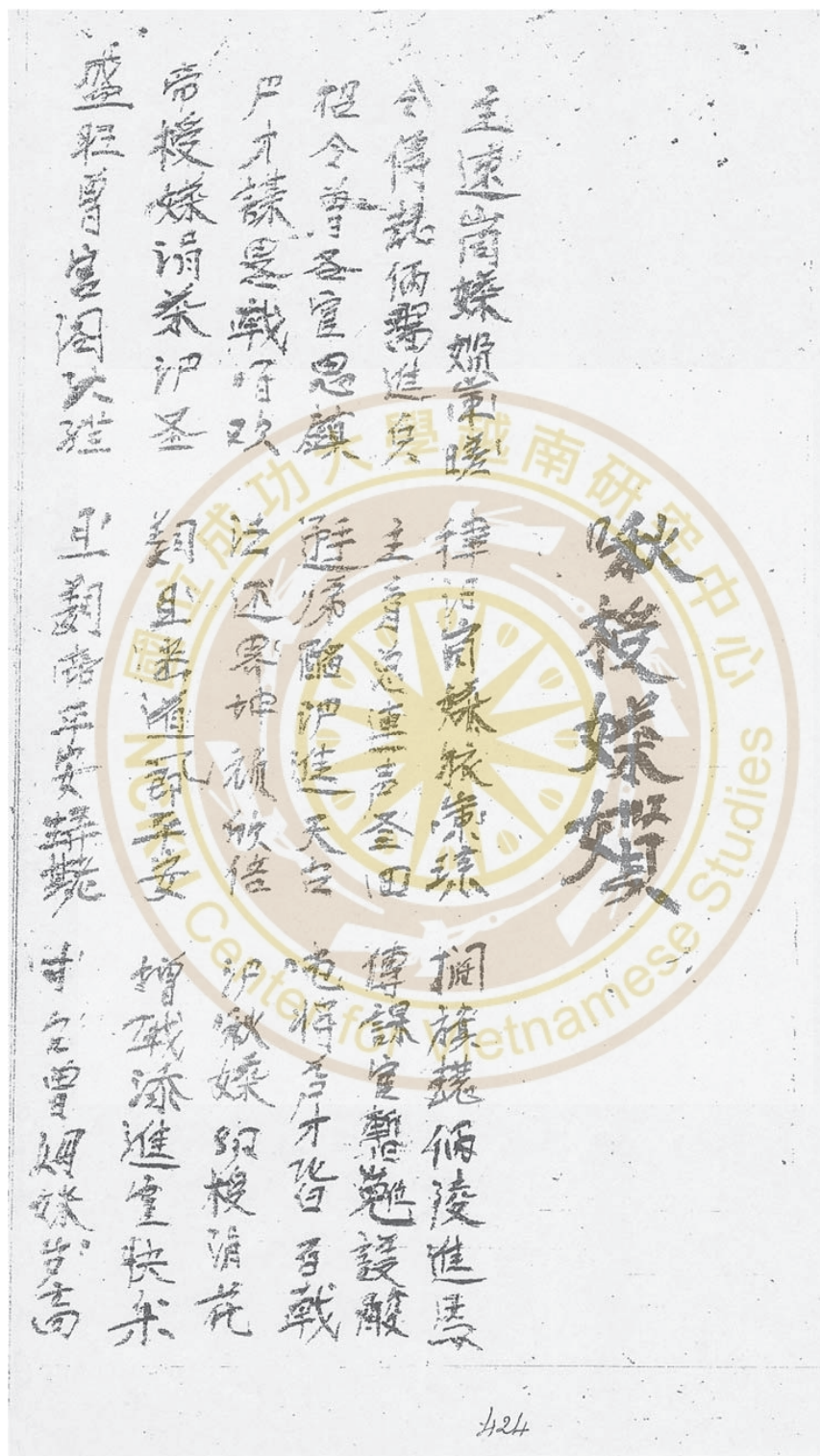
[a013]	帝	a(木受)	a(女茶)	涓	茶	d(湄目)	圣
	<i>Đáy</i>	<i>tậu</i>	<i>Dả</i>	<i>quên</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>mưa</i>	<u>thánh</u>
	dai3	ɗau6		kwe:n3	ʒa:2	muə2	t <sup>h</sup> ap5
	được	gây	Dả	mời	trà	cho	thánh
	get	stick	Dả	give	tea	for	saint

[a014]	a(姜司)	a(且く)	b(米L)	道	b(郎ㄣ)	平	安
	<i>Giường</i>	<i>thờ</i>	<i>đủ</i>	<i>đạo</i>	<i>lãng</i>	<u>bình</u>	<u>an</u>
	ʒuɤŋ2	t <sup>h</sup> ɜ:3	ju:5	ɗa:u6	la:ŋ3	ɓiŋ2	ʔa:n1
	con người	ở		trần gian	bình	an	
	human	be		this world	peaceful		

[a015]	增	職	添	進	官	快	乐
	<u>Tăng</u>	<u>chức</u>	<u>thêm</u>	<u>tiến</u>	<u>quan</u>	<u>khoái</u>	<u>lạc</u>
	taŋ1	cu:k5	t <sup>h</sup> e:m1	tien5	kwa:n1	k <sup>h</sup> wa:i5	la:k6
	thăng	chức	thêm	tiến	quan	khoái	lạc
	raise	job	add	advance	general	comfortable	

[a016]	盛	旺	曾	宮	閣	a(子六)	a(子兰)
	<u>Thịnh</u>	<u>vượng</u>	<u>tằng</u>	<u>cung</u>	<u>các</u>	<u>lúc</u>	<u>lan</u>
	t <sup>h</sup> iŋ6	vuɤŋ6	ɗaŋ2	kuŋm1	ka:k5	luk3	la:n1
	Thịnh	vượng	tất cả	cung	các	con	cháu
	prosperous		all	palace		descendants	





1 trang bản chép tay trong Khoa Quan





# **Làng xã Việt Nam và đặc trưng văn hóa buôn bán trên sông ở Nam bộ**

GS. NGÔ Văn Lệ

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## **Tóm tắt**

Đồng bằng sông Cửu Long là đồng bằng lớn nhất của Việt Nam có vị trí đặc biệt quan trọng trong sự phát triển của Việt Nam. Do vị trí quan trọng của vùng đất này nên đã có nhiều công trình của các học giả thuộc các ngành khoa học khác nhau ra mắt độc giả. Trong các công trình đó đã phác họa bức tranh toàn cảnh về vùng đất và con người nơi đây vừa có nét chung của văn hóa Việt Nam, lại có nét riêng của một vùng văn hóa, khác biệt trong so sánh với các vùng văn hóa khác. Tuy nhiên, có một lĩnh vực hoạt động kinh tế vừa thể hiện sự sáng tạo của cư dân, vừa góp phần làm nên nét văn hóa riêng của vùng do nhiều lý do khác nhau lại chưa được nghiên cứu nhiều. Đó là hoạt động buôn bán trên sông nước (thương hồ). Hoạt động buôn bán trên sông nước (thương hồ) chỉ xuất hiện ở đồng bằng sông Cửu Long đã góp phần phát triển cho vùng đất này không chỉ thuần túy ở khía cạnh giao lưu kinh tế (thương mại), mà còn góp phần giao lưu văn hóa giữa các cộng đồng cư dân trong vùng và xa hơn nữa với các tộc người bên ngoài lãnh thổ Việt Nam. Bài viết của chúng tôi, trên cơ sở những tư liệu có được do các đợt khảo sát thực địa trình bày về hoạt động buôn bán trên sông (thương hồ) của người Việt Nam Bộ-một cộng đồng di động.

Từ khóa: Cộng đồng di động, cộng đồng làng, cộng đồng huyết thống

# **Villages and Riverine trading in the South of Vietnam(\*)**

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## **Abstract**

The Mekong Delta is Vietnam's largest delta, with a particularly important position in the development of Vietnam. This represents the diversity of ethnic composition, culture and economic activity. Given the importance of this area, in terms of development, security and defense, there have been many studies by scholars from different disciplines launched readers. Those studies outline the landscape of the land and inhabitants, which presents not only the common features of the culture of Vietnam but also distinct cultural characteristics of region in comparison with other regions. However, there is an economic activity that demonstrates the creativity of the inhabitants and contributes to the culture of the region due to many different reasons have not been studied much. It is trading on the river (riverine trading). Trading on the river only occurs in the Mekong Delta, contributing to the development of this area in terms of not only economic exchanges (trade), but also intercultural exchanges among communities in the area in particular and ethnic groups outside the Vietnamese territory in general. Based on the practical data, we will present riverine trading as the cultural characteristics of the inhabitants in the South.

**Keywords:** mobile community, village community, lineal community

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## 1. Introduction

Economic activities of inhabitants who live in the Mekong Delta are different from other regions of Vietnam due to particular natural conditions in this delta. Each economic sector in the region, on the one hand, expresses the common features of the communities in the processing of exploring, building and protecting the fruits of their labor in order to shape the common culture as “gardening civilization” or “riverine civilization.” On the other hand, each group of people (each ethnic group) is a migrant community, so its economic activities have its own characteristics associated with traditional culture. The study of economic activities of the communities in the Mekong Delta will present a panorama of socio-cultural life in the context of the land reclamation, the expansion of sovereignty, the exercise of sovereignty and the protection of sovereignty to all readers. In addition, the research findings also demonstrate the diversity of economic activities of the inhabitant groups living in Vietnam. The term “riverine trade” or trading on the river refers to a particular type of economic activity of local communities of the Mekong Delta. Trading is a popular economic activity of most ethnic groups in the world, which reflects one aspect of the cultural exchange among groups of people in particular and regions in general. In its history of development, there is no ethnic group that does not have the commodity exchange system because the human kind have different needs to survive in their daily life especially the material needs . In a particular territory, Natural resources such as minerals, medicinal products, agricultural products or handicrafts can never fulfill all the needs of the local residents. Therefore, the commodity exchange activity among ethnic groups or geographical regions has occurred in the earlier time when they formed the first social organizations such as tribal due to their needs in daily life. Trading (in the term of commodity exchange) is fairly diverse such as the exchange of goods at a fixed place (market), which can take place daily or on the chosen lunar days (known as a village fair). Some fairs take place once a year with the hope for

good luck (Viềng market in Nam Định province). In other markets, barter does not play such an important role, because people (young couple) just come there for gatherings and. express their affection (Love Market in Sa Pa province). The Market place is considered as a trading activity where sellers must think of making profits or care about expense thus the cost of transportation is always a big concern. Shipping is the cheapest and most convenient way in particular conditions of the Mekong Delta. There is only a few studies on riverine trading, so we need to clarify some definitions of such terms as community and mobile community in this research.

## 2. Concept on form of community

As this paper study about “Riverine Trading Activities of inhabitants living in the South of Vietnam under cultural perspective”, we would start with the definition of community as the term for research tool. As usual, community is defined as “interpersonal interactions”, which are determined by the common interests of members who have similarities in the conditions of existence and by activities of the constituted individuals, including their material production and other activities; their similarities in thoughts, beliefs, values, norms and production; the similarity of living conditions as well as their subjective perceptions of aims and means of action” (Institute for Social Science Information, 1990). However, this view has not yet indicated the characteristics (criteria) to identify a community. To Duy Hop and Luong Hong Quang in their study cited the views of Ferdinand Tonnies, the community has the following characteristics: “Firstly, the social relations with spiritual, friendly, natural cohesion are considered as community. The second characteristic is the sustainability. The community is identified by the flow of history and plays an important role in connecting members of the society. Thirdly, community is associated with the social status of members of society, which is ascribed rather than achieved. Finally, the character of the community is expressed in





kinship which is fundamental concept and has two characteristics: kin is both consanguineous and the cultural pattern of the community.” (To Duy Hop, Luong Hong Quang, 2000). Thus, the concept of community is quite clear, which will help the researcher have a basis approach to access and study about community.

### 2.1. Village is like a community

A community is a broad term in both daily life and science in Vietnam in order to refer more objects with features that are rather different in size and social character. For instance, “community” in Vietnamese dictionary refers to “a group of people living together and having characteristic in common, and be unified in social activities.” For example, there are several terms related to community such as language community, village community or overseas Vietnamese community (Hoang Phe, 2000). Thus, community is seen as basic social unit of family, village or certain a group of people that have connection with social consciousness and ideology, age, gender, career and social status. Although there are no criteria as well as a precise definition of the community, there is widespread agreement in studies by psychologist (Do Long, 2000), historians (Phan Huy Le, Vu Minh Giang, 1996; Phan Doan, 2008), ethnographers (Tran Tu, 1984; Ngo Van Le, 2007). The village is considered as a form of community attached to the unit of settlement of Vietnamese people. Meanwhile sociologists argue that analysis of community need to be done in a different way. In particular, researcher point out the components that constitute a community (To Duy Hop, Luong Hong Quang, 2000). According to these two researchers, studies in different countries around the world indicate that some of key elements of the community are territory, economy, occupation and culture. These elements create community cohesion from the common characteristics that members can share with each other. However, in our opinion, long-term sustainability should be paid special attention for studying a type of community as Vietnamese village. Over time, the village as “diverse communities of consanguinity, economic

activities (a lot of occupations and land ownership), hierarchic social classes (scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants), religion (Vietnamese folk religions, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism)” (Phan Dai Doan, 2008) demonstrates sustainability. The sustainability of the commune reflected in the fact that there are historical changes, but Vietnamese villages still exist and operate under particular norms of each village (later called the village convention). It also preserves and promotes traditional cultural values in an unequal struggle against enemies’ assimilation. On the other hand, as an administrative unit at the grassroots level, the commune can be separated or merged due to the demand of management and economic development of the government. However, the memory of the old village is not easy to fade in most inhabitants’ mind. In many cases, the residents who left their villages for some reasons could re-establish the communes in a new residence (Nguyen Duc Loc, 2013). Therefore, the village like a community must have necessary and sufficient conditions to form. So far, there have been no studies of the systematic formation of villages in Vietnam. However based on several previous studies, data from fieldwork in the South of Vietnam and memories of a commune where I was born and grew up, we think that there are three kinds of the formations of Vietnamese villages. The process of village formation depends on the particular natural and social conditions, so the model as well as scale is very different. Firstly, ancient Vietnamese villages formed from the disintegration of the primitive communism, whose traces were the persistence of public lands in these villages (until the 1950s of the twentieth century). This kind of village mainly established in the North of Vietnam - the cradle of Vietnamese people. Secondly, villages are set up by the same lineage and its name is derived from the name of a kin. In the Northern provinces, currently there are over 190 villages named as Luu Xa, Nguyen Xa, etc. in which, there are nearly 50 villages named as Nguyen lineage (Diep Dinh Hoa, 1990). Some villages are named after two families such as Doan Dao, Dao Dang (Hung Yen province). Thirdly, villages are formed by the central government to mobilize inhabitants from other localities such as Tien Hai (Thai Binh province),



Kim Son (Ninh Binh province) or villages in the South of Vietnam. Although the scale is different from Northern, Central to Southern region, villages are the residence of Vietnamese people who are consanguinity and neighbors. In this point, those who contributed to the formation of the commune are lineage and live in the same territory (neighborhood). Through a long-term process of cohabitation, each village forms the benefits of its inhabitants, as well as the differences between communities in the cultural life (each village has its own culture, which makes the diversity of village's identities.)

## 2.2. Consanguinity is a particular form of village

The blood relationship or consanguinity is one of the manifestations of the community spirit of Vietnamese villages. Kinship dates back in the earlier day in most ethnic groups around the world. At the dawn of human history, people could live alone, rather than relied on each other. Thus, consanguinity appeared earlier than other relationships. Based on consanguineous relatives, the relationship is derived from nature. However due to the objective and subjective factors that influence the historical process of the ethnic groups in different ways, the present lineal descents are different too. In some communities, people appreciate the role of the mother in a family or the role of women in the society that makes family relations trace of the mother side (Matrilineality). The woman is more active in marriage, management of the family, bringing up children and inheriting property. Even if a husband dies, he will not be buried at his wife's side. He will be buried at the cemetery of his matrilineal descent. In Vietnam, the matrilineal descent exists quite strongly in the Malay-Dalian linguistics family such as Cham, Ede, Giarai, Raglai, and Churu. In other ethnic groups, the kinship does not explicitly follow patrilineal descent or matrilineal descent. In the ethnography, these ethnic groups are seen called non-unilineal descents in which matriarchal regime transit to patriarchy such as the Khmer. The family tie is complemented by territorial relationship (the neighbor relation) which makes

the community relations become more stable. The descent has contributed to the preservation of the family traditions and cultural identities on piety, respect, and the stability of the commune. Ancestor worship, writing family tree and respect for the elder helps to strengthen the community relations, preserving the notion of “Gratitude is the sign of noble souls.” The writing of genealogies, setting up family education and worshipping ancestor are held regularly, which makes the sense of community more and more sustainable (Phan Dai Doan, 2008). Over the time, the descent relations have influenced the development of a part of population and until now the cultural traditions of a descent still affect the life of family members, especially in spiritual aspects.

### 3. Forms of community

#### 3.1. Consanguineous community

Patriarchy in Vietnam has been established for a long time. The process of transformation from matriarchal to patriarchal systems is very different among ethnic groups. In the Bronze Age or even in the Iron Age, the early days of the formation of the Van Lang and Au Lac states, the matriarchal system was still in existence. Although in a thousand year under China’s domination, the Chinese civilization was able to penetrate into Vietnamese society and the Confucianism hold an important place in Vietnamese people, we can clearly recognize the role of women and features of matriarchy in social and family relations, especially in the village fair. Although the principle “men and women are not allowed to be intimate” is emphasized, the folk verse say that “man and woman who are together for a couple.” In the past, there was patrilocal residence pattern in Vietnam. In daily life, women are likely to be free to participate in socio-economic activities or even in political activities. Although women were not allowed to attend meetings in the village’s temple, all ritual gifts worshipping Gods were prepared by ladies. In the social life, women are responsible for cultivating, harvesting, sifting and winnowing, doing handicrafts,





and exchanging commodities in village markets, or even they were in the rear “when enemies come into the house, even women have to fight.” There is a big number of goddesses in local religions. In the family life, women are responsible for all housework such as taking care of children. Perhaps, the role and position of the woman in the family cannot be denied, thus there is a saying “the master’s orders are drowned by the mistress’s gong” Despite the fact that Confucianism has permeated every aspect of life, the equal right of spouses regarding property possession is also stated in particular laws (Hong Duc Law). The division of property is also defined clearly. Apart from the assess left for ancestor worship, the rest of the family property are given to both son and daughter equally. As a principle, original agricultural land is left for the eldest son in order to worship ancestor. If eldest son is absent, eldest daughter will receive this property. Although Vietnamese lineage is established by patrilineal descent, remnants of the matriarchal system are still preserved. The interesting development of the population has led to a situation of members of different kins in a residential area living together. However, there are usually one or two dominant descents in a particular residential place. New relations appear - village relations. Village relations are the tie among people based on neighbor relations, which appear later than kinship due to the cohabitation and changing of residential places. The kinship diminished the economic conditions for existence. Hence, family and kinship structure also have certain changes. Although “traditional Vietnamese village in the Northern delta and midland is a population unit that is mostly formed by the neighbor relations” (Nguyen Tu Chi, 1996), family relations still have a certain role in the life of Vietnamese farmers in the North. The Vietnamese descent ties in the Southern area appeared in each group of immigrants who explore the new lands with full of hardships at the beginning. These relations still exists among members of a lineage in their hometown in Northern or Central region, who move to new places for some reasons. In the new environment, the descent ties still maintain. All members in each descent of Vietnamese villages in the South have clearly performed the principle “common name of descent

belongs to the father's side" in Gerald C. Hickey's study about the descents of Vietnamese Southern. "It is a patrilineal descent system in which men is more dominant than women and play a privileged role meanwhile women are not treated as a low-level group. The names of the daughters are taken from their father's surname and are the lineage of their father." (Gerald C. Hickey, 1960). Tracing patrilineal or matrilineal descents is the clear manifestation of exogamy. Despite historical ups and downs, living far away from the cradle of Vietnamese civilization and insignificant influence of Confucianism, Vietnamese Southern people still maintain the culture which was ingrained in their awareness.

In the context of Southern Vietnam, although the patriarchal system still maintain in the North of Vietnam, it has changed. The men usually lead all the family responsibilities, yet there is the participation of the wives, and even in inheritance, women also receive a part of the assess. "The son is entitled to a greater share of the inheritance, however the daughter has also inherited a partial fortunate and in some cases she can have the lands. The wife has the right to make family-related decisions and in most families, she is the treasurer." (Gerald C. Hickey, 1960). In spite of being in patriarchy, the wife in Vietnamese families in the South plays a certain role in sharing household chores with her husband. Unlike as a "the lady of house" by Tran Tu in Northern region, the women's role is recognized in the family as well as in the society. Therefore, despite having many daughters in the Southern families, it does not cause psychological shock as the families of the Northern region.

Based on our data from observation in the suburban of Ho Chi Minh City and several other localities in the South, the patriarchs of the descents did not follow the main lineal kin. In some descents, patriarchs belong to the collateral kin. In some other descents, the patriarch is decided by electors (Ngo Van Le, 2003). In the study about Khanh Hau village, Hickey also had a similar finding that "responsibility for worship ancestor is not necessary for the male leader of the descent. That responsibility sometimes shares among siblings in the descent to prevent one person from sustaining the financial burden alone. This case is



available for families who have no inheritance and any sources for worship, thus they are easier to worship based on their ability. If one family member is richer than others, he/she can take the responsibility of worshipping ancestor though he/she is not the head of the descent.” (Gerald C. Hickey, 1960).

Thus, there are several shifts compared to traditional conceptions. The absence of the descent terminology system also expresses the absence of a clear definition on names between the lineal and collateral kin. According to the kinship terminology system, the children of eldest brother in the descent are called brother or sister by their cousins, regardless of their age. Unlike in the Southern region, most elder people are called brother or sister by their cousins even though these elder people belong to collateral kin. This may be the influence by Chinese culture.

### 3.2. Village community

From a nuclear family, population gradually increased over time, and thus living space was expanded and which led to form a new residential unit (village). On the other hand, due to the need of state management, it lead to the formation of crowded residential area in order to establish the legal apparatus at the grassroots level. The Vietnamese Northern villages have been mentioned in many historical studies as well as social ones. For a comparative view between the Vietnamese Northern village and Vietnamese Southern one, we present on the village of Southern region. The villages in the South were formed during the process of land reclamation in a land where is very convenient for exchanges and inhabitants come from several different regions. From this, they started to set up residential units. The villages of Southern region are generally open so people easily move to other places to do business and create new residential units. Therefore, the population of villages is not as homogeneous as the villages of Northern region. The village was formed in the process of exploring, gathering people from different places and different descents. Thus, the number of descents

is quite large; no descents have overwhelming population compared to other descents and no name of village is called by name of descent as the villages in the North of Vietnam. Although they formed hamlets, the cohesion of relatives and villages in the South was not as close as that of Northern villages. In the context of the South, it is natural and social conditions have influenced the descent relation that is deeply ingrained in Vietnamese people's thought and life. All above these make Southern villages different from the Northern ones.

On another aspect, the process of reclaiming and settling build new residential units, so it leads to the land ownership regime in the South. In the North, the regime of public land existed during a long time (Nguyen Tu Chi, 1996). This regime made members have a strong attachment to their villages. Even though they migrate to another place, they also try to fulfill the village's obligations so that they will receive a part of public land as other members as reallocating the public land. In the context, descent relations are strengthened through the metaphysical relationship between the living and the dead. This connection is expressed by ancestor worship. In addition, the relationship between the living and metaphysical relationship is primarily collective ownership of land and the church. Moreover, the honor of person is to be recognized by the respect of his descent. In the South of the private ownership was set up at the early time, so the villages were not established by the regime of public land. Therefore, the role of village was somewhat lower than that of Northern villages. Although peasants still have neighborhood relations, but their character and role are not dissolved in the community. On the contrary, their dynamism makes them choose available a means of livelihood. This has made the descent relationship is not close (Better a neighbor near than a brother far off).

Finally, descent relationship of the Southern region, which is somewhat different from the family lineage of the Northern region, is made by the migrants "they are the poor, struggling to live, but be illiteracy. They are power enough to be a human, but they do not belong to Ancient Chinese classic works. Confucius





came into Vietnam, gradually established its position, and was recognized by the state. However, Confucianism also lost its status as a monarch as the political recession. When Confucianism came to the South, it faded away within the context of the poor and low education. Son Nam said that “they fell asleep when they are asked to give their arguments.” Therefore, this religion did not influence as dramatically as in the Northern villages. For example, Confucianism has no profound influence on the society and family, which is reflected in the concept of childbirth and marriage. Within this context, rules of descent do not have conditions for development, as the neighboring relations have replaced the kinship. Vietnamese villages in the North, Central and Southern regions may be very different size, but they are residential areas of Vietnamese communities based on descent relations or the same geographic area compared to other villages. Due to the historical process, expansion of the country’s territory and population growth, the formation of Vietnamese villages takes place at historical stage and in regions differently. In the Northern delta - the cradle of Vietnamese civilization - many villages have origin in the primitive time. Because of the development of Vietnamese society, we can see that this development does not create a sudden change that destroys the organizational structure of the old villages for re-establishment on a new social basis. The villages still exist the original remnants of public land due to lack of private ownership. This situation has manifested in ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands in recent decades. (Institute of Ethnology, 1984). By the time of social class, villages have been formed in different ways. In the case, the villages only have a limited number of lands, so when they are no longer sufficient to provide for the overwhelming population, some people must move to another places. On their own behalf or on behalf of those who follow them, they asked to occupy the uncultivated land, to establish a new village by pledging to pay taxes after a certain period of reclamation. Some villages were reclaimed by the state. As usual, these villages located in the coastal areas of Thai Binh and Ninh Binh, especially in the South during the process of reclamation with the government’s support. In

terms of the role of the state in establishing a village in the South, a Dong Nai monograph wrote, “The state recruited exiles including prisoners of war and civilians; or distributed people and soldiers in order to set up villages. The land is gradually expanding and establishing the common pattern of ownership, which the state actively provide with means of farming such as buffaloes, rice seeds, etc. This mode tends to arise types of collective property in the villages. The state organizes the villages and then mobilizes the people, especially the soldiers to work under strict discipline to maintain force for produce, fighting or even dealing with the affairs of villages. In the principle, the plantations directly create the area of public lands.” (Monograph in Dong Nai). In Thai Binh and Ninh Binh province, Nguyen Cong Tru as a mandarin in management of agricultural land, has made great contributions to the formation of new villages in the two districts of Tien Hai (Thai Binh) and Kim Son (Ninh Binh) (Nguyen Van Huyen, 2005; Toan Anh, 1992). The formation of these new villages is also taking place in modern times in these districts. Setting up a new commune at Nam Cuong (Tien Hai) in the 1960s is an example.

Vietnamese people in the process of expanding lands toward the Southern region established the sovereignty and settlement sites. The Southern village also has the common features of Northern village. It is the residential area of communities that related to certain geographical area, descent relations or homeland. The formation of the Southern villages is different from that of the Northern region. The Vietnamese people with many ways and various reasons appeared in the Southern region before 17th century, but at that time there were not enough necessary and sufficient conditions to form the village. And only at a later time, especially after Nguyen Huu Canh was appointed by Nguyen Lord to establish the administrative apparatus in Dong Nai - Gia Dinh (1698), the formation of new villages have favorable conditions. Therefore, this formation within the context of the Vietnamese society has taken a long step on the feudal tenure, so there are differences from Northern villages. Unlike Northern regions, Southern villages were formed much later and had not originated in



many ancient times. Some villages of South was formed during the reclamation process, other villages used to be plantation of Nguyen Lords (A monograph in Tien Giang province, 2005). The name of village was not called by the name of descent although the role of the individual was very important during the establishment of the village. The government encouraged those who have full of resources to reclaim. "There is a policy on reclamation and settlement in all dynasties. Although people setting up villages are encouraged by all kinds of rewards (Nguyen Van Huyen, 2005). Many people have great contributions to the formation of the village, however the name of villages is not placed by their names. It is also understandable that those who have the means recruited workers came from different regions with many distinct descents. In the new environment, they work so hard to live and create vast rice fields, which is the foundation for the establishment of new villages. However, these villages have met all the requirements of the feudal state, there is a reward for whoever contributes to the formation of villages. Therefore, the name of village is not called by their name of descent. In the earlier day of reclamation, several families have struggled together to adapt natural conditions. Over many generations of expanded family, the number of land is reclaimed more and more, and the village is gradually formed." (Nguyen Hong Phong, 1958). It is very different from the formation of Northern villages. The population of a village grows from the rise of member of a lineage. To record the development of these villages, people use their name to name their names of the village. In spite of many historical events, the names of village have existed until now. To have successful management, it is necessary to name the villages. This reminds us that one of five surnames names the Khmer in the Mekong Delta such as Thach, Son, Kim, Danh, Lam (Le Huong, 1969) although they do not comprehensively understand about what the nature of lineage is. Meanwhile, the Northern villages (originated from primitive times) may have names that reflect the natural features of the communities where they reside. These names of village still exist together with the new names. For instance, there are many villages in Thai Binh province such as Mét village,

Coi village, Đác village, and Lự village. Perhaps in the period of independence when many apparatus are established from the central to the grassroots level, especially the Han characters have played important role in their life, the names of village are embodied Sino-Vietnamese characters. Each name of village is the meaningful word of good thing such as An Bình, An Hòa, Bình Lợi, and Phú Hòa. All villages in the Northern delta are named like this pattern is (Pham Minh Duc, 2006). The names of villages in Sino-Vietnamese characters are used in the administration while people are used to calling its villages in the old way. The Southern villages embodied in the role of state during the formation process. Due to the formation of the village and the intervention of the State, the traditional culture of the Northern villages is not reflected in the villages of the South. For instance, the convention and the name of villages under Sino-Vietnamese characters are very little.

Due to the geographical conditions, locations and population size, the villages have different residential pattern. Tran Tu points out four forms of residential pattern in the Northern Delta (Nguyen Tu Chi, 1996). In Nguyen Van Huyen's book on Vietnamese Civilization, the residential pattern depends on the natural geographic conditions (Nguyen Van Huyen, 2005). Based on the length of village, its distribution or locations, Toan Anh named the villages and identify the most common features of Northern villages (Toan Anh, 1992). In the study on Vietnamese villages, Diep Dinh Hoa mentioned three residential patterns such as cluster, blocks or along the river. The author also concludes "In the North and North Central delta, the cluster pattern exists in a common way, which related to the village's defensive system, the level of intensive agriculture, and the control of the environment in the equilibrium of rice monopoly. People try to live in a peaceful garden area and behind the bamboo village." (Diep Dinh Hoa, 1960). This arrangement has created the oasis where each villagers reside. Together with the establishment of village, economic activity has shaped the cultural differences of the village in the Northern delta. The process of occupying Southern region has taken place under a continuous sea encroachment until now.





The Mekong Delta has a comprehensive river system. Moreover, the Khmer, Chinese and Champa have actively contributed to the exploration of this region. All these factors have a great influence on the Vietnamese residential pattern. Based on published studies and data from fieldworks in many localities may state the following residential pattern including along the branch of river, channels and cluster (A monograph in Tien Giang province). However, inhabitants are mainly distributed in the large scale, which is different from the cluster pattern in the Northern region. Both large-scale residence and no public land possession have resulted in the social dynamics of peasants. Although Vietnamese farmers are controlled by village, they have private land possession (for their own exploration or exchange) and are legally recognized. Large-scale residence pattern have affected the inhabitant's life in the South of Vietnam. It can be considered as a great difference between the Northern village and Southern village within Vietnamese cultural context.

The origins of the villages in the South is not dominated by the regime of the public land, so it has made farmers more self-motivated and opened-mind. The peasants still respect the village relations but their character and role are not dissolved in the community. Their dynamism gives them many opportunities to choose available mode of economic activity. Moreover, they were less influenced by other relationships like farmers in the North. Or even did they not change their situation as the French occupied the Southern regions. On the contrary, they accelerated the process of privatization of land with the active participation of French landowners, which made the landless peasants have possession of land.

The village of Southern region is a reclaimed area and has played important role in the earlier days of establishment. On the other hand, the members of the Southern villages come from different regions, so their kinship relationship cannot identify their role. Many previous studies as well as recent ones do not mention this stratification (Nguyen Tu Chi, 1996). Some non-legal systems (self-governing villages) do not have chance to develop in the Southern region while these organizations still play important role in the daily life of Northern farmers.

Meanwhile, these apparatus in the South are still absent or get its weak role if any. In the context of Northern villages, the coexistence of legal apparatus and self-governing villages plays an important role in controlling the communities. In spite of the complexity of Northern villages, it is still considered as a social unit, which operate communes by convention. Most villages in the North have conventions. The worship of Village God is a clear example. It can be said that each village has their own drumbeat, each commune has their own Village Gods. Each village has their own conventions that mention on particular problems. However, the contents of village conventions are similar. Since the convention is not a common law for villages, the way they address is different from villages. Although the convention is not a completed law, its contents reflect some of the unique features of village. It is also considered as a platform of daily life in the village, which every individual, organization or commune must adhere to though the regulations of platform are quite general.” (Nguyen Tu Chi, 1996). Commune conventions directly affect members of the village. Even if all members belong to any apparatus, they are responsible for implementing it for the honor of their community and family. In the Southern regions, there are no village conventions and self-governing systems. Therefore, the villages are controlled by the State since the earlier day of the establishment. In terms of management, the relations of villagers in the North are closer than that of the villagers in the South. In the Northern villages, the limitation of land, kinship relationships, and the regulations of the convention made farmers not be dynamic. It is difficult to overcome their passivity. In contrast, people in the South have the favorable natural conditions and do not have distinguished the resident from the migrant. Therefore, if they cannot feel peaceful in their residential area, they will be ready to move to another place for settlement.

It should be stressed that since the village of the South was not established on the public land, so its role was somewhat lower than villages of the North because the commune has no responsibility for controlling, dividing the land exploitation and regulating the use of water resources. The village does not



organize these work, as usual the individual directly addresses it. Due to the mechanism of operation in the South, there are not any village conventions. Under the regime of land ownership in the South there is a phenomenon quite popular, it is completely different from the situation in the North. That is the phenomenon of sub-crop (Tran Thi Thu Luong, 1994). Farmland is not only in the village, but also in many villages, many, even in other provinces. Such a system of land tenure has led to inter-regional exchanges, with no economic basis to create “oases” such as the Northern villages. Therefore, it makes economic structure not opened; and it does not require the satisfaction of a certain population size of the village. It is also important to note the economic and cultural exchanges between the Vietnamese community and other communities in the South. When the Vietnamese immigrated to the new land, there were other ethnic groups, especially the Khmer. These ethnic groups have contributed to the Vietnamese reclaimed and improved to get fertile fields. During the process of coexistence, and especially in the later historical period, and the process of fighting foreign aggression to protect national sovereignty, the cultural exchange took place among ethnic groups, which has formed common cultural values for both the South-gardening civilization (Son Nam, 1992). In the South, agriculture has developed in the direction of agricultural commodity production. In the Southern village, due to the absence of a public ownership regime, the establishment of private property, from the very beginning, created the dynamism of the farmers. Due to the preferences of nature, Southern farmers always do business attached to the market. In order to enter the market, it is not possible to maintain small-scale production in the direction of self-sufficiency; villagers must mobilize all resources and capital to produce cheaply and quickly to meet the demand of the market. It is not by chance that even before the 1930s there was a great accumulation of land in the South (Tran Thi Thu Luong, 1994). Along with commodity production, urban areas formed, but not carry remnants of rural communes. The development of urban in the Mekong Delta meets the needs of a rural commodity production, expands trade with all regions and become a focal

point of trading exchange. Southern farmers do not discriminate against trade.

The development of commodity exchange in the South gives a chance for international exchange, which makes the activities of Southern village more dynamic than village in the North. The Vietnamese village in the first stage of establishment is a union of farmers during the process of reclaiming the wilderness. In terms of another aspect, there is similarity between Northern and Southern villages. Through community communication, (especially there are dialects in the Northern villages, which are considered as signs of distinguish among villages.) the village is seen as a collective subject, who organizes all community activities for all villagers, who maintains activities. All these activities of the village led to the formation of a village psychology. A range of communication with cultural expressions through the dialect, through customary practice, makes the village distinct from the other, forming “oases,” as Tran Tu said. On the other hand, the Northern villages exist the public land possession, self-governing system (associations, organizations ...), religious beliefs (such as shrines, pagodas ...) and village markets. This shows that, despite limitation of a residential area, such institutions and organizations can meet the needs of all aspects of life of the people. With the existence of village convention, semi-autonomous nature of the village is very clear. Within the context, at one level, it does not make a break thought in the development, leading to the state of stagnation of rural areas. The presentation of the Vietnamese village in comparison with the Northern village shows that Northern villages not only plays its role in community activities, but also adjusts members’ behaviors due to their own village conventions. It reflects the fact that the village's semi-autonomy in managing all aspects of people's lives (economy, ethics, behavior, etc.), thus it deepens the differences among villages. With such an operating mechanism, the village governs all social relationships (within the village, with other villages, even with the state, with the divine). Certainly, the village became the representative of the village members-the village-managers, their relatives, their neighbors, and the gods. The dominant feature of the village activities is the





village democracy. In the process of development, together with historical events, the influence of external factors has made the Vietnamese village change. The villages of Vietnam still exists two main system: self-governing and apparatus. However, it becomes a deep gap.

### 3.3. Riverine trading of community - a mobile community

Until now, due to the lack of research on the riverine trading community, our article is just initial perception on “community.” We hope that this topic will have more comprehensive and holistic research in the future. People trading on the river at the certain location is called a community. However, this is a mobile community, not as durable as the village community is and descent relations are. In the social life of Vietnamese, because economic activities are quite diverse, many associations are formed in fishing villages, professional associations etc. in order to support each other. However, in comparison with other associations or groups, riverine trading community did not base on kinship or residential area (village), but rather it based on the purpose of exchange commodities as a livelihood strategy. People themselves who trade on the river are members of other forms of community such as descent relations or neighborhood, so its connection is not as close as other forms of community. If dimensions of community engagement in other types of community are vertical and horizontal, riverine trading community is a horizontal community engagement. Therefore, there is almost no traditional relationship and no faith to make cohesion with the groups. The mobility of riverine trading community is enormous. This feature comes from the needs of the seller and buyer because the product is not concentrated, not marketable commodity. Moreover, consumers are scattered and come from different regions with different needs for goods. This mobility is very distinct from activities in fixed markets. The process of cultural exchange among regions or community is also increasing due to this mobility.

#### 4. Riverine trading - cultural characteristic

The Mekong delta region encompasses a large portion of southeastern Vietnam of 39,000 square kilometers, accounting for 12% of the total area of the country. In many aspects, the Mekong Delta together with Ho Chi Minh City will play an important role in the strategy of economic and cultural development in our country in the future. This delta is a new land for the long history of Vietnam. However, it is a promised land of creating a happy life of residents who move here for various reasons. The generations of Vietnamese, along with the generations of other ethnic groups, have reclaimed and protected this land together, which has made great strides in the resistance against the invaders as well as in the establishing peace. Due to nature and importance of the Mekong Delta, there have been many studies on this region (Nguyen Cong Binh, 1990, 1995; Trinh Hoai Duc, 1998; Mac Duong, 1991; Huynh Lua, 1987, 2000; Son Nam, 1968, 1973; Phan Quang, 1981; Nguyen Phuong Thao, 1997).

These studies with the different social sciences and humanities approaches have created a whole picture of the Mekong Delta in all its aspects. This region is newer than other regions of Vietnam. It was a wilderness area, harsh natural environment, and diverse ecosystems including different sub-regions in several centuries ago. The harsh and diverse natural conditions in comparison with other parts of the country have directly and deeply influenced the formation of the cultural elements of the inhabitants of the region. On the other hand, compared to other regions in our country, the Mekong Delta has many advantageous natural conditions, which is available for diverse economy and meets the requirements in daily life. The Mekong Delta has the diversity of ethnic compositions. It can be said that the Mekong Delta is one of particular area not only in Vietnam but in the world because it is one of the only delta in which there are four ethnic groups retained their own distinct aspects living together. Besides, there have been a number of ethnic groups living here, but they have moved elsewhere due to historical change (Tran Van Giau, 1987). Historical changes make the



waves of migration occur continuously (Ngo Van Le, 2007). Three forms of migration have taken place. These are natural migration, structural migration and internal migration (Mac Duong, 1992). Ethnic populations in the Mekong Delta appear at different time. Differences in the level of economic development, social organization, and religion of these peoples are the initial obstacles to the exchange process. However, over a long period of living together in a region, where most inhabitants often resist the invaders and suffer the harsh natural conditions, exchange cultures and acculturation have appeared among ethnic groups. These processes have created common cultural characteristics and are still occurring under the positive influence of current context. The Mekong Delta is a convergence of cultures. Due to its geographical location, this area has been the place of exchange, convergence of different civilizations for a long time. Located on an important transport axis, inhabitants expand their trading with other regions and are always open to integrate cultural features from outside. Also due to the constant communicate with the world; there has been a mixture of cultures. The Mekong Delta has many religions. On this delta, there are many indigenous religions such as Buu Son Ky Huong, Tu An Hieu Nghia, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao besides the regions that are adopted from abroad or brought by migrants such as Buddhism, Catholicism, Islam, and Protestantism. These religions are often syncretistic because of the doctrine derived from different religions.

Trading on the river is a very typical economic activity of the Mekong Delta communities. People have known how to exploit the riverine resources in order to meet their demands in daily life. People in many localities of Vietnam know how to exploit the river for transporting commodities from one place to another place. Unlike in other regions, trading on the Mekong Delta has become an occupation. Trading on the river has contributed to the exchange of commodities among regions, which creates distinct culture. It is the cultural exchange among communities. The study of riverine trading as an economic activity of the Mekong Delta inhabitants can approach under historical, economic and cultural perspective. In this article, we present riverine trading under cultural perspective

highlighted in different aspects. First, this type of trading demonstrates the adaption to river environment. The Mekong Delta covered with nine provinces, whose borderlines are adjacent to the river and this delta has a comprehensive river system. Waterway and seaway constitute an important mode of exchange relations with other countries in the region and the world. The riverine factor has contributed to the cultural characteristics of the river of residents living along the delta. The influence of riverine factor expressed in the residence pattern to economic activities as well as other cultural activities. Because of the river terrain, the inhabitants usually live along the channels. This pattern resembles a house located across river and field. Unlike villages in the North of Vietnam, residence pattern in the South is widespread and open, which makes circulation more convenient and contributes into economic development. Many families have used “facades” to open stores and other services. Adaption to river environment also reflected in the costume of the Southwestern inhabitants. Colors and materials are also available in working under the water. As shown above, Southwestern regions have nine provinces in which have borderlines adjacent to the river with a comprehensive river system and encompasses a length of 28,000 kilometers. Waterway and seaway constitute an important mode of exchange relations with other countries in the region and the world. Therefore, it has contributed to characteristics of riverine culture of inhabitants in general, especially people living in the South of Vietnam during the course of existence and development.

In the process of settling in the southern region, the migrants recognized the importance of the river in their settlement and building their life. The Khmer people coming to Southern region chose channels to make their residence. The Kinh people also built villages along rivers such as Dong Nai, Sai Gon, and etc. Moreover, the Chinese people chose sedentary areas associated with waterways, such as the Cu Lao Pho commercial area along the Dong Nai River, My Tho City along the Tien River or Ha Tien urban area bordering the sea. Cham people also settled along the Hau River. In our opinion, living along the river is not a





random selection, but rather base on the experience from interacting with the natural environment. Settling in the river will create more convenient conditions for transporting by waterway when the road has not developed yet. Alluvial has raised the level of the field throughout the year; upturn of tides has supported irrigation and crops. In addition, this is a convenient condition for daily life such as bathing, washing, fishing, exchanging commodities, etc. Not now, with labor and wisdom, the Mekong Delta of communities have transformed a desolate wilderness into the most fertile plain in Vietnam and know how to exploit the riverine resources for their daily life. On the contrary, from ancient times, people with his intelligence and creativity have overcome the negative effects of river and exploit its resources for life. According to archaeological data, the Oc Eo trading port of Funan Kingdom is a complex of river ports and sea ports, in which more than 30 rivers converged and linked to the cities. River port located in the East of Ba The Mountain is the place of gathering of wharves to form floating markets. The boats go here to exchange commodities with local residents, provide food for the inner cities that according to the ancient bibliography is composed King, mandarins, soldiers, workers and traders. Warehouses, workshop for making gold and glass, and gemstone production were located behind a long and deep moat, which was the gateway to the capital of Funan Kingdom at that time and found in Trung Son hamlet from Linh Son pagoda to Cay Tram area. Many ancient bibliographies describe the buoyant activity of the Oc Eo trading port during the first centuries BC, making it a prosperous city where merchants paid tax on silver. Trading on the river in the South of Vietnam include a typical type of floating market. This type of trading has originated from ancient. According to the historical data, trading on the Southern river has formed and developed since the Kingdom of Funan.

The old port of Oc Eo contributed to the unique culture of a period of historical development in the Mekong Delta. In the new context of this region, the continuation of ancient traditional values are models of floating markets such as Cai Rang, Phung Hiep-Nga Bay, Phong Dien (Can Tho), Cai Be (Tien Giang),

Ganh Hao (Bac Lieu), Thoi Binh (Ca Mau), etc. Picture of floating markets in many provinces looks different, but in essence is still one. The rivers, channels or wharves are the places to build buoyant business. For example, Phung Hiep floating market in Can Tho province is always the buoyancy of the market. The boats carry full of fruit, agricultural products from the Ninh Kieu dock to Saigon, Cho Lon market. All, there are thousands of boats exchanging commodity, which creates the cultural characteristics of the river. Floating market does not obey under the regulations of the State, but it is spontaneous. The products are mainly agricultural products, such as fruits and vegetables produced locally in the surrounding areas to serve the demand for consumption. Products are usually cabbage, sweet potato, gourd, squash, cassava, tangerine and orange. They are dangling on the roof of the boat or on the pole (candy) to introduce and invite customers to buy.

## 5. Conclusion

Together with other ways of trading, floating market is a type of trade of river in the South. Data from observation of the floating markets in the Mekong Delta, we find that although the population consists of many ethnic groups (at least Vietnamese, Khmer, Chinese, Cham), but participate in the activities of the floating market, mainly Vietnamese. This has highlighted the unique cultural characteristics of the residents of Vietnam compared with other residents in the country. The culture of the people here is influenced by the natural conditions (which are the elements of the river). In addition, the floating market as a kind of mobile community with common characteristics of community types has its own characteristics of a mobile community in the specific context of the South. The cultural characteristics of the riverine trading in the South look at from these two aspects, which are characteristic of the Vietnamese culture.



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## Conference Speech



# Teaching Vietnamese to Chinese-Speaking Learners<sup>1</sup>

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When teaching Vietnamese to speakers of different languages, the role of the learner's native language, including Chinese, should not be ignored. Contrastive analysis can be conducted in order to take advantage of the positive transfer from the learner's native language, to help the learner overcome linguistic difficulties, and to avoid the errors caused by the negative transfer of the native language. Instructors should decide upon an appropriate approach to teaching Vietnamese

<sup>1</sup> This is a keynote speech given to the 2016 International Conference on Vietnamese and Taiwanese Studies, which was held by Center for Vietnamese Studies at National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan.

to speakers of a particular language because a universal approach to teaching the language has not yet been conceived. In this paper, Vietnamese is compared with Chinese in the areas of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, and the contrastive analysis suggests a productive approach to teaching Vietnamese to Chinese-speaking students.

## 1. Pronunciation

### 1.1. Tones

Both Vietnamese and Chinese are tone languages. Compared with the range of Chinese tones, the Vietnamese tones are more complex. The number of tones in each language is different: Vietnamese has six tones, whereas Mandarin Chinese has four. This explains why the variation in range in a Chinese tone is broader than a Vietnamese tone. A Chinese-speaking learner does not have much room to change their pitch when pronouncing a Vietnamese tone.

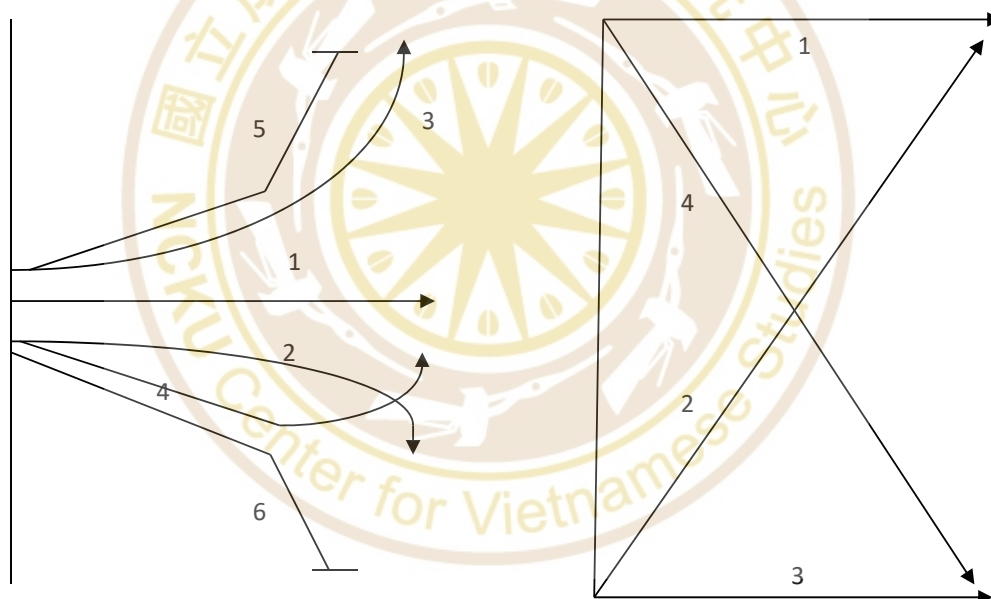
The Vietnamese mid-level tone and the Chinese first tone seem to be similar. The Chinese first tone, however, is pronounced at a higher pitch than the other tones, whereas the pitch of the Vietnamese mid-level tone is lower than the pitches of the high-rising and high-rising-broken tones. As a result, the pitch at which a Chinese-speaking student tends to pronounce the Vietnamese high-rising tone is not high enough, which is influenced by the Chinese second tone. The Vietnamese high-rising-broken tone is more complex due to the glottal stop at the end of the pronunciation, which does not exist in Chinese.

The register and contour differences between Vietnamese and Chinese tones are considerable. The Vietnamese low-falling tone and the low-falling-rising tone start at almost the same pitch, but while the former decreases, the latter first decreases and then goes up, which causes certain difficulty for Chinese speakers. The Vietnamese low-falling-broken tone is “broken” by a glottal stop, which is not characteristic of Mandarin Chinese. Due to the glottal stop, the Vietnamese high-rising-broken and low-falling-broken tones are pronounced shorter, which



Chinese-speakers should keep in mind as well.

In Chinese, a tone for a number of words can change to a different tone depending on the tone of the following word (tone sandhi), which is not possible in Vietnamese. For instance: the 4th tone of 一 [yì] in 一天 [yì tiān] changes to the 2nd tone in 一日 [yí rì]; or the 3rd tone of 你 [nǐ] changes to the 2nd tone in 你好 [ní hǎo]. In Chinese there are a fairly large number of words, whose tones may be neutralized depending on their grammatical functions. For instance: 得 [dé] or [děi] in the sentence 他說中文說得非常好 becomes the neutral tone [de]. Neutralization never occurs in Vietnamese. Learners should be attentive to a certain tone of a Vietnamese word, which is invariable.



#### Vietnamese tones

1. mid-level
2. low-falling
3. high-rising
4. low-falling-rising
5. high-rising-broken
6. low-falling-broken

#### Chinese tones

1. high-level
2. high-rising
3. low-dipping
4. high-falling

The Chinese tones described here are the tones of Mandarin Chinese spoken in China. The 2nd and 3rd tones of Mandarin Chinese spoken in Taiwan are to

some degree different from those ones in China. The 2nd tone in Taiwan is going down first and then is going up, which may be closer to the Vietnamese low-falling-rising tone. The 3rd tone in Taiwan is pronounced at a lower pitch than the 3rd tone in China, which is close to the pitch of the Vietnamese low-falling tone.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.2. Sounds

Vietnamese has more sounds including initial consonants, nuclear vowels and final consonants than Chinese. As such, learners' attention should be directed to the following considerable differences between the two phonetic systems.

### 1.2.1. Initial consonants

Chinese speakers have difficulty pronouncing the voiced initial consonants [b]<sup>3</sup>, [v], [z] and [d]. Chinese speakers tend to pronounce these consonants as the voiceless ones, because Chinese does not have the first consonant in the pairs [b] – [p], [v] – [f], [z] – [s] and [d] – [t], whose distinctive features are voiced vs. voiceless. For instance, they pronounce **bà** as \***pà**, **và** as **phà**, **đà** as **xa** and **đà** as **ta**.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, Chinese speakers easily distinguish between the unaspirated [t] and the aspirated [th] <th><sup>5</sup> because this pair of consonants in Chinese has distinctive features, which are “aspiratedness” vs. “unaspiratedness,” as in 搭 [dā] and 他 [tā]. Speakers of several European languages such as Russian and French have a hard time pronouncing the aspirated [th]; or German-

<sup>2</sup> Tường, Vi Văn/Wi-vun Taiffalo Chiung (蔣為文). 2015. *Hiệu quả của việc học chữ Hán và chữ quốc ngữ*. National Cheng Kung University, Center for Vietnamese Studies. Taiwan; page 145-146.

<sup>3</sup> The square brackets denote the sound.

<sup>4</sup> Taiwanese has the voiced initial consonant [b]. Learners who are bilingual in Chinese and Taiwanese can take advantage of this feature of Taiwanese to produce the Vietnamese voiced consonant [b].

<sup>5</sup> The angle brackets denote the character which represents the sound.





and English speakers tend to pronounce the unaspirated [t] as the aspirated [th].

The fricative voiced consonant [ɣ] <g> is hard to pronounce for speakers of many languages; most European languages have the stop voiced consonant [g] <g> but do not have the fricative voiced [ɣ]. Chinese does not have either stop voiced consonant [g] or fricative voiced consonant [ɣ]. Chinese speakers would easily pronounce this Vietnamese consonant as the velar stop voiceless consonant [k], that is, **gà** becomes **cà**.

The voiceless counterpart of the fricative voiced consonant [ɣ] <g> is [χ] <kh>, which is pronounced by speakers of many languages, including Chinese, as the stop consonant [k], because their native languages do not have this fricative consonant. Conversely, Chinese has the velar voiceless stop aspirated [kh]. If a Chinese speaker pronounces the Vietnamese [χ] <kh> as Chinese [kh], for instance, **khá** [χá] as [khá], it would be acceptable at the beginning level of instruction, because Vietnamese does not have the phonological opposition fricative [χ] vs. stop [kh]. To some extent, the Vietnamese fricative [χ] is similar to the Chinese fricative [h] because both of them are pronounced with some friction. They differ from each other in that the Vietnamese [χ] is voiceless while the Chinese [h] is voiced and is pronounced with vibration of the vocal cords.

The palatalized consonant [ɲ] <nh> and the velar [ŋ] <ng> are difficult for Chinese speakers, because Chinese does not have these initial consonants. Moreover, [ɲ] <nh> is easily pronounced by Chinese speakers as [n] <n>. Learners' attention should be focused on the distinctive features of the consonants in terms of the place of articulation: [n] is an alveolar consonant made with the contact of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge, [ɲ] is a palatal consonant produced with the back of the tongue rising toward the hard palate and touching it, while [ŋ] is a velar consonant, which is created with the blade of the tongue moving backwards and the back of the tongue contacting the velum. Learners should practice pronouncing these three initial consonants in the minimal groups such as:

**na** “custard apple” ≠ **nha** “dental” ≠ **nga** “swan”

**năm** “five” ≠ **nhăm** “five in ten-order” ≠ **ngăm** “tanned”

**nấn** “fix” ≠ **nhấn** “send a message” ≠ **ngấn** “short”

### 1.2.2. Nuclear vowels

Speakers of many languages, including Chinese, have trouble recognizing and producing the Vietnamese vowels since the phonological opposition openness vs. closeness in Vietnamese has more levels than in those languages. For instance, there are only two levels of openness for the central vowels in Chinese, such as **dá** 達 vs. **dé** 德, whereas in Vietnamese there are three levels, as **tá** “dozen” vs. **tó** “second personal pronoun” vs. **tứ** “four”. The vowel triangle clearly illustrates the degrees of openness of the vowels and is very useful for learners in distinguishing between the vowels of the same column on the vowel triangle. It is also helpful in explaining many spelling rules.

Vietnamese has two pair of vowels which differ in length. In other words, there are long vowels vs. short vowels, as [a] in **bán** “sell” vs. [ă] in **bắn** “shoot”; and [ɤ] in **còn** “fit” vs. [ɛ̃] in **cân** “weigh”. Because the phonological opposition long vs. short does not exist in Chinese, a Chinese speaker may pronounce a long syllable that is not long enough and a short syllable that is not short enough. Additionally, the spelling rules should be introduced so that learners can recognize the short vowels in written text and distinguish the short and long vowels when producing them. Some exceptions should be highlighted in order to distinguish the short vowels from their long counterparts. For instance, the short vowel [ă] is represented by the character **a** before the final semivowels **y** and **u** in **tay**, **cau** vs. the long vowel [a] in **tai**, **cao**.

### 1.2.3. Final consonants

Chinese has only two final consonants, which are [n] <n> vs. [ŋ] <ng>, as in **gǎn** 感 vs. **gǎng** 港. The Hanoi dialect of Vietnamese has six final consonants; three of them are voiced as in **cảm** “feel” vs. **cản** “hinder” vs. **cảng** “port”; the



other three are voiceless as in **cáp** “cable” vs. **cát** “sand” vs. **các** “plural marker.” Again, the minimal groups of words which differ only in final consonants are helpful in producing the finals and memorizing their meanings.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1.2.4. Specific types of syllable

Vietnamese has several types of syllable, which are difficult to pronounce. For example, when a monophthong rounded nuclear vowel occurs before the final [k] <c> or [ŋ] <ng>, the pronunciation of the final consonant is accompanied by a labial consonant: [k] is accompanied by [p] as if we have [kp] at the end, as in **học**; [ŋ] is accompanied by [m], as if we have [ŋm] at the end, as in **hồng**. Although Chinese has the combination –ong as in 宮 [gōng], 紅 [hóng], 恐 [kǒng], 弄 [nòng], the velar final [ŋ] is not accompanied by the labial consonant [m]. It is not unusual to hear Chinese learners pronouncing **đá bóng** as **tá poóng**, **đọc báo** as **toọc pào**. When producing this type of syllable, the learners should be reminded of having the lips come together at the end of the pronunciation.

## 2. Grammar

Chinese-speaking students can take advantage of many similarities in grammatical constructions between the two languages. However, the learner’s attention should focus on the following differences between Vietnamese and Chinese.

2.1. The word order may be different between the two languages. For instance:

2.1.1. When an adjective modifies a noun, the adjective follows the noun in Vietnamese and precedes the noun in Chinese:

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<sup>6</sup> Taiwanese has the voiceless final consonants [p], [t] and [k]. Learners who are bilingual in Chinese and Taiwanese can take advantage of this feature of Taiwanese to produce the Vietnamese voiceless final consonants [p], [t] and [k].

**sách cũ** 舊書

**quần áo đẹp** 漂亮的衣服

**một gia đình lớn** 一個大家庭

2.1.2. The same rule applies when a noun modifies another noun:

**sách ngữ pháp** 語法書

**số điện thoại** 電話號碼

2.1.3. The noun phrase consisting a noun, a demonstrative and a classifier/measure word has different word order as well:

**quyển sách này** 這本書

**chiếc máy vi tính kia** 那台電腦

2.1.4. When an adjective or an adjective phrase functions as an adverbial of manner, it follows the verb in Vietnamese and precedes it in Chinese:

**Anh ấy chạy rất nhanh.** 他很快地跑著。

2.1.5. In comparison of A and B, the adjective is placed between A and B in Vietnamese and comes last in Chinese:

**Hôm nay lạnh hơn hôm qua.** 今天比昨天冷。

The same rule applies to the negative comparison:

**Hôm nay không lạnh hơn hôm qua.** 今天不比昨天冷。

**Hôm nay không lạnh như/bằng hôm qua.** 今天沒有昨天冷。

2.1.6. A direction indicator follows a verb of motion in Vietnamese and precedes the verb of motion in Chinese:

**Anh ấy đi lên rồi.** 他上去了。

When a location is mentioned, it follows the verb of motion and the direction indicator in Vietnamese and is placed between the direction indicator and the verb of motion in Chinese:

**Anh ấy đi lên gác rồi.** 他上樓去了。





2.1.7. Location terms function as prepositions in Vietnamese and as postpositions in Chinese:

**trong phòng** 屋子裡

**trên bàn** 桌子上

**trước cửa** 門前

**giữa nhà** 房子中間

**bên đường** 路邊

2.1.8. The word order of the dates and times is opposite in the two languages:

**8 giờ sáng ngày 12 tháng 11 năm 2016** 二零一六年十一月十二號早上八點

2.1.9. In Chinese, a question word is placed in the interrogative sentence where the answer is expected, which applies only to several question words in Vietnamese:

**Ai đến đây?** 誰來過?

**Cô giáo đến đây.** 老師來過。

**Chị gặp ai đây?** 你見到了誰?

**Tôi gặp cô giáo.** 我見到了老師。

**Anh muốn uống gì?** 你想喝一點兒什麼?

**Tôi muốn uống cà phê.** 我想喝一點兒咖啡。

**Hôm nay các anh các chị có giờ môn nào?** 你們今天上什麼課?

**Hôm nay chúng tôi có giờ toán.** 我們今天上數學課。

Some question words in Vietnamese, however, may take a position which is different from the position in Chinese. For instance, the question words for reason *vì sao*, *tại sao* and *sao* come first in a question:

**Vì sao/Tại sao/Sao chị ấy không đến?** 她為什麼沒來?

The position of a question word denoting time is more complicated. When it refers to the future tense, it is placed at the beginning of a question:

**Bao giờ anh đi Hà Nội?** 你什麼時候去河內?

**Tuần sau tôi đi Hà Nội.** 我下個星期去河內。

When it refers to the past tense, it is placed at the end of the question:

**Anh đi Hà Nội bao giờ?** 你什麼時候去了河內?

**Tôi đi Hà Nội năm ngoái.** 我去年去了河內。

2.2. The Chinese link verb 是 in a negative statement can be placed right after the negation 不: 他不是越南人。 whereas in Vietnamese the word **phải** should be used before **là** if **là** is followed by a noun: **Anh ấy không phải là người Việt.** The sentence *\*Anh ấy không là người Việt.* is incorrect.

2.3. The use of adjectival predicates and adverbs of degree differs as well. In Chinese, an adjectival predicate should be modified by an adverb of degree: 這個問題很重要。 while Vietnamese does not need the adverb of degree if the context does not require it: **Vấn đề này quan trọng.** On the other hand, the Chinese adverb of degree 很 can follow the negation 不: 這個問題不很重要。 which is not possible for the Vietnamese adverb **rất**. It should be replaced with the adverb **lắm**, which comes at the end of the sentence: **Vấn đề này không quan trọng lắm.** The sentence *\*Vấn đề này không rất quan trọng.* is incorrect.

2.4. The passive constructions are more commonly used in Vietnamese than the 被 construction in Chinese. In addition, there are three passive voice markers in Vietnamese, which convey different meanings.

**Bị** was borrowed from Chinese (被) and denotes an action unfavorable from the speaker's point of view:

**Anh ấy bị giáo viên phê bình một trận.** 他被老師批評了一頓。

**Được** conveys a sense of an action favorable in the speaker's opinion:

**Đề nghị của họ đã được chấp nhận.** 他們的主張被接受了。

When **do** is used, the performer of the action should be indicated:



**Quyển tiểu thuyết này do một nhà văn nổi tiếng dịch ra tiếng Anh.**

這本小說被一個有名的作家翻譯了成英文。

- 2.5. A number of Vietnamese words borrowed from Chinese perform different grammatical functions than the original words in Chinese. Some examples:

The Vietnamese **tuy nhiên** is 雖然 in Chinese. The Chinese 雖然 is used in the related pair 雖然... 但是... :

雖然我們退讓了，但是他們還不同意。

**Tuy nhiên** cannot be used in this sentence in Vietnamese. **Tuy** or **mặc dù** is used instead:

**Tuy/Mặc dù chúng tôi đã nhân nhượng nhưng họ vẫn không đồng ý.**

The sentence \***Tuy nhiên dù chúng tôi đã nhân nhượng nhưng họ vẫn không đồng ý.** is incorrect. On the other hand, **tuy nhiên** means “however,” which is 然而, or 不過, or 可是 in Chinese.

The Chinese word 所以 and the Vietnamese word **sở dĩ** convey the same meaning, but function differently. In the pair 因為... 所以..., the word 所以 occurs at the beginning of the second clause:

因為他還沒有做完練習，所以他爸爸不允許他去看電影。“Because he hasn’t done his homework yet, his dad doesn’t let him go to see a movie.”

In Vietnamese, **sở dĩ** cannot be used in the second clause. **Cho nên** or **nên** is used instead:

**Vì cháu bé chưa làm xong bài tập về nhà [cho] nên bố không cho đi xem phim.**

**Sở dĩ** is characteristic of formal Vietnamese, where it is used in the pair **sở dĩ ... là vì ...** and is placed at the beginning of the whole sentence:

**Sở dĩ chúng tôi không đưa vấn đề ra trước cuộc họp là vì chúng tôi thấy không cần thiết.** “We didn’t raise the issue at the meeting because we didn’t think that would be necessary.”

### 3. Vocabulary and usage

In written Vietnamese, there are a large number of borrowed Chinese words and phrases, which a Chinese-speaking learner, and to some extent, a Korean and a Japanese learner of Vietnamese, may take advantage of.

Chinese-speaking learners easily recognize and memorize the Sino-Vietnamese words which convey the same meanings and have the same tones as the Chinese words. For instance, **đông** “winter” ← 冬 [dōng], **đông** “East” ← 東 [dōng], **thanh điệu** “tone” ← 聲調 [shēng diào], **giao thông** “traffic” ← 交通 [jiāo tōng], **quốc gia** “country; national” ← 國家 [guó jiā]. What Chinese learners should pay attention to is the usage. For instance, the word **quốc gia** in contemporary Vietnamese is rarely used as a noun. It chiefly functions as an attribute: **đại học quốc gia, thư viện quốc gia**.

Chinese-speaking learners may have some difficulty memorizing the Sino-Vietnamese words which have different tones compared to the Chinese words: **báo** “newspaper” ← 報 (紙) [bào], **báo cáo** “report, presentation” ← 報告 [bào gào].

Some Sino-Vietnamese two-syllable words have a sequence of components that differ from their originators. For example, **đơn giản** vs. 簡單, **bệnh tật** vs. 疾病, **ngôn ngữ** vs. 語言, **thích hợp** vs. 合適, **náo nhiệt** vs. 熱鬧.

A large number of Sino-Vietnamese words contain the same syllables as their Chinese counterparts but convey meanings which are different from the Chinese: **thư viện** ← 書院. In Chinese 書院 means “academy;” Vietnamese **thư viện** would be 圖書館 (**đồ thư quán**) in Chinese.

The Vietnamese **li khai** came from Chinese 離開, but conveys only the political meaning of “separatism.” The Chinese sentence 學生都離開了. would





be in Vietnamese **Sinh viên về hết cả rồi**. Similarly, in Vietnamese **Tết nguyên đán** means “the Lunar New Year,” while in Chinese 元旦節 means “the Solar New Year.” Or, **bảo tàng**, which means “museum,” came from Chinese 保藏, but the Chinese 保藏 means “to preserve.” In Chinese, **bảo tàng** is 博物館 (**bác vật quán**).

Some Sino-Vietnamese words were used in old Chinese, but they are still used in Vietnamese. For instance, **sinh viên** is the Chinese 生員, which is no longer used in modern Chinese and is replaced by 學生 (**học sinh**). Vietnamese uses both **sinh viên** and **học sinh**. **Sinh viên** refers to college and university students, while **học sinh** is used for elementary and high school students.

#### 4. Conclusion

Contrastive analysis should be taken into consideration along with other approaches to teaching Vietnamese to non-native speakers. Contrastive analysis helpful in taking advantage of the positive transfer from the learner’s native language and in avoiding negative interference. Chinese-speaking learners of Vietnamese should consider the similarities and focus on the differences between the two languages in order to avoid the errors that can be made due to negative interference from Chinese.

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## THẺ LỆ NỘP BÀI CHO TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC

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3. Quy cách trình bày:
  - A) Tác giả có thể lựa chọn một trong năm ngôn ngữ: tiếng Việt, tiếng Đài, tiếng Nhật, tiếng Trung hoặc tiếng Anh để viết. Nếu tác giả sử dụng ngoại ngữ để viết thì bài phải được người bản xứ kiểm tra trước khi gửi đăng. Bài nếu không viết bằng tiếng Anh xin vui lòng kèm theo một bản tóm tắt tiếng Anh.
  - B) Bài viết bằng tiếng Đài thì phải sử dụng một trong hai kiểu chữ là chữ hỗn hợp Hán – Latinh hoặc chữ thuần Latinh. Nếu sử dụng chữ Latinh thì phải dùng chữ Latinh Peh-oe-ji (POJ).
  - C) Chú thích là phần ghi chú, bổ sung làm rõ các thông tin và được đặt ở cuối mỗi trang có liên quan. Tài liệu tham khảo được đặt cuối bài viết.
  - D) Xin mời tham khảo các mẫu quy cách trình bày bài viết của Tạp chí.
  - E) Kết cấu của bài viết bao gồm: a) Tiêu đề, b) Tóm tắt, c) Nội dung chính, d) Tài liệu tham khảo và e) Phụ lục (nếu có). Phần tóm tắt trình bày ngắn gọn, giới hạn trong 150 từ, đồng thời liệt kê từ khóa, tối đa 5 từ.
4. Quy trình nộp bài và xét duyệt:
  - A) Bài xin vui lòng định dạng dưới dạng tập tin Word và PDF với kiểu phông chữ thích hợp. Sau đó gửi cho Ban biên tập của Tạp chí qua email. Nếu bài chứa các phông chữ dạng đặc biệt, vui lòng định dạng thêm tập tin JPG/ bản cứng.
  - B) Tất cả các bài viết gửi cho Tạp chí sẽ được gửi cho 2-3 nhà nghiên cứu có chuyên môn phù hợp để phản biện kín, khi kết quả thẩm định thông qua quá bán, bài viết đó mới được chấp nhận. Do đó, vui lòng không cung cấp các thông tin cá nhân trong bài. Trong một bản riêng khác, xin cung cấp các thông tin liên quan như: a) Tên bài viết, b) Họ tên tác giả, c) Chức vụ và đơn vị công tác, d) Phương thức liên lạc. Trong bất kỳ hoàn cảnh nào, bài đã nộp sẽ không hoàn trả lại cho người gửi, do đó tác giả nên giữ một bản sao cho mình.
  - C) Bài viết gửi đăng trên Tạp chí phải là bài viết chưa được công bố trước đó. Vui lòng nộp bài ít nhất 4 tháng trước khi được xuất bản.
5. Bản quyền và nhuận bút:
  - A) Sau khi bài được đăng, tác giả của bài viết sẽ được tặng 5 cuốn Tạp chí thay cho nhuận bút.
  - B) Trách nhiệm của tác giả là phải đạt được sự chấp thuận bằng văn bản cho việc trích dẫn các ấn phẩm hoặc các tài liệu khác mà mình không sở hữu bản quyền.
  - C) Theo biên nhận của bài, tác giả đồng ý ủy quyền bản quyền bài viết cho Ban Biên tập Tạp chí miễn phí xuất bản và tái bản cả dạng bản in và bản dạng tệp số trong một khoảng thời gian không giới hạn. Tác giả vẫn có quyền tái sử dụng những bài viết của mình để đăng trên các tạp chí khác hoặc đưa vào sách để xuất bản; trong trường hợp này, tác giả phải ghi chú đơn vị đầu tiên đăng bài viết.
6. Tạp chí được xuất bản 6 tháng 1 lần vào tháng Một và tháng Bảy. Sách và bài để xét duyệt phải được gửi đến Ban biên tập (vui lòng ghi chú “Tạp chí Việt Nam Học”):

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## 學術誌『ベトナム研究』論文投稿投稿募集

1. 『越南（ベトナム）研究』は、査読付きのベトナム研究学術誌であり、ベトナムの人文・社会科学（言語学、歴史学、文学、カルチュラル・スタディーズ、少数エスニシティ）を対象とした分野に関する投稿を募集している。
2. 原稿の種別および字数  
本誌投稿の種別は「研究論文・ノート」と「書評」の2種類。合によっては「フィールドノート」も受け付ける。  
「研究論文・研究ノート」は英語で8,000語以内、その他言語では15,000字（音節）以内を原則とする。「書評」は2,000字以内とする。
3. 論文形式
  - A) 本誌投稿論文の使用言語は、ベトナム語／日本語／台湾語／中国語／英語のいずれかによる。使用言語が母語でない場合は投稿前にネイティブチェックを必要とし、その費用は自己負担とする。また、英語以外の言語の論文を投稿する場合は、英文の概要を一部添付すること。
  - B) 台湾語の場合は、漢字ローマ字混用（漢羅）もしくは全ローマ字による投稿を受け付ける（全漢字は受け付けない）。ローマ字は「教会ローマ字（白話字）」を使用し、フォントは「Taigi Unicode」を使用すること。漢字は本誌の既刊もしくは「台語信望愛」サイトに準拠する。
  - C) 注は脚注（各ページ下）とし、本文の補足説明とする。参考文献は文章末尾に一括して掲げること。
  - D) 書式は本誌の既刊を参考とすること。
  - E) 論文の原稿の構成は ①論文表題 ②摘要(英語および本文使用言語) ③本文 ④参考文献 ⑤その他。  
摘要は150字（音節）以内を原則とし、キーワードを5語以内で記載すること。
4. 原稿提出及び受理・審査要領
  - A) EMAILで投稿すること。ファイルはWordおよびPDFの二種類を用意すること。特殊フォントを使用する場合は、そのフォントをプリントアウトした紙か、JPGファイルを用意すること。
  - B) 査読は匿名の外部審査委員2-3名により行い、過半数の同意があれば採用される。投稿にあたっては、a)題名 b)作者姓名 c)勤務先・職位 d)連絡先 を明記すること。原稿は返却しないので、各自予備を保存すること。
  - C) 二重投稿やすでに発表されたものは受理しない。提出され次第、順番に査読を行う。出版4ヶ月前までに投稿すること。
5. 掲載誌・著作権
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  - B) 著作者は原稿について他人の著作権を侵害していないことを保証すること。万が一著作権違反が発見された場合には作者はその法的責任を負うこと。
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## OÁT-LÂM-HẮK GIÁN-KIÙ TENG KÓ KHÉ-SŪ

1. Oát-lâm-hắk Gián-kiù sī choan kong Oát-lâm gián-kiù, koh ũ sím-cha chè-tō ē hắk-sút kī-khan. Piān-nā kap Oát-lâm ē jīn-bùn siā-hōe gián-kiù léng-hèk ũ koan-hē, phi-lūn kóng gí-giân, lèk-sú, bûn-hắk, bûn-hòa kap chió-sò chók-kûn chia ē gī-tê lóng hoan-gêng tâu-kó.
2. Bûn-kó ē lūi-hêng: It-poa<sup>n</sup>-tèk pun-chò gián-kiù lūn-bûn kap chheh-phêng nng-khoán, ũ tang-sí-á mã ũ tiān-iá/kang-chok pò-kò. Gián-kiù lūn-bûn kap pò-kò ē jī-sò, goân-chek-tèk Eng-bûn kó mài chhiau-kòe 8,000 sū, Tâi-bûn kó mài chhiau-kòe 15,000 jī (im-chat), chheh-phêng chè-hân tī 2,000 sū/ jī lāi-té.
3. Lūn-bûn ē keh-sek :
  - A) Pún khan-bút chiap-siū ēng Tâi-bûn/Tiong-bûn/Oát-bûn/Jit-bûn áh-sī Eng-bûn siá ē bûn-kó. Su-siá ē gí-giân nā m̄-sī tâu-kó-chiá ē bó-gí, lô-hoân tâu-kó chìn-chêng ka-tī khai-chī<sup>n</sup> chhiá<sup>n</sup> bó-gí jīn-sū kàu-tùi bûn-kó. Nā-sī kó-kiā<sup>n</sup> ēng Eng-bûn liáh-gōa ē gí-giân su-siá, lô-hoân siāng-sī thê-kiong chít-hun Eng-bûn ē tiah-iàu.
  - B) Tâi-bûn kó chiap-siū Hàn Lô kap choân Lô su-siá ē hêng-sek. Lô-má-jī kan-ta<sup>n</sup> chiap-siū thoân-thóng Tâi-oân-jī/Pêh-ōe-jī. Hàn-jī ē pō-hūn kiàn-gī iōng pún khan-bút kap Tâi-gí Sìn-bōng-ài chhui-chiàn ē iōng-jī. Lô-má-jī ē jī-hêng lô-hoân iōng Unicode.
  - C) “Chù-kái” ài tong-iáh chù-kái, kan-na tui lāi-bûn ē pò-chhiong kái-soeh tiòh hó, bûn-hiàn liat tī bûn-kó âu-piáh ē chham-khó chheh-bák tō ē-sái.
  - D) Su-siá ē keh-sek lô-hoân chham-khó pún khan-bút thê-kiong ē chham-khó kiàn-pún.
  - E) Bûn-kó ē lōe-iōng sūn-sī sī a) phi<sup>n</sup>-miá, b) siang-gí tiah-iàu, c) pún-bûn, d) chham-khó chheh-bák, e) hù-liók. Tiah-iàu goân-chek-tèk mài chhiau-kòe 150 jī, lēng-gōa ài thê-kiong 5 ē í-lāi ē koan-kiàn-sū.
4. Tâu-kó kap sím-kó ē thêng-sū :
  - A) Lô-hoân ēng email tâu-kó. Kó-kiā<sup>n</sup> lô-hoân thê-kiong Word kap PDF nng khoán tóng-àn. Nā ũ tèk-piát ē jī-hêng, lô-hoân lēng-gōa thê-kiong chóá-pún áh-sī JPG ē tóng-àn lāi khak-jīn lōe-iōng kám ũ tēng-tā<sup>n</sup>.
  - B) Khàm-miá sím-kó, pau-hâm 2-3 ē gōa-sím ē ũi-oân, kòe pò<sup>n</sup>- sò thong-kòe chiah chiap-siū. Tâu-kó ē sī lô-hoân ká chok-chiá ē chu-liâu kap bûn-kó hun-khui, lī-piān khàm-miá sím-kó. Chok-chiá ē chu-liâu pau-hâm a) phi<sup>n</sup>-miá, b) miá-sè<sup>n</sup>, c) hòk-bū tan-ūi kap chit-bū, d) liân-lòk hong-sek. Tâu--lāi ē kó bô beh thê-hêng, lô-hoân ka-tī lâu-té, chhiá<sup>n</sup> liōng-chêng.
  - C) Pún khan-bút bô chiap-siū chít phi<sup>n</sup> kó tâu kúi-ā-ē sò-chāi, áh-sī bat tī kī-khan, choan-chheh hoat-piáu kòe ē gián-kiù lūn-bûn. Pún khan-bút ēng sūi kàu sūi sím ē hong-sek, lô-hoân thông-bô tī àn-sng beh chhut-khan chìn-chêng 4 kò-goéh tâu-kó.
5. Tù-chok koân kap kó-hùi :
  - A) Lūn-bûn chhut-pán liáu, pún khan-bút ē sàng hit-kī ē chhut-pán-phín 5 hūn hō chok-chiá, bô koh sng kó-hùi ah.
  - B) Chok-chiá ài pò-chêng bûn-kó sī ka-tī siá--ê, bô chhim-hoân lāng ē tù-chok koân. Nā ũi-hoân tù-chok koân, chok-chiá ài ka-tī ta<sup>n</sup> hoat-lút ē chek-jīm.
  - C) Chok-chiá tâu-kó liáu tòng-chò ũ tòng-i ká tù-chok chài-sán koân, hui choan-siók siū-koân hō pún khan-bút ēng chóá-pún kap sò-ūi ták-khoán ē hêng-sek chhut-pán kap tēng chè-chō. Chok-chiá ka-tī pò-liù jīt-âu ká chit phi<sup>n</sup> khan tī chia ē lūn-bûn thêh khi pát-giah koh hoat-piáu iáh-sī chhut choan chheh ē koán-lí, m̄-koh ài chù-bêng kũ-té tī pún khan chhut-khan--kòe.
6. Chit hūn khan-bút sī pò<sup>n</sup>-nī-khan, àn-sng ták-nī ē 1--goéh kap 7-- goéh chhut-khan. Ū kó beh tâu áh-sī ũ chheh beh phêng-lūn, lô-hoân kiá : 701台南市大學路1號國立成功大學越南研究中心 蔣為文收 ( lô-hoân chù-bêng tâu-kó “ Oát-lâm Gián-kiù ” )

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## 《越南學研究》徵稿啓事

1. 《越南學研究》是致力於越南研究，具審查制的學術期刊。有關越南人文社會研究領域，譬如語言、歷史、文學、文化及少數族群等議題均歡迎投稿。
2. 文稿類型：通常分做「研究論文」與「書評」二類，有時也會有「田野/工作報告」。研究論文與報告的英文稿以8,000詞，中文稿以15,000字(音節)以內為原則，書評以2,000詞/字以內為限。
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  - B) 台文稿接受漢羅及全羅書寫方式。羅馬字僅接受傳統台灣字(白話字)。漢字的部分建議使用本刊及台語信望愛的推薦用字。羅馬字的字型請用Unicode。
  - C) 「註腳」採用當頁註，而且定位在對內文的補充解說，文獻則列於稿件後面的參考書目。
  - D) 書寫格式請參考本刊提供的參考樣本。
  - E) 文稿內容順序分別是a)篇名 b)雙語摘要 c)本文 d)參考冊目 e)附錄。摘要以150字以內為原則，另須提供關鍵詞至多5個。
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  - B) 匿名審稿包含2-3位外審委員，過半數通過才接受。投稿請區分作者資訊與文稿以方便匿名審稿。作者資訊包含a)篇名 b)作者姓名 c)服務單位與職稱 d)連絡方式。來稿恕不退還，請自行留底。
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