

Journal^o_F
Viet Nam Hoc
TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC
Qat-lam-hak Gian-kiu ベトナム 越南學研究

Imprint of Confucianism in ancestor worship of modern
Vietnamese people

Ảnh hưởng của Nho giáo đến tục thờ cúng tổ tiên của
người Việt và những biến đổi hiện nay

NGUYEN Thi Phuong Anh

An interpretation of the origin and development of linguistic signs:
a perspective from the theory of evolution

Diễn luận giải nguồn gốc và sự phát triển của các tín hiệu
ngôn ngữ: một góc nhìn từ thuyết tiến hóa

NGUYEN Duc Ton

越南語中的迂迴說法

Vietnamese Circumlocutory Expressions

TRAN Quang Huy (陳光輝)

4

29

53

Vol.6, No.1, January 2025

JOURNAL^o_F VIET NAM HOC TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC
Qat-lam-hak Gian-kiu ベトナム 越南學研究

Journal^o_F
Viet Nam Hoc

TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC

Qat-lam-hak Gian-kiu ベトナム 越南學研究

Vol.6, No.1,
January
2025



9 772706 861001 01
ISSN: 2706-8617



Journal of Viet Nam Hoc

TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC

Òat-lâm-hàk Gián-kiu ベトナム 越南學研究

Vol.6, No.1,
January
2 0 2 5

Journal of Viet Nam Hoc

TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC

Đạt-lam-hàk Giàn-kiu ベトナム 越南學研究

Vol.6, No.1, January 2025

Advisory Board

Bao THAI (THÁI Duy Bảo)
(Linguistics, ANU, Australia)
ĐINH Quang Hải (History, VASS, Vietnam)
ĐOÀN Thiện Thuật
(Linguistics, VNU-Hanoi, Vietnam)
IWAI Misaki 岩井美佐紀
(Sociology, Kanda U.I.S, Japan)
Hy Van LUONG (LƯƠNG Văn Hy)
(Anthropology, University of Toronto, Canada)
Michael HSIAO
(Sociology, Academic Sinica, Taiwan)
NGÔ Như Bình (Linguistics, Harvard U., USA)
NGÔ Văn Lê
(Anthropology, VNU-HCM, Vietnam)
NGUYỄN Thị Phương Châm
(Culture, VASS, Vietnam)
SHIU Wen-tang
(History, Academic Sinica, Taiwan)
TRẦN Trí Dỗi
(Linguistics, VNU-Hanoi, Vietnam)

Editor-in-Chief

Wi-vun CHIUNG
(National Cheng Kung Univ., Taiwan)

Editorial Board

BÙI Quang Hùng
(National Univ. of Kaohsiung, Taiwan)
Frank DHONT
(National Cheng Kung Univ., Taiwan)
HỒ Thị Thanh Nga (Culture, VASS, Vietnam)
Peter KANG
(National Taiwan Normal Univ., Taiwan)
PHẠM Ngọc Thúy Vi
(Anthropology, VNU-HCM, Vietnam)
SHIMIZU Masaaki 清水政明
(Osaka University, Japan)
TÂN Lē-kun (National Cheng Kung Univ., Taiwan)
TRẦN Thị Lan
(National Univ. of Kaohsiung, Taiwan)

Vietnamese editor

LÙ Việt Hùng
LƯ' Bội Thiên
PHẠM Ngọc Thúy Vi
THÁI Thị Thanh Thủy

Taiwanese editor

PHOAⁿ Siù-liân

Chinese editor

TÂN Lí-iông

Japanese editor

SHIMIZU Masaaki

English editor

Vivian SU

Administrative editor

TÂN Lí-iông

Publishers

Center for Vietnamese Studies, NCKU
Asian Atsiu International
(1 University Rd., Tainan 701, TAIWAN)

Open access at
<https://cvs.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jovnh/>

Abstracting & Indexing
本期刊收錄於 TCI, ACI, CEPS
電子版本 Electronic version
<http://www.airitilibrary.com>

ISSN:2706-8617 (print)
ISSN:2706-8625 (online)

Research Papers:

- Imprint of Confucianism in ancestor worship of modern Vietnamese people** 4

Ảnh hưởng của Nho giáo đến tục thờ cúng tổ tiên của người Việt và những biến đổi hiện nay

NGUYEN Thi Phuong Anh

- An interpretation of the origin and development of linguistic signs: a perspective from the theory of evolution** 29

Diễn luận giải nguồn gốc và sự phát triển của các tín hiệu ngôn ngữ: một góc nhìn từ thuyết tiến hóa

NGUYEN Duc Ton

- 越南語中的迂迴說法** 53

Vietnamese Circumlocutory Expressions

TRAN Quang Huy (陳光輝)

Ảnh hưởng của Nho giáo đến tục thờ cúng tổ tiên của người Việt và những biến đổi hiện nay

TS. NGUYỄN Thị Phương Anh
Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn
Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, Việt Nam

Tóm tắt

Nho giáo là một học thuyết cai trị dựa trên các nguyên tắc đạo đức và quan hệ xã hội, ra đời và tồn tại đến nay đã hơn 2500 năm. Việt Nam là một trong những quốc gia chịu ảnh hưởng Nho giáo khá đậm nét. Tuy nhiên, người Việt đã không rập khuôn theo mẫu hình Trung Hoa mà luôn tìm cách biến đổi cho phù hợp với văn hoá truyền thống và hoàn cảnh của xã hội mình. Trong quá trình tiếp biến đó, tiếp thu Nho giáo để làm phong phú và chuẩn hoá các nghi lễ thờ cúng Tổ tiên của người Việt có thể coi là một hiện tượng khá tiêu biểu và đặc sắc. Cùng với thời gian, mặc dù đã có những biến đổi mạnh mẽ theo xu thế thời đại, nhưng tục thờ cúng tổ tiên của người Việt vẫn còn nhiều dáng vẻ của phong tục truyền thống cũng như những dấu ấn của Nho giáo. Nội dung chính của báo cáo sẽ tập trung làm rõ những vấn đề nêu trên.

Từ khóa: Nho giáo, văn hóa Việt Nam, phong tục tập quán Việt Nam, tín ngưỡng Việt Nam, thờ cúng tổ tiên Việt Nam.

Imprint of Confucianism in ancestor worship of modern Vietnamese people

Dr. NGUYEN Thi Phuong Anh

University of Social Sciences and Humanities,

Vietnam National University, Ha Noi

Abstract

Confucianism is a governing doctrine based on moral principles and social relations. Confucianism has existed for over 2,500 years. Vietnam is one of the several countries strongly influenced by Confucianism. However, the Vietnamese did not conform to the Chinese model, but always sought to adapt Confucianism according to our traditional cultural norms and social circumstances (Alexander Woodside 1971:52). In that process of acculturation, the acquisition of Confucianism to enrich and standardize the ancestral worshiping rituals of the Vietnamese people can be considered a rather typical and unique phenomenon. In the course of time, although there have been drastic changes to these practices, the Vietnamese ancestors' worship still has multiple aspects of traditional customs as well as the imprints of Confucianism. The main content of this report will focus on clarifying the above issues.

Keywords: Confucianism, Vietnamese culture, Vietnamese customs and habits, Vietnamese beliefs, Vietnamese ancestor worship

1. Introduction

For numerous centuries, Confucianism has been a dominant force in the development of Chinese thought. Confucianism is not exclusively restricted to mainland China; it has also been disseminated and has had a significant impact on the Southeast Asian region, including Vietnam. Nevertheless, the reception of Confucianism is significantly influenced by the historical circumstances and cultural characteristics of each country and ethnic group. Vietnam is a nation that is significantly impacted by cultural exchanges of foreign origin; however, it frequently adapts these exchanges to accommodate its own circumstances. One of the distinctive characteristics of Vietnamese culture is the capacity to acculturate. In Vietnam, the introduction of Confucianism has had a significant impact not only on the political scene but also on spiritual life, particularly the long-standing practice of ancestor veneration in the Vietnamese spiritual culture. The objective of this article is to analyze the changes in ancestor veneration in Vietnam during the acculturation process and thereby contribute to the clarification of its characteristics.

2. Confucianism - aspects associated with Filial Piety

Confucianism has significantly impacted the spiritual life of the Vietnamese people, including the practice of ancestor worship, in addition to Buddhism and Taoism. Confucianism appeared during the Spring Autumn and Warring States period, a period in which Chinese society underwent a significant transformation from a slave-owning regime to a feudal regime. It quickly became a prominent ruling theory that was employed by successive Chinese feudal dynasties as a political and fundamental moral tool. The Vietnamese were under the authority of Chinese empires from the 3rd century BC, when they lost their sovereignty. This was a process in which the Vietnamese people consistently rebelled against the Northern domination, while simultaneously undergoing a highly innovative cultural assimilation process.

According to the ethical standard of Three Moral Bonds (三綱), the three

most closely binding relationships are the King-Liege, Father-Son, and Wife-Husband. Confucianism regards the term Filial Piety (孝) as the foundation of morality, exalting the gratitude of parents to their children as the root of morality. In order to become a human, each individual must maintain the term Filial Piety. Confucianism has enriched and deepened the Vietnamese people's belief in ancestor veneration by emphasizing family relationships. The concept of Filial Piety in Confucianism posits that children are considered to have Filial Piety if they not only support their parents while they are alive but also worship them after their passing. This entails the obligation to “respect the funeral of his parents and take care of the ancestor worship”. The Ethic will then be concluded in a favorable way.

While Vietnamese ancestor worship is heavily influenced by Confucianism, it maintains a distinct Vietnamese cultural identity. It exerts an influence on Confucianism by aiding in the adaptation of Confucian norms to local contexts and mitigating the severity of its rigid standards. Vietnamese ancestor worship deviates from the stringent requirements of Confucianism, instead adopting a simple and commonplace approach. The form of worship varies in richness and simplicity, depending on the circumstances of each family. The primary essence of worship is to foster and uphold honesty.

Women in Vietnamese households are afforded greater respect and equality in comparison to women in Chinese Confucian families, based on the distinctive attributes of traditional culture. Thus, within Vietnamese culture and families, women hold a significant and distinct position in terms of the economy, society, and the education of children, including participation in ancestor worship. This distinction stands as a prominent contrast when comparing patriarchal households throughout Chinese society. Under specific circumstances, Vietnamese women possess equal authority to men. In Vietnamese feudal society, there was a law that allowed the eldest daughter to inherit the incense and be responsible for ancestor worship in cases where the family did not have a son.

Typically, the Vietnamese belief system, and specifically the practice



of ancestor worship, places significant value on the feminine aspect, giving more emphasis to the image of the mother compared to the Chinese practice of ancestor worship. In the Chinese Confucianism model, it is expected that children comply with their parents' instructions. The parent-child relationship in the original notion of Confucianism has undergone a transformation from the traditional father-child relationship, son-child relationship, older brother-younger brother relationship, and younger brother-younger brother relationship. In Han Confucianism, the only remaining connection is the hierarchical one between father and child, and elder and younger brothers, where the subordinate party is expected to fully comply with the authority of the superior party. Thus, in the realm of education, the focus is solely on educating the inferior individuals, while neglecting the education of their superior parents. Due to their conviction in the infallibility of parents. Hence, there are instances where the father may lack benevolence, yet the son cannot be devoid of Filial Piety. Similarly, the monarch may display inhumanity, yet the liege cannot be without loyalty. The rationale behind this is that the fundamental objective of the Confucian philosophy is to establish a societal group that consistently adheres to the authority of their superiors.

Ancestor worship is a prominent belief among the Chinese, occupying a significant and fundamental part in the spiritual lives of the majority of the population. The worship rite adheres to the principles of Confucianism. Traditionally, the Chinese typically trace lineage up to nine generations (九族) in the context of marriage and funeral customs. China is home to numerous prominent extended families known as “shìjiā wàngzú (世家望族)” which have a long history of wealth and prestige. These families place great importance on the tradition of “Quán xiōng tì fù (權兄替父)”, where the eldest son assumes the role of the family's leader after his father. The eldest son possesses the prerogative of inheriting property and is likewise bound by the duty to venerate his parents, grandparents, and forebears. Within the feudal Chinese family structure, women are devoid of authority and are required to remain subordinate to the men,

including the father, eldest brother, and spouse. According to Confucianism, women are expected to adhere to the principle of “fū chàng fù suí (夫唱婦隨)” which dictates that wives should consistently obey and conform to their husbands. The husband possesses the authority to make decisions regarding all significant and minor things within the family, particularly in relation to financial matters.

3. Ancestor worship beliefs of Vietnamese people

Ancestor worship is a longstanding social phenomenon that has been present throughout human history, observed in various cultures worldwide, often taking the form of Totem worship. Ancestor worship originated in Vietnam during prehistoric times, but it reached its most prominent manifestation during the Middle Ages. Currently, ancestor worship continues to hold significant significance in the spiritual practices of numerous cultures. Nevertheless, the reception, assessment, and importance of ancestor worship vary significantly throughout different historical periods and countries.

In Vietnam, the notion of ancestors can be examined from various comprehensive and specific viewpoints. In a strict sense, ancestors refer to individuals from the same lineage who have deceased, such as great-great-grandparents, great-grandparents, grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, and mothers. These individuals have played a significant role in the material and spiritual well-being of subsequent generations by giving birth to and nurturing them (Tran Dang Sinh 2022:133-34).

In primitive society, the ancestors of matriarchal tribes are known as Totem ancestors. Totemism, a form of ancestor worship, emerged in the early stages of human civilization. According to X.A.Tocarev, during this period, ancestor worship was in its nascent stage and had not yet become a widespread phenomenon. Totemism represents the initial phase in the progression towards the establishment of ancestor worship. During this era, matriarchal clans frequently engaged in the worship of a Totem emblem, which might represent a revered plant or animal deity from their ancestral lineage (X.A.Tocarev 1994:312-313).



During the era of the patriarchal clan, the ancestors held positions of authority as the influential leaders of the clan. Upon their demise, they were revered as deities who safeguarded the well-being of the clan and its members.

Within a hierarchical society, the practice of venerating one's ancestors was broadened and refined. The notion of ancestors was initially confined to the bloodline axis, determined by familial links, such as family ancestors and clan ancestors. However, along the course of historical progression, the notion of ancestors underwent transformation and advancement. Ancestors encompass not just the lineage passed down through family and clan, but also extend to the broader community of the village, commune, and country. Dang Nghiem Van stated that ancestor worship encompasses not only the veneration of individuals who have nurtured and raised us, but also those who have made significant contributions to the community, village, commune, and country (Dang Nghiem Van 1996:315).

In Vietnam, the practice of ancestor worship serves as a connection between the past, present, and future. It is a tangible expression of the Vietnamese philosophy of life, which emphasizes the need to acknowledge and honor those who came before us. This philosophy is encapsulated in the sayings “Gratitude is the sign of noble souls” and “when drinking water, remember its source”. It is articulated at four primary levels: Firstly, showing reverence towards one’s parents and grandparents. Furthermore, engaging in the veneration of ancestors from the familial bloodline. Furthermore, the villagers have bestowed honor and reverence upon the predecessors of various occupations who have made significant contributions to the discovery of uncharted territories, the establishment of settlements, and the defense of the people against adversaries. These esteemed individuals are revered and worshipped as Thanh Hoang. Furthermore, the act of revering the King as a divine figure of the country commonly involves the veneration of Hung Vuong. In Vietnam, King Hung is revered as the progenitor of the Vietnamese population and the founder of the nation, as well as the ancestor of all 54 ethnic groups. Annually, on the 10th day

of the third lunar month, individuals nationwide observe a day of rest to pay homage to King Hung either in the ancestral grounds of Phu Tho or at their own residences.

3.1. Vietnamese Ancestor worship expresses Filial Piety

According to Confucius, human life is not generated by natural processes, nor is it self-generated, but rather it is brought into being by one's parents. The lives of parents are interconnected with those of grandparents and subsequent generations. Each generation builds upon the achievements and sacrifices of the preceding one; hence, it is incumbent upon the following generation to express gratitude towards their predecessors. Derived from the principle of Filial Piety in Confucianism, the Vietnamese populace has embraced and demonstrated this virtue by means of the ancestral shrine present in every household, clan, and the entire nation. Over numerous generations, the Vietnamese have manifested their respect for their ancestors through a cultural practice known as ancestor worship. In addition to the belief in obeying the king and the authority of the father, which emphasizes the role of men, having a son is regarded as a desirable expression of Filial Piety, as it symbolizes the continuation of the family lineage and the ability to honor and revere ancestors. This has significantly reinforced the conviction in Vietnam's practice of ancestor worship, which is progressively becoming more formalized.

In Vietnamese feudal culture, influenced by Confucianism, it was established that the King had the highest authority, with the responsibility of worshipping heaven and earth, while the people worshipped their ancestors and valued the importance of family. In Vietnamese belief, Heaven is revered as the divine ruler who is responsible for the creation of all things and the determination of human destiny. Every year, the monarch performs a sacred ritual on the central land, which is believed to be the meeting point of heaven and earth. This ritual, symbolized by an invisible thread, serves as a prayer on behalf of the entire nation. The king, acting as the guardian deity of the community and himself,



seeks blessings for a prosperous new year. The king officiates the ceremony, akin to the Immortal before the Thanh Hoang altar and the eldest son before the family altar.

The concept of “Filial Piety” in Confucianism encompasses a wide range of meaningful aspects. First and foremost, it is imperative for children to provide assistance to their parents in their old age and pay homage to them upon their demise. Confucius stated in the Analects that throughout one’s lifetime, it is necessary to take care of one’s physical well-being, and after death, it is imperative to conduct the burial ceremony in accordance with the prescribed rituals.

According to Confucius, a child who practices Filial Piety must show utmost respect, happiness, and concern when supporting their parents. They should also demonstrate great compassion when taking care of their parents’ funeral arrangements and approach the act of worshiping their parents with utmost solemnity.

When comparing the fundamental principles of Confucianism, such as Filial Piety, Rites, Loyalty, and Trust, with countries impacted by Confucianism, it is evident that the Vietnamese people prioritize “Filial Piety” as the most crucial aspect of an individual (Phan Dai Doan 1999:157-158). Filial Piety is considered the foremost among other virtues. Confucius held a great appreciation for the concept of Filial Piety. According to his perspective, in order to cultivate love for all individuals, it is imperative to prioritize affection towards one’s parents and exhibit reverence towards one’s siblings. In order to study moral literature, it is necessary to possess both Filial Piety and virtue (Truong Minh Ky 2009:108). Thus, no aspect of human conduct surpasses the significance of Filial Piety. Filial Piety is an expression of humaneness. Filial Piety is closely linked to loyalty, as loyalty is its fundamental source. In Vietnamese feudal culture, there was a strong emphasis on the concept of “Filial Piety”, which was used as a means to reinforce family bonds and maintain social stability. Filial Piety is regarded as a societal moral norm and a gauge of allegiance to the monarch. Japan places

a high importance on trust, China promotes courtesy, and Korea values loyalty and Filial Piety, which means being loyal to the king and showing respect and obedience to parents.

Within the broader context of Chinese culture and specifically within the teachings of Confucianism, Filial Piety is a significant concept that encompasses numerous profound elements and exerts a broad influence on all aspects of human social existence.

Respect and Filial Piety towards parents, grandparents, and ancestors are deeply ingrained in the consciousness of Vietnamese people, forming the core of the long-standing ancestor worship tradition. It has evolved into a moral principle within conventional households, becoming the prevailing lifestyle of the Vietnamese population. Showing Filial Piety towards parents encompasses not only expressing thanks, but also fulfilling the duties and obligations that come with being a kid. Due to the fact that:

*“Công cha như núi Thái Sơn
Nghĩa mẹ như nước trong nguồn chảy ra
Một lòng thờ mẹ kính cha
Cho tròn chữ hiếu mới là đạo con.”*

(The merit of the father is comparable to Mount Taishan.

*A mother's benevolence is like to the unceasing flow of water from its origin.
Devote oneself completely to revering one's mother and showing deep regard for
one's father. Practicing Filial Piety is the path that a child should follow.)*

The research findings “Traditional values and Vietnamese people today” also validate the deep respect and devotion that Vietnamese individuals exhibit towards their grandparents and parents, known as Filial Piety. The writers have identified 8 key traditions of the Vietnamese people to investigate, which include: patriotism in the face of foreign invaders, enduring cultural heritage, diligent and innovative work, Filial Piety, dedication to learning Filial Piety, reverence for instructors, unity, and benevolence. Each individual is permitted to select three traditions that they deem to be the most significant sources of pride.



Table 1: Traditions of the Vietnamese people

S/N	Traditional	Total (%)	Pupil (%)	Student (%)	Worker (%)	Farmer (%)	Intellectuality (%)
1	Patriotism	74.80	81.85	70.84	72.43	71.91	72.32
2	Culture	41.63	39.46	38.97	44.27	40.73	47.02
3	Labor	24.46	20.49	16.52	29.32	32.30	30.65
4	Filial piety	33.59	41.80	32.26	30.29	31.46	25.30
5	Learning	12.12	15.57	12.65	9.51	5.06	15.18
6	Respect for teachers	14.74	16.98	19.10	8.93	7.87	13.10
7	Unity	25.49	28.57	24.26	23.69	28.09	20.54
8	Humanity	11.69	13.00	11.61	9.32	10.39	11.61

Select three out of the eight common traditions, prioritizing them. Among these traditions, one is the revered practice of “Filial Piety” that many individuals take great pride in.

The percentage of individuals who adhere to the patriotic tradition ranges from 70.84% to 81.85%, with an average of 74.80%.

The long-standing cultural tradition has increased from 38.97% to 47.02%, representing a growth of 41.63%.

The percentage of family Filial Piety tradition ranges from 25.30% to 41.80%, with an average of 33.59%.

The following are the traditions of solidarity (25.49%), labor (24.46%), respecting instructors (14.74%), Filial Piety learning (12.12%), and humanity (11.69%).

Over the course of history, loyalty and Filial Piety have deeply influenced Vietnam and have emerged as fundamental principles within feudal dynasties. Ho Chi Minh attained a heightened level of consciousness regarding loyalty and filial devotion. He eliminated the previous tenets of Confucianism, including the principle of loyalty to the king, and introduced a novel concept: Loyalty now pertains to allegiance to the nation. Within him, the concept of Filial Piety

extends beyond the traditional obligation to honor and care for one's grandparents and parents. It encompasses a broader sense of devotion to the well-being of others, serving and showing respect to all individuals. This includes not only loving and respecting one's own grandparents and parents, but also extending that love and respect to the grandparents and parents of others (Ho Chi Minh, Complete Works 1995:640).

Confucianism was dependent on the concept of Filial Piety to address moral values and demanded that all members of society adhere to the principles of Filial Piety as prescribed by Confucianism. However, throughout time, the concept of Filial Piety in Confucianism became increasingly restricted as a result of the conservative nature of the feudal rule, which enforced highly rigid connections through the "Three Moral Bonds" and "Five Constant Virtues".

3.2. The awareness of recalling the genesis and the ceremonial veneration of ancestors among the Vietnamese population

Vietnamese society has always been organized based on the paradigm of family, kinship, and rural communities. The concept of bloodline has deeply penetrated Vietnamese society from ancient times and remains prominent to this day. Prior to the introduction of the "Three Religions" in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people practiced the tradition of ancestor worship. This practice served as a means of honoring one's lineage, heritage, and forebears.

*"Con người có tổ, có tông
Như cây có cội, như sông có nguồn."
(Human have ancestors and their origins
Like trees have roots, like rivers have sources.)*

The consciousness of recollecting and expressing gratitude for ancestors was established, persisted, and evolved, ultimately becoming a moral code and a way of life... The morality of the Vietnamese people is manifested in their rituals and religious practices.



Within each Vietnamese household, a sacred ancestral shrine is established, serving as a revered area where family members can express their appreciation and pay homage to their deceased ancestors. The altar serves as a place where ancestors frequently “depart” from and “come back” to the family, taking up residence there. Thus, Vietnamese individuals typically establish the ancestral shrine in a highly revered location, such as the center of the house.

Families arrange the ancestral altar in various ways, depending on their spiritual beliefs and economic conditions. Typically, a traditional ancestral altar is divided into two tiers, with a Yī mén curtain made of draped cloth serving as the separator. The inner layer is adorned with the Lǒng kǎn symbol, representing the ancestral position, and serves as a platform for the placement of the betel box, water cup, and fruit plate used for devotion. The outermost layer serves as the altar, where incense pots, lamps, incense tubes, and fruit trays are positioned. Typically, the Yī mén is lowered on regular days. However, during ceremonies, the Yī mén is raised after the descendants have lit incense and offered prayers. According to popular belief, this action enables ancestors to partake in the event undisturbed and in their natural state. Furthermore, the altars belonging to affluent households or individuals with prestigious academic qualifications are adorned with horizontal lacquered boards positioned above them. These boards include parallel sentences on both sides, painted in a vibrant shade of red and embellished with gold. This material conveys the sentiments of respect, appreciation, or pledges made by descendants to their forebears.

Home-based ancestor worship is a year-round practice rooted in the belief that the soul of a deceased ancestor remains present with their descendants. In addition to worshipping during significant events such as burials, death anniversaries, and weddings... Our forefathers are told by their descendants about many events, including festivals such as Tet Nguyen Dan, Thanh Minh, Han Thuc, Doan Ngo, Soc and Vong days according to the lunar cycle, as well as births, sicknesses, exams, passing exams, litigation, and conflict. The descendants cordially ask them to partake in the initial harvest of the season, as a gesture of

gratitude towards their ancestors for their favors and good fortune. Each year, regardless of the descendants' level of busyness, it is obligatory for them to commemorate the death anniversary of the departed. The significance of a death anniversary might vary based on the familial circumstances of the descendants, as well as the individual and familial philosophies of life.

According to Tho Mai family ceremony tradition, the first anniversary of a person's death is referred to as the first death anniversary, called as “Xiǎo qiáng”. The second anniversary is either the final anniversary or hereby referred as “Zhǎng qiáng”. During the third anniversary, the practice of ancestor worship is commonly referred to as the “Jìhuì” (Ho Si Tan, Tho Mai 1972:90-91). Aside from the anniversary, ancestor veneration is also practiced on the first and fifteenth days of the lunar month, as well as during other significant occasions throughout the year, such as the Lunar New Year, Thanh Minh festival, and important family events like weddings, births, house construction, long-distance travel, and examinations. Vietnamese individuals also engage in the act of burning incense as a means of venerating their forebears, expressing gratitude, and seeking their blessings. The items placed on the altar are not subject to rigid regulations, but are determined by personal preference. However, they must be pure and kept separate from other items. Once the dish is prepared, the ancestors are venerated prior to the children and grandchildren being able to consume it.

3.3. The practice of ancestor worship among the Vietnamese people is essential for preserving the cultural atmosphere of the community

According to the Vietnamese perspective, the village is seen as a scaled-down version of the country, while the country is viewed as a larger and more developed version of the village. The relationship between a village and a country is analogous to that of a shadow. If the village ceases to exist, the country will also cease to exist. Conversely, as long as the village remains, the country will continue to exist. Hence, the Vietnamese people's practice of ancestor worship



extends beyond the confines of family, relatives, and village community to encompass the broader scope of the country - the nation. The ancestors, village's tutelary god, and the Hung King are the spiritual pillars that provide support to the family, relatives, village, and the entire Vietnamese nation. The Hung King, revered as the founder of the Vietnamese nation and people, serves as the collective spiritual foundation for the nation. Annually, the Vietnamese populace organizes a festival to venerate the Hung King, the progenitor of the Van Lang country - the initial, rudimentary establishment of the Vietnamese people. The veneration of the Hung Kings holds a significant role in the spiritual and emotional well-being of successive generations of Vietnamese individuals. It is regarded as both a sacred and tangible aspect of their lives, serving as a spiritual pillar that fosters a strong sense of national unity. This unity is instrumental in the collective efforts to construct and safeguard the nation, as encapsulated by Uncle Ho's proclamation: "The Hung Kings have contributed to the nation's establishment, and as their descendants, we must unite in defending our homeland." The annual festival of worshipping the Hung Kings is a significant and representative manifestation of ancestral veneration for the Vietnamese people, as it commemorates the founders of their nation. The veneration of the Hung Kings occurs annually on the 10th day of the 3rd lunar month, serving as a national festival that brings together descendants from around the country to honor their ancestors. On the 10th day, starting in the early morning, a large number of people gathered here to observe the Hung Kings' ceremonial. From esteemed governmental officials to common individuals, all individuals reverently ignited incense as a gesture of appreciation for the immense contributions of the Hung Kings. This is a unique cultural custom of the Vietnamese people that demonstrates profound thanks and recognition for the accomplishments of the Hung Kings and past generations of ancestors, which holds great significance for the Vietnamese community.

4. Transformations in the practice of ancestor worship in contemporary times

Historically, every aspect of national transformation was intricately linked to the destiny of Confucianism. Confucianism exerted a thorough and significant impact on Vietnamese society during both the medieval and modern eras. During the 20th century, as a result of social and cultural transformations, Confucianism, like other countries in East Asia, experienced a decline in its distinctive, traditional, and widespread influence.

Confucianism has exerted a lasting impact on the social fabric of Vietnam. This represents the vibrant and noticeable influence of contemporary Confucianism.

Despite facing challenges, Confucianism was introduced to Vietnam, and the Vietnamese people have mainly upheld their belief in ancestor worship during the tumultuous last century. The practice of Ancestor worship among the Vietnamese population nowadays is no longer strictly categorized as either Confucian or non-Confucian. However, it has been firmly ingrained in Vietnamese culture as one of the most significant activities, rituals, and beliefs of the Vietnamese people. Following the economic reform in the late 20th century, there has been a noticeable improvement in people's lives, with particular reverence given to the tradition of ancestor worship. It has emerged as a focal point for the revitalization of culture. Individuals engage in a competitive pursuit to locate the burial sites of their forebears, gather family histories, embrace their inherited surnames, restore places of worship, and contemporary practices of venerating ancestors sometimes lean towards a secular and practical approach. Ancestors are advocated as a source of assistance and reinforcement amid intense market competitiveness. Ancestor worship is no longer perceived as a morally virtuous action, an expression of Filial Piety, or a means of educating future generations. In the future, the practice of ancestor worship may further evolve in a pragmatic manner. The spiritual activity will establish a strong presence for Confucianism, but without actively emphasizing moral education, ethics, and the importance



of ancestral roots, the practice of ancestor worship will significantly diminish the intrinsic humanistic significance of Confucianism. Without the intervention and supervision of education and public opinion the tendency will become detrimental to health (Nguyen Kim Son 2012:27-28).

Currently in Vietnam, there is a noticeable rise in the number of young people opting for church wedding ceremonies, which can be attributed to the growing impact of the Western lifestyle as a benchmark for civilization. This demonstrates that the cognitive patterns exhibited by contemporary young individuals indicate a departure from the principles and values of Confucianism.

Construction and restoration projects are underway to create and update places of worship for many beliefs and religions. There is a growing number of individuals engaging in religious ceremonies. The belief in ancestor worship likewise aligns with this overall tendency, progressively emphasizing both its scope and intensity; the expression of ancestor worship takes on a more varied and elaborate form. As society progresses, individuals see a rise in income and an improvement in living standards, which fosters a conducive environment for the revival of traditional rituals and beliefs. Furthermore, improved economic circumstances lead descendants to engage in more comprehensive practices such as death anniversaries, festivals, and ancestor worship. Subsequently, the belief in ancestor worship becomes increasingly intertwined and organized, establishing connections between familial bonds.

In contemporary Vietnam, the concept of Filial Piety is categorized into two primary orientations:

First, today, improved economic conditions have led to the construction and renovation of places of worship, beliefs, and religions. This has enabled descendants to more comprehensively plan death anniversaries, holidays, and ancestor worship. Families meticulously arrange death anniversaries, festivals, and longevity celebrations with a profound adherence to ritual. They perform processes using exaggerated measures, intricate rituals, extravagant banquets,... employing more flamboyant methods. Increasingly, elaborate and imposing

graves are being constructed in cemeteries, adorned with granite and marble. Death anniversaries are increasingly being attended by several people, ranging from dozens to even hundreds. On their parents' birthday, children frequently purchase costly red attire for them to wear on this significant occasion. Houses are adorned magnificently to receive guests and participate in the longevity celebration. Engaging in these actions not only expresses appreciation towards parents and ancestors, but also reflects the reputation and image of the present individual (VICAS 2013:725). Affluent households expend substantial amounts of Vietnamese currency, known as dong, on the ritualistic burning of votive paper at death anniversaries and Tet, incorporating a wide array of things. The display of wealth and extravagance in the practice of ancestor worship has resulted in a state of rivalry and competition among families and clans, as they strive to showcase their economic success. Consequently, this has caused divisiveness, jealousy, and envy among them.

Recently, there have been indications of distortion in ancestor worship practices in Vietnam, leading to the loss of the original significance of the moral guideline "When drinking water, remember its source". Presently, a significant number of individuals engage in the ritual of ancestor worship as a customary practice, sometimes with the primary intention of seeking financial gain, social status, or other material benefits by beseeching deities and deceased ancestors. A significant number of individuals have yet to differentiate between authentic cultural values and superstitious, detrimental habits or distortions. Consequently, they are unable to effectively advocate for the promotion of positive cultural and ethical values within the belief system of ancestor worship. The phenomenon of moral degradation persists, exemplified by children displaying apathy towards their living parents but lavishing them with adoration after their demise. Furthermore, children exhibit indifference towards the death anniversaries of their ancestors, grandparents, and parents, neglecting their responsibilities in organizing funerals and burials, and resorting to hiring mourners.



Table 2: Scale of food organization in death anniversary and New Year celebrations of Vietnamese people in Northern Vietnam (VICAS, 2019:136-137)

Scale	Vietnamese people are not religious		Buddhists		Catholic	
	Number of respondent	Ratio (%)	Number of respondent	Ratio (%)	Number of respondent	Ratio (%)
1. Cook simple meals as usual	7	3.2	32	13.6	25	10.7
2. Prepare a feast to invite relatives (at an average level)	204	94.5	174	74.4	192	82.4
3. Prepare a large, elaborate feast to invite many relatives and friends	5	2.3	28	12.0	16	6.9
Total	216	100	234	100	233	100

The data presented in the table above indicates that during death anniversaries and holidays, individuals in Northern Vietnam, irrespective of their religious beliefs or lack thereof, typically arrange dinners. However, the magnitude of these gatherings varies. Currently, the prevailing pattern among Vietnamese individuals in the northern region is to arrange meals at a moderate frequency, primarily inviting relatives and close acquaintances to participate. It is worth noting that 94.5% of Vietnamese people do not adhere to any religious beliefs, while 74.4% follow Buddhism and 82.4% follow Catholicism. The present state of death anniversaries among Vietnamese individuals also indicates the presence of a faction that tends to arrange extravagant feasts and extend invitations to numerous relatives and friends, particularly among both Buddhists and Catholics (2.3% of Vietnamese individuals are non-religious; 12% of Vietnamese individuals adhere to Buddhism, and 6.9% of Vietnamese individuals follow Catholicism).

Second, furthermore, there is another category of individuals who exhibit a tendency towards being economical and uncomplicated to such an extent that they refrain from making any preparations or offerings at their wedding ceremonies, funeral anniversaries, or holidays. They are irreligious and do not

adhere to conventional rites.

Regardless of the occasion, be it death anniversaries, festivals, or longevity celebrations, Vietnamese people adhere to ancient norms, whether they choose to have modest or extravagant meals. Death anniversaries serve as occasions for relatives to congregate. This not only demonstrates the expression of Filial Piety for the deceased but also serves as an opportunity to foster connections among family members, relatives, friends, and neighbors.

Furthermore, during the past decade in Vietnam, cemetery grounds have witnessed the emergence of online death anniversaries. This is an innovative service that is being implemented in certain cemetery parks in certain urban areas of Vietnam. The purpose of the online memorial service is to assist customers in Vietnam and globally who are unable to frequently visit cemetery sites to pay their respects and perform the ritual of burning incense for their deceased loved ones. Customers have the ability to visit the website of the Cemetery Park Management Board in order to enroll for an online memorial service package. In order to conduct the online memorial service, consumers will need to visit the website of the Cemetery Park Management Board. Once there, they should navigate to the “Online memorial service” area and proceed to select the desired service packages and products. Finally, they will be required to register the day and time for the ceremony. The Logistics Service Department of the Cemetery Parks that offer this service will arrange and execute the memorial service on the specified date and time, providing the necessary products and services at the customer’s chosen cemetery.

The cemetery management units frequently provide detailed public pricing information for the offerings of the online service on their website. Specifically, the Management Board of certain cemetery parks facilitates the payment process for consumers by converting the fees for the graves of abroad Vietnamese families into USD. The tray of offerings consists of gold coins, fruits, wine, tobacco, betel and areca nuts, chicken, sticky rice, banh chung, banh troi... The price of the tray ranges from 50 - 70 USD up to around 100 USD, depending on



the customer's preference. Once consumers have selected their desired offerings online and made payment through their bank account, the cemetery staff will transport these items to the family's gravesite in order to carry out the ceremony. Subsequently, the Logistics Service Department will dispatch an email (including video and photographs) to inform the Customer about the outcome of the execution of the death anniversary package that the Customer has enrolled for.

During our interview with a cemetery employee at Ba Vi (Vinh Hang Cemetery Park), we discovered that the primary purpose of the online memorial service is to cater to families residing at a considerable distance from the cemetery and who are unable to visit it on a regular basis due to various constraints. Throughout most months of the year, there is a consistent influx of consumers signing up for this service package. However, during the full moon of the seventh lunar month, there is typically a higher attendance due to the observance of "forgiveness for the dead".

The utilization of online memorial services at cemetery parks indicates a shift in the contemporary funeral culture and memorial practices among the Vietnamese population. Derived from the notion of mortality and the realm beyond, Vietnamese individuals have long placed significant emphasis on commemorative ceremonies for deceased family members. The Vietnamese practice of ancestor worship is a manifestation of their belief in the presence of souls and the strong bond between the living and the dead. Descendants engage in the act of visiting and offering prayers to their ancestors, who in turn provide protection and guidance to future generations. Memorial services serve as a means of communication between the living and the deceased. This offering tray holds great significance as it symbolizes the act of honoring and remembering our ancestors. Regardless of the scale of the occasion, even a simple offering of water, an egg, and an incense stick can demonstrate the virtue of Filial Piety. Nevertheless, in contemporary culture, numerous Vietnamese individuals are unable to partake in ancestral burial rites during death anniversaries and holidays due to prevailing circumstances. Consequently, they have a sense of unease and

perpetual guilt towards their family.

In response to this situation, cemetery parks have introduced an online memorial service package to cater to the requirements of clients whose family members are buried in cemetery parks that fall under their jurisdiction.

Presently, Vietnamese individuals are employed and residing both domestically and internationally. Consequently, during ancestor memorial rituals, a segment of the Vietnamese population who are residing and working in distant locations lack the means to return to their own land in order to honor their relatives. One compelling motivation for individuals to utilize online memorial service packages at Vietnamese cemetery parks, where their loved ones' graves are situated, is the significance of the matter. The online memorial service is a recent cultural phenomenon that has arisen due to the influences of globalization, urbanization, and digital technology. This service is an innovative addition that has emerged as a result of Vietnam's ongoing market economic development. Furthermore, we posit that the emergence of online memorial services signifies a shift in the contemporary Vietnamese understanding of Filial Piety, without diminishing the reverence and respect that Vietnamese people hold for their ancestors. Both online memorial services and direct memorial services demonstrate the reverence of the living towards the deceased.

5. Conclusion

(1) Confucianism exerts a significant impact on East Asian nations, Vietnam included. However, Vietnam's encounter with Chinese civilization occurred within a unique historical framework, distinguishing it from other nations. In essence, the loss of national sovereignty resulted in the Northern occupying administrations employing Confucianism as an ideological instrument to manage and assimilate the Vietnamese population. The prevalent disposition of defiance and antagonism against the principles of Confucianism was readily apparent throughout the era of Northern dominance. During the period after recovering independence, the governments of the Ngo, Dinh, and Tien Le dynasties



continued to enforce measures aimed at reducing Chinese influence, known as “de-Sinicization”. Consequently, the significant impact of Confucianism on Vietnamese culture primarily manifested during a period when the Vietnamese monarchy achieved autonomy from China.

(2) Confucianism, a philosophical system focused on ethical principles for social order, emphasizes the importance of Filial Piety and regulations within family connections. In many ways, this aligns with the Vietnamese belief in ancestor worship. The Vietnamese ancestor worship ceremony incorporates numerous laws derived from Confucianism. Nevertheless, it is evident that these influences have undergone a significant transformation and have been extensively adapted to the Vietnamese context. Generally, the adjustments aim to lighten and decrease strict and intricate regulations.

(3) Since the early 20th century, when the French colonized Vietnam, the influence of Confucianism on social and ethical norms has gradually diminished. Nevertheless, within the belief system of ancestor worship, traditional values appear to be upheld resolutely. This belief may have originated from a long-standing tradition deeply ingrained in the Vietnamese cultural subconscious. Additionally, the integration of Confucianism standards into this belief could be a result of the acculturation process, leading the Vietnamese to implicitly perceive it as their own.

(4) In recent decades, due to globalization and Vietnam’s open-door policy, the belief in ancestor worship has experienced significant transformations, particularly in relation to traditional rites. Even if they are not religious, the practice of husband and wife bowing before the home altar when being married has now incorporated the ritual of going to the Catholic church. This phenomenon may be attributed to a subset of young individuals who perceive European standards as a representation of civilization.

Regardless of whether it has been modified with the adoption of Confucianism or altered through the process of globalization, the belief in ancestor worship remains the fundamental philosophy of life and the moral code

for the Vietnamese people. Descendants express their thanks to their parents, both during their parents' lifetime and after their parents' passing. Furthermore, it symbolizes the enduring obligation of offspring to uphold the customs of their family, clan, nation, and country, thus cultivating a moral legacy for future generations. Ancestor worship is a significant aspect of Vietnamese traditional culture and is seen as a defining characteristic of Vietnamese identity.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Dr. NGUYEN Thi Phuong Anh
(phuonganhvn@gmail.com)

References

- Dang, Nghiem Van. 1996. *On religion and belief in Vietnam today*, p.135. Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House.
- Ho Chi Minh, *Complete Works* 5, 1955. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, p. 640.
- Ho, Si Tan and Tuy Lang. 1972. *Nguyen Van Toan Tho Mai Gia Le Dan Giai*, pp.90-91. Khai Tri Publishing House.
- Nguyen Kim Son. 2012. Confucianism in the future of Vietnamese culture, *Journal VNU*, 259, pp. 27-28.
- Phan, Dai Doan. 1999. *Some issues on Vietnamese Confucianism*, pp.157-158. National Political Publishing House.
- Phan, Huy Le and Vu Minh. 2007, *Traditional values and Vietnamese people today*, State-level Science and Technology Program KX-07, Topic KX-07-02, Volume III, Hanoi, p.6.
- Tran, Dang Sinh. 2002. *Philosophical aspects of the ancestor worship of the Vietnamese in the Northern Delta today*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House.
- Truong, Minh Ky (compiled and translated). 1893. Confucius, Filial Piety Kinh chapter 1 "Khai Tong Minh Nghia", *Au hoc khai mong*, p.108. Saigon: Imprimerie Commerciale Rey, Curiol & Cie.
- Woodside, Alexander. 1971. *Vietnam and the Chinese Model: A Comparative Study of Nguyen and Ch'ing Civil Government in the First Half of the*



Nineteenth Century. Harvard University Press, p.52.

X.A.Tocarev. 1994. *Primitive religious forms and their development*, pp.312-313.
Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House.

VICAS. 2013. *Ancestor worship in contemporary society*, p.74. Hanoi: Culture and Information Publishing House.

VICAS. 2019. *Results of a sociological survey in some localities in the Northern Delta*, Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts, archival documents, p.11.



Diễn luận giải nguồn gốc và sự phát triển của các tín hiệu ngôn ngữ: một góc nhìn từ thuyết tiến hóa

GS. TS. NGUYỄN Đức Tồn

Viện Ngôn ngữ học, Viện Hàn lâm Khoa học Xã hội Việt Nam

Tóm tắt

Nguồn gốc của ngôn ngữ từ lâu là một vấn đề trung tâm và đầy thách thức trong ngôn ngữ học, được lý giải bằng nhiều huyền thoại và giả thuyết khoa học khác nhau. Bài viết này tiếp cận vấn đề theo hướng liên ngành, kết hợp tri thức của sinh học tiến hoá, khảo cổ học, tâm lý học và ngôn ngữ học hiện đại.

Nghiên cứu đề xuất mô hình cho rằng ngôn ngữ khởi nguồn từ tiếng kêu bản năng của người vượn cổ, rồi phát triển qua nhiều thể hệ tín hiệu tiền ngôn ngữ. Quá trình này gắn liền với sự hoàn thiện của bộ máy phát âm và não bộ con người, trong đó phản xạ có điều kiện và chuyển nghĩa dần hình thành nên một hệ thống ngôn ngữ biểu tượng có vốn từ trừu tượng và cấu trúc chức năng phức tạp.

Ngoài ra, bài viết xem xét quá trình tiếp thu ngôn ngữ cá nhân thông qua bắt chước và sửa lỗi, cũng như sự đa dạng hóa ngôn ngữ từ một ngôn ngữ nguyên thủy chung. Nghiên cứu khẳng định mọi ngôn ngữ hiện đại đều có chung một nguồn gốc, truy nguyên về ngôn ngữ của Homo sapiens ở châu Phi.

Bài viết đưa ra kết luận nhấn mạnh rằng ngôn ngữ không chỉ là công cụ giao tiếp mà còn là kết tinh của tiến hóa sinh học, xã hội và nhận thức của loài người, được chứng minh qua các kết quả nghiên cứu liên ngành hiện nay.

Từ khóa: thuyết tiến hoá, nguồn gốc ngôn ngữ, sự tiến hoá của ngôn ngữ, tín hiệu ngôn ngữ, ngôn ngữ biểu tượng

An interpretation of the origin and development of linguistic signs: a perspective from the theory of evolution

Dr. NGUYEN Duc Ton

Institute of Linguistics, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences

Abstract

The origin of language has long been a central and challenging issue in linguistics, addressed through diverse myths and scientific hypotheses. This article adopts an interdisciplinary approach that integrates insights from evolutionary biology, archaeology, psychology, and modern linguistics.

The study proposes a model in which language emerged from the instinctive cries of ancestral primates and evolved through successive generations of proto-linguistic signals. This process was closely linked to the development of the human vocal apparatus and brain, with conditioned reflexes and semantic transfer gradually giving rise to a symbolic language system characterized by abstract vocabulary and functional structures.

Furthermore, the article examines individual language acquisition through imitation and correction, as well as the diversification of languages from a common proto-language. It affirms the monogenesis of all modern languages, tracing them back to a unique proto-language of *Homo sapiens* in Africa.

The conclusion emphasizes that language is not merely a communication tool but a crystallization of human social and cognitive evolution, supported by evidence from contemporary interdisciplinary research.

Keywords: evolutionary theory, origin of language, evolution of language, linguistic signals, symbolic language

1. Introduction

The question of the origin of language has long been one of the central and most challenging issues in linguistics. Alongside metaphysical hypotheses rooted in religious and mythological symbolism, modern research increasingly tends toward interdisciplinary approaches grounded in biological evolution, archaeology, psychology, and linguistic structure. This article adopts such an approach.

Since antiquity, numerous legends have attempted to explain the origin of language. For example, the Bible contains the story of the Tower of Babel. This tale recounts that in the earliest times, humanity spoke a single language. However, when humans attempted to build a tower reaching to Heaven—a plan that displeased God—He punished them by causing them to speak different languages and scattering them across the Earth. According to this legend, God was the creator of multiple languages, which also implies that He created language itself.

Many cultures around the world have formulated similar narratives, all addressing two fundamental questions:

- (1) Where does human language originate?
- (2) Why are there so many different languages? Did these languages descend from a single proto-language or from multiple ancestral languages?

It was not until the Renaissance that the question of language origins began to be examined in a new light. Drawing on interdisciplinary research methods—including linguistics, evolutionary biology, archaeology, and secondary source analysis—this article proposes a new interpretation of the origin and development of linguistic signs from the perspective of evolutionary theory.

2. Summary of Theories on the Origin of Human Language

Before presenting our own explanation, we would like to briefly summarize the main contents of five existing hypotheses that explain the origin of language, as shown in the following summary table:

Table 1. Summary of Five Hypotheses on the Origin of Language

Theory Name	Brief Definition	Main Source	Key ages / Chapters
Bow-wow theory (Onomatopoeic Theory)	Language originated from imitating natural sounds (animal calls, wind, water, etc.).	Müller, F. M. (1862). <i>Lectures on the Science of Language</i> (2nd ed.), Lecture IX.	pp. 287–295 (section on onomatopoeia).
Pooh-pooh theory (Interjectional Theory)	Language began as spontaneous emotional cries (pain, joy, anger, surprise).	Themistocleous, D., & Anastassiou-Hadjicharalambous, X. (2021). <i>Pooh-pooh theory</i> .	pp. 6066–6067 (encyclopedia entry).
Yo-he-ho theory (Labor Shout Theory)	Language developed from rhythmic chants used to coordinate group labor (hauling, lifting, rowing).	Themistocleous, D., & Anastassiou-Hadjicharalambous, X. (2021). <i>Bow-wow / Ding-dong / Yo-he-</i>	Yo-he-ho section, encyclopedia entry.
Gesture Theory	Language began with hand gestures, facial expressions, and body movements, later evolving into speech.	Corballis, M. C. (2002). <i>From Hand to Mouth: The Origins of Language</i> .	Ch. 1–3 (anthropological and evolutionary evidence).
Social Contract Theory	Language formed through a collective agreement to assign sounds to objects/concepts.	Rousseau, J.-J. (1781). <i>Essay on the Origin of Languages</i> .	

The aforementioned hypotheses concerning the origin of human language lack a solid empirical foundation due to the following limitations:

It is undeniable that all languages in the world contain a certain number of onomatopoeic and ideophonic words. For instance, in Vietnamese, meo meo imitates the cry of a cat, hence the name mèo (“cat”); qua qua imitates the call of a crow, hence quạ (“crow”). Other examples include onomatopoeic forms such as bình bịch (thudding sound), leng keng (clinking sound); ideophonic forms such as lom khom (“stooping”), ngoằn ngoèo (“winding”), ép (“press”), úp (“cover”), mỉm (“smile”); as well as interjections like ôi, ái, a ha, chao ôi, and so forth. However, the number of onomatopoeic words, ideophonic words, and interjections in any given language is relatively small, and not all object names are of such types.

The “Labor Shout Theory” merely identifies labor as a factor that prompted humans to produce certain vocal cries, yet it fails to explain how these cries

evolved into the structured and symbolic language of the present day.

The “Social Contract Theory” may account for the origin of certain words—particularly technical terms coined through scholarly conventions, such as naming an invention after its discoverer (e.g., using the name of the scientist Ampère for the unit of electric current intensity). However, before language existed, how could humans have possessed words with which to negotiate such agreements? And who, in the absence of an established language, could have convened all members of a community to undertake such a naming process?

Similarly, the “Gesture Theory” does not clarify how the gestures employed by humans in communication could have transformed into a system of spoken language. Even today, gestures remain in use as a communicative resource, yet they serve merely as auxiliary means accompanying spoken language.

3. A new hypothetical interpretation of the origin and development of human linguistic signs: the theory of instinctive animal cries

With regard to the origin of human language, we would like to propose an alternative, hypothetical explanation as follows:

First, it is important to distinguish between the concepts of “origin” and “condition” for the emergence of a phenomenon. The “origin” refers to the very beginning—the initial entity or process from which something else arises. In contrast, “conditions” are external factors that influence, affect, or create the circumstances necessary for that origin to emerge and develop further.

In his work “The Role of Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man”, Friedrich Engels (1876) pointed out that labor created both humans and the biological prerequisites for the emergence of language. Through labor, humans developed the appropriate anatomical features necessary for producing speech.

These biological prerequisites, however, should be seen as necessary conditions rather than the true origin of language. In addition, a social factor is also required. According to Engels, labor itself produced this social factor: the

communicative need among individuals. Through labor, early humans developed things they needed to communicate, and they possessed the means—developed vocal organs and a growing brain—to fulfill that need.

Thus, labor provided the conditions and foundation for the emergence of human language, but it was not the origin of language itself.

We may illustrate this distinction with a simpler analogy: for a bean seed to sprout and grow into a plant, it needs conditions such as soil, water, temperature, and light. However, the origin of the plant is the seed itself—not the soil, water, or other environmental factors.

So, what actually constitutes the origin of human language? From where did it truly emerge?

We argue that human language originated from instinctive vocal signals—specifically, the kinds of cries used by animals in communication with their own species. More precisely, language originated from the instinctive cries of higher-order animals—ape-like ancestors who eventually evolved into early humans, namely *Homo sapiens*. During the process of labor, the vocal apparatus of these proto-humans gradually developed, and their instinctive cries evolved into organized sound signals. These instinctive vocalizations were tied to unconditioned reflexes and were used to express immediate emotional states, such as fear, hunger, or danger. These cries formed the biological foundation for the later emergence of fully developed linguistic signs.

When early humans had just diverged from their animal ancestors, they could not have had a sufficiently rich vocabulary to reach mutual agreements (as proposed in the Social Contract Theory) to create new words—similar to how modern scientists agree on new terminology (for example mentioned earlier: naming the unit of electric current intensity after the physicist Ampère).

Most likely, early humans, like many animals today, relied on a small repertoire of instinctive cries as primitive signals to communicate in highly necessary life-or-death situations—for instance, to signal the location of food or water, to warn of intruders, or to initiate mating behaviors to ensure reproduction.

The meaning of each initial sound/signal—these instinctive cries—was tightly connected to the specific, perceptible context in which it occurred, and their interpretation depended entirely on the immediate situational cues.

This is analogous to the way an infant-before acquiring language-uses crying as a signal. The cry might indicate hunger, a desire to be held, or discomfort due to a bug bite. The mother interprets the meaning of the cry based on the specific situation. The development of language in children reflects a similar historical trajectory in the evolution of human language (Bloom 2000). Children acquire language gradually: from simple vocalizations and single-word utterances to the use of complex and abstract sentences. This mirrors the stages of signal development described above.

Initially, children go through a stage of using single-word utterances to express a variety of meanings. Those communicating with the child must rely on context to understand what the child is “saying”. This developmental process aligns with the observations of Vietnamese linguist Nguyễn Huy Cẩn, who noted: “Children may use a single word to express multiple intentions. For instance, a child says ‘cá, cá’ (fish) and points at rice, even though there is no fish on the table. The child also uses ‘cá’ to ask for eggs, milk, or even to request being taken out to play.” (Nguyễn Huy Cẩn 2001:96-97)

These early instinctive signals-primitive cries-can be considered a first-generation layer of “linguistic” signs (though the term “language” here should be understood in a proto-linguistic sense, not in the modern linguistic sense). The relationship between the form and meaning of these rudimentary signals was instinctive and likely inherited biologically.

After the instinctive cries of the first generation of signals, human language gradually developed a variety of later signals. In the course of evolution, together with labor—as F. Engels demonstrated—the human articulatory apparatus developed to the point that it could clearly and distinctly produce sounds that had been segmented from an originally “blurry” instinctive cry tied to a vast objective reality (due to shifts, displacements, or phonetic variations during speech). In

parallel with this improvement of the articulatory organ—thanks to the transition from quadrupedal movement to upright bipedal walking, as Engels also pointed out—and with the discovery of fire that allowed humans to eat cooked food, the human brain evolved accordingly. As a result, human intelligence gained the capacity to differentiate and “segment” a large general context into narrower, more specific situations. For example, within the broad situation of “having nourishment”, one could distinguish narrower contexts like “having food” and “having water”. Or the situations of “enemy present” and “friend present” could be separated from a broader context signaled by “a stranger has appeared”.

This process can be seen as analogous to the cognitive separation of general concepts into more specific subtypes (species concepts) in the thinking of modern humans. Each derived sound, segmented from an original signal or cry, became associated with a narrower context derived from the broad context represented by the original sound, through the mechanism of conditioned reflexes as described by I.P. Pavlov (Pavlov 1927). That is, these sounds were repeatedly used in specific situations, thereby establishing a stable reflex.

This mechanism forms the foundation for the second generation of linguistic signals—the first true linguistic units of humans. These second-generation linguistic signals are essentially phonetic variants attached to objective reality in specific communicative contexts. They can be seen as newly formed lexical items/signals created through the phonological variation or modification of sound. This word—formation process is evident not only in Vietnamese—for example, among sets like *lùi-lui*, *há-hé*, *hứng-hóng*, *quanh-quành-vành*, etc—but also in other language types. For instance, phonetic variants of a word have created synonymous words in Russian, as noted by Ju.X. Xtepanov (Xtepanov 1977:42).

Such phonetic variation, leading to similar words, is evidence that phonemic differentiation can be associated with specific situations, thus producing distinct meaningful units. This marks the earliest stage where “the signifier” (sound) became linked to “the signified” (meaning) in linguistic signals.

Later, humans created third-generation linguistic signals by extending the

meanings of first-and second-generation signals through metaphor, metonymy, or semantic broadening/narrowing, to express new entities or phenomena. For example, the word chân (“leg” of a person) was metaphorically extended to refer to the “foot” of a hill or mountain. Or the word làng originally referred to “a rural area typically enclosed with bamboo hedges, having a gate, and inhabited by people with kinship ties engaging in agriculture or handicrafts”, e.g., Sống ở giữa làng (“Living in the middle of the village”); Về đến đầu làng (“Returned to the village entrance”). Later, làng underwent a metonymic shift to refer to the whole population of such an area, e.g., Cả làng đang vào hội (“The whole village is attending the festival”); Cụ đồ sống đức độ nên được làng rất quý mến (“The virtuous Confucian teacher was well-respected by the village”). Similarly, the word bác, originally meaning “older sibling of one’s parents”, was semantically broadened to refer to “anyone of similar age to one’s parental siblings”.

Third-generation signals were also created through other word-formation methods such as compounding and affixation, depending on the typology of the language, to name new entities and phenomena. This resulted in countless new, later-stage lexical signals. For example, in Russian, стол (table) becomes столик (small table) through affixation. In English, book + shelf yields bookshelf, and so on.

Finally, there is a fourth generation of signals—those that were borrowed by a language through contact with speakers of other language communities.

So, what binds together the two aspects of a linguistic signal? Regarding this, while Ju.S. Stepanov mentioned the phenomenon of phonetic variants creating synonymous words, he did not clarify the mechanism by which these phonetic variants are linked to different meanings.

Our opinion is as follows: For first-generation signals—instinctive animal cries—the link between the signifier and the signified, as previously mentioned, is inherently instinctive and hereditary.

For third-generation linguistic signals or words, the connection between the signifier and the signified is quite clear, as we know the reason for the association

based on semantic change rules or inner morphology rules in word formation. For example: Why is it called răng cưa (“sawtooth”)? Because of a metaphorical shift based on the formal similarity between human teeth and the serrated part of a saw. The term anh hùng (“hero”) is based on the symbolic meanings of its components: anh is “king of flowers” and hùng is “king of beasts”; thus, by metaphor, anh hùng came to denote an extraordinary person (Đào Duy Anh reprint 2013:7). Or why is it called sân bay (“airport”)? Because it is a wide open area (“sân”) equipped for planes to land and take off.

For second-generation linguistic signals, each phonetic variant of an original cry became linked to a specific narrow context that was segmented from the broader context expressed by the original cry, through the mechanism of conditioned reflexes. Conditioned reflexes (Russian term: Условный рефлекс) were first systematically studied by Russian scientist I.P. Pavlov and published in 1927 through his dog experiments. A conditioned reflex is a learned response that arises only after training or experience and is not present at birth. Animals (and humans) that don’t undergo such learning won’t develop the reflex. In humans, these reflexes form through lived experiences, learning, and training, allowing adaptation to new environments-but they may fade without regular reinforcement (Pavlov 1927).

What binds the two aspects of these second-generation signals is the motivation for naming. This motivation comes in two types: subjective and objective. Subjective motivation refers to the individual will of the name-giver who arbitrarily selects a sound or word and assigns it as the name of an object. For example, personal names such as Nhân, Dũng, Đạo, Chiến, Hòa, Sâm, Cam, Tí, Ngọ, Mão, Thìn, etc.

Objective motivation refers to some characteristic or distinguishing feature of the named object, already represented by a word in the language, which is selected and integrated into the internal form of the name. For example: names of birds based on their cries such as quạ (crow), chích choè (magpie-robin), chim khách (magpie), chim lợn (barn owl), bồ chao, chim cuốc (watercock); or names

of plants based on physical features of trunk, leaf, bulb, or fruit, such as cây cối xay, cây bình vôi, bầu nậm, loa kèn, cải thìa, etc.

We have shown that each phonetic variant of an original cry becomes associated with a specific narrow context, segmented from a broader one, through conditioned reflexes. This means that some native speaker must have first, based on subjective or objective naming motivations, uttered a variant sound from the original cry, and then associated it with a specific narrower context. Others imitated and repeated this until it became a conditioned reflex accepted and followed by the entire speech community.

This aligns with Ferdinand de Saussure's principle that linguistic creativity first arises in speech: "Nothing enters language without first being tested in speech, and all transformations originate in the realm of the individual." De Saussure gives the example: "Before honor could replace honòs, there must have been a speaker who first coined it, others who imitated and repeated it, until it gained collective acceptance" (Saussure 1973:287).

From these original meaningful linguistic signals-what linguists call content words (including nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, numerals) (Đinh Văn Đức 1986:44), especially nouns and verbs-some underwent grammaticalization. That is, they lost their concrete meaning and were converted into function words, such as conjunctions, prepositions, or particles.

Examples:

(1) In the sentence "Ông ta bị mất của" ("He lost property"), của is a content word (noun). But in "Đây là quyển sách của tôi" ("This is my book"), của is a function word (preposition).

(2) In "Mẹ cho con tiền mua sách" ("Mother gave the child money to buy books"), cho is a verb. In "Tôi đã gửi sách qua bưu điện để chuyển cho người bạn" ("I sent the book by post to deliver to a friend"), cho is a preposition. In "Làm như thế người ta sẽ nói cho đấy!" ("Do that, and people will talk about it!"), cho acts as a particle, etc.

So where do the operations of thought and the grammatical rules of language

originate? According to Soviet psycholinguistics, they originate from practical human actions that are internalized and transformed. There is an isomorphism between external activity (practical action) and internal activity (thinking). This is a result of transferring structural features and logic from external actions to their internal, derivative counterparts-thought (Tarasov & Ufimtseva 1985:19). Language, being a tool of thought, means that thinking is intrinsically tied to grammatical operations that connect lexical units into logical structures such as judgments and reasoning.

The difference between practical activity and thinking lies in the tools used. Practical activity employs material tools (e.g., plow, hoe, knife...), while thinking employs signs-that is, language units that represent these material tools.

Thus, we can confidently state that language was not created by any supernatural force or divine revelation, but by humans themselves. The origin of human language, in general, followed the hypothesis we've described: it evolved from instinctive animal cries. Through the development of early human communities-from primal cries of ape-like ancestors (a rudimentary, primitive "language" or first layer)—true human language gradually emerged. This describes the phylogenetic origin of language. So, what about the ontogenetic origin-how does language develop in an individual?

The development of language in an individual does not exactly replicate the historical development of human language. The first linguistic signals in a child's life are formed by imitating and repeating how adults use language around them, thereby establishing links between sounds and meanings through conditioned reflexes. The learning of additional words later follows the same mechanism. Children absorb vocabulary and usage spontaneously through daily interactions with parents and others and consciously through formal education.

4. Transformations in the practice of ancestor worship in contemporary times

As previously explained, the origin of human language initially arose from

instinctive animal cries. The next question that needs to be addressed is: what causes the existence of numerous different languages?

First, let us temporarily set aside the question of whether, at the very beginning of humanity's existence on Earth, there was one language or multiple languages. Instead, let us assume hypothetically that early humans spoke a single, unified language. Over time, this language developed, spread, and expanded across territories, eventually splitting into multiple languages as we know them today.

The causes of this language divergence are as follows: Initially, a single community of primitive humans was divided into various clans or tribes, who later dispersed and migrated to separate regions. Over time, these groups migrated increasingly far from one another, to the point that they became entirely isolated and disconnected. In addition to their shared base vocabulary, each clan or tribe gradually created new words and expressions specific to their own group. Simultaneously, their pronunciations also began to shift, altering how they spoke. This shift or phonetic drift caused their language to evolve in ways that became incomprehensible to other groups.

Phonetic changes through articulatory shifts led to the creation of phonetic variants of a lexical item. These phonetic variants were eventually assigned different meanings, giving rise to synonymous but distinct words. This phenomenon was discussed earlier.

It was precisely this phonetic transformation of lexemes that resulted in new lexical items, thereby causing the languages of different clans and tribes to become distinct. The original unified language was thus split into multiple languages. For this reason, we fully endorse the view presented in *The Conversation*: what is required to produce different languages are three components-time, distance, and linguistic change. When speakers of the same language part ways and settle in separate regions, over time, their shared language may evolve into two or more distinct languages.

A clear example is Latin: Latin-speaking communities migrated across

Europe, and their language gradually transformed into French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. Thus, a single original Latin language evolved into several modern languages. Similarly, in the 15th century, the Germanic tribes—Angles, Saxons, and Jutes—left their European homeland and invaded England. The Germanic dialects they brought with them later developed into Old English (cited in Phạm Hùng 2020).

If, in the early stages, separated tribal groups continued to live relatively close to one another, their languages remained largely similar, with only minor differences. However, as they moved to increasingly distant regions—eventually losing all contact—their languages diverged significantly, ultimately becoming distinct languages. This situation gave rise to the linguistic-territorial continuity characteristic of language during the primitive communal society. As Ju. X. Xtepanov wrote:

“Languages in primitive communal societies or in tribal communities exhibit typical features such as linguistic and territorial continuity, frequent and profound contact, and when this contact reaches a certain level, it leads to mixture (...).”
(Xtepanov 1977:334)

And:

“In the absence of writing systems or state structures, (...) linguistic blending must have occurred more frequently during the tribal phase than in later periods.” (Stepanov 1977:329)

Alongside the trend of early clan-tribe separation, there was also a parallel trend—especially in later periods—of contact and cohabitation among neighboring tribal groups. As Shtepanov’s aforementioned opinion suggests, this interaction led to borrowing and linguistic blending, which further increased phonetic and lexical differentiation from the original ancestral language.

For example, due to its contact with French (a Romance language), English—a language originally belonging to the Germanic branch—came under significant

French influence starting in the 19th century. This influence was strong and repetitive. The result was linguistic blending: approximately 55% of the English lexicon consists of borrowings from French or Latin via French. French has also had a marked influence on English syntax and morphology. Some phenomena in English can be seen as outcomes of true linguistic hybridization in the fullest sense (Xtepanov 1977:328).

Contact among tribes could also lead to intertribal alliances, either voluntary or through conquest, which further influenced language. As Xtepanov pointed out:

“The result of mutual influence within tribal alliances in known historical periods (e.g., during the Roman conquest of Gaul, Iberia, and Dacia) was that one language was defeated and disappeared, while another triumphed and became the common language of the new, unified ethnic community. However, the victorious language was still influenced by the vanquished one, undergoing some changes in form. (The remnants of the vanquished language lie in the substratum of the victorious one, while the phonological and lexical elements of the victor lie in the superstratum of the newly formed communal language.) Such changes usually occurred in phonology and vocabulary, with grammatical structures being less affected. For instance, Latin from the Roman Empire prevailed across conquered territories, but in each territory, it was slightly modified by the influence of the local languages. This led to the emergence of closely related but distinct Romance languages such as French, Italian, and Romanian. Similar phenomena must have occurred even during the tribal stage of social development.” (Xtepanov 1977:327)

One may also cite the case of Vietnamese and Muong, which split from a common ancestral language. About 1,200 years ago, the Vietnamese and Muong

people shared the same language – proto – Viet-Muong, belonging to the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic language family. According to Nguyễn Văn Tài, it was not until the 7th or 8th century AD that Vietnamese and Muong became two distinct languages (Nguyễn Văn Tài 1978).

Due to a thousand years of Northern (Chinese) domination, Vietnamese came into deep contact with Chinese. Notably, from the 7th–8th centuries onwards, Vietnamese borrowed a large and systematic volume of vocabulary from Tang-dynasty Chinese (Chang'an dialect), adapting it into Vietnamese phonology-thus creating what is now known as Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary. As a result, the substratum of Vietnamese contains vocabulary and grammar derived from the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic family, while the superstratum, according to H. Maspero, consists of up to 60% borrowed Chinese vocabulary from the Sino-Tibetan family (cited in: Nguyễn Văn Tu 1976:270). Since then, Vietnamese and Muong have continued to develop separately, becoming two different languages.

It is precisely these two processes-the formation of new languages through divergence, and the loss of a language due to conquest or assimilation-that explain why the number of ethnic groups and the number of languages in the world do not correspond one-to-one: a single ethnic group may speak multiple languages, while a single language may be spoken by many different ethnic groups.

5. On the Number of Proto-Languages of Present-Day Human Languages at the Dawn of Human Emergence on Earth

The final question to be addressed is whether the various languages spoken across the world today originated from a single proto-language or from multiple proto-languages.

The answer to this question hinges on another fundamental issue: How many centers of early human communities first emerged on Earth? We would like to propose a hypothetical explanation as follows: As stated earlier in this

article, human language evolved from the instinctive calls of ancient apes during their evolutionary transformation into *Homo sapiens*-modern humans. Therefore, if early humans-the ancestors of all present-day humans-first emerged in only a single geographic center, then their set of instinctive calls would likewise have developed into just one single proto-language of humankind. From this original language, all modern languages would have descended through processes of divergence and fragmentation, mirroring the dispersal and separation of those early human communities, as discussed above.

Consider the following evidence:

“According to the ‘Recent African Origin’ theory, *Homo sapiens* (Modern Humans) originated in Africa about 270,000 years ago and migrated northward into Eurasia at different times, traveling through the Levant or along southern routes that may have taken them as far as Asia and even Oceania, reaching Australia by land”. (Cited from Hải Anh 2021)

Another relevant source is from Roberts (2009): *The Incredible Human Journey*, a five-episode scientific documentary totaling 300 minutes, presented by Alice Roberts. The series was first broadcast by the BBC in the UK in May and June 2009. Dr. Alice Roberts is a professor of Public Engagement in Science at the University of Birmingham, UK. According to her, most scientists today agree that humans evolved from apes through three primary species: *Homo habilis* (“Handy Man”), *Homo erectus* (“Upright Man”), and *Homo sapiens* (“Wise Man” or Modern Human).

Between 3.0 and 1.5 million years ago, when early hominins began making tools, they were classified as *Homo habilis*-not necessarily because they were skillful, but simply because they made tools, distinguishing them from their ape-like ancestors. These tools were used for cracking nuts, cutting meat, and other basic tasks.

Around 1.8 million years ago, humans evolved further and began using fire

and crafting more complex cutting tools, thus becoming *Homo erectus*. This species originated in Africa (and possibly Southeast Asia) and spread as far as England, Georgia, India, Sri Lanka, China, and Java. Several subgroups, such as *Homo heidelbergensis*, the Java Man, and the Peking Man, are now extinct (emphasis added).

Approximately 200,000 years ago, *Homo sapiens* first appeared in East Africa. They resembled modern humans and wore clothing. According to Alice Roberts, by 160,000 years ago, *Homo sapiens* had already spread widely across Africa. Genetics, she explained, shows that all non-African people today may be descended from a single small group that left Africa tens of thousands of years ago.

About 125,000 years ago, the Sahara became greener, allowing modern humans to cross the Sinai mountains into the Arabian Peninsula. In 1930, a burial site dated to 100,000 years ago was discovered in Skhul Cave, Israel. This group seems to have gone extinct (emphasis added), possibly due to a cold spell in the Middle East.

Around 90,000 years ago, the Arabian Peninsula and Africa reverted to desert. Sea levels were 120 meters lower than they are today, and the Red Sea—now about 30 km wide—was only about 11 km across. A few hundred individuals, possibly a single tribe, managed to cross.

Between 70,000 and 12,000 years ago, modern humans traveled along the coasts of Arabia into Mesopotamia and dispersed around the world. All peoples of the world today appear to descend from a group of roughly 100 individuals who left East Africa about 70,000 years ago via the Horn of Africa (emphasis added).

Alice Roberts also cites an alternative hypothesis to the “Out of Africa” model. This is the “Multiregional Origin of Modern Humans” theory, which has been supported by some scientists in China. According to this theory, the Chinese people are descended from local *Homo erectus*, not from African *Homo sapiens* as with other populations.

Professor Wu Xin Zhi points out that the remains found in Pigeon Cave (belonging to Peking Man and classified as *Homo erectus*) date back 500,000-200,000 years. These hominins had no descendants and are now extinct (emphasis added). The Upper Cave Man, dated to 30,000 years ago, was *Homo sapiens* who migrated from Africa (emphasis added).

Finally, Roberts interviewed Chinese geneticist Jin Li (金力), of Fudan University, Shanghai. Jin was China's lead scientist in the Human Genome Project. He collected DNA samples from over 12,000 individuals across 160 ethnic groups throughout China. When compared with a Y-chromosome marker that appeared only 80,000 years ago in Africa, the results contradicted the earlier hypothesis that modern Chinese evolved from local *Homo erectus*. The conclusion was that modern Chinese people, like the rest of the world's populations, also originated from African *Homo sapiens* (emphasis added) (Roberts 2009).

From this, we can conclude that both *Homo habilis* and *Homo erectus* are extinct species, leaving only *Homo sapiens* as the sole surviving lineage of humanity today. Thus, it is plausible to hypothesize that all present-day languages ultimately originated from a single proto-language spoken by early *Homo sapiens* in Africa, which later diversified and fragmented.

Comparative-historical linguistics, by comparing and reconstructing equivalent phenomena across different languages, has classified the world's languages into various language families and subgroups. This classification demonstrates the kinship among all language families, further supporting the above hypothesis.

Additional evidence also reveals continuity in territorial distribution and linguistic development, echoing Ju.X. Stepanov's earlier argument.

“According to most estimates, Africa is home to over a thousand languages. There are four main language families native to Africa:

(1) The Afroasiatic language family includes about 240 languages and 285 million speakers, spread across North Africa, East Africa, the Sahel, and Southwest Asia.

(2) The Nilo-Saharan family includes over 100 languages spoken by around 30 million people. These are primarily spoken in Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, and northern Tanzania.

(3) The Niger-Congo family covers most of sub-Saharan Africa and is likely the world's largest language family in terms of number of languages. A significant subgroup is the Bantu languages, widely spoken across sub-Saharan Africa.

(4) The Khoisan family comprises over 50 languages, spoken by about 120,000 people in southern Africa. Many of these languages are endangered. The Khoi and San peoples are considered the region's original inhabitants.” (Source: Khoa học TV 2024)

As *Homo sapiens* migrated from Africa to Europe and Asia, new language families emerged, which then further divided into smaller subfamilies.

Ju.S. Stepanov discusses the “Nostratic Hypothesis” in relation to this point:

“According to the Nostratic hypothesis, there once existed a single Nostratic language family across Eurasia. As it broke up, it divided into two branches—one displaying the phenomenon of ablaut, and the other without it. Ablaut refers to vowel alternation in root morphemes to express grammatical or derivational meaning, as seen in English: foot-feet, goose-geese, breed-bred, etc.; and in German: nehmen (to take)-nahm (took), fahren (to drive)-fuhr (drove).

The first branch eventually gave rise to the Indo-European, Semitic (including Arabic, Classical Hebrew, and others),

and Kartvelian (Georgian, Svan, Mingrelian, Laz) language families. The second branch led to the formation of the Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Tungusic-Manchu, and Mongolic families. This hypothesis was developed through extensive comparison and attempted reconstruction of a massive number of root morphemes across these languages.” (Xtepanov 1977:334)

6. Conclusion

Based on an interdisciplinary foundation encompassing linguistics, evolutionary biology, and archaeology, the following conclusions can be drawn:

(1) Human language originated from the instinctive cries of ancestral apes. For human language to emerge, there must first have been a foundational nucleus—namely, the instinctive animal vocalizations of apes, which evolved into *Homo sapiens*.

(2) Post-*proto* linguistic signals were formed through processes of conditioned reflex, semantic transfer, and lexical borrowing. In order for these animal cries to evolve into human language, two additional essential factors were required: (i) the development of a fully functional vocal apparatus, and (ii) the evolution of the human brain, enabling advanced cognition and the capacity to segment objective reality. The earliest instinctive cries, when altered or shifted through phonetic variation, were accompanied by the segmentation of corresponding fragments of reality. Each phonetic variant, shaped by articulatory shifts from the original animal cries, became associated with a specific context in segmented reality. Through conditioned reflex mechanisms, these associations gave rise to new linguistic signals. Subsequently, humans employed mechanisms of semantic extension, metaphorical and metonymic transfer, generalization and narrowing of meaning to express new entities and phenomena using pre-existing signals. Furthermore, morphological strategies such as compounding and affixation—depending on the typological nature of each language—gave rise to countless other late-stage lexical signals. Eventually, contact between human

communities led to interlingual lexical borrowing. Signals bearing concrete meanings could become abstracted or grammaticalized, thereby forming grammatical markers in various languages. Naturally, the transformation and development of language from instinctive cries to fully fledged human language was a gradual and protracted process.

(3) The above pertains to the phylogenetic origin of language. Ontogenetically, language development in individuals follows a different path. The earliest linguistic signals in a child are formed through repeated imitation of linguistic usage by parents and surrounding adults. Through this, the child establishes associations between sounds and meanings of linguistic signals via conditioned reflex mechanisms. Initially, the child may use linguistic signals incorrectly, but through adult correction, the child gradually acquires proper usage.

(4) Since modern science has confirmed that all present-day humans are descendants of a single species-Homo sapiens, which originated in Africa-all current languages in the world ultimately stem from a single proto-language that first appeared with the emergence of early humans. This proto-language later diverged and evolved as human communities of Homo sapiens dispersed from Africa across the continents.

This article proposes a model of a generation of primary signals (instinctive cries) as the origin from which three subsequent generations of post-*proto*-linguistic signals emerged and evolved, explaining the process of the origin and development of human language. From instinctive cries to modern symbolic language, from context-bound utterances to a system of vocabulary rich in abstraction, from content words to function words and borrowed vocabulary-all reflect the dialectical development of cognition, human activity, and social communication. From this perspective, language is not merely a tool of communication, but a crystallization of human evolutionary history, both in its social breadth and cognitive depth.

Today, evidence from archaeology, biology, genetics, psychology, and

comparative linguistics all indicate that human language is the result of a long evolutionary process, shaped by a complex interplay of biological and sociocultural factors. Continued interdisciplinary research will further illuminate the origins and development of language, contributing to a deeper understanding of the unique nature of language and its vital role in the advancement of humankind.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Dr. NGUYEN Duc Ton
(ductontbt@gmail.com)

References

- Bloom, P. 2000. *How children learn the meanings of words*. MIT Press.
- Corballis, M. C. 2002. *From hand to mouth: The origins of language*. Princeton University Press.
- Đào, Duy Anh. 2013. *Hán Việt từ điển giản yếu (Tái bản)*. Nxb Văn hóa-Thông tin.
- Đinh, Văn Đức. 1986. *Ngữ pháp tiếng Việt (Từ loại)*. Nxb Đại học và Trung học chuyên nghiệp.
- Engels, F. 1876. *Anteil der Arbeit an der Menschwerdung des Affen*. In F. Englen (1971), *Biện chứng của tự nhiên*. Nxb Sự thật.
- Hải Anh. 2014, 16 tháng 6. Di chỉ khảo cổ soi sáng chương quan trọng về nguồn gốc loài người. *Báo Lao động điện tử*. <https://laodong.vn/the-gioi/di-chi-khao-co-soi-sang-chuong-quan-trong-ve-nguon-goc-loai-nguoi>
- Müller, F. Max. 1864. *Lectures on the science of language* (Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution 1861. Longmans / Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Nguồn Khoa học TV. 2024. *Tìm hiểu về châu Phi*. Truy cập ngày 14 tháng 10, 2024. <https://khoaahoc.tv/tim-hieu-ve-chau-phi-122667#:~:text=T%C3%ACm%20hi%E1%BB%83u%20>

v%E1%BB%81%20ch%C3%A2u%20Phi.

Nguyễn, Đức Tồn. 1999. Suy nghĩ qua một hiện tượng chuyển âm cấu tạo từ trong tiếng Việt: “lui” và “lùi”. *Tạp chí Ngôn ngữ*.

Nguyễn, Huy Cận. 2001. *Từ hoạt động đến ngôn ngữ trẻ em*. Nxb Đại học Quốc gia.

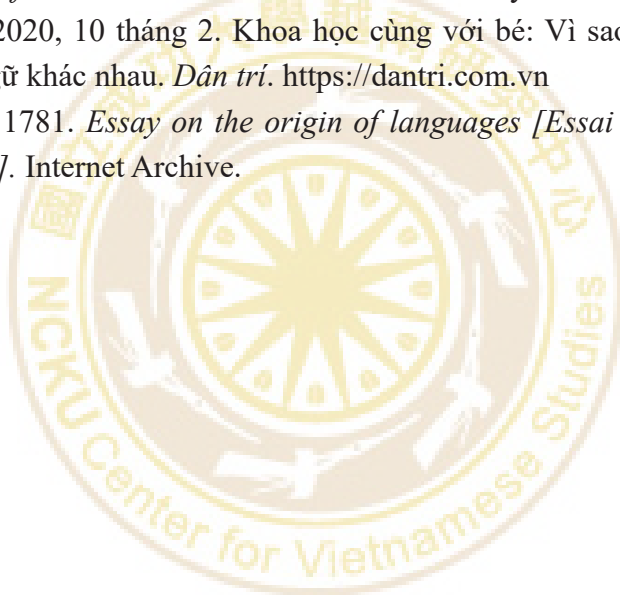
Nguyễn, Văn Tài. 1978. Góp thêm tài liệu cho việc đoán định thời điểm chia tách của hai ngôn ngữ Việt và Mường. *Tạp chí Dân tộc học*.

Nguyễn, Văn Tu. 1976. *Từ và vốn từ tiếng Việt hiện đại*. Nxb Đại học và Trung học chuyên nghiệp.

Pavlov, I. P. 1927. *Conditioned reflexes: An investigation of the physiological activity of the cerebral cortex*. Oxford University Press.

Phạm Hương. 2020, 10 tháng 2. Khoa học cùng với bé: Vì sao các nước lại có ngôn ngữ khác nhau. *Dân trí*. <https://dantri.com.vn>

Rousseau, J.-J. 1781. *Essay on the origin of languages [Essai sur l'origine des langues]*. Internet Archive.



Vietnamese Circumlocutory Expressions

TRAN Quang Huy (陳光輝)

School of Humanities, Xiamen University, China

Abstract

Circumlocution is a culturally rich mode of expression in the Vietnamese language, widely employed in daily communication. It reflects the Vietnamese cultural tendency toward tactfulness, subtlety, and the pursuit of interpersonal harmony in language use. This study adopts Grice's Cooperative Principle as a theoretical foundation, combined with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, to systematically explore the definition, features, and discourse-generating mechanisms of circumlocution in Vietnamese from three perspectives: pragmatic pre-suppositions, cultural motivations, and pragmatic mechanisms. Findings indicate that circumlocutory expressions in Vietnamese often achieve both indirectness and politeness by intentionally violating the four maxims of the Cooperative Principle (quantity, quality, relation, and manner), thereby forming a variety of culturally embedded pragmatic strategies. The paper concludes that circumlocution in Vietnamese is not merely a linguistic phenomenon, but a linguistic embodiment of traditional Vietnamese values such as emotional primacy, respect for decorum, face-saving, and harmony-seeking, offering important insights for both pragmatic studies and intercultural communication research.

Keywords: Vietnamese language, circumlocution, pragmatic strategy, cooperative principle, politeness principle, cultural factors

越南語中的迂迴說法

陳光輝 (TRẦN Quang Huy)

廈門大學，中國

摘要

迂迴說法是越南語中一種極具文化色彩的表達方式，廣泛存在於日常交際中。它反映了越南人在語言使用中追求委婉、含蓄與人際和諧的文化傾向。本文以Grice的合作原則為理論基礎，結合Brown和Levinson的禮貌策略理論，從語用前提、文化動因和語用機制三個方面，系統性地探討了越南語迂迴說法的定義、特徵及其話語生成機制。研究結果顯示，越南語中的迂迴表達常透過故意違反合作原則中的四大準則（數量、品質、關係與方式）來實現間接表達與禮貌維繫的雙重目的，形成多種具有文化意味的表達策略。本文最後指出，越南語中的迂迴說法不僅是一種語言現象，更是越南傳統文化中「重情尚禮」、「顧全面子」和「以和為貴」等價值觀的語言體現，具有重要的語用學與跨文化交際研究價值。

關鍵字：越南語、迂迴說法、語用策略、合作原則、禮貌原則、文化因素

1. 前言

在日常交際中，語言不僅是傳達思想的工具，更是展現一個民族世界觀、人生觀、價值觀和文化認同的重要載體。不同語言群體在長期互動過程中逐漸形成了各自特有的言語行為模式和表達方式。在越南語中，尤為突出的一個表達現象便是「迂迴說法」（Lối nói vòng）是一種富有濃厚文化色彩的表達方式，廣泛存在於日常交際之中。作為一種重要的交際手段，這一現象在語言形式、語用機制及文化動因等方面，均深刻展現了越南文化的獨特特徵，因此具有重要的系統化研究價值。

在實際交際中，「迂迴說法」具有高度的多樣性與複雜性，受多種因素影響，如語境、交際物件、社會關係親疏、社會地位等。越南人通常會靈活選擇是否採用迂迴的表達方式，以既確保資訊傳達的有效性，又維持人際關係的和諧與社會秩序的穩定。特別是在越南民間文化中，「迂迴說法」擁有許多生動而富有形象的俗稱，如「nói vòng vo tam quốc」（拐彎抹角，像在講三國演義）、「nói bên nọ xọ bên kia」（說東道西）、「nói mé」（旁敲側擊）、「nói móc」（話中帶刺）、「nói xia」（冷嘲熱諷）等。這些俗稱不僅展現了越南語的語言創造力，也深刻反映了越南民族在言語行為中所強調的靈活性、含蓄性與言語策略性。然而，與此豐富的語言實踐相對應的學術研究卻相對薄弱，尤其是在語用學層面，至今尚缺乏對「迂迴說法」的系統梳理與理論建構，致使該現象常與「委婉語」、「修辭手法」等相關概念相混淆。在許多東亞文化中，交際過程中的委婉、間接表達方式被廣泛推崇。人們往往會依據交際物件與情境靈活調整言語表達，以便既達成資訊傳遞，又維護人際和諧。在越南語中，諸如「Uốn lưỡi bảy lần trước khi nói」（說話前要反復斟酌）這樣的俗語，強調了言語需謹慎，應避免冒犯他人。這種語言觀念表現了越南人重視「體面」、「周全」的交際理念，即透過含蓄、婉轉的方式減少人際衝突。

從表達方式上看，語言大致可以分為直接表達與間接表達兩類。其中，「迂迴說法」是一種典型的間接表達形式，指說話者不直接陳述「此事」，而是借助引導、暗示、比喻、曲折等手段，使聽話者透過推理領悟「彼事」（即說話者的真實意圖）。儘管這種表達方式往往較為冗長、複雜，理解難度較高，但在越南語交際中卻極為常見，並在許多語境中被視為更得體、更有效的



表達方式。正如語言學家Hoàng Tuệ (1996) 所言：「在人生中，只有第二種說法」(1996:322)，這一觀點從側面印證了「迂迴說法」不僅是一種語言策略，更是越南文化智慧的展現。

從語用學角度來看，「迂迴說法」表現了說話者有意識地選擇間接表達，以避免衝突、維護面子並增強交際禮貌性。Brown與Levinson (1987) 在其禮貌理論中指出，大多數言語行為都可能構成面子威脅 (FTA)。為緩解這種威脅，說話者往往會採用「非公開或間接實施面子威脅行為」的禮貌策略 (off record)，可見這種間接表達正是關鍵策略之一。在越南語中，如「說繞圈子」、「話裡帶話」、「拐彎抹角」等現象，正是這一策略在現實語言使用中的具體表現。不過，Brown與Levinson並未深入探討各具體語言中間接表達的運作機制與文化基礎。對此，中國學者何兆熊 (1999) 進一步指出，語言的間接性主要基於兩種動因：一是出於禮貌的需要，二是借助修辭手段構建語篇邏輯。這一觀點為我們從功能與結構雙重視角深入分析越南語中的「迂迴說法」提供了重要的理論支撐。

本文的研究方向如下：(1) 闡釋現代越南語中「迂迴說法」的概念、表現形式及使用範圍。(2) 迂迴說法是一種複雜的語言現象，置於動態語境中，受多種因素的影響。因此，本研究基於Brown和Levinson所提出的最間接又有效的禮貌交際策略，結合Grice的會話含義理論以及語境理論，進行更為全面和科學的分析。(3) 探討越南人在多種交際情境中傾向採用「迂迴說法」的文化動因，揭示其與面子觀念、禮貌原則、社會秩序等文化因素的深層關聯。透過上述分析，本文旨在從語用學與文化學交叉視角出發，系統探討越南語中的「迂迴說法」，以期豐富語言語用研究的理論視野，並為越南語教學與跨文化交際研究提供理論依據與實踐範式。

2. 迂迴說法的前提因素以及越南語迂迴說法的界定

2.1. 迂迴說法的前提因素

在越南語的實際交際中，迂迴說法的使用並非偶然產生，而是說話者在綜合權衡多種因素之後所作出的一種策略性選擇。這些因素共同構成了使用迂迴表達的四項語用前提，包括：交際情境、交際參與者、文化規範與禮貌原則，

以及交際目的。正是在這些要素的綜合作用下，說話者才決定是否採用迂迴方式來表達自己的交際意圖。以下將依次對這四項前提進行分析。

(1) 語境與交際情境：語境是決定語言選擇的重要前提。在越南語中，當交際情境帶有敏感性質（如批評、拒絕、勸誡等），或發生在具有正式性和等級分明的場合（如職場、長輩面前、公共場所等），說話者通常傾向於採用「nói vòng vo」（繞彎說）、「nói bóng gió」（暗示）等間接表達方式，以降低對聽話者面子的威脅，維護關係的和諧。除了話語的內容和性質外，交際的時間與空間因素同樣是不可忽視的語用要素。綜上所述，交際情境不僅包括交流內容與社會關係，還包括具體的時間與空間環境，這些因素共同構成一個關鍵的語用參照系統，直接影響說話者是否選擇使用迂迴表達方式。

(2) 交際參與者：說話者與聽話者之間的社會角色關係在語言選擇中起著決定性作用。在越南文化中，交際者之間的社會地位的高低差異、親疏遠近的關係程度以及年齡和輩分上的上下關係都是影響語言選擇的重要因素。當面對地位較高者或不太熟悉的人時，說話者往往更傾向於使用含蓄、委婉的表達方式，以示尊重、避免衝突。此外，說話者通常會在交際前預設一個「hình ảnh tinh thần」—心靈圖像（mental representation）（Đỗ Hữu Châu 2012:16），即對交際物件的知識背景、情緒狀態和接受能力等進行判斷，並據此制定出符合交際情境與物件的表達策略。迂迴說法正是這種語用策略能力的集中表現，它不僅展現了說話者對交際物件的體察能力，也反映了其策略性表達的水準。

(3) 社會文化規範與禮貌原則：禮貌是一種社會文化現象，表現了個體在集體價值體系下的行為選擇。正如何兆熊所言，禮貌具有道德屬性，是人們為維繫人際和諧所作的努力，其核心關涉「面子」—即個體在社會中獲得認同與尊重的願望。根據Brown和Levinson的理論，面子包括正面面子（渴望被喜愛、認同）與負面面子（希望不受干擾）。為了維護面子，說話者常採用各種禮貌策略，其中「迂迴表達」作為一種間接表達方式，被視為最具禮貌色彩的手段之一，其使用受權力關係、社會距離與面子威脅程度等因素制約。在越南這樣一個等級觀念濃厚的社會中，這些規範對言語選擇形成了潛在約束，使「迂迴說法」成為一種有效而得體的交際策略，兼顧表達效果與人際和諧，展現出說話者的文化敏感性與交往能力。

(4) 交際目的：每一個言語行為都指向一個特定的目的（言外之意），



反映說話者的深層交際意圖。根據Searle的分類，言語行為可分為五類，歸納為三種基本目的：一是認知—說服目的，透過斷言類和宣告類實現，旨在改變聽者的理解；二是情感表達目的，透過表達類實現，影響聽者的情緒狀態；三是行動驅使目的，透過指令類、承諾類和宣告類實現，促使聽者採取某種行為。在這三種目的中，情感表達與行動驅使是促使說話者使用「迂迴說法」的關鍵。表達負面情緒時，為避免傷害聽者或令其丟面子，說話者往往採用含蓄、委婉的方式以維護交際的和諧；而在提出請求、建議、提醒等指令性言語行為時，為減輕聽者心理壓力並避免對抗，也常借助比喻、暗示或迂迴說法來試探對方態度。相對而言，宣告類言語行為如法律裁決、行政通告、儀式性宣佈等，因其強調語言的準確性與權威性，通常不採用迂迴表達，以免削弱資訊的效力與公信力。

總之，在越南語的實際交際中，「迂迴說法」主要出現在說話者欲間接表達情感或引導行為反應的情境中。這種表達方式不僅有助於達成交際目的，更重要的是，它能夠有效維護交際雙方的「面子」，保持社會關係的和諧穩定。根據以上分析可以看出，越南語中的「迂迴說法」之所以廣泛存在，並非源於偶然的語言習慣，而是說話者在權衡多種因素之後所做出的策略性選擇。具體而言，這一表達方式的使用，是對交際情境、參與交際者、文化規範與禮貌原則、以及交際目的這四項語用前提的綜合考量。這四個前提相互交織、彼此作用，共同構成了語言策略選擇的方向。深入理解這些前提，有助於我們揭示越南語中「迂迴說法」的生成機制、語用功能與文化意蘊，同時也為進一步分析其語言標記及相關表達策略的類型提供了堅實的理論基礎。

2.2 越南語迂迴說法的界定

如同在引言中所指出的，在「迂迴說法」成為一個科學名稱、一個術語之前，它早已在民間使用，並以成語、俗語的形式獲得命名，一些詞典中已有記錄。例如，《越南成語詞典》（Nguyễn Như Ý 1993:494-501）記錄了「迂迴說法」的五種其他說法，即：（1）「nói bóng nói gió」（影射、拐彎抹角）；（2）「nói chạm nọc」（觸及痛處）；（3）「nói gần nói xa」（旁敲側擊）；（4）「nói như móc họng」（話裡帶刺）；（5）「nói quanh nói co」（含糊其詞）。這些由民間賦予的豐富多樣的說法，恰恰反映出「迂迴說法」本身的多樣性、

細膩性和複雜性。詞典尚未全面收錄這些以成語、俗語形式存在的稱謂，或許也從一個側面反映出這一現象尚未被學界明確界定其屬性。衆所周知，成語和俗語是每個民族語言文化中極其重要的組成部分，通常反映出該民族的文化特點、觀念體系、價值追求和生活經驗。因此，「迂迴說法」可以視為越南人在交際和處世方式中一種具體而生動的文化表現。爲了形成對「迂迴說法」的整體理解，我們必須追溯其源頭，那就是文化與人本身——作爲語言創造的主體。越南是一個典型的稻作農業國家，其人民的交際方式偏好委婉、含蓄，強調和諧與人情。

在《探索越南文化本色》一書中，Trần Ngọc Thêm（陳玉添 1996）對越南人的交際方式作出如下描述：越南人偏愛委婉的交際方式，形成了「拐彎抹角地說話」的習慣，從不開門見山、直截了當地表達問題，如同西方人那樣。按照越南傳統，交際開場應從寒暄問候、問地問莊開始，先談家宅田地，方能漸入正題。爲了營造氣氛、順勢而談，過去越南人有「檳榔開口」的傳統，即談話開端必須先敬一口檳榔。隨著時代變遷，檳榔的開場功能逐漸由一杯茶、一根菸或一杯啤酒所取代。這種講究委婉含蓄的交際方式，源自越南人重感情的生活方式和重視人際關係的思維方式（辯證思維），進而養成了越南人在語言表達時深思熟慮、謹言慎語的交際習慣（1996:312-313）。由此可見，從文化視角來看，Trần Ngọc Thêm 所謂的「拐彎抹角的交際方式」與本論文所探討的「迂迴說法」是高度契合的。

「迂迴說法」作爲一個語言學術語應如何理解？首先，我們來分析「迂迴說法」這術語是由「迂迴」和「說法」兩個詞語組成的。「迂迴」在《現代漢語詞典》中被解釋爲形容詞，意思是：「迴旋、環繞：迂迴曲折」¹。根據百度百科的解釋，「迂迴」指「迴旋、環繞」²；在思想或表達方式上繞圈子的性質或狀態；也指道路非常曲折或一種自然景象；常用作比喻作戰時的戰術。而「說法」在《現代漢語詞典》中解釋爲「措辭」³，即在口頭或書面表達中選擇和組織詞語的方式。它表明了如何根據語境、物件和目的來使用語言。因此，「說法」在這裡可以理解爲「語言的使用和選擇」，即「交際策略」。從

¹ 《現代漢語詞典》，商務印書館2019年版，第1594頁。

² <https://baike.baidu.com/item/迂迴/2361921#reference-1>.

³ 《現代漢語詞典》，商務印書館2019年版，第1232頁。



語用學視角出發，所謂「迂迴說法」即是一種說話者有意識地避開直接表達、透過鋪墊、引導、暗示等方式使聽話者推導出其真正意圖的交際行為。它往往發生在需要避免冒犯、維護面子的語境中，是一種具有明確目的的禮貌交際策略。這種表達方式本質上表現了說話者對交際效果的調控能力與對文化規範的順應能力。

在越南已有的語言學著作中，我們僅在《語言學術語解釋詞典》中見到「Cách nói vòng」這一術語，其定義為：「表達方式不直接說明主要意思，而是透過其他內容間接表達」（Nguyễn Như Ý 1996:28）。該定義呈現出兩個含義層次：其一，從「表達方式不直接說明主要意思」到「透過其他內容間接表達」，語義之間並不清晰，存在跳躍；其二，該定義未能有效區分「迂迴說法」與「言外之意」這兩個概念。若與「言外之意」的定義相比較，會發現二者具有兩個相同點：第一，二者都不直接說出想表達的意思；第二，二者都迴避語言責任，即說話者對話語內容不承擔明確責任，聽者能否理解也不受說話者控制。這暴露出該術語的內涵界定存在一定問題。最近，在《語言學概念詞典》中，Nguyễn Thiện Giáp（2016）提到「nói vòng」，並解釋為「使用更多的詞來替代較少的詞。在說話時，詞語被替換為更豐富多彩的表達，目的是美化語言、突出或解釋內容」（2016:378）因此，若根據這樣的解釋，“nói vòng”卻與陳望道（1932）在《修辭學發凡》中所提到的修辭手法「折繞」頗為相似⁴。它屬於辭格範疇，其本質是語言藝術的追求，具有較強的風格化和文本化屬性。而「迂迴說法」屬於語用學範疇，關注的是語言行為背後的交際意圖與人際策略。那麼「nói vòng」被視為一種修辭手法，所以對於我們所關注的物件並沒有帶來新的資訊。

如上所述，迂迴說法的前提因素包括：交際情境、交際參與者、迂迴說法的目的以及社會文化規則，特別是禮貌原則。所謂的迂迴說法，可以理解為：說話者表面上傳達的是「此事」，但實際上卻「引導」聽話者領會「彼事」。由此可見，迂迴說法的三個重要要素分別是：（1）表達此事的主體；（2）理解彼事的受話者；（3）按照表達意圖進行引導的主體。其中，第一個要素就對表達此事的主體而言，這要素涵蓋兩個方面：一是需要避免直接表達或有意在受話者身上引起某種效果的原因，二是如何組織事件內容或構建論證關係。

⁴ 「折繞」：有話不直接說，故意說得曲折，繳繞的，名叫折繞辭。（2008:151）

這也是術語中「迂迴」一詞的來源。第二個要素是強調受話者的推導理解作用，即發話主體的意圖是讓受話者理解彼事，而不是表面資訊的此事。第三個要素則強調發話主體的主動性和引導作用。這裡的主動性指發起言語表達此事的意圖，而引導作用則是迂迴表達過程中最顯著的因素，因為有了引導，受話者才能正確理解發話者意圖中的具體彼事。因此可以看出，此事、彼事和引導都充分表現了作為迂迴說法的構成要素。

透過對迂迴說法的前提因素和三個重要構成要素的分析，我們能夠確定一個科學而全面的迂迴說法的內涵和外延。我們將迂迴說法定義如下：在交際情境中，迂迴說法是發話主體先說出此事，透過主動引導使受話者推導理解彼事，從而實現認知說服、情感傳達和行動驅使的交際目的的一種禮貌的交際策略。

3. 越南語迂迴說法的交際策略

迂迴說法是一種具有高度禮貌性的表達方式，旨在避免與社會關係中的交際物件發生

直接衝突，其核心特點是透過言外之意的傳遞實現間接表達，從而提高交際效果。在迂迴說法的交際過程中，為了成功達成交際意圖，話語者總是會精心選擇最合適的語言策略，在「此事」的組織過程中構建最具語境效果的會話含義。那麼，這些會話含義究竟是透過哪些機制或方式產生的？答案是，它們可以依賴於所有的語用規則，包括指示原則、言語行為原則、論證原則以及會話原則。然而，需要注意的是，如果這些原則被嚴格、真實地遵循，它們只會產生交際中必要的明確意義，而不會形成會話含義。因此，為了在交際中產生會話含義，說話者一方面必須遵守這些原則，同時假定聽話者同樣知曉並遵循這些原則，另一方面又有意地違反它們，並假定聽話者能夠意識到這個違背之處。

至今，凡是研究與會話含義有關的問題都無法不提及Grice的合作原則。由此可見，在迂迴說法中，透過違反Grice的會話合作原則來生成會話含義，這是最典型的機制之一。這種機制不僅有助於解釋會話含義的生成過程，還能清晰展現話語者在迂迴說法中如何運用交際策略來刻意製造隱含意義。然而，Grice合作原則的一個不足之處在於，它主要關注言語交際中的合作，同時僅



解釋了人們如何透過間接表達生成會話隱含意義，但這理論並未充分考慮禮貌因素（politeness）。Grice合作原則「沒有解釋在日常生活中，人們為什麼要拐彎抹角，不採取直截了當的方式去進行交際，讓聽話人去推導出會話含義。也就是說，合作原則解釋了話語的字面意義和實際意義之間的關係，卻沒有解釋為什麼人們常要違反合作原則，以含蓄的、間接的方式表達思想，進行交流。」（何兆熊 1999:167）。因此，Brown和Levinson（1978，1987）補充了面子理論（Face Theory），以解釋為什麼說話者有時會違反合作原則，以維護面子或避免傷害對方。這也正是本論文在研究迂迴說法時始終關注的問題，迂迴說法是一種在日常生活中極為有效的禮貌交際策略。可見，找到一種既能解釋會話隱含意義生成機制又能解釋禮貌問題的策略，對於迂迴說法的研究來說是一項極其重要且有意義的工作。

根據Brown和Levinson（1987）的觀點，「間接實施面子威脅行為」（off record）是最禮貌、交際效果最高的策略。其中，他們將其細分為十五種具體的禮貌策略，實質上是透過有意違反Grice所提出的會話準則，從而實現間接表達與體面維護的雙重目標。這些策略各自具有不同的運作機制，並分別對應不同的會話準則：（1）提示（Give hints）：說話者僅提供部分資訊，引導聽者推理出完整含義，違反了數量準則和關係準則；（2）提供關聯線索（Give association clues）：借助共用知識或百科知識，引導理解，違反數量和關係準則；（3）使用前提（Presuppose）：強調舊資訊而非新增內容，主要違反數量準則，有時也涉及關係準則；（4）低調陳述（Understate）：故意減輕事實程度，使聽者察覺其真實意圖，違反品質準則；（5）誇張（Overstate）：將事實放大，超出現實範圍，引發誤導，違反品質準則；（6）同義反覆（Tautologies）：透過重複表達明顯含義造成冗餘，違反數量準則；（7）表示矛盾（Contradictions）：陳述互相矛盾的內容，引導推理，違反品質準則；（8）說反語（Be ironic）：說出與真實意圖相反的話語，形成語用反差，違反品質準則；（9）使用隱喻（Use metaphors）：透過非字面意義表達真實意圖，促使推理，違反品質準則；（10）使用修辭疑問句（Use rhetorical questions）：提出表面疑問，實則陳述觀點，違反品質準則；（11）模稜兩可（Be ambiguous）：使用多義詞或含糊表述，造成理解空間，違反方式準則；（12）模糊表達（Be vague）：故意使用不明確語言，減輕面子威脅，違反方

式準則；（13）過度概括（Over-generalize）：使用成語或普遍規則，缺乏針對性和明確資訊，違反數量準則；（14）替換指代物件（Displace H）：不直接與相關物件溝通，而以第三者替代，製造不明確性，違反方式準則；（15）不完整表達（Be incomplete, use ellipsis）：故意省略句子，使聽者自行推斷，違反數量準則。

綜上所述，這些策略雖形式多樣，但本質上都是透過違反合作原則的某些準則來實現言語行為的間接性，從而在交流中既傳遞資訊，又維護面子，表現出高度的話語技巧與交際策略性。因此，本文從合作原則的四項準則出發，將越南語迂迴表達策略歸為四類，以便更清晰地呈現其語用特徵。

3.1. 說話者故意違反數量準則的策略

3.1.1. 故意違反數量準則的第一條次則

透過冗長表達和資訊冗餘來違反數量準則，是越南語迂迴說法的顯著特點之一。這一策略契合越南文化中的交際特色，有助於維持社交和諧、禮貌和相互尊重。在越南語中的迂迴說法，故意違反數量準則的表達方式也涵蓋了隱含資訊的運用，例如：固定與非固定的常理、百科知識、交際雙方的共同知識、前提資訊（預設觸發語）以及省略表達。這些資訊通常被視為預設正確，交際雙方心照不宣。因此，在越南語迂迴說法中，違反數量準則的第一條次則往往意味著違反論證原則，即僅提供必要的論據，讓聽話者基於常理或共同知識自行推導出隱含結論，即「彼事」。下面，我們來看一個故意違反數量準則的第一條次則的典型示例。

(i.)

B1: Chà, nhà bác Tư có mấy công quýt, Tết năm nay là trúng quá rồi. (dài giọng) (哇！四叔家有幾塊橘子田？今年春節肯定大豐收了。(拉長聲))

T1: Ồ, đi đâu vậy chú Hai?... thì cũng lai rai chơi. (哦？二叔去哪啊？.....就慢慢玩。)

B2: Dạ, ba cái thứ này Tết có giá quá xá. Nhà con bỏ hết để trồng mận. Hồng ăn thua bác Tư, uống hết sức mấy liếp đất, riết rồi hồng có chi thờ cúng ông bà. (是啊！這些東西春節期間特別值錢。我家倒是全砍光了，改種蓮霧，沒賺到錢。四叔看，白白浪費了好幾塊地，結果什麼都沒能拿來供奉祖先。)

T2: Tết mày nhớ qua đây bẻ quýt về trưng nghen. (春節你記得過來摘些橘子回去供奉啊！)

B3: Dạ, cảm ơn bác Tư. (好的，謝謝四叔啊！)

(27B)



這段對話中，說話者B透過冗長的敘述，在話語B2中違反了數量準則的第一條次則。他詳細描述自家已經不再種橘子，而是改種蓮霧，因此家中沒有果品供奉祖先。這些資訊本身並不直接服務於交際目的，而是巧妙地暗示自己的需求，讓聽話者自行領會其意圖，即希望能得到一些橘子以供春節祭祀。這個交際策略機制植根於越南文化的常理認知，即在春節期間，供奉祖先的果盤是重要的傳統習俗，既表達對祖先的敬意，又寄託新年的祝福。而「缺少祭品」意味著這一儀式的完整性遭到破壞，使人感到遺憾或不安。因此，透過冗長的敘述，說話者B實際上是在喚起聽話者的共鳴，引導其自發地推斷出隱藏的請求，從而主動提出贈送橘子。這種策略不僅保留了言語的含蓄性，也充分體現了越南語迂迴說法在社交互動中的精妙運用。

3.1.2. 違反數量準則的第二條次則

在越南語迂迴說法中，刻意違反數量準則的第二條次則的現象也極為常見，即說話者額外提供冗餘資訊。其中最典型的表現便是使用同義反覆（tautologies）策略，這類資訊的冗餘性正是製造會話含義的關鍵，使聽話者能夠基於這些重複表達進行含義推理，從而推導出隱藏的「彼事」。例如：

(ii.)

A1: Nhà kên bia trông bề thế đẹp đẽ quá anh nhỉ! (那邊的別墅真氣派漂亮啊!)

B1: À, của tay đi Tây đấy! Nó lại sắp sửa đi chuyển nữa. (啊!是個去過西方的傢伙的房子。他又準備去一趟了。)

A2: Sang bên ấy làm gì mà ra tiền thế nhỉ? (去那邊做什麼能賺這麼多錢?)

B2: Biết đâu được. Dân nghiên cứu sinh là họ nghiên cứu dữ lắm! (dài giọng) (誰知道呢? 研究生嘛! 就是研究得很厲害啊! (拖長聲音))

(48B)

在這段對話中，說話者B透過同義反覆策略違反了數量準則的第二條次則，其在話語B2中使用了「研究生嘛！就是研究得很厲害」這樣的表達。這句話本身並不提供任何新的資訊，因為「研究生」這身份本就蘊含了「研究」的含義，重複強調這一點看似無意義，但實際上卻是刻意為之，以隱含言外之意。在這裡，說話者B透過重複強調「研究生的工作就是研究」，實際上是在製造語義空缺，讓聽話者A自行推理真正的含義。相較於直接表達「他到底在做什麼，怎麼能那麼富有？」B選擇了迂迴表達方式，使A不得不自行推測其隱含的批評，即對方的財富來源可能並不正當。

3.2. 說話者故意違反品質準則的策略

3.2.1. 違反品質準則的第一條次則

在越南語的迂迴說法中，違反品質準則第一條次則的策略與其他語言中的迂迴策略類似，基本上都借助各種修辭手法來實現，例如低調陳述、誇張、反語、隱喻或修辭疑問句等。這些表達方式的共同點在於，說話者故意說出與事實不符的資訊，以此間接傳遞某種語用含義。在這種違反品質準則的策略中，越南語中就有一種獨特的方法來製造會話含義，那就是故意違反人稱指示原則。越南語擁有一個極其豐富的稱呼詞系統，涵蓋親屬關係、社會身份、禮貌表達等多個層面。透過刻意選擇與實際關係不符的稱呼詞語，說話者能夠營造特定的語境，或拉近關係，或諷刺調侃，從而實現更微妙的交際效果。

在越南語中，稱呼語不僅是用來指稱姓名或身份的手段，還承載著社會關係、情感表達、輩分認同以及具體的交際語境。越南語的稱謂系統極為豐富，主要可分為以下幾類：按家庭輩分區分，如「ông—爺爺；bà—奶奶；cha—爸爸；mẹ—媽媽；anh—哥哥；chị—姊姊；em—弟弟或妹妹」等。這些詞不僅用於家庭內部，也常在社交場合中使用，以表達人際關係和尊卑有序。按社會關係區分，如「thầy、cô—老師；bạn、anh、chị、em—你；bác sĩ—醫生；giám đốc—經理」等，這類稱謂通常用於表達職業身份或社交中的角色關係。按親疏程度和禮貌等級區分，正式稱謂如「ngài、quý ông—先生；quý bà—女士」，常見於正式場合，表達尊重。非正式或親密稱謂如「mày—你；tao—我」，常用於熟人或非正式交流，語氣親暱或帶有某種情感色彩。此外，越南語的稱呼詞語高度個性化，與說話者和聽話者之間的關係密切相關，並受到輩分、年齡及親疏程度等因素的影響。同一個稱謂詞在不同語境下可能會呈現完全不同的意義。因此，在越南語迂迴說法中，故意錯用稱呼語就違反了品質準則的第一條次則，已成為一種獨特的交際策略。下面，我們來看一個具體的例子，以理解越南人在交際中如何巧妙運用稱謂詞，實現迂迴表達的語用效果。例如：

(iii.)

Gái chủ động bàn với bà Xuất xin được về làm dâu nhà bà. Gái lấy trong tay nải ra hai đầu gạo đỏ, hai nải chuối bứt, bó hương đèn, bày lên giường thờ. (妞主動與



出婆婆商量，希望能成為她家的媳婦。妞從包袱裡拿出兩斗稻米，兩串佛手蕉和一把黑香，擺在供桌上）

A1: Mẹ cho chúng con thắp hương bỏ con với anh cả. (媽，讓我們替爸爸和哥哥上香。)

Sau đấy, Gái khếp váy xuống bậc cửa cạnh chân bà Xuất. Trong nhà, vẫn cảm cú dẹt củi. Dưới nhà ngang những vảy tơ nhảy lóc cóc trên vành tai rối tơ. (之後，妞低頭跪在出婆婆的腳邊。家裡的人仍然埋頭織布。旁邊屋子裡，一些絲線團在籃子內不停地跳動。) Nhìn quanh, vắng người, Gái nói với bà Xuất: (四下無人，妞對出婆婆說道：)

A2: Anh con bảo về thưa với mẹ. (我哥叫我回來告訴您。)

B1: Chúng mày vẫn ở ngoài Đồn Thủy? (你們還在屯水那邊嗎?)

A3: Đạo này ngoài ấy đông lắm. (最近那裡人很多。)

B2: Hôm nay tao phải cất công ra xem cho biết cái chỗ Đồn Thủy bây giờ thẳng Tây nó làm thành tròn thành méo như thế nào. Nghe người ta nói lắm chuyện mà mắt chưa thấy. (今天我得親自去看看屯水現在被西方人弄成什麼樣了。聽說很多事情，但沒親眼見過。)

A4: Anh con bảo về nói với mẹ... (我哥叫我回來告訴您.....)

B3: Cái gì thế? (什麼事?)

A5: Giỗ hết ông con và anh Vần con năm ngoái rồi. Năm nay, mai kia đến ngày giỗ mà mẹ thay áo cho anh con thì mẹ cho chúng con được về đỡ mẹ lo ma cho ông con và anh con luôn. Nhiều nơi đã hẹn nếu nhận được có nào để bàn việc Đồn Thủy. Anh em con thấy có cơ rồi. Mấy năm nay thẳng Tây tưởng người ta đã để nó yên, nó cứ chạy như con chó xổng cũi nông nghênh chẳng biết gì cả. Đến nỗi anh em vào rình, lăn được mấy thằng xuống sông Cái mà nó vẫn tưởng lính nó đi giày tây không bơi được nên sẩy chân chết đuối. (去年，我們已經為爺爺和問大哥做了祭祀。今年，如果到了祭日，您替哥改葬時，請讓我們回來幫您準備爺爺和哥哥的祭祀。屯水最近發生很多事情。我們覺得機會到了。這幾年，西方人以為大家放過他們了，他們就像出籠的狗一樣傲慢無知。我們兄弟們潛入了屯水，把幾個士兵推下了母河，但他們以為是因為他們穿著西裝鞋所以掉進河裡淹死了。)

Bà Xuất ngẫm nghĩ, cầm miếng trầu, quệt thêm vôi, nhai thông thả nheo mắt lơ đãng ra ngõ, không nói gì, Gái phân vân nhìn bà rồi rụt rè: (出婆婆思索著，拿起一片檳榔，塗上石灰，慢慢地咀嚼著，眼睛茫然地望向門外，沒有說話。妞猶豫地看著她，小心翼翼地說道：)

A6: Mẹ định liệu thế nào, chúng con cũng xin theo. – Bà Xuất nói: (媽，您決定怎樣，我們都會聽從。出婆婆說道：)

B4: Tao cũng đương mong anh em mày. Nghĩ xem mời những đâu bây giờ.

Nhưng thôi, việc ấy đã có anh em mày lo. Kể ra, làng nào cũng sàng bưng như làng nào thì có đến mười đời thẳng Tây cũng không lên nổi cái bến đò đình Thanh Hà. Năm nay xem ra quang cảnh có khác. Nhiều ông đồ, ông cống bây giờ cũng thay lòng đổi dạ rồi, càng ngày càng nhan nhản cái bọn xem của nặng hơn người. Cho nên phải kỹ lưỡng tìm những ai còn tin cậy

được. Rồi tao ra bàn thêm với anh mày. (我也在等你們兩個。現在得想想該邀請誰。算了，這事你們兩個負責了。如果每個村子的人都像我們村子那樣團結，西方人十代也不可能佔領清河碼頭。今年情勢有些不同。很多圖翁和官員現在也變心了，越來越多的人重視財物勝過人情。所以我們必須仔細尋找那些值得信賴的人。我會再和你哥商量。)

(Tô Hoài, Quê nhà, tr.103-104—蘇懷《故鄉》，第103-104頁)

在這段對話中，妞透過使用稱呼語刻意違反了Grice的品質準則的第一條次則。她並不直接表達希望嫁入出婆婆家的意圖，而是借助含蓄的表達方式，使對方能夠在交際過程中自行推理其真實意圖。這種違反機制首先表現在妞的稱呼語上。在話語A1中，她直接稱呼出婆婆為「mẹ」（媽媽），儘管當時她尚未正式成為媳婦。這樣的稱謂不僅僅是出於禮貌，更暗含著一種身份認同，將自己置於家庭內部，以一種隱性的方式表達希望成為兒媳的願望。然而，妞並不直接說出這一點，而是巧妙地讓出婆婆自己體會，以避免使局面顯得過於唐突或生硬。此外，妞的交際意圖在話語A5中展現得尤為明顯，她並不直接提出婚嫁請求，而是借助越南文化中的常理：「在家中操持祭祀祖先、承擔祭祀責任通常是兒媳的職責。」她巧妙地提及處理爺爺和大哥忌日的事，隱含傳達自己能夠勝任這個職責的資訊。這不僅表現出她的誠意，也將出婆婆置於一個主導地位，使對方能夠自然地接受這一提議，而不會顯得過於被動或突兀。透過這種迂迴說法，妞成功地在不言說的情況下傳遞了自己的願望，同時維護了交際的得體性，使請求顯得更加合理和自然。這正是越南語迂迴說法的典型運用，它既展現了語言的微妙性，又符合社會文化語境中的交際規範。

3.2.2. 違反品質準則的第二條次則

違反品質準則的第二條次則的策略在越南語迂迴說法中也被廣泛運用，成為一種頗具效果的交際策略。以下是一個典型實例的分析：

(iv.)

A1: Cầu thủ là một nghề lao lực. (球員是一份辛苦的工作。)

B1: Không, lao tâm lắm đấy! (不，是操心的工作呢！)

A2: Sao lại thế? (為什麼這麼說？)

B2: Thì còn phải tính toán lúc nào thắng, lúc nào thua hoặc hoà nữa đấy!

(因為他們還得考慮什麼時候贏，什麼時候輸，或者平手呢！)

(54B)



在以上的對話中，我們可以清楚地看到說話者B在交際中的主動引導性，透過話題轉移來表達自己的意圖。在話語A1中，A認為球員的辛苦主要體現在體力消耗（勞力），然而B在話語B1中巧妙地將討論方向轉移至精神壓力（勞心）。接著，在話語B2中，B進一步違反品質準則的第二條次則，提出了一種缺乏依據、未經證實的言論：「Thì còn phải tính toán lúc nào thắng, lúc nào thua hoặc hòa nữa đây!」（因為他們還得考慮什麼時候贏，什麼時候輸，或者平手呢！）這種說法並不建立在任何可驗證的事實之上，而是以一種模糊暗示的方式，引導聽話者自行推測其深層含義。儘管B並不明確指稱比賽結果是被操控的，但其話語卻隱晦地傳遞出「比賽可能早已被安排好」的言外之意。這種表達方式的高明之處在於，它並不直接下定論或指責某方，而是透過暗示性的語境，引發聽話者的懷疑，讓資訊在含蓄的氛圍中傳播，同時避免了因言論的真實性而承擔直接責任。

3.3. 說話者故意違反關係準則的策略

越南語迂迴說法中對關係準則的違反，本質上通常也是對數量準則的同時違反。這兩項準則的關係在含義生成過程中體現得尤為明顯：違反數量準則使資訊變得模稜兩可，而違反關聯準則則讓這些資訊以非直接的方式與對話情境緊密相連。正是這種雙重策略，使得話語不僅暗示性更強，而且增強了其說服力，同時讓聽話者不得不慎重思考、推敲其中的言外之意。表面上看，話者提供的資訊在內容或字面意義上似乎與交際話題無關。在這種情況下，說話者實際上也同時違反了數量準則的第一條次則，正如何兆熊（1999）所言：「實際上，違反數量準則和違反關係準則的情況不能完全分開，它們有時會同時發生。」（1999:159）。如前文所分析的，每個言語單位在語篇中都具有一定的關聯性，因此話語的表達往往並不完全明確。因此，在同時違反數量準則和關係準則的情況下，我們主要認定其為違反數量準則，因為其在話語表達上的表現更為明顯。

(v.)

Mỹ Duyên bàn với Khánh kế hoạch chiếm đoạt trang trại Linh Lâm từ tay lão phu: (美緣與阿慶商量如何從老莊主手中奪取靈林莊園的計畫)

A1: Anh đại! Anh chịu khó mềm dẻo một chút, hai đứa mình sẽ làm chủ ấp Linh Lâm. (你真傻啊! 你只要多花點心思和耐心，我們倆就可以成為靈林莊園的主人。)

B1: Làm cái cu-li chứ chủ quái gì! (當苦力還差不多，說什麼主人!)

A2: Nơi rừng núi có thể xảy ra tai nạn chết người. (在山林中，隨時可能會發生致命的意外。)

Khánh cảm thấy một luồng nước đã chảy nhanh từ gáy xuống dọc xương sống. Anh nhấc ly cà phê lên tợp một ngụm to, thấy nóng ran trong họng và ngực. Mỹ Duyên đã rót rượu rum vào cà phê lúc nào chẳng biết, rất đậm. Đôi mắt long lanh nhìn anh như thôi miên. Anh lại uống, ngoảnh mặt đi tránh cái nhìn thách thức ấy. (阿慶感到一股涼意從後頸一直流到脊柱。他端起咖啡杯喝了一大口，感覺喉嚨和胸口一陣灼熱。美緣不知道何時已在咖啡裡加了很多蘭姆酒。她的眼睛亮閃閃地看著他，仿佛有種催眠的力量。他又喝了一口，轉過臉去，避開那挑釁的眼光。)

A3: Sao, anh dám không? (「怎麼樣，你敢不敢？」)

(Phan Tú, Người cùng quê, tr.141—潘四《同鄉》，第141頁)

在話語A2中，美緣以「山林之中可能隨時會發生致命事故」的內容故意違反關係準則，從而製造了會話含義。表面上，這句話僅僅是一種客觀描述，基於常識性的認知，指出山林環境可能存在的危險（美緣運用了共同知識）。然而，在當前關於奪取靈林莊園的對話背景下，這種表述卻暗示了一種可能性就是可以利用「意外事故」來除掉老東家。美緣的這句話之所以成爲一種隱含指示，正是因爲它與前一句話（阿慶的B1：「做苦力的管事，哪裡像個主人！」）在表面邏輯上並無直接銜接。這種語境上的脫節，使得阿慶必須自行推理其中隱含的資訊，從而洞察出美緣的真正意圖。不僅如此，除了違反關係準則，美緣的表達也違反數量準則。她並未明確說明誰可能遭遇意外、爲何事故會發生，或者這與他們的計畫有何關係，而是有意留下資訊空缺，使話語顯得模糊、不完整。但正是這種有意的缺失，反而強化了言語的暗示性，因爲聽話者必須主動填補這些資訊空白，以自己的理解來推導出潛在的含義。這種策略不僅增強了表達的隱晦性，也在交際中巧妙地引導了對方的思維方向。

3.4. 說話者故意違反方式準則的策略

合作原則中的方式準則涉及話語的表達方式，表現於命題內容的組織結構以及詞語、短語的選擇，這些都可以成爲迂迴說法的標記。由於文化差異和語言特性不同，每種語言在表達方式和用詞上各有特點，從而形成多樣化的表達策略。在迂迴說法中，這一點尤爲突出，說話者故意違反Grice的方式準則，刻意製造模糊性，使表達不夠直接。

越南語迂迴說法中，違反方式準則的策略，反映了越南人在思維方式和交



際習慣上的獨特性。使用含混不清、具有多重意義的表達方式，不僅可以說明說話者避免過度直白的表達，還能為聽話者留出推理空間，使交際更加靈活、委婉，增添語言的含蓄美感。這表明，迂迴說法不僅是一種語言現象，更是一種文化特徵，展現了越南人如何運用語言靈活地表達想法，以適應不同的交際場景。以下是越南語迂迴說法中典型的方式準則違反策略：使用「倒讀法」（*nói lái*），使用漢越詞彙（這種策略正是運用固定的委婉語）。

3.4.1. 違反方式準則的第一條次則

「倒讀法」是一種特殊的語言現象，透過調整音節順序或改變部分語音成分來創造新的詞義。這不僅是一種語言遊戲，更是一種重要的迂迴說法策略，幫助說話者進行間接表達，避免直接陳述，並在交際中製造微妙的語用含義。越南語的倒讀法遵循多種音節位置互換規則，音節的重新排列使詞語表層意義變得模糊甚至難以理解。這種表達方式不僅在形式上刻意規避了直接性，同時也違反了方式準則的第一條次則。在日常交際中，越南人使用倒讀法作為迂迴說法策略，主要出於以下幾種交際目的：一是用來替代粗俗或不雅詞語，使表達更為文明（在這種情況下，倒讀法可被視為委婉語）；二是避免直接提及某些敏感或不便表達的詞彙；三是用於諷刺和諷刺社會中的消極現象；此外，倒讀法還常被用來製造幽默和驚喜，或作為一種語言遊戲來考驗對方的機敏。下面，我們來看一個典型的例子，展示越南人如何巧妙運用倒讀法，使其成為一種極具交際效果的迂迴表達策略。

(vi.)

A1: Bên đó thế nào rồi? (那邊情況怎麼樣了?)

B1: Ô, có đại phong. (哦!有「大風」。)

A2: Làm gì thì làm, nhớ thủ tục đầu tiên đấy nhé! (不管做什麼，記住「第一個手續」啊!)

B2: Vâng, biết rồi, khổ lắm nói mãi. À, anh thấy cô ấy thế nào? (是的，知道了，真是煩死了，每次都要強調。對了，你覺得她怎麼樣?)

A3: Người đẹp có đôi chân thảo bình nên hình chụp tôi lộng kiếng rồi! (美人有一雙「草平」之腿，所以照片我已經「裱框」了!)

B3: Anh thì lúc nào cũng tếu, cũng vũ như cẩu vạy. (你總是這麼幽默，真是「武如故(老樣子)啊!」)

A4: Thôi chào, chúc anh mạnh sự lòi! (好了，再見，祝你「萬事亮」!)

(Nguyễn Văn Hiệp, Nói lái trong ngôn ngữ và văn học Việt Nam—阮文協，〈論越南語言與文學中的倒讀法現象〉)

在話語A2中，說話者則運用倒讀法作為交際策略，以諷刺社會中的某些負面現象：「Nhớ thủ tục đầu tiên đấy nhé!」（記住「第一個手續」啊!）。其中，「thủ tục đầu tiên」可以透過倒讀法轉換成「tiền đầu」，即「錢在哪裡」。這句話表面上看是提醒對方遵守流程，但實際上是迂迴地暗示某些行政程式中存在「灰色費用」或「潛規則」，在不直接點明敏感詞彙的情況下，巧妙地揭示了社會現象，並帶有一定的諷刺意味。除了上述交際目的外，倒讀法在越南語迂迴說法中的運用還能夠帶來意想不到的交際效果，製造幽默感並增強表達的趣味性。這一點在對話中表現得尤為明顯。例如，在話語B3中，「vũ như cần」實際上是「vẫn như cũ」（老樣子）的倒讀法表達，而在話語A4中，「mạnh sự lòi」其實是「mọi sự lành」（萬事順遂）的倒讀形式。

3.4.2. 違反方式準則的第二條次則

說話者故意使用多義詞或同音異義詞，使話語表達變得模稜兩可，或讓聽話者自行推理並選擇其中的會話含義，這實際上是一種有意違反方式準則的第二條次則的策略。在越南語迂迴說法的交際策略中，越南人常借助漢越詞來實現多種交際目的，以提升表達的莊重性，並減少對對方的冒犯。這種策略的運用成為越南語迂迴說法中的顯著特徵。漢越詞是越南語詞彙系統的重要組成部分，源自漢語，屬於越南語中的外來詞。與通俗易懂的純越詞相比，漢越詞通常帶有莊重、正式、規範和學術化的色彩，因此，在日常交流中，它往往比純越詞更難理解。例如，在越南語中，「chết」（死亡）是直接明瞭的表達，任何人都能立即理解，而相應的漢越詞如「tạ thế」（謝世）、「quy tiên」（歸仙）、「tù trần」（辭塵）則帶有隱喻色彩，可能會讓部分聽話者感到難以理解，同時也使話語顯得更正式、更委婉，常被用來取代直白、生硬或禁忌的詞彙。因此，許多漢越詞實際上起到了固定委婉語的作用，幫助降低言語中的負面色彩或過度直白的表達。當說話者在迂迴表達策略中刻意使用漢越詞，就違反方式準則的第一條次則。漢越詞的同音多義現象是越南語的重要特徵，表現了漢語詞彙在越南語中的吸收與本土化過程。由於越南語音節系統的限制，許多漢越詞在傳入時產生了同音現象，儘管它們在不同語境下具有完全不同的含義。這不僅在交際中造成一定的模糊性，還成為語言藝術的重要工具，尤其是在迂迴說法中，幫助說話者避免過於直接的陳述，同時保持言語的婉轉與含



蓄。漢越詞的多義性常被運用於文學、對話，甚至帶有諷刺或揶揄意味的表達。例如，「chính」既可以指正確，又可以表示正直或政治，不同的語境會決定其具體含義。這種詞義上的曖昧性可能會增加理解的難度，但也為交際創造了推理空間，使聽話者必須依賴語境來解讀真正的意圖。在越南語的迂迴說法中，運用同音多義的漢越詞不僅能增加語言的正式感，還能降低言語的直接性，使表達更加柔和、富有層次感。例如：

(vii.)

Sau khi thực hiện kế của mẹ Móc đưa ra, vài ngày sau, ba của Long đến gặp mẹ. Người đàn ông nói: (實施了鈞婆提出的計畫後，幾天後，龍的父親來見鈞婆，他說：)

A1: Tôi là bố cháu Long. Được bà cho biết tin về cháu, vợ chồng rất mừng. Hôm nay tôi đến đây, trước để thăm bà, sau là xin bà giúp đỡ, để chúng tôi tìm được cháu về. (我是小龍的父親。聽說您知道關於我兒子的消息，我和妻子非常高興。今天我來這裡，首先是拜訪您，其次是請求您的幫助，讓我們找到兒子。)

B1: Thưa cụ - mẹ Móc chậm rãi - cháu Long với tôi là chỗ thân tình. Tôi rất quý cháu. Từ hôm cháu bỏ đi, tôi rất buồn và thương cháu. Hôm qua có người nói tôi biết nơi cháu ở, vội điện cho ông. Tiếc rằng người ấy không nói rõ hiện giờ cháu ở đâu. (先生！- 鈞婆緩緩地說 - 小龍和我關係很好，我非常喜歡他。自從他離家出走後，我非常難過和擔心。昨天有人告訴我知道他在哪裡，我急忙通知您。遺憾的是那個人沒說清楚他現在的具體位置。)

A2: Vâng, như thế cũng quý lắm rồi, xin bà chỉ dùm tôi người đó. Tôi cảm ơn bà nhiều. (是的，您能告訴我這些已經很不錯了，請您告訴我那個人是誰。我非常感謝您。)

B2: Thưa ông, việc ấy thật đơn giản, nhưng tôi được biết người ấy không muốn gặp ông. Vì thế, để ông gặp trực tiếp người ta tôi e không thuận. (先生，這件事其實很簡單，但我知道那個人不願意見您。因此，如果您直接去見他，我怕不方便。)

A3: Vâng, vậy xin bà làm ơn làm phúc giúp tôi hỏi người ấy về nơi cháu ở. Tìm được cháu, vợ chồng tôi hết sức biết ơn và xin hậu tạ bà và người ấy. (好的，那請您幫忙問一下小龍現在的住處。找到小龍，我和妻子會非常感激，並且一定會厚謝您和那個人。)

B3: Thưa ông, chỗ tôi với ông bà trước lạ sau quen. Giúp được ông bà điều gì tôi đâu dám tính toán. Chỉ e người kia có ý khác. Vì vậy nếu được, xin ông nói rõ hơn hai chữ “hậu tạ” ông vừa nói, để tôi rộng đường trò chuyện với họ. Chứ như tôi biết thì “hậu tạ” có nhiều cách hiểu, ví dụ xong việc sẽ hậu tạ sau, không rõ mức độ, còn như “hậu tạ” là tạ dầy, lại có hàm chỉ về mức độ, vậy chẳng hay ý ông là thế nào? (先生，我們之間是從陌生到熟悉，能幫到您和夫人我當然不會計較。但我擔心那個人有別的想法。所以如果可以，請您詳細說明您所說的「厚謝」是什麼意思，以便我和他談談。因為在我看來，「厚謝」有很多種理解，比如事情辦成後再謝，不明確具體程度，或者「厚謝」意味著厚重的謝禮，還隱含著份量的意

思。所以，請問您的意思是什麼？)

(Bảo Văn hoá văn nghệ Công An, số 10/06—《公安文化藝術報》，2006-10期)

在這段對話中，鉤婆巧妙地運用了迂迴說法策略，透過故意違反Grice的方式準則，製造會話含義，具體呈現在對漢越詞「hậu tạ」（厚謝）的模糊性。這種手段在間接交際中具有重要作用，既能委婉地提出敏感問題，又能施加心理壓力，迫使對方自行解讀並作出對自己有利的回應。在話語B3中，鉤婆刻意違反方式準則，並不直接接受對方的提議，而是圍繞「hậu tạ」一詞的多重含義進行分析和探討，借此製造語言上的不確定性。在這裡，漢越詞「hậu」在「厚謝」（hậu tạ）一詞中具有同音多義的特性。在越南語中，它既可以對應於漢字「後」（事後再謝），也可以對應於「厚」（豐厚，重重地）。正是利用這一點，鉤婆巧妙地製造了語義上的模糊性，使對方無法輕易回避話題。她利用「後謝」可以理解為「事後再謝」（後謝），即泛指一種抽象、不具體的感恩之舉；但它也可以被解讀為「厚謝」，意味著「重重的謝禮」，即需要給予豐厚的報答。鉤婆故意不明確其真正意圖，而是讓小龍的爸爸在這種不確定性中自行推理，從而施加心理壓力，迫使對方不得不做出更具體、更有利於她的承諾。

3.4.3. 違反方式準則的第三條次則

這是越南語迂迴說法中常見的交際策略，其機制在於用更冗長或籠統的表達方式替代直白的詞語或短語，獲得更高的修辭效果，從而增強交際的表達力與影響力。以下是一個具體的對話示例，展示這一策略如何在實際交流中發揮作用。

(viii.)

Ngọc Bảo kéo Ngân vào quán ăn. Chủ quán hỏi: (玉寶拉著阿岸進了飯館。老闆問道)

A1: Dạ, ông dùng gì? (先生，您要點什麼？)

B1: Tiết kẻo tử tù. (死囚的血。)

A2: Dạ vâng, Booc-đô có ngay và sau đó? (好的，波爾多馬上就來，然後呢？)

B2: Cồn bóp tim. (捏心的酒精。)

A3: Rượu mạnh thưa ông, có thứ thượng hạng đó. (強烈的酒，先生，我們有上等的。)

C1: Cậu dùng như mọi bữa? (你還是像平常一樣點嗎？)

B3: Không, súp-lơ trắng với nấm hương. (不，花椰菜配香菇。)



Ngan ngơ ngác, anh hỏi cô rằng: tại sao người ta tìm được súp-lơ giữa mùa này? - cô cười và giải thích cho chàng công tử hiểu: súp-lơ trắng nghĩa là những chiếc chân vịt rút xương súp-lơ thái mỏng. (阿岸一臉迷惑, 問她: 這個季節怎麼能找到花椰菜? 她笑著並這位公子哥解釋: 花椰菜其實是指切片去骨的鴨掌。)

(Dương Thu Hương, Quảng đời đánh mắt, tr.2—楊秋香《失去的時光》, 第2頁)

在這段對話中, 在某些特定情境中, 當提及烈性刺激物 (如酒、香菸) 時, 說話者往往會避免直接表達, 說話者B故意違反方式準則的第三條次則, 以冗長、繁瑣的方式表達, 而非直接說出菜名, 從而製造會話含義並增強交際趣味。例如, B1話語「Tiết kẻ tử tù」(死囚之血) 暗示紅酒, 因顏色似血; 話語B2中的「Cồn bóp tim」(捏心的酒精) 指代烈酒, 因酒精能加速心跳; 話語B3中的「Súp-lơ trắng」(花椰菜) 實際指去骨鴨掌切片, 而不是花椰菜。這種策略與折繞修辭格類似, 主要有三大交際目的: 營造神秘感, 激發聽者好奇; 增強幽默性, 使表達更具趣味; 展現品味, 塑造談話者風格。

3.4.4.違反方式準則的第四條次則

違反方式準則第四條次則的表現之一, 是說話者在傳遞資訊時未能遵循邏輯順序, 語言結構雜亂無章, 導致表達缺乏條理性, 從而影響聽話者的理解, 例如:

(ix.)

A1: Kí giả: Cái vấn đề hát live của chị Linh lúc nào cũng được khán giả quan tâm theo cả hai chiều hướng. Nhưng mà em cũng muốn biết chị Linh cũng chuẩn bị cho khả năng hát live của mình như thế nào trong chương trình này? (記者: 鈴姐, 關於您的現場演唱, 總是引起觀眾的廣泛關注, 但是有兩種不同的看法。那我想知道, 您是如何準備這次節目現場演唱的呢?)

B1: HTL: Bây giờ chị kể cho em nghe một câu chuyện như thế này thôi này. Chị có hai đôi chân, may mắn rằng là bố mẹ chị sinh ra là chị biết đi – vừa nói vừa đứng dậy – Đây, chị có thể đi được này. Thế ngày hôm đấy trời nó mưa, thế chị mới bước ra khỏi nhà, lúc đấy có một đám người ở kia rất là đông, và họ mới thấy chị trượt chân chị ngã, và họ bảo chị không biết đi. Thế còn ý kiến của em thì sao? Chị có biết đi hay không? (HTL: 現在我跟你講個故事吧! 我有兩條腿, 幸運的是, 父母生我下來, 我就會走路了——一邊說一邊站起來——你們看, 我會走路啊! 有一天, 下雨了, 我剛走出家門, 那邊有一群人, 看見我滑了一跤摔倒了, 他們就說我不會走路。那麼你覺得呢? 你覺得我會走路嗎?)

A2: Kí giả: Dạ có! (記者: 當然會!)

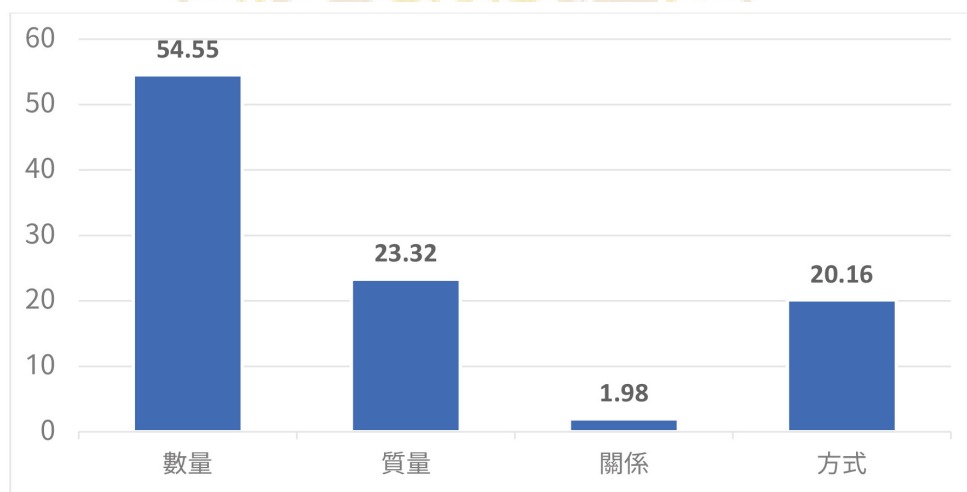
B2: HTL: Đây là câu trả lời cho câu chị có biết hát hay không. (HTL: 這就是對「我會不會唱歌」的回答。)

(81B)

在這段對話中，HTL故意違反了方式準則的第四條次則，以缺乏邏輯、表達不連貫的方式作答，使話語內容變得難以把握。可以明顯看出，記者在A1中的提問圍繞現場演唱能力，但HTL在B1的回答卻突然轉向了一段關於走路能力的故事。行走是人類最基本的生理活動，而現場演唱則是一項需要長期訓練和技巧積累的專業技能，兩者毫無邏輯關聯。然而，HTL不僅沒有正面回應問題，反而冗長地講述了一段關於下雨、滑倒、觀眾反應的故事，所有這些情節都與原問題毫無關係。而且，在敘述完這段不相關的故事後，HTL反過來反問記者關於行走的問題，迫使聽話者自行推理其潛在含義，而非直接獲得明確答覆。

為了更清晰地呈現越南語中迂迴說法的特點，我們透過語料庫的調查、分析與統計，得出了如下資料結果：

表1：越南語迂迴說法中交際策略類型的使用頻率



從上述圖表可以看出，在所調查的202篇越南語語篇中，違反數量準則的策略使用比例最高，占54.55%，這表明在越南人的表達方式中，往往傾向於提供大量冗餘資訊，言語表達冗長，這正是「迂迴說法」的一個典型特徵。其次是違反品質準則，占23.32%，這說明在迂迴表達中，越南人常常運用各種修辭手法。除了實現間接表達、維護雙方面子之外，這些修辭方式還增強了語言的表達力與含蓄性，使話語更加靈活、生動。此外，違反方式準則的策略占20.16%，也是一種在越南語中頗為常見且有效的迂迴表達方式。越南人在交



際中常使用模糊、不明確的語言，避免直言不諱，以減少對交際參與者造成的直接衝突或傷害。

4. 越南語迂迴說法的文化根源分析

在越南語中，迂迴說法不僅僅是一種語言現象，更深刻地反映出越南交際文化的內涵——一個重視和諧、注重體面，並致力於妥善維繫社會關係的文化環境。越南人傾向於使用間接、曲折、不直言的表達方式，其深層原因來自一些具有傳統特色的文化因素，特別是水稻農業文化、重情思維、群體心理以及社會生活中的禮儀規範等。

(1) 重感情、重關係的文化背景：在越南傳統社會中，人際關係被置於極其重要的位置。親疏遠近、輩分高低、年齡大小、社會地位等，都是影響說話方式的重要因素。越南人在表達時往往深思熟慮，避免說出令他人「不悅」或造成傷害的話語，即使那是真話。迂迴說法因此成為一種策略性的表達方式，有助於說話者避免觸怒聽話者，維護彼此關係，並保持交際過程中的和諧氛圍。

(2) 民間辯證思維與文化中的模糊傾向：越南人的思維方式具有濃厚的民間辯證色彩，傾向於綜合與包容，避免將問題簡單地二元對立、非黑即白，也迴避直接衝突。因此，迂迴說法成為一種策略性表達方式，使說話者在傳達意圖的同時，保留一定的迴旋空間：既可進可退，又可因時因人靈活調整，甚至在必要時進行否認或解釋。

(3) 「以和為貴」的心理傾向與迴避衝突的文化取向：在越南的交際文化中，尤其是在傳統社會關係（如師生、父子、上下級）中，直言不諱往往被視為不禮貌甚至不敬。越南人傾向於採用「委婉」、「含蓄」的表達方式，以維護他人的體面，同時避免被認為是無禮或「不懂分寸」。因此，迂迴說法不僅是一種表達技巧，更是一種體現交際者審慎、機智與禮貌的文化策略，既傳達了資訊，也彰顯了說話者對人際分寸與社會禮儀的敏感與尊重。

(4) 面子原則與「謹言慎語」的文化觀念：越南人的迂迴說法還源於「顧全面子」的交際原則——這是一種在東亞文化中普遍存在的重要文化因素。在越南語中，「面子」不僅指一個人在他人面前的形象，更關乎個人的

尊嚴、名譽與社會地位。當面臨可能使聽話者「下不了台」的情境時，說話者往往會選擇一種含蓄迂迴的方式來傳遞資訊，使對方能夠「心領神會」，而不至於感到被冒犯或羞辱。在這種情況下，迂迴說法實際上是一種雙重保護的交際策略，既保護了說話者的面子，也維護了聽話者的體面。

(5) 語言富於形象性與表達性的文化特質：越南語是一種高度形象化、富有表現力的語言，廣泛運用隱喻、借代、比喻、委婉語等多種修辭手法。正是這些間接表達方式的高度發展，強化並豐富了越南語中「迂迴說法」的表現形式，使其不僅成爲一種語言表達策略，更成爲一種深深植根於越南文化的交際特徵。

5. 結語

越南語中迂迴說法所體現的五種文化特徵，也正如Trần Ngọc Thêm (1998) 所總結的那樣：「在交際和社會關係中，越南人重情勝於重理，重精神甚於重物質；偏好含蓄委婉，避諱直白粗魯——哪怕不得不『繞三國』也在所不惜。在對外交往（即與社會環境的應對）中，則強調柔和寬厚、和氣爲貴、重文輕武。」（1999:316）可見，越南語中的迂迴說法，是一種植根於重情重禮、迴避衝突的文化傳統的語言現象。它表現了交際策略與文化智慧的結合：既追求表達效果，又注重維繫人際關係的和諧。從文化角度對迂迴說法進行分析，有助於我們更深入地理解越南人的語言行爲本質，從而提升跨文化交際的敏感度與有效性。

回應

若有任何關於本論文的回應，請直接寄給作者陳光輝（TRẦN Quang Huy）
(quanghuytran2503@icloud.com)



參考文獻

- Brown, P. & Levinson S. C. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dương, Thu Hương. 1989. *Quảng Đồi Đánh Mất* [失去的時光]. NXB Hải Phòng.
- Đỗ, Hữu Châu. 2012. *Ngữ Dụng Học – Đại Cương Ngôn Ngữ Học* (tập 2) [語用學——語言學概論（下冊）]. NXB Giáo Dục.
- Hoàng, Tuệ. 1996. *Ngôn Ngữ Và Đời Sống Xã Hội Văn Hoá* [語言與社會文化生活]. NXB Giáo Dục.
- Nguyễn, Như Ý. 1993. *Từ Điển Thành Ngữ Việt Nam* [越南成語詞典]. NXB Văn Hoá.
- Nguyễn, Như Ý. 1996. *Từ Điển Giải Thích Thuật Ngữ Ngôn Ngữ Học* [語言學術語解釋詞典]. NXB Giáo Dục.
- Nguyễn, Thiện Giáp. 2016. *Từ Điển Khái Niệm Ngôn Ngữ Học* [語言學概念詞典]. NXB DH Quốc Gia Hà Nội.
- Nguyễn, Văn Hiệp. “Nói lái trong ngôn ngữ và văn học Việt Nam” <https://www.ngo-quyen.org/a4872/suu-tam-noi-lai-trong-ngon-ngu-va-van-hoc-vn>.
- Phan, Tứ. 1995. *Người Cùng Quê* [同鄉]. NXB Hội Nhà Văn.
- Tô, Hoài. 1981. *Quê Nhà* [故鄉]. NXB Tác phẩm mới.
- Trần, Ngọc Thêm. 1996. *Tìm Về Bản Sắc Văn Hoá Việt Nam* [探索越南文化本色]. NXB TP Hồ Chí Minh.
- Trần, Ngọc Thêm. 1998. *Cơ Sở Văn Hoá Việt Nam* [越南文化概況]. NXB Giáo Dục.
- 中國社會科學院語言研究所 2019 《現代漢語詞典》。上海：商務印書館。
- 何兆熊 1999 《新編語用學概要》。上海外語教育出版社。
- 陳望道 2008 《修辭學發凡》。復旦大學出版社。

NOTES ON THE SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

1. Journal of Viet Nam Hoc is a peer-reviewed professional journal dedicated to Vietnamese studies in the areas of humanities and social sciences, such as language, history, literature, culture and ethnic minorities.
2. The journal accepts research articles, field/work reports and book reviews. Articles and reports are normally limited to 8,000 words or less in English or 15,000 syllables in Vietnamese/Taiwanese/Japanese/Chinese. Reviews are limited to less than 2,000 words.
3. Manuscript style:
 - A) Manuscripts written in Vietnamese/Taiwanese/Japanese/Chinese or English are preferred. Please have your manuscript checked by native speakers prior to submission. Papers written in languages other than English must provide an extra English abstract.
 - B) Manuscripts written in Taiwanese must either be in Han-Roman hybrid or Roman-only styles. Roman scripts must be Peh-oe-ji, the traditional Romanized Taiwanese.
 - C) Footnotes are regarded as notes for extra information, and must be arranged at the bottom of each relevant page. References therefore should be arranged at the end of the whole text.
 - D) The potential authors should refer to the journal's sample style for references.
 - E) Manuscripts normally include a) paper title, b) abstract(s) c) full text, d) references, and e) appendix (if applicable). Abstract should be limited to 150 words and list up to five keywords.
4. Submission and review procedures:
 - A) Manuscripts are normally submitted by email. Please provide both the Word and the PDF files with appropriate fonts. An extra hardcopy/JPG file is requested if the manuscript contains special fonts.
 - B) All manuscripts submitted will be subject to double-blind peer reviews. For this purpose, please do not identify yourself in the manuscript. On a separate sheet, please provide the following information: a) Paper title, b) full name of the author(s), c) affiliation and position, d) contact methods. The submitted copy of manuscripts will not be returned in any circumstances, so please keep a copy of your own.
 - C) Only unpublished manuscripts will be considered for publication. Please submit your manuscripts at least four months prior to the proposed issue for publication.
5. Copyright and honorarium:
 - A) After the journal has been published, the author will receive one electronic copy of the issue in which the article appears, without any payment of remuneration.
 - B) It is the responsibility of the author to obtain written permission for quotations from other publications or materials for which they do not own the copyright.
 - C) Upon receipt of manuscript, the author(s) agrees to authorize its copyright to the journal publishers free of charge for publication and reproduction in both print and digital forms for an unlimited period. Authors themselves retain the right to reproduce their own paper in any volume for which the author acts as editor or author, subject to appropriate acknowledgment and citation.
6. The journal is published semiannually in January and July. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the editor-in-chief:

Wi-vun Taiffalo Chiung, Center for Vietnamese Studies, National Cheng Kung University,
1 University Rd., Tainan 701, TAIWAN
E-mail: cvsncku@gmail.com
Tel: +886-6-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: +886-6-2755190
Website: <https://cvs.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jovnh>

THẺ LỆ NỘP BÀI CHO TẠP CHÍ VIỆT NAM HỌC

1. Tạp chí Việt Nam Học là một tạp chí chuyên ngành có hệ thống thẩm định, được ra đời nhằm mục đích giới thiệu và công bố các bài viết, các công trình nghiên cứu về Việt Nam thuộc các lĩnh vực khoa học xã hội và nhân văn, như: ngôn ngữ, lịch sử, văn học, văn hóa và các dân tộc thiểu số.
2. Tạp chí nhận đăng các bài nghiên cứu, báo cáo kết quả nghiên cứu thực địa và phê bình sách. Các bài nghiên cứu và báo cáo có độ dài giới hạn không quá 8.000 từ (đối với bài viết bằng tiếng Anh) và không quá 15.000 âm tiết (đối với bài viết bằng tiếng Việt, tiếng Đài, tiếng Nhật hoặc tiếng Trung). Các bài phê bình sách có độ dài không quá 2.000 từ.
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) Chủ 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 Tạp chí được xuất bản, tác giả sẽ được tặng 1 bản điện tử của số Tạp chí có bài viết, 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”):

Wi-vun Taiffalo Chung (GS. TS. Tưởng Vĩ Văn)

Center for Vietnamese Studies, National Cheng Kung University

No.1, University Rd., Tainan 701, TAIWAN

E-mail: cvsncu@gmail.com

Tel: +886-6-2757575 ext 52627

Fax: +886-6-2755190

Website: <https://cvs.tw1.ncku.edu.tw/jovnh>

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學術誌であり、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「論文表題」「摘要(英語および本文使用言語)」「本文」「参考文献」「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
 - A) 刊行後、著者には当該号の電子版1部を贈呈します。原稿料は支給されません。
 - 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。
 - C) 投稿後は、本誌が永久かつ付加的に紙およびデジタルなどあらゆる形式によって出版・複製する権利を有することに同意したものとみなす。ただし著作者は別の媒体で再刊したり書籍の一章として再利用する権利を留保できる。ただしその場合は本誌が原発表物であることを明記すること。

書評依頼の書籍等の寄贈は

台湾 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

（封筒に『越南研究』と明記願います）

投稿はE-mail: cvsncku@gmail.com

Tel: +886-6-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: +886-6-2755190

Website: <https://cvs.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jovnh>

OÀT-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 jîn-bûn siā-hōe gián-kiù léng-hék ũ koan-hē, phi-lûn kóng gí-giân, lèk-sú, bûn-hắk, bûn-hòa kap chiò-sò chòk-kûn chia ē gī-tê lóng hoan-gêng tâu-kó.
2. Bûn-kó ē lûi-hêng: It-poaⁿ-tèk pun-chò gián-kiù lûn-bûn kap chheh-phêng n̄ng-khoán, ũ tang-sī-á mã ũ tiān-iá/kang-chok pò-kò. Gián-kiù lûn-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. Lûn-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-chíⁿ chhiáⁿ bó-gí jîn-sū kàu-tùi bûn-kó. Nā-sī kó-kiāⁿ 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-taⁿ 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 tùi lāi-bûn ē pò-chhiong kái-soeh tiòh hó, bûn-hiàn liát tī bûn-kó âu-piah 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) phiⁿ-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, léng-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-kiāⁿ lô-hoân thê-kiong Word kap PDF n̄ng khoán tóng-àn. Nā ũ tèk-piát ē jī-hêng, lô-hoân léng-gōa thê-kiong chóa-pún áh-sī JPG ē tóng-àn lāi khak-jīn lōe-iōng kám ũ têng-tāⁿ.
 - B) Khàm-miá sím-kó, pau-hâm 2-3 ē gōa-sím ē úi-oân, kòe pòⁿ- sò thong-kòe chiah chiap-siū. Tâu-kó ē sī lô-hoân ká chok-chiá ē chu-liáu kap bûn-kó hun-khui, lī-piān khàm-miá sím-kó. Chok-chiá ē chu-liáu pau-hâm a) phiⁿ-miá, b) miá-sèⁿ, c) hók-bū tan-ūi kap chít-bū, d) liân-lók hong-sek. Tâu--lāi ē kó bô beh thê-hêng, lô-hoân ka-tī lâu-té, chhiáⁿ liōng-chêng.
 - C) Pún khan-bút bô chiap-siū chít phiⁿ kó tâu kúi-ā-ē só-chāi, áh-sī bat tī kī-khan, choan-chheh hoat-piáu kòe ē gián-kiù lûn-bûn. Pún khan-bút ēng sūi kàu sūi sím ē hong-sek, lô-hoân thōng-bô tī àn-sng beh chhut-khan chìn-chêng 4 kò-goéh tâu-kó.
5. Tù-chok koân kap kó-hùi :
 - A) Kī-khan chhut-khan liáu, ē sàng hit-kī ē chhut-pán-phín tiān-chú tóng-àn hō chok-chiá, bô koh léng-gōa sng kó-hùi.
 - B) Chok-chiá ài pò-chêng bûn-kó sī ka-tī siá--ê, bô chhim-hoân lāng ē tù-chok koân. Nā úi-hoân tù-chok koân, chok-chiá ài ka-tī taⁿ hoat-lút ē chek-jīm.
 - C) Chok-chiá tâu-kó liáu tòng-chò ũ tông-ì ká tù-chok chài-sán koân, hui choan-siòk siū-koân hō pún khan-bút ēng chóa-pún kap sò-ūi ták-khoán ē hêng-sek chhut-pán kap têng chè-chō. Chok-chiá ka-tī pó-liú jit-âu ká chít phiⁿ khan tī chia ē lûn-bûn thêh khi pát-giah koh hoat-piáu iáh-sī chhut choan chheh ē koán-lí, m̄-koh ài chù-bêng kû-té tī pún khan chhut-khan--kòe.
6. Chit hūn khan-bút sī pòⁿ-nī-khan, àn-sng ták-nī ē 1--goéh kap 7-- goéh chhut-khan. Ū kó beh tâu áh-sī ũ chheh beh phêng-lûn, 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 ”)

E-mail: cvsncu@gmail.com

Tel: 06-2757575 ext 52627

Fax: 06-2755190

Website: <https://cvs.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jovnh>

《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。
3. 論文格式：
 - A) 本刊物接受用越文/台文/中文/日文或是英文書寫的文稿。書寫語言若非投稿者的母語，請投稿前自費請母語人士校稿。若稿件以英文以外的語言書寫，請同時提供一份英文摘要。
 - 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。
4. 投稿及審稿程序：
 - A) 請透過email投稿。稿件請提供Word與PDF兩種檔案。若有特別字型者，請另提供紙本或JPG圖檔以確保內容的正確性。
 - 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。
 - C) 本刊不接受一稿多投，或已於期刊或專書發表的研究論文。本刊採用隨到隨審的方式，請至少於預定出刊前4個月投稿。
5. 著作權及稿費：
 - A) 期刊出版後，將寄贈該期出版品電子檔案1份給作者，不另計稿費。
 - B) 作者須保證文稿為原作且未侵犯別人的著作權。若違反著作權，作者須自行擔負法律責任。
 - C) 作者投稿後視同同意將著作財產權永久、非專屬地授權本刊以紙本及數位的任何型式出版與重製。作者可保留日後於別處再刊或集結成冊出版的權利；若有這種情形，作者須註明原刊處。
6. 這份刊物是半年刊，預定每年1月、7月出刊。來稿或是有書要評論，請寄：
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
(請註明投稿「越南研究」)

E-mail: cvsncu@gmail.com Tel: 06-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: 06-2755190

Website: <https://cvs.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jovnh>