What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

An Introduction to Sinitic-Vietnamese Studies

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dchph
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An Introduction to Sinitic-Vietnamese Studies

DRAFT

dchph

Note: This paper is still virtually a draft. It is being edited extensively and will be updated from time to time. I just started doing some serious editing, but I am still far from getting ready to put up all the quoted sources together. I am to designate this round of editing as version 2.78. for August 2007, so if you want to quote the material, please annotate your quotations accordingly and check back again for more new update.

Also in this paper Unicode font is being used to display Vietnamese, Chinese, and other IPA symbols. You may want to download it here Arial Unicode MS. (very large, approximately 20 MB) to display all characters correctly as intended.

To make a query for a Chinese or Vietnamese word, you can always go to http://han-viet.org or to read and post your comments and questions, click here.
# Table Of Contents

## Contents

- dchph ........................................................................................................................................... 2
- ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY ............................................................................................. 7
- Introduction ................................................................................................................................... 12
  - I) ................................................................................................................................................. 13
    - A) Foreword: .............................................................................................................................. 13
    - B) The background .................................................................................................................... 18
  - B) Convention: ........................................................................................................................... 21
    - 1) The unconventional convention: ........................................................................................... 21
    - 2) Symbols and conventions: .................................................................................................... 23
  - D) A revised course in the adaption of the reconstructed ancient sound values: .................... 29
  - E) Vietnamese and Chinese commonalities ............................................................................. 32
    - 1) Modern dialectal similarities .................................................................................................. 32
    - 2) The role of Mandarin ............................................................................................................. 41
- II) THE CHINESE CONNECTION ................................................................................................ 45
  - A) Hypothesis of Chinese origin of Vietnamese ....................................................................... 46
  - B) Core matter of Vietnamese etymology ................................................................................. 54
- III) ............................................................................................................................................... 86
  - A) The underlined stratum of basic vocabularies : ................................................................. 86
    - Visual view of linked kinship of Vietnamese with other major linguistic families and their sub-strata .......................................................................................................................................... 87
  - B) Haudricourt’s theory of tonal development ......................................................................... 95
  - C) Correspondences in basic vocabularies revisited: ............................................................ 104
  - D) Similarity in cross-linguistic-family vocabularies proves no genetic relation ................. 110
1) Basic word lists at crossroads ................................................................................................ 111

IV) ............................................................................................................................................ 173

A) Sino-Tibetan etyma ............................................................................................................ 173

Sino-Tibetan with six divisions ............................................................................................... 173

Comparative lexemes in Sinitic, Bodic, Daic, Burmic languages: ............................................. 176

B) Problems in proving cognates of numerals ........................................................................ 202

B) The unfinished work ........................................................................................................... 215

E) Vietnamese and Chinese cognates in basic vocabulary stratum: ..................................... 222

1. Family relations ................................................................................................................ 228

2. Natural surroundings and phenomina ............................................................................. 229

3. Spiritual beliefs ................................................................................................................. 232

4. Plants, stables, foods, meats ........................................................................................... 233

5. Body parts and anatomy ................................................................................................. 235

6. Sensual and emotional acts and feelings ........................................................................ 236

7. Daily and common activities ............................................................................................ 237

8. Animals ............................................................................................................................ 240

Insects, pests, and parasites: ................................................................................................. 241

9. Man-made objects and tools ........................................................................................... 242

10. Most of functional words and grammatical markers (hử morals, xucí), indispensable in the Vietnamese language ....................................................................................................... 243

V) ............................................................................................................................................. 250

A) In search of sound change patterns: .................................................................................. 250

B) An analogy of Vietnamese etymology: ............................................................................... 258

1) A corollary approach: .......................................................................................................... 259

• "rằng" ................................................................................................................................. 259

• "mắt" .................................................................................................................................... 260

• "cả" ..................................................................................................................................... 261
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- "lê" .......................................................................................................................... 262
- "gạo" .......................................................................................................................... 262
- "đất" ............................................................................................................................ 263
- "đốt" ............................................................................................................................ 264
- con .................................................................................................................................... 265
- sao .................................................................................................................................... 265
- lá ....................................................................................................................................... 266
- uống .................................................................................................................................. 266

2) Words of unknown origin: .......................................................................................... 266

3) Questionable words of Chinese origin: ....................................................................... 268

VI) CASE STUDY WORKSHEET: .................................................................................. 270

Case study worksheet ..................................................................................................... 272

VII) A SYNOPSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL SOUND CHANGES FROM CHINESE TO VIETNAMESE: ......................................................................................... 276

VIII) ......................................................................................................................................... 290

APPENDICES .................................................................................................................... 298

APPENDIX A ....................................................................................................................... 298

Examples of some polysyllabic and dissyllabic vocabularies ........................................... 298

I) Composite words: ........................................................................................................... 298

NOTE: ................................................................................................................................. 299

II) Dissyllabic compound words: ....................................................................................... 300

NOTE: ................................................................................................................................. 300

IV) Reduplicative dissyllabic and polysyllabic compound words: ..................................... 300

NOTE: ................................................................................................................................. 300

V) Polysyllabic "Vietnamized" English and French words: ................................................... 301

NOTE: ................................................................................................................................. 301
VI) Some culturally-accented Vietnamese of Chinese origin: ................................................ 302

NOTE: ......................................................................................................................................... 303

APPENDIX B........................................................................................................................... 303

APPENDIX C........................................................................................................................... 303

Examples of some variable sound changes........................................................................... 303

APPENDIX D........................................................................................................................... 305

The case of "sông" .................................................................................................................. 305

APPENDIX E........................................................................................................................... 308

The case of "chết" ................................................................................................................... 308

APPENDIX F........................................................................................................................... 310

The case of "ruôi" .................................................................................................................. 310

APPENDIX G.......................................................................................................................... 312

The case of "ngà" ................................................................................................................... 312
ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY:

- AC = Ancient Chinese (TiếngHán Thượngcổ 上古漢語)
- Amoy = Fukienese or Fùjiàn (TiếngPhúckiến hay Hạmôn 厦門方言)
- ArC = Archaic Chinese (TiếngHán Tháithượngcổ 太古漢語)
- associative sandhi process = changes of sound of words as the results of the assimilation of the sound or form of similar word in the same context.
- Austroasiatic = Austroasiatic linguistic family (Ngữhệ NamÁ)
- AV= Ancient-Vietnamese, also, ancient Việt-Mường (TiếngViệtcổ, TiếngViệt-Mườngcổ)
- B = Beijing dialect (thổngữ Bắckinh 北京方言)
- Beijing = Beijing dialect (thổngữ Bắckinh 北京方言)
- bound morphemes = the smallest meaningful phonological units that are bound together and usually appear in pairs to form composite words
- C = Chinese in general (TiếngHán 漢語) (See also: tiếngTàu)
- Cant. = Cantonese (TiếngQuảngđông 廣東方言)
- cf., or " §" = compare (sosánh)
- character = mostly referring to a Chinese ideogram; also, a Roman letter or a ideographic symbol (chữ, tự, mảutự 字母, 漢字)
- Chin., Chinese = Chinese in general (TiếngHán 漢語) (See also: tiếngTàu)
- Chin. dialects, Chinese dialects = 7 major Chinese dialects, including sub-dialects (phươngngữHán, TiếngTàu 漢語方言)
- Chaozhou (Chiewchow) = a sub-dialect of Fukienese, also known as Tchiewchou (tiếngTriều, tiếngTiều 朝州方言)
- composite word = two-syllable word that is composed of two bound morphemes of which either one of them cannot function fully as a word (từ kép, từ songâmtiếkt)
- compound word = two-syllable word that is composed of two words (từghé p, từ songâmtiếkt)
- doublet = A Chinese character of the same root that appears in different form (同源辞)
- diachronic = concerning historical development of language of something through time
- Dai = T'ai, Tai, Tày, and sometimes Thai, languages (傣語)
- ex. = example (= td. 'thídụ')
- dissyllabics = Characteristics of a language based on its dominant two-syllable words in its vocabulary (雙音節性)
- EM = Early Mandarin
- EMC = Early Middle Chinese (前中古漢語)
- Fk = Fuzhou, Fukienese (福州 or Amoy (厦门方言)
- FQ (or Pt) = ‘fănqiè’ 反切 (initial and syllabic conjugation, a Chinese lexical spelling)
- Hai. = Hainanese, a sub-dialect of Fukienese or Amoy (海南方言)
- HN = Nôm words, or Vietnamese words, of Chinese origin (漢喃)
- ideograph/ideogram = a written symbol of language writing system developed from graphic representation (形像字母)
- "iro" (or #) = in reverse order (逆序)
- IPA = the International Phonetic Symbol (Phôn âm Quốc tế)
- K, Kh. = Khmer or Cambodian (Caomiên)
- Kinh / NgườiKinh = literally "the metropolitans", or "the Kinh", meaning the Vietnamese majority ethnic group living in the coastal lowlands as opposed to "NgườiThượng" (the Montagnards) which denotes minority ethnic groups living in remote highlands in Vietnam (京族)
- Latinized / Latinization: same as Romanized / Romanization (羅丁拼音)
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- loangraph = A loangraph in Chinese is a homophone conveying a different meaning but using the same ideographic character (giàtá, 假借)
- LZ = Late Zhou, L. Zhou (Cuối Đời Châu 周末)
- M = Mandarin, QT (Tiếng Phôthông, tiếng Quanthoại 普通話, 國語)
- Malay = Malay linguistic affinity (Ngữ chi Mãlai 馬來語 支)
- Mao-Nan = Mao-Nan language, a Mon-Khmer language spoken by Mao-Nam ethnic group in Southern China (Tiếng Maonam 毛南語) MC = Middle Chinese (Tiếng Hán Trung cổ 中古漢語)
- MK = Mon-Khmer linguistic affinity (Ngữ chi Mon-Khmer)
- monosyllabics = Characteristics of a language based on its dominant one-syllable words in its vocabulary (tính đơn âm tiết 單音節性)
- N = Original Vietnamese, also old Chinese-based Vietnamese writing system
- (từ Nôm, tiếng Nôm hoặc từ thuần Việt 純喃辭匯, chữ Nôm "字喃")
- Nôm = Nôm characters, an old Chinese-character bases Vietnamese writing system, or in expanding meaning Nôm words, HN (Hán Nôm), Vietnamese words, of Chinese origin (Hán Nôm 漢喃辭匯)
- Nùng = Zhuang language, same as Đồng, Tráng (Tiếng Nùng 莊語, 埕語)
- OC = Old Chinese (Tiếng Hán Cổ 古漢語)
- OV = Old Vietnamese form (Tiếng Việt cổ / Tiếng Việt Mường cổ)
- Pt = FQ 'fănqiè' phiên thiết (initial and syllabic conjugation, a Chinese lexical spelling)
- Pinyin = People's Republic of China's official Romanization transcription system of Pǔtōnghuà (pinyin hay là phiên âm 拼音)
- polysyllabism = Characteristics of a language based on its dominant multi-syllable words in its vocabulary (tính đa âm tiết 多音節性)
- Pre-SV = pre-Sino-Vietnamese (Tiền Hán Việt 前漢越辭匯)
- Pro-C = proto-Chinese (Tiếng Hán Tiềnsử 前史漢語)
- Putonghua or Pǔtōnghuà = Official name of Mandarin (Tiếng phôthông hay là Quanthoại 普通話/國語)
- PV = proto-Vietnamese, proto-Vietic (TiếngViệt Tiềnsữ)
- radical = basic Chinese ideographic root on which other characters are built (túcăn 語根)
- Quốcngữ = Vietnamese national orthography
- Romanized / Romanization: same as Latinized / Latinization (Latinhhoá 羅丁拼音)
- synonymous compound = compound word that is composed of two synonymous syllables or words (từghép đẳnglập, từkép đẳnglập, từ songâmtíệt đẳnglập)
- sandhi = change of sound of word under the influence of a preceding or following sound
- sandhi process of assimilation / association = same as the associative sandhi process
- synchronic = studying language as it exists at a certain point in time, without considering its historical development
- Sinicized or Siniticized = influenced, characterized, and/or identified by Chinese elements
- ST = Sino-Tibetan (HánTạng 漢藏語系)
- SV = Sino-Vietnamese (HánViệt 漢越辭匯)
- Tchiewchow = a sub-dialect of Fukienese, also known as Chaozhou (tiếngTriều, tiếngTiều 朝州方言)
- Thường / NgườiThường = See: Kinh/NguờiKinh
- TiếngTàu = a slight degrading term to connote the Chinese languages, of which the term "Tàu" could have been originated from Tần ‘Qín 秦’ or tiếngTiều 朝州方言 (từ "Tàu" cóthể do "Tần" hoặc tiếngTiều 朝州方言 màra.)
- V, Viet. = Vietnamese (TiếngViệt 越南話)
- "Vietnamized" = Characterized by the localization of loanwords to fit into Vietnamese speech habit (Việthoa 越化)
- VM = Việt-Mường form (TiếngViệtMuông 越孟語)
- VS = Sinitic-Vietnamese (HánNôm 漢喃辭匯)
• Zhuang = the Zhuang language, same as Nùng, Đồng, Tráng (TiếngNùng 莊語, 墩語)

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Introduction

Originally this paper is entitled *Introduction to Sinitic-Vietnamese Studies*. What I had initially in mind is to introduce some new findings in the study field of the Chinese (C, Chin.) origin of a vast little-known stock of the Vietnamese (V, Viet.) vocabulary, which is to be called the HánNôm, or Sinitic-Vietnamese (VS, Nôm).

During the course of putting things together, I have to reconcile myself with the fact that in the Asian linguistic circle philologists seem to be strongly in favor of the Mon-Khmer (MK) origin of the Vietnamese language with a wide-range basic words in V that appear to be in agreement with those of MK languages. Interestingly, by doing so they are not aware that many of those V etyma related to those in Chin. one way or another as they are cited in this paper.

For the change of the title of this work into *What makes Vietnamese so Chinese?* I find it deemed to be much more appropriate for what will be put in discussion in this paper that will reflect the substantial findings of massive V etyma that resemble those of Chin. so much that they could still shed doubts on the MK theory. For such reason, main points of my discussion about the Chin. factors in the V language still remain the same insofar as V and Chin. are concerned, etymologically.

These newly identified words of Chin. origin are direct results of applying two etymological methods called dissyllabic and analogical approaches. The first one is to treat sound changes of two-syllable Chinese words to Vietnamese as being unrestricted to and independent of individual one-syllable words to identify multiple patterns of sound changes that have occurred to the same syllable in polysyllabic Chinese lexicons in the process of their natural adaption in Vietnamese. This method, in turn, will help analogize sibling glosses within a categorical group and in a cultural context, i.e., if a word has a Chinese origin, chances are that its related words could be the same, too, which would go unnoticed otherwise. This subsequent methodology is called the analogical approach.
By applying these two new etymological approaches, more Vietnamese words of Chinese origin, including those of basic vocabulary stratum, can be unveiled. Implications of any new development in this study can be used to rebut the arguments that the origin of Vietnamese is of the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic linguistic family. In addition, evidences on Chinese linguistic traits found in this study, therefore, may eventually help strengthen the foundation for re-classifying Vietnamese into the Sino-Tibetan (ST) linguistic family.

In the meanwhile, even though the HánViệt, or Sino-Vietnamese (SV), sound system, obviously a variation of Middle Chinese (MC), is not the subject matter under discussion in this study, its sound change patterns and rules are also utilized here.

1) INTRODUCTION:

Before I go into discussion of the main subject, I would like to introduce a sketch of the main points made in this study, along with the background underlining a compelling motive that has drawn me to do this research, the goal I wish to achieve, then I will define some terms and explain the conventions, abbreviations, and symbols used here.

This paper is intended for both linguistic specialists and general readers as well, so please bear with me should I explain too much of anything, which is so obvious to specialists in the field study, or too little of everything, which general readers will find it difficult to follow.

A) Foreword:

I am well aware that today's belief in the linguistic world is going strongly more for theories of Mon-Khmer (MK) root in the Austroasiatic linguistic family (ALF) for the origin of Vietnamese than for those of older Sino-Tibetan (ST) camp. However, bear in mind that current hypotheses about the Mon-Khmer genetic affinity of Vietnamese is still only another theory, an unfinished work, not quite satisfactorily proven yet. In this circumstance, the Sino-Tibetan school of thought is still holding ground for its prior
theoretical merits, still worth being recapped and explored further because there are equally solid linguistic evidences pointing to that direction.

In studying the Vietnamese language as it appears in its wholeness, in terms of its linguistic characteristics and traits, actually it doesn't matter much whether initially it was originated in the Mon-Khmer linguistic sub-family or not(1) but all it counts is what makes it up as a living language as it appears today with all the attributes considered as natural parts of a language. Analogically, the English language can be regarded as such a case, that is, when we look at this language, we see the language presents itself in its wholeness, not just only the Anglo-Saxon parts of it. Similarly, Vietnamese is a language that has blended itself beautifully with all Chinese elements that are impartible and one can see in it neither only those common peculiarities nor solely Mon-Khmer traces of a limited amount of their etyma. The same holds true for those of other languages in the Austroasiatic family such as Munda despite of the fact that one can find a certain amount of basic glosses between the two languages and that does not make Munda even a distant cousin of Vietnamese.

The fact that, as presented in this paper, the nature of linguistic attributes of Vietnamese is so similar to Chinese in most of the aspects that make what a language of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family (STLF) look like should also make Vietnamese a class of the same linguistic family. For this reason, sidelining the main objective to prove the Chinese origin of thousands of Vietnamese words, this study is also an attempt to answer the question: "Is the Vietnamese language is characteristically much closer to the Chinese language than to a Mon-Khmer language such as Khmer?" This research will demonstrate that it is much more like Chinese, which is so obvious, above anything else, e.g. grammar, grammatical markups and instrumental prepositions, tonal system, phonology, peculiar expressions, and, especially, monosyllabic stems and lexical compositions from the same etyma which make up a vast amount of Vietnamese words, which, at first sight, seem to be "pure" Vietnamese, or indigenous, but actually in most cases might have Chinese origin.
By taking the dissyllabic and analogical approaches suggested in this paper, you will see how thousands of more Vietnamese vocabularies can be positively identified, which undoubtedly have been either missed or neglected in the field of Vietnamese historical linguistics up to date from the day those Vietnamese specialists have started abandoning the Sino-Tibetan ship and jumping on the Austroasiatic bandwagon since the later half of the last century.

In the meanwhile, for the term "the Austroasiatic linguistic family" (ALF) I will identify it with linguistic roots of many indigenous languages being spoken by many ethnic groups of the Yue (Yueh, or BáchViệt) descendants, also known as the Yues as terminologically mentioned in Chinese ancient historical records, who are still living in the Southern part of China today, including the largest Zhuang (Nùng) minority whose language is universally classified as that of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family, not to mention several other ethnic groups currently living in those mountainous regions of North Vietnam, in Laos, as well as the peoples of Daic origin in today's Thailand. Those facts will eventually bring us to converge other notions that all ancient Yue dialectal speakers did have common ancestors, who have sometimes been referred to as "the larger Proto-Tai (or Pre-Tai) indigenous stock" that might have split up into many distinct ethnic groups such as Zhuang or Dai as best known in our era. Aboriginals of this stock might have lived in the habitats which in ancient times used to embrace a vast region below the Yangtze River, east and south, all the way to the surrounding seas. Notably, Proto-Tai people could also have been the ancestors of the Zhou's Kings, as having been long speculated by many renowned East Asian historians. They had not only made up the ethnic composition of citizens -- possibly with the exception of those of the Qin State if we equate them with "the Proto-Chinese" -- of the states of Chu, Qi, Jin, Yan, and Han in the Six States in the Warring Period, that in the later time all merged with the Qin's populace to become "the mixed-stock Chinese", but also, at the same time, further broken down into smaller tribal groups and finally evolved into ethnic diversities, hence the Yue peoples as later appeared in Chinese historical records, over the span of many thousand years prior to the unification of a vast pre-China's empire ruled by Qin.
Shihuang of the Qin Dynasty, of which all the Qin's citizens in the melting pot of the first unified empire had become "the Early Chinese" of the later Middle Kingdom in periods following the rise of the Han Dynasty. Those Yues who could have not withstood the process of integrating forces of the Han culture fled to mountainous regions. Over the time their forced migratory and fleeing paths had been pushed further southwards into the aforementioned areas and became what they appear at the present time.

(Interestingly enough, similar scenarios repeated again exactly the same process that had happened to both those indigenous peoples and migrants who had previously lived or already long resettled in the Northern part of today's Vietnam around the Red River’s delta regions when the "composite Han" -- or "the Early Chinese", the Chinese in Han Dynasty from many regions of those states which had fallen under the umbrella of Qin Dynasty in the previous period -- armies came to invade, including those war-savaged immigrants to follow later. Once having reached the new territories those Northerners as conquerers mostly had resettled there forever. Undoubtedly their offsprings over the time had numerously multiplied and give birth to next generations. Again, all could have mixed up with the indigenous people, who in turn would have possibly intermarried with other waves of those mixed-stock Chinese immigrants from the China-North (華北 Huabei) and -South (華南 Huanan) who have come later throughout the next two millenia until our time to form the new "Kinh", ie. Vietnamese, group.) Under such historical circumstances, languages in "the Austroasiatic linguistic family" had been formed out of Pro-Taic languages around 3000 years ago, long before the emergence of the Zhou Dynasty. In other words, on the one hand they all had been stemmed from an ancestral Proto-Taic linguistic form supposedly spoken by the so-called "larger Proto-Tai indigenous people" and finally evolved themselves into linguistic forms of the Yues including those spoken by the Zhuang, the Dai, etc. while, on the other hand, they had branched off to become other languages included in what is now commonly known as the Austroasiatic linguistic family. Furthermore, during the reigns of Zhou's Kings Proto-Taic glosses had also found their way into, intertwined and interpolated, and merged with the Archaic Chinese, also known as Ancient Chinese, that had come a long way since its break-off from the Sino-Tibetan route and evolve itself independently.
(See Brodrick, 1942. Norman, 1988. Wiens, 1967. FitzGerald, 1972) Variants of this early form of old Chinese later had followed the Han soldiers and emigrants to go south all the way to Annamese (“Tonking”) regions and have blended well gradually with the Proto-Vietic language.

This concept of "Austroasiatic", therefore, is only implicitly used in this paper, which is to be often referred to as "the Yue languages" with the implication that this terminology does not include the Mon-Khmer languages in the direct sense of affinity that the ancestral Vietnamese as Proto-Vietmuong had emerged and formed from them even though, they, as a whole, constitute another sub-family in the larger Austroasiatic linguistic family as commonly referred to by modern linguists. That is to say, in this paper Austroasiatic languages may mean the same thing as the Yue languages and this implication inevitably will put Vietnamese in line with popular theories that it originally had started out from a common Austroasiatic linguistic root. It is so because they had actually broken off from the "Proto-Daic" mainstream long before the Proto-Vietmuong formation. Under this perspective, hence, the only difference is that the Mon-Khmer languages are not included in this classification since they are not in synchronic connection with the Sinitic scope we are investigating under which Chinese elements are seen to have been adopted and their materials used profusely and vehemently to nurture genesis of a new form of speech built around the Proto-Vietic core largely by illiterate common populace from all walks of life. Both Daic and Archaic Chinese strata in Vietnamese solidly support that point of view.

Nothing is contradictory about this idea if we take into consideration that Chinese and Tibetan, despite of their affinity, are two completely different languages, just like the Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer languages. Nonetheless, in the case of Vietnamese and its becoming, the so-called indigenous Proto-Vietmuong language originally spoken by those people living in the Delta of the Red River began to have split up into those of Proto-Muong, to have gone with those Muong groups who fled into the mountainous regions, and Proto-Vietic, with a much further fusion with what appears to be variations of Ancient Chinese brought in by the Han invaders accompanied by new settlers, to
have been spoken by those who stayed behind and integrated with Han expansionists and then their descendants as well as many more other "composite Chinese" who came later waves after waves. Again, many remnants and residues of Ancient Chinese still exist in modern Vietnamese allow us to see the matter as such. From that time on the Vietnamese language has been developed and evolved around the Chinese linguistic cores, though characteristically unique and separate due to the habit of people's speech, that seem to be a parallelism of the origin and evolution of Zhuang or Tai languages, which are firmly classified as those of Sino-Tibetan linguistic family.

Regarding to the Mon-Khmer origin of the Vietnamese language, what has been discussed to date prior to this study mostly has been based on claims that certain Vietnamese basic words correspond to those basic glosses scatteringly dotting throughout many Mon-Khmer languages, a majority of which, amusingly enough, turns out to be cognate to those of Chinese (so then reasonably a question can be asked: who had borrowed those words from whom?) However, the question of whether those arguments on the matter of Mon-Khmer affinity of Vietnamese are still valid or not after examining the findings presented in this research is open for further discussion and investigation.

B) The background:

How have I gone about this etymological affair? Admittedly I am no Vietnamese historical linguist by training whatsoever except for having taken those linguistic courses taught by Professor Nguyễn Tài Cẩn and Professor Hoàng Tuệ in the School of Letters of Saigon University back in the late 1970's. In my spare time, however, I simply have been lucky enough for having been exposed to the Chinese language in some scholarly fields for quite a time. The encounter with the Chinese historical linguistics over the years has aroused inside me a curiosity for the Chinese linguistic past and that experience, analogically the same as that of English learners who know well the Latin and other Roman languages, has widened my knowledge of the Chinese etyma and Vietnamese etymology of Chinese origin. Hence from there has my conviction of the
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

Sino-Tibetan connection, in the sense that all other variants of the Yue languages being regarded as of the same linguistic family, grown much more firmly. For this matter, in the end of this research paper you will find a long list of the bibliography, that I have read word by word -- not just by excerpts for the purpose of citing quotations to support my arguments -- over the past twenty some years, that has led me into such belief. Also, I will try to identify as many related resourceful linguistic websites as possible which I will readily admit I have only skimmed for related information, but not deliberately read them as those in print. Even though the electronic forms have proven their superior strength, the problem of their reliability and durability lies in the fact they are in constant changes as their authors see fit and that down the line for the next 20 years, who knows how many of them will still be around and available as they are today in the cyberspace for interested readers to refer to just in case. (Please try to find any cited sources no longer existant in http://archive.org).

Anyway, being totally so fascinated by this subject I have spent enormous time teaching myself Vietnamese and Chinese and their historical linguistics and been compelled to explore the ideas of tracing etymological proofs for many Nôm (N) words of Chinese origin. Metaphorically, just like a pilgrim who is in constant search for sacredly spiritual revelation in his or her life, in this etymological expedition I have unexpectedly stumbled upon hitches and hits in the ancient world of Chinese linguistic sound bits, for which I have jotted down in the old-fashioned index cards, and discovered a whole picture of the Vietnamese etymological structure and essence. Indeed, I have finally come to terms that the Vietnamese and Chinese languages have so much more similarities, even more than what they share among the Sino-Tibetan languages themselves, than those of any other Mon-Khmer languages as have been suggested so far that they all were originated from the same root as that of Vietnamese. It is from this conviction that I have begun sorting things out, literally out of my index cards that are numbered 20,000 plus, and now I am in the process of gathering supporting arguments to nurture my hypothesis that most, if not all, Vietnamese words have a Chinese origin and,
sometimes, for those basic vocabularies, they appear to be cognate to those of Chinese, that is, both from the same root.

In the process of working on this project, to be specific, I have recorded substantial findings and have started to theorize them and I will, gradually, post them on the internet as I am progressing. This is the goal I am determined to pursue by setting forth the new linguistic expedition going for the Sino-Tibetan direction since I view language as a living thing as what actually appears to me with all its characteristics other than what originally was from start, let's say, ten thousand years ago. With the results found, with its genetic affinity proven valid or not, Vietnamese will probably once again be reconsidered and reclassified as a language that belongs to the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family given the common linguistic peculiarities existant in both Vietnamese and Chinese.

The benefits, accordingly, from such classification come from the fact that it will enable us to approach Vietnamese historical linguistics from a much different and wider perspective by being able to access plenty of research tools and accomplishments in Chinese linguistic studies made available to us to apply not only in Vietnamese historical linguistics or etymology, but also in various fields of Vietnamese studies as well, such as Vietnamese anthropology and archeology regarding the origin and biological composition of Vietnamese people and their nation.

It is possibly so as we all have known, most largest linguistic institutions on earth all have devoted and invested a large amount of resources and expertise in the field of studying the Chinese linguistics, so those benefits are foreseeable, for instance, any progress in any fields of Chinese linguistics can be equally applied to Vietnamese research without much reservation. Applicably, the same cannot be done much with those achievements in the fields of studies of the Mon-Khmer languages. Let's say, Chinese is now treated as a polysyllabic language and that linguistic characteristic has faithfully reflected in its "pinyin", or romanized Chinese transcription system, so should
be the Vietnamese orthography in the context of attempting to reform its current inefficient monosyllabic writing system.

Lastly, as to my goal as stated from the outset, hopefully my final work will also give the Vietnamese etymology this kind of fresh perspective with concrete results with which future lexicographers will make use of to corporate them into a Vietnamese dictionary with all etymological list for each word, which a Vietnamese dictionary has never had before.

B) Convention:

1) The unconventional convention:

The unconventional technical approach taken in the writing of this paper is that there will not be a whole section to be devoted to listing all the rules of sound changes, natural or unnatural, from Chinese to Sinitic-Vietnamese as one usually would expects, but only a synopsis will be provided in the last section. The reason is that, firstly, that is tantamount to a complicated task since the sound changes patterns have occurred somewhat rather unsystematically and unnaturally, not in batches and shifts and drifts as in the case of the Sino-Vietnamese sound system which has been quite well documented (see Nguyễn Tài Căn, 1979, 2001). The sound changes did happen, though. Throughout the examples cited in this research you will see that Chinese words have infiltrated the Vietnamese vocabulary continuously since the ancient time in different periods and, concurrently, from a variety of Chinese dialects colloquially, including Mandarin seen as official language of imperial courts of China throughout its history including those of dynasties after Vietnam gained it independence in the 10th century. If my work will later on prove to be of high value, some specialist in categorization will help systemize and catalog all the possible sound change rules accordingly.
Secondly, this research, for the time being, should be treated only as a demonstration of how the application of my two new etymological approaches have been utilized and how their yielded results have come about throughout the whole process in finding the Vietnamese words of Chinese origin, which I call the Sinitic-Vietnamese (VS). Accordingly, the underlined rules of phonological changes by no means can be treated as a complete reference manual because this research, as a matter of fact, is still an on-going work that is constantly being edited and modified in the years to come.

Thirdly, as a result, the methodologies utilized here are more suggestive than definite and, unless stated otherwise, they always should be considered and used only as etymological tools, among others, to explore tentative rules of sound changes from one word to another, that is, what changes into what or how it has happened.

Lastly, it would become a long and boring paper as I have seen in many works if we just cite long list of rules of sound changes instead of focusing on exploring interesting case studies and discussing about the process of how to draw a conclusion of sound changes for specific newly-discovered words found to be of Chinese origin. By doing so, in the end you can learn how to do the same yourself after understanding how I have manipulated my approaches to reach certain conclusions. Therefore, sound change rules will be discussed only in a scattering, but not sparingly though, manner throughout this paper, that can be found in any sections or paragraphs, as needs arise when a demand for explanation of how the final sound changes have actually occurred and which could be only applicable and limited to certain cases and why they did not occur to the other sounds of the same nature. Again, the important thing is to let you understand how the sound changes have occurred in certain ways either by linguistic rules or just a matter of speculation. Similarly, you can learn to apply the same approaches yourself just as I have done.
2) Symbols and conventions:

In this paper I will use both common conventions utilized in the fields of historical linguistics and some uncommon signs and symbols of my own. The reader should already be familiar with some commonly used linguistic symbols, the International Phonetic Symbol (IPA), and Vietnamese (V) orthography (Quốcngữ) (2). Abbreviations will be noted once when they first appear. Examples within a paragraph will be wrapped to the next separate line and numbered or bulleted (●) for better illustration. Also, in most of the cases, there may be lengthy comments about patterns of sound changes and evolution of those Vietnamese words under scrutiny, to be put in between square brackets as [xxx yyy zzz], as how they have come about in order to support arguments about the Chinese origin of those words. After all, that is the purpose of this etymological research.

English meanings will be noted once after each word and by no means exhaustive. Sometimes they will be omitted if deemed irrelevant. The commonly used symbols include

- “>” denoting “evolves into” (diachronically),
- “<” sign “derived from” (diachronically),
- “=>” “giving rise to” (by a phonetic rule),
- “~>” “giving rise to” (by analogy),
- “<=” "built with",
- “~” “alternating with” or "is cognate to" (synchronically),
- "$" for literary use only, as opposed to a vernacular or colloquial form
- "#" in reverse order ("iro"),
- "@" associated with, identified with, assimilated with ("liêntưởng", "đồnghoá")
- "©" archaic, old usage, obsolete
- "©" contraction, sound dropped or deleted
- "$", cf., compare
- "¶" pattern of sound change
Since the resemblance of both Vietnamese and Chinese in terms of linguistic traits, to
be discussed later through this paper, in many a case is closer than those of many
Sino-Tibetan languages as they appear to Chinese, I will use the term Sinitic-
Vietnamese (VS) or the HánNôm, including Nôm (supposedly indigenous or "pure", but
actually not, Vietnamese words), to signify the Chinese linguistic attributes that exist in
those Vietnamese words, mostly, of Chinese origin. It is because for those etymons
under investigation the Vietnamese counterparts of those Chinese roots are mostly
conformable to those phonetic, phonological, semantic, syntactical, lexical, and other
linguistic peculiarities such as the tonal system that exist in the Chinese language.
Accordingly, the term "Sinitic-Vietnamese Studies" is chosen to denote those fields of
studying common linguistic traits shared by both Chinese and Vietnamese and
approaches to research the Vietnamese etymology of Chinese origin.Awaiting further
studies to be done, neither term necessarily means proven genetic affinity between the
two languages, equally applying to other Sino-Tibetan languages, even though obviously they imply a linguistic classification. For now it should be considered only as a mere suggestion that, with all of its little-known “Sinitic”, or Chinese, peculiarities, Vietnamese may belong to Sino-Tibetan or, probably a new classification to be created, a Sinitic sub-division in the Sino-Tibetan language family.

In the lexical aspect, in contrast with Sinitic-Vietnamese is the term Sino-Vietnamese (SV), or HánViệt. It is commonly used mostly to refer to the systematic Vietnamese pronunciation of massive Chinese vocabulary essentially used in modern Vietnamese. Analogically Sino-Vietnamese words are just like those of Latin or Greek origin in English. There is a consensus that Sino-Vietnamese is a slight variation of Middle Chinese (MC) sounds. Sometimes the term Sino-Vietnamese loosely embraces some other variants of Sino-Vietnamese lexicons found in the Old Chinese (OC) (also called Archaic Chinese (ArC)), the Ancient Chinese (AC) (sometimes called the Early Middle Chinese (EMC)) loanwords or Tiền-HánViệt (“the Pre-Sino-Vietnamese” (Pre-SV)), and their variants in Vietnamese which sometimes dated as far back to the Proto-Chinese (Pro-C) source, for instance,

- (1) bụt, (2) Phật, (3) vãi 佛 Fó (Phật) [ M 佛 fó < MC but < *OC bjët | %@ OC *phjet > MC phut > M fó, | Buddh (from Sanscript) | VS Bụt > SV Phật | Cant. : fat 42, Wenzhou : vai42, ] : Buddha, buddhist, buddhist monk,
- (1) vợ, (2) phụ, (3) bụa  婦 fù (phụ) [ M 婦 fù < MC bjëw < *OC bjëʔ ] : wife, lady, woman,
- (1) chài, (2) lưới, (3) chàilưới, (4) là 羅 luó (la) [ @ & 羅 luó (la) + 羅 luó (lưới) | M 羅 luó < MC la < OC *jraija ] : fish by net, bird-net, net,
- (1) cộ, (2) xe, (3) xecồ, (4) cồ, (5) cỏxe : 車 chē (xa) [ @& 車 chē (xe) + 車 chē (cồ) ~ M 車 chē, jū < MC ku < OC *kla | Note that “cỏxe” could also be orginated from Cantonese 架車 /kache/. | According to Starostin, in MC 車 also read tʂa, FQ 尺遮 (whence Mand. chē, Viet. xa), but this reading is rather recent (judging from rhymes, not earlier than Eastern Han) and must stem from some Old
Chinese dialect. Vietnamese has also a colloquial loan from the same source: xe. If the reconstruction is indeed *kla, one can think of an early borrowing from IE.

and other compound words not found in a Chinese or Sino-Vietnamese dictionary, such as công cuốc (incorrectly assumed as 公 gōng + 局 jú) task (see below).

In this paper, except where the term Sino-Vietnamese (SV) clearly applies to words as best exhibited in a Hán Việt từ điển, i.e. a Sino-Vietnamese dictionary, the Sinitic-Vietnamese (VS) lexicons will include all mono- and disyllabic words of Chinese origin, including those that appear and sound like a SV term, for example,

- **cuốc in công cuốc (< 公 gōngzuò ‘task’)**

is not a Sino-Vietnamese word, but it is an innovation of the sound change from

- 作 zuò [tsuɔ4] ‘task’ to **cuộc** [kwok8] [ M 作 zuō, zuó, zuò < MC cʌk < OC *ɕa:k | FQ 則落 ]

and merely a local development in Vietnamese. In all probability it, of which its characteristic similarity will be extended to other words of the same nature, was originally derived either from a vernacular form of Northern Chinese dialects (represented by Mandarin (M)) by changing [ts-] to [kw-] and by keeping the old final labiovelar [-ɔk] as demonstrated by the Cantonese /dzwok/. Another scenario is that it could be a result of association of the sound and meaning of **cục** [kuɔkʷ] (局 jú), as in **世局** shìjú (SV: thế cục) # ‘cuộc đời’, which I call the sandhi process of assimilation or association. This phenomenon has commonly taken place in the Vietnamese etymology of Chinese origin, to be discussed in detail later.

As illustrated in the above examples and throughout this paper, I will provide with related Chinese characters to be accompanied by Pinyin (拼音) for the purpose of identifying the related sounds even though in many circumstances Pinyin transcription is
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

enough and actually less distracting than those illustrated Chinese characters constructed with jiăjiē 假借, or loangraphs. Loangraphs in Chinese mean something like homophones having different meanings such as English 'yard', 'glass', 'page', 'lie' and the like. Pinyin is the People's Republic of China's official romanization system utilized to transcribe Mandarin or “Pǔtōnghuà ”普通話.

For exact sound transcriptions International Phonetic Alphabet symbols are mostly used to transcribe dialectal, ancient sounds, as well as precise phonetic value (to be put in square brackets “[xxx]”, as opposed to the two slashes ”/yyy/” to indicate only an approximate sound value) in certain circumstances to emphasize the true phonetic values of cited lexicons, such as the case of Vietnamese dung, that is [jun̚1] /joung/, but not [dung], or thin [tʻxin4] /thein/, but not [thin4], or tin [tin1] /tin/, but not [txn1] /tein/, or thu [tʻu1] /thou/, but not [thu1] /thu/, etc. for the sake of clarity where subtle phonemes need to be identified as diphthongs for a comparative analysis. To be easier for typography, the above cited symbols are also transcribed as [ou] and [ein] or /ou/ and /ein/, respectively, whenever the true sound values could not be mistaken for something else. This way of transcriptions will be applied to other sound values, too, which will be noted and illustrated when needs arise.

In fact, with the IPA transcriptions, in many cases it will be easier to see the relationship of those exact Vietnamese phonetic values with those of Chinese characters than with pinyin transcriptions, for example, "gu" and "ku" are actually pronounced [ku] and [kʻu], not [gu] and [ku], respectively.

This mechanism is also utilized by Pulleyblank (1984) in his reconstruction work of Old Chinese with his discussion of the possibility of certain phonetic values of Old Chinese which were seen as vaguely described in the ancient Chinese materials. Also, to avoid typographical complications and confusion with IPA diacritical symbols, just as illustrated in the above examples, different tonal indications such as that of numbers 1, 2 ... to 9 to follow after each sound transcription, as they are specifically designated for each respective Chinese dialects, such as Fukienese (Fuzhou), Tchiewchow.
(Chaozhou), Hainanese, or other languages, i.e., Daic, Thai, Vietnamese, etc. Per
collection these tonal symbols are commonly used in transcribing Cantonese (Cant.),
Fukienese, and other Chinese dialects and, sometimes, also even in Vietnamese, of
which tones specifically are numbred according to the old traditional 8 tone
classification as described in Guăngyùn 廣韻, Jerry Norman (1988. p.55) Chinese, and
other historical linguistic books including modern Nguồngộc và Quátrình Hinhthành Cá
chđộc Âm HánViệt ('The Origin and Tranformational Process of the Sino-Vietnamese
Pronunciation') by Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (1979, 2001). Specifically, they are:

| 1. | 3. | ? | 5. | 7. | -p, -t, -c, -ch |
| 2. | ` | 4. | ~ | 6. | . |

However, this tonal numbering system will be used sparingly only when essentially
needed, mainly to avoid confusion with the exact tonal values that are commonly used
with other Chinese dialects, each of which may carry a slight different tonal value even
with the same numbering denotation.

In transcribing Vietnamese sound and tonal values, its modern diacritics will be the first
choice to be used in combination with the IPA system, e.g., [à], [ã], [ă], etc. if they are
not to be confused with other phonetic IPA values. Therefore, for a precise tone value of
Vietnamese or Mandarin the reader can always refer to Quốcngữ diacritics or Pinyin
tonal marks, respectively, e.g., ā, á, ā, à, a, etc., which certainly take on different tonal
values than those of Vietnamese diacritical look-alikes.

However, there will be cases of tonal omissions. The reason for occasional omission of
the tonal indications is their irrelevancy with the belief that the tones of many Sinitic-
Vietnamese words must have been changed completely after having gone through so
many cycles of tonal alternations over the span of hundreds of years. In many cases
they might have changed back to the exact values of the initial ones! (This phenomenon
is found common in Chinese historical linguistics like in other aspects such as initials or
syllabic endings.)
Phonemically, like their initial and medial counterparts, such as ch- [c], kh- [k], ph- [pf], r-[rh] th-[tʰ], tr-[t], and nh-[ɲ] (sometimes to be transcribed as c-, kh-, f-, r-, th-, tr-, and ɲ- or nh-, respectively) and -uy -[wej] or -iê -[iə] (which are transcribed in IPA, respectively, as [wej] and [iə], not [wi] and [ie]), ending consonants in Vietnamese orthography do not always represent exact phonetic values, especially those ending with unaspirated -p [p], -t [t], -ch [tʰ], -c [k], and -nh [ɲ], which will be assigned with the IPA symbols -p, -t, -tʰ, -c, -k, -ɲ, respectively. Variant labiovelars preceded by a rounded vowel, e.g. o- or o-, or a medial -w-, will be transcribed in IPA either as -kw, -wk or -kʷ for [kʷ], either -wɲ, -ŋw, -ŋʷ for [ŋʷ] respectively. Similarly ng of the velar [ɲ] will be transcribed as both [ɲ] or [ŋ]. This convention applies equally to Cant. or any other Chinese dialects that share the same articulation.

\[D) A revised course in the adaption of the reconstructed ancient sound values:\]

As you have seen in the foregoing examples, the Old Chinese must be taken into account when studying either Chinese or Vietnamese. Chinese linguists in the fields of Chinese historical linguistics all have followed this approach. However, with more than half a dozen versions of Old Chinese reconstruction work completed by distinguished linguists in related fields in existence to date, the question is which one represents the best ready for our own use in the Sinitic-Vietnamese study? It is hard to resist the temptation to follow Pulleyblank's reconstruction (1984) which shows many similarities in vocalism and consonantal articulation with modern Vietnamese. Nevertheless, unless noted otherwise, I will provide a modified version of my own adapted from many sources. This version may certainly disappoint many of those who try to find another interpretation of the sound system of Old Chinese because of the relative variations in the presentation of precise values of sounds of many Old Chinese words in this paper, for example, for
• 羅 luó (net) (which has given rise to la, chài, lưới, chài lưới, in both Sino-Vietnamese and Sinitic-Vietnamese) in the Old Chinese (OC) sounds one may find the values
  (1) *la (Coblin, 1983),
  (2) *jraih (Norman, 1957),
  (3) *lā (Kagren, GSR:6, 1957)
  (4) *lar (Li, 1976),
  (5) *raj (Schuessler, 1987),
  (6) *la (Zhou, 1973), etc.

and I opt for *jraih because that could have given rise to "chài" while in the case of 羅 I choose the Mandarin sound "luó", which is close to the Vietnamese rỗ (basket), which might have been a rather late loanword from a vernacular form of Mandarin. For 羅 as *jraih this word could have been a direct loanword in Vietnamese from an old vernacular Chinese, to be exact, an earlier form of Mandarin, but they all could have been cognate to "chài" since it appears to be an older form in the two syllable-words of the compound "chài+lưới", taken into consideration that the ancient Chinese northerners seemed not to be as good as those Chinese southerners in net fishing in the ancient time.

Actually nothing is contradictory about this revised course of reconstructive methodology since each reconstructed sound from different sources can be considered actually as a variation from the same original sound in the Old Chinese. In this case let’s assume that they are all originated from the form [lwo]. The important thing is that, phonetically, all these possible sounds could have been derived from /*jraih/, the most plausible sound value -- in comparison with other slightly variants reconstructed by several Chinese historical linguists at the same time -- at a certain time in ancient days when both "Chinese" and "Vietnamese" were in contact, which had also given rise to chài. The synonymous syllable-word structure of the compound 'chài+lưới' are commonly seen like other Vietnamese glosses which are composed of two-syllabic words of the same root.
This revised approach used in this paper to treat ancient Chinese sounds with such generosity is based on the belief that no matter how good a reconstruction work of the ancient Chinese language is, as demonstrated by a dozen works of several renowned linguists, actual reconstructed sound values of the Old Chinese characters cited in such works are impossibly absolutely correct and precise to the exact sound value of what was pronounced hundreds of years ago. One sound value may be true in a certain period of time and place, but it was not true in other cases. They are, understandably, merely suggestive representations of the sound system of the Chinese language by and large in a particular locality and time frame. That is to say, for a certain Chinese character or word, there likely have existed different versions with several ways of interpretations; however, in general, those reconstructions, in fact, only represent the most generally accepted presentation, all of which are merely reconstructed values derived from historical records of linguistic materials. As a result, unsurprisingly one version may appear very similar to the others with only minor variations, just like with the same character 羅 of which we have different pronunciations in many Chinese dialects nowadays and the core sound value of it, let's say /xxx/, has given rise to "luó" in modern Mandarin.

To understand this notion better, let's first pick a Chinese word and ask ourselves how it was pronounced or said 2000 years ago. Then after studying this word in depth we would probably have found out that many specialists in this historical linguistic field have already done so and there have been no precise sound values. Naturally we would like to take the face value of one or more ways of their interpretation and incorporate their results into those of our own research. Only then, naturally, could we see that they are only of relatively approximate reconstructed values for which we may end up coming up with the same sound values.

In any cases, “all of them are hypotheses,” as stated in Axel Schuessler’s (1987, p.xi) words, “most of them contain one or other idea which I believe ought to be taken into consideration when attempting to retrieve the Old Chinese language.”
Of course, old sound values can not be done arbitrarily, as in the case of 'chài+luỗi', of which 'chài' is closer to /*jraih/, synonymous to 'luổi' in the synonymous compound construction. Diachronically 'chài' must be an older form of 'luổi', which, in turn, is older than 'la' as in SV, which appears as 'luố' in Mandarin (M) of which the sound value might have been close to what was said in Middle Chinese (MC).

Therefore, taking results completed by renowned specialists -- we do not need to re-invent the wheel, do we? -- and adapt them to this Sinitic-Vietnamese study is the author’s intended approach and is regarded as a better way to deal with variations of Old Chinese historical phonology. If we strictly follow one reconstruction version, either of our own or of somebody else, putting the question of its authenticity aside, sooner or later we will face problems of sound reconciliation in order to match those etymons under investigation which may obviously appear to be cognates in both Chinese and Vietnamese.

E) Vietnamese and Chinese commonalities

1) Modern dialectal similarities

The fact that numerous Vietnamese words are quite similar to those of contemporary Chinese dialects, including Mandarin, commonly used in a colloquial manner suggests something quite subtle about their kinship beside the cultural context that both the Vietnamese and Chinese have long been sharing. Let's consider these solid examples:

- chào 'hello' [ SV tảo | M 早 zăo < MC tsaw < OC *tsaw ],
- chúngmình, chúngta, chúngtôi ~ bọnmình, bọntôi 'we' (exclusive) [ SV tamôn | @ M 咱們 zánmên \ Vh @ 咱 zán ~ chúng, bọn { 幫 bāng (bang)} \ ¶ z- ~ b- ],
- đó (nó - tiếngHuế dialect) 'that' [ SV na | M 那 nà, nuó < MC nʌ < OC ɲa:r ],
- rồi, nổi (particles indicating 'already, capacity') : [ SV liữ | M 了 lē, liăo | ex. không quên nổi: 忘不了! wàng bùliăo!, quênnrồi: 忘了 wànglē! ],
- sẽ 'will' [ SV tướng | M 將 jiang < MC tsjaŋ < OC *tsjaŋ | § 醬油 jiāngyóu, Cant.: /sijou/ : xìdâu ],
- vẫn 'still' [ SV nhưng | M 仍 réng | Xī'ān 西安話 dialect /vaŋ12/ ],
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- Hội, họp, hẹn, hụi, hay, hiểu... 'meeting, dating, loan, understand...'
- Lòng, tim 'heart, inner feelings'
- Mắt 'eye'
- ốm, ròm, homhem 'skinny'
- Biết 'know'
- Tiếng 'sound, fame, (Viet.) language'
- Gà trống, gà cơ 'rooster'
- Gà mái, gà mẹ 'hen'
- Đất phụng 'peanut'
- Sào 'mango'
- Cam 'orange'
- Quýt 'tangerine'
- Chanh 'lemon'

These words share similar etymologies and pronunciations in Vietnamese and Chinese. The differences in pronunciation and usage reflect the influence of both languages on each other.

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Comments and notes on the words:

- Hội (会) 'meeting, dating, loan, understand...'
- Lòng (心) 'heart, inner feelings'
- Mắt (目) 'eye'
- ốm (汚) 'skinny'
- Biết (知) 'know'
- Tiếng (声) 'sound, fame, (Viet.) language'
- Gà trống (雞) 'rooster'
- Gà mái (母) 'hen'
- Đất phụng (花生) 'peanut'
- Sào (芒果) 'mango'
- Cam (柑) 'orange'
- Quýt (橘) 'tangerine'
- Chanh (橙) 'lemon'

Vietnamese and Chinese share many loanwords and loanword roots due to their historical and cultural exchanges.
• tambây 'nonsense' [M 三八 sānbā (tàmbạ, sàbát...)(Fukienese, Taiwanese, Hainanese)],
• cûlét 'tickle' (?) [ /kalɛt/ (Hainanese) (= thọclét, chọccưôi M 逗笑 dòuxiào )],
• đừng 'do not' [M 甭 péng (Beijing dialect)],
• được 'obtain, get' [M 得 dé (Beijing dialect) 'OK', Cant /tak/ | M 得 dé < MC tɤk < OC *tjə:k],
• xong 'OK, done' [M 成 chéng (Beijing dialect) | M 成 chéng < MC 贮 <, OC *deŋ],
• mai 'tomorrow' [M 明兒 mínr (Beijing dialect) ~> mainày | M 明 míng < MC maiŋ < OC *mraŋ | modern Mandarin míngri 明日: ngày mai],
• luônluôn 'always' [M 老老 láoláo (Beijing dialect -- a case of loangraph or jiăjiē 假借) | M 往 wăng < wan < OC *waŋ? | modern Mand. 往往 wángwang],
• đượcrồi 'that's fine' [SV đắcliễu | M 得了 déle (Beijing dialect, Hainanese /dakljaw/)],
• hiềnlành, hiềnlương 'good character' [SV thiệnlương | M 善良 shānliáng @ 善 shàn (thiện) ~ hiền 賢 xián (^thiện) | M 善 shàn < MC dʑɜn < OC *ɖarʔ],
• tấttañ, vấtvả 'to work hand to mouth' [SV bônba | M 奔波 bēnbó | M 奔 bēn < MC pon < OC *pjə:r, *pjə:rs | FQ 博昆, 甫悶],
• tấmrûa 'bathe' [SV tẩytảo | M 洗澡 xízăo /tojat/ (Hainanese) | M 洗 xǐ, xiăn (tẩy, ti ᕝ detr < MC siej < OC *sjə:rʔ | ¶ x- ~ r- : ex. 婿 xū (tu) rễ, 鬚 xū (tu) râu ],
• bánh 'cake' [SV bính | M 餅 bǐng < MC pjɛŋ < OC *peŋʔ],
• cháo 'rice porridge' [SV chúc | M 粥(鬻) zhōu, zhù, yù < MC tʂìwk < OC *tɕuwk ],
• phô (also: bún, bột, bột) 'noodle soup, noodle, flour' [SV phấn | M 粉 fěn < MC pʊn < OC *pjan? ],
• nào 'which' [SV na | M 哪 nêï, nài, nà < MC na < OC *na ],
• rácrưôi (~râcrén) 'garbage' [SV lâpcăp | M 垃圾 lăsē | @ rác < M 垃圾 lăji \ l- r- <= ra- + k- ],
• dêxôm 'lecherous' [SV dâmtrùng | M 淫蟲 yínchóng (hence giving rise to => another alternation "quŷrâuxanh" 淫蟲鬼 yíngchóngguĩ)].
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- **đạochích 'burglar'** [SV đạotặc | M 盜賊 dàozéi | M 盜 zéi < MC zæk < OC *zhje:k < PC: **chjə:k ~ zhjə:k | Tibetan: zag cướp, Kachin: zok2, sok2 to scout, spy out ],
- **đánhcắp 'rob, steal' (~ đánhcuộp, => âncuộp ~ âncáp) 'to rob, steal'** [SV đánhgiếp | M 打劫 dăjié | @ 打 dă ~ ăn | M 劫 < MC kɛp < OC *ka ],
- **đãndòn 'get beaten'** [SV nháiđạ | M 挨打 ăidă | M 挨(捱)打 àidă | @ 挨 ài ~ ăn 吃 chi ],
- **bệnhvực 'be on one's side'** [SV bangmạng | M 幫忙 bāngmáng | @ 忙 máng ~ v útil | M 幫 bāng < MC pwʌŋ < OC *paːŋ || M 忙 máng < MC mjəŋ < OC *maːŋ ],
- **mĩmcười 'smile' (~ngâm cười)** [SV hàmtiếu | M 含笑 hánxiào | M 含 hán < MC gæm < OC *ghom || M 笑 xiào < MC sjew < OC shaws | ¶ x- ~ k- ],
- **chánngán (~ ngánngẫm) 'dreary, sick of'** [SV yễmquỳenheim | M 厭倦 yànjuān | M 厭 yàn < MC ʔjɜm < OC *ʔems ],
- **riêngtư 'privacy'** [SV ĩntư | M 隱私: yǐnsī | M 隱 yǐn < MC ?yn < OC *ʔjen? ],
- **bantrưa 'noon time'** [SV bạchtrú | M 白晝 báizhòu | M 晝 zhòu < MC ʈǝw < OC *triws | Pulleyblank: LMC triw < EMC: *trow | According to Starostin: time of daylight, morning, day . Standard Sino-Viet. is trú. OC *-iw-s is reconstructed because the word is sometimes written (as a loan) as 調 in Shi. | Shuowen: 日之出入.與夜為介.從畫省.從日.籀文晝. (117) ],
- **banngày 'daytime'** [SV bạchnhất | M 白日 báirì | in Vietnamese "ban", as in "banngày" or "bandêm", might have been derived from 白日 báirì (banngày). The concept "ban" is further associated with 晝晝. vànjiān to give rise to "bandêm" while "ban" is not actually 白 bái or 晝 wàn, and "dêm" certainly not from 間 jiān. This sound must have been picked up, altered, and spread by the illiterate populace first with the concept of "time" as in "daytime" "and "night time". Similarly, that is how "banmai" 平明 píngmíng, "bantru'a" 白晝 báizhòu, "bantō" 半夜 bányè, "banchiều" 傍晚 bángwâng, "bannây" 剛才 gāngcái had come about. The same logic can be equally applied to "banngàybanmặt" and "bandêm mbanhôm", which are the sound change variants of 青天白日 qīngtiān báirì and
三更半夜 sangat bò yè, respectively. As we can see, "ban" in all cited illustrations appears only in disyllabic formation, and, in fact, it cannot be used independently. From this observation, we can say that the morpheme "ban-" is a relatively new concept had been associated with other lexical forms to convey the connotation of time. The older monosyllabic words "ngày" and "đêm" might have shared the same roots with those languages in the Mon-Khmer linguistic family or they could have been cognates to the Chinese rì 日 and xiāo 宵 (reconstruction of these two words is another issue to be dealt with later.)

- bubǎm (mǎpphẹ) 'healthy (baby), fat' [ SV phìbǎn | M 肥胖 féipàn \ @ 'nôm' \ @& 肥 fèi (phi, mập, bụ) + 肥 fèi (phẹ, bảm) | M 肥 fèi < MC bwyj < OC *bjaŋ ],
- chétyủ 'die young' [ SV yęuchiệt] @# M 夭折 yāozhé ],
- bǎttai, bǎntay 'palm, spank, hand' [ SV bachuỏng' \ ~ VS táttai, bọtai ~ 批打 pǐdǎ (phédǎ) bǎttai, | M 巴掌 bāzhăng (~ bọtai < bảntay, cf. 巴腳 bǎjiăo 'foot' bà nchăn ) | Viet 'tay' < @ @ bǎntay | M 巴掌 bāzhăng ~ bǎttai, | M 掌 zhăng \ Vh @ 掌 zhăng ~ tay 手 shōng (thủ) | § 巴脚 bǎjiăo bànchăn | bảttai 巴掌 bāzhăng (~ bảntay) -- bá => bạt, bọt, and bàn, tai in bảttai--tay, therefore 掌 zhăng => tay || Dialects: Sichuan, Cant., Amoy : 手板 shǒubăn (thủbăn) # 'bảntai' | ex. 一巴掌 yī bāzhăng (một bảntai)]
- bánlığı 'kidnap, abduct' [ SV bánggiả | M 綁架 bàngjià \ @ 绑 bǎng ~ 捕 bǔ (bổ), @ 架 jià ~ 'cóc' | M 绑 bǎng < MC pjąŋ ],
- lề sóng 'ideal, raison d’être' [ SV lítuường | M 理想 líxiăng \ @ 想 xiăng ~ sống 生 shēng ]
- tôité 'vicious' [ SV tibí | M 卑鄙 bēibí ]
- mòttay (~ mócáy) 'the connoisseur, expert' [ SV nhấthù | 一手 yīshǒu ]
- baroi [ SV phinhục | M 肥肉 fèiròu ]
- đáiđăm [ SV niếusàng | M 尿床 niào chuồng ]
- dồngбạc 'monetary unit' [ SV đōngbǎn | M 銅板 tóngbǎn > 銅 tóng ~> @ 'đōng'. 'bạč' evolved from 錢幣 qiánbi (tiêntế) 'tiênbạč' (money) by associating 幣 bì with 白 bái (bạch) <~ 白金 bái (bạchkim). ],

and so on...
Though those culturally accented words listed above do not include all the basic words, which are to be discussed later on, as one would expect, at least many of them suggest some unique linguistic characteristics and peculiarities that Chinese and Vietnamese both share in common speech. No other Mon-Khmer languages have ever come close in this respect.

Unsurprisingly many people still cannot make connections with a great number of examples cited above and throughout this paper because those words do not look like cognates at all simply because parts of those words, either an initial, medial, final, or ending, do not show close similarities that usually appear in patterns as in the case of SV.

In historical linguistics, with a span of more than 3000 years in traceable contact (Zhang. 1990) as in the case of Vietnamese and Chinese words, except for those later loanwords, of the same source, ancient ones as well as those of local renovation or results of lexical development, you cannot always find definite one-to-one correspondences occurring concurrently in all phonetic fields of initials, medials, finals, and/or syllabic endings (or ending for short, that is, vần -- SV vần -- or yün 韻, the second part of a whole syllabic sound ending in a string of a monosyllabic word without the attachment of the initials, for instance, -at, -ang, -uyên, etc.. This is considered as an important phonological element in the fields of Chinese and Vietnamese linguistic studies.)

Historically words in each respective language must have evolved in their own way independent of each other after they found their way into the borrowing language. They have been always in the state of being ready to change to suit speech habits of local people. That phenomenon would have likely happened right after the first stage of infiltration of those very words into Vietnamese. As the time went by sound changes must have kept taking place, naturally, according to the linguistic internal rules of sound changes. In modern time French and English loanwords in Vietnamese have illustrated best this statement (See APPENDIX A) To understand how sound changes have their
way of affecting on cognates, or words of the same roots, let's examine that phenomenon in some examples below (with most of them intentionally taken from the HánViệt or Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary stock for its unquestionable authencity on the patterns of sound changes):

- 鵝: nga (VS: ngang, ngỗng),
- 而: nhi (VS: mà)
- 鳥: điểu (SV)
- 灣: loan (VS: vịnh ~ vũng),
- 惜: tiếc (SV: tích),
- 吸: hút (SV: hấp),
- 氣: hơi (SV: khí, Cant. /hei/),
- 集: tập (VS: gộp),
- 率: suất,
- 日: nhật (VS: giới, ngày),
- 承: thừa (VS: dâng),
- 熱: nhiệt (VS: rát, nhức),
- 寫: tả,
- 學: học (Cantonese: /hok/, Hainanese: /fat/),
- 議: nghĩa, ngãi,
- 民: dân,
- 名: danh,
- 娉: sính,
- 扇: phiến,
- 郵: bưu,
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- **yóu 柚**: bưu (SV: bưởi, bòng),
- **chi 吃**: ān (SV: ngật, cf. radical "ät", ~ shí 食: VS xoài),
- **ting 聽**: nghe (SV: thính, Hainanese: [k'e]),
- **shēng 生**: ì (SV: sinh, Hainanese: [de]),
- **qián 前**: trước (SV: tiền, Hainanese: [tai]),
- **xí 習**: tập (VS: thói quaen),
- **xǐ 洗**: tẩy [VS: tắm, rụa, giặt | @ xǐzăo 洗澡: tắmrưa (Hainanese: /tojat/), xǐlănn 洗脸: rưam mắt, xĩyį 洗衣: giấtao],
- **xuěhèn 雪恨**: rưahôn (SV: tuyếthàn)...

Take a closer look and we will see that many of them, in comparison with modern Mandarin, have been changed beyond recognition in both initials and endings, including finals; they were dropped and changed completely at the same time. Further compare them with Cantonese, a fairly close phonological system with today's Sino-Vietnamese, you will have an overall picture of such similar sound changes. In any cases, we can always draw patterns by tracing the lexical and phonological trails that sound changes have left in each language under examination.

As a matter of fact, sound changes might have occurred systematically following strict linguistic rules as clearly shown in Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary stock (từ HánViệt) with which it is easier to draw general rules than with the older colloquial Sinitic-Vietnamese words, which seemed not to have happened by shifts and bounces in batches as those of scholarly Sino-Vietnamese sound system. Penetration of French words, again, into the Vietnamese vocabularies during the first half of last century must have evolved into local pronunciation in a somewhat similar manner (See APPENDIX A).

Another aspect of this matter should be considered is that most of the Sinitic-Vietnamese words are not directly derived from those of Sino-Vietnamese words. Even though many of them are close in sound, they must have been originated from one or more major Chinese dialects spoken at different times and places in the long past history when the then "Vietnamese" ancestors, i.e. all those people who spoke some
form of Proto-Vietic speech, had been in closer contact with the people who spoke those dialects. It is not difficult to see that many of those Vietnamese words of Chinese origin appear to be much older than the Sino-Vietnamese words of the same cognates such as those of

- **bường (SV phòng)** 'room' [M 房 fáng < MC baŋ < OC* bwoŋ | MC reading 宕合三平陽奉],
- **bờm (SV phàm)** 'sail mast' [M 帆 fán < MC bwom < OC *bram],
- **bè (SV phà)** 'raft' [M 筏 fá < MC bwjət < OC *bhat],
- **chài (SV la)** 'net', [ & 羅 luó (la) + 羅 luó (lưới)~ > 'chàil lưới' | M 羅 luó < MC lɑ < OC *jraih | MC reading 果開一平歌來],
- **cô (SV xa ~> xe)** 'carriage' [ & 車 chē (xa) + 車 jū (cô) | Cant /kache/ 架車 | M 車 chē, jū < MC kʊ < OC *kla, **klu | FQ 九魚],
- **chè (SV trà)** chá 'tea' [M 茶 chá < MC ɖa < OC *ɫa: < PC **ɫe | FQ 宅加],
- **bụt, vãi (SV Phật)** 佛 fó 'Buddha, monk' [M 佛 fó < MC but < *OC bjət | %@ OC *phjət > MC phut > M fó, | Buddha (from Sanscript) | VS Bụt > SV Phật | Cant. : fat 42, Wenzhou : vai 42 (~ VS 'v'ai')],
- **bua, vua (SV vương)** 'king' [M 王 wáng < MC waŋ < *OC b仗 | dialects: Shanghai uã2 | Taiyuan (Thn): vã1],
- **bua, vợ (SV phụ)** 'wife, lady' [M 婦 fù < MC bjəw < *OC bjəʔ | Dialects : Amoy pu6, Chaozhou pu4, Jianou pu 6. | cf. goábụa 寡婦 guăfù (SV quảphụ),
- **bố (SV phụ)** 'father' [M 父 < pu < paʔ < OC *paʔ | Tibetian: dba 'Your Honorable, Sir'],
- **mái, mạ, mệ, mẹ (SV mẫu)** 'mother' [M 母 mǔ < MC myw < OC *myʔ | MC reading 流開一上厚明 | Cant. /mou/, tiếng Hai. /mai/ (~ mái) | see © nã ~ 婢 nĩ (nǐ) > 娘 niáng (nuông) | cf. Amoy bo3, Chaozhou bo3],
- **nã, nàng, nường (SV nương)** [M 娘 niáng (Beijing dialect 'mom') (ancient Vietnamese means "mother") | < MC naŋ < OC* nraŋ | MC reading 宕開三平陽泥 | Pk: nuęŋ12, Zyyy: nian12, Amoy nĩu12, Chaozhou nĩe12, Shanghai niĩ32 | see © nã | <~ © 媼 nĩ (nǐ) > Beijing 娘兒 niár]

- tim, lòng (SV tâm) 心 xīn 'heart' [M 心 xīn < MC sjem < OC *sjem (< *ljəŋʷ) | Tiề nhán Việt *sjəmʔ, § Cant. /sjəm/], Old Viet. : lâm | VS 'lòng' /lɔŋʷ/ and 'tim', SV tâm /tʌm/ | cf. diễm xīn 點心: SV điểmtâm, VS lótlòng 'snack, breakfast'
- đắc, do (SV độ) 'measure' ['đo đắc' > @& 度 dù 'đo' + 度 dù 'đắc' | M 度 dù <MC dʌk <OC *dha:k, *da:s < PC **dha:]
- tìm, kiếm (SV tầm) 'look for' [M 尋 xún < MC tsjim < OC *lhjəm < PC **ljəm]
- rương, hòm (SV sương) 向 (Mand.) (suitcase) [M 箱 xiāng < MC sjaŋ < OC *saŋ | ¶ s-, x- ~ r- : ex. 鬚 xū (tu) râu | FQ 息良], etc.

2) The role of Mandarin

As you can see, modern Mandarin pinyin transcription is chosen to illustrate mostly throughout this paper. One may ask how on earth Vietnamese has to do with Mandarin at the time when Vietnam had already gained its independence from China in the 10th century while Mandarin, a spoken Northern Chinese dialect, had just taken its later forms and shapes in somewhat similarity with its present state only sometime in the Northern Song's Dynasty in the 11th century? In this aspect, certainly Mandarin may not be a good pick to do the comparative work in historical linguistics. Nonetheless, patterns of correspondences can still be established and, at the same time, it can be used to serve as a guide to pronunciation of cited words that are under investigation. In the meanwhile Old Chinese sounds are still used to prove their cognates. Historically Mandarin is a direct descendant of Middle Chinese which, in turn, is a direct descent of Old Chinese even though the phonological system of Mandarin has undergone a great deal of changes, e.g., its tonal system was reduced to a 4 tone, instead of the original 8 tone, system and its syllabic ending stock, or yùn 韻 vần, became much less. (Zhou Zumo. 1991. Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn)

Historically, these deviatory factors in sound changes in Mandarin were attributed to some strong influence of some non-Han northern languages, which were spoken by the
Kims, or Jin 金, ancestors of the later Manchurians, who had been dominating China's vast areas of northern territories for more than 900 years which only ended in the early 12th century when the Mongolians came and ruled the whole China for the next 100 years. (Bo Yang 1983. Zhi Zhi Tongji Jian) Then came the Machurians, in the 16th century, who established the Qing Dynasty and had been ruling China until the early 20th century.

Throughout those periods Mandarin had been the official language used in the imperial court and examinations. This language has evolved into a relatively different appearance in comparison with its Middle Chinese predecessor. In the meanwhile other dialects such as Cantonese (a southern Chinese dialect with a 9 tone system, usually referred to as the Tang's language ‘唐話’ /toŋwa/) and Fukienese (or Amoy 廈門方言, Xi àmén dialect, also a southern Chinese dialect with 7 tone system, regarded as remnants of the original speech in Han Dynasty), still retain many ancient phonological peculiarities, beside tones, rich in syllabic endings until this day. Those characteristics are no longer existing in Mandarin.

However, Mandarin still can be used as an illustrative tool for the same old reason of the past that it serves as an official language of China at the present time that any Chinese learners must know, so it is easier to relate to it in present forms. On the other hand, it is from this popular dialect, among them, interestingly enough, from the Beijing dialect, a very close variant of Mandarin, that I have found all living proofs that show both subtleness and uniqueness of Chinese linguistic elements that exist in the Vietnamese language (VS) as well, for example, bênh 幫 bàng 'to side with', chào 早 zǎo 'hello, (VS) bye', mai 明兒 mínr 'tomorrow', đừng 甭 péng 'do not', đuợc 得 dé 'OK', xong 成 'OK, done, fine (Beijing dialect)', luônluôn 老老 láoláo (Beijing dialect), xịn 新 xīn 'brand new', keokiệt 小氣 xiǎoqì 'stingy', bàxì 媳婦 xífù 'honey (husband to call his wife)', etc.. That undeniable connection implicitly suggests that many of Sinitic-Vietnamese words probably have something to do with this northern spoken dialect Mandarin. In the meanwhile, Mandarin, like Cantonese of Fukienese or any Chinese dialects for that matter, undoubtedly has directly been evolved from the Middle Chinese.
Again, it is from this Middle Chinese that had given rise to the systematic transformation of its sounds into the existing Sino-Vietnamese lexicons as we have come to know today and they all co-exist with all other VS words as well!

In fact, Mandarin, a dynamic and lively language -- which language is not? -- with its sounds having tremendously changed from its Middle Chinese form over the time, still shows all traceable linguistic rules of sound changes from ancient time just as those of Sino-Vietnamese lexicons from the same source. In the meanwhile Sinitic-Vietnamese words, or HánNôm stock, so be it called for its Chinese origin, which are commonly used by all the Vietnamese people in a much more colloquial manner than in scholarly and literary Sino-Vietnamese forms, must have also changed according the same linguistic rules, externally and internally. Putting them together we will have an overall phonological picture of sound-change patterns for us to examine. Starting from this foundation we are able to trace back the Vietnamese etymons to the ancient and archaic forms that have given rise to the Nôm sounds by employing the same comparative historical linguistic mechanisms to establish corresponding sound change patterns with modern Mandarin.

(1) I think the verbage for the last clause should be stated as "whether initially it was originated from the same root as those of Mon-Khmer languages or not." However, most of the specialists of Vietnamese prefer the other and this is where all the debates start since one cannot say other Mon-Khmer languages were originated from "the Vietnamese linguistic family" since there exists no such a thing, so when one sees there are Mon-Khmer elements in Vietnamese, it is easier to say that Vietnamese was originated from the Mon-Khmer linguistic family. See more in section III) The Mon-Khmer Association.

(2) For a guide to an approximal pronunciation of Vietnamese, refer to Vietnamese-English dictionary by Nguyễn Đình-Hoà (1966) or Nguyễn Văn Khôn (1967)
II) THE CHINESE CONNECTION

The section below depicts an overall picture of Chinese immigrants' full integration into Vietnamese society since the ancient times, which will help explain why there exist so many Chinese words in the Vietnamese language, including numerous basic vocabularies. It is an attempt to explain the reasons that underline the similarities between the two languages where contemporary Vietnamese carries virtually most of the traits and peculiarities of many Chinese dialects, that should place Vietnamese on par with other languages in the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family.

The purpose of this discussion, in any cases, is not to draw direct genetic linguistic affinity of Vietnamese and Chinese but to demonstrate their linked kinship. Metaphorically, "direct genetic linguistic affinity" here is like a well-written storyline that reads: "Once upon a time there was the mother Sino-Tibetan who gave birth to proto-Sinitic children, ancestors of the Ancient Chinese and Vietnamese..." However, the task of proving this relationship, admittedly, has never been satisfactory, it only to lead to more speculations, not definite answers or significant results in a well-defined manner.

In the meanwhile, for their "linked kinship", as the meaning of this term being conveyed in itself, we could only sort out their entanglement and puzzles with a few findings scarcely available at our disposal so far. The whole picture of the core matter from the start has been presented to us in this case, literally, is exactly like that of an old and faded painting. Accordingly, in the same manner as we would try to restore and rebuild some sketchy details from it, we shall first try to envision the whole picture based solely on revealing transient shades of diminishing colors overlapping each other that try to convey to us anecdotal sketches of the bygones: "More than three thousand years ago the mother proto-Taic had given birth to one hundred children, of whom fifty were married to the orphans of the formerly powerful Shang family and founded the Kingdom of the Zhou. They gave birth to the Qin, the Han, the Chu..., and then when they fought against each other, some moved south to join their long lost cousins, who were later called by the name the BaiYues, including the XiYue, LuoYue, OuYue, MinYue,
YueChang... They were descendants of the other fifty children who had gone there in the earlier breakups. All together they joined and, in turn, gave birth to the Dai, the Zhuang, the Yao, the Miao, the Mon, the Austroasiatic stocks, the proto-VietMuong groups, etc... They, again, fought among themselves and only, in 208 BC, ended up to be ruled by a former Qin's general called Trieu Da (趙陀 Zhao Tuo) who had formed a short-lived NamViet State which later was conquered and annexed to the greater empire of the Han Dynasty and a part of it became Annam Protectorate (Annam Dohophu 安南都護府). In Annam the Vietmuong groups further broke up to form, linguistically, the proto-Vietic speech, spoken by those who chose to stay behind under the ruling umbrella of the Han Dynasty, and the proto-Muong linguistic form preserved by those who fled into the remote mountainous areas. The former, having endured further the imposition of the Han's culture and language, had blended itself with the Han dialectal form known as the Ancient Chinese, gradually gave rise to the Vietic linguistic form, which undoubtedly was the ancestral language of today's Vietnamese. So to speak, the "linked kinship" between the Chinese language and Vietnamese was dated back not only from the periods of the Zhou Dynasty, of which proto-Taic remnants had scattered and merged in all languages spoken by descendants of the BaiYue, including those of the Austroasiatic stock, but also continued on and further blossomed into a new linguistic form spoken by the Kinh. Albeit, that is how Vietnamese has anything to do with the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family from ancient times since the pre-Sinitic linguistic form encountered the proto-Taic elements onward. We will discuss those descriptive details again, intentionally emphasized, more than once since they are the most important factors along with other historical facts of more than 1000 year domination of the ancient land of Vietnam by the Chinese.

**A) Hypothesis of Chinese origin of Vietnamese**

Historically, the fact that Vietnam had gone though a millennium of Chinese domination, from 111 BC to 936 AD, not to mention short inverals of other Chinese invasions long after that until the end of the 19th century, is enough to ascertain the active linguistic roles that had facilitated the integration of Ancient Chinese (AC) words into, supposedly,
the proto-Vietic (PV) speech. In its evolution such earlier form of the Vietnamese language (Vietnamese for short) had absorbed thousands of them from ancient to contemporary and dialectal variations of the early Chinese language (as usual, to be mentioned only as "Chinese" in this general context throughout this paper) in different historical stages, from the early Han to the end of the Tang Dynasties, by way of both borrowing and localizing a great number of Chinese vocabularies. Many Ancient Chinese glosses in Vietnamese since then had undergone a great deal of sound changes in colloquial speech throughout the ages, mostly without recorded local phonetic transcriptions before the emergence of the Nôm characters (see below), and they eventually have emerged as impartable elements in Vietnamese as they appear at present time. In our modern time, like those written languages of the Indo-European linguistic family, the force of sound changes have slowed down considerably since the adaption of Romanized Vietnamese writing system in the early twentieth century.

In addition, factors of waves after waves of Chinese migrating population from China should also accounted as direct result for their bringing Chinese vernacular linguistic influence into Vietnamese. Their emigrating path is a sure southward movement that might have continuously taken place in any given period over the past 3000 years in Chinese history given the hypothetical assumption that today's composition of the Vietnamese anthropology, as figuratively mentioned previously, has been a mixture of Chinese immigrants from further northern territories with one of the local Yuè 粵 (or 越, Yue, Yueh) of the larger tribal groups of BaiYue 百越 or BáchViệt , whose descendants, being known as the Dai 傣 ("Tày"), Máonán 毛南, Zhuāng 莊, Tóng 坜 ("Nùng"), Shuǐ 水, and many others, diverged from an earlier stock of proto-Taic people as previously mentioned. Periods prior to 3 millennia B.C. the Proto-Taic people had been the masters of those vast southern regions, embracing today's China's provinces including those of Sichuan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Guizhou, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Fujian, and Guangdong, stretching from both of the banks of the Yangtze River all the way to the seas, east and south. They presumably had been the ancestors of the Kings of the
Zhou and their subjects, the pre-Chinese and other ethnic stocks, whose generations later made up the Chinese and other ethnic minorities still living there nowadays.

Long after having emerged from the proto-Taic groups toward the end of the Zhou Dynasty many tribal groups of the BaiYue were constantly on the move southwards. Archaeological findings in the last five decades reveal that the proto-Taic aboriginals had long been in contact with the people in the far north, in this case, the original, pre-Sinitic, or "Chinese" people prior to their nation's expansion to the far south, as early as 4000 years ago (Shifan Peng, 1987). Descendants of those earlier northerners might have later become subjects of the Qin State, a powerful one among six other ancient states during the Warring Period after the breakup of the Zhou Dynasty. Portions of all other tribal groups living with those states, for the reason that they could have not been able to protect their farming land and to assimilate to the early Chinese culture, ran away from the advancing force of a much more powerful people from a newly unified Qin Empire. Those who fled to the south were undoubtedly ancestors of the so-called proto-Austroasiatic peoples whose variant speeches had eventually formed the Austroasiatic linguistic family in the farther vast southern regions as classed by other modern western scholars.

In a later development starting from the Han Dynasty, during the span of one thousand years of Chinese domination of Vietnam before her independence from the Tang Dynasty in 936 AD, from where was now known as China more immigrants from north and south, just like their predecessors, generally, had been of a mixture of poor peasants fleeing from ravaging wars and hunger back home, exhausted long-march soldiers on endlessly conquering and pacifying missions, and a great number of disgraced political exiles along with their accompanied family purged and punished by temperamental dynasties that they had served (Bo Yang. 1983-1993. Zī Zhì Tōngjiàn) (1) Many of them, probably mostly men, had chosen to settle in places of where today's Vietnam's northern territories are. Most of them might have been married into Vietnamese families and they never returned to their homeland. Over the years and many generations later they had been totally assimilated into the newly emerged
Annamese society by having blended within the dominant ethnic group later identified as "Kinh", or Vietnamese. At the same time, those newcomers had brought along with them their own dialects -- of which the linguistic sub-strata had already absorbed some of the proto-Taic vernacular elements, e.g. the Amoy (廈門 Xiàmén) or Cantonese groups -- which continued injecting their fresh colloquial elements into the local speech in their new resettlement. This assimilation process must have been occurring rather slowly and gradually among the majority descended from the original "Pre-Kinh" who had long resettled there ("resettled" here means that the local people might also immigrated from regions further in the north before the Chinese expansion to the south.) These gradualness and majority factors help explain why today's Vietnamese could not be considered as a Chinese dialect of the same nature as Cantonese or Fukienese (Amoy) since it demonstrates clearly an outstanding local grammatical order, prominently and dominantly, that is, adjectives being placed after nouns. This grammatical characteristic had certainly been inherited from the original proto-Taic speech along with the later Archaic Chinese grammatical forms (this reverse word order still can be found in many Chinese dialects.) Albeit, its other peculiar linguistic characteristics and vocabularies are mostly on par semantically and phonologically with those of Chinese.

On becoming a majority, the new racially mixed populace later called themselves "Ngườ iKinh", or the Kinh, (literally meaning "the metropolitans"), whose dominant presence and establishments along the Red River's Delta and low fertile plains along the eastern coastline had further pushed and displaced indegenous stocks, believed to have spoken Mon-Khmer languages, among other languages of Daic origin as spoken by 1.2 million of Tay and other ethnic groups living in the northern parts of today's Vietnam, farther into remote high plateaus in western mountainous ranges. Those tribal groups later on practically became minorities in their own ancestral land. For that reason, it is not hard to understand that if those ethnic groups had been of the same anthropological composition as that of the Kinh, they might not have been badly treated with such a harsh way while the much later racially and culturally distinct Chinese ethnic immigrants
have been treated fairly well, of whom the population growth and social integration must have been a much later development (4). This fact mentioned here is only to reinforce the idea that all Chinese immigrants who came to this nation would eventually become native in a span of time as short as within three generations -- many living Vietnamese could be your active informants of this subtle reality. It is so due to the cultural factors that easily submerge the Chinese newcomers into the melting pot that readily to welcome those new arrivals of the same Confucian culture. Partially linguistic similarities facilitate the assimilation process at a faster pace as well. As we can see the same process could hardly take place in those countries where Austroasiatic or Austronesian languages are spoken. Statistics of the so-called overseas Chinese in those countries in the Southeast Asian regions point to that fact very clearly, i.e., percentage of Chinese minority is significantly higher than that of Vietnam.

Historically the Kinh people had continued to expand vigorously and moved further to the south away from the confined regions around today's Vietnam's Red River's ancient fertile delta. Archaeologically excavated evidences found there now include all bronze drums, which had long been forgotten lying deeply in the earth, bearing similar decorating carving of cultural motifs such as wooden boats and long feather birds, etc., similarly as those appear on the bronze drums of the Zhuang ("Nùng"), the largest ethnic group with a population of more than 20 million people in China's southern Guangxi Autonomous Administrative Region. Contrary to the fact that while the fate of their siblings' bronze drums buried dead and forgotten in the Vietnam's soil, those same type of bronze drums have been continuously used by the contemporary Zhuang descendants of their ancestral creators as culturally and ritually ceremonial objects since ancient times until the present time. As a matter of fact, we can assume that the masters of the Dongson's and Hoabinh's bronze drums had been genetically related to those of the Zhuang, who, some hundred years later after mixed up with other indigenous peoples, including those of both Austroasiatic and Austronesian groups, and the later Chinese immigrants, have completely forgotten the technology of how to make those drums. The Chinese cultural factors could also to blame for their extinction since the conquer of the Annamese land initiated by the Han Dynasty that had totally
rendered them meaningless culturally. It is only in that context that the claims made by today's Vietnamese archaeologists are valid, that the bronze unearthed in those areas belonged to "Vietnamese ancestors" who actually had been on the becoming until the coming of the Han's soldiers as accounted for in the recorded history of this nation. For the same reasons, any other claims appear irrelevant, amusingly enough, with the same statement that artifact findings excavated in the much farther southern parts of today's Vietnam's territories also belonged to the "Vietnamese ancestors". It is simply because no Vietnamese "ancestors" had ever been existent in those stretches of land which have been only annexed to the Vietnam nation as lately as five centuries ago after further expansion of the Vietnam's empire into the south when its southern neighbors had been weak from the start of the 12th century. In fact, it was only from that period the Vietnamese people have begun emmigrating en masse to have crossed far beyond the province of Thuanhoa, where many centuries later the Old Capital Hue was established, and continued to expand all the way to the southern tip of Camau Province and, literally, kept stretching out into the Gulf of Cambodia and Thailand. Of those pieces of annexed land that formerly used to be parts of the now extinct Cham, Funan, and Khmer Kingdoms, whatever remains today belongs to the nation of Cambodia.

This hypothesis of the Chinese racial integration into the Vietnamese society, rather controversial though, where there existed already racially mixed groups of different peoples of the ancient Yues, former Chinese immigrants, and aboriginals dated back from ancient times, will shed lights on the physical traits of those populace living in the far northern part of Vietnam who look much more like Chinese than those of the indigenous people or those of Polynesian and Malay (of the Austronesian stocks) or of the Mon-Khmer descents (of the Austroasiatic stocks). The melting pot ideas can also be used to explain why all Vietnamese carry Chinese surnames, and, geographically, that is also the reason why virtually almost all the place names where those earlier settlers and the Kinh have ever lived bear all the names of those places in China, eg., Hànam 'Henan', Hàbâc 'Hebei', Söstāy 'Shanxi', Hànội 'Henei', Tháiinguyễn 'Taiyuan', Quângnam (or 'Guangnan' as opposed to Guangdong and Guangxi), Bácnhinh or Tâyninh.
(or 'Beining' and "Xining" as opposed to Nanning), and so on (just like the English geographical names in existence in the US east coast.)

To prove this hypothesis we will face the problem that the historical records, that the Vietnamese are still having, dated only from the 10th century until now, do not cover that. Any anthrologists who wish to study the origin of the Vietnamese people, must dig into Chinese ancient records to find out. As a result we are back to the square one where we have started with our biological traits and the language itself to fondle. Anthropologically, hopefully, in the near future new DNA bio-technology will certainly help anthropologists discover more scientific facts about the Vietnamese people's biological composition. For the latter, that is what I am trying to do, it is no doubt that modern Vietnamese shares its linguistic characteristics in its large stock of vocabularies with those of Chinese than any other sources.

How do we build that linguistic hypothesis? In Vietnam's contemporary history, the fact that the colonization of the country by the French colonists from 1861 to 1954 had produced a nouveau class of intelligentsia, including the Vietnam's last King, Bao Dai, who could barely converse in their mother's tongue, would not surprise anybody when it comes to the Chinese origin of Vietnamese etymology with the same Chinese analogy. That mutational reconstructive theory is highly plausible if we compare that to the hypothesis based on the fact that in Vietnam's recent history from 1965 to 1975, the presence of Americans soldiers on the Vietnam's soil had produced nearly 50 thousand Amerasians mothered by Vietnamese women in such a short period of time. Elsewhere in the world, in modern time, we can still find the transformational and mutational, genetically and linguistically, similarities in the biological and linguistic compositions, such as those of Spaniards and their influence of less than 500 years of colonization which make up the peoples currently living in all the South America's countries.

In the case of Vietnam, while most previous Chinese immigrants have successfully blended themselves into the general local population, many of the more recent ones from Guangdong (Canton), Fujian (Fukien), and other parts of China's southern
provinces who had migrated to Vietnam later for the last past four hundred years especially since the fall of the Chinese Ming Dynasty might have still remained distinctively Chinese and have been identified as of several different Chinese ethnic groups, namely the "Minhhuong" (descendants of the Ming's subjects), Chaozhou (Tcheochow), Cantonese, Hakka, Hainanese, and Fukienese. For a large majority of these later groups, many of them might also have already fully absorbed into Vietnamese society. Just ask a Vietnamese, chances are that three or four out of ten persons will be still able to tell you how they bear a Vietnamese version of their Chinese last names.

In addition to the Chinese immigrating factor, the linguistic penetration of vast Chinese lexicons into Vietnamese vocabulary stock had been also the results of forceful imposition of the use of the Chinese language on the local people under the rule of Chinese invading authorities during their one thousand (1,000) years of domination of the then Vietnam. During that time, "Vietnam", which was then called under the several names including Namviêt, Annam, Giaochi, Giaochâu, ĐạicôViệt, ĐạiViệt... had long been considered as a protectorate or prefecture of China. Inevitably, the Chinese influence had gradually found its way into all arrays of the Vietnamese language permanently, from basic linguistic stratum, distinguishable from the core indigenous remnants originated from the proto-Taic forms as pointed out earlier, to an upper scholarly vocabulary stock, which have been used by the Vietnamese widely in all walks of daily life up to the present time.

In modern time, again, look at the Spanish influence that exist in those Latin nations and you will see clearly the parallel development. Even in the case of today's Taiwan, if we frame this "nation" back in time into Vietnam's 2nd century historical setting and assume that it had survived until this day as an independent nation, we will understand this matter better by imagining how it would become today and how enormous the influence that the mainland's Chinese have asserted onto the approximately 25 million people living on this island linguistically. This Taiwan's analogy is helpful for us to appreciate how the sinicization of the then Vietnam would have come about during a time span of
1000 years and why she had continued on with the same self-inflicted sinicization for another 1000 years presumably with a very much smaller population than that of Taiwan at present time. Keep in mind that she had to accommodate a larger number of Chinese invading armies, amounting to hundreds of thousands in numbers, having continuously advanced southwards since the Han Dynasty in the 2nd century B.C.

Indeed, this linguistic adoption process had been occurring long before and after Vietnam’s having victoriously gained independence from China in the tenth century, yet the influence of Chinese kept going on even until this day. From that time on Vietnam had also voluntarily adopted the Chinese writing system in full at first as the official written language of the land. That is what I called "self-inflicted sinicization" which also included other aspects of cultural values such as Confucianism, Taoism, and even Buddhism. In a later development, the creation of Nôm characters based on Chinese ideographic block writing system with modifications had been put into unofficial use in Nôm literature until the end of the 19th century. Consequently, there have emerged in Vietnamese two sets common vocabulary stock, the first one widely known as the Hán Việt (Sino-Vietnamese) -- mostly appearing in dissyllabic usage -- and the Hán Nôm (Sinitic-Vietnamese or Vietnamese lexicons of Chinese origin, including those older loanwords from ancient Chinese).

**B) Core matter of Vietnamese etymology**

Cao Xuân Hao (2001), a renowned Vietnamese cultural and linguistic theorist, in his “Tiếng Việt là Tiếng Mâlaî?” (Can Vietnamese be of Malay origin?) states that most of the Vietnamese words which have been considered original -- từ thuộc Việt -- are actually not indigenously pure. According the author’s view, in linguistics, there is no such thing called “pure”. He emphasizes that it does not matter much to which origin, be it of Chinese, Thai, Mon-Khmer, or Austroasiatic cognates, Vietnamese should be classed, the core matter is the same as in the case of many basic words that he cited: chim bird
(of Mon-Khmer origin), vịt duck (of Thai origin), cá fish (of Austroasiatic origin), thỏ hare (of Chinese origin) are still considered "pure" Vietnamese (p. 90).

In fact, what is in existent essence that makes up the whole body of the language is what that matters the most. We cannot solely base on cases of isolated words of Mon-Khmer cognates, as many have done previously, since they were mostly taken out of the context of the language as a whole. Etymology involves a lot of other factors much more significant than being limited to a fractional share of tiny basic stock to reach such a superficial conclusion. We can use the influential factor to say that languages of the Mon-Khmer origin could have also borrowed many words from Vietnamese just as Vietnamese has done so from Chinese. Mostly, as we all may know, the most advanced and powerful people are likely to influence the least developed ones. Unfortunately, until these days specialists of Vietnamese always think that those Vietnamese words must have been from a Mon-Khmer source other than the other way around whenever any words were found being cognate to those of Mon-Khmer. Is it the only way the research for Vietnamese etymology ought to be done? Can it be done with a different approach with a new perspective?

Again, the purpose of this research is not to prove the Sino-Tibetan origin of Vietnamese genetically and to denounce the Mon-Khmer theories, but only to present a new approach to help find the etymology of thousands of Nôm words of Chinese origin. That approach can also be used to evaluate most of the words that previously have been speculated by many distinguished linguists in the field that they were of the Mon-Khmer origin, which might not be the case at all.

Chinese is a language belonging to the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family. Could Vietnamese have been also a language descended from the same root if most of its words proved to be of Chinese origin? If many of those proven lexicons are of basic vocabulary stratum, they could not be considered as loanwords but must be cognates originated from the same source. That is possible given theories about the proto-Taic elements and the pre-Sinitic forms were in contact some time during the Zhou Dynasty from 1122 BC to 256
BC. Of course this is indeed a controversially interesting topic that needs to be re-examined with further research in order to re-establish that long old reckoned connection which I called the linked kinship.

It should be so because, again, the two languages share most of the linguistic attributes including those unique characteristics, i.e.,

1. the tonal system (8 tone system that fits perfectly into the Middle Chinese scheme),
2. rich syllabic structure (initial, middle, final, and ending, e.g., x+anh ~ q+ing, h+ương ~ x+iang, etc.),
3. disyllabic (vocabulary consisting of mostly two-syllable words, such as sięngnāng 勤勉 qínmiăn, nonsông 江山 jiāngshān, ánhmắt 目光 mùguāng, ánhnắng 陽光 yángguāng, giàucó 富有 fùyǒu...),
4. unique semantic composition of lexical building blocks (e.g. bântay 手板 shǒubăn, khuônmat 面孔 miànkǒng, côhông 喉嚨 hóulóng, dúóiquê 鄉下 xiāngxià, etc.),
5. basic vocabulary stock (mắt 目 mù, đầu 头 tóu, nà 娘 niáng, cá 魚 yú, lũa 火 hu ô...),
6. morphemic compounds (bồihồi 徘徊 páihuái, yêudương 愛戴 àidài, khôso 苦楚 kūchù, bática 綁架 bângjià, câuthâ 赣且 gōuqiē...),
7. synonymous compounds (đấtđai 土地 tǔdì, thươngyêu 疼愛 téngài, buônrrâu 愁悶 chóumèn, tìmkiếm 尋找 xúnzăo, chimchóc 禽雀 qínquè...),
8. reduplicative disyllabic (liênmiên 連綿 liánmiăn, mongmanh 渺茫 miăománg, lôithơi 囉嗦 luōsuō, dếđàng 容易 róngyi, lòngthòng 籠統 lòngtǒng...),
9. parallel compounds (caothấp 高低 gāodì, trêndưới 上下 shàngxià, caydâng 辛苦 xīnkǔ..)
10. dialectal, colloquial, and idiomatic expressions (luônluôn 老老 lǎoláo, đànhcã 打 魚 dâyú, gâcô, gàtrôngng 雞公 jīgōng, gàmái 雞母 jīmǔ, chòmhôm 狗坐 quánzuò, ế ch ngồi dây giêng 井蝸之見 jǐng wò zhī jiàn...),
11. fixed expressions (saocúu 總是 zǒngshì, tâtcã 大家 dâjiā, tróiâng 太陽 tàiyáng, d âunào 那裡 nàli...),
12. grammatical markers ("sự, cái, việc, nhỉ" as in "có sự chuẩn bị" 有所準備, cält déc as 所謂 suǒwéi, "cái tôi có" 我所有 wǒ suǒ yǒu, cái việc nó làm 他所作所為 tǎ suǒ zuò suǒ wéi, 借問白頭翁,垂綸幾世也 Jiē wèn bái tóu wēng, chuí lún jǐ shì yě? "Xin hỏi ông già này, thả câu được mấy đời nhỉ?"...),
13. classifiers (cái 個 gè, chiếc 隻 zhī, con, cái 子 zǐ, cuốn 卷 juǎn...),
14. particles ("đây" as in lên đây 上來 shànglái, "đi" as in về đi 回去 huíqù, "ơi" as in 天啊 tiān na, "nè" as in "tôi dấy nè" 是我呢 shì wǒ ne, "nha, nhé" as in "tôi ăn nha" 我吃啦 wǒ chī lā), and
15. functional words (và 和 hé, vì 為 wèi, nhưng mà 然而 rán′ěr, vì thế 於是 yùshì, do đó 所以 suǒyǐ...).

Analytically, those lexical features are something so linguistically unique and peculiar to only languages of close affiliation in addition to the tonal system, that inherently ought to belong to the same language family. A comparison of Cantonese with Mandarin along with the composition of the population of speakers of those two "languages" -- both being two Chinese dialects descended from an original "Chinese" spoken by the "Chinese" -- will support this argument profoundly. In fact, Cantonese common vocabularies of basic layer obviously deviate somewhat from those of Mandarin while in Vietnamese they somehow are on par even with those basic "Chinese" vocabularies in both dialects which are still widely in active usage today, for instance,

- Cant. /pintou/ 'where' as opposed to M náli 那裏 (cf. VS noiđâu, dâunào) [ SV nái, nái] | @ nái <~ noiđâu <~ noiđó, % # M 那裏 náli, náli | M 那 ná, năo <MC nʌ <OC ɲa:r | ¶ n- ~ đ-, x. đó, dấy || M 裡 lǐ <MC lɨ <OC rhəʔ | FQ 良士 | cf. V Huế dialect: 'nó' ],
- Cant. /fajŋ/ 'sleep' as opposed to M shuìjiào 睡覺 VS # 'giấc ngủ' (cf. 睡去 qù shuì: đingù) [ SV thuygiác | @ & M 睡覺 shuìjiào \ @ & 覺 jiào ~ đi (去 qù), @ & 睡 shui ~ ngủ 臥 wuò (ngoá) | M 睡 shuǐ < MC zw3 < OC *dhojs || M 覺 jué, jiào < MC kauk < OC *kru:k ],
- Cant. /jəm/ as opposed to M 喝 hè 'drink' (cf. VS uống) [ SV ấm] | M 飲 yìn < MC ?tım < OC *tım? | Zyyy: ijəm2 || cf. VS hóp, húp, hò, hát, hét ~ M 喝 hè < MC xát
According to Starostin: to yell, cry (angrily) (LZ). Regular Sino-Viet. is hát. The earliest attested usage of the character (Han) is for *ʔraːts, MC ʔaj, Mand. yè 'to cry (with a constrained voice)’. In modern Mand. the character is most frequently used for hè 'to drink' (with an unattested MC reading)]

- Cant. /o'njew/ as opposed to M 尿 niào 'urine, urinate' (cf. VS tiēu, dāi) [ M 尿 niào o < MC niew < OC *neːws] /nː ~ dː, tː / cf. điđái 拉屎, dǐa 拉屎 | According to Starostin, Viet. tː is rather strange here, so Viet. tiēu may be quite independent from the Chinese word. Another possible explanation of the Viet. word would be a contraction of the Chinese euphemism for 'urine, urinating' 小便 (MC sjew-bjen). | However, Starostin might have missed the sound change /nː ~ dː, tː/ that appears in both M and Viet., e.g., 鳥 niăo : điểu, 那 nà, nuó : độ, dány (V Huế dialect nó)]

- Cant. /kuj/ as opposed to M 累 lèi 'tired' (cf. VS mōi) [ M 累 lèi < MC lwɛ < OC *rojʔs] | According to Starostin: involve, implicate; labour, hardship (L.Zhou)]

- Cant. /thaj/ 睇 : thấy 'see' as opposed to M 見 jiàn 'see, seen' (cf. VS thấy) [ M 見 jiàn < MC kien < OC *kians] \ FQ 古電 ]

These illustrated examples demonstrate lexical transformation by means of semantic analogy approach. It can be used to find candidate patterns of sound changes of related words in addition to another dissyllabic sound change approach as to be discussed in detail later on. The overall purpose is to draw the rules for all possible alterations of other words from Chinese to Nôm, i.e. Vietnamese of Chinese origin in restrictve sense, based on the assumption that if most of the proven loanwords appear in one category and of the same class, even of dubious origin because of discrepancy in phonology, it, etymologically, is likely that they are possibly of the same origin as long as they carry all traits with the same phonological peculiarities and underlined contextual connotation, e.g.,

- mắt 'eye' 目 mù -- mũi 'nose' 鼻 bì,
- mắt 'face' 面 -- mày 'eyebrow' 眉 méi,
- sống 'live' 生 shēng -- chết 'die' 死 sǐ,
• ăn 'eat' 吃 chī -- uống 'drink' 飲 yīn,
• khóc 'weep' 哭 kù -- cười 'laugh' 笑
• đi 'walk' 去 qù -- đứng 'stand' 站 zhàn,
• nặng 'heavy' 重 zhòng -- nhẹ 'light' 輕 qīng,
• cao 'high' 高 gāo -- thấp 'low' 底 dī,
• nóng 'hot' 燙 tàng -- lạnh 'cold' 冷 lěng,
• buồn 'sad' 悶 mèn -- vui 'happy' 伙 kuài,
• xa 'far' 疏 shū -- gần 'near' 近 jìn,
• cay 'spicy hot' 苦 -- đắng 'bitter' 辛 xīn (5), etc.

Of course, this approach is being in use in parallel with the dissyllabic approach, which in return will help us find more monosyllabic basic words from Vietnamese synonymous or parallel compounds as in the cases of "chài+lưới", "xe+cộ", "cậu+mợ", "chú+bác", and so on. By doing so I believe that we will be able to find reliable traces of sound changes from Chinese to Sinitic-Vietnamese in all possible approaches, some of which, no matter how unconventional as they appear, have been in use by many specialists of Vietnamese to associate "voi" with vi 為 wēi (elephant), "lúa" < lai 來 lái (unhusked rice grain), "trời nắng" < tháidương 太陽 tàiyáng (sun, sunshine), and names of the Chinese and Vietnamese zodiac system with names of related animals such as ngọ 午 wǔ 'ngựa' (horse), hợi 亥 hài 'heo' (pig), or some other reasonable way to relate Sino- and Sinitic-Vietnamese words. (See

With a large amount of authentic Chinese and Vietnamese basic words as cognates being found by appying this dissyllabic techniques, the implication that the kinship between the two languages is genetically related can be confirmed accordingly. Our resulted etymological findings then can be used to re-establish the genetic affiliation between the two languages, at least for certain of words. It is so because basic words were what a language originally started with after all. This new approach has indeed enabled me to find a remarkable large number, about 20,000, of Vietnamese words of Chinese origin, many of which have long been regarded as indigenous Nôm words, or "pure" Vietnamese.
Again, this new dissyllabic approach is to treat each Chinese word, which is composed of one or more syllables or morphemes, each represented by each Chinese character singly, regardless of its meanings associated with each individual morpheme whether it is monosyllabic or polysyllabic. This should be as a correct way to deal with Chinese lexicography. In both Vietnamese and Chinese, a morpheme usually coincides with a syllable, which is free to go with other syllables to form other words. That is why sometimes we see syllabic combinations in Chinese may convey completely different meanings regardless of its written characters (loanwords to connote certain words) and, consequently, in Vietnamese, for instance,

on the Chinese side,

1. măshàng 馬上: mauchóng 'quickly',
2. qímă 起碼: ítra 'at least',
3. măhŭ 馬虎: qualoa 'carelessly',
4. piányì 便宜: rême, bèo 'cheap',
5. dōngxī 東西: dôdác 'things',
6. liáotiān 聊天: tròchuyến 'chat',
7. wúliáo 無聊: làtlẽo (~ nhạtnhẽo) 'boring',
8. mòshēng 陌生: làlùng 'strange',
9. huāshēng 花生: đậuphụng 'peanut' (Hai. /wundow/),
10. diănxī 點心: điểmtâm (~ lótlòng) 'snack' (Viet. 'breakfast'),

and here on the Vietnamese side,

1. mănmâ 舔蜜: tiánmi (~ măt'ngọt) 'sweetly',
2. duahău 塊瓜 kuàiguā (watermelon),
3. thathiệt 體貼: títì 'heartily',
4. câuthă 荀且: kŏuqiè (~ âútă) 'carelessly',
5. vâtvă 奔波: bēnbó (~ tåttäch) 'hand to mouth',
6. múarôi 木偶戲: mùôuxi 'puppetry',
7. tròinăng 太陽: tàiyáng 'sunshine',
8. bồihồi 徘徊: báihuái 'sadly',
9. chieur dung #丞受: chéngshòu 'endure',
10. bắtđền 賠償: péichăng 'ask for compensation' (~ bắtthường),
11. vỡlòng 啓蒙: qǐméng 'pre-schooling',
12. chấpnhất 在意: zàiyì 'to mind' (~ đểý),
13. lănggiềng 鄰居: línjū 'neighbor' (~ hàngxóm, lâncăn),
14. dêxòm 嬷蟲: yínchóng 'lecherous' (~ quýrâuuxanh).

For those words on the Chinese side any linguist of Chinese knows that better than anybody else why the Chinese graphs involved have nothing to do with the meanings they convey. In a Chinese dictionary, one can find numerous characters or polysyllabic words which have multiple meanings like those. In the case of Chinese words evolving into those of Vietnamese scenario, either one or both of the Chinese syllable-words that make up the compounds, as shown in the examples above, in this case have been likened, associated, or identified with words of similar sounds conveying the same meaning. It is no surprise to see that sometimes what has changed into Vietnamese is not exactly what it was originally in Chinese. That is, they are no longer the words of the same Chinese roots initially derived from. Vietnamese words having that characteristic are numerous. Let's examine some more words of this nature.

起 qǐ among other things signifies 'to rise' (VS: dậy) [ M 起 qǐ < MC khɤ < OC *khj eʔ | MC reading 止開三上止溪 ] as in
• 起義 qǐyì, VS: nổidậy 'to rise against',
• 起馬 qímǎ means 'at least' (VS: ítra),
• 興起 xìngqǐ 'interested' (VS: hùngchí, #nōihùng, nùngcật (excited, sexual erection) and mùngróǐ(jubilant)),
• 起源 qǐyuán 'originate' (VS: bắtnguồn),
• 起頭 qítóu 'start' (VS: bắtđầu), and
• 起步 qǐbù 'take steps' (VS: cấtbước).
Similarly, for 順 shùn (SV thuận) [ M 順 shùn < MC tʂjwən < OC *djənh (Schuessler : *mljuəns) ], we have

- 孝順 xiàoshùn ‘filial piety’ (VS: hiếuthạo),
- 順利 shùnlì ‘smoothly’ (VS: suônşé and chótlọt > trótlọt),
- 順風 shùnfēng ‘favorable wind’ (VS: xuôigió and thuậngió),
- 順手 shùnshǒu ‘conveniently’ (VS: thuậntay, sǎntay and # luônthể),
- 順便 shùnbiàn ‘conveniently’ (VS: luônţiên and sǎntiên), etc.

The word-morphemes 起 and 順 are in bound form and have evolved into different sounds, meanings and words in Vietnamese. Inside the Chinese language itself similar morphemes like ‘qǐ’ and ‘shùn’ are innumerable. By actively pursuing this avenue in search for words of Chinese origin, we could find that almost all the Vietnamese words could be traced to find their Chinese origin!

As we will see through all the illustrations in this paper, the deeply rooted misconception of monosyllabics of Vietnamese and Chinese, i.e., they being a monosyllabic and their vocabularies being compositions of monosyllabic wors, has prevented specialists in the field of Vietnamese etymology from seeing that sound changes of individual syllables in dissyllabic formation are independent from its original monosyllabic equivalents. Originally, in ancient times, like any other languages on earth, both Vietnamese and Chinese must have been monosyllabic. It is easier to confirm that monosyllabic characteristics of Chinese based on literary works of more than two thousand years ago than to do so with that of Vietnamese where its oldest books are only dated as far as ten centuries ago. In all possibilities, basic words that both languages seem to share in common seem to point to the direction of monosyllabics.

In modern Vietnamese, one can find thousands of dissyllabic, along with a few more polysyllabic, words in any Vietnamese dictionary even though they are still incorrectly written in separated syllables. In the past, many experts of Vietnamese insisted on its monosyllabic characteristics as represented by Barker (1966, p. 10): “With the exception of certain compounds, reduplicative patterns, and loanwords, Vietnamese
and Muong are both monosyllabic languages.” If we take his saying to apply to the English language in the same respects, it is also a monosyllabic language! Also, this statement just makes Barker appear having superficial knowledge of the Vietnamese language. Some Vietnamese linguists might have "worshipped" him, more or less, just simply because Barker is a western linguist who knows something about Vietnamese! When he said “certain compounds, reduplicative patterns, and loanwords”, anyone who is unfamiliar with the language may feel that there are only a small number of such words exist in Vietnamese. In reality, almost a whole vocabulary stock of Vietnamese are structured as such as we can see in any Vietnamese dictionary. In other words, his statement can be used to disqualify him as a specialist of Vietnamese. Ironically, many Vietnamese linguists in the field tend to value those viewpoints made by those western specialists who simply know something, usually limited to small areas of expertise, about Vietnamese to say something about it!

It is true that many of those dissyllabic words in Vietnamese can be analyzed as combination of monosyllabic words of which each can be used independently to attach to other syllable-words to form other compounds. Nevertheless, remember that a great number of those words are formed to connote a new different concepts and cannot be considered as compounds anymore but composite words. That is, these words are composed of two or more syllables in form of bound morphemes and they cannot be broken down further into single syllables to be used as independent words. One of the good examples is the most basic Vietnamese words about anatomy, which could have existed since ancient times, such as cùichỏ ‘elbow’, đầugối ‘knee’, mắccá ‘ankle’, màngtang ‘temple’, mỏác ‘crown of head’, chânmày ‘eyebrow’, etc. All of these are dissyllabic composite words made up of bound morphemes, that is, they must appear in pairs, of which either or both syllables making up each word are unbreakable just like their English counterparts. In this respect, the only difference is, like its cousin Chinese language, each morpheme in its free form as a complete different syllable-word can only mean something else having nothing to do with the meaning of the original form. For example, đầu also means ‘head’ and gối means ‘to lean against’. Other examples of
a great number of dissyllabic words are in different categories such as càunhàu ‘growl’, cânnhàn ‘grumble’, ‘bàngkhuâng ’pensive’, bỗhôi ‘melancholy’, bущông ‘sorrowful’, mô hôi ‘sweat’, mọcôi ‘orphan’, bànglông ‘agree’, tàiţêng ‘notorious’, tạmbô ‘temporary’, trá chmóc ‘reproach’, and polysyllabic words such as mêtítthòlò ‘irresistible’, nhảydôngdô ng ‘jump up in protest’, bàđôngbâyđôi ‘unpredictably’, hànghàsâsô ‘innumerable’, lôntû ngphêo ‘upside down’, tuyệtcúmèo ‘wonderful’. Even with those Sino-Vietnamese words such as hiệndiện ‘presence’, phùnũ ‘woman’, sơnhá ‘country’, etc., the Chinese stems as syllable-words contained in them cannot be used as independent monosyllabic words in the Vietnamese language. (Read more details of this discussion in Sửađôi Cáchviết Chữ Việt) If those words are written in combining formation instead of being singly written as separate syllables in appearance, they certainly will give foreign learners of Vietnamese a different impression, including Barker himself. In other words, they should not base on Vietnamese orthography to determine its monosyllabic characteristics after all.

For the matter of polysyllabics, in the past renown Vietnamese linguists such as Bùi Đức Tịnh (1966, p.82), taking side with Hồ Hữu Tường, criticized and defied the idea that Vietnamese is a monosyllabic language. They both treated Vietnamese as a dissyllabic language. In Vietnamese, the sole fact that a high percentage of Sino-Vietnamese words, as quoted above, just like words having roots from Latin and Greek in the English language, being used in today’s Vietnamese sufficiently constitutes the dissyllabic nature of the Vietnamese language, in addition to other polysyllabic words formed out of fixed expressions in different categories. Many of those loanwords are unbreakable. The Koreans and Japanese have long recognized this matter and they always, scientifically, write polysyllabic words in “group”, which always appear in patterns like XX XXX XX X XX XXX XX visually. Unfortunately, in today’s writing system of the Vietnamese language each of such dissyllabic words is still broken into two syllables where each of which when standing alone may not be related to the original meanings and may not mean anything at all!
Exactly the same thing can be said about the dissyllabic characteristics of the Chinese language. Any Chinese dialect nowadays is also a dissyllabic language per se. Regarding this issue, Chou (1982, p.106) quoted others in his article:

Following Kennedy and de Francis, Eugene Chin said: "If we admit that words, not morphemes, are the construction material of Chinese, we cannot but admit that Chinese is polysyllabic. If we may use the majority rule here, we will have no trouble establishing the fact that Chinese is dissyllabic."

From this premise that Chinese is dissyllabic and so is Vietnamese, we can trace each dissyllabic word in both Vietnamese and Chinese and we will find that, phonologically, like many monosyllabic words, a dissyllabic Chinese word could evolve into quite a few different words in Vietnamese, including latest words downright in our modern time. For instance, one Chinese word 三八 sānbā (SV tambát to ridicule women in their March 8, International Women's Day), meaning "nonsense", might have already given rise to tà mphào, tàmbây, tàmbạ, bảláp, bảxàn, basào, xàbát, xằngbây... in Vietnamese.

As to the sound change from Chinese into Vietnamese words, those linguists, who started with the misconception that Chinese and Vietnamese are both monosyllabic languages, try to look for only one related Vietnamese word and its equivalent to one Chinese character, equally a monosyllabic word, and, in most of the cases, they seem to be able to associate only one Chinese character to only one monosyllabic word in the Vietnamese language. That is a serious flaw with the old approach. One cannot fully explore the etymology of Vietnamese words of Chinese origin by only investigating and confining oneself to the realm of only isolated monosyllabic words and expect to find all their corresponding Chinese cognates.

Once and for all, let's face it, since both languages are dissyllabic languages consisting mainly of two-syllable words, linguistic rules of sound changes from Chinese dissyllabic words into Vietnamese ones are just like those of other polysyllabic languages. For instance, in Indo-European languages polysyllabic words of the same root when
changing into another language at least one of the syllables may not strictly follow the same phonological pattern in all languages, such as the word "police": politi, polizei, policia, polizia, polite, polis, polisi, "phúlít" (old VS from French).

What does this rule have to do with Vietnamese words of Chinese origin? In the Chinese ~> Vietnamese scenario, one Chinese character, coinciding with a syllable and a word, or being just only a morpheme, when changing into Vietnamese, theoretically, only one equivalent sound (word) exists, but, in reality, in many a case there are more than one Vietnamese sound for each Chinese character, for example,

- 元 yuán 'beginning, original' SV-nguyên, ngườn, VS-tháng)giêng, ngon [ M 元 yu án < MC ṇwjan < OC *ηon | > VS giêng (thánggiêng < 正月 zhèngyuè ~ 元月 yuá nyuè | Starostin: Standard Sino-Viet. is nguyên; Viet. ngon may reflect a variant * ηons. For *η- cf. Xiamen guan2, Chaozhou ńuŋ2, Fuzhou ńuŋ2, Jianou ńuŋ2 | > giêng (thánggiêng < 正月 zhèngyuè ~ 元月 yuányuè) ],
- 度 dù 'measure' SV-dố, VS doctrine, do, đặc [ M 度 dù < MC dʌk < OC *dha:k < PC **dha: ],
- 粉 fén 'flour, noodle' SV phấn, VS bún, bột, phô, bụi [ See its etymology as previously cited. ],
- 拜 bài 'kowtow' SV-bái, VS vái, lạy, van(xin) [ M 拜 bài < MC paj < OC *pre:ts | MC reading 蟹開二去怪幫 | ¶ b- ~ l- : ex. 兵 bīng (binh) lính ],

etc., or in compounds:

- 場 chăng SV trường, tràng [ M 場 chăng < MC ɖaŋ < OC *ɫaŋ | According to Starostin in MC we have here a very rare case of preserving ɖ- < *ɬ- (normally *jaŋ would be expected). ], but in Vietnamese there are several sounds:
- 劇場 jùchăng (SV: kịchtrường) # sânkhấu 'stage',
- 式場 shìchăng (SV: thítrường) # trườngthi 'examination site',
- 戰場 zhànchăng (SV: chiếntrường) chiếntrận , hence, # trậnchiến 'battle' (note: word order is in reverse in all three cases above),
- 一場夢 yì chăng mèng (SV: nhất trườngmộng) một giấc/con mơ/mộng 'dream',
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- 一場病 yì chăng bìng (SV: nhất trường bệnh) một trận/con bệnh 'illness',
- 一場戲 yì chăng xì (SV: nhất trường hi) một tuồng/xuất hát [ VS 'xuất @ 場 chăng ～ SV 齣 chù 'xuất' ] 'a show',
- 一場空 yì chăng kōng (SV: nhất trường không) một khoảng trống 'nothingness, nada',
- 在場 zài chăng (SV: tại trường) tại chiếm ~ tại tranh 'on spot, red-handed', etc.

This is where a sandhi process of association has taken effect in the sound change process. It has occurred not only in syllables where neighboring sounds with similar syllable-word and meanings can be assimilated, which might have already taken place before they were introduced to Vietnamese as in the above cases where zhèn 陣 (trận) or chù 齣 (xuất) had been associated with chăng 場, but also accomplished by transferring a whole syllable-word and its associate meaning to match the new disyllabic compounds. Let's examine the case of

- thợmộc, mùjiāng

mùjiāng is a Mandarin sound of 木匠 (carpenter) and while there is not much to say about mộc [mokʷ] (<= Middle Chinese [mowk]) for 木 mù, "thợ" might not be a direct sound change from 匠 "jiāng" [ M 匠 jiāng < MC ʐjɑŋ < OC *ʐhaŋs ] into Vietnamese, but it could be more likely a derivative from the compound

- "thợthầy" (~"thầythợ") as in "Không ra thợthầy gì cả!" or "Nứa thày, nứa thợ, nứa dướĩu rũ!," all mean 'You (or s/he...) are just useless!" this compound must have been evolved from "thàytrò" or 師徒 shītú. "Thợ" here, as opposed to "thày" 師 shī 'teacher, master' [ cf. the patterns of shí 時: thời, thì; shì 事: thọ ], was meant to indicate "tù" [ t'u2 ] or "trò" (student, pupil, follower, trainee), which possibly had given rise to "thợ" (to signify all concepts of "apprentice", "journeyman","artisan"..., inclusively).

In this case "thợ" appears to have become a free syllabic form functioning as a prefix to be combined with other syllable-words to make other compounds:
- thợđá 石匠 shíjiāng ‘stone smith’
- thọsắt ~ thọthiết 鐵匠 tiějiāng ‘blacksmith, tinsmith’
- thọgiày 鞋匠 xiějiāng ‘shoemaker’
- thọnề ® 泥水匠 níshuǐjiāng ‘bricklayer’
- thọmài ® 磨光匠 móguāngjiāng ‘grinder’
- thọkhoá 鎖匠 suǒjiāng ‘locksmith’
- thọnhuộm ® 洗染匠 xǐrănjiāng ‘dyer’ (contraction of “thọtẩynhuộm”),
- thọngói (thọngoạ) 瓦匠 wăjiāng ‘bricklayer’,
- etc.,

However, we may not want to exclude the chance that "thọ" was derived from the "thọ" of MC [dziaŋ], which appears to fit into in a pattern of sound change somewhat similar to MC [tshiaŋ] > tương > tượng (SV) > thưởng (VS) [ cf. the patterns of 獎 jiăng ‘prize’ tượng (SV) > thưởng (VS)] or "thừa" being corresponding to Mandarin 承 chéng, etc.

In the cases as discussed above, disyllabic words, or polysyllabic words for that matter, with at least one of the two syllables had undergone the sandhi process of assimilation or association. To all those cases we also can apply the natural phonological linguistic rules that dictate from sound changes in polysyllabic words that one or more syllables can be deformed, corruped, dropped, contracted, associated, etc. that make the sound change transformed into another different appearance phonologically. As we can see, through this sound change process a mere original stem could give rise to more Vietnamese sound variations. In the end the absorbing language, the borrower, would gain a few extra new words and, at the same time, add more meaning to existing similarly sounding words, but of different Chinese roots. For the latter they had come into existence by means of constant association of similar sounds or meanings, or both, of existing words, for instance,

- xin 心 ‘heart’: tim (physical) heart, tâm (SV), lòng (figuratively) heart, inner feelings’ ... ~> tâmhồn 心+魂 xīnhún (spiritual) heart’, lòngdạ 心腸 xīnchāng
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

In the realm of lexical development, Vietnamese has also proved to be keen in innovation of loanwords. While a great number of words have retained their original forms and existing associated concepts, some have evolved their own way to grow by attaching new differentiation in meanings either with the old pronunciation or new articulation for resulted subtle semantic changes. This does not necessarily mean Chinese loanwords will end up richer in Vietnamese counterparts because, as we have seen in the above examples, the other way around is also proved to be true for many words as in the case that Vietnamese uses the same associative sounds to identify with other glosses (just like loan-graphs in Chinese itself). Here are some other examples:

1. 冲 chōng, chòng : (1) SV xung, trùng 'giving the rise to', (2) dội 'pour water on', (3) sôi 'boil up' (associated with: 燃 shāo, 開 kāi), (4) xông 'to charge', (5) xấn 'to dash (against)', (6) tông 'to collide' (asssociated with 撞 zhuàng), (7) đụng 'to collide' (asssociated with 撞 zhuàng), (8) đường 'public road' (asssociated with 道 dào), (9) sang 'develop and print photo' (modern usage), (10) xối 'to wash out' (associated with: 澡 zào),
At the same time, the sound changes that have made up the lately developed words can be independent of their original form. Historically, this development is commonplace in any language, let's say, as in the case of English, we have the word *morning* < morn < Old English *morgen*) while *evening* < æfnung, a noun from the verb æfnian 'grow towards night'. Following the pattern of *evening* the *morn* had become *morning*.

In Vietnamese, specifically, this assimilative sandhi occurrence, or, alternately, the sandhi process of assimilation or association, has been a very common phenomenon. It is likely products of time to have come into existence probably without much of human intervention. Let's examine a few more cases of this process:

2. 户 hù: (1) SV hộ 'household', 'a family unit', (2) cửa 'door' (associated with: 口 kǒ u), (3) ngõ 'gate' (associated with: 門 mén),

3. 会 hui : (1) SV hội 'fair', (2) họp 'meeting', (3) hiểu 'understand' (associated with: 聞 xiăo), (4) hụi 'colateral loan', (5) hội 'a period of time' (associated with: 回 huí), (6) sẽ : will, going to do something (associated with: 將 jiāng);

4. 天 tiān: (1) SV thiên 'sky', the Almighty', (2) trời (~ giới) 'the sun' (associated with 日 ri),

5. 回 huí: (1) SV hội 'return', (2) về 'return' (associated with : 歸 guī),

6. 鹹魚 xiányú: (1) mắmcá 'salted fermented fish sauce', (2) # cámặn 'salted fish',

7. 過去 guòqù: (1) SV quákhứ 'the past', (2) quađi 'pass by', (3) # dāqua 'already passed',

8. 太陽 tàiyáng: (1) SV tháidương '(literary) the sun', (2) # mặttrời 'thesun', (3) # trờin áng 'sunny' (associated with 日 ri),

9. 月亮 yuèliàng: (1) mặttrăng 'the moon', (2) # ánhtrăng 'moonlight', (3) # trăngsáng 'brilliant moon', (4) # nàngtrăng '(literary) the fairy moon' (associated 亮 liàng with 'ánh' 光 guāng ),

10. 問答 wèndá: (1) SV vấnđáp 'cross examination', 'oral exam', (2) hỏiđáp 'questions and answers',

11. 問題 wèntí: (1) SV vấnđề 'problem', (2) # thắcmác 'question',

12. 聽寫 tīngxiě : (1) chínhtả 'correct spelling', (2) ngheviết 'dictation', etc.
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- 待 dài (đại in Sino-Vietnamese) is đợi in Sinitic-Vietnamese [ M 待 dài < MC dyj < OC *dхаː | FQ 徒亥 | MC reading 蟹開一上海定],

  but the sound of this character will change into some other sounds when it is in other dissyllabic forms, or words (in this case, they are compound words) such as

- 等待 děngdài (SV: đẵngđãi) chờđợi 'wait for' [ cf. the sound change pattern of chéng 承 | SV thừa -- see 待承 dàichéng below)] in Sinitic-Vietnamese [ association of the 'chờ' as in 期待 qídài into the existing compound, but in this case "等" děng 'wait' is still treated as "待" dài "đợi" 'wait' -- 等 a doublet of 待 in Chinese],

- 期待 qídài (SV: kỳđãi ) chờđón 'expect' (originally it was cognate to "chờđợi" 'wait for', also 'expect'),

- 對待 duìdài (SV: đốiđãi ) becomes đốixử 'treat' in Sinitic-Vietnamese (association of the 處 chǔ 'xử' into the existing compound),

- 待承 dàichéng (SV: đaithừa ) đảiđằng 'treat with a feast',

- 接待 jièdài (SV: tiếpđãi ) tiếpđón 'reception, to greet' (in both cases, 待 dài is in association with jièsòng 接送 "đưađón" meaning 'to pick up and see off'), etc.

In another direction of development of new vocabularies, consciously the principle of lexical association serves as an important tool for coining new compounds. A new coinnage can be a word of local innovation of an existing word to be made-to-order when needed (1), new word being coined (2), all to be created from the Chinese material that have been already assimilated in the borrowing language or concurrently being used in the borrowed language (3), for instance,

(1)

- bảmnút "按紐" (~nhánhną) ànnǐu 'press the button > click the button',
- mängluòi "網絡" wăngluò 'net > network > computer network',
- viễnchức #"職員" zhíyuán 'civil servant > governmental officer',
- trangmăng "網也" wāngyè 'web page' ('trang' is associated with 張 zhāng 'sheet'),
bánh bao "餅+包" (# bāobǐng) 'dumpling',
bò bía "包餅" (bāobǐng) (a Chaozhou style spring rolls wrapped with Vietnamese rice paper, called /popẽ/),
tủ lạnh "冷 + 櫝" (# lěngdú) 'refrigerator',
xēhôp "盒+車" (# héchē) 'car',
nhũ liều "柔+料" (= 軟件 ruănjiàn) (róu+liào) 'software',
phầncứng "份+剛" (gāng+fèn) 'hardware',
liênmảng "聯+網" (lián+wăng) 'internet',

ru琇chê "酒+茶" (= hetjiu 喝酒) (jǐu+chá) 'alcoholic',
trangnhá "張 + 家" 'homepage',
công nhánh viên "公+人員" (gōng+rényuán) 'civil servant,' | côngchúc 公+職 gōng + zhí,
tòa án "座+案" (zuò+àn) 'court',
quantoà "官+座" (zuò+guān) 'judge',
ratoà "出庭" (chùtíng, currently in use in modern M, in Viet. 庭 tíng, SV đình' being associated with 'toà'), 'appear in court', etc.

Those who do not accept the fact that both Chinese and Vietnamese are dissyllabic languages may find it hard to see why the same monosyllabic word in Vietnamese originally cognate to only one character in Chinese could evolve into variable sound changes in several different dissyllabic words. Only with the recognition that Vietnamese is a dissyllabic language, one will see why two-syllable Vietnamese words of Chinese origin have their own rules of linguistic sound changes, such as the associative sandhi rule, which are quite different from those of sound change from a monosyllabic word into another monosyllabic word as in the case of Sino-Vietnamese lexicons as we usually see in historical phonology.
Similarly, many words derived from the Old Chinese and Middle Chinese may complicate the matter further with multiple lexical and phonological developments such as

- 大 dà 'big, elder' [M 大 dà < MC 大 dà < OC *dha:ts] could become  to, cài, sọt, tào, ba, tài, dừ, lờ (SV: dài) as in
dàngézi 大格子: ® tocon (big body),
dàdăn 大膽: togan, càgan (daring),
dàshèng 大聲: totiếng (raise one’s voice),
dàijiě 大姐: # chịcả (elder sister),
dàxiōng 大兄 # anhchả (elder brother),
dàhăi 大海: # bêcả (big ocean. See below for etymology of "bê"),
dàihuô 大夥: cấłu (the whole group),
dàyi 大意: sọy (inattentive),
dàhuà 大話: tàoiao, bahoa (talk nonsense, pompous),
dàiđià 大家: tấtcả (all, everyone),
dàyuè 大月: # thángđủ (month with 30 days)
pángdà 龐大: lớn (enormous),

- 冲 chōng, chòng (xung, trùng) [M 冲 chòng, chóng (trùng, xung) < MC 聞 < OC *drūwŋ | ex. sanghình 冲印 chōngyín]
giving the rise to:
  (1) xối 'to wash out',
  (2) dội 'pour water on',
  (3) sôi 'boil up',
  (4) xông 'to charge',
  (5) tông 'to collide',
  (6) tông 'to collide',
  (7) dương 'public road',
  (8) sang 'develop and print photo' (modern usage), etc.
in Sinitic-Vietnamese as opposed to only 大 ~ 大 in Sino-Vietnamese, repectively, or as in the cases of previously cited examples of 起 ~ 起, shùn 顺 ~ 顺, chăng 場 ~ trường.

Besides, there is also a phenomenon that one word, either in monosyllabic or in dissyllabic formation, in Vietnamese can point to different sources in Chinese, depending on the context. These are cases that show dynamic sound changes that further rebut the theory that sound change must be restricted mostly on the basis of one-to-one correspondences, for instance,

"cho":

- cho 給 jǐ, gěi 'give' (SV cấp) [ M 給 jǐ, gěi < MC kip < OC *kjəp < PC **qjəp | MC reading A: 深開三入緝見; B: 深開三入緝見 | Yangzhou: A: kjeta2; $ tʃio4; B: kjet 2, Chaozhou: A: tʃiə41; B: tʃiə41, Wenzhou : A: tʃiai41; B: tʃiai41, Changsha : A: tʃi4; B: tʃi4, Shuangfeng: A: tʃi12; B: tʃi12 | According to Starostin : Mand. gěi is quite irregular; there exists, however, a regular (literary) reading jǐ. | ¶ j- ~ ch- ],
- cho(phép) 準 zhǔn 'allow' (SV chuẩn) [ M 準 zhǔn < MC tʂyn < OC *tɕwin | MC reading 臻合三上準章 | ex. chophép @# 批准 pīzhǔn (SV phêchuẩn) 'permit, allow' ],
- cho 許 xǔ 'allow' (SV hứa) [ M 許 xǔ < MC xo < OC *sŋaʔ | ex. khôngcho 不許 bù xǔ (SV bấthứa) 'do not allow' ],
- cho 賜 cì 'present with' (SV tứ) [ M 賜 cì < MC sjɜ < OC *slheks | FQ 斯義 | According to Starostin : to give, present with. The word is frequently written as 錫 (and in these cases consequently usually read as MC siek - which is probably due to confusion with the basic reading of 錫 - MC siek 'tin' q.v.). See the discussion in Schuessler 98. ],
- cho 贈 zèng 'give a gift' (SV tặng) [ M 贈 zèng < MC tsʰəŋ < OC *dzəŋ ],
- chodâu 雖然 suīrán 'although' (SV tuynhiên) [ ~ VS chodù M 雖然 suīrán | M 雖 suī < MC sjwi OC *swihj ],

- chơn nên 所以 'therefore' suǒyǐ (SV sōdǐ) [M 所以 suǒyǐ @ 所 suǒ ~ cho, 以 yǐ ~ nên \¶ y ~ n- {應 yìng (SV Ứng nên)}],
- chốtới 直到 zhídào 'until' (SV trựcđáo) [M直到 zhídào @ zhi ~ cho, x. đến, tôi],
- chótien 捐錢 juānqián 'donation' (SV quyêntiền) [M捐 juān < MC jwen < OC *wen | According to Starostin: to sacrifice, to subscribe, to leave (smth. to smb.) (L.Zhou). Mand. juān and Sino-Viet. quyên reflect a form like MC *kjwen - probably secondary, under the influence of other characters (cf. 媾, 娟 etc.) ]
- đảnhcho 專用 zhuānyòng 'specialized for' (SV chuyênđưng) [ @# M 專用 zhuāny òng @ 專 zhuān ~ cho | M 專 zhuān < MC tɕwen < OC *ton ],
- khienza 引起 yǐnqǐ 'cause' (SV dẫnkhởi) [M 引起 yǐnqǐ @ 起 qǐ ~ cho \¶ q- ~ ch-, r- ]

"làm":

- làm 幹 gàn 'do, make, work' (SV cán) [M 幹 < MC kan < OC *ka:rs | ex. làmviệc 幹活 gànhuó 'work'],
- làmruộng ~ làmđồng 耕田 gēngtián 'to farm' (SV canhđiền) [M 耕 gēng < MC 耕 kaiŋ < OC *kreːŋ | MC reading 梗開二平耕見 | Dialects: Chaozhou kě11, Wenzhou kĩ11, Shuangfeng kĩě11 | cf. cày 'a plough, to plow the paddy'] ,
- làmcàn 蠻干 mángàn 'foolhardy' (SV mán cân) [ @ # M 蠻干 mángàn < MC mán < OC mwan < OC* məran ],
- làmơn 頒恩 bān'ēn 'give blessing' (SV banân) [M 頒恩 bān'ēn \¶ b- ~ l-, ex. 拜 bài (bái) lính ],
- 'làmdốc' 排架子 báijiàzi 'pretend' (SV bàigiátụ) [ @ 排 bài ~ làm 辦 bàn ],
- làm 辦 bàn 'to handle' (SV bàn) [M 辦 bàn < MC bon < OC *bhreːns | FQ 蒲覓 | Starostin: to deal with, handle, manage. For *bh- cf. Chaozhou phóī6. | ¶ b- ~ l-, ex. 兵 bīng (binh) lính ],
- làmquồng 旁樣 pángyāng 'exemplify' (SV bàngnhan) [ @ 旁 páng ~ làm 辦 bàn (bàn), @ 樣 yāng ~ quồng 鏡 jìng (kính)],
- làmphiền 勞煩 láofán 'please help' (SV lảophiền) [ @ 労 láo ~ làm 幹 gàn ],
• làm `nòng, lòng, nèng 'make' (SV lồng) [ M `nòng, nèng, lòng < MC lewn < OC *lewn | MC reading 适合一去送來 | ¶ n-~ l- | ex. làm tiền `nòngqián (SV lồng tiền) 'make money', nòng quyển `nòngquyển : làm dày làm dày (làmravgè) make oneself look like ]
• làm `ling, líng, lìng 'cause' (SV linh, lĩnh, lệnh) [ M `ling < MC lęn < OC *rın | FQ 呂貞 | ex. `lìng rén jǐngyá : làm (người) kinh ngạc 'it caused surprise to everybody']
• làm `shēngyi 'make a living' (SV sinhý) [ M 生意 shēngyì (& `幹 gàn + `吃 chì) | ¶ sh-~ l- ]
• làm `ảnh 'keep quiet' [ ~ VS yên lặng, imlặng, lặngim, lặngyên, tĩnh lặng | M `ảnh < @ `ảnh < MC ʔa:n < OC *ʔa:n | FQ 疾郢 || M `ảnh < MC ʔa:n < OC *ʔa:n | FQ 疾郢 | MC reading 山開一平寒影 ]
• làm `ôngkịp `lái `bù `jí 'cannot make it' (lai bấtcập) [ @ M `lái `bù `jí | @ `lái ~ `lâm ]
• làm `ài lái 'try again' (táilai) [ @# M 再 lái | M 再 zài < MC cɤj < OC *cja:s | According to Starostin : twice; again, and again || `lái (lai) [ M 來 lái < MC løyj < OC *rjə: ]
• làm `ông `láo `gōng 'to labor, work for' (laocông) [ @ M `láo `gōng | @ 勞 láo ~ làm gàn ]
• làm `áo `dòng 'to labor' (laodông) [ M 勞動 láodòng | @ 劳 `dòng (dòng) lòng (reduplicative)]
• làm `guăn `dàngguăn 'be an official' (SV dàngquan) [ M `dàngguăn | @ 當 dàng ~ làm `gàn ]
• làm `líng `dàngbíng 'be a soldier' (SV dangbingh) [ M 當兵 dàngbíng | @ 當 đãng ~ làm `gàn ]
• làm `óc `lífá 'hairdo' (SV lûphát) [ M `lífá `lífá 'hairdo' | @ 理 lǐ ~ làm `nòng (SV lòng) | M 理 lǐ < MC lę < OC *rhwja: | FQ [良士 | According to Starostin: to divide fields into sections. A later meaning is 'to regulate, control; to reason > reason, principle'. Viet. lề is colloquial; standard Sino-Viet. is lý (suggesting a MC variant *ly\).]
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- lảmtiền 賺錢  zhuànqián (SV chuyếntiền) [ M 賺錢 zhuànqián \ @ 賺 zhuàn ~ lảm
弄 nòng (SV lồng) | M 賺 zhuàn < MC tɕwen < OC *kje:m | MC reading 咸開二去
陷澄 ], etc., and the list goes on.

With a little linguistic common sense one will readily accept some implicit rules that
underline the sound changes that have given rise to the above lexical variants because
it is easy to identify phonological relations between cognates, i.e., words of the same
root that appear in different forms in different languages. Also, we should know that in
Chinese there may be several Chinese characters representing a concept-word (or
morpheme, as opposed to syllable-word or character) and they may be pronounced
similarly or differently depending on other factors such as time frame and locality. In this
case the sound changes that appear in many different forms in the Chinese language
itself and their variants in Vietnamese may need much more analysis in order to
understand how they happened, for example:

- phong 風 fēng > giông > gió 'wind' [ M 風 fēng < MC pjuŋ < OC *pjɔm, prom < PC:
**pryŋ*, *prym | M 風 fēng ~ giông => gió | gió /dʒɔ/ ~ phong /pʰɔŋ
ʷ/ , © 凬 | cf. 虫 chóng (trùn) giun, 富 fù (phú) giâu ], hence, we have
颱風 táifēng > giôngtố 'taiphoon',
風雨 fēngyǔ > mưagiông> mưagió 'rainstorm',

- 蜂 phong > fēng > ong 'bee' [ M 蜂 fēng < MC phouŋ < OC *phoŋ | FQ 敷容 |
According to Starostin : Also read *bhōŋ, MC buŋ (FQ 薄紅) || ( < @ 蟲 wēng <
ong, a doublet of the same root ) ],
and

- 海 hăi (< phonetic stem 母 mǔ > mái > mê > mê > biể 'the sea', [ M 海 hăi <
MC xʊj < OC *smja:ʔ | cf. ¶ 母 mǔ > mái > mê > mê > bê > biể, ¶ h- ~ m-, m- ~
b- | cf. 每 měi 'mỗi', 梅 méi 'mai', 敏 mǐn 'mẫn',) ] hence,
大海 dàhăi > biểncả (bểcả), 'big sea'
苦海 kǔhăi > bểkhố (khốái) '(sea of) suffering'
海浪 hăilàng sŏngbê 'sea wave'
海口 hǎikǒu cùābèi 'seaport'
海寇 hǎikòu cuópbèi (~海賊 hăizéi) 'sea pirate'

- 公 gōng > còng, cò, òng, trống, for "ông" we have 翁 wēng as an old doublet form, etc. [ M 公 gōng < MC kuŋ < OC *klo:n | FQ 古紅 | MC reading 通合一平東見 | Shuowen: 平分也.從八**.八猶背也.韓非曰.背**為公. (49) ]

In the cases of ong and cò, còng, òng, trống, these multiple forms of sound change can easily be recognized due to the phonological similarity between them as doublets -- characters of the same root that appear in different forms -- in the Chinese language. In many cases, it is not always that there is a clear-cut association, for example:

- jiànkāng 健康 (SV kiệnkhang) 'health, healthy'

  Let's first assume that jiànkāng 健康 is VS 'sứckhoẻ'. In this case it is possible that the initial kh- in the second syllable could have become sandhized with -n of the first syllable jiàn to be identified with 'súc' (~ 力 lì SV lực) and 'khang' kāng 康 to become 'khoẻ'. However, "sứckhoẻ" could have been, again, an innovation of 力氣 liqì (lựckhí) [ ~> ślubchhoe ~ # hờisức 'strength'. ] Alternately jiànkāng 健康 itself could have become "khoẻmạnh" since if we analyze 'khoẻmạnh' by breaking up the two syllables we can rebuild the Vietnamese "khoẻ+mạnh" with two separate elements such as zhuàng+měng '壯+猛' 'strong' which implies less the meaning of 'health' and 'healthy' than jiànkāng 健康. Moreover, when we apply the associative sandhi process rule of sound changes we will find the origin of another word 'khoẻkhoắn' ~ jiànzhuàng 健壯 'feeling fit, well...' So "khoẻ" is 健 kiện and kāng 康 could have given rise either 'mạnh' or reduplicative 'khoắn'. Hence, 力氣 liqì (lựckhí) is "sứckhoẻ" (> ® "khoẻ", alternatively) could be associated with jiànkāng 健康 to give rise to "sứckhoẻ" that conveys the meaning of both 'health' and 'healthy'.
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?  

1. bắtđền ~ bắtthường 'to ask for compensation, to make somebody to pay for', is originally from 賠償 péichăng (~ VS "đệnhbội", or in SV "bổithường", 'compensate'), that is, "bắt-" (逼 bī 'to force') has been more associated with "bắt" as in "bắtbuộc" [ M 逼迫 bīpò (SV búcbách) | M 逼迫 bīpò \ @ 逼 bī ~ 迫 pò (bách) buóc | M 逼 bī < MC pʊk < OC *pjək ] than with 捕 bǔ (bộ) 'arrest, capture, catch' [ VS vồ, bát, vốt ~ | M 捕 bǔ < MC bo < OC "bha:s | MC reading 遇合一去暮並 | cf. 捕魚 bǔyú 'bấtcá' ~ 'vótcá'].

2. mĩmcười ~ ngãmcười 含笑 hánxiào as in " 'ngãmcười' nơi chínsuối" 含笑九泉 hánxiào jǐu quán; 笑 xiào "cười" 'laugh, smile', while "mĩm" could have been evolved from 笑眯眯 xiàomīmī "cữrmĩmчи" for which "ngảm" (tight lips) is derived from 含 hán, which also means "hàm" and "cảm" 含 ('chin'), that, in turn, has given rise to "hàmrăng" 'dentition' by way of combining "hàm" + "răng", a common method called localization to coin new words in Vietnamese,

3. khócthúthít 哭泣 kùqì (to cry in a suppressing way) | 哭泣 kùqì > "thúthít" ~ kùqì > khóc 哭 kù +thúthít,

4. lỗtai 耳朵 ěrduō 'ear, ear drum' ~> 'tai' (耳 duō with the omission of 朵 ěr, also an innovative method of vocabulary coinage in Vietnamese),

5. thàytrò 師徒 shìtú "teacher and students", which strengthens the plausibility of 師 shì as "thầy" and establishes the sound change pattern "đ-" ~ "tr-" where "đ-" might have been older than "tr-". Also, it may have given rise to 'thầythợ" as previously discussed.

6. nhènhàng 輕輕 qīngqīng ~ nhènhệ "slightly", 輕重 qīngzhòng 'nặngnhệ ' (M zhòng, Hai /dang/ ) "weight", which gives us an analogy of 'nhệ' = 輕 qīng "light",

7. chungquanh (xungquanh) 周圍 zhōuwéi (around), which has given rise to "quanh" (as in "quanh ta" or 'around us'),

8. đồngbạc 銅板 tóngbăn (monetary unit) ~> tóng 'đồng' while 'bạc' is associated with 錢幣 qiánbì 'tiềnbạc',

9. bạttai 巴掌 bāzhăng 'spank' (~ bàntay 'palm' ~ 手板 shǒubăn ) -- bā gives us two different sounds in Vietnamese, "bat" and "bàn" and the whole word gives us a hint of zhăng => tay (~ 手 shǒu) 'hand',
- **bạtmạng** 拼命 'risk one's life', which show pin could evolve into "bắt" { p- ~ b-, -n ~ -t } and it is not neccessary that only some sounds that are similar to bì, bā, or bó.

Apparently, without the dissyllabic approach, we could have missed those monosyllabic words such as "thầy", "thợ", "hàm", "ngậm", "mĩm", "tai", "tay", "đồng", "bạc", etc. and dissyllabic words such as "bạtmạng" or "bạttai", and we would never quite sure the meaning of mystical component in those polysyllabic composite words, for instance, "mĩm" in "mĩmcưới" or "mĩmchi" in "cựốimĩmchi", "thútthít" in "khócthútthít", or "bạt" in "bạttai".

Also, it is only in dissyllabic formation that a phonetic sandhi process could occur as in:

- lāji 垃圾 'garbage': rác(rưới) 'garbage' in which the k- (j- ~ k-) in the second morpheme and has combined with ra- (l- ~ r-) [ VS rác, >= rácrũôi, rácrũoi, rácres | (SV lặcophysical) | M 垃圾 lēsē, lāji, contraction ® rác < @ 垃圾 lāji | l- ~ r- <= ra- + k-, @ -áp | cf. 'Iraq' 伊拉克 yĩlākē ~ Irác ],
- kěbié 可別: chớ(có) 'do not' [ chớ <= ® chớcó | (SV khảbiệt) | # M 可別 kěbié \@ 可 kě ~ có 有 yǒu (hữu) | M 可 kě < MC khjə < OC *kha:jʔ | FQ 肯我 || M 別 bié < MC bet, pet < OC *brat, *prat ],

Of course, sound changes have often happened within constraints of linguistic rules. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary, though, throughout this paper, to discuss all the rules of sound changes, including those of phonology of Sinitic-Vietnamese, so they are left to the readers to assume the sound changes are correct, e.g., bīng 兵 ~ lính, bài 拜 ~ lạy, vái, van, dã 打 ~ đánh, dập, yín 飲 ~ uống, bīrú 比如 ~ tìdụ, tinhũ, vĩdụ, thĩdụ, vĩnhũ, etc. especially in the cases of Sino-Vietnamese sounds, of which the pronunciation keys match respective phonetic descriptions listed in old dictionaries such as the "Kangxi Zidian" 康熙字典, so it cannot be wrong, such as xié 鞋 ~ hài, kù 哭 ~ khắp (khóc), bǐng 偏 ~ sinh, chéng 承 ~ thưa, and so on.
Still, one may wonder how the sound changes have come about given that many words have become homonyms in the Mandarin sound system while the same words originated from the same Middle Chinese sources still retain distinct sounds in Sino-Vietnamese, which match the phonological description in the "Kangxi Zidian". For instance, one morpheme "yi" [i] (pronounced with four different tones in Mandarin) has the Sino-Vietnamese equivalents of nhất, nghĩa, nghệ, nghị, y, dịch, dị, dĩ... , 一, 義, 藝, 議, 醫, 易, 異, 以, respectively, and so on.

As a matter of fact, many sound changes are easy to see if we compare them with the Middle Chinese and Old Chinese sound systems. Let’s take the first two words for illustration,

- **nhất — yi** [i4] [ M — yi < MC ʔjit < OC *ʔit < PC **ʔɨt (~ɠ-) | MC reading 臻開三入質影 | FQ 於悉 ] that has given rise to "nhất", and
- **nghĩa ~ ngãi 義** which corresponds to "yi [i4]" [ M 義 yi < MC ηζ < OC *ŋajs | According to Starostin : be right, righteous, proper. A derivate from 宜 *ŋaj q.v. Viet. nghĩa is a rather archaic reading (preserving the late Han-time a-vocalism, but having already lost the final *-j), but is accepted as standard Sino-Viet. For *ŋ - cf. Chaozhou ɲi4, Fuzhou ɲie6 ].

That phenomenon of phonetic omissions were very common in Mandarin. Though the process is complicated, we can simply say that this sound change is the result of the dropping of the initial and final sounds of an ancient sound during the process of synchronic sound changes. Mandarin, in the early days, had been in close contact with the Kims and their language, the language of conquerers, for over 1000 years as described previously. Their undoubtedly northern non-Han language must have had strong impact on the original and earlier form of Mandarin to have caused the contraction, omission, corruption, and dropping of those initials, middle diphthongs, and finals in its syllables as we see it today (Bo Yang, 1983, and Zhou, 1991). However, though it appears straightforward enough to draw patterns of sound changes when all the ancient and contemporary sounds are all listed for comparison, known as lexico-
statistical methodology, being able to do so is not always the case because in many circumstances it is kind of brain-taking to understand why and how the sound changes have actually occurred, for example,

- **học** [hɔkʷ] 'study' is derived from [howk], which fits into the continuum of phonological sound change leading to the Mandarin reading of [sye2]:

  學 xué < xia < /xjaw/ (Early Mand. - EM) < haːwk (MC ) < OC *ɣæːkʷ (the sound change rule for the ending sound -kʷ is -k : -kw/w, that is, -k, when conditioned by -w-, will become -kʷ) [ According to Starostin : MC ɣauk < OC *ghrúk | Pulleyblank : LM xɦjaːwk < EM ɣaiwk / ɣæːwk ]. Somewhere along the line {haːwk (MC ) < haːwk (EMC) *ɣæːkʷ <} had evolved the [howk], then [hɔkʷ], and that must have occurred during the period of Early Middle Chinese (EMC). For the final [-kʷ], similarly, we can see that

- **khóc** 哭 [k'ɔkʷ] 'cry' had been gone through a similar process which left traces in Sino-Vietnamese khóc [k'okʷ] < khấp [k'ʌp] (<= k'a:wk (MC) < *k'avkʷ) [ According to Starostin : M 哭 kù < MC khuk < OC *kho:k | MC reading 通合一入屋溪 | VS 'khóc' <= /kɔkʷ/ ~ /kokʷ/ khốc ~ AC *kaːwk < PC **kavkʷ | dialects: Yangzhou: khoʔ 4, Suzhou khoʔ41, Shuangfeng: khjəu12, Nanchang khuk41, Meixian: khuk41, Cant. huk41 ~ ham, Amoy khʔk41, Chaozhou khok41, Fuzhou khouʔ41, Shanghai khoʔ41 ].

In fact, sound changes are so dynamic and diversified that they have also had great effects on whole sound strings of multiple syllables, not just been limited to the initial, medial, or final of a syllable, as we have seen in the cases of dissyllabic forms in the examples above. Moreover, one of the most striking feature in the rule of syntactical change from Chinese into Vietnamese to fit the speech habit of the Vietnamese speakers is the reverse order of the word structure of the compound word, mirroring the noun + adjective order (existing in OC grammar), in which the second word is often the modifier of the first one as opposed to that of Chinese (adjective + noun). This phenomenon had had a great effect on forming the order of dissyllabic foemation, i.e., which syllable should go first. Since certain dissyllabic words as such being composed
of those two lexical elements, when they were introduced into the target language such syntactical order might change to fit local speech habit owing to the looseness of those syllabic forms. That might have been the case of mass borrowings of both literary and spoken words at the time that the final and stablized lexical form for a specific word was still on the becoming, which can be found plentiful for those words originated from the Tang Dynasty.

Apparently, one of the logical results of this dissyllabic treatment, that is, when needed, to make a best guess for an etymon under investigation, always remember to reverse the order of the syllables in the dissyllabic formation when in doubt or still speculating. This trick will solidly give us many plausible words cognate to those of Chinese, for example,

- **bấtnạt #欺負 qīfù 'bully' (SV khiphụ) [欺 for 'nạt', 負 'bát'],**
- **thàymô #巫師 wūshī 'sorcerer' (SV usu) [also, ~ > phùthuủy  | 巫 wū 'mô', 師 shī 'thây'],**
- **khônlanh #精巧 jīngqiáo 'witty' (SV tinhxảo) [精 jīng 'lanh', 巧 qiáo 'khôn'],**
- **bàxã #媳婦 xífù 'wife' [媳 xí 'xã', 婦 fù 'bà'],**
- **ôngxã #相公 xiànggōng 'husband' (SV tướngcông) [相 xiàng 'xã', 公 gōng 'ông'],**
- **ôngchủ #主公 zhǔgōng 'master' (SV chúcông) [公 gōng 'ông'],**
- **hồnthiêng #靈魂 línghún 'spirit' (SV linhhồn) [靈 líng 'thiêng', 魂 hún 'hồn'],**
- **nonsông #江山 jiāngshān 'nation' (SV giangsơn) [江 jiāng 'sông', 山 shān 'non', hence, 'sôngnúi'],**
- **yêuthương #疼愛 téng'ài 'love' (SV dōngái) [疼 téng 'thương', 愛  | yêu 'yêu'],**
- **đườngcái #街道 jièdào 'road' (SV cáiđạo) [街 jiè 'cái', 道 dào 'đường', also: 'đường ngá'],**
- **phốchợ #市舖 shìpū 'market' (SV thiphọ) [市 shì 'chợ', 舖 pū 'phổ', also 'chợbúa'],** etc.

and many other polysyllabic words cited as examples throughout this paper.
Just like that, we have learned a lot from this dissyllabic approach without which many Vietnamese words might have slipped out of our attention. You will learn how to derive those Vietnamese words from the Chinese equivalents the same way in section "VI) A case study worksheet".

The renewed recognition of the true dissyllabic, or polysyllabic for that matter, nature of the Vietnamese language sets forth a new approach to the study of Vietnamese etymology since many peculiar sound changes of words from Chinese to Vietnamese occurred only in that condition. This new approach is a new treatment that has been long overdue because of a deeply-rooted wrong notion of monosyllabics of Vietnamese.

(6)

(1) Throughout this 72 volume history of Chinese dynasties from the Shang dynasty in early days of Chinese history to the Song Dynasty authored by the Song's Sīmā Guāng we will see an overall picture of popular exile regions: ancient Lingnán 嶺南 region that includes Yúnnán, Guāngxi, Hainan Island, and Nánỳuè 南越 -- or today's Guangdong Province and Vietnam's northern territories. (The exile factor, in fact, has been a recurring one dotting throughout Chinese history even up until our modern time, e.g., June 1989's Tiananmen Square incident which had resulted in more than 50 thousand Chinese elites to have permanently resettled in the USA and some other western countries.)

(2) If Vietnam could have not gained indepedence from China in the 9th century and were still a China's satellite province then our view now could have been completely different then.

(3) At the present time clashes between ethnic groups of Khmer descent and Vietnamese, represented by their government, have driven many of those people out of their home into Cambodia where the racial tension has progressed into situations herein we have seen hundreds of them to have been resettled in the US in the early 2005.)
(4) In fact, under the historical scope, one hardly find even major racial clashes between the Vietnamese and Chinese (the newcomers versus the already integrated groups) that could compatibly mirror the ethnic Lynchings of the Chinese minorities to what has, time and time again, happened in other Southeast Asian countries such as the Phillipines, Malysia, or Indonesia throughout their contemporary history. If we take into account the events that had led the expulsion, or emigration to be exact, of the Chinese minorities (imlying recent immigrants in terms of a time span of one hundred years or much less, otherwise they all certainly having already become Vietnamese) recently in our time (1979-1980) out of the country, we can see clearly that act was political motivated in light of the Socialist revolution.

(5) Vietnamese "cay" is 苦 kǔ (khổ), which pairs with 辛 qīn (SV tân) to give rise to "cày đắng" or 辛 苦 qīn kǔ (tânkhổ) 'difficult, hardship'. Viet 'cay' was originated from M 苦 kǔ. [ M 苦 kǔ < MC khɔ < OC *kha:ʔ | FQ 康杜 | According to Starostin: be bitter. Also used for a homonymous *kha:ʔ 'sow-thistle' (Sonchus oleraceus?). Viet. 'khó' is colloquial (used only in the sense '(bitter) < hard, difficult' - existing also in Chinese); regular Sino-Viet. is khổ. ] Modern M 'spicy hot' is 辣 là (lạt) whereas 苦 kǔ (khổ) is 'cay' in Viet. In archaic C 辣 là is Viet. 'lạt' or 'insipid, not salted' [ M 辣 là < MC ra:t < OC *lat | FQ 盧達 | According to Starostin: bitter, not sweet (Tang). In Viet. cf. also nhạt 'insipid, not salted' (written with the same character and possibly a colloquial loan from the same source - although nasalisation is not clear). For *r- cf. Min forms: Xiamen luaʔ8, luaʔ7, Chaozhou laʔ8, Fuzhou lak8, Jianou luaʔ8, Jianyang luaʔ8, Shaowu lyaʔ6. ] C 辛 xīn ('bitter', SV tân) is V 'đắng'. [ M 辛 xīn < MC sjin < FQ 聶開三平真心 | According to Starostin, it is used also for a homonymous *sin 'be bitter, pungent, painful'. ]

(6) Once the dissyllabic nature of Vietnamese is reckoned, one cannot but logically accept a new way of writing Vietnamese words (to be called Việtngữ 2020 or Vietnamese2020 as being discussed in details in Sửađổi Cáchviết ChữViệt) That is why I have intentionally done with all Vietnamese dissyllabic words in this paper. In summary, the reason is that many of these words may not be separated into isolated syllables because each of these syllables functions like a bound morpheme which must go with other syllables to make a complete word as illustrated in many examples throughout this paper. It is hoped that this new polysyllabic orthography will be the right way to write Vietnamese in the days to come.
III) THE MON-KHMER ASSOCIATION:

A) The underlined stratum of basic vocabularies:

At present philologists of Vietnamese tend to embrace the idea that Vietnamese belongs to the Mon-Khmer (MK) branch of the larger Austroasiatic linguistic family. Austroasiatic languages, according to Norman (1988), “are spoken over a vast geographic range: the Munda languages in northwestern India, Khasi in Assam, Palaung-Wa and Mon in Burma, the Mon-Khmer languages in Indo-China, Vietnamese and Muong in Vietnam [...] and were once spoken much more widely in China.” (pp. 7-8) The issue of the Austroasiatic origin of Vietnamese is not new, but until now what has been written on the subject suggesting that Vietnamese belongs to the Austroasiatic linguistic family, based on a small number of basic words that scatter in different MK languages, is unsatisfactory, inconclusive, insufficient, hypothetical, and questionable based on the newly discovered evidences that are presented in this paper even though there still exist intriguing questions left unanswered for further investigation.(1)

In any events, terminologically and categorically, the name Austroasiatic linguistic family has been termed by western linguists anyway, I do not see why we could not coin another one when their categorization could be misleading and the term does not exactly signify what we are really up to. As for that broad classification of the Austroasiatic linguistic family, except that the same concept is used to refer to a smaller scale of a linguistic sub-family, that includes those of the MK languages but minus the Vietnamese language and its sibling descents of the ancestral languages which "were once spoken much more widely in China”. Those speeches nowadays have been explicitly referred to as of proto-Taic forms. In this paper, as discussed earlier, the so-called Yue linguistic sub-family was considered as one of them that had split at the same time as that of the proto-Austroasiatic group; otherwise, they could be regarded as of common root at the early stage where the boundary between them was a matter of interpretation and speculation. Hence, I will confine myself to examine only those languages originally evolved from ancient languages of the Yue peoples, spoken by
those ethnic groups still living in the southern part of China, from which Vietnamese has emerged as a special case of virtual siniticization.

**Visual view of linked kinship of Vietnamese with other major linguistic families and their sub-strata**

Up to 1991, though Parkin classified Vietnamese (of Viet-Muong branch) as Austroasiatic without any further argument, he still admitted that “considerable controversy has surrounded the problem of the affiliation of Vietnamese.” (p.89) His agreement with Haudricourt’s and Shorto’s view is his basis for the classification. In other word, the view on the origin of Vietnamese was based on the common belief in the Mon-Khmer theories hold by most of linguists who, in turn, use others' views as their spring board to jump to their own subject matters. That is, this view was first initiated by a small number of identified scholars, and then subsequently it was later followed by many others who were not specialized in these areas of study, just having taken the
most accepted views, such as linguistic family listing in the Britanica Encyclopedia or other non-scholarly referrals. Of course, it is not always correct to follow a view hold by a majority.

Also, strangely enough, some specialists even have relied on the Mon-Khmer classification of Vietnamese made by the aforementioned sources for their basis. We can say that what is listed in an encyclopedia is not a dependable source since it just a summary of what has been said and repeated elsewhere, not by any actual scholarly study in the related field. If a commonly accepted view changes, encyclopedia will change, too. In other word, no linguists should do so. For serious philologists of Vietnamese, the issue of whether Vietnamese should be grouped into the Austroasiatic, of which Vietnamese is classed in the same linguistic group with other Mon-Khmer languages, or Sino-Tibetan linguistic family, which includes the langages spoken by the Zhuang, Dong... minorities in south China, in fact, is still a big question mark.

The view of Mon-Khmer origin, or even that of Austroasiatic one for both as of two linguistic sub-groups, of Vietnamese has been originated from the misconceptions that are partially due to misinterpretation and, unreservedly, acceptance of those research work done by renown specialists in the field as premises for one’s own argument. The most innovated views mainly were originally initiated by French linguists Maspero and Haudricourt in the middle of 20th century and then repeated by other linguists such as Baker, Parkin, Thomas, etc., in the later half of the same century. The whole matter can be summed up by using Parkin’s words (1991): “Maspero based his case on the presence of Tai vocabulary in Vietnamese as well as on other peculiarities” (p. 89) even though “Maspero accepted a Mon-Khmer ‘substratum for Vietnamese’” and “Haudricourt is the chief debunker of Maspero, and it is his view that is generally accepted today” for his taking [quoting Thomas] “Maspero’s examples of Thai-Vietnamese cognates and [showing] most of them to be general Southeast Asian vocabulary [and] correspondences between Vietnamese tones and Mon-Khmer final consonants”; therefore, “Maspero’s key argument, that tones cannot be acquired by a language previously lacking them, is thus rejected.” (p. 90)
I shall examine both Maspero's and Haudricourt's viewpoints and point out their flaws. Firstly let's examine some Vietnamese words cited in Maspero's examples (1952) as having Mon-Khmer sub-stratum or Thai cognates to which I often found them to have Chinese correspondences:

(1) Mon-Khmer:

1. **rừng 林 lín 'forest' (SV lâm) [ M 林 lín < MC lim < OC *rjəm < PC **rjəŋ | ~ OC *srjəm : 森 (sâm) rậm) | Tibetan languages: Burmese: rum 'dense', Kachin: địŋ gram2 'forest', Lushei: ram 'forest' | Cant. /lʌm/ | ¶ l- ~ r-, ex. 龍 lóng (long) rồng ]

2. **áo 衣 yī 'shirt' (SV y) [ M 衣 yī (y) < MC ʔyj < OC *ʔjəj | FQ 於希 | MC reading 止開三平微影 | Shuowen: 依也.上曰衣.下曰常.象覆二人之形.凡衣之屬皆從衣. (388). | According to Starostin: clothes, garment, gown. Also read *ʔjəj-s, MC ʔyj (FQ 於既), Pek. yi 'to wear'. Sometimes the character is also used for the homonymous 依 *ʔjə | See more in the next chapter on ST. ]

3. **chim禽 qín 'bird' (SV càm) [ M 禽 qín < MC gim < OC *ghjəm | ~ modern M niăo鳥 | Dialects: Hainanese /jiăo/ is the sound for 'chim' | Chaozhou: zin12, Wenzhou: zia12, Shuangfeng: zin12 | According to Starostin: The character is more frequently used (since L.Zhou) with the meaning 'wild bird(s)' ('something caught'), whereas for the meaning 'to catch, capture' (SV 'cầm', VS 'giam') one uses the character 擒 ]

4. **lúa 來 lái (unhusked rice) (SV lai) [ M 來 lái < MC ljəj < OC *rjə: | MC reading 蟹開一平咍來 | lúa ~ lái © 'lùmì, lùamạch' (wheat (Triticum aestivum)) | According to Starostin: In Shijing rhyme jə OC *rjəs | OC *r- cf. Dialects: Amoy, Chaozhou lai2, Fuzhou li2, Jianou lej2, lai9, Jianyang le2, Shaowu li2 | Also, according to Starostin, 'lúa' is 稻 dào, an archaic loanword; regular Sino-Viet. is đạo. See 'gạo' below)]

5. **ngày 日 ri ‘day’ (SV nhật) [ VS giorni, trôi, ngày | M 日 ri < MC rıt < OC *ńit | According to Starostin: MC ńit < OC *ńit, Min forms: Xiamen tći8, lit8, Chaozhou zik8, Fuzhou nik8, Jianou ni8. | @ ri ~ ngày / giorni > trôi | giorni and M 'ri' have
their corresponding initials gi- and r- as well as y-, close to nh-, j-, jh- and ng- in SV Nhật, Cant. /jat/ and /jit/.

(2) Thai:

1. gà 雞 jī 'chicken' SV: kê ) [ M 雞 < MC kiej < OC *keː | ¶ j- ~ g-: 寄 ji (kJy) gọi | x. gà âmái : 雞母 jímù, gà trống: 雞公 jīgông (Minnan, including Hai.). Also, gà mé : 雞母 jímù, gà cò : 雞公 jīgông | cf. jìn 近 SV cận: gần, jì 記 SV ký: ghi, jì 寄 SV ký: gởi, ji 及 SV cấp: gắp)],

2. vị 鴨 yà 'duck' (SV áp) [ M 鴨 yā < MC ʔap < OC *ʔraːp | FQ 烏甲 | MC reading 咸開二入狎影 | Cant. ap43 and ʔap43],

3. gạo 稻 dào 'paddy, rice' (SV đạo) [ M 稻 dào < MC dɑw < OC *lhuːʔ ~ ɬhuːʔ (Schuessler : MC dâu < OC *gləwʔ or *mləwʔ) | MC reading 效開一上皓定 | However, according to Starostin: Viet. lúa is an archaic loanword; regular Sino-Viet. is đạo. Protoform: *lyːH (~ ɬ-), Meaning: rice, grain, Chinese: 稻 *lhuːʔ (~ɬ- h-), rice, paddy, Burmese: luh sp. of grain, Panicum paspalum, Kachin: c^je khrau1 paddy ready for husking. Kiranti: *lV ‘millet’ | SR: 1078 h-k | Based on the structure and phonetic stem of the character 稻 dào, it could have been a later development after 'lúa' 來 lái. ],

Below are many other words in Maspero's list common to both Thai and Vietnamese, for which Haudricourt (1961, pp. 51-52), contrarily, considered them as ancient Chinese loans in both languages:

1. chèo 掉 diáo 'row' (SV trạo) [ M 櫂 (棹) zhào < MC ɖɑw < OC *ɬ(h)eːkʷ-s. According to Starostin: The word was originally (L.Chou) written as 櫂, which allows to reconstruct *ɬ(h)eːkʷ-s. After Han the reading changed to *d.(h)ieːw (with dialectal retroflexity, sometimes occurring in former lateral hsieh-sheng series), which enabled its writing as 櫂. Viet. chèo is colloquial; regular Sino-Viet. is trạo],

2. bè 筏 fà 'raft' (SV phiệt) [ VS also: phà | M 筏 fá < MC bwjɛt < OC *bhat ],
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

3. **bánh** 餃 bǐng 'bread' (SV bịnh [ M 餃 bǐng < pjɛŋ < OC *peŋ? ]),

4. **tiếng** 声 shēng 'noise, sound' (SV thanh) [ M 声 shēng < MC ʂeŋ < OC *xeŋ | Cant. iɛŋ21, Amoy: sǐŋ11 (literary); siǎ11, Tchiewchow: siǎ11, Fukienese siŋ11 (literary); Zyyy: jǐŋ1],

5. **dụa** 簸 zhú 'chopstick' (SV trúc, chữ, trú) [ M 簸 zhú < MC ɖʊ < OC *dras | FQ 倔 | Hainanese: /du/],

6. **nàng** 娘 niáng 'Mrs., she, girl' (SV nương) [ VS also nạ, nường | M 娘 niáng (Beijing dialect 'mom') (ancient Vietnamese means "mother") | < MC naŋ < OC *nraŋ | MC reading 宕開三平陽泥 | Pk: nuəŋ12, Zyyy: niaŋ12, Amoy nĩu12, Chaozhou niẽ12, Shanghai niã32 | see © nạ | < ~ © 妳 nǐ (nhĩ) > Bk 娘兒 niár ],

7. **mèo** 貓 māo 'cat' (SV miêu) [ M 貓 māo < MC maw < OC *mrhaw | According to Starostin: Also read *mhraw, MC mew id. Viet. mèo is colloquial; standard Sino-Vietnamese is miêu.],

In the list above, we can now see that Haudricourt could provide only those limited Vietnamese words having Chinese cognates. For many other words in Thai (languages) which have Vietnamese correspondences were assumed by him as Austroasiatic loans, I find them cognate to those in Chinese, too. They are:

1. **bung** 腹 fú 'belly' 腹 fù (phục) [ M 腹 fù < MC pʊk < OC *puk | ¶ OC *p- ~> b-, M f- ~ b- | FQ 方六 | GSR 1034 h | Tibetan languages: (W) ze-a~bug the maw or fourth stomach of ruminating animals. Burmese: pjəuk belly, stomach. Lushei: KC *puk. Lepcha: ta-fuk, ta-bak the abdomen, the lower part of stomach. Kiranti: *ʔpok. Comments: Sho puk; Kham phu: belly, abdomen; Gyarung tepok. Sh. 49, 69, 409; Ben. 77 | See more in the next chapter on ST.],

2. **nghe** 聽 tìng, tīng 'hear' (SV thính) [ M 聽 tìng, tīng < thieŋ < OC *ɫhe:ŋ | MC reading 稔開四平青透 | FQ 他丁, Dialects: Hainanese /kɛ/, Amoy: thỉŋ11 $; thỉá11, Chaozhou : thỉá11 | ¶ t- ~ ng-: ex. 停 tīng (đình) ngừng ]

mgur, mgul throat, neck, ko-ko throat, chin), Kachin: z^[jəkhro1 the throat, gullet.
| cf. côi họng, cuốn họng 喉嚨 hóulóng (hàulung) while modern Mandarin: bózi 脖子: 'cáicō', a much later development.

4. câm 舌 hán (archaic) ~ also hàm 'chin' (modern Mandarin: 下巴 xiàbā) [ See etymology as previously discussed ],

5. cà 茄 qié 'eggplant' (SV giá) [ M 茄 qié < MC ga < OC *ghiaj | Cant.: khe12, Amoy: khe11 $; kio12; khe12, Chaozhou kie12, Fuzhou: kia11, Shanghai: ka32 |
This is a loanword in Chinese | According to Starostin : The oldest attested meaning and reading is OC *kra:j, MC ka. (FQ 求迦), Mand. jia: 'lotus stalk' (Han); the meaning 'egg-fruit' is attested since Tsin. The MC reading ga is exceptional (- a normally does not occur after velars) and may be dialectal; thus the OC form for 'egg-fruit' could have been *ghaj. Viet. cà is colloquial; regular Sino-Viet. is giá. For *gh- cf. Xiamen khe2 ]

So if one takes dichotomy of both Maspero's and Haudricourt's views, for whatever relationship the above word list may establish, the question of their roots, that whether which word is borrowed from which language or whether they originated from the same sources, remains the same that they are etymologically related For example, lúa ~ gạo 稻 dào 'paddy' (rice) and cà 茄 qié 'eggplant', along with other words such as đường 糖 tàng 'sugar', voi 為 wēi 'elephant', chuối 蕉 jiāo 'banana', chó 狗 gǒu 'dog', sông 江 jiāng 'river', etc.-- for which there also exist Chin. native words -- are words that show to have the same origin, just like many other basic words, of which some have been found cognate to those of Austroasiatic and Autronesian languages (see Luce's list below.) Specifically, in the case of Chin. and V, with their relationship probably of more than 2,000 years old, if there exists correspondence in any word in their vocabularies, chances are that they are related to each other than to any other languages. If a larger number of basic words in both Vietnamese and Chinese is proved to be of the same root, they should be treated as of the same linguistic family or at least more closely affiliated genetically.
We can see that many of the above words can be treated as basic vocabularies and it is hard to imagine the "Chinese" borrowed those basic words from the "barbaric" southerners. As likely as such is the case that most of those listed words were originated from either the same Sino-Tibetan linguistic family or common proto-Taic linguistic forms; otherwise, both Maspero and Haudricourt could be able yo have gone far enough in establishing a solid etymological relationship for most of the basic Vietnamese words with those of the Mon-Khmer. At the same time, they did not question or give answers for issues such as how come what exists in one Mon-Khmer language does not exist in all other Mon-Khmer languages or why the similarities of those same words were found in both Vietnamese and Chinese? Could Maspero's listed words in the Mon-Khmer languages have been loanwords from Vietnamese instead? We cannot rule out this assumption since the hill tribesmen who speak those Mon-Khmer languages have been living in geographical proximity closer to the Vietnamese "Kinhs" than the Chinese in the far north. Again, given the possibilities of Chinese cognates with those lexicons enumerated in the above examples for which Maspero failed to see their affiliation, it is hard to imagine how on earth from the early days of their existence "the Chinese" had not already possessed a set of basic words for their own daily use unless this hypothesis is true: apart from the common words both Tibetan and Chinese were initially originated, all of other basic words in Chinese were derived from "an already extinct foreign source" (Norman, on *Chinese* 1988, p. 17) which was what had given rise to those in Vietnamese as well. In either case, the authenticity of genetic affiliation of both Chinese and Vietnamese basic words is even more firmly strengthened.

Given this hypothesis, here our question is driven back to the previous point: why do there exist Vietnamese basic cognates in many Mon-Khmer languages? (See all other MK list below.) One possible answer could be that, after purging and filtering out all Chinese and Vietnamese lexical commonalities in basic vocabularies, what remains could be a mix of indigenous glosses and proto-Vietmuong lexicons, as demonstrated in
Mường lexical remnants, for which the Viet and Mường both had shared before they split into two different languages, just like the biological composition of their speakers.

As for those words in the above list, the similarities between Chinese and Vietnamese are parallel, concurrent, and undeniable. If we keep tracing other words beyond what both Maspero and Haudricourt could provided with so far in all other lexical categories, in one way or another, much more words like these in Vietnamese could be found related to those of Chinese.

A graphical view of the hypothesis of lexical interpolation of respective languages

![Diagram showing lexical interpolation between different languages](image-url)
**B) Haudricourt’s theory of tonal development**

To counter Maspero’s theory of tonal inheritance, Haudricourt’s hypothesis of tone development in Vietnamese language is that it had been a result of changing pitch due to the nature of initial and final consonants. This view has been also wrongly accepted by many contemporary scholars since this was probably a nouveau idea in his time; otherwise, it is hard to explain how with the same basic words that exist in Vietnamese and other Mon-Khmer languages those Vietnamese words are accented with tones while others are not. That is how, in his view, an Austroasiatic language like Vietnamese had acquired tones. However, Haudricourt’s hypothesis is questionable for the following reasons:

Firstly, from beginning the tonal table set up by Haudricourt itself for comparison was not correct according to the scheme traditionally used Chinese historical lingustics, but it has been adoped by numerous philologists in their works. It is not like this:

![Wrong Tonal Table](Sources: Norman. 1988, p55)

but it should be:

![Correct Tonal Table](Sources: Norman. 1988, p55)

For this table, it can be found in most Chinese historical linguistics or classic syllabic rhyme books. From this wrong start, I doubt if Haudricourt fully understood how the ancient tonal scheme were devised and interpreted and how the tones had developed from the four tone system of Ancient Chinese.

Secondly, it is not as rigid as his hypothesis in associating the corresponding Vietnamese tonal categories (sắc, nặng for shàng 上聲 ‘rising’ tone and hỏi, ngã for qù
去聲 'departing' tones in Ancient Chinese and the reverse of them to those of Middle-Chinese) as to those initial or final consonants which appear in most of the Vietnamese words which happen to fall into those tones in both of the two tonal registers, i.e., low and higher pitches. (For easy identification, instead of denoting 1 to 4 in 2 registers as classified in a traditional scheme the tones are numbered from 1 to 8 in the discussion below that follows immediately.) In other words, Haudricourt saw only one-to-one correspondences from one initial or final consonants in some Mon-Khmer words to a certain tone in Vietnamese. The reason is that, firstly, many Vietnamese words having Ancient Chinese origin in Haudricourt’s list are based on his limited word stock and, secondly, he was probably not aware that there exist many more Vietnamese words of Chinese origin that have many layers of tones or they have changed many times in the long-gone past to have distanced themselves from the original ones considerably, not to mention the loanword factor that the Mon-Khmer might have even borrowed those words from Vietnamese and then altered their pronunciation scheme to fit into their speech habit as toneless system, not the other way around. Let’s examine a cited example from Haudricourt:

- 墓 mã ‘tomb’ (SV mộ) [ M 墓 mù < MC mo < OC *mha:ks | FQ 莫故 | According to Starostin: Standard Sino-Viet. is mộ; cf. also other probable borrowings from the same source: ma ‘funeral’, mò ‘tomb’. For *mh- cf. Amoy boŋ6, Chaozhou mo4, Fuzhou muo5, muoŋ5. GSR :0802 f | cf. môđất 土墓 tǔmù ], we have:
  (1) SV mộ (nặng or the 6th, 陽去 yángqù 'low departing tone'),
  (2) VS mồ (huyền or the 2nd, 陽平 yángpíng 'low level tone'), and
  (3) VS mã (ngã or the 4th, 陽上 yángshàng 'low rising tone'), (4) VS mô (thanhngang or the 1st, 陰平 yīnpíng 'high level tone') (as in 'môđất' 土墓 tŭmù 'earth mound').

This word is apparently cognate to the Chinese 墓 and has evolved into several words, each pronounced with different tones. So, the rigidity of tone and initial and ending consonants correspondence, e.g., {~ => ?}, is unfounded. Please note that André Haudricourt cited the pronunciation of this word as "mã", a Sinitic-Vietnamese sound for
"mộ" that is obviously a Sino-Vietnamese sound and definitely a cognate with 墓. We may want to wonder aloud if he did it on purpose or else?

Other examples below demonstrate further the fact that multiple tonal changes occurred to a word of Chinese origin and they had given rise to multiple words in Vietnamese of which Haudricourt might have not been aware:

- 放 fàng (SV phóng) [ M 放 fàng < MC pwoŋ < OC *paŋs | According to Starostin: to put away, put aside; neglect; banish. In Viet. cf. also a colloquial word: phóng 'to take away, to carry away'. | ¶ f- ~ b- : ex. fáng 房 (phòng) buồng ], we have the Sino-Vietnamese sound as phóng 'release' (sắc or the 5th, 陽去 yīnqù 'high departing tone'),
  VS buông 'let go' (thanhngang or the 1st, 陰平 yīnpíng 'high level tone'),
  VS bỏ 'discard' (the 3rd tone, 陰上 yīnshàng 'high rising tone'),
  VS bắn 'shoot' (sắc or the 5th tone'), VS phỏng 'take away' (ngã or the 4th tone')

- 會 huì (SV hội) [ % @ 會 huì ~ hiểu 昼 xiăo (hiểu), hay 知 zhī (tri) | M 會 huì < MC ɣwʌi < OC *guats ], we have:
  SV hội 'festival' (the 6th tone),
  VS hụi 'loan' (the 6th tone, from Fukienese or Amoy),
  VS họp 'meeting' (nặng or the 8th, 陽入 yíngrù 'low entering tone'),
  VS hẹn 'dating, appointment' (the 6th tone),
  VS hiểu 'understand' (hỏi or the 3rd tone), (cognate to or an alternation of the modern Mand. 昼 xiáo 'know, understand', SV hiểu),

- 贼 zéi (SV tặc) [ M 贼 zéi < MC zæk < OC *zhjaːk < PC: **chjaːk ~ zhjaːk | Tibetan languages: Tibetan: zāq črūp, Kachin: zok2, sok2 to scout, spy out | cf. đánhcapt, ăncáp, đạochích: 盗賊 dàozéi ], we have:
  SV tặc 'enemy' (the 8th tone),
  VS giặc 'enemy' (the 8th tone),
  VS chích as in đạochích. 盜賊 dàozéi 'burglars' (sắc or the 7th tone, 陰入 yīngrù
VS čáp as in đánhcáp, ěncáp: 盜賊 dàozéi 'steal' (same tone as chích)

- 粉 fén (SV phấn) [ M 粉 fěn < MC pʊn < OC *pjənʔ | MC reading 臻合三上吻非 | Dialects: Minnam, including Hainanese hun2, Amoy hun2, Chaozhou huŋ21, Fuzhou xuŋ2 | According to Starostin: The later (and usual) meaning is 'flour'. The word is also used in compounds meaning 'noodles', thus it seems possible that Viet. bún 'vermicelli' is an independent loan from the same source. | ¶ f- ~ b- | ~ probably also 'bụi' @ 灰 huì (muội), we have:
  SV phấn 'powder' (the 6th tone),
  VS bột 'flour' (the 8th tone),
  VS phở 'noodle soup' (the 3rd tone),
  VS bún 'rice vermicelli' (the 6th tone),

- 照 zhào (SV chiếu) [ M 照 zhào ~ 炤 zhào < MC tʂɜw < OC * taws | MC reading 效開三去笑章 | FQ 之少], we have:
  SV chiếu 'reflect' (the 6th tone),
  VS chụp as in 'chụphình' 'take picture' (the 8th tone'),
  VS soi 'look at the mirror' (the 1st tone),
  VS rọi 'reflect' (the 5th tone),
  VS theo 'according to' (the 1st tone)

- 染 răn (SV nhiễm) [ M 染 răn < MC ɲem < OC *namʔ ~ nemʔ | According to Starostin: 'be soft'. Somewhat later (since late Zhou) the character was also used for a homonymous *nam (~-emʔ) 'to dye, smear; (dye <) infect' (with a variant *namʔ-s, MC ɲel). Viet. nhiễm is a standard reading; there also exists a colloquial loan nhuộm 'to dye'. ];
  SV nhiễm 'extract a disease' (the 4th tone),
  VS nhuốm 'extract a disease' (the 5th tone),
  VS nhuộm 'dye' (the 5th tone),
  VS lây 'contagious' (the 1st tone),
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

VS sang 'spread a virus' (the 1st tone),
VS mắc 'get sick' (the 7th tone),

- 深 shēn (SV thâm) [ M 深 shēn < MC ʂim < OC *lhjəm | MC reading 深開三平侵書 | FQ 式針 | Most of dialects read sjəm11 | ¶ sh- ~ đ- : ex. 燒 shāo (thiêu) đốt ],
we have:
SV thâm 'profound' (the 1st tone),
VS đậm 'dark' (the 6th tone),
VS sâu 'deep' (the 1st tone),

- 扛 káng (SV cang) [ M 扛 káng ~ 抗 kàng (kháng) < MC khɑŋ < OC *kha:ŋs | FQ 苦浪 | MC reading 宕開一去宕溪 | According to Starostin : to set up, lift up. Also read *gha:ŋ, MC ɠʌŋ (FQ 胡郎), Go gau, Kan kau id. | cf. chống 抗 kàng (kháng) ],
we have:
SV cang 'carry' (the 1st tone),
VS khiêng 'carry on one's shoulder' (the 1st tone)
VS gánh 'carry on one's shoulder' (the 5th tone)
VS gồng 'to shoulder' (the 2nd tone)
VS cõng 'carry on oe's back' (the 4th tone)

- 蟲 chóng (SV trùng) [ M 蟲 chóng < ɖʊŋ < OC *ɫhuŋ | MC reading 通合三平東澄 | FQ 直弓 | According to Starostin : insect, small bird. Used also for a homonymous *ɬhuŋ 'be hot (of weather). Standard Sino-Viet. is trùng.], we have:
SV trùng 'insect' (the 2nd tone),
VS giun 'earthworm' (the 1st tone)
VS sâu 'insect' (the 1st tone)
VS sán 'worm' (the 5th tone),
VS trùn 'earthworm' (the 2nd tone),

- 種 zhǒng (SV chủng) [ M 種 zhǒng, zhòng < MC ʂouŋ < OC *tʰuŋ | MC reading 通合三平東澄 | FQ 之隴 | MC reading: A: 通合三上腫章; B: 通合三去用
According to Starostin: seeds; cereals. Also read *toŋʔ-s, MC couŋ (FQ 之用), Mand. zhòng 'to sow'. The word also means 'kind, sort, race' (> 'seed'), which is reflected in a colloquial Viet. loanword (from another dialectal source) giống 'kind, sort; race, breed, strain'.], we have:

SV chủng 'type' (the 3rd tone),
VS trồng 'plant' (read zhòng in M) (the 2nd tone),
VS giống 'seed' (the 5th tone),

- 臭 chòu (SV xú, khűu) [ M 臭 chòu, xìu < MC tɕjəw < OC *khiws | MC reading 流閉三去宥昌 | According to Starostin: In MC there also exists a reading xjəw (Mand. xiu) (Jiyun); it is interesting to note that standard Sino-Viet. renders it as khuu. These are most probably dialectal variants of the original *khiw-s which gave the standard MC reflex chjəw (note that Viet. thiu 'stale' is a colloquial reflex of the latter; the standard Sino-Viet. form is xú.)
SV xú 'bad smell' (the 5th tone),
VS thiu 'spoiled' (the 1st tone),
VS hôi 'smelly' (the 1st tone),
VS thói (thuí) 'foul' (the 5th tone)
, VS ngửi (hửi) 'to smell' (the 3rd tone) [ @ M 嗅 xìu < MC kèw < OC *xus | FQ 許救 | According to Starostin: to smell (L. Zhou)].

- 按 àn (SV án) [ M 按 àn < MC ?on < OC *ʔa:ns ], we have:
SV án 'press' (the 5th tone),
VS ḳ̄n 'press' (the 6th tone),
VS án 'press' (the 5th tone),
VS nhăn 'press' (the 5th tone),
VS nhởn 'stuff' (the 6th tone),
VS nhởi 'to stuff' (the 2nd tone),
VS bám 'press' (the 5th tone),
利 lì (SV lợi) [ M 利 lì < MC 𢞳 < OC *rhijs | Dialects: Amoy li32 (lit.); lai32, Hai. 
  lai32, Cant.: lei32 ], we have:

SV lợi 'benefit, advantage' (the 6th tone),

VS lãi 'profit, interest' (the 4th tone),

VS lỗ 'profit, interest' (the 2nd tone)

and the list can go on and on. Note that the above list contains only monosyllabic words. If we include the disyllabic words, the roster would probably expand to even a much larger extent.

From the purposely long listed examples above, we can see that the phenomenon of multiple sound changes is commonplace and not exceptional and that the correspondence of tones from those of Old Chinese and Sinitic-Vietnamese are diversified and manifold, not only one-to-one basis per Haudricourt's hypothesis that certain Vietnamese words with the 3rd and 4th tones, i.e., hỏi and ngã, were originally words ending with ʔ as appear in some Mon-Khmer languages. Strictly speaking, in the Sinitic-Vietnamese lexicons the tone changes are both diachronic and synchronic. They can be varied as we can see in many examples throughout this paper. In any cases, the sound of one word in Chinese could possibly give rise to multiple sounds in Vietnamese accented with different tones.

From here we can even propose a reverse hypothetical scenario that Vietnamese words could have been borrowed in the Mon-Khmer languages and they had to alter their pronunciation to compensate for the lack of tones, e.g., {~ => ʔ}.

Thirdly, Haudricourt's argument about the tonal development in Vietnamese as being independent of that of Chinese is absurd, given the existence of ancient Chinese loanwords in Vietnamese, since it is unimaginable that Vietnamese might have borrowed words without tones first then added them later. Moreover, his own hypothesis of the origin of the Vietnamese tone development which, he believed, had evolved from none to being completely formed by the 12th century seems to contradict itself from
The reason is that the modern Vietnamese tonal system fits so well into Middle-Chinese tonal scheme which had been completely formed around the 9th century with four tones in two registers -- traditionally they used to be called 8 tones -- with its Vietnamese pronunciation of Chinese characters as manifested by the Sino-Vietnamese words as compared to the 'fǎnqiè' 反切 pronunciation keys for those characters listed in the Kangxi Zidian 康熙字典 dictionary. Interestingly enough, that makes Vietnamese sound like Cantonese spoken without its 9th tone since the tensity of those tonal values are virtually the same!

With regard to the question of either tone is inheritance or acquisition, Japanese and Korean are the two languages that have borrowed massive Chinese words just like Vietnamese. In the Japanese case, it was not until the 9th century that Japan sent her students to the Middle Kingdom ruled by the Tang Dynasty with the intention to learn everything, including the Tang language, just to bring home the Kanji as we know today (Bo Yang, 1983) -- without the tones! The same was true with the Korean language which had adapted a lot of Chinese lexicons but under circumstances somewhat similar to those of Vietnam as a subjugated country under China's domination. The result was the same as what had happened to the Japanese language -- toneless Chinese loanwords! In comparison, Vietnamese loanwords, as now being assumed, borrowed in the Mon-Khmer languages must have undergone the same evolution. This analogy is brought up just to emphasize that the Japanese and Korean cases alone are enough to prove that tone is inherited, not an end result of a process of acquisition.

The matter appears simple enough, but it has failed to catch on with many specialists in this field completely. One repeats after another following a flawed theory that tried to explain why a "toneless" Vietnamese could have evolved into a tonal language.

On other hand, what are the merits of Haudricourt's theory that have made quite a few specialists in Vietnamese believe in? I have spent more than enough time regarding this matter just because I want to rebut Haudricourt's idea that Vietnamese originally a toneless language before the 12th century. Was Vietnamese originally toneless like
many Mon-Khmer languages in that time frame? Sentimentally, for those who want a quick answer to this question, the fact of the matter is that it is hard for Vietnamese speakers to accept that many of their tonally melodious cадao ‘folksongs’, fixed expressions, and idioms in Vietnamese, believed to have originated from ancient times, were originally toneless. For example:

1. Bốcái Đaivương
2. Chồng chúa vợ tôi
3. Con dại cái mang
4. Công ran can gà nhà
5. Giắc đến nhà đành bà phải đánh
6. Bầu ơi thương lấy bí cùng...
7. Ăn coi nồi, ngồi coi hướng...
8. Bồ thì thương, vương thì tội
9. Rán đăng động vừa trông vừa chạy...
10. Bàcon xa không bằng láng giềng gần...

and so on....

If Haudricourt’s theory of tonal acquisition in Vietnamese were dated as far back as the 2nd century, it might have been plausible, but the whole scheme will not fit into the Old Mon-Khmer morphological system. Again, it is un conceivable that Vietnamese was toneless until the 12th century. What did the Vietnamese call the lovely Huyềntrân Côngchúa (‘Princess Huyềntrân’) at that time? In the centuries before that, did the Vietnamese people read Chinese, the Sino-Vietnamese or HánViệt for that matter, with a Khmer-like toneless language? The enormously large amount of Chinese-origin words already existing in the Vietnamese language in any period of time in Vietnamese history is enough to say that Haudricourt must be wrong then. Therefore, that is to say, Maspero was right when he suggested that the tones of a language could not be inherited if we examine Vietnamese loanwords in many Mon-Khmer languages spoken
by many ethnic groups living in the highland areas in Vietnam which are toneless even though typologically and geographically they are close to the Vietnamese "Kinhs".

Fourthly, if Vietnamese were originally toneless to that period of time as speculated by Haudricourt, many Mon-Khmer words existing in Vietnamese might have been retained and pronounced as they originally were without the tones. On the other hand, when a toneless language, like those of Mon-Khmer origin in this case, borrows words from a tonal language like Vietnamese, chances are that it could have needed not to compensate the lack of tones in its language with other phonemic features to be added to each word if they and V indeed had shared the same linguistic peculiarities. But it actually did anyway with Vietnamese tonal loanwords. In short, Haudricourt’s theory of tonal development in Vietnamese, i.e., from tonal Chinese to his hypothesized toneless Vietnamese, works the other way around in the Mon-Khmer languages.

C) Correspondences in basic vocabularies revisited:

In the previous section, because Haudricourt’s argument about tonal development in Vietnamese involved an etymological aspect of many Vietnamese basic words cited in his examples -- which is important in the discussion about Sino-Vietnamese in the lexical aspect and with which, as in previous cases, I often find Chinese cognates -- I will discuss some of these matters in detail as follows and in the next chapter.

Firstly, let’s examine his examples of Khmu and Riang words, the two Mon-Khmer languages, that end with a glottal stop [ʔ] corresponding with related Vietnamese words of sắc and nặng tones. (Norman 1988, p. 55-56; 1991, p. 206):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Việt</th>
<th>Khmu</th>
<th>Riang</th>
<th>Chinese correspondences suggested by dchph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘leaf’ lá (1)</td>
<td>hlaʔ</td>
<td>laʔ</td>
<td>葉 yè (leaf) (SV diếp) [ M 葉 yè &lt; MC jep &lt; AC *lhap &lt; OC *lap &lt; PC **lɒp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'rice' <strong>gào</strong> (2)</th>
<th>rànko?</th>
<th>ko?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rice <strong>dào</strong> (SV dạo)</td>
<td>M <strong>dào</strong> &lt; MC <strong>dòw</strong> &lt; OC <em>líu:</em> ~ <em>líu:</em> (Schuessler: MC dào &lt; OC <em>glōw</em> or <em>mlōw?</em>)</td>
<td><strong>MC reading</strong> 效開一上皓定</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'fish' <strong>cá</strong> (3)</th>
<th>ka?</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fish <strong>yú</strong> (SV ngư)</td>
<td>M <strong>yú</strong> &lt; MC ȵo &lt; OC <em>ŋha</em></td>
<td><strong>FQ 語居</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'dog' <strong>chó</strong> (4)</th>
<th>so?</th>
<th>so?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog <strong>gǒu</strong> (SV câu)</td>
<td>~ VS 'cây'</td>
<td>M <strong>gǒu</strong> &lt; MC kjōw &lt; OC <em>kó:</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'louse' <strong>chí</strong> (5)</th>
<th>--</th>
<th>sǐ?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>louse <strong>shí</strong> (siết, sạt)</td>
<td>M <strong>shí</strong> ~ M <strong>shī</strong> &lt; MC șit &lt; OC *srit</td>
<td><strong>FQ 所渫</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Notes on the Chinese cognates:**

1) One thing we know for sure is that Vietnamese lá corresponds to 葉 yè, which in turn is from AC *lhap < OC *lāp < PC **lɒp.** "Leaf" in all other Tibetan languages point to initial l- with little semantic variations.

2) The Chinese word 稻 is borrowed from a variant of languages, defined in this paper as the Yue languages or those languages of Austroasiatic linguistic family, spoken by ancestors of minorities now still living in Southern China of which the Vietnamese likely originally were a member.
3) Like lá, it is highly probable that cá and 魚 yú are cognate to Old Chinese *nga. It is not hard to see how a velar initial OC *ŋh- has changed to another glottal sound /kl/.

4) According to Norman (1988) the Chinese 狗 gǒu, is an early loanword from Proto-Miao-Yao form *klu for ‘dog’ (Haudricourt: spoken Mon ‘kle’ and written Mon 'kluiw') (p.17). Note also that in Viet. "chó" is also called "cảy". According to Tsu-lin Mei, The Shuo-wen says 南越名犬#### "Nan-yüeh calls ‘dog’ *nôg **g." This explanation occurs under the entry for ##, which implies that the meaning "dog" is attached to this character. The first character of the compound probably represents a pre-syllable of some kind. Tuan Yü-ts'ai mentioned in his Commentary to the Shuo-wen that this word was still used in Kiangsu and Chekiang, but did not give any further detail.

Karlgren gives **gas the OC value for ## (GSR 109 7h). At the time of the Shuo-wen (121 A.D.), -g had probably already disappeared; in Eastern Han poetry, MC open syllables (OC –b, -d, -g) seldom rhyme with stopped syllables (OC –p, -t, -k); in old Chinese loan words in Tai (specifically, the names for twelve earth’s branches 地支 ti-chih), probably reflecting Han dynasty pronunciation, Proto-Tai –t corresponds to OC –d, but no trace can be found for –g. The proper value for our purpose is therefore **ô.

This is the AA [Austroasiatic] word for “dog,” as the following list shows: “dog”: VN chó; Palaung shɔː; Khum, Wa soʔ, Riang s’oʔ; Kat, Suk, Aak, Niahon, Lave có; Boloben, Sedang có; Curu, Crau jō; Huei, Sue, Hin, Cor sor; Sakai cho; Semang cû, co; Kharia s o’loʔ, ; Ju solok; Gutob, Pareng, Remo guso; Khasi ksew; Mon klüw; Old Mon clūw; Khmer chcɛ.

The forms after VN represent almost all the major groups spoken in the Indo-China and Malay Peninsulas, as well as the Palaung-Wa, Khmer, and Mal groups. The proto-form for these languages appears to be soʔ or coʔ, preceded perhaps by k-(cf. Khasi, Gutob, etc.). On the basis of Mon, Haudricourt suggested that VN ch- < kl-.** But there is another possibility, namely, VN ch- < kc-; “to die” * kcɛt, VN chɛt, Kuy kacet, Kaseng sit.
And even if VN ch- did come from kl-, this change must have occurred quite early, since in all the AA languages except Mon, the initial is either a sibilant fricative or affricate.

‘Nan-yeh’ refers to North Vietnam and parts of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. With this piece of evidence, we know that the language spoken there in the second century A.D. was AA. This is also the earliest record of the language of Vietnam.

Source: [http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/tm17/paper459.htm](http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/tm17/paper459.htm)

The point to be made here is that the V "chó" and Chinese 狗 gǒu go hand in hand that were dated back to more than 2000 years ago where the indigenous Vietnamese had already been in contact with original Chinese whereas the Chinese 犬 quán (khuyên) [ M 犬 quán < MC khwijen < OC *khwyi:nʔ ] must be native. The two words exist and are used until this day in the Chinese language, which sheds light the reconciliation to the fact that other basic words in both languages are originated from the same roots, whether they are Han or Austroasiatic, or of the Yue languages as used in this paper. (Again, it is so called because I would like to embrace all the modern Zhuang, Miao, Yao, etc. as their descendents which are classed as of Sino-Tibetan linguistic family in this concept while the Mon-Khmer languages are not.)

Likewise, in the case -s or -h frequently corresponding to tones hỏi-ngã in V:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Việt</th>
<th>Mon</th>
<th>Mnong</th>
<th>Chinese correspondences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘nose’ mủi (1)</td>
<td>muh</td>
<td>műh</td>
<td>鼻 bĩ (SV tỵ) [ M 鼻 bĩ &lt; MC pũji &lt; OC *bji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘root’ rễ (2)</td>
<td>rəh</td>
<td>ries</td>
<td>蒂 dĩ (SV đế) [ M 蒂(dĩ) dĩ &lt; MC tiaj &lt; OC *tɛjs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seven’ bảy (3)</td>
<td>tpha</td>
<td>poh</td>
<td>七 qī [ M 七 qī &lt; MC chjit &lt; OC *shit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on the Chinese cognates:

1) The ancient Chinese sound of 鼻 bí are reconstructed by different linguists as biuzj (MC) <*bjiwer (Chou 1973), b’ji- (MC) <*b’òcd (Karlgren 1957), bi (MC) <*bjidh (Li 1971), bi (MC) <*bjcs (Schuessler 1987), phji (MC) <*bjis (Pulleyblank 1991). This gave rise to bei6 (Cantonese, Wenzhou dialects), pó (Xiamen and Chaozhou dialects) and p’ei ɓ (Fuzhou dialect), but it became /t’ei6/ (conditioned by -j-) in SV. However, if it could become bei6 it could be nasalized (fronted due to -w-) to become mei6 , giving rise to moui6 then moui4. Compare

- 酸梅 suānméi ‘salted plum’ (VS xímuội ~ mechua SV toanmai) [ M 梅 méi < MC moj < OC *mjə: | FQ 莫杯 | According to Starostin: Japanese apricot (Prunus mume), plum. Viet. me has a narrowed meaning ‘tamarind’ (cf. Chin. 酸梅 'tamarind', lit. 'sour plum'). An older loanword is probably Viet. mơ ‘apricot’. The regular Sino-Viet. reading is mai. For *m- cf. Min forms: Xiamen m2, Chaozhou bue2, Fuzhou muoi2, Jianou mo2.]
- 妹 mēi ‘younger sister’ (VS em SV muội) [ M 妹 méi < MC moj < OC *mhja:ts < PC *mjət | MC reading 蟻合－去隊明 | According to Starostin: Burmese: mat husband's younger brother, younger sister's husband. Comments: Kham mama mother's younger brother. For *mh- cf. Xiamen be6, Chaozhou mue6, Fuzhou muoi5, Jianou mue ]
- 魅 méi ‘obscure’ (VS mó) (SV muội) [ M 魅 méi < MC moj < OC *mjə:ts ]
- 味 wèi ‘smell’ (VS mùi SV vị) [ M 味 wèi < MC muj < OC *mjets | FQ 無沸 | According to Starostin: Standard Sino-Viet. is vị. Since the Chinese word also

means (in later times) 'interest', Viet. mùôi 'interesting' may be traced back to the same source. For *m- cf. Xiamen, Chaozhou bi6, Fuzhou muoi6, Jianou mi6. | cf. 'mìchính 味精 wèijīng (SV vịtinh) 'MSG',

and correspondence { b ~ m } in Chinese between Mandarin and Vietnamese can be found, such as

- 疲 pì 'tired' (VS mệt, SV bì) [ M 疲 pì < MC be < OC *bhaj MC reading 止開三平支並 | ¶ b- ~ m- ]
- 肥 féi 'fat' (VS mập, mờ, phế, phi/SV phi) [ M 肥 féi< MC bwyj < OC *bjəj | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan: be fat, rich. Viet. phế is a colloquial reading (cf. also reduplicated: phếphế); standard Sino-Viet. is phi (reduplicated: phi phi)].
- 秘 bì 'secret' SV bì /bei5/ [ M 秘 bì < pi < OC *prits],
- 忙 máng 'busy' VS bận (SV mang) [ M 忙 máng < MC mjəŋ < OC *ma:ŋ | MC reading 宕開一平唐明 | Dialects: Amoyu: boŋ12 (lit.), baŋ12; Chaozhou: maŋ12; Fuzhou: mouŋ12; Shanghai: mǎ32 ], and
- 悶 mèn 'sad' (VS buồn, SV muộn) [ M 悶 mèn < MC mɔn < OC *mjə:ns | dialects: Amoy: bun32, Chaozhou: buŋ32 | According to Starostin: melancholy, sorrow. Absent from Schuessler's dictionary, although attested already in Yijing. The character is also used (since L.Zhou) for *mjə:n, MC mon, Mand. mén 'to be stuffy, stifling, close, airless' (both readings may be actually related).]

2) The appearance of 蒂 dì rễ ~ (SV) đế corresponds to the patterns of

- 婿 xù 'son-in-law' VS rễ ~ SV tế [ M 婿 xù < MC siej < OC *sas, Also: *sēs. Zhou zyxlj p.256 (Karlgren): OC *srir, TB *krwy | cf MC *sa 胥. MC siej could be from OC *sēs. MC reading 解開四去 ],
- 鬚 xū 'beard' VS râu <~ SV tu /tu/ [ M 鬚 xū ~ 須 xū < MC ʂjʊ < OC *so | FQ 相俞 | According to Starostin: beard, whiskers; place name. Also used for homonymous *so 'to wait'; *so 'necessary'. Viet. tua is a rather archaic loan (going back to the Han-time form *sjwa) with a specialized meaning: 'fringe,
tassel; feelers (of certain animals)’. Standard Sino-Viet. is tu. Schuessler reconstructs *s-n- in this xie-sheng series, probably because of the identity 須 = 須 'wait' [¶ x-, s- ~ r- : ex. 蛇 shē (xà) rắn, 著 suǒ (thúc) rút ],

- 縮 suò ‘shrink’ VS rút ~ SV thu/Thu (~ co, thọt) [ M 縮 suò < MC ʂʊk < OC *sruk ],
- 菜 cài ‘vegetable’ VS rau ~ SV thể (~ cãi) [ M 菜 cài < MC chj < OC *shjɛ:s | FQ 倉代 ],
- 愁 chóu ‘sad’ VS rầu ~; SV sầu (cf. 秋 qīu VS thu) [ M 愁 chóu < MC ʐjəw < OC *dhu | MC reading 流開三平尤崇 | Dialects: Suzhou zoy12; Wenzhou zau12; Changsha cou12; Nanchang chu12; Cant. su12 ],
- (及)速 (jí)sù ‘hasty’ Sinitic-Vietnamese (gấp)rút ~ SV (cấp)tốc [ M 速 sù < MC suk < OC *so:k | FQ 桑谷 | According to Starostin: urge, invite. Also means 'rapid, quick' - a meaning obviously related to 'urge' and probably original ('urge' < 'hasten'), but attested only since Late Zhou. ].

3) For 'bảy', read the next chapter.

Some of the above Sinitic-Vietnamese words give us the impression that the sound changes were derived from Sino-Vietnamese, which in turn had originated from Middle Chinese. However, the other way around must have been more likely, assuming that basic words have a closer relation with Old Chinese or even with Proto-Chinese than that of a later period.

D) Similarity in cross-linguistic-family vocabularies proves no genetic relation

Luce, G. H. (1965) in "Danaw, a Dying Austroasiatic Language" (pp. 104- 129) (pronounced /tʻănoʔ/, a Tibeto-Burmic tribal language of a hill tribe in Burma) has put out 2 sets of word-lists totalled 245 vocabularies, including those of basic words, with correspondences in many Austroasiatic languages as purposefully listed in the first set that includes Mon, Danaw, Riang (/reyan/), Palaung (paku), and Wa (Tung Wa). For the second list, besides Vietnamese amidst others of Austrasiatic such as Khmer, Bahnar, Mundari, and even Javanese and Malay of Austronesian and Old Burmese of Tibeto-Burmic linguistic families. Interestingly enough, many of them appear cognate to
those of Vietnamese. For this matter, when examining the second bear in mind that not all
of these languages appear in each listed item list and they are crossed-linguistic-family
listed, that means loanwords exist among them, inevitably. However, that is good
enough for non-specialists in this linguistic field, unless otherwise proved. Luce's
detailed lists therefore are sufficiently convincing that with many lexicons being very
similar to those of Vietnamese to have it correctly classed as an Austroasiatic language.
For the same reasons, in the space below I would like to bring in the Chinese elements
to match those etymology that I also think they could be plausible candidates for being
considered as cognates or derived words in Vietnamese.

1. **Basic word lists at crossroads**
   (Note: Some irrelevant and totally non-cognate items of those languages to the
Vietnamese etymology listed in Luce's two tables are omitted here.)

   1. hai 'two' (Mon Old /bār/, modern /ba/, Old Khmer /ver, vyar/, Bahnar /bar/,
      Mundari /bar/) [Chin. 二 èr 'two' nhị (SV), M 二 èr < MC ņi < OC *nijs | FQ 而至 |
      SV nichei < /hai/ < /hai/ ? | cf. hâm 廿 niàn (nhập) 'twenty', ex. 廿一 niànyī (nharrêt)
hàmmốt 'twenty-one' | In late Zhou 再 zài (SV tái) could be used as 'hai'.
      In modern M 再三 zàisān mean 'two or three times.' ] (Comment: This item
      sounds like 'ba' (three) in V, but it cannot be because if so this sound will actually
takes place of the actual 'ba' then, V cognate is not mentioned in this item. It is
also interesting to see that number 'one' is not listed. See more down below.)

   2. ba 'three' (Old Mon /piʔ/ mod. /pi/, Old Khmer /pt/, Bahnar /pɛ/), Mundari /api/)
      [Chin. 三 sān, sàn (SV tam), M 仨 sā (ta) ~ M 三 sān, sàn < MC sɑm < *OC sj
      a:m | cf. băm 卅 sā, 卅二 sà'èr (tàmphị) bămhai 'thirty-two' | See more
      enumeration below.] (Comments: Like một 'one' 一 yi (SV nhất), this Chin.
etymon could have been a plausible candidate if there is not 'bốn' (four) that
follows. V cognate is not included in this item.)

   3. бон 'four' (Viet. /bōn/, Old Mon /pan/ mod. /pan/, Danaw /pən/, Palaung /p'Un/
      Wa /pol2, pon2/, Old Khmer /pon/, Mundari /upun/, Bhnar /pūan/) [For Chin. see
      enumeration down below.] (Comment: if there is no general concensus in the
linguist circle about the V numerals one to five to be cognate with those of Mon-Khmer, Chin. 四 sī could have been included for investigation then.)

4. năm 'five' (Viet. /năm/, Old Khmer /prām/) [For Chin. 五 wǔ see enumeration down below.] (Comment: It looks like the only plausible candidate is in the Old Khmer etymon while all others in other languages seem diverged with variants.)

5. sáu 'six' (Viet. /sáu/, Old Mon /taraw/, mod. /tarau/, Wa /lyah5/) [For Chin. 六 lìu see enumeration down below.] (Comment: In all other languages the etyma appear in polysyllabic form with the common last syllable as -ru. As we all may already know, there is no 'six' in Khmer, but 'five plus one' equivalent.)

6. bày 'seven' (Old Mon /dumpoh/, mod. /t'apah/, Danaw /pat4/, Palaung /pu2/, Sakai /tempo/, Bahnar /tapet/, Srē /poh/, Piat /pōh/, P'aman /p'ua/, Lemet /pul/) [For Chin. 七 qī see enumeration down below.] (Comment: Like 四 sī, 七 qī is another speculative case. In Khmer, like six, there are no seven, eight, nine, and ten.)

7. tám 'eight' (Viet. /tám/, Old Mon /dincām/, mod. /dacām/, Danaw /tsən/, Riang White /pən'to/-, Black /pən'to/-, Palaung /tə, Wa /n'daiʔ3/, Bahnar /təŋıəm/, Srē /p'am/, Lemet /tə/ Khatia /t'am/, Savara /tamjil/) [For Chin. 八 bā see enumeration down below.] (Comment: 八 bā is another speculative case.)

8. chin 'nine' (Old Mon /dincit/, mod. /dacit/, Danaw /tsən4/, Riang White /tə:m/, Black /təm/, Palaung /tə:m2/, Wa /tə:m2/) [Chin. 九 jǐu (SV cửu), M 久 jiǔ < MC kʌ w < OC *kwjəʔ | See enumeration down below.] (Comment: if all V numerals are not cognate with those of Chinese etyma, then this is only another speculation.)

9. mười 'ten' (Comments: Nothing looks alike here in all languages involved. For Chin. 十 shí (SV thập) we have 'chục' in V while 'mười' is just speculative like other cases six, seven, eight, nine... See more enumeration down below.)

bhra, Thakali bhra; BG: Dimasa ra>dz/a, Garo ritts/a; Kanauri ra; Thebor gya; Rgyarung pa>rye; Rawang ya, Trung c^a1. Simon 14; Sh. 42, 136, 123; Ben. 45; Mat. 171. | ¶ b- ~ tr- (bl- ~ tr-), p- ~ tr-, OC *pr- ~ tr- , ex. 白 bái (SV bạch, VS trá ng) 'white'

11. ai 'I' (Old Mon /ey/, mod. /ʾai/, Danaw /oʔ1/, Riang White /oʔ-/, Black /oʔ-/ , Palaung /a2/, Wa /aʔ1/, Old Khmer /aŋ/, Bahnar /iŋ/, Khasi /ngal/, War /ňial/, Mundari /aiŋ, iŋ, iŋ/, Kurku /iŋ/) [ ~ VS ta, tôi, tao | Chin. there is 咱 zá (SV tá). | M 我 wǒ < MC ŋʌ < OC *ŋha:jʔ | FQ 五可 | MC reading 果開一上哿疑 | In Chinese there also exist several characters for the first person pronoun which can be related to several words in V and one of which is the word 咱 an, ăn (> 'ai') and its old and colloquial usage (see the classic novels 三國演義 'Romance of the Three Kingdom' or 水滸傳 'Water Margins') as the first personal pronoun for someone to call oneself when addressing to an old older person. This word point to 'em' (literally 'younger bother' in V.) (Comments: 'Ai' is a Proto-Vietic form which is cognate to those in all MK languages while the Chin. 我 wǒ, SV ngã, seems to be a recent development.)

12. mình 'we' (exclusive) (Old Mon /poy/, mod. /puiai/) [ < ~ 'chúngmình' < ~ Chin. 咱們 zánměn (SV tamôn) | 們 mén < MC mon < OC *mjə:n (Comment: Other cognates do not sound anything like 'mình, chúngmình' or 'chúngtôi' at all.)

13. mày 'thou' (Viet. /mày/, Old Mon /beh/, mod. /beh/, Danaw /mʔ1/, Riang White /mʔ1/, Black /mʔ1/, Palaung /méʔ2/, Wa /mʔ3/, Semang /pây/, /meh/, Nicobarese /mē/, T'eng /mē/, Khasi /mé/, Mundari /am/, /me/) [ ~ VS 'mi' | Chin. 你 nǐ (SV nǐ) | ©M 你 nǐ < MC niej < OC *nhe:jʔ | Actually in Chin. there are several other scholars characters such as 爾 ér, 汝 rú, etc. all point to elevated modern second singular personal pronoun 你 nǐ ~ 'mày, mày, mi...' in V ] (Comment: Though there is no doubt that there are cognates among listed languages in this items, but the cross-linguistic-family similarity make one wonder if it they are the same cases as those of pa, ma, mat, etc. ?)
14. bay 'ye' (No listings for modern and Old Mon, Danaw /pɤ1/, Riang White /pɛʔ-/, Blak /pɛʔ-/ , Palaung /pɛʔ-2/, Wa /pɛʔ-1/, T'eng bò, Khasi ph’, Maundari /pe/) [ A variant of 'mày'.]


16. chúng 'they' (Old Mon /deh t-eh/, mod. /deʾ taʾ/, Danaw /kɤʔ1,3/, Riang White /kɤʔ/, Black /keʔ/, Palaung /keʔ-2/, Wa /kɛʔ-/, Old Khmer /ke/) [ 'chúng' < 'chúngnó, tụinó, lũnó' < Chin. 他們 tāmén | Problem here is to pinpoint which word is that, but in any cases nothing is mimilar to /ke/ except that the Mon forms look like 'tụ inó'. ] (Comment: Is it a cognate of 'kể' as in 'kểkhác' #其他 qítā (SV kýtha, VS 'kkác')?)

17. trai 'male' (human) (Old Mon /trūs/, mod. /truʾ/, Danaw /pˈrɔh2/, Khmer /prus/) [ Chin. 丁 dīng (SV đinh) ( ©M 丁 dīng, zhēng < MC tieŋ, taiŋ < OC *teːŋ, *trēŋ | FQ 当经, 知耕) while 子 zǐ (SV tũ) in ancient uage means both 'trai' (male) and 'gái' (female) ( ©M 子 zǐ, zī, zǐ, cī (tũ, tý) < MC tsjɤ, tsjy < OC *caʔ *caʔs and it's doublet is 仔 zǐ, zī (SV tũ, tẽ, té) < MC tsz < OC *tsi | QĐ zai21 | ex. Cantonese 仔仔 /zai24 zai21/ (contrai) ] (Comment: all other forms seem irrelevant for this item except for Khmer initial cluster pr- to pointnt to V tr-.)

18. đực 'male' (animal) (Old Mon /kmak/, mod. /kmak/,[ Chin. 特 tê (SV đặc) | ©M 特 tê, té < MC ḍak < OC *dhēk | and this etymon means male (animal) in ancient time. According to Starostin: male animal, bull. Used also for homonymous *dhēk 'be straight-rising'; *dhēk 'a match, a mate'. In later times the character was frequently used instead of 雕 *đęk 'single; special' q.v. The regular Sino-Viet. form is dắc. ] § 雕 tê (đắc) < MC ḍak < OC *dhēk | According to Starostin: After Chou written usually as 特 (q.v.), with a more broad meaning 'special'. ]
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

19. vợ 'wife' [Luce: 'woman, female', 'vợ'] (Old Mon /brow/, mod. /brau/, Danaw /kămyaʔ3/, Riang White /réŋ\/, Black /rəŋ\/, Palaung /kălon2/, Wa /mēŋ/, Kasi /briew/, /briw (=homo) [ For Chin. there is 婦 fù (SV phụ) for Luce's 'vợ' as in 寡婦 guăfù (SV quảphụ, VS goábụa 'widow') ©M 婦 fù (M 婦 fù < MC bjəw < *OC bjeʔ) and 婆 pó (SV bà) for 'woman' | ©M 婆 pó < MC bwʌ < OC *bha:j ] (Comment: the initial form br- can be associated with both 'bụa' and 'bà' while the -eng and -ong forms make us relate to 'nàng' 娘 niáng SV nương 'girl, woman'. The Khmer cognate is absent for this item.)

20. ba, bố 'father' (Old Mon /amba/, /abaʾ/, mod. /ma/, Danaw /pɔ4/, Old Khmer /vāpa/, Old Javanese and Malayan /bapa/, Khasi /kpa/, Mundar /abaʾ/) [ Chin. for V 'ba' is 爸 bā (ba) and 'bố' for 父 fù (SV phú) ] (Comment: all other forms in Luce's do not sound like they are cognates)

21. má, mẹ 'mother' (Old Mon /ambo/, /aboʾ/, mod. /bo/, Danaw /maʔ3/, Riang White /marʾ/, Black /maʔ/, Palaung /ma2/, Wa /meʔ3/, /maʔ3/) [ Chin. for 'má' is 媽 mā, 'me' 母 mǔ (also 'mợ') | See enumeration in the previous section. ] (Comment: Actually /pa/ and /ma/ are almost similar to almost all languages on earth.)

22. con 'child' (Viet. /con/, Old Mon kon/, mod. /kon/, Danaw /kon4/, Riang White and Black /kuan/, Palaung /kon2/, Wa /kon2/, Old Khmer /kon/, /kun/, Sakai /kēn/, Semang /kodn/, Nicobaese /kōan/, Shom Peng /kōat/, P’man /k’uan/, Bahnar /kon/, T’eng /kon/, Khasi /khūn/, War /hūn/, Mundari /hon/, /hon/, Sav /on/, Gad /ōdu-ōn, Kurku /kōn/) [ Chin. 子 zǐ (SV tử) | See further enumeration far below. ] (Comment: there is no doubt that they are almost the same in this item.)

23. nội, ngoại 'grandfather' (Old Mon /lwaʾ/, mod. /la/, Danaw /to1/, Riang White and Black /taʔ/, Palaung /to3/, Wa /taʔ1/, Old Khmer /atā/ (=old man) [ Chin. 阿公 āgōng (SV acông) | M 公 gōng < MC kuŋ < OC *kloːŋ | FQ 古紅 | MC reading 通合一平東見 | There is no doubt that 'nội' 'paternal grandpa' is from 內 nèi (reduced from ngoại 外 wài for 外公 wàigōng (#ôngngoại 'maternal grandpa')). In Chin. modern Mandarin 'paternal grand father' is 爺爺 yéye. ] (Comment: there is no
distinction from the mother's or father's side for this word in these languages and they seem to be similar to the V /tiá/ 'daddy' that is cognate to 爹 diè in Chin. See more in the Sino-Tbaetan chapter. 

24. bà 'grandma' (Old Mon /abow/ (?), mod. /bau/, Danaw /yaʔ1/, Riang White and Black /yaʔ\/, Palaung /yāʔ2/, Wa /yeʔ3/, /yaʔ3/, Old Khmer /ajī/, Mundari /jia/)
[ Chin. 婆 pó is for V 'bà', but 'bà' also means 'woman, old woman'. Specifically 'maternal grandmother' is bàngọài 婆婆 wàipó (SV ngoăbà), hence, 'bànội' (paternal grandmother) is nội 奶婆 něipó (modern Mandarin is 奶奶 nǎinài. )
(Comment: 'bà, bànội, bàngọai' are from Chinese while the b- form point to V 'bà' and /ye/and /ya/ forms somehow look like '爺爺 yéyě 'paternal grandpa', but they may not be related at all. The form /ye/ is common in several languages.)

25. cháu 'grandchild' (Viet. /cháu/, Old Mon /cow/, mod. /cau/, Ranaw /tapli4/, Riang Black White /pli-t/, Palaung /hlan3/, Wa /kon4 soʔsʔ/, old Khmer /cau/, Sakai /chê n-oʔ/, Besisi /kin-chu/, Semang /kanchoʔ/, Malay /chuchu/, Bahnar /sâu/, T'eng /jeʔ/, Khasi /khsiw/, Old Burmese /mliy/) [ Chin. 姪 zhí (SV điệt) | ©M 姪(侄) zhí < MC trɦit < OC *drit ] (Comment: most of the word forms are similar to as V 'cháu', including the Chin /zhí/. Is it the same case as pa, ma, mat, etc.?)

26. goá 'widowed' (Old Mon /kamāy/ (Mid. M.), mod. /kmāai/, Danaw /maiʔ3/..., Riang White /kmaʔ\/, Black /kmaʔ\/, Palaung /kāmoʔ1\/, /kāmoʔ2/ Wa /maiʔ2/, Old Khmer /māy/, T'eng /boi/, K'mu /boi/, Old Burmese /māy/, Shan /mai/, Chin /hme \/, /meʔ/) [ Chin. 寡 guă | ©M 寡 guă < MC kwə < OC *kwra:ʔ | FQ 古瓦 | ex. 寡婦 guăfù (SV quảphụ, VS goábụa 'widow'. This dissyllabic word also gives rise to 'ôv ây' 'widowed' (literally, 'to live the same old way')) ] (Comment: The /boi/ form is somewhat related to /bua/ and probably the /mai/ to /quâ/ or /kamai/ to 'ôvây', but 'goá' in V. is definitely derived from Chin.)

27. mo 'witch, wizard' (Mon mod. /bamuai/, Danaw .../p'riʔ3/, Riang White and Black .../p'ris\/, Palaung /brēi2/, T'eng /môhrói/) [ Chin. 巫 wū | ex. thāyło 巫師 wûshī, also 'phûthuy' ] ©M 巫 wū, wû < MC mu < OC *mha ] (Comment: 'thāylo' and 'phûthuy' are cognates.)
28. tên 'name' (Old Mon /yamo/, /imo'/, mod. /imu/, Danaw /maʔ2/, Riang White and Black /mus\/, Palaung /juw3/, Wa /tjuw3/, Old Khmer /jmah/, /jimoh/, Srê /temeh/, T'eng /saŋmx/) [Chin. 姓 xìng (SV tính) | ©M 姓 xìng < MC sjɜŋ < OC *seŋs | FQ 息正 | MC reading 梗開三去勁心] (Comment: all listed forms and some others do not seem to be cognate to 'tên'.)

29. Xiêm 'Shan' (Viet. /xiêm/, Mon mod. /sem/, Riang White and Black /s'ɛm-/,
  Palaung /sɨm2/, Wa /ʃic%m2/, Old Khmer /syām/, Malay /s1am/, Biat /chiaːm/, P'u-
  man sien/, Old Burmese /syam/) [Chin. 暹 Xián as in 暹羅 Xiánluó (SV Tiêmla)
  (VS Xiêmla)] (Comment: V 'xiêm' has come by way of the Chin. form for sure. In
  Eng. it is also known as 'Siam' but not the same as 'Shan')

30. Miễn 'Burmese' (Old Mon /mirmār/, mod. /bamā/, Danaw /mlan2/, Riang White /m
  ɤrɑn/, Black /maran/, Palaung /brɑn/, /brɔn/, Old Burmese /mranmā/, Chinese
  /mien/, Shan man [Chin. 緬 Miàn as in 緬甸 Miăndiàn (SV Miễndiên)] (Comment:
  Like 'xiêm' V 'miễn' is from Chin.)

31. Hẹ 'Chinese' (Mon mod. /kruk/, Danaw /ché4/, Riang White /kɛ`-/,
  Palaung /kɛ`3/, Wa /hoʔ1/, Old Burmese /taruk/) [Chin. 客 Kè as in 客家 Kèjiā
  (SV kháchgia)] | ©M 客 kè < MC khjajk < OC *khrajk (Comment: 'Hakka' is
  another word for this item.)

32. Ăndô 'Indian' (Old Mon /gulā/, mod. /galā/, Riang White /kɤrɑ-/, Black /kərɑ-/,
  Palaung /kālɑ2/, Wa /kālɑ2/ Old Burmese /kulā/, Sanskrit/Pali kulaputta [Chin.
  印度 Yìndù (SV Ấnđộ). In MC the word for it is 天竹 tiānzhú (SV thiennentùc)]
  (Comment: the V and Chin. forms do not have anything to do with the others at
  all.)

33. đầu 'head' (Old Mon /kdip/, mod. /kɗuɪp/, Danaw /ktən4/, Riang White /kiːŋ-/
  Black /kin-/, Palaung /kɛŋ/, /kaŋ/, Wa /kɛŋ/, Khasi /khlieh/) [Chin.頭 tóu (SV đầu)
  | ©M 頭 tóu < MC dɤw < OC *dho: | See more enumeration in previous section.]
  (Comment: It is so obvious that V đầu and Chin. 頭 tóu are cognates while in
  Mon for both Old and mod. their forms carry some similarity but farther. No
  Khmer ist listed in Luce's list.)
34. tóc ‘hair’ (Viet. /tốc/, Old Mon /sok/, mod. /sok/, Danaw /ñok1/, Riang White /huk-/, Black /huk-/, Palaung /huʔ1/, Wa /hauk1/, Old Khmer /suk/, Sakai /sok/, /lsuk/, Semang /sog/, Nicobarese /yök/, Biat /chök/, Srê /soʔ?, Bahnar /sok/, P’u-man /su-ch‘iʔ, Khasi /shñiiʔ, War /su’kha‘, Mundari /uʔ?, Savara /ǔ/) [ Chin. 髮 fā (SV phát), M 髮 fā < MC pjɐt < OC *piat | ¶ p- ~ t- ] (Comment: While others are clear cognates, the Chin. mod. and ancient forms also appear conformed to the a sound change pattern that if there were no other forms for comparison, they would have certainly become a good candidate.)

35. mắt ‘eye’ (Viet. /mắt/, Old Mon /mat/, mod. /mat/, Danaw /ŋoi2/, Riang White /ŋoi\/, Black /ŋoi\/, Palaung /ŋoi’2/, /ŋoi2/, Wa /ŋoi’2/, Old Kmer /mat/, Sakai /mat/, Besisi /mōt/, Semang /med/, Malay /mata/, Nicobarese /oal-mat/, T’eng /māt/ Lemei /ŋoi/, Khasi /khmat/, War /mat/, Mundari /mēdʔ?, Gadaba /mā/, Kurku /mēd/) [ Chin. 目 mù (SV mục) | ©M 目 mù < MC mukʷ < OC *mhuk | Hainanese /mat/, ex. (Hainanese) 目鏡 /matkɜng/ (VS mắtkiếng) ‘glasses’ | See enumeration above. ] (Comment: all languages have the same etyma for this word! Southeast Asian linguists usually discount this word out of their list owing the close similarity among them which may be a mere coincident. However, the point to be made here is the Chin. form appears to be cognate to the V /māt/, too.)

36. tai ‘ear’ (outer; inner) (Old Mon /ktor/, mod. /ktow/, Danaw /kātən4/, /kātən4/, Riang White /tiɔr-/, /kotiaŋ-/, Black /tsor-/, /kotie’k-, Palaung /hyUʔ1/, Wa /yauʔ 2/, Sakai /ōntāk/, Besisi /tōgn/, /tōŋ/, Semang /kentk/, Nicobarese /nāŋ/, Bat /tōr/, Srê /tur/, Bahnar /don/, T’eng /kədɔʔ?, Khasi /shkor/, Mundari /lutür/, Kurku /lutur/) [ Chin. #耳朵 ěrtuō (SV nhĩđoá) ~ VS ‘lỗtai’ | M 耳 ěr, rën, réng < MC ɲy < OC *nhjeʔ || M 朵 duǒ < MC twa < OC *to:jʔ | See enumeration in the above section. ] (Comment: the Viet. /tai/ is not listed here but they all look like cognates except for the speculation of the Chin. form 耳朵 ěrtuō, that, interestingly, looks like those of Mundari /lutur/ and Kurku /lutur/ .)

Kurku /mū/) [ Chin. 鼻 bí (ty) | M 鼻 bí < MC phji < OC *bji | See enumeration above. ] (Comment: Obviously all other forms are cognates except for the Chin. form.)

38. lưỡi 'tongue' (No Old Mon, mod. /lātok/, Danaw /tונ2toʔ1/, Riang White /tak-/, Black /tɔk-, Palaung /sādɔʔ1/, Wa /n-dak3/, Khmer /tɔntāk/, Sakai /təntāk/, Semang /letic/, Maly /lidah/, Nicobaresse /kaletək/, T'eng /həntək/, Mundari /leʔ/, /alan/) [ Chin. 舌 shé | ©M 舌 shé < MC ʑet < OC *lat | FQ 食列 | According to Starostin : Protoform *lăj(H) ( / *lăt;t; m-). Meaning: tongue. Chinese: 舐 *laʔ, *leʔ to lick; 舌 *lat tongue. Tibetan: ltɕe tongue; blade; flame. Burmese: hlja tongue, LB *s-lja. Kachin: sinletʔ the tongue, (H) lai id. Lushei: lei tongue, KC *m-lei. Lepcha: li/, a-li/ the tongue. ] (Comment: As we can see, the Chinese form points to a much more credible etymon which is cognate to those in the Sino-Tibetan camp. See more detail in the Sino-Tibetan section. )

39. tiếng 'voice, noise' (Old Mon /binru/, mod. /baru/, Danaw /rat3/, Rieng White /rəs\ /, Black /rəs\/) [ Chin. 聲 shēng (SV thanh), ©M 聲 shēng < MC ʂeŋ < OC *xeŋ | Cant. ʃieŋ21, Amoy: siŋʔ11 (literary); siā11, Tchiewchow: siā11, Fukienese siŋ11 (literary); Zyyy: ʃijəŋ] (Comment: The limited list provided by Luce gives no cognates with the V 'tiếng' but the Chin.)

40. răng 'tooth' (Viet. /rán/, No Old Mon, mod. /ŋek/, Danaw /pəiŋ4/, Rieng White /rəŋ-, Black /raŋ-/, Palaung /hræŋʔ2/, Wa /rəŋʔ2/, T'eng /hrəŋ/) [ Chin. 牙 yá (SV ngà) | M 牙 yá, yā, yà < MC ȵya < OC *ŋrya: | See enumeration in the previous section and in the next section. ] (Comment: All forms are obviously cognates while the mod. Mon somewhat look similar to V. /ngà/.)

throat, chin), Kachin: zʰjəkhro1 the throat, gullet [Comment: It looks like all are cognates cross linguistic families.]

42. gáy 'nape' (of the neck) (No Old Mon, mod. /katak/, Danaw /loʔ4Ut2/, Riang White /s’ɔkɔ/, Black /təŋək/, Palaung /kəŋə3/, /koŋəuh3/, Wa /tiaŋ4ŋət3/, T'eng /təglɔk/) [Chin. 亙 jǐng (SV cânh, cânh) | ©M 亙 jǐng, qìng, gěng < MC kjeŋ < OC *keŋʔ] (Comment: No other Kmer and V forms are listed. If anything is related to V they should be 'càngcổ' or (trunk of) the neck, which is similar to Chin. /bójiŋ, bózǐ/ 腓(頸)子.)

43. vai 'shoulder' (mon Mid. /pnah/, /pnah/, Danaw /tsok3pɔ1/, /tjak-paʔ-/, Black /tsak-paʔ-/, Palaung /yaʔ1/, Wa /pəŋ4kləp1/, T'eng /tla/) [ bó (SV bạc) [©M 膊 bó < MC bʌk < OC *bak] (Comment: In Chin. there is the form 臂膊 bèibó which can be cognate to 'bàvài'.)

44. nách 'armpit' (No Old Mon, mod. .../knæk/, .../knak/..., Danaw /kəyɛək2/, Riang White /(ɔk-)yək\/, Black /yək\/, Palaung /yaʔ1/, Wa ... /klaiʔ1/, T'eng /ɛk\/, /kɛlɛk/) [Chin. 腋 yè (SV diệt, dịch) | ©M 腋 yè < MC 亦 jek < OC *liak | ¶ y-*l- ~ n-]. (Comment: Luce does not provide the Khmer and V forms, but he mod. Mon form /knak/ is certainly cognate to V /nách/ while, interestingly enough, some of the other sounds are somewhat similar to the Chin. /yè/ form.)

45. vú 'breast' (Viet. /bú/, Old Mon tohl(pubow = to suckle), mod. /tah/, Danaw /bu/, Riang White /nin\/, Black /buʔ-/, Palaung /bu2/ /nUm2/, Wa /tah5/, Old Khmer /toh/ (breast), /pau/ (to suck), Besisi /tuh/, Semang /tuk/, Malay /dada/, Nicobarese /toah/, Bahnar /tôň/, Mundari /toal/, Sakai /bot/, Semang /bu/, Shom Peng /bōo-tōa/, Biat /m’pul/, T'eng /buʔ/, Khasi /buiñ/, Mundari /jembeʔ?) [Chin. 乳 rǔ (SV nhǔ) for 'breast' and 哺 bǔ (SV bǒ) for 'to suck'. | ©M 乳 rǔ < MC ṅə < OC *ŋə || ©M 哺 bǔ < MC bo < OC *ba:s | ex. 'búvú’ 哺乳 bǔrǔ (SV bǒnhǔ) 'to suckle' ] (Comment: There is no doubt that the Chin. form are cognate to both of the V /vú/ and /bú/ respectively, so for other forms there must be some kind of coincidence similar to /pa/ and /ma/ where p- and m- form seem common in other languages with child's early languages.)
46. **bung** 'heart, mind, feelings' (Old Mon /pumas/, mod. /tma3/, Danaw /ruɔt2/, Riang White /kzi:ŋ-knuas\/, Black/kzi:ŋ-knuas\/, Palaung /nɔh3/, /nauh3/, Wa /rom2/, T'eng /ɨnɰom/, Khasi /jìŋmut/) [ Chin. 腹 fù (SV phúc) | 腹 fù < pʊk < OC *puk ]. (Comment: Danaw form is exactly what appears as V /ruɔt/ while Old Mon form /pumas/ points to V /bung/ which, in turn/ is cognate to Chin /fú/.)

47. **rŏn**, **rũn** 'navel' (No Old Mon, mod. /poŋluit/, Danaw /kon4dɑiŋ4/, Riang White /kluŋdii-\/, Black /kɛn\dɪɛ\-\/, Palaung /kādan2/, Wa /pi:t1/, K Khmer /p’oit/, Semang /lus/, T’eng /kɛndtʃi/, Khasi /sohpet/) [ Chin. 脐 qí (SV tề) | M 脐 qí < MC ʄie < OC *ʄae | ¶ q- ~ r- | ex. 肚脐 dùjí (VS lờrũn) ] (Comment: It looks like there is no candidate for the cognate to V /rũn/ here. Usually in this case, if we look hard enough we may find something other forms in Chin.)

48. **căt** 'penis' (No Old Mon, mod. /bow/, Danaw /lɛ1/, Riang White and Black /klɛ`ʔ-\/, Palaung /béu3/, Wa /klʔ1/, Car Nicobarese /ku-lɔɪch/, Mundari /loeʔ/) [ Chin. 雞巴 jībā (SV kêba) | ©M 雞 jī < MC kiej < OC *ke: | ] (Comment: If there is any similarity to draw here is the forms that appear in Riang as /klɛ`ʔ-/ and Wa /klʔ1/ while in others thk- has been dropped. The same can be said with the Chinese dissyllabic colloquial /jībā/ which, if related at all, has been contracted to 'căt' [ j- ~ k-, -b ~ -t ].

49. **hŏndái** 'testicles' (No Old Mon, mod. /makruik/, Danaw /tɔŋ2klot4/) [ ©M 玉丸 yùwăn (SV ngochoàn) | M 玉 yù < MC ʄouk < OC *ŋok | FQ 魚欲 | Pulleyblank: LM ʄ ywk < OC *ŋuawk || M 丸 huăn < MC ʄwʌn < OC wa:r | FQ 胡官 ] (Comment: Additional listings by Luce do not show anything similar to the V form as /hŏndái/, which is definitely from the Chin. /yùwăn/, as in numerous other lexicons, in reverse order.)

50. **đuí** 'thigh' (No Old Mon, mod. dī, Danaw /pluʔ1/, Riang White /pluʔn\/, Black /kə\diɛ`l\-, Palaung /blou2/, /blėu2/, Wa /plounqba2/, Mundai /bulu/, Khasi /lbong/) [ Chin. 腿 tuǐ (thởi) | ©M 腿 tuǐ < MC tuaj < OC *twaj ] (Comment: like 足 zú and 腳 jiăo,腿 tuǐ, generally meaning 'leg', has been elevated to designate 'thigh' of which the same meaning exists in Chin.)
51. chân 'foot, leg' (Viet. /chân/, Old Mon and mod. /jʊŋ/, Danaw /koʔ/) /, Riang White /toŋ\n/, /tsɔŋ\n/, Palaung /dʒøn2/, /djέn2/, Wa /tjøn2/, Old Khmer /jøŋ/, Sakai /jukn, Besisi /joŋ/, Semang /chân/, Old Javanese /joŋ/, Shom Peng /chuk/, Bahnar /jøŋ/, /ku-\n, /chín/, T'eng /tjøŋ/, Khsci /kiat/, Mundari /jæŋga/, Savara /talljøn/,
Gadaba /susuŋ/, Kurkur /næŋgæ/) [ Chin. 足 zú (SV túc), VS 'gi而不是 'leg' and 腳 jiǎo (SV cước) VS 'chân' 'foot' | ©M 足 zú < MC tsjouk < OC *ɕok || M 腳 jiǎo < MC kak < OC *kak ~ zú 足 ~ giáo | FQ 居勺 ] (Comment: While we cannot deny the V /chân/ is cognate to those in other languages -- in different linguistic families -- the Chin. forms also appear plausible for V. 'chân' 'leg' and 'giáo', respectively.)

52. đuôi 'tail' (Old Mon /birta/ (?), /bata/, Danaw /tɔŋ\n2\n/, Riang White /taʔ-/., Black /sə\n\nvt\n/, /săɗa2/, Wa /fj4taʔ1/, T'eng /hěnta/) [ Chin. 翘 qiáo (AV kiều) | M 翘 qiáo, qiào < MC gjew < OC *ghew | FQ 渠遙 ] (Comment: The closest forms is those initials of the second syllable that starts with t-.)

53. tay 'hand, arm' (Viet. /tay/, Old Mon /tey/, mod. /tai/ Danaw /ti1/, Riang White and Black /tiʔ-/, Palaung /dɔʔ2/, /diʔ2/, Wa /tɔʔ1/, Old Khmer /tai/, Sakai /tok, /titi/, Semang /tɔŋ/, Nicobarese /tai/, Car Nicobarese /tiʔ/, Bahmar /tai/, P'uman /ch'i/, T'eng /tiʔ/, Khasi /kti/, War /tat/, Mundari /tthi/, /tzi/, Gadaba /titi/, Kurku /tii/. [ Chin. 手 shǒu (SV thú). There is also a 臂 bì (SV tỵ), denoting 'arm', a 指 zhǐ (SV chi) form, denoting 'finger', that looks like those lexemes with /ti/ and chi/. | M 臂 bì, b èi < MC pje < OC *peks || M 指 zhǐ, zhi, zhì < MC tci < OC *kijʔ || ©M 手 shǒu < MC şjəw < OC *ɫhuʔ | FQ 書九 ] (Comment: Viet. /tay/ shows apparent cognate with all the languages involved, including the Chin. '臂 bì (SV ty)', but for the Chin. /shòu/ and /zhī/ they seem to be speculative.)

54. gót 'sole', also Luce 'palm' (Old Mon /kintāl/ (=underpart), mod. /gatā/, Danaw /patk1,3/, Riang White /plok-/., Black /plok-, Palaung /kāiba2/..., Wa /kiat1/, T'eng /kēdāk/ (=sole)] [ Chin 跟 gēn (SV cân) for VS 'gót' (sole), 巴手 bāshǒu (SV bathù) ~ 巴掌 bāzhang (SV bachuơ[r]) VS 'bàntay' (palm) | ©M 跟 gēn < MC kəŋ < OC *kərng ] (Comment: The Chin. forms are plausibly cognates.)

55. món 'nails' (Old Mon /sinlem/, mod. /sanem/, Danaw /kāle\nɛŋ4/, Riang White /re məhi:m-/., Black /k'ieŋ2/, /pˈyUɛŋ2/, Wa /sǎʔ/, Shom Peng /rīap/, Khasi /tyrmsim/)
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

56. cánh 'wing' (Old Mon /sumneŋ/ (=winged), mod. /sneŋ/, Danaw /pʿan2/, Riang White /pʿan-/, Black /pʿeŋ-/, Palaung /pʿiəŋ2/, /pʿyŋ2/, Wa /pʿyŋt1/, Semang /bieg/, Car Nicobarese /sānéök/, Khasi /thapniang/) [ Chin. 翅膀 chìbăng (SV chibăng) | M 翅 chì, shì, jì, qí < MC ʂi < OC *kjeh, *kes || M 膀 băng, bàng, pāng, páng < MC bọŋ < OC *bhan | FQ. 步光 ] (Comment: V 'cánh' could be cognate with 勢 bǎng only, instead of from a contracted form of 翅膀 chíbàng.)

57. xương 'bone' (Viet. /xườŋ/), Old Mon /jūc(ʔ)/, mod. /jut/, Danaw /kānaŋ4/, Riang White /yxnʔan-/ Back /tsenʔan-/ Palaung /kålʔan2/, Wa /sāʔan2/, Kmer /cə-an/, Sakai /ja-akn/, Semang /jaʔis/, Nicobarese /ŋəŋ-ŋəŋ/, Biat /nˈtɪŋ/, Srê /nˈtīŋ/, Tˈəŋ/c 'eʔan/, Khasi /Shyeng/, Mundari /jaŋ/, Malay /tulaŋ/) [ Chin 腔 qiāng (SV khang, xoang) | M 腔 qiāng < MC khjawŋ < OC *khaːwŋ ] (Comment: all appears to be cognate.)

58. thịt 'flesh' (Old Mon /psun/, mod. /pˈyun/, Danaw /ʔnaŋ/, Riang White /yxnəŋ/, Black /məí/, Palaung /yŋŋ2/, Wa /nɛʔ3/) [ Chin. 肉 ròu (nhục) | M 肉 ròu < MC ɳʊk < OC *nhikʷ, *nhuk ] (Comment: It looks like we have a case that we cannot map V 'thịt' into any of the above languages including Chin.)

59. da 'skin' (No Old Mon, mod. /snaŋ/, Danaw /kādət3/, Riang White /huː-/ Black /hur-/ Palaung /huːl/, Wa /hoʔ1/, Tˈəŋ /pʊr/, Kˈmu /kpur/, Mundari /ʊr/, Khasi /sneŋ/) [ Chin. 皮 pi (SV bì), 膚 fū (SV phu) | ©M 膚 fū, lú < MC pʊ < OC *pra ] (Comment: The Chin. /pi/ is more like V. da /ja/ but the form /fū/ is closer to other forms!)

60. máu 'blood' (Old Mon /chim/, mod. /chim/, Danaw /kānaŋ4/, Riang White /nəːm-/ Black /nəm-, Palaung /nəm2/, Wa /hnəm2/, Khmer /jhm/, Sakai /bəhī m/, Semang /muhum/, Car Nicobarese /māham/, Bahar /pham/, Tˈəŋ /məm/, Kˈmu /seməm/, Khasi /smam/ Mundari maən/) [ Chin. 血 xiě, xuē (SV huyê) | M
61. nướcmiếng 'spittle' (Old Mon /ksas (=to spit?), mod. /dāk kasah/, Danaw /nìn`n2/, Riang White and Black /nɔŋ-, Palaung /bdɔʔ3/ (to spit), Wa /bdɔʔ3, /bɛʔ3/, Old Khmer /samtoh/, Sakai /tɔh/, /getic/, Malay /ludah/, Nicobarese /tapaih/, Bahnar /gəsɔʔ/, T`eng /tɛʔa/ Khasi /biah (to spit), Mundari /bɛʔ/) [ Chin. 唾沫 tuòmò (SV thoámat) ~ 唾液 tuòyè (SV thoádích) | M 唾 tuò < MC thwʌ < OC *thojs || M 沫 mò, mèi < MC mwʌt, mwʌj < OC *māt, *māts || M 液 yè < MC jek, ʂe k < OC *lhiak, *sliak ] (Comment: the only similarity appears here is between the V. and Chin forms.)

62. nướcđái 'urine' (No Old Mon, mod. /knam/, Danaw /tsɛʔ2/, Riang White /num\/, Black /num\, Palaung /hnUm2/, Wa /num2/, Khmer /nom/, Sakai /nom/, Semang /kènom/, Srè /dum/, Bahnar /nôm/, T`eng /num/, Khasi /jung/) [ Chin. 尿水 niàoshuǐ (SV niệuthuỷ) | ©M 尿 niào, suī < MC niew < OC *ne:ws, *njew, *ne:wkws | ¶ n- ~ đ- || ©M 水 shuǐ < MC ʂwi < OC *tuj | FQ 式軌 | cđ MC 止合三上旨書 ] (Comment: There is little doubt that the Chin. and the V. forms are cognates except that the syllabic-word order is in reverse as in many cases.)

63. cứt 'dung' (No Old Monn, mod. /ɪk/, Danaw /yan4/, Riang White and Black /yan-/ , Palaung /iɛŋ2/, /iɛŋ2/, Wa /iɛŋ2/, Khmer /ãcl/, Sakai /ɛl/, lɛgl/, Semang /tɬ/, /læth/, Nicobarese /ȃɪtʃ/, /ãɪtʃl/, Bahnar /tɬ/, /tɬ/, T`eng /ʔɪak/, Khasi /etɬ/, Mundari /tɛʔ/) [ Chin. 屍 shǐ (SV thỉ) | ©M 屎 shǐ < MC shǐ < OC *ʂij < PC **kijh, **ʂijh | Zhou zyxlx] p.251: TB *kip, Burmese: khjijh excrement, Kachin: kjii3 excrement, Dimasa: khi, Garo: khi, Bodo: ki, Kham kî; , Kanauri khoa, Baoing khl, Digaro: klai. Simon 19; Sh. 44; Ben. 39; Mat. 191. | Zhu Fagao zyxlx p.251 Tibetan: *kep ] (Comment: If this is a case of the initial k- having evolved into zero in most languages, they are cognate to them then. If not, they could be a derived form cognate to V. ỉa 'to poo, to shit' in V., which, in turn, is cognate to Cantonese /o/ 屎 M. /è/.)

64. chó 'dog' (Viet. /chó/, Old Mon /clew/, /cluiw/, mod. /kluiw/, Danaw /tsɔʔ/, Riang White and Black /sɔʔ-/, Palaung /āʔʔoʔ1/, Wa /soʔ1/, Old Khmer cke, Sakai /cho/,
Semang /äsūʔ/, Malay /asul/, Srê /səl/, P'uman /shaw/, T'eng /soʔ/, Khasi /ksew/, War /ksiā/, Mundari /seta/, Savara /sōr/, /kinsor/ Gadaba /kussō/, Kurku tśītā/
[ Chin. 狗 gǒu (SV cẩu) | ©M 狗 gǒu < MC kjəw < OC *koːʔ | MC reading 流開一上厚見 | Proto-Viet **kro | See further enumeration below. ] (Comment: there is no doubt that they the forms are cognates, including the Chin. 狗 gǒu.)

65. ngựa 'horse' (Old Mon /kseh/, mod. /kēh/, Danaw /θé4/, Riang White /mvrəŋ\/, Black /merəŋ\/, Palaung /braq2/, Wa /bruŋ2/, Old Khmer /aseh/, Cham /àsaih/, Biat /chēh/, Bahnar /àscə/h/, Aren /kəθe/, /θeiri/, /ls'e/ etc., Central and S. Chin /sǐ/, /se, /ks'e/, T'eng /mrəŋ/, Lemet /mran/, Old Burmese /mrəŋ\/) [ Chin. 馬 mă (SV mǎ) | M 馬 mă < MC mɑ < OC *mra:ʔ | FQ 莫下 || ©M 午 wǔ < MC ŋɔ < OC *ŋa:ʔ | According to Starostin: the 7th of the Earthly Branches. During Late Zhou also used as a loan for homonymous *ŋ(h)a:? 'to resist; crosswise'. ] (Comment: For V 'ngựa' 午 wǔ (SV ngọ) is much more plausible since it is in line with other forms which are in the 12 animal zodiac table, with exception of 'cat' being substituted by 'hare' by the Chinese, adopted by both of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples. The other forms appear only in the forms with initial /mbr-, /mr-, /br- and finals as /-aŋ/, otherwise they are not cognates.)

66. trâu 'water buffalo' (Old Mon and mod. /pɾəŋ\/, Danaw /mànaʔ3/, Riang White /pvənəʔ\/, Black /pənəʔ\/, Palaung /kroʔ1/, Wa /kra KP/1, T'eng /tăk/, Mundari /kera/, Karen /pənə/) [ Chin. 牛 níu (SV ngưu) | ©M 牛 níu < MC ŋjəw < OC *ŋujə | FQ 語求 || 丑 chǒu (SV sửu, xú) || ©M 丑 (丒) chǒu < MC trw < OC *truw | According to Starostin: MC ʈhjəw < OC *snruʔ ] (Comment: Like 午 wǔ for 'ngựa', 丑 chǒu is also a possible candidate for V 'trâu' while no cognate forms are found in the MK languages.)

67. đàn 'herd, flock' (No Old Mon, mod. /tˈaka\/, Danaw /pˈən2/, Riang White /vwunŋ\/, Black /vwŋ/, Palaung /pəŋ3/, Wa /pˈUn2/, Khmer /hvũŋ/, Biat /pˈunŋ/, Shan /pˈunŋ/) [ Chin. 團 tuán (SV đoàn) | ©M 團 tuán < MC dwʌn < OC *dho:n || M 幫 bāng < MC dwn < OC *d̪³n | FQ 博旁 ] (Comment: Actually V 'bọn' is more plausible to other form of MK languages, but that lexeme is for people -- pointing to Chin. 幫
bāng (SV bang) 'group' -- while the V 'đàn' is mostly for animals, which is cognate to Chin. /tuán/ and its SV equivalent 'đoàn' can be used for people.)

68. heo 'pig' (Old Mon /klīk/, /kliŋ/, mod. /klik/, Danaw /kālēk3,1/, Riang White and Black /lék\, Palaung /léʔ1/, Wa /li:k3/, Old Khmer /jrvrak/, Sakai /lu/, Semang /jalin/, Madurese /chelen\ (wild pig), Khasi /sniang/) [ Chin. 亥 hài (SV hợi) VS 'he ơ', the 12th animal in the zodiac table | ©M 亥 hài < MC ɠɤj < OC *ghə:ʔ | See 'lợ n' below. ] (Comment: all MK forms show cognate forms with V 'lợn' and Chin. 豬 zhū (SV trư) has no cognate in V.)


70. voi 'elephant' (Viet. /tường/, Chinese /*dzaiaŋ/, Old Mon /cĩŋ/, mod. /cιŋ/, Danaw /kātsəŋ4/, Riang White /s' années-/, Black /s'i-tsəŋ-, Palaung /sa:ŋ2/, Wa /saŋ2/, Sakai /chik/, T'eng /sikyaŋ/, K'mu /chaŋ/, Old Burrmese /caŋ\) [ Chin. 象 xiàng (SV tượng) | M 象 kiện < MC zjaŋ < OC *lhaŋʔ | FQ 徐兩 || ©M 為 wéi (SV vi) 'voi' elephant | ©M 為 wéi < MC we < OC *lhaŋʔ | FQ 徐兩 || ©M 為 wéi (SV vi) 'voi' elephant | ©M 為 wéi < MC we < OC *lhaŋʔ | FQ 徐兩 || ©M 為 wéi (SV vi) 'voi' elephant | ©M 為 wéi < MC we < OC *lhaŋʔ | FQ 徐兩 || ©M 為 wéi (SV vi) 'voi' elephant | ©M 為 wéi < MC we < OC *lhaŋʔ | FQ 徐兩 || ©M 為 wéi (SV vi) 'voi' elephant | ©M 為 wéi < MC we < OC *waj, *wajs | FQ 植支 | MC reading A: 止合三平支云; B: 止合三去寘云 | According to Starostin: An *-s-derivate from the word is OC *waj-s, MC we (FQ 于僞), Pek. wèi 'for, on behalf', Viet. vi, vi. For initial *w- cf. Min forms: MC we - Xiamen, Chaozhou, Fuzhou ui2; MC we, Xiamen ui6, Fuzhou oi6, Jianou ue6. Shuowen defines the character as 'female monkey'. Although this word is not attested in literature, it may be compared to
PST *qwaj reflected in Kach. (D) woi monkey; Moshang vi-sil; Rawang ewe; Trung a-koi; Kadu kwe id. (STC No 314 *(b)woy; dubious are Mikir ki-pi and Miri si-be). Thomas: voi | Shuowen: 母猴也。其為禽好爪。下腹為母猴形。王育曰。爪象形也。古文為。象兩母猴相對形。 | GSR 0027 a-e [Comment: With V 'tường' all are the same forms as that of Chin. /xiàng/, but V 'voi' seems only cognate to Chin /wei/ is much more common than 'tường'.]

71. cọp 'tiger' (Old Mon /kla/’, mod. /kla/, Danaw /tăwai2/, Riang White /rvvwa’i/, Black /rwa’i/, Palaung /ravva’i2/, /răwo’i2/, Wa /ji4vwai2/, Old Khmer /klă/, Sakai /kla/, Bahnar /kla/, Srē /kliu/, Khasi /khla/, Mundari /kula/, Kurku /kūlă/, T’eng /tevai/) [Chin. 虎 hǔ (SV hổ) | ©M 虎 hǔ < MC xo < OC *xla:] (Comment: All forms ar cognate for certainty and were probably derived from a proto-form from proto-Tai.)

72. gấu 'bear' (Old Mon /kmīm/, mod. /kmim/, Danaw /k’ryet3/, Riang White and Black /k’t’s-/I, Palaung /krih3/ /krič3/, Wa /krih5/, Khasi /dnghiem/, Srē /grih/) [Chin. 熊 xióng (SV hùng) | M 熊 xióng < MC ɦʊŋ < OC *whǝm [Comment: Given variations of other MK words, the V 'gấu' could be probably cognate to the Chin. form /xióng/ with *wh- ~ g-, and -wŋ ~ -aw sound change.]

73. vượn 'monkey' (Old Mon /knuy/, mod. /knuai/, Danaw /vvo2/, Riang White /vwaʔ/-, Black /waʔ/-I, Palaung /fa2/, Wa /râu2/, Old Khmer /svā/, T’eng /hwa/, Srē /kuañ/ (gibbon) [Chin. 猿 yuán (SV viên), VS vượn 'gibbon' | ©M 猿 yuán < MC wən < OC *whan || 猴 hóu (SV hœur) VS khỉ | M 猴 hóu < MC ɠɤw < OC *go:] (Comment: V 'vượn' gibbon and all other are cognates, including the Chin /yuán/ while Old Mon /knuv/. mod. /knuai/ look like to be cognate to 'khỉ' monkey in V.)

74. nai 'barking deer' (No Old Mon, mod. pah/, Danaw /pɔt3/, Riang White and Black /pos/-... [Chin. 喜 biāo, páo (SV tiêu, bào) VS ｈươu 'giraffe, hind' | M 喜 biāo, páo < MC baw, pew, phəw < OC *paw, *bhrāw, *phāwʔ ] (Comment: other forms are omitted here since they totally do not seem to be related to that of V. 'nai'.)

75. thò 'hare' (Old Mon /batāy/, mod. /batāai/, Danaw /yxn2/, Riang White /pxtāi/-, Black /pəltāi/-, Palaung /paŋ3dai2/, /paŋ3dɔi2/, Wa /pāla2/, Old Burmese /yun/, Malay /tapai/, Biat /r’pai/, Srē dərpcæ/, Shan /paŋtai/) [Chin. 兔 tù (SV thổ) | ©M
兔 tù < MC tho < OC *thāks, *slhaks | FQ 湯故 ] (Comment: The Chin. /tù/ is certainly cognate to the V /thò/ form while other MK forms deviate a great deal.)

76. lợn 'porcupine' (no Old Mon., mod. /lamlen/, Danaw /tŋəkiɛ`t1/, Riang White /rŋ n\kos-, Black /rŋəkos-, Palaung /ákxh3/, Wa /ŋ-goh3/, Sakai /kūsh/...) [ Chin. 獐 jīān (kiên) | M 獐 (新时期) jīān < MC kien < OC *kēn | ¶ j- ~ l- ] (Comment: For those MK forms selective listed here, they bear resemblance to each other as cognates. At the same time the Chin. /jiān/ cognate is highly plausible with the sound change pattern j- ~ l- for V /lợn/. At the same time V has also the word /heo/ for 'pig' which is from the same source as that of the Chin. form 亥 hài (SV hợi) appearing in the zodiac 12 animal table.)

77. sóc 'squirrel' (No Old Mon, mod. /prɛp/, Danaw /plaɪəi/, Riang White /kɤlɤ\/, Black /klo\/...) [ Chin. 松鼠 cōngshǔ (SV tùngthủ) | M 松 sōng < MC tʃjʊŋ < OC *lhoŋ || ©M 鼠 shǔ < MC ʂ̀o < OC *ɬhəʔ ~ *ɬh < *ʂh- < ʂ- | Dialects: Amoy /chu3/, Chaozhou /chy3/, Fuzhou, Jianou /chu3/, Tc chu2, Wenzhou /chei21/, Hakka /chu2/, Xiamen /chu2/, Trc chi21, Fuzhou /chy2/, Shanghai /chu3/ | According to Starostin: OC *ʰla (normally yielding t.h, but here having given a dialectal reflex *s/h- > s/-) is reconstructed on the basis of Min forms: Xiamen chu3, Chaozhou chy3, Fuzhou, Jianou chu3. ] (Comment: Some other forms are omitted here because they do not seem to relate the V 'sóc' as to the Chin. /cōngshǔ/ which could be plausibly cognate if the drop-out factor accounts for the sound change between the two, that is, either syllabic sound falls out. However, if we treat the Chin. compound 松鼠 cōngshǔ as an indication that this kind of animal not native originally, then, like 狗 gǒu or 虎 hǔ, the Chin. form must have a southern origin, probably from Taic since all the MK forms in Luce's list do not provide a clue for that.)

78. rái 'otter' (No Old Mon, mod. /pheʾ/, Danaw /bUn2/, Riang White /bUn\/, Black /bon\/, Palaung /mUn3/, /bUn3/, Wa /pɛi1/ [ Chin. 獭 tă, tà (SV thát) | M 獴 tă, tà < MC that < OC *srhāt ] (Comment: Only Chin. 獴 tă, tà is cognate to V. rái.)

79. chuột 'rat, mouse' (Old Mon and mod. /knɪ/, Danaw /kăně1,2/, Riang White /k'ɾo m\-, Black /kəbu\-, /k'ɾom\-, Palaung /hno'i2/, Wa /kianŋ2/, Sakai /kaněh\, Semang

What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

/kane/, Srê /ɗɛ`, Bahnar /kenɛ`, T'eng /kenɛʔ/, Khasi /khnaɪ/, Mundari /huni/ )

[ Chin. 鼠 shǔ (SV thử) | See enumeration above. ] (Comment: While there is no
cognate with the MK forms, it is no doubt that the Chin. /shǔ/ and V. 'chuột' are
cognate.)

80. doi 'bat' (Old Mon /kilwa/, mod. /kawa/, Danaw /lk3lat2/, Riang White /tynilak/, Black /relak/, Palaung /gādoʔ1/, Wa /blak3/, Malay /kělawar/) [ Chin. 蝙 biān (SV biên) | 蝙 biān < MC pien < OC *pēnʔ ] (Comment: For this item if there are any
cognates at all, so it must be a falling-out form of Mon /-wa/.)

81. buômbuôm 'butterfly' (No Old Mon, mod. /pŋkamū/ (butterfly soul), Danaw /pɔŋ 2pɔʔ3/, Riang White and Black /pŋ-paʔʔ-/ , Palaung /kʔʔ1lā/, Wa /pai4pyanh2/, T'eng /pam/) [ Chin 蝴蝶 húdié (SV hồđiệp) ] (Comment: The V 'bươm' is likely
cognate to T'eng /pam/ and the Mon first syllable /pŋ/ while 'buômbuôm' to
others. The Chin form /húdié/ show no relation at all. However, in other
Austronesian languages we found some similar etyma cognate to 'buômbuôm/
such as proto-Eastern-Oceanic /*mpe(e)mpe(e)/, Fiji /beebee/, Samoan /pepe/,
New Zealand Maori /pê/, /pepe/, Rotuman /pêpea/.)

82. ongmặt 'honey bee' (No Old Mon, mod. /sāai/, Danaw /tsɔŋ4hən2/, Riang White
/tirhvŋur\/, Black /tsenˈŋur\/, Palaung /pˈrer2/, Wa /hio2/, Car Nicobarese /seˈk
mak/, T'eng /bruŋ/, /pruŋ/) [ Chin 蜜蜂 mìfēng (SV mậtphong) | Chin. 螉 螿 *ʔîʔ-
ǒŋ (SV nghềông) VS 'ongnhề' ~ 蟲 wēng (SV ông) ~ 蜂 fēng (SV phong) | ©M
螉 wēng < MC ʔuŋ < OC *ʔōŋ | According to Starostin: a k. of small bee (Han).
Used only in compounds: 蟲 *ʔōŋ-shoŋ, 蟲 螉 *ʔîʔ-ǒŋ denoting a k. of small
bee or gadfly, thus the borrowed nature of Viet. ong is questionable (cf. PAA *hɔ:
ŋ / *ʔɔ:ŋ 'bee' = PAN *wani, *qawani id.). The standard Sino-Viet. reading of 蟲 is
ông. || M 蜂 fēng < MC phouŋ, buŋ < OC *pʰoŋ, *bʰoŋ | FQ 敷容, 薄紅 ]
(Comment: It is for certainty that the Chin. compound form 蜜蜂 mìfēng is
cognate to V. 'ongmặt' in reverse order. For other languages, see the next item
below.)

83. ong 'wasp, hornet' (Viet. 'ong', no Old Mon, mod. /huiŋ/, Danaw /moʔ3)ōn4/, Riang White /vwɔŋ-vwɔl/-, Black /uaŋ/-, Palaung /on2/, /kålʔon2/, Wa /ŋ2/, Old
Khmer /srāŋ/ (?), Sakai /ōkn/ Besisi /hoŋ/, Semang /on/, /lēŋ/, /wun/, Bahnar /ōŋ/, Srê /on/) [ Chin. (黃)蜂 huángfēng (SV hoàngphong) VS 'ong(vò)' | See enumeration above. ] (Comment: Like 蜜蜂 mìfēng, this is for sure an cognate with the V 'ong'. For other MK languages, in contrast with the V 'ongmattività above, which is similar to Danaw /(maʔ3)ôn4/ 'honey bee', they all are cognates. In both Chin and V. this exist only one form 蜂 fēng ~ 'ong'.

84. cua 'crab' (Viet. /tôm/ (prawn), No Old Mon, mod. /gatā/, Danaw /kātam2/, Riang White /kxtom/-, Black /katam/-, Palaung /tākrɛk3/, Wa /təm2/, Semang /kēntem/, Srê /tām/, T'eng /katam/, Khasi /tham/ Mundari /katakom/, /karakom/) [ Chin. 蝦 xiā (SV hà) VS 'tép' small shrimp, 'tôm' prawn, also 'ruốc' tiny shrimp || 蟹 xié (SV giải) VS ghe, cày ~ cua 'crab' || M 蝦 (鰕) xiā, hà < MC ɠa < OC *ghra: | FQ 胡加 | MC reading 假開二平麻曉 | According to Starostin: frog (Han). Used only in the compound 蝦蟆 *g(h)ra:-mra: | ex. 蝦蟆 hámó (SV hàmạc) nhái, cóc 'frog' || ©M 蟹 xié < MC ɠa < OC *ghre?: | According to Starostin: crab (Han). Normal Sino-Viet. is giài: it is interesting that both this form and the colloquial cày reflect a voiceless initial (possibly pointing to a variant *kre:?). | Protoform: *q(r)e:(j)H. Lushei: ai, KC *t?-g|ai. Lepcha: ta<-hi. Kiranti: *ghra\] (Comment: All the MK languages point to V 'tôm' and they look like also cognate to V. 'contôm'. However, they all mean 'crab' while the V forms 'cua' and 'tôm' with their variants seem in line with those equivalents in Chin. /xià/ and /xié/.)


86. rắn 'snake' (Old Mon and mod. /jrum/, Danaw /pâθên4/, Riang White and Black /hieñ-, Palaung /hanʔ2/, Wa /jì4ʔuín2/, Semang /jêkob/, Nicarese /pâi(d)/, Car Nicobarese /pêich/, Khasi /bseïn/, Mundari /bin/) [ Chin. 蛇 shé (SV xà, also di) ]
©M 蛇 shé < MC ʑa < OC *liaj, *laj | FQ 食遮 | According to Starostin: snake. Also read *laj (MC je, FQ 卍支) in the compound 委蛇 *?w|aj-laj 'be compliant, gracious'. | ¶ s- ~ r- | Also /yì/ as in 委蛇 wěiyì (VS ngoằnngoèo) 'zigzag' ] (Comment: Variably some of the listed form are cognates while the Chin. form is only a matter of speculation.)

87. chim 'bird' (Viet. /chɪm/, Old Mon / kiïcem/, mod. gacem, Danaw /tsən4/, Riang White /si:m/, Black /sim/, Palaung /sim2/, Wa /jì:m2/, Sakai /chêp/, /chêm/, Biat /chùm/, Srè /sım/, Bahnar /sɛm, T'eng /sim/, Khasi /sim/ War /kseɱ/, Mundari /sɪm/ (=fowl), Kurku /jìfm(fowl), Sav /kansım/ (fowl)) [ Chin. 禽 qín 'bird' (SV cầm) ]
©M 禽 qín < MC gim < OC *ghjəm | ~ modern M niăo 鳥 | Dialects: Hainanese /ji ăo/ is the sound for 'chim' | Chaozhou: ʑin12, Wenzhou: ʑiaŋ12, Shuangfeng: ʑ in12 | According to Starostin: The character is more frequently used (since L.Zhou) with the meaning 'wild bird(s)' ('something caught'), whereas for the meaning 'to catch, capture' (SV 'cắm', VS 'giam') one uses the character 擒 ] (Comment: It looks like all forms are cognates, including Chin.)

88. giacàm 'fowl' (Old Mon /tyāŋ/, /tųŋ/, mod. /câŋ/, Danaw /yén4/, Riang White /yɛr-/, Black /yɛ́ʔr-/, Palaung /i:r2/, iar2/, Wa /iaʔ2/, Bahnar /iɭ/, T'eng /ier/, Khasi /siyar/, Mundari /jiaŋ-jiaŋ/ (=chicken) [ Chin. 家禽 jiaqín (SV giacàm) ] (comment) The V compound simply a MC variant of the Chinese form.)
89. chimcông 'peafowl' (Old Mon /mrek/, /mrā/, Danaw (<Burmese), Riang White and Black /präk\ /, Palaung /broʔ3/, Wa /ka'ūŋ2/, Malay /mēraš/, Cham /amrak/, Biat /brak\, T'eng /kùń\/) [ Chín. 孔雀 kǒngquè (SV ﹶ孔guò) VS chimcông | M 孔 kǒng < MC kūŋ < OC *khōŋʔ | FQ 康董 | For 'chim' see above.] (Comment: Obviously the V 'chimcông' is the Chín. form in reverse order. Some more forms unrelated with Vietnamese in other languages listed in this item are omitted.)

90. cuncút 'quail' (Corturnix) (Viet. /cuncút/, Old Mon tgit\, /tget\, /tgat\, mod. /daguit\, /thagut\, Danaw /taʔ3kot2/, Riang White /rvku:t\/, Black /rekut\/, Palaung /âgu\ 1,3, Wa /kut1/, Khmer /grwac/, Biat /gōi\, Srê /ragut\, T'eng /tagut\, Khasi /tyut\, Mundari /gagar/) [ Chín. 鶉 chún (thuần) | VS. 'cuncút' reduplicative '鶉 chún (cun)' + '鶉 chún (cút) | M 鶉 chún < MC dʒwin < OC *dhwǝn ] (Comment: Most of the forms are cognates, including the Chín. compound)

91. diềuhâu 'bird of prey, kite) (No Old Mon, mod. /hawkluiŋ/ (large hornbill) (?), Danaw /käŋ4kān\, Riang White and Black /kłŋ\-, Palaung /kłŋ2\-, Dnaw /kłŋ2\-, Khmer /kłŋ\ (fish eagle), Sakai /kēlānt\, Semang /kēlā\ Malay /hēlā\, Srê, Bahnar /kłŋ\, T'eng /kłŋ\, Khasi /khlēŋ\) [ Chín. 鷹 yīng (SV diên) | ©M 鷹 yīng < MC ʔiŋ < OC *ʔjwèn ] (Comment: The V and Chín. forms are cognates.)

92. ưng 'vulture' (Old Mon /timmāt\, /tammāt\, mod. /tamāt\, Danaw /lɔŋ2tɔʔ2\, Riang White /lɔŋ\-tuʔ\-, Black /kłŋ-tuʔ\-, Palaung /lɔŋ3dɔʔ2\, Wa /kłŋ4prēŋ2\, Old Khmer /māt\, Old Burmese /lâŋt\a\, Shan /laŋt\a\, /naŋt\a\ | Chín. 鷹 yīng (SV ưng) VS 'ó' (hawk) | M 鷹 yīng < MC ʔiŋ < OC *ʔjwèn ] (Comment: It looks like only the Chín. and V. forms are cognates.)

93. ác 'crow' (Viet. /áč\, Old Mon /kål-ak\, /kål-ek\, mod. /kädak\, Danaw /lɔŋ4dɔʔ2\, Riang White /luʔʔak\-, Balck /luklāk\-, Palaung /kâ\ʔɔʔ1\, Wa /lak3\, Old Khmer /kāk\, Sakai /aag\, /gaag\, Semang /ukag\, Malay /gagak\, Srê /kând\, Bahnar /āk\, T'eng /kâʔak\, K'mu /klāk\) [ Chín. 鳥 wū, wū, yān (SV ô, ác) VS quà\, ác | ©M 鳥 wū, wū, yān < MC ʔo < OC *ʔā | FQ 蘧都 | According to Starostin: Later also attested in the sense ('black as a crow' > ) 'black, very dark'. ] (Comment: All forms are cognates with an extra variant for the V lexeme as /quạ/.)
94. ruồi 'house-fly' (Viet. /ruōi/, no Old Mon, mod. /ruai/, Danaw /rui4/, /hrui4/, Riang White and Black /ruəi\/, Palaung /rui2/, Wa /ruoi2/, Khmer /ruy/, Sakai /rul/, /ruoi/, Besisi /roi/, Nicobarese /yüɛ/, Car Nicobarese /tʰ-Ruɛ/, Biat /r’hui/, Bahnar /roi/, T'eng /rəe/, Mundari /roko/) [ Chin. 蠅 yíng 'fly' (dâng) [ ~ VS nhàng, lăng | M 蠅 yí ng < MC jiŋ < OC *ljəŋ | FQ 余陵 | MC reading 曾開三平蒸以 | See more below. ]
(Comment: All MK etyma are cognates while the Chin. form could be a variant with different sound to point to the same bug.)

95. kiến 'ant' (Viet. /mōi/ (white ant), no Old Mon, mod. /samat/, Danaw /toŋ4krun2/, Riang White /pruiŋ/, /priŋ\/, Palaung /brun2/, Wa /mo1,3/.) Ols Khmer /samoc/ Malay /sěmut/, T'eng /hmuic/, Mundari /mui?/) [ Chin. 蟻 yǐ < MC ŋé < OC *ŋhajʔ | According to Starostin: For *ŋh- cf. Xiamen hia6, Chaozhou hia4, Fuzhou ŋie6. | ¶ y- (OC*ŋ-) ~ k- || According to Starostin: kiến can be 蟻 xiàn < MC xiɜn < OC *he:nʔ | a k. of mussel (Corbicula leana) (modern). Also read *g(h)e:nʔ, MC g|ien; *khe:ns, MC khien. The standard Sino-Viet. reading is quite irregular: nghiễn. The usage of 蟻 for 'mussel' is quite recent; the earliest attested meaning of the character (in Erya) is 'a k. of silkworm', and the word may be actually a dialectal variant of the standard 蟻 *ke:nʔ 'silkworm' (q.v.). Cf. also Viet. kiến 'ant' (borrowed from the same source?) | See 'hến' ] (Comment: All cross-linguistic family etyma are cognate to V. 'mỗi' as Luce's notation. In that case V 'kiến' is possibly cognate to either Chin. līi/ or /jiàn/.)

96. chấy 'louse in the hair' (Viet. /chây/, no Old Mon. mod. /cai/, Danaw /tsz1/, Riang White and Black /sʔʔi/, Palaung /saʔz2/, /so2/, Wa /ʃʔ1/, Khmer /caz/, Sakai /cha/ Semang /chiʔ/, Nicobarese /shɛʔ/, Stieng /sth/, Srè /săi/, T'eng /sěʔ/, Khasi /ksi/, Mundari /siku/) [ Chin 虱 shī (SV siết, sát) | ©M 虱 shī ~ ©M 蝨 shī < MC ʂit < OC *srit | FQ 所櫛 ] (Comment: Interestingly enough, the Chin form /shī/ appears to be cognate to other Austroasiatic forms, too!)

97. trứng 'egg' (Old Mon /tumʔāy/ (?), mod. /k'amhāai/, Banaw /kâtn4/, /kâtUn4/, Riang White and Black /tam-, Wa /tom2/, Sakai /tap/, Shom Peng /kâtbəʔ/, Bahnar /kətəʔ/, Lemet /ntam/, T'eng /kədόŋ/) [ Chin. 蛋 dàn (SV đản) ] (Comment:
Besides other MK forms, it is with certainty that the V 'trùng' is cognate to the Chin /dàn/.

98. lụa 'silk' (No Old Mon, mod. /sut/, Danaw /kātuʔ2/, Riang White /s'vtuʔ\, Black /s' atuʔ/, Palaung /dēuʔ2/, Wa /təaʔ1/) [ Chin. 綢 chóu (SV trù, thao) ~ 縷 lǚ (SV lű, lâu) ] ©M 綢 (紬) chòu, diào, tāo < MC děw < OC *dru | Schuessler: be wrapped round, pressed tightly together, dense. || ©M 縷 lǚ < MC lu < OC *rho? |
According to Starostin: silk thread (L.Zhou). Viet. lụa is a colloquial loan (probably of Late Han time); regular Sino-Viet. is lũ. ] (Comment: The Mon /sut/ looks like a cognate to the V 'lụa' and others like V 'tơlụa', all point to the Chin 綨/chóu/ for 'lụa' and 絲綢/sīchóu/ for 'tơlụa'.)

99. keo 'lac' (No Old Mon, mod. /krek/, /krut/, Danaw /yân4k'ärēk3/, Riang White /troc it-/, Black /trɕic-/, Palaung /krɤʔ1/, kr'o'it1/, Mundari /ërē-ko/) [ Chin. 蟲膠 chóngjiā o, 蟲脂 chóngzhǐ | ©M 膠 jiāo, háo, jiăo, jiào, năo, qiāo < MC kɑw < OC *kri:w ]
(Comment: Semantically V 'keo', cognate to the Chin. 膠 jiāo 'glue', is not exactly 'lac', but it looks like those of other forms listed by Luce for this item.)

100. rừng 'jungle' (Old Mon grīp/, mod. /gruip/ Danaw /p'ro2bo4/, Riang White /priʔ\, Black /prεʔ\, Palaung /breʔ2/, Wa /broʔ3/, Old Khmer /vraʔ/, Sakai /brz/, Besisi /mbri/, Semang /tɛp\, Srê /brz\, T'eng /brz\, K'mu /mprz/, Khasi /brz\, (=grove), Mundari /brz\) [ Chin. 林 lín 'forest' (SV lâm) | ©M 林 lín < MC lim < OC *rjəm < PC **rjəɱ | ~ OC *srjəm : 森 (sâm) râm) | Tibetan languages: Burmese: rum 'dense', Kachin: dirgram2 'forest', Lushei: ram 'forest' | Cant. /lʌm/ | ¶ l- ~ r-, ex. 龍 lóng (SV long) rồng 'dragon' ] (Comment: Except for the /brz/ form, all forms are loosely cognate to the V. 'rừng' which is more affirmatively a plausible cognate with the Chin. lín/.)

101. cây 'tree, wood' (Viet. /cây/, /thân/, Old Mon /c'u\, /tam/, mod. /tnam/, Danaw /tsok4thé1/, Riang White /tvŋ-k'cʔ/-, Black /təŋ-k'cʔ-/ , Palaung /hēi2/, /ha 'i2/, /ho'i2/, /təŋ2/, /tiŋ2/, ten2/, Wa /k'iʔi/, k'auʔ1/ (firewood), Old Khmer /jhe/, /tem/, tnem/, Sakai /jêhu/, Semang /tum/, Old Malay /kāyu/, /bataŋ/ Nicobarese /chīa/, Srê /chz/, /tem/, T'eng /haʔɛ`ʔ/ (firewood), P'uman /zrɛ/, K'mu /che/, Khasi /ba-eh (wooden), /dieng/ (tree), Mundari /sir/) [ Chin. 樹 shù (SV thự) VS cây
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

'tree', 木 mù (SV móc) VS gõ 'wood', 材 cái (SV tài) VS gõ 'wood', 柴 chái VS cũi 'firewood', 本 bèn (SV bồn) VS thân 'trunk' | M 樹 shù < MC tʂʊ < OC *dhoʔ | FQ 棄 hja: | According to Starostin: MC ʒʌj < OC *ʒhǝ̄j = 才 ] (Comment: Looking at the lexical patterns appear in Luce's list for this item in different languages, we can similarly associate them with those in Chin. which could be good candidates for the cognates with V forms such as 'cây tree', 'cũi' firewood, 'gõ' wood, 'thân' trunk, which differentiate better each distinctive etymon, phonologically and leaxically.)

102. rễ 'root' (Viet. /rẽ/, no Old Mon, mod. /ruíh/, Danaw /tɔn2rit4/, Riang White rias\,/, Black /ric\,/, Palaung /rix3/, Wa /ri5/, Khmer /rısı/, /rus/, Besisi /prus/, Semang /yaes/ Car Nicobarese /Reh/, Sre^ /riäš/, Bahnar /riëš/, /ræ:, T'eng /riäč/, /rięč/, Khasi /trl/, Mundai /red?/) [ Chin. 蒂 dì (SV đế) | ©M 蒂(蔕) dì < MC tiaj < OC *tɛjs | ¶ d- ~ r- } (Comment: Eventhoghu all other languages show apparent cognates etymologically, the V 'rễ' and Chin. /dì/ form also demonstrate similar appearance etymologically.)

103. lá 'leaf' (Viet. /lá/, Old Mon /sla/, mod. /sla/, Danaw /la1/, Riang White and Black /laʔ-/, Palaung /la2/, Wa /laʔ3/, Old Khmer /slik/, Sakai /sēlák/, Nicobarese /dai/, /ræ:, Biat /n'hal/, Bahnar /hla/, P'u-man /hla/, T'eng /hlaʔ/, Khasi /sla/, Mundari /araʔ/ (edible leaf) [ Chin. 葉 yè (SV diệp) | ©M 葉 yè, dié, shè < MC jep < OC *tɛjs | ㄉ d- ~ r- ] (Comment: Eventhoghu all other languages show apparent cognates etymologically, the V 'lá' and Chin. /di/ form also demonstrate similar appearance etymologically.)
104. bông 'flower, to flower' (Old Mon /pkāw/, /pluh/, mod. /pkaw/, /raŋ/, Danaw /pwaŋ1po4/, /po4/, Riang White /p’dak-/, /po-/, Black /dak-/, /po-, Palaung /dak-, /boh3/, Wa /toi2/, /pruh5toi2/, Old Khmer /pkā/, Sakai /bēkāu/, Srê, Bahnar /bo kao/, T’eng /raŋ/ Lemet /raŋ/, Khasi /phuh/ (=blossom) [ Chin. 葩 pā (SV ba), 花 huā (SV hoa) | ©M 葩 pā < MC bɒ < OC *bra: || ©M 花 huā < MC xwa < OC *sŋrōjs |
MC reading 假合二平麻曉 | Also: 芭 bā (SV ba) VS bông ] (Comment: The variant forms in different language show they are cognate to each other while in the same time the V. form /bông/ also points to the Chin. 葩 pā and 花 huā forms as its cognates.)

105. trái 'fruit' (Old Mon /sac/, mod. /sat/, Danaw /plék1/, Riang White and Black /plék-\/, Palaung /pləʔ2/, /pléʔ2/, Wa pléʔ/, Old Khmer /ple/, Srê /plê, T’eng /plé h/, Lemet /p′li/, Khasi /soh/) [ Chin. 實 shí (SV thực) | ©M 實 shí < MC ʑit < OC *lit | FQ 神質 | According to Starostin: be solid, true; actually, really. Used also for *lit 'fruit'; *lit 'be rich'. The three meanings of 實 are probably one and the same word: 'fruit' < 'to be fruitful = rich'; 'to bring fruits < be effective, true'. Viet. has also a colloquial loanword thiệt 'real, genuine'. ] (Comment: All forms appears to be cognate to each other, including the Chin. 實 shí and Old Mon /sac/, mod. /sat/ which are cognate to SV thực, thật.)

106. gai 'thorn' (Old Mon /jirla/, mod. /jala/, Danaw /kālaʔ2/, Riang White /s’vrkə t-, Black /s’erkət-/ , Palaung /pāʔʔʔʔ1/, Wa / kat1/, Sakai /jērlaʔ/, Semang /jli’/ Bahnar /jēlaʔ/, T’eng /cərlaʔ/, Khasi /shah/, Nicobarese /hēt/) [ Chin. 刺 cì (SV thí ch) VS gai, cựa 'bur' | ©M 刺 cì, cī, qī, ji < MC chjǐ, chjek < OC *tseks, *tʃjek | FQ 七賜, 七跡 | According to Starostin: to prick, pierce, stab. Also read *c/hek, MC chjek (FQ 七跡), Mand. qī: id. Viet. chích (< MC chjê) is colloquial; the regular Sino-Viet. forms are thịch (< chjek) and thú’ (< chjê) ]

107. cựa 'burr' (No Mon, Danaw /tābyt3/, Riang White /s’uywoi\/, Black /s’uwy ʔic\/, Palaung /kābiʔ1/, Wa /pi:t1/) [ Chin. 刺 máoshi (SV (mao)thích) VS ‘c cúa’ ‘bur, Burr’. See ‘gai’ above. ] (Comment: I am not sure ’văn’ is the likely word under examination.)
108. cám 'thusk of rice' (Viet. /cám/, Old Khmer /aŋkām/, Malay /sēkam/, Biat /nˈkʃop/, T'eng /kam/, Lemet /nkām/, Khasi /skap/) [ Chin. 糠 kāng (SV khang), 糠糠 sănkāng (SV tấmcám 'broken rice husk and bran residue left from ground rice grains'; hence (figuratively) 'impoverished' | ©M 糠 săn < MC sɣm < OC *sjə:mʔ || ©M 糠 kāng < MC kʌŋ < OC *kaːŋ ] (Comment: Besides other forms, it is no undeniable that the Chin. /kāng/ is cognate to the V /cám/, too. It is likely that this is a loanword in Chin. However, in V, there is a compound 'tấmcá m' (rice husk residue) which is completely cognate to the Chin.)


110. tranh 'thatch grass' (No Old Mon, mod. /suɪt/, /təm cwo/, Danaw /plɑŋ4/, Riang White and Black /plɑŋ-/plɑŋ-, Palaung /plɑŋ2/, Wa /plɑŋ2/, Sakai /plōkn/ (thatch leaves), Besisi /plọr/, Khasi /phlang/ (grass) [ Chin. 茅 máo (SV mao) VS rơm | M 茅 máo < MC maw < OC *mrʊ | FQ 莫交 | PNH: Hm m2, Trc, Pk mau2. | ¶ m- ~ r- ] (Comment: All other forms point to V /tranh/ while the V 'rơm' and Chin. 茅 máo seem to be cognates.)

111. thuốc 'drug, medicine' (Old Mon /kin-ūy/, mod. /ga-ui/, Danaw /lɔŋ2ŋɑ4/, /lɔŋ2ŋɑ4/, Riang White /sˈẼxɤm\/, Black /sˈanam\, sănam2/, Wa /ʃi4tah5/, /Khmer /tˈnæml, Srê /sensom/) [ Chin. 藥 yào (SV duốc) | 藥 yào, yuè, shuò < MC jak < OC *lak | FQ 以灼 | According to Starostin : to give medicine, cure. Also used in the diesheng 勺藥 *dakw|-lakw| 'peony'. | ¶ y- ~ th- | cf. 禽 yuè (SV duốc ~ thuốc), 鑩 shuó (SV thuốc) ] (Comment: V. 'thuốc' is cognate only to the Chin. form 藥 yào.)

112. rau 'curry, vegetables' (No Old Mon, mod. /swa/, /kˈanew/, Danaw /tu1/, Riang White /sˈxtuʔ/-, Black /sˈatuʔ/-, Palaung /dɛu2/, Wa /souʔ1/, Khasi /jhuːr/)
trúc 'bamboo' (Viet. /trúc/, Old Mon /dǔŋ/, mod. /dùn/, Danaw /kāroʔ2/, Riang White /rnx-/, Black /ræŋ-/ , Palaung /hrañ2/, Wa /oʔ1/, Besisi /dzxrj/, Nicobarese /hedw/, Srê, Bahnar /dĩŋ/ (bamboo pipe), K'mu /rahaŋ/) [ Chin. 竹 zhú (SV trúc) VS tre 'bamboos' | ©M 竹 zhú < MC ʈʊk < OC *truk ] (Comment: The two forms in both Chin. /zhú/ and V /trúc/ forms are cognates for sure, including V /tre/ yet it is interesting to see how diverse are the sound changes occur in other languages for this item.)

măng 'edible bamboo shoots' (Viet. /măng/, Old Mon /tbaŋ/, mod. /tbaŋ/, Danaw /tu1bɔŋ4/, Riang White /kvrjʔ1/, Black /kɛtsoʔ1/, Palaung /boŋ2/, Wa /sa w1/, Khmer /dambaŋ/, Sakai /rēbōk/, Besisi /lemboŋ/, Samang /abboŋ/, Malay /rē boŋ/, Bahnar /t̥aboŋ/, Srê /ɓan/) [ Chin. 萌 méng (SV manh), 秧 yāng (SV ương), Also: VS măm 'young shoot' | ©M 萌 (氓) méng < MC maijŋ < OC *mhreŋ | Starostin: bud, young shoot, to sprout (Late Zhou). Reconstruction *m(h)rēŋ is also possible (hsiehsheng would suggest *m(h)rāŋ, but in this case the MC form would be irregular). Regular Sino-Viet. is manh; another loan from the same source is possibly Viet. m’Briubu ‘bud, germ’. || M 秧 yāng < MC ?aŋ < OC *ʔaŋ | Starostin: young shoots, seedlings (Tang) | Proto-Austro-Asiatic: *bʔaŋ, Proto-Katuic: *bʔaŋ, Proto-Bahnaric: *bʔaŋ, Khmer: ɬemboŋ, Proto-Vietic: *ʔp-Proto-Viet-Muong: *ʔbaŋ, t-, #, Muong dialect: pāŋ.1, Arem: ?abaŋ ,Proto-Ruc: *baŋ.1, t-, Ruc (Russian field rec.): taʔbaŋ.1, Thavung-So: baŋ.1 ]

(Comment: Except for a few languages, all others appear to be cognate, including the Chinese forms. However, the modern Chin. for ‘bamboo shoots’ is 竹筍 zhúsǔn and 萌 méng commonly appear in the compound 萌芽 méngyá with SV manhnha 'young bud, early signs' while 芽 yá, to be considered as a basic word, is cognat to V "giá‘ meaning 'young sprouts'.)

rẫy 'hill cultivation' (No Old Mon, mod. /ɡū/, Danaw /rɛ1/, /hrɛ1/, Riang White and Black /mɔ\ /, Palaung /mor2/, Wa /mɔ2/, T’eng /hrɛ/, Biat, Srê /mir/,
Khasi /kper/ (field) [ Chin. 墾 lǒng (SV lũng) | ©M 墾 (壟) lǒng, lǒng < MC lowŋ < OC *rhoŋʔ | Chin. also has a compound 梯田 tītián (SV thêđiền) that points to another V word as 'ruồngbậcthang' @&# '梯級田 tījítián' ~ Viet. @&# M 梯田 tītián \ Vh @ 田 tián ~ dōng, ruồng | { M 梯 tī < MC thiej < OC *thjə:j | FQ 土雞 | MC reading 蟹開四平齣透 || M 田 (佃) tián < MC dien < OC *lhi:n | FQ 徒年} meaning 'ladder terraced field' and none of these forms do not look like original indegenous words. ] (Comment: While 'rẫy' appears to be cognate to all other MK lexemes, )

116. lúa 'paddy' (Old Mon and modern /sroʾ/, Danaw /bo1/, Siang White /ŋUʔ/-, Black /ŋoʔ/-, Palaung /ŋoʔ'/2/, Wa /ŋoʔ'/3/, Khasi /kba/, Mundari /baba/, Old Burmese /capā/, Old Kmer /srũ/) [ Chin. 来 lái (SV lai) 来 lái (unhusked rice) (SV lai) [ M 來 lái < MC ljəj < OC *rjə: | MC reading 蟹開一平咍來 | See enumeration in the section above. ] (Comment: While Starostin cites this etymon as 稻 dào, the V form does not look like cognate to other language but the Chin. 來 lái while 稻 dào is supposedly a loanword.)

117. găo 'husked rice' (Viet. /găo/, Old Mon /sŋoʾ/, mod. /sŋu/, Danaw /ku/, Riang White and Black /kʔoʔ/-, Palaung /răk'o'u2/, Wa /ŋ-gă'u3/?/Old Khmer /raŋko/, Nicobarese /atőe/, T'eng /ŋoʔ?, Khasi /khaw/, Shan /khaw/) [ Chin. 稻 dào (SV đạ o) | ©M 稻 dào < MC dăw < OC *lhu:ʔ ~ ɫhu:ʔ (Schuessler : MC dâu < OC *gləwʔ or *mləwʔ) | MC reading 效開一平皓定 | According to Starostin: Viet. 'lúa' unhusked rice. See enumeration of 'lúa' and 'găo' in the above section. ] (Comment: All looks like cognates, but for the Chin. form it is strongly believed that it is a loanword from the other languages and it should be 'unhusked rice' in both Chin. and V.)

118. thóc 'millet' (No Mon, Danaw /kˈwé4/, Riang White /(kai-)kˈuai-/, Black /(kai-)kˈuai-/, no Palaung and Wa forms, Khasi /krai/) [ Chin. 粟 sù (SV túc) | ©M 粟 sù < MC sjouk < OC *shok ] (Comment: While the V and Chin. forms are cognates, some forms in other languages look like 'khoai' in V, meaning 'yam, tarot' or V 'cóc' cereal.)
119. **Job’s tears (Coix)** (No Mon forms, Danaw /plé1 bé2/, Riang White /s’xtuʔ-/, Black /s’ətuʔ-/.) [ ‘Coix lacryma-jobi’ ]

120. **vía ‘spirit (intox)’** (No Mon forms, Danaw /kădo4/, Riang White /kvdau-/,
Black /kədau-/, Wa /plai2/) [ Chin. 魄 pó (SV phách) VS ‘vía’ | ©M 魄 pò, tuò, bó
(phách, thác, bạc) < MC phajk, thak < OC *paijk, *thak | ¶ p- ~ v- ] (Comment: No similar forms in V. seem to point to the limited list given by Luce for this item while the Chin. forms are numerous and vary depending on what we are referring to, but in V we have an interesting ‘vía’ which is cognate to the Chin. 魄 pó.)

121. **độc ‘poison’** (No Old Mon, mod. /kyɪ/, Danaw /tɑŋ2tsɤʔ4/, Riang White /kvtjɔʔ/, Black /kətsɔʔ/, no Palaung and Wa forms) [ Chin. 毒 dú (SV độc) | ©M 毒 d ú < MC tɦəwk < OC *dəwk ] (Comment: The Riang forms look like the V and Chin. cognates with something similar to V ‘chấtđộc’ which is equivalent to to Chin. 毒質 dúzhí ~ SV ‘độcchất’ in familiarly reversed compound form.)

122. **củ ‘taro, tubers’** (Old Mon /krow/ (?), mod. /krau/, Danaw /kărō1/, Riang White /s’xoʔ-/, Black /s’eroʔ-, Wa /krəuʔ1/, Khasi /shriew/, Mundari /arul/, /sarul/) [ Chin. 塊莖 kuàijīng (SV khốicanh) ~ VS khoaisắn ~ củ, khoai, sắn. Also: Chin. 薯 shǔ (SV thú) | ©M 薯 shǔ < MC ʂjə < OC *dʑɨjə ] (Comment: All the V forms khoaisắn ~ củ, khoai, sắn... seem to be cognates to all languages involved.)

123. **đậu ‘bean’** (Old Mon /bāy/ (?), mod. /ɓɑi/, Danaw /bɑi4/, Riang White /rxba i-/,
Black /rebai-/ /boi-/ Palaung /rɑboi2/, Wa /pe’2/, Khmer /pəyl/, etc.) [ Chin 豆 dòu (SV dâu), 豆 dòu (VS, also ‘nồi’ cooking pot. See detail below.) ] | ©M 豆 dòu < MC dow < OC *dho:s | FQ 田候 | MC reading 流開－去候定 ] (Comment: While all the MK forms appear something similar to /bai/, /pai/... which can not be cognate to both the Chin. /dòu/ and V /dâu/.)

124. **trầu ‘betel, -leaf’** (Viet. /trâu/, Mid Mon /sablú/, mod. /jablu/, Danaw /(lo 1)ku:n2/, Riang White and Black /plu\ /, Palaung /plu2/, Wa /pu2/, Old Khmer /amlo/, Sakai /bluk/, Biat /m’lu/, Bahnar /balû/, T’eng /blu/, Khasi /tympe/, Old Burmese /sammlhū/ (betel), kwam /areca/) [ Chin. 枝欖 bīngláng (SV binhlang) ] (Comment: While the Chin. 枝欖 bīngláng is cognate to all MK forms, but there is no doubt that this is a loanword in Chin.)

mía 'sugarcane, molasses' (Viet. /mía/, Old Mon /tbow/, /tanglāy/, mod. /taŋglāai/, Danaw /tɔŋ1nɑi2/, Riang White /tam-lɑi/, Black /tam-lɑi/, Palaung /nɑm3mɑ`i/, /-mo2/, Wa /me2/, /nɔm4ɔ`i2/, Malay /těbu/, Nicobarese /poh/ T`eng /kəlmé/, Khasi /pat/) [ Chin. 蔗 zhè (SV giá) | 蔗 zhè < MC tʂɒ < OC *tiaks | Pulleyblank: LM tʂia < EM tɕia | FQ 夜] (Comment: Sugarcane used to be native in South China and the V /mía/ looks like agreeing with some other MK forms in Luce's list. In the meanwhile, the sound change patterns in the Chin. form also suggest some correspondences since this may be a loanword in Chin. )

tranh 'palmyra, toddy palm' (Old Mon /tāl/ (< Sanskrit), mod. /tā/, Danaw /(tsok4)t`t`an2/, Riang White /(tɤŋ-)t`an-/, Black /t`on-/, Palaung /t`on3/, Sanskrit /tāl/, Old Burmese /t`an/, Shan /t`an/) [ Chin. 扇葉 shănyè (SV phiếndiệp) VS lá tranh ~ tranh (Borassus flabellifer) | 扇 shān, shàn (thiên, phiến, thiến) | ©M 扇 shān, shàn < MC ʂen < OC *xen | FQ 式連 ] (Comment: Palmyra used to be native in India, so 扇葉 shănyè could simply be a translation of the word.)

me 'tamarind' (Old Mon /mɑŋglañ/, /mɑŋgleñ/, mod. /mɑŋ glaŋ/, Danaw /maŋ4kléŋ2/, Riang White /maŋklɛ`.ŋ`/, Black /maŋklɛ`əŋ`/, Palaung /mákanŋ2/, Wa /(pléʔ1)p`ak1/, Old Burmese /mɑŋklañ/, Shan /makkir/) [ Chin. 酸梅 suānméi (SV toanmuộI) VS mechua ~ me (Tamarindus indica) | ©M 梅 méi < MC moj < OC *mjə: | FQ 莫杯] Comment: Tamarind trees can only found in tropical regions in the southern hemisphere, but somehow the V form seems to be derived from that word.)

gùng 'ginger' (No Old Mon, mod. /tagaw/, /lagaw/, Danaw /kâtsaŋ4/, Riang White /kvs`iəŋ`, Black /kas`c`ŋ`, Palaung /fianŋ2/, /c`o:ŋ2/, Wa /ji4kin2/, Khasi /sying/) [ Chin. 薑 jāng (SV cương) ] (Comment: The V. and Chin. forms are
cognate to other forms except for the modern Mon forms even though they are cited by Luce as the Danaw form sub-strata.)

130. **chè 'tea'** (No Old Mon, mod. lak(pʿak), Danaw /miːn2/, Riang White /myɛ̀m\ /, Blak /meč\m\ /, Palaung /myɛ̀m\2/, Wa /lə2/, Burmese /lak/, /-phak/) [ Chin. 茶 chá (SV trà) | ©M 茶 chá < MC ɗa < OC *ɪa: | Starostin : tea (Han). See notes to 茶. Viet. chè is colloquial; the regular Sino-Viet. form is trà | FQ 宅加 ]

(Comment: The V and Chin. forms are cognate and sound similarly while others diverge greatly.)

131. **nghệ 'turmeric'** (Curcama) (No Old Mon, mod. /mit/, Danaw /kˈəmɛt2/, Riang White /rxəmit\ /, Black /rəmit\ /, Srê /rəmit/, Mnon Gar /rmut/) [ Chin. 艾 ài, yì (SV nghệ, ngải) | ©M 艾 ài, yì < MC ŋaj < OC *ŋaj, *ŋɨaj ]

132. **kiều 'leeks'** (No Mon forms, Danaw /kˈnuʔ1/, Riang White /..kˈyu-/, Black /cˈu-/ , Palaung /t(ɗe)kau4/) [ Chin.韭 (韮) jǐu (SV cựu) | ©M 韬 (韬) jǐu < MC kǝw < OC *kruʔ | ¶ j- ~ h- ] (Comment: All forms listed here point to Chin. /jǐu/. The question is from which language these etyma have originated?)

133. **cà 'aubergine, brinjal'** (No Old Mon, mod. /kˈaɗoŋ/, Danaw /(plé1)lôn2/, Riang White /tɔr\lun\ /, Black /tər\lun\ /) [ Chin. 茄 qié (SV già) | ©M 茄 qié < MC ga < OC *ghiaj | QD: khe12, Hm: khe11 $; kio12; khe12, Trc: kie12, Pk: kia11, Th: ka32 | từ vaymượn trong tiếngHán | Starostin : The oldest attested meaning and reading is OC *kruːj, MC ka. (FQ 求迦), Mand. jia: 'lotus stalk' (Han); the meaning 'egg-fruit' is attested since Tsin. The MC reading ga is exceptional (-a normally does not occur after velars) and may be dialectal; thus the OC form for 'egg-fruit' could have been *ghaj. Viet. cà is colloquial; regular Sino-Viet. is già. For *gh- cf. Xiamen khe2. | ex. 茄子 qiézi (SV giàtử) ~ VS càtím 'eggplant' (Solanum melongena) ~ VS 'cà' (a bushy perennial plant belonging to the potato family) ]

(Comment: All other forms are absent from Luce's list even though aubergine, brinjal, or eggplant are known native in southern regions while 茄 qié is a generic term which is cognate to V /cà/.)

134. **gòn 'cotton (plant)'** (No Old Mon /tow/, Danaw /pˈai4/, Riang White and Black /pˈai-/, Wa /ta2/, Old Khmer /pa-ːk/ (cotton cloth), Khasi /khynphad/) [ Chin.
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

草棉 căomián (SV thảomiên) ~ > 'gòn' (?) \ @ 棉 mián ~ VS 'bông' via ¶ m- ~ b- | ~ 棉 mián 'cotton, blanket, soft' (SV miên) VS 'mền' (blanket), 'mềm' (soft), 'mịn' | M 棉 mián ~ 綿 mián < MC mjen < OC *men | FQ 武延 | cf. 棉花 miánhuā (~ VS bôngvải 'cotton'), 棉木 miánmù, 棉布 miánbù (~ VS vảibông 'cotton cloth'), 木棉 mûmián (~ VS câygòn 'cotton plant') ] (Comment: With the meaning 'cotton' the V words vary depending on what object is specifically referred to. For example, for 'cotton' the V word is 'bôngvải', 'cotton plant' 'câybônggòn', but for 'cotton cloth' the right compound should be 'áovải' or 'áobông' while 'cotton pad' is 'bônggòn'.)

135. bôngsợi 'cotton yarn, thread' (Old Mon /tol/ (< Samskrit), mod. /tow/, Danaw /lu1/, Riang White and Black /luʔ-/, Palaung /səŋ2/, /sen2/, Khasi /ksai/, Sanskrit /tūla/) [ Chin. 棉線 miánqiàn (SV miêntuyến) ~ VS 'sợibông' | 棉 mián ~ VS 'bông' | 線 qiàn VS 'sợi' (thread) | M 線 xiàn < MC sjɜn < OC *sars ] (Comment: While there is no corelation in other languages and the V form 'bông' once reduced from Chin. 棉 mián, then the compound 棉線 miánqiàn can give rise to V as 'bôngsợi' and 'sợibông' in reverse order.)

136. quảvả 'fig tree' (Ficus) (Old Mon /jrey/, mod. /jrai/, Danaw /kăriʔ1/, Riang White /jriʔ\ /, Black /jēriʔ\ /, Palaung /tærʉŋ2/ (F religiosa), Old Khmer /jray/, /jrai/, Sakai /wi/, Semang /sawet/, Malay /jawi-jawil/, Car Nicobarese /chăRi/ (banyan), Biat /rˈwi/, Bahar /jəri/, T'eng /jri/, Khasi /jri/ (=rubbei), Mundari /ări/, /bari/) [ Chin. 無花果 wúhuāguǒ (Ficus carica) ~ VS 'quảvả' \ @ 無 wú ~ 'vả' ] (Comment: The only way to relate this compound 無花果 wúhuāguǒ is that 無花 wúhuā gives rise 'vả' with a dropped of the syllable /huā/ .)

137. dâyleo 'creeper' (Old Mon /juk/, mod. /juk/, Danaw /səŋ2/, Riang White /tji: n\ /, Black /tsi:n\ /, Palaung /kāsəŋ2/, Wa /ma3/ (rope)) [ Chin. 攀缘 fànyuán (SV phanduỳên) | 緣 yuán, yùng (duyên, duyễn) < MC jwen < OC *sars | Starostin : hem (of robe) (L.Zhou) Cf. also a colloquial loan in Viet.: vien 'to hem, to border'. Also used for homonymous *L^on (-r) 'to go along, follow; reason, destination' and *L^on (-r) 'to climb a tree'. ] (Comment: The writer is unsure if 緣 yuán is the wight word. )

139.  trời 'sky' (No Mon forms, Danaw /təʔɑ:ŋ4/, Riang White and Blak /pléŋ-/, Palung /pléŋ2/, Wa /pak4pyan2/ (above), Old Khmer /phliəŋ/ (=rain), Bahnar /pleñ/, Lemet /mpliñ/, T'eng /la'wan/, K'mu /hravaŋ/, Kasi /bneng/) [ Chin. 天 tiān (SV thiên) VS trời 'sun', 地 dì (SV địa) 'land' | 土 tǔ (SV thổ, độ, đỗ) | ©M 土 tǔ < MC dwo < OC *daʔ (Li Fang-Kuei : OC *dagx ) | FQ 他前 | See etymology in the following sections. ] (Comment: While the MK /pl-/ initial suggests something /tr-/ the Chin. and V forms appear closer than any of other forms in the MK languages. )

140.  đất 'earth' (Viet. /đất/, Old Mon /ti/, mod. /kăté1/, Riang White /kxtéʔ-/, Black /katéʔ-/, Palaung /kəɗɑ'i2/, /kə dɔ'i2/, Wa /dc3/, Old Khmer /ti/, Sakai /téh/, Semang /tok/, Nicobarese /mattrai/ (land), Biat /nēh/, Srê /tiăh/, Bahnar /tɛ`h/, P'uman /t'ui/, T'eng /pêtéh/, /pêtêʔ/, K'mu /até/, Khasi /pyrthei/ (world), Mundari /otē/, Kurku /watē/) [ Chin. 土 tǔ (SV thổ) VS đất 'soil', 地 dì (SV địa) 'land' | 土 tǔ (SV thổ, độ, đỗ) | ©M 土 tǔ < MC dwo < OC *daʔ (Li Fang-Kuei : OC *dagx ) | FQ 他魯 | MC reading 遇合一上姥透 || ] (Comment: It is interesting that almost all the listed forms are cognate to each other, including the Chin. forms.)

141.  trời, ngày 'sun, day' (Viet. /ngày/, Old Mon /tŋey/, mod. /tŋai/, Danaw /ts'1/, Riang White /s'ũŋyiʔ/, /s'ənʔiʔ-/, Palaung /səŋeiʔ2/, Old Khmer /tŋat/, Sakai /tɛŋŋi/, Malay /hari/, Nicobarese /heŋ/, Shom Peng /hok-njə/, Srê /ŋái/, /təŋǎi/, P'man /nyi/, T'eng /səŋi/, K'mu /simyi/, Khasi /sngi/, War /juŋai/, Mundari /səŋgi/, /sìŋ/, Gadaba /sii/) [ Chin. ㄖ ri (SV nhật) VS ngày (day), gió, trời (sun) | M ㄖ ri < MC r < OC *nit | According to Starostin : MC r < OC *nit, Min forms: Xiamen tɕit8, lit8, Chaozhou zik8, Fuzhou nik8, Jianou ni8. | @ ㄖ ri ~ ngày y / gió > trời | gió and M 'ri' have their corresponding initials gi- and r- as well as y-, close to nh-, j-, jh- and ng- in SV nhật, Cant. /jat/ and /jɨt/. ] (Comment: All MK forms are cognate to V variants, but the intrigue thing is the Chin form does not appear much different from others.)
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

142. trăng 'moon' (Old Mon /kintu/, /garu/, /kāto1/, Riang White and Black /kic’-/,
Palaung /pākior2/, Wa /k’iʔ1/, Old Khmer /khe/, Nicobarese /kāhē/, Bahnar /k’eʔ/,
Lemet /k’é/, Mundari /kuːr/ (month), Gadaba /arkē/) [ Chin. 月 yuè (SV nguyệt)
VS trăng, giăng ~ tháng (month) | M 月 yuè < MC jwjat < AC *jwot | MC reading
山合三入月疑 | See etymon in the following section. ] (Comment: While the V 'ng
ày, giói' appear to be cognate to other forms in the MK languages, the V 'giăng, tr
ăng, tháng' completely diverge from the same languages. At the same time, the
Chin. 月 yuè, that fits to the sam pattern as that of 日 ri for V 'ngày' and 'giơi',
seems to fill in the gap.)

143. sao 'star' (No Old Mon, mod. /snaŋ/, Danaw /kālən2/, Riang White /s’əkmə
iĩ\ /, /s’əkmeiũiĩ\ /, Palaung /jɪ4mũiĩ2/, Bahnar /səŋlɔŋ/, Srê /səmaŋ/, T’eng /sə
Imiĩ/, Lemet /sremeĩ/, Khasi /khlur, War /slashmen/)] [ Chin. 星 xīng (SV tinh) |
©M 星 xīng < MC sieŋ < OC *she:ŋ < se:ŋ | MC reading 梟開四平青心 | FQ 桑經 |
Zyyy: sijəŋ1 | Dialects : Hai.: se11 (cf. shêng 生: dê Hainanese: /de/), Hankou: ş
in11, Sichuan: ɕin11, Yangzhou: ɕi11, Chaozhou: sin11, Changsha: sin11,
was also used in Early Zhou for another word, *żeŋ 'to become clear (of sky)'
(MC tsjeŋ, Mand. qíng, Viet. tình; despite Schuessler, this word is quite distinct
etymologically from *she:ŋ 'star'). Since Han this word was denoted by a different
character, 晴. For the latter, standard Sino-Viet. is tinh, but there also exists a
colloquial loan from the same source, Viet. tạnh. For OC *sh- cf. Min forms:
Xiamen ɕi1, Chaozhou ɕe1. [ GSR 0812 x-y ] (Comment: The appearance of
both the V /sao/ and Chin./xīng/ is still closest in comparsion with other forms.)

144. năm 'year' (Viet. /năm/, Old Mon and mod /cnām/, Danaw /nan2/, Riang
White and Black /vwiːt\ /, Palaung /snam2/, Wa /num2/, Old Khmer /cnam/, Srê /s
enam/, /nam/, Bahnar /hānam/, T’eng /num/, Khasi /snum/, Mundari /sirma/)
[ Chin. 年 nián (SV niên) [ ©M 年 nián < MC nian < OC *niɛn ] (Comment: While
‘ngày’ and ‘tháng’ are still uncertain, even when V ‘năm’ is an absolute cognate
with the Chin 年 /nián/ while only ‘ngày’ and ‘năm’ cognate to those of the MK
languages.)
müa 'rain, to rain' (Viet. /mùa/,
Old Mon /brei/, /gù/, mod. /brai/, /gù/,
Danaw /kālē1/, Riang White /tjūn\ l/, /klɛ-/, Black /tsun\ l/, /klɛ-/, Palaung /klɔi2/, /klɔi2/,
Wa /lɛʔ3préiʔ1/, Sakai /mani\',
Semang /mĩ/,
Nicobarese /amĩh/, Srê /miu/,
Bahnar, Stieng /mi/, T'eng /kəma/, /yur/ (v.) ) [ Chin. 雨 yǔ (SV vũ) | ©M 雨 yǔ <
MC hʊ < OC *haʔ | ¶ 雲 yún (vân) mây, 舞 wǔ (vũ) múa, 無 wú (vô) mô | See next chapter on ST. ] (Comment: Even though most of them are
cognate to V /mùa/, the Chin. form 雨 yǔ is still a strong case for its plausible
patterns of sound changes.)

cầuvồng 'rainbow' (No Old Mon,
mod. /kamaŋ suŋ dāk/ (crossbeam drinks
water), Danaw /pəŋɔŋ\2/, Riang White /tai-prɛŋ\nuŋ\ l/, Black /tai-prɛŋ\nuŋ\ l/,
Palaung /pləŋ3(kādu2)/, Wa /lji4yɔŋ2/, T'eng /dur-pr'yoŋ/ (rainbow dragon), Khasi
/simpyllieng/) [ ©M 彩虹 căihồng (SV thái hồng), Also: VS 'mống chuồng' | ©M 虹
hồng < MC ɣuŋ < OC *gōŋ, *ghoŋs, *krōŋs ] (Comment: While V 'mống chuồng'
may not be the cognate but 'cầuvồng' could be with 彩虹 căihồng. Other forms in
MK are not.)

gió 'wind' (Old Mon /kyā/,
mod. /kyā/, Danaw /koŋ\4/, Riang White and
Black /kur-\, Palaung /k'u2/,
Wa /m bo'wñ\2/,
Old Khmer /khals/, Biat /chial/, Srê
/cal/,
Bahnar /khnal/, K'mu /khor/ (storm), Mundari /hoœo/, /hur-hur/) [ Chin. (SV
phong) ~ Also: VS gió 'windstorm' | ©M 風 fēng < MC pjung < OC *pjɔm, *prɔm
< PC **pryŋʷ, **prym ] (Comment: Otherwise proved, the V 'gió' and Chin. should
be considered cognate.)

nước 'water' (Viet. /nuoc/, Old Mon /dâk/, /dek/, mod. /dâk/, Danaw /u:n\4/,
Riang White and Black /om-\,
Palaung /om2\, /Um2\, /sm2\, /sm2\, Wa /rom2\,
Old Khmer /dik/, Sakai /dak/, Nicobarese /dâk/, Biat /dak/, Srê /daʔ\, Bahar /dak/,
Mundari /dâk/, Savara /dâ\, /dän/,
Gadaba /dâ\, Kurku /dâ\, T'eng /tom/,
Lemet /hon/, Khasi /om/) [ Chin. 水 shuǐ 'water' (SV thuỷ) [ ©M 水 shuǐ < MC ʂwi < OC
*tujʔ | FQ 式軌 | MC reading 止合三上旨書 ] (Comment: In light of most of etyma
apearing in the form /dak/, the Chin. 水 shuǐ an V /nuoc/ are also likely cognates.
See enumeration below. )
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

149. bọt 'foam' (Viet. /bọt/, No Old Mon, mod. /t’abuih/, Danaw /lɔk4pUe t5(u:n4)/, Riang White and Black /bus-?, Palaung /buh2/, Wa /m bai2/, Khmer /babuh/, Semang /che’bug/, /ba’bug/, Makay /bueh/, Biat /m’büh/, Mundari /moto/) [Chin. 泡 (SV pháo) | ©M 泡 pào < MC phaw < OC *phra:ws, phru:s ]
(Comment: Is this the case that is purely coincidental that both the Chin. and V forms look alike?)

150. lửa 'fire' (Old Mon /pumat/, mod. /pumat/, /niən4/, Riang White and Black /ŋ all\, Palaung /ŋa’i2/, /ŋə2/, Wa /ŋu2/, Nicolobarese /heōe/, Lemet /ŋal\ Mundari /se ngel/, Gadaba /suōl/, Kurkuri /singēl/) [Chin. 火 (SV hoả) | ©M 火 huǒ < MC xwʌ < OC *smjə:jʔ | See enumeration blow. ] (Comment: The Chin. 火 and V /lụa/ look like the only cognates here if we cannot associate them with V /ngọn/ meaning ‘tongue (of the flames)’. )

151. bóng 'shadow of living creature' (Old Mon /sumdiŋ/, mod. /samniŋ/, Danaw /tɔŋ2bui4/, Riang White and Black /poé\, Palaung /kădu2/, Wa /n-dawʔ3/, T’eng /həntu/) [Chin. 影 (SV ảnh) | ©M 影 yǐng < MC ʔɑiŋ < OC *ʔraŋʔ ] (Comment: The Chin. form is also plausibly cognate to the V ‘bóng’.

152. lỗ 'hole' (Old Mon /srūŋ/, mod. /sruin\, Danaw /kătu1/, /tu1/, Riang White /lu\, Black /lu\, /tuʔ-/, Palaung /kăɗéu2/, Wa /n-dawʔ3/, T’eng /həntu/) [Chin. 窟 qiào (AV khiếu) | M 窟 qiào < MC khiaw < OC *khjaw | ¶ q- ~ l- ]

153. đá 'stone' (Old Mon /tmoʾ/, mod. /tmaʾ/, Riang White /s’moʔ\, Back /reʔa ny-/, Palaung /ma’2/, Wa /lji4maʔ3/, Old Khmer /tmo/, Sakai /tēmuh/, Malay /batu/, N Nicobarese /patu/, Stieng /tōmau/, Bahnar /temol/, P’u-man /mər/, etc.) [Chin. 石 shí (SV thạch), also, VS ‘tạ’ (measure unit equal to 100 kilograms) | ©M 石 shí, dân < MC tsjak < OC *djak | FQ 常隻] According to Starostin: Min forms pointing to *ʒ: Xiamen cioʔ8, Chaozhou cieʔ8, Fuzhou sioʔ8, Jianou cio6. | Tibetan: rdo According to Starostin: Min forms pointing to *ʒ: Xiamen cioʔ8, Chaozhou cieʔ8, Fuzhou sioʔ8, Jianou cio6. | See more at Sino-Tibetan connection chapter. ]
(Comment: The Chin form /shí/ agrees with the V ‘đá’ better than other forms in the MK languages if any. Most of the ST forms have the vocalic contour of /da/.)
154.  sấm 'thunderbolt, thunder' (Viet. /sǎm/, no Old Mon, mod. /d’aguiwl/, /gatah/, Danaw /...tɔŋ4man2/, Riang White /tɔkvr-/tɔrnام/, Black /taker-/tərnام/, /ser^nам/, Palaung /kän3/, /sənام1/, Wa /mwe2/, /ʃً°num2/, Khmer /phgar/, Malay /tagar/, T’eng /həŋkўr/, Cham /grom/, Bahar /grom/) [ Chin. 霆 tíng (SV đình) | M 霆 tíng, dìng, tǐng, xiāo < MC dieŋ < OC *ɬhe:ŋ | Pulleyblank: LM tɦajŋ < EM dɛjŋ | ¶ d- ~ s- ] (Comment: If all othe MK form can relato the V 'sẳm' then the Chin. form is also worth considering.)

155.  than 'charcoal' (No Old Mon, mod. k’yah/, Danaw /tɔk4tsUət3/, Riang White /kɤrτsUət3/, Black /kaʃ’as/, etc.) [ Chin. 炭 tàn (SV thân) | ©M 炭 tàn < MC thɒn < OC *tha:rs ] (Comment: No MK forms are cognate with the V /than/ but only the Chin. /tàn/.)

156.  sắt 'iron' (Old Mon /birsey/, /pasai/, Danaw /mc’əθi1/, Riang White and Vlack /hir-/-, Palaung /hlɛ’k1/, Wa /riçm2/, Malay /bēsi/, Sakai /bēsi/, Păo Karen /p’asi/, Old Khmer /hir/) [ Chin. 鐵 tiě (SV thiết) | ©M 鐵 tiě < MC thiet < OC *thjɛt | FQ 他結 ] (Comment: The V forms 'sắt' is cognate to the Chin. 鐵 tiě for sure. If the forms /-si/ ~ /hir/ forms in other languages are variants of the Chin. form then they must be loanwords.)

157.  bạc 'silver' (Viet. /tiên/, Old Mon srañ, mod. /sran/, Danaw /rxn2/, /hrxn2/, Riang White /ron\/, Black /ron\/, /rUn\/, Palaung /rxη2/, Wa /mau2/, T’eng /srî/, (gold, silver), K’mu /srîl/, /sərin/ (gold), Darang /rön/, Katurr /ron/) [ Chin. 白銀 báiyín (SV bạchngân), 錢 qián (SV tiền) | Viet. 'bạc' © ~ Vh ® ©M 白銀 báiyín | ©M 白 bái, bó, bà, bái, zi < MC bek < OC *brak || ©M 錢 qián < MC tsjen < OC *zən | FQ 昨仙 ] (Comment: Luce listed all these lexemes as basic words, but, course, all V forms are derived from the Chin. forms and if 'gold; is included the the V form is 'vàng', a contracted derivation of 黃金 huángjīn where as V 'bạc' could be a contracted alternative of 白金 báijīn.)

158.  đồngbạc 'ruppe, tical' (Old Mon /dinkel/, /dakew/, Danaw /(rɤn2)ăplɑʔ2/, Riang White /ron\/, Black /ron\/, /rUn\/, Palaung /byə2/, Wa /ploh5/, T’eng /nia/ (money)) [ Chin. 銅板 tóngbăn (SV đồngbản) ~ VS đồngbạc (VN monetary unit :
piaster) (Comment: Of course, only the V and Chin. forms are cognates and have nothing to do with those in other languages.)

159. giá 'price' (Old Mon /ŋūs/, mod. /ŋuh/, Danaw /ŋɔt4/, Riang White and Black /laŋ-, etc.) [ Chin. 價 jià (SV giá) | ©M 價 jià < MC ka < OC *krajʔs ] (Comment: Of course th V and Chin. forms are the same having nothing to do with any other languages.)

160. nưakhuya 'midnight' (Old Mon /sgāl tney/, mod. /sagā iai/, Danaw /chen4ts ən4/, Riang White /kǐ:n-s'ɔm-, Black /tan\kǐ:n-s'ɔm-, Palaung /kādēi2hmy3/, /hm x3kādəi2/, Wa /ɡrān4səm2/, Nicobarese /harōm/ (night), T'eng /pesuəm/ (night) ) [ Chin. 午夜 wǔyè (SV ngọdạ), 半夜 bànyè (SV bándạ), 深夜 shēnyè (SV thâmdạ) ] (Comment: I cannot relate the V form to any of all ther forms, including those of the Chin.)

161. muối 'salt (Viet. /muối/, no old Mon, mod. /ɓuiw/, Danaw /ts'o4/, Riang White and Black /s'udk-, Palaung /sc'1/, Wa /ki:h5/, Old Burmese /c'a/ (salt), /jəwak c'a/ (sal ammoniac), Semang /siak/, Selung /selak, Lemet /siak/, Old Khmer /ampel/, Sakai /m'poit/, Semang /empoyd/, Stieng /bōh/, Srē /boh/, Bahnar /boh/, Lemet /pelu/, Khasi /mlun/, Mundari /bulan/) [ Chin. 鹽 yán (SV diêm) | M 鹽 yán < MC jem < OC *am ] (Comment: Most of the forms in other language are cognate to the V 'muối' while the Chin form is only a matter of speculation.)

162. thôn 'village' (Viet. /tỉnh/, Old Mon /twañ/, mod. /kwān/, Danaw /tăbo4/, Riang White and Black /pru\l/, Palaung /re:u2/, Wa /ya'un2/, Old Khmer /sruk/, T'eng /kūŋ/) [ Chin. 村 cūn (SV thôn) Also VS 'xóm' | ©M 村 cūn < MC ʂon < OC *su:n ] (Comment: Apparently the V form 'tinh' given by Luce is a try to match it with the Old Mon /twañ/, a cognate of /tăbo4/ (?); however, 'tinh' is a SV sound of the Chin. 省 shěng which means 'province'. It is probably that was owing to an error of Luce's recorders through his informants like in most of the cases. )

163. nhà 'house' (Viet. /nhài/, Old Mon /sŋi/, mod. /sŋi/, Danaw /təaʔ/, Riang White and Black /kəŋ\l/, Palaung /gəŋ2/, Wa /n̥éʔ3/, Semang /li/, /eh/, /hēya\l/, Nicobarese /n̥i\l/, Stieng, Alak, Kaseng /n̥i\l/, Biat /n̥ih/, Mnon Gar /hĩh/, Bahnar /hŋ
ẽ/, /hnam/, Lemet /ña/ Khasi /ing/, War /sni/, Juang /iyal/, Savana /sij/, T'eng /gaŋ /
[ Chin. 家 jiā (SV gia) | ©M 家 jiā < MC ɡa < OC *gua: | FQ 古牙 ] (Comment: An interesting case of all etyma in all languages.)

164. sand 'rest house' (Old Mon and mod. /jrap/, Danaw /kärɔt2/, Riang White /sˈ rɔp\/, Black /tsərɔp\/, Palaung /tʃarɔp1/, Wa /brɔk3/, Sakai /cherup/ (crosspieces), karob / (bamboo bed), T'eng /jěrap (bed), Old Burmese /carap/, Pa8o Karen /tjərɔp/) [ Chin. 棧 zhàn, chán (sạn, trăn, chăn, xiện) < MC ʒan < OC *ʒhranʔ, *ʒhrans | Starostin: carriage box made of lath or bamboo Also read *ʒ(h)rān-s, MC ʒān id. (MC also has an irregular variant ʒān). A somewhat later meaning is 'flooring (on a mountain pass)', whence probably Viet. sàn 'floor, flooring'. Standard Sino-Viet. is sán. | ex.客棧 kèzhàn (SV kháchsạn) 'inn, tavern' ] (Comment: I'm not quite sure what all these actually refer to, probably a tarver, inn or something similar which is in agreement with the Chin. 棧 zhàn. All the phonetic appearance and words with the meaning 'bed' make me relate to the V 'sạp', a 'sale stall', which loosely resembles a wooden or bamboo short-legged stall where people can sit or lie down to rest.)

165. 'house post' (Old Mon /jiŋjuŋ/, mod. /dayuŋ/, Danaw /kæræŋ2/, Riang White /kʃnˈraŋ\/, Black /kanˈraŋ\/) [ Chin. (?) ] (Comment: I am not sure what all these limited list of etyma are related to V.)

166. chày 'pestle' (No Old Mon, mod. /ri/, Danaw /tsɔŋ1rɛʔ3/, Riang White /tv nˈrɛʔ?-/, Black /ɾɛʔ?-/, Palaung /ŋ2ɡaˈi2/, /ŋ2ɡei2/, Wa /ŋɛrgiʔ3/, Khmer /añrai/, Sakai /rentik/, Biat /rˈnai/, Mnom Gar /rɛˈʔ/, Bahnar /adrih/, /adrey/, T'eng /kəndré /, /kəndrɛ/, /ndre/, Khasi synrei/) [ Chin. 杵 chǔ (xử) | 杵 chǔ < MC tʂo < OC *thaʔ | ¶ ch- ~ d-(j-) ] (Comment: The V 'chày' and the Chin. 杵 zhù make a much more close a cognate than the rest.)

167. cói 'mortar' (for rice) (No Old Mon, mod. /ɓuik/, Danaw /təŋpɔn4/, Riang White and Black /pal/-, Palaung /bar2/, Wa /po2/, Old Khmer /thpəl, Biat /mˈpal/, Srê /mpal/, Bahnar /tepəl/) [ Chin. 盁 jiu (SV cữu) | ©M 盁 jiu < MC ɡəw < OC *guʔ ] (Comment: While all other MK forms do not look like having to do with the V /cói/, the Chin /jiu/ definitely is.)
168. **nồi 'pot'** (Old Mon /klas/ (< Sanskrit), /tumbāy/, /timbāy/, mod. /t‘amāail/, Danaw /lɔ1/, Riang White and Black /kloʔ-/l/, Palaung /kaloʔ1/, Wa /ə2/ (=cooking pot), Sanskrit /kalasa/, Biat /glāh/, Khasi /khew/) [ Chin. 豆 dòu (SV đậu) | modern ©M 豆 dòu = Viet. (hạt)đậu | Viet. 'chậu, thau, nồi, nấu' ~ © M 豆 dòu < MC dow < OC *dho:s | FQ 田候 | MC reading 流開一去候定 | According to Starostin: a dou vessel. A round vessel of clay or wood for serving solid food. Since Late Zhou the character is used for a homonymous word *d(h)o:s 'bean(s)'. ]
(Comment: The V /nồi/ is cognate to the Chin. form 豆 dòu conveyed with the old meaning of this original basic ideograph.)

169. **mui 'ladle'** (wooden) (No Old Mon, mod. /yăk/, Danaw /lah2/, Riang White and Black /lak-/l/, Palaung /laʔ1/, Wa /ləkduh5/, Old Khmer /hvek/) [ Chin. 舀 yáo (SV), also, VS muỗng, mồi | ©M 舀 yăo < MC jiaw < OC *jiaw ] (Comment: It is interesting to see that the modern Mon form reflects /yăk/ to match closely with the Chin. /yáo/.)

170. **chổi 'broom'** (to sweep) ( No Old Mon, mod. /tamah/, /twah/, Danaw /tɔn2p ’yé4/, /tăp’yé4/, Riang White /tən\pi:s/-l/, /pi:s/, Black /ten\pi:s/-l/, /pi:s/, Palaung /kāb ih3/, /bih3/, /bix3/, Wa /bi:h5/, Khmer /ampos/, /los/, Sakai /sapu/, Besisi /tampoys/, Malay /sapu/, Mundari /jonoʔ/, /ijoʔ/, etc.) [ Chin. 帚 zhǒu (SV trửu, chử u) | ©M 帚 zhǒu < MC tʂǝw < OC *tuʔ | FQ 之九 ] (Comment: Except for the Danaw form that sound like V 'tạpdề' (mop? apron?) and the Mundari forms with /jonoʔ/, /ijoʔ/ (chổi ?), all other forms do not seem to relate to V. 'chổi' and the Chin. 帚 zhǒu.)

171. **túi 'shoulder-bag'** (No Old Mon, mod. /t‘uŋ/, Danaw /tăchi4/, Riang White /s ‘xki-/l/, Black /s’aki-/l/) [ Chin. 袋 dài (SV dài) | ©M 袋 dài < MC dxj < OC *thja:ks ]
(Comment: The limited list for this item makes it hard to relate to a specific V etymon.)
mác 'sword, long dah' (Old Mon /snäk/, /snek/, mod. /mra/, Danaw /vwic `k4/, /ne`k3/ (knife), Riang White and Black /vwok/, /Palaung /BuT1/ (=dah), Wa /vwoeie5/, Old Khmer /pranäk/, Old Burmese /sanlyak/, S. Karen /na?/, Khasi /wait (=dah), /waitlam/ (sword)) [ Chin. 矛 máo (SV mão) ] ©M 矛 máo < MC mǝw < OC *mu ] (Comment: Except for the Mon and Danaw lexemes, the labial vocalism of most of these forms can only point to the V /m-/ for 'mác' (spear). Albeit, everything could be speculative.)

liềm 'sickle' (No Old Mon form, mod. /not/, Danaw /tɔŋ2tsén4/, Riang White /tν\tjan\ /kɛ\tsan\ /, Wa /jɪvwok3/) [ Chin. 鐮 lián (SV liêm) ] ©M 鐮 (鎌) lián < MC lem < OC *rem ] (Comment: If this word is actually meant 'sickle' then only the V and Chin. word are etymologically related.)

kim 'needle' (Old Mon /tinliñ/, /tinleñ/, mod. /taniŋ/, Danaw /täkaʔ3/, Riang White /px\nyéʔ/, /pən\læic\ /, Palaung /rv2/, Wa /rv/, Sakai /tenlait/, /penlaig/ (blowpipe dart), Biat /ŋ'liai/, T'eng /sakäm/) [ Chin. 箴 zhēn (SV châm) ~ 鞳 zhēn (SV châm) VS 'kim' (needle), 箭 jiàn (SV tiễn) VS 'tên' (arrow) ] ©M 箴 (鍼, 箴) zhēn < MC tʂim < OC *kim | ¶ sh- ~ gi- ] (Comment: The vocalic /t-/ in some form points to V /tên/ while only the T'eng /sakäm/ is similar to the V /kim/. In both cases the V etyma are derived fro those of Chin.)

giáo 'spear' (Old Mon /bnas/, mod. /bnuh/, Danaw /plyɛ`h2/, Riang White and Black /plɛs\ /, Palaung /liæh3/, /lɛ`ou3/, Wa /pliah5/, Old Khmer /noc (?)/, Sakai /bulus/, Selung /bulo/, Javanese /bulus/ T'eng /blyal/, K'mu /plek/) [ Chin. 矛 shuó (SV sóc, sáo) ] ©M 矛 shuó < MC ʂwawk < OC *ʂaɨwk | ¶ sh- ~ gi- ] (Comment: In V there is the word 'giáo' that points to Chin. 矛 shuō and it seems there is other word that sounds like any of other languages.)

nỏ 'bow', 'crossbow' (Old Mon and mod. /tŋa/, Danaw /ak4/, Riang White and Black /ak-/, Palaung /kɔŋ3/, /kɔŋ3ʔ/*k审议*/ (=catapult), Wa /aʔ/* (=crossbow), Sakai /äg/, Stieng /ak/, Srê /a3/, Lemet /ak/, Mundari /aʔ/) [ Chin. 弩 nǔ (SV nũ), also, VS ná ] ©M 弩 nũ < nũ < OC *nhã? | According to Starostin : Viet. nã is an archaic loanword; a somewhat later loan from the same source is Viet. nũ id.;
standard Sino-Viet. is nỗ. In Chinese the word is witnessed since Late Zhou (Zhouli), but already in Shujing we meet a word *n(h)āʔ, *n(h)ā, MC nó, no, Mand. nū, Viet. nỗ 'flint arrowhead' - which may be historically the same word. For *nh- cf. Xiamen lɔ6, Jianou nɔŋ8. ] (Comment: It has long been reckoned that the V 'nỗ' is derived from the Chin 弩 nú which is inturn originated from the MK languages while the V 'ná' is a direct cognate to them. In any cases they are all cognate to each other despite of the fact the initial /N-/ dropped from the /-aK/ forms. )

178.  cây 'hoe, spade-blade' (Old Mon /kwir/ (n.), /jik/ (v.), mod. /k'ɑɓak/, Danaw /kɔplɑ1/, Riang White and Black /pla-/i, Palaung /pla3/, Wa /kɔk4pyak1/ (=hoe-Blade)) [ Chin.柜 jù (SV cự) | ©M柜 jù < MC go < OC *ghaʔ ] (Comment: It looks like the V forms /cây/ is much more cognate than other forms in the MK languages.)

179.  thuyền 'boat' (Old Mon /dluŋ/, mod. /gluŋ/, Danaw /lɔŋ2lui4/, Riang White /loŋ\luaŋ\ /, Black /tsən\luaŋ\ /, Palaung /rv2/, Wa /rv2/,Srè, M'nong Gar /plűŋ/, T'eng /całoŋ/, Khasi /lieng/) [ Chin.船 chuán (SV thuyền) | ©M船 chuán < MC zwen < OC *lon ] (Comment: Except for the /rv2/ form, it is interesting to see that the V form 'thuyền' corresponds to the /-l-/ forms in other MK language which are cognate to that the Chin. form 船 chuán)

180.  troc 'bald' (No Old Mon, mod. /k'ɑlat/, Danaw /klak3,1/, Riang White /klak-/i, Black kłak-/) [ Chin.秃 tū (SV thốc) | ©M秃 (秃) tū < MC thuk < OC *slho:k ] (Comment: There is no doubt that V 'troc' and Chin.秃 tū are cognate, but it is interesting to see the the other MK forms that show the pattern /kl-/ which usually appears in V as /tr-/.)

181.  dắng 'bitter' (Viet. /đắng/, no Old Mon, mod. /kɑtɑŋ/, Danaw /tsəŋ4/, Riang White /tjänʔ-/i, Black /tsəŋ-, Palaung /saŋ2/, Wa /soŋ2/, Khmer /hāŋ/, Sakai /k̍ dehn/, Besisi /kədeɡ/, Nicobarese /tēak/, Srè /rahian/, /beṭar/ Stieng, Bahnar /tāŋ/, Khasi /kthang/) [ Chin. 辛(苦) qīn(kǔ) SV tân(khỏ)) VS dắng(cay) | ©M 辛 xīn < MC sīn < OC *sin | MC reading 眾開三平真心 | According to Starostin : the 8th of the Heavenly Stems. Used also for a homonymous *sin 'be bitter, pungent,
painful'. ] (Comment: The V for is clearly cognate to those of MK forms, but what appear in Chin. is also worth consideration.)

182. /lang 'deaf' (No Old Mon, mod. /sduiŋ/, Danaw /klet3,1/, Riang White /lu:t/-, Black /lut-/, Palaung /lut1/, Wa /læt3/, T'eng /salut/, Khasi /kyllut/) [ Chin. 靜 lóng (SV lung) | ©M 靜 lóng < MC luŋ < OC *rho:ŋ | MC reading 通合一平東來 | ex. 耳 靜 ěrlóng 'lãngtai' ] (Comment: All the forms with the vocalism /l/- appear loosely cognate to the V form 'lãng' derived from the Chin. 靜 lóng except for the mod. Mon as /sduiŋ/ which somehow resembles V. 'điếc'.)

183.  /sâu 'deep' (Viet. /sâu/, Old Mon /jrūh/, mod. /sjuih/, Danaw /kärūi2/, Riang White /tʃrưʔɪ/, Black /tsɛrʊʔɪ/, Palaung /luk1/, Wa /ruʔ2/, Old Khmer /jrau/, /jamrau/, Sakai /jɛru/, Javarese /jɛro/, Stieng /jorūh/, Srè /juru/, Bahnar /jɛruʔ/, T'eng /jru/, Khasi /jylliew/) [ Chin. 深 shēn (SV thâm) | ©M 深 shēn < MC ʂim < OC *ɫhjəm | MC reading 深開三平侵書 | FQ 式針 ] (Comment: With the resemblance of the mod. Mon /sjuih/ with V /sâu/, it is interesting to see all variants given they are from the same source except for the fact that V 'sâu' is cognate to the Chin. 深 shēn.)

184.  /á 'dumb' (No Old Mon, mod. /klau/, /lhau/, Danaw /āʔa1/, Riang White /aʔ/-, Black /ɑʔ?-/, Palaung /rē:u2/, /rɑʔi/, Wa /n douʔ3/, Old Burmese /a/, Srè /kloat/) [ Chin. 喑 è, yā, yă (SV ách, á, nha), also, VS 'câm' | ©M 喷 è, yă, yă < MC ʔɑik < OC *ʔrāk | FQ 烏格 | ¶ *ʔr- ~ k- | Starostin: Also read (irregularly) MC ʔai̯ (FQ 於革) id.; during Late Zhou used for *ʔrāʔ, MC ʔǎ (FQ 鳥下), Pek. yá, Go e, Kan a 'mute' and *ʔrā(k)-s (MC ?, FQ 畲 娴, Pek. yà) 'sigh (interjection)' ] (Comment: The V /á/ form is in line with some of the MK languages, but 'câm' is only speculative due to its vocalism.)

185.  /sóm 'early' (Old Mon /pras/ (=early), mod /prah/, Danaw /tsoo2/, Riang White /tʃɑu\/, Black /tsɔ\/, Palaung /sɔ'u2/, Wa /tʃa'u2/, Archaic Chinese *tsōɡ/, Burmese /co/, Shan /caw/) [ Chin. 趙 zăo (SV tào) | M 趙 zăo < MC tsaw < OC *tsaw | According to Starostin: MC caw < OC *cū? < PST *cǎw, cf. Burm. ćawh 'early', Kach. ʒəu33 id. (see IST 54). ] (Comment: It looks like all these forms are cross linguistic family etyma. In reality, in Chin. there are many words for 'early' in
The question is how come this basic concept is cognate to that of Archaic Chin. for those MK languages. See hypothesis that follows this list.)

186. **xa** 'far' (Old Mon /jirŋey/, mod. /sŋai/, Danaw /sɔŋŋai4/, Riang White /s‘ŋəŋai\ /, /yən\ /, Palaung /sāŋɔi2/, /sāŋŋai2/, Wa /ʃi4ŋai2/, Khmer /cŋəy, Sakai /nya\ /, Semang /məŋji\ /, /ŋai\ /, Nicobarese /ho-i/, Srē, Biat, Stieng / ŋai/, Bahnar /jeŋai\ /, /jeŋai\ /, P‘uman /ŋai\ /, T’eng /yaʔ\ /, /gəŋai\ /, Lemet /sŋay/, Khasi /jŋai\ /, War / jŋū\ /, Mundari /səŋin/, Savara /saŋayi\ /, Gadaba /səŋəi\ /, Kurku /səŋgin\ / | Chin. [Comment: The V. form 'xa' looks like cognate with those start with the phoneme /S-/ but their finals can only be related to something like /xəoi/ 'faraway'. The Chin. form is just a matter of speculative.]

187. **đầy** 'full' (Old Mon /dak/, /piŋ/, mod. /peŋ/, Danaw /biak3/, Riang White /nxk\ /, Black /nek\ /, Palaung /nUk1,3/, Wa /nuk3/, Khmer /be ŋ/, Sakai /t ě bik\ /, [ Chin. 滿 măn (SV mãn) ] (Comment: If the Chin /măn/ form is in any way related etymologically then they must be those lexemes that appear with the bilabial initial /P-/. However, the V ‘đầy’ can be cognate to the Chin. 多 duō (SV đ a) VS đay 'thick' ~ đầy 'full'.)

188. **nặng** 'heavy' (Old Mon /sjiŋ/, mod. /sjuiŋ/, Danaw /kātsan2/, Riang White /kxtjɛ\ /, Black Riang White /ketjɛ\ /, Palaung /tjian2/, Wa /ji:n2/, Old Khmer /jyeŋ l / (=weigh), T’eng /katəm\ /, /təm\ /) | Chin. 重 zhòng (SV trọng) | ©M 久 jiǔ < MC kjəw < OC *kwjəʔ | FQ 舉有 | Cant. /gau2/, colloquial /loj/ or /nɔj/ ) (Comment: There is no doubt that the Chin form /zhòng/ is cognate to the V /n aşg\ /, so except for the Riang forms, all other MK forms are cognates also. How they are related to each other is another question. Could they be loanwords borred via the V medium?)

189. **lâu** 'long' (of time) (Old Mon /ləi/, mod. /lo\ /, Danaw /k‘əmc\ `ʔ4/, Riang White /ljv\nəʔ\ /, Black /tsən\nəʔ\ /) | Chin. 久 jiǔ (SV cůu) | ©M 久 jiǔ < MC kjəw < OC *kwjəʔ | FQ 舉有 | Cant. /gau2/, colloquial /loj/ or /nɔj/ ) (Comment: While there are absence of other lexicons in the MK language, the Mon forms represent what appears to be cognate to the V form /làu\ /, including the Cant. form as /nɔj/ which can be related to the Chin. form as /jiu/ in M.)
mới ‘new’ (Viet. /məi/, Old Mon /tum/, mod. /tami/, Danaw /kɛʔʔ/, Riang White /tən\me\/, Black /tən\me\/, Palaung /kə\mo\i2/, Wa /k\rəu1/, Old Khmer /tmī/, Sakai /be/, /pāi/, Besisi /mpai/, Biat /m\he/, Srê /ter\ɛ/, M’nong, Gar /m\hei/, P’u-man /u-hmui/, T’eng /hm\ɛ/, Khasi /thym\ai/) [ Chin. 新 xīn (SV tân) | Viet. ‘mới’ < Proto-Austro-Asiatic: pɤj,, Proto-Vietic: *bʔə:jʔ, Proto-Aslian: *pa:j, Proto-Vietmuong: *bʔə:jʔ, Tum: beij.212 | M 新 xīn < MC sjin < OC *sin | FQ 舊 | cf. ‘möttinh’ ~ ‘möttioanh’ @&# V ‘mói’ + ‘toanh 新 xīn (SV tân)’ ~ 新鮮 xīn xīn (SV tāntiên) VS ‘tuòimći’ ] (Comment: It is undeniable that the V form ‘mới’ is cognate to those of other MK languages. However, we still cannot rule out the possibility of the Chin. 新 xīn form that has given rise to some other V forms as the compound words cited above. In addition there is a V word ‘cũ’ which a confirmed cognate with the Chin. 舊 jiu (SV cưu) or ‘old’ as a parallel to the opposite concept ‘mới’ (new).)

tê ‘numb’, ‘pins and needles’ (No Mon form, Danaw /kăñi:n4/, Riang White /k\mi\ri:m\/, Black /kem\iri:m\/, Mundari /ruiam/) [ Chin. 麻 má (SV ma), also, VS ‘mê’ (numb), ‘mè’ (sesame) | ©M 麻 má < MC ma < OC *mhra:j | FQ 莫霞 ] (Comment: Except for those of the V and Chin. other forms listed by Luce are limited and showed no cognates.)

già ‘old’ (of person) (Old Mon /pjuʾ/, mod. /byu/, Danaw /t\o\2/, Riang White /t\o\1/, /tjaʔ-/, Black /t\au-/, /tsaʔ-/, Palaung /gat1/, Old Khmer /pju/, /pjuh/) [ Chin. 老 lăo (SV lão), 耆 qí (SV kỳ, chỉ) | M 老 lăo < MC ljəw < OC *hu:ʔ | FQ 盧皓 || ©M 耆 (嗜) qí < MC gi < OC *grij | According to Starostin : Protoform: *grí. Meaning: old. 舊 *gри old; 祇 *gри great, large. Tibetan: bgre (p. bgres) to grow old. Burmese: krih be old. Comments: Sh. 50; Luce 10.| Sino-Tibetan old, aged. For *g- cf. Xiamen, Fuzhou ki2. ] (Comment: The same problem as the previous item, in this list only the Riang Black /tjaʔ-/ suggest something close to the V ‘già’ while Danaw /t\o\2/ and Riang White /t\o\1/ remind us of the Chin. Form /lăo/ VS ‘lăo.’)

cũ ‘old’ (of things) (Old Mon /tinrem/, mod. /tarem/, Danaw /âteik3,1/, Riang White /tri:m\/, Black /trim\/, Palaung /âprim2/, Wa /pă4pri:m2/, /Srê /rām\/, Lemet /prim\/, Khasi /rim\/, /larim\/) [ Chin. 舊 jiu (SV cưu) | ©M 舊 jiu < MC gjew <
According to Starostin: be old, ancient (not of people). Regular Sino-Viet. is cựu. Cf. also Viet. khủ, khự. 'very old'. The original meaning of the graph was probably 'owl', but this usage is actually attested only since Han."

(Comment: In contrast to V 'mới', the 'củ' is certainly cognate to the Chin. 舊 jiu, which appears to have nothing connected with other MK forms.)

194. **đỏ** 'red' (Old Mon /birket/, /baket/, mod. /baket/, Danaw /tsôn4/, Riang White and Black /roŋ\/, Palaung /rën2/, Wa /rou5/, Khasi /saw/) [ Chin. 朱 zhū (SV chu) | M 朱 zhū < MC tʂʊ < OC *to | FQ 章俱 ] (Comment: In Chin. there are several words for 'red', but /zhū/ is the most likely cognate to V /đỏ/. In the meanwhile, the Riang /roŋ\/ suggests something about V 'hồng' (pink) which is cognate to the Chin 紅 hóng, also meaning 'red'.)

195. **chín** 'ripe, cooked' (Viet. /chín/ cin- Aorist prefix?, modern Mon. /du/, /cin/, Danaw /ätsc\`n4/, Riang White /s'ɪ:n/, Black /s'ɪn/, Palaung /si:n2/, Wa /ʃi:n2/ (=cooked); /tm2/ (=ripe), Khmer /c'ăʔin/, Sakai /chètn/, Besisi /machin/, Semang /ičen/, Nicobarese /ishţan/, Srê /sîn/, Mnong Gar /sum/, Bahnar /ʃîŋ/, T'eng /sin/, Mundari /isîn/) [ Chin. 熟 shú (SV thuộc) | M 熟 shú, shóu (thục, thuộc) < MC tʂʊk < OC *dhuk ] (Comment: It is apparent that the V 'chín' is cognate to other MK forms while the Chin. shows a parallel in the initial phoneme only, which may point to something similar in the ST languages as in many cases such as 'rắn' (snake), 'lòng' (heart), 'năm' (numeral 5), etc. (See more in the Sino-Tibetan connection chapter) since in V there is the word 'sống' (live, raw) which is affirmatively cognate to the Chin. 生 shēng (SV sanh).)

196. **cạn** 'shallow, low' (Old Mon /sar/, mod. /kđā/, Danaw /saw/, Riang White and Black /dc\l/-) [ Chin. 淺 qián (SV thiển) | ©M 淺 qián, qiăn, jiăn, jiăn, cân, zăn (thiển, thể, tiến) < MC tsjąn < OC *tsjan? | FQ 七演 ] (Comment: According to Starostin: The word does not occur in rhymes, and both *-en? and *-an? are possible; external evidence seems to be in favour of the former, and so does the loan for *c/e:n (MC cien, Pek. jiăn) 'to flow rapidly' (Chuci).] (Comment: The only cognate forms appear here are those of V and Chin.)
197. **nhọn 'sharp-pointed'** (No Old Mon, mod. /ke/, Danaw /toŋ2p'yak3,1/, Riang White /pait-/, paic-/, Palaung /po'i1/, Wa /po'i3/ (to sharpen), T'eng /bat/ (to sharpen to a point), Khasi /beit/ (straight) [ Chin. 尖 jiān (SV kiên) | ©M 尖 jiān < MC tɕjen < OC *tɕen ] (Comment: The Mon form suggests something that shows the sound change pattern j- ~ k- with the Chin. Form which is cognate to the V form. In the meanwhile the Riang and others somehow similar to the Chin. 磨 which appear as V /mai/.)

198. **trợt 'slippery'** (No Old Mon, mod. /talit/, Danaw /khit3/, Riang White /li:i-/), Balck /ləc-/) [ Chin. 滑 huá, gǔ (SV hoạt, côt) | ©M 滑 huá, gǔ < MC ɣwat < OC *grwət < PC **grūt ] (Comment: The writer is not sure if the Chin. and V forms are actually cognate pending further investigation in other ST forms.)

199. **chật 'tight, taut'** (Old Mon /tinteŋ/ (?), mod. /teŋ/, Danaw /k'reŋ2/, Riang White /k'reŋŋ/, Black /kreŋŋ/, Palaung /k'ye3/, Wa /ʃi4ñɛ`3/, Khasi /pyrkhiŋ/, Shan /khiŋ/. ) [ Chin. 窄 zhăi (SV trách, trạch) | ©M 窄 zhăi, zé < MC tʂaik < OC *ɕra:k | FQ 側伯 ] (Comment: The V and Chin. forms are obviously cognate while others are dubious.)

200. **này 'this'** (Old Mon /awoʾ/, /woʾ/, mod. /naʾ/, Danaw /ni2/, Riang White and Black /ni\/, Palaung /ări ŋ3/, Wa /ti;ŋ2/, T'eng /gani/, Khasi /kane/, Mundari /ne/, Shan /nai/, Sakai /ho/, Semang /ōh/, Stieng /ou/, /âu/, Bahnar /ô/. ) [ Chin. 那 nà (SV na) 'that' | ©M 那 nà, nuó, nèi < MC nʌ < OC *nha:r | According to Starostin: (Schuessler: perhaps: be rich.) In oldest texts the character is used only with the meaning 'to be rich' (sometimes within a compound 猗那 *?a:r-na:r id.). The pronominal meaning (at first only interrogative) appears only during Late Zhou - as a synonym for 奈 *n(h)a:ts 'so what?' (q.v.). Later, during Wei, the character is used for a (probably related) interrogative *n(h)a:/ > MC na^/, Mand. nuo^ (colloq. na^) 'how, what'. Finally, since Tang demonstrative usage is witnessed: MC na^, Mand. nuo\ (colloq. na\) 'that'. The standard Sino-Viet. reading is nă; này may be an old loanword, or else may be just a rather universal pronominal stem (in Viet. cf. also nó 'he', no. 'other'). ] (Comment: For the the exact of that means 'this' in Chin there is the word 这 zhè (SV già) VS 'dây', or 'này', but to have this item in
line with other MK form, the Chin /nà/, which is cognate to V ‘nó’ and ‘dó’, fits well into the sound change pattern.)

201.  thẹn ‘to be ashamed, shy’ (Old Mon /twa/ (?), mod. /gwa/, Danaw /käs’a1/, Riang White /kxs’é尔-/, Black /käs’é ʔ -/, Palaung /so’i2/, Wa /koć5/.) [ Chin. 慲 cá n (SV tàm) | ©M 慲 cán < MC dʒəm < OC *dʒham ] (Comment: The V form is cognate to that of the Chin. Form. However, it is interesting to note that in V there is another word for ‘shame’, that is ‘mấcô’ and ‘cô’ somehow is similar to other MK forms that start with /k-/ or /g-/.)

202.  hỏi ‘to ask’ (Old Mon /smāñ/, mod. /smān/, Danaw /mai2/, Riang White and Black /maiñ-/, Palaung /hmən2/, /hmən2/, Wa /maiñ2/, Sakai /semən/, Semang /səmən/, Nocobarese /hamá/, Bahar /apiñ/, T’eng /mañ/, K’mu /mai/ Lemet /mañ/, Khasi /pan/.) [ Chin 問 wèn (SV vấn) | ©M 問 wèn < MC mʊn, ʋjyn < OC *mun, *mhǝns ] (Comment: All forms are cognate. It is interesting to see that all other MK reflects AC /*m-/ in their etyma, but the question remains whether if the MK forms were derived from the that of the Chin. or everything is just merely coincidental.)

203.  tắm ‘to bathe’ (Viet. /tắm/, Old Mon /p-hūm/, mod. /hum/, Danaw /θɔ n4(u:n4)/, Riang White and Black /hu:n-(om-)/, Palaung /da 2(ôm2)/, /hmən2/ro m2)/, Besisi /hum/, Srê, Stieng /um/, Bahar /hum/, /pəhum/, T’eng /hum/, Khasi /sum/.) [ Chin 洗 xǐ (SV tẩy) | ©M 洗 xǐ < MC siej < OC *sjərʔ ] (Comment: All forms appear to be cognate to each other.)

204.  cắn ‘to bite’ (No Old Mon, mod. /kit/, Danaw /kiet3/, Riang White and Black /kak\ /, Palaung /go?3/, /gok3/, Wa /ki:t/, /k’lət1/, Malay /gigit/.) [ Chin. 嗑 kê (hap) | ©M 嗑 kê < MC kap < OC *kap ] (Comment: All MK appear to point to V ‘cắn.’)

205.  vay ‘to borrow (articles)’ (No Old Mon, mod. /gle\/, Danaw /wai2/, Riang White /yüm\/, Black /vwoǐ/ L, Palaung /kǎwvɔi’2/, /kǎw vɔi’2/, Wa /vwoi2/.) [ Chin. 借 jiè (SV tá) | ©M 借 jiè, jì < MC cjek, cja < OC *ciak, *ciaks | FQ 資昔, 子夜 ] (Comment: Except fot the mod. Mon form, all other MK forms appear to be cognate to the V ‘vay’, which usually means ‘to borrow money’. In the meanwhile,
in V there is another word ‘muôn’, derived from the Chin 賃 rên, to use in both cases of either ‘to borrow articles’ or ‘to borrow money’.

206.  chôn ‘to bury’ (Old Mon /tîp/, mod. /tuîp/, Danaw /plû4/, Riang White and Black /plû-/ , Old Khmer /kap/, Sakai /tapn/, Semang /tam/, Malay /taman/, Bahar /tâp/, Biat /tôp/, Srê /tap/, Khasi /tep/, Mundari /topa/, Nicobarese /olô/.) [ Chin. 葬 zâng (SV táng) | ©M 葬 zâng < MC tsaŋ < OC *tsaŋ ] (Comment: While the V and the Chin. Are cognate, all other forms also appear to show similar sound change patterns being cognates.)

207.  bế ‘to carry on back’ (No Old Mon, mod. /bâ/, Danaw /bō?4,2/, Riang White /pâ?/ , Black /bo?/ , Palaung /bɔʔu2/, Wa /puʔ1/, Mnon Gar /bo?/, Khasi /bâ/. ) [ Chin. 抱 bāo (SV bân) VS bế, bồng ‘to carry with one’s arm’ | ©M 抱 bào, bāo, fû, pû < MC bʌw < OC *bhu:ʔ < PC **pâk ] (Comment: All the MK forms point to the V ‘bông’ which is cognate also to the Chin. 抱 bāo. To mean ‘to carry on back’, the V has the word ‘vác’ (for objects) which is cognate to the Chin. 負 fù (SV phù).)

208.  chải ‘to comb (wet) hair’ (No Old Mon, mod. /grah/, Danaw /kic`t3/, Riang White and Black /koʔ/, Nicobarese el-kōat/ (comb), Mundari /nakiʔ/. [ Chin. 梳 shǔ (SV sō) | ©M 梳 shū, shù, shǔ < MC ʂjə < OC *sra ] (Comment: No correspondences in Luce’s limited list for this item. The V and Chin. For seem to be cognate.)

209.  cắt ‘to cut, cut down’ (No Old Mon, mod. /bâk/, /kut/, Danaw /mök2/, Riang White /mak\, /mûk\, Wa /mUk3/, T’eng /bok/. [ Chin. 割 gē (SV cát) | ©M 割 gē < MC kat < OC *ka:t ] (Comment: The V and Chin. Forms are cognates for sure. In this limited list for this item, except for the mod. Mon form /kut/, all other forms seem to suggest the word ‘phạt’ in V which is also certainly cognate to 伐 fá in Chin.)

210.  chết ‘to die’ (Viet. /chêt/, Old Mon /kci/, mod. /k’yuit/, Danaw /pyi:n2/, Riang White and Black /yam-/ , Palaung /yam2/, Wa /yUm2/, Khmer /khûc/, Stieng /chot/, Biat /khôt/, Srê /chat/, Mnon Gar /khet/, Bahnar /kecit/, Khasi /jot/ (to perish), Mundari /gojoʔ/ , Juang /goju/, Santali /gujuk/, T’eng /han/, K’mu /yâm/,
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

Lemet /yam/, Khasi /iap/.) [ Chin. 死 sǐ (SV tử) | M 死 sǐ < MC sǐ < OC *sij? | MC reading 止開三上旨心 ] (Comment: Even though most of the forms in Luce’s list for this item show correspondences to the V articulation of ‘chết’, the Sino-Tibetan etyma are worth speculating. (See the next section on Sino-Tibetan connections and Appendices for the case of ‘chết’.)

211. mộng ‘to dream’ (Viet. /mòng/, Old Mon /appoʔ/ (?), mod. /lapaʔ/, Danaw (tiːn2)po1/, Riang White /(yeʔ-t)-YNAM/\l/, Black /(yeʔ-t)-rēmuʔ/\l/, Palaung /m-bəu2/, Wa /puʔ1/, Sakai /ępgoʔ/, Semang /māpə/, Malay /mīmpī/, Nicobarese /enfūa/, Stieng /məboi/, Srē /məbao/, Bahmar /həpō/, /apō/, T’eng /məpol/, K’mu /kamu/, Khasi /phohsniew/, Mundari /kumu/.) [ Chin 夢 mèng (SV mộng), also, VS ‘mơ’ | ©M 夢 mèng < MC mʊŋ < OC *mhjŋs ] (Comment: There is no doubt that the Chin. and V forms are certain cognate, but the other MK forms also show similarity in the sound change patterns that indicate they are also derived from the same source, but how? )

212. xơi(cơm) ‘to eat (rice)’ (Old Mon /ca(hāp)/, /ca/, Danaw /suē4/, Riang White and Black /s’uam-/ , Palaung /həm2/, /həm2/, Wa /som2/, Old Khmer /cyə/, Sakai /cha/, Semang /chiʔ/, Nicobarese /shā/, Briat /chat/, Stieng, Srē, Bahmar /sa/, Khasi /bsa/ (to tend), Nicobarese /həm/, Lemet /som/, Khasi /bam/, Mundari /jəm/, Savara /jum/, Gadaba /səm/, Kurku /jəm/.) [ Chin. 吃 chī (SV ngật, 食 shí (SV thực) | ©M 吃 (喫) chī, jī < MC *ʔrjʔ < OC *ʔrjʔ || ©M 食 (飼) shí < MC ʒik < OC 乗力 ] (Comment: Both of the Chin, 吃 chī and 食 shí are certainly cognate to the V form ‘xơi’, but at the same time all other forms in Luce’s list for this item also show similarities in sound change patterns which point to the same root. The question is how come a basic word like ‘eat’ can be a loanword from one to another language? )

214. lây 'to get' (Old Mon /goʾ/, mod. /gwaʾ/, Danaw /byɛ`n4/, Riang White and Black /bon-/, Palaung /bxn2/, Wa /bon2/, T’eng /buoʾn/, Khasi /io/.) [ Chin. 拿 ná (SV nã) | ©M 拿(拏) ná < MC na < OC *nhra: | MC reading 假開二平麻泥 |
Dialects: Nanchang lad41, Hakka : na11, Cant. na12, naa4, laa4 (colloqial: /lo 12/) ] (Comment: The strange thing is the Mon forms and Khasi do not seem to be cognate to any other forms in this limited list for this item while the Chin. /ná/ and the V /lây/, which are cognates but they do not look like having anything to do with any other MK forms.)

215. rời 'to go out, issue' (Old Mon /tīt/, mod. /tit/, Danaw /lé2/, Riang White and Black /lɛ`/, Palaung /lih3/, Wa /lih5/, /lah5/, Biat /lôh/, Khasi /mih/.) [ Chin. 離 lí (SV li) also VS 'lia' | ©M 離 lí < MC le < OC *raj, *rajs | FQ 力智 ] (Comment: The writer cannot relate these forms to similar forms in Chin. or V but 離 lí looks like it with a slight seviation in meaning.)

216. nhai 'to grind (teeth)' (No Mon forms, Danaw /tjət3/, Riang White /tʃkˁɪɛt-/, Black /kriac-/, Palaung /kik2/, Wa /krut1/, Shan /kʿuit/.) [ Chin. 嚼 jué (SV τού) | M 嚼 jué, jiáo, jiào < MC ʒjak < OC *ʒhekʷ | FQ 在爵 ] (Comment: While the V form may be cognate to the Chin form, all other MK forms in this limited list start with the initial /k-/ which look kie something related to the V ‘cắn’ (bite).)

217. giết ‘to kill’ (Vit. /giểt/, Old Mon /kucit/, mod. /gacun/, Danaw /pyi:n4/, Riang White /pyam-/, Black /piɛ`m-/, Palaung /ŋəʔ3/, / ŋəʔ3/, Wa /ŋah5/, / ŋəʔ5/, Srè /gəset/, Hanar /kachit/, T’eng /gut/, /pshan/, /p`an/, Lemet /piam/, Khasi /pyniap/, /pynjot/ (to destroy/, Mundari /goẽ?/.) [ Chin. 殺 shà (SV sát) | ©M 殺 shā, shài, sà, shài, shí, xuē (sát, sái, tát) < MC sọt, sạ < OC *sra:t, *sre:t *sra:t-s | FQ 所拜 ] (Comment: While there is no doubt that both the Chin. And V forms are cognate to each other, but the similarities in the sound change patterns of a few other MK forms make us wonder why there exist such cross linguistic families.)

218. cười 'to laugh' (Old Mon and mod. /grʊŋ/, Danaw /kālìt3/ Riang White / kāŋ aʔ1/, Riang White /kɤn3 sɿ/, Black /ŋoʔɿ/, Palaung /kāŋ o3/, Wa /ŋah5/, / ŋəʔ5/.)
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

[Chin. 笑 xiào (SV tiếu) | ©M 笑 xiào < MC sjew < OC *shaws | FQ 私妙]
(Comment: All MK forms look like cognates while the V and Chin. forms need some enumeration in order to equate the two etyma.)

219. liếm ‘to lick’ (No Old Mon, mod. /klān/, Danaw /kāliɛ`t3/, Riang White /lia\/, Black /liɛ`t/, Palaung /lɛ`t/, /lɑ`ʔ1/, Wa / lɛ`t3/, Khmer /līt/, Besisi /telőn/, Nicobarese /tulân/, Malay /jilat/, Khasi /jliiah/.) [Chin. 舔 tiăn (SV thiêm) | ©M 舔 tiăn < MC t'iem < OC *slem, | According to Starostin: to lick (Tang) Viet. liếm must be an archaic loan (unless it is a chance coincidence); standard Sino-Viet. is thiêm. | Zhou: zyxl p.250 : MC t'iem < OC *t'ijəm < PC* lijəm, *li em, Guangzhou: li-m, TB *(s-)lyjəm ‘tongue’] (Comment: It is interesting so see that most of the listed forms are cognate to each other including the Chin.)

220. giở ‘to lift’ (Old Mon /yok/, /yuk/, mod. Yuik, Danaw /yəik2/, Riang White /y ɔŋ\/, Black /tsɔ\/, /pˈrɔ-/., Palaung djUk1, Wa /yUk3/, Mnnong Gar /yək/, Srê /yô/, K’mu /yôk/, Shan /yuk.) [Chin. 舉 jǔ (SV cử) | ©M 舉 jǔ < MC kɔ < OC *klaʔ | FQ 居許 | Straostin: to rise, surge, start; to lift, promote. Viet. also has giơ ‘to show, to raise’: is it a colloquial loanword from the same source? Derived with a *k-prefix from *la?, see 昳.] (Comment: The V form seems cognate to all forms.)

221. khóc ‘to mourn, cry’ (Old Mon /yām/, mod. /yām/, Danaw /ňan2/, Riang White and Black /yam\/, Palaung /yam2/, /yam2/, Old Khmer /yām/, Sakai /yəbm/, Besisi /yām\/, Semang /jəm\/, /jim/, Nicobarese /chîm/, Stieng, Srê /ňim/, Biat /ňim/, Bahar /ňem/, /ŋum/, P‘u-man /yaŋ/, T’eng /yam/, Lemet /yām/, K’mu /yâm/, Khasi /tâm/, Mundari /jam/, Kurku /yam/.) [Chin. 免 wèn (SV vấn), 哭 kù (SV kh기업) | M 免 miăn, wèn < MC mian, men, mun < OC *m@n, *mən, *mahs | According to Starostin : MC m@n is not quite regular (*m@/n would be normally expected). For *m- cf. Xiamen bian3, Chaozhou, Fuzhou mien|3, Jianou min|3. Also read *m(h)@r-s, MC mu’n, Mand. wèn ‘to mourn, mourning’. || ©M 哭 kù < MC khuk < OC *kho:k | MC reading 通合一入屋溪 || ©M 泣 qì < MC khrip < OC *khrap | FQ 去急] (Comment: the writer is not sure what form in V that correspond to those MK forms with /yam\/, but the Chin. 免 wèn (SV vấn) ‘mourning headdress’ seem to fit well into the MK patterns. In the meanwhile the V ‘khóc’ can be a word to mean...
both ‘to mourn, cry’ which is cognate to both Chin. 哭 kù (SV khấp) and 泣 qì (SV khóc).

222. há ‘to open mouth’ (Viet. /há/, No Old Mon, mod. /hã/, Danaw /hoŋi/, Riang White and Black /oŋi/, Palaung /oŋi2/, Wa /oŋi2/, Khmer /hã/, Srê /hã/, Bahnar /ha/, Besisi /oŋi/, T'eng /oŋi/, Khasi /ang/) [ Chin. 哈 hā (SV cáp, ha), 開 kāi (SV khai) ] ©M 哈 hā, hă, hà, kā, hē, shà ~ ht. QT 合 hé (hợp, hiêp, cáp) < MC ɠɤp < OC *gjə:p || M 開 kāi < MC khɤj < OC *khjə:j | FQ 苦哀 | Cant /hoi1/ ] (Comment: Except for the /ang/ form, all other forms are cognate to the V /há/, which include those of the Chin. 開 kāi as appearing in Cant /hoi1/.)

223. nhức ‘to be in pain’ (Old Mon uñjey/, /aıy/, mod. /yai/, Danaw /kātsu1/, Riang White and Black /suʔ-/, Palaung /s命2/, Wa /saʔuʔ1/, Khmer /jən/, /jn/, Sakai /nj/, /nyi/, /nəni/, Nicobarese /yē/, /tu/, Stieng, Srê /ji/, Bahnar /ji ʔ/, P'u-man /shu/, T'eng /cu/, /shu/, Lemet /so/, Khasi /suhu/, Mundari /hasu/) [ Chin. 疼 téng (SV đông) VS ‘nhức, nhói’, 痛 tòng (SV thống) VS ‘đau’ | ©M 疼 téng < MC thəwŋ < OC *dawŋ | MC reading 曾開一平登定 || t- ~ nh- || M 痛 tòng < MC thʊŋ < OC *slo:ŋs | FQ 他貢 ] (Comment: All MK forms seem to cognate to the V form /nhức/ while its correspondence in Chin., except for ‘đau’ 痛 ‘in pain’, seems to need more enumeration compared to what appears in the ST languages. See “the Sino-Tibetan connections” in the next chapter.)

224. dệt ‘to plait, weave’ (No Old Mon, mod. /tān/, /tut/, Danaw /tai4/, /tan2/, Riang White /taĩ-/, Balck /taĩ-/, Palaung /dak1/ (to weave), Wa /tioŋ2/, Old Khmer /tān/, Malay /dêdan/, Nicobarese /tain/, Stieng, Biat, Srê, Mnong Gar, Bahar, T'eng /taĩ/, Khasi /thaĩñ/, Mundari /ten/) [ Chin. 織 zhí (SV chức) ] (Comment: All those forms the phonemic initials /t-/, /th-/, and /ɗ-/ seem to point to the V /dệt/ including that of the Chin. Form.)

225. trồng ‘to plant (tree)’ (Old Mon /tal/, /til/, mod. /tuiw/, Danaw tai4/, /tan2/, Riang White /psv'əm-, Black /pak'səm-/ Palaung /sam2/, Wa /tai2/, Shan /p' ukswarml) [ Chin. 種 zhòng (SV giông) ] ©M 种 zhòng, zhông < MC ʂouŋ < OC ouŋ? | FQ 之隆 | MC reading: A: 通合三上腫章; B: 通合三去用章 | According to Starostin: seeds; cereals. Also read *təŋŋ-s, MC couŋ (FQ 之用), Mand. zhông
'to sow'. The word also means 'kind, sort, race' (> 'seed'), which is reflected in a colloquial Viet. loanword (from another dialectal source) giống 'kind, sort; race, breed, strain' [ (Comment: It is no doubt that both the V and Chin. forms are certainly cognate, not only in the meaning of 'to plant' but also 'seed, race, kind..' along with other meaning that the Chin. 種 zhòng and zhǒng convey. It is also interesting to see that all other MK forms are also cognate, which substantiate the hypothesis of loanwords cross linguistic families. (See discussion at the end of this list.)

226.  gãt 'to reap' (with sickle) (No Old Mon, mod. /rat/, Danaw /vwaik4/, Riang White /vweikt/, Black /vweic/, Palaung /suk1/, Malay /kērat/ (to cut), Srê /ros/, Biat /rek/.) [ Chin. 穫 huò (SV hoạch) VS 'gãt' | ©M 穫 huò, huà, hù < MC ɣwaik < OC *whrāk | FQ 胡麥 ] (Comment: If the Chin. form as 穫 huò (V 'gãt') is equated, that is a picture perfect to correspond to the /v-/ forms that appear throughout. Still, the question is who has borrowed the word from whom?)

227.  về 'to return, go home' (Viet. /trō/, Old Mon cau/, mod. /cau/Danaw /yen2/, Riang White and Black /vwiŋ/, Palaung /vwi2/, Wa /iŋ2/, Wa /vwok3/, T'eng /vēk/, /revēk/.) [ Chin. 回 huí (SV hồi), 歸 guī (SV qui) | ©M 回 huí < MC ɠoj < OC *wjə:j < **PC **qwjə:l | MC reading 蟹合一平灰匣 || ©M 歸 guī < MC kwyj < OC *kwoj | FQ 舉韋 ] Comment: The writer is not sure V /trō/ is the right word for 'return' or 'go home' while the V 'về' is certainly cognate to the Chin. 回 huí or 歸 guī. . However, except for the Mon forms, it is interesting to see how the V form is to equated with other MK forms in different appearances.)

228.  cõi 'to ride, mount' (Old Mon /duk/, /dok/, mod. /duik/, Danaw /tan4/, Riang White and Black /tutum/, Bahnar /tōk/.) [ Chin. 騎 qí (SV kỵ), also VS 'cừõi' | ©M 騎 qí < MC ge < OC *ghaj | FQ 渠羈 ] (Comment: The V is certainly cognate to the Chin form while others in the MK languages seem to deviate a great deal if they are cognates at all.)

229.  hôi 'to rot, putrid' (Viet. /hōi/, no Old Mon, mod. /sa-ua/, Danaw /s'ıŋ2yn4/, Riang White /k'xim/, Black /k'em-/, Palaung /am2/, Wa /tjuʔ1/, Old Khmer /sa-uy/, T'eng /hēʔu/ (to smell bad), Mundari /soēa/, Srê /pəʔum/, Biat, Mnong Gar /ţom/. )
[Chin. 臭 chòu (SV xú) VS ‘hôi’ and ‘thuí’, 腐 fǔ (SV hủ) VS ‘hu’ and ‘rúa’ | ©M 臭 chòu, xìu < MC ʨjəw < OC *khiws | MC reading 流開三去宥昌 || M 腐 fǔ < MC bʊ, pu < OC *bhoʔ, *phu ] (Comment: While other MK forms vary differently, both of the Chin. forms are cognate to those of the V.)

230.  gãi ‘to scratch, scrape’ (No Old Mon, mod. /kʿarak/, Danaw /kʾreʔ/7/), /kʾria t3/, Riang White /kizti\ /, Black /kət\ /, kʾré/-, Wa /ljéh5/, /ljih5/ (of thorns), Khmer /k Ṽs/, Besisi /kawait/, Semang /kaid/, Malay /kais/, Nicobarese /takaic/, Stieng /kuac/, Bahnar /kac./) [Chin. 抓 zhuà (SV trảo) | ©M 抓 zhuā < MC tʂaw < OC *tʂ aɨw ] (Comment: The V. form is cognate to that of the Chin. to mean ‘scratch’. In the mean while other MK forms deviate differently.)

231.  gởi ‘to send, conduct’(Old Mon /pindoŋ/, mod. /palän/, Danaw /pʿu1/, Riang White and Black /pʿuʔ/-.) [Chin. 寄 jì (SV ký) | ©M 寄 jì < MC kɛ < OC *kajs ] (Comment: The writer is not certain if the V ‘gởi’ and the Chin. 寄 jì are the same lexicons of what Luce meant here in his limited list for this item.)

232.  lặn ‘to set’ (with the sun) (Old Mon /plit/, mod/ /pluit/, Danaw /kw2/, Riang White /kw2/-, Black White /kw2/-, /kwɪv/ (to enter), Tʾeng /gut/ (to enter.)) [Chin. 落 luò (SV lạc) VS trờilặn ‘sunset’ | See next chapter on ST. ] (Comment: Only the Mon forms are cognate to the V /lặn/ while the Chin. form for this item point to /luò/.)

233.  bắn ‘to shoot’ (with bow) (Viet /bắn/, Old Mon /paɲ/, mod. /pan/, Danaw /p aiŋ4/, Riang White and Black /paɲ/-, Palaung /paiŋ2/, Wa /puiŋ2/, Old Khmer /paɲ/, Malay /panah/ (bow), Nicobarese /faɲ/ (crossbow), Biat /paɲ/, Mnong Gar /peɲ/, Bahnar /peɲ/, Tʾeng /pɨɲ/, Lemet /piɲ./) [Chin. 放 fàng (SV phông) | ©M 放 f āng < MC pwoŋ < OC *paŋs ] (Comment: All forms are cognate including that of the Chin.)

Viet. 'ngưra' supine, backwards, Proto-Ruc: *ŋah.1, Ruc: C- taŋa:h.1 ] (Comment: The V 'n ăm' and the Chin. 'tăng', which are cognate but only means 'to lie down', show similarity in sound change patterns that correspond to those of the MK forms. Other V and Chin. cognate forms such as 臥 wò (SV ngoạ) VS 'ngư' (to sleep) but they deviate from other forms, where we are trying to find cognates for all languages under examination.)

235. tadm (No Old Mon, mod. /bap/, Danaw /tan4/, Riang White and Black /tam-/, Khasi /pdem/. [ Chin. 湳 jìn (SV tadm) [ ©M 湳 jìn, jìn < MC cjim < OC *cim, *cims | Starostin : to overflow, soak, wet. In Mand. also read ji:n (pointing to a variant MC *cjim, OC *cim). The normal Sino-Viet. reading is tadm; cf. also tadm 'to bathe, have a bath' (probably a colloquial loan from the same source). ] (Comment: Obviously the V and Chin. forma are cognate to other MK forms in this limited list except that of the mod. Mon /bap/.)

236. đâm 'stab, pierce' (No Old Mon, mod. /t'apak/, Danaw /tat3/, Riang White /tx-/, Black /tas-/.) [ Chin. 捅 tǒng (SV đồng) | ©M 捅 tǒng ~ phonetic. ©M 桶 tǒng < MC thʊŋ < OC *slho:ŋʔ ] (Comment: obviously both the Chin. and V forms are cognate while those forms in Luce’s limited list for this item might not be.)

237. giậtmình 'to be startled' (No Old Mon, mod. /takuit/, Danaw /k'rôn2/, Riang White and Black /k'ran-/.) [ modern ©M 吃驚 chījīng (SV ngậtkinh) | dissyllabic 吃驚 chījīng \ @ 吃 chī (ngạt) ~ giật, thất shì | M 吃 (喫) chī < MC ʔjet < OC *ʔrjət || M 驚 jīng < MC *kaijŋ < OC *kraŋ | ¶ j- ~ m- ] (Comment: The V 'giậtmình' and the Chin. 吃驚 chījīng are cognates and other forms in his limited list for this item look like it.)

238. đói 'to starve' (Old Mon /kanlor/ (=famine), mod. /klow/, Danaw /ŋat2/, Riang White and Black /ŋuat\ /, Old Burmese /ŋat/, Malay /kěbulor/ (famine). [ Chin. 餓 è (SV nga) | M 餓 è < MC ŋa < OC *ŋha:jʔ? | ¶ w- ~ đ- ] (Comment: While the V form /dói/ seems to deviate greatly, if not to be cognate to any of the forms at all, while the Chin. 餓 è seems to be cognate to those of MK forms listed here except those of the Mon.)
239.  trộm 'to steal' (Old Mon /kumlec/, /kamlec/ (=thief), mod. /klat/, Danaw /rat2/, Riang White and Black /raʔ/, Palaung /bro2/, Wa /broʔ3/, T’eng /luic/, /luê c/, Mundari /reʔ/.) [ Chin. 盜 dào (SV đạo) | ©M 盜 dào < MC patches OC *dhaws ] (Comment: The V ‘trộm’ agrees with the Chin /dào/ and both do not seem to have anything to do with other MK forms.)

240.  vuốt 'to stroke' (Viet. /vuốt/, Old Mon /aumpot/, /samput/, mod. /spot/, Danaw /pʿyé4/, Riang White /puas-t/, Balck /pruas-/, Palaung /puh3puh3/, Wa /mUh5/, Khmer /cpūt/, Malay /sapu/, Stieng /puoṭ/, /rapoṭ/, Srē /rapoc/, Biat /rpo t/, Bahnar /pōt/, T’eng /puoṭ/ (to touch), Khasi /syrpul/.) [ Chin 撫 fǔ (SV phủ, mô) | ©M 撫 fǔ (phủ, 摹 mô) < MC phʊ < OC *phaʔ | Staostin: to accomodate oneself to, follow; manage, handle. The original meaning 'lay the hand on' (whence 'manage, accomodate') is attested somewhat later, during LZ ] (Comment: All forms seem to be cognate.)

241.  sưng 'to swell' (No Old Mon, mod. /guh/, Danaw /Uat3/, RTiang White and Black /as-t/, Palaung /ah3/, Wa /u1ah5/, Sakai /sas- ás, Srē /asl/, T’eng /teʔch/, Khasi /at/, /iar/.) [ Chin. 腫 zhǒng (SV thũng) | ©M 腫 zhǒng < MC tʂjwoŋ < OC *tjuŋ ] (Comment: The V and Chin. forms are cognate to each other while other MK forms seem to show no relation.)

242.  cột 'to tie, fasten' (Old Mon dak/, mod. /dak/, Danaw /tɒk1/, Riang White and Black /tuk-t/, Palaung /dək1/, Wa /hoʔ2/, Nicobar /oəu/, Srē /hoʔ/.) [ Chin. 結 ji é (SV kět) | ©M 結 jié < MC kiet < OC *kıt | FQ 古屑 ] (Comment: All forms seem to be cognate to V /cột/ which is certainly derived from the Chin. 結 jié.)

243.  ói 'to vomit' (No Old Mon, mod. /t’a-a/, Danaw /oʔ2/, Riang White and Black /hoʔ-/., Palaung /hx2/, /hak1/, Wa /hoʔ2/, Nicobar /oəu/, Srē /haʔ/.) [ Chin. 嘔 ōu (SV _argv) also VS ‘ơ’ babble, ‘ơc’ throw up | ©M 嘔 ōu, òu, xuvre, ýu, ōu < MC ∞ w < OC ∞:ό:, ∞:ό:, ∞:ό: | According to Starostin: babble (as a child) (LZ). Also used for ∞:ό:, MC ʔow, Pek. ōu 'vomit'.] (Comment: While V /ó/ is cognate to the Chin. /ōu/, some of the other MK forms seem to point to V. ‘nhở’ and ‘khạc’ ‘spit’ beside ‘thở’, a SV word for ‘vomit’.)
muốn ‘to want, desire’ (Old Mon /mic/, mod. /mik (gwa’)/, Danaw /ts’ɔŋ4/, Riang White and Black /s’un-/), Palaung /svəŋ2/, Wa /yUh5/, Bahnar /mɛt/, /kəmɛt/.)

[ Chin. 願 (SV nguyện) VS muốn | M 愿(願) yuàn < MC ŋwɒn < OC *ŋors | According to Starostin: be attentive, sincere. Viet. 'ngoan' is a colloquial loanword; regular Sino-Viet. is nguyện. Etymologically perhaps = 願 ] (Comment: While some other MK forms are cognate, the Chin. form need further enumeration.)

ngáp ‘yawn’ (Viet. /ngáp/, no Old Mon, mod. /k’a-āp/, Raing White /ŋəp-/,

[ Chin. 哈 hā | Colloquiual (Beijing): 哈欠 hāqiān VS ‘ngáp’ <~ © VH @ QT 哈欠 hâqiān | ©M 哈 hā, hă, hà, kă, hē, shā ~ ht. M 合 hé (hợp, hiệp, cáp) < MC ɠɤp < OC *gjə:p | (Comment: All forms are cognate, interestingly, including the Chin.)

The wide-range list above compiled by Luce is to show the Mon-Khmer strata that underline 245 basic words in Danaw, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by an ethnic group living in Burma, of which many are mixed lexicons cross linguistic families. The MK sub-stratum cases that matter the Danaw language are similar to what actually appears in V with apparent MK sub-strata with its etyma interconnected with different linguistic families at the same time. As we can see in the list, even though V forms appear selectively in much less than half of the listed items, portions of them are clearly cognate to those lexicons in different linguistic families such as the Austroasiatic MK, Austronesian Malay, or Tibeto-Burmic. Like the basic word lists provided by Thomas (see below) and Baker for only those correspondences in the Mon-Khmer languages, many of the the Chinese elements appear to prominently correspond to the V basic words at the same time. Altogether with Luce's list they will amply provide a wide-range of basic words for comparison in all linguistic families. Even though Luce's list is plentiful, basic words are not only limited to those listed items, hence additional lists compiled by Thomas and Baker are also provided here for further examination. For those words that
the Chinese etyma are involved, careful examination of the same lexicons in other ST languages, to be discussed in the next chapter, will prove them plausible for such cases.

For the laymen it is useful to examine in detail how the sound changes have varied and diverged morphologically as they may appear differently in each language. The interrelation involved therein also represents a real challenge to any philologists trying to purge out its loanwords in order to establish the indigenous layer for genetic classification, i.e., from which linguistic family each etymon have actually originated.

In historical linguistics, for those languages without clear genetic linguistic identification, some Southeast Asian linguists have come up with the term "mixed language". This may not be applicable to the case of Vietnamese mainly because with those available basic words already found cognate to those MK languages per se it has been classed as an Austroasiatic language. Moreover, it is believed that there exists no such thing as a "generic" language on earth including Afrikaan or Esperanto. However, in many a case, there exists a situation that, typologically, a language A shares a certain percentage of its basic words with it's neighbor B and portions of those of B with C, and C in turn shares some of its other basic ones with D, and so on. In the overall picture down the line the language Z has some of basic etyma that scatter unequally in A, B, or C, and among others. Yet, some of what appears in Z may be cognate to those words in A, B, C... but they might not be not genetically related at all.

Could that scenario be the case of those existant MK factors in the V? Let's say, V (for Vietnamese) was a cousin of T (to be assigned for Proto-Tai) and T was also a cousin of Z (for Zhou). Z is adopted by Q (for Qin) and Q had given rise to S (for Chinese). Given A, B, C, D... as their neighboring languages in ancient times -- recall that ancestors of all the Yue tribes were inhabiting in areas up to the farther northern banks of the Yangtze River -- and the hypothesis of how V words might have inherited them directly from T, Z, and S, and spread to distant neighbors through "ripling" contacts, e.g. emigration, interaction, trading and bartering, and invasion and integration, etc., we see that even though V and S are not genetically affiliated, they are having
linked kinship from its cousin ancestors (P, Z, and Q). This theory could be substantiated from the above word list where we can put all the V basic words at least into four groups: 1) the ones that have no connection with those of Chin., 2) those that are confirmed cognates with Chin. but also related to those in MK language, 3) those that are more likely cognate to Chin. than to those in MK languages due to direct contacts, 4) words that are listed but appear cognate only in Chin. and V., and lastly, 5) just like (4) but not listed in any MK basic word lists under examination, i.e. those should be categorized as basic lexicons. Below are sampled words in those five categories:

1. tai, mũi, miệng, cổ, ba, bốn, năm, mới, ruồi, bướm, đắng, etc.
2. mắt 目 mù, tay 臂 bì (cf SV tý), vú 乳 rǔ, thỏ 兔 tù, dê 羊 yáng, dương 特 tè, trứng 蛋 dàn, chấy 虱 shī, mô 巫 wū, bông 葩 pā, cám 糠 kāng, sắt 鐵 tiě, sâu 深 shēn, etc.
3. tiếng 声 shēng, lửa 火 huǒ, than 炭 tàn, chổi 帚 zhǒu, etc.
4. goá 寡 guă, liềm 鐮 lián, mác 茅 máo, thuyền 船 chuán, trọc 禿 tù, etc.
5. uống 飲, khóc 哭 kù, cười 笑 xiào, bếp庖 pào, tấm 糖 sān, giếng 井 jǐng, suối 泉 quán, nắng 陽 yáng, etc.

Even though in the above list the V basic forms, still inexhausive, are dominantly in agreement with those of Chin., many of them still appear in different languages. We can hence assume that the shared portions of the V basic words with others are results of typologically interpolated resettlement where the basic glosses had infiltrated in different linguistic families as we have seen in Luce's list. (2)

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1) Note that "Vietnamese" and "Muong" are specifically not grouped into the Mon-Khmer languages. That indicates that Norman is also aware of the problems in their affirmative
classification. 2) The same phenomenon can also be observed in other languages of
different roots, even though they are lumped together under the umbrella of Indo-
European, such as English and French: one ~ un or une, two ~ deux, three ~ trois, eye
~ oeil, nose ~ nez, tongue ~ langue, sun ~ soleil, moon ~ lune, fire ~ feu, time ~ temp,
mountain ~ montagne, wind ~ vent, water ~ eau, etc.
IV) PARALLELS WITH THE SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES:

A) Sino-Tibetan etyma

Sino-Tibetan with six divisions
In this section we are going to examine etyma that are cognate to any of several ST languages in all six linguistic divisions which will help identify sub-layers of their deep ST roots, that is mainly based on *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* by Robert Shafer, 1966. Many of them might not be no longer found or existant in its original forms and meaning in Chinese, but their etymological imprints are obvious. Methodologically, in Shafer's words "we must also take environmental phonetics into greater consideration than in most families. And this calls into question the rule -- laid down by Antoinne Meillet, I believe -- that we must have at least three examples to rule out the possibility of accidental resemblance. But, after collecting four or five examples, so that a positional equation is established, one may run across a sith which does not strictly conform. When, as in Central Core Kurkish languages, one can often get twenty examples, one is almost certain to prove an exception. Frequently enough exceptions show up so that the environmental equation can be formulated." You will (p. 13) be the judge!

According to Shafer (1966, p. I), there are four great literary ST languages: Chinese, Siamese, Burmese, and Tibetan (Bodish, since Bod is the native name for Tibet) with more than 400 ST languages in six linguistic divisions, that are Sinitic (Chinese), Daic (Thai), Bodic (Tibetan, including Old Bodish or classical Tibetan, etc.), Burmic (Burmese, including Kukish languages -- Indo-Burmese frontier regions -- etc.), Baric (Bodo, etc.), and Karenic (Karen). "A third of the population of the globe speaks one or more of these languages" and "Sino-Tibet spekers occupy and area extending from the Great Wall of China to the Malay Pennisula and from the Kashmir to the Yellow Sea."

Terminologically, -an indicates a a linguistic family while -ic signifies a main division -- hence, in my paper, Sinitic-Vietnamese comes to term over here for their etymological interconections and implies no close genetic connection, just like those compound Sino-Daic, Sino-Bodic, etc. used in Shafer work for only group classification -- and -ish or -ese denotes a section of main division. Regarding to the matter of polysyllabism in ST the author indicates that they are syllables added to a noun or verb or pronoun and that
there are ST languages, as in Kurkish, that have dissyllabic and even trisyllabic words in their primitive state.

Shafer's phonetic symbols
(for a complete reference see Shafer 1966, p. IV)

A note on phonetic symbols use throughout in this ST list below: due to typographical difficulty I'll try to match symbols utilized by Shafer with those of IPA with a few accent marks and tonal indication being dropped, which may unavoidably introduce errors into phonetic transcriptions and reconstructions here and there as those etyma that appear herein with what actually meant by the author in his research, but you will unmistakably recognize the forms that show cognates in all languages under examination. At the same time, of course, cognate forms will be selectively chosen since many forms, even though they were truly cognate to each other in a correlated chain across so many dialects and languages, appear totally different from a V form which may cause distraction and confusion to some readers. Also, some items will be repeated because they run across in different linguistic divisions and branches in all ST languages. Whenever appropriate, besides the Chin. forms cited by Shafer, a slightly modified version from the work Grammatica Serica on Archaic Chinese by Bernhard Karlgren, I shall selectively annotate with additional modern M pinyin and notes for cited Chin. etyma, that is what this paper is all about. For those listed items where only either the Chin. forms or other ST forms appear side by side, some of those etymological forms might have been omitted, especially those entries from Daic division, if they are deemed to appear so obviously cognate to those in Chin. of which their listings would be repetitive with other etyma cited elsewhere throughout this paper.

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dentals | ŧ | ŧ | ŧ | n | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ | ŋ 
labials | p | p | t | b | m | f | v

Note:
k', t'... palatalized k, t, etc.
l, surd l; ē, ā... mixed vowels approximately in the oral position of e, a, etc
a, i... glottal opening
a , i ... glottal stop, etc.
@ = English 'awe', Kukish @ is long
ř (tongue tip ?) trilled r
(n) a letter in parentheses indicates it is indistinctly spoken
Tone marks: x/ rising; x- level, x_ low level, x¯ high level, x¯_ higher than usual high level; x\ falling; x^ rising-falling (circumflex)
numbers in the end of a native form, as han1, are the tones as numbered in Siamese written
language (Daic x = S. tone 1, x = S. tone 2, ,x = S. level tone not marked in writing)
Daic ŋ=ŋ
Daic ? = glottal stop
Kukish and Daic: ē, ō are closed; ē, ō are open
r1, r2 have different phonetic developments in Kurkish languages or dialects
l1, l2, l3, l4 have different phonetic reactions in Baric,
X, any unaspirated surd occlusive, or an undetermined unaspirated surd occlusive,
X', any aspirated occlusive, or an undetermined aspirated occlusive,
..., etc.

Comparative lexemes in Sinitic, Bodic, Daic, Burmic languages:
(against other Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects in all divisions and their branches)
[ linguistic group names to follow after || with pp. to indicate pages where items are cited

1. ngẫm, gảm 'think' [ M rèn 念 nyam\, Old Bodish snyam (p.14 to start in Shafer
1966, Part 1, where Sinitic Division is listed) ]
2. sọ 'skull bone' [ M lǒu 耳 lu-, Dimasa lao-kʿroi 'skull' (p.14) ]
3. chọ 'market' [ M shì 市 źi/, Middle Burmese dź'e\, Old Bodish rdź'e 'barter' (p.14) ]
4. nhọ 'spittle' [ M tù 吐 tʿo\ to spit out, OB tʿu, tʿo-le (p.14) ]
5. rẫy 'plowland' [ M mǔ 畾 mu/, OB rmo 'to plough' (p.14), Old Kukish *lo\, Luśei lo,
Meithlei lau\ (p. 280) | also 'cultivation, jhum-field' Old Kukish *rīt, Luśei rīt, Mikir
rīt (p. 278), 'field' Maring, Khunggoi lau, Ukhrul lui, Phadang leou (p. 311) ]
6. châm 'to light (fire)' [ M diăn 點 tem-, Lao tăm/ (p. 15) ]
7. thẹn 'to be ashamed' [ M cán 憾 dzām-, OB ãdzoms (p. 15) ]
8. trong 'middle' [ OB kloń, Siamese kłań (p. 15) ]
9. trăng, giăng, tháng (moon, month) [ M yuè ńyot < *ŋ-lat, OB z-la-, zla-ba (M 月 霜 yuèbà ?), Bur. la, Kushish (except Mikir) *k'la, Mikir tšik-li < *tšik-kla, Rgya. tsi-le, Rawang śa-la (p. 19) ] Other Bod. languages Tsangla la-nyi (p. 118), W. Himal. lang. Kushish S-k'la, Bunun śrig, Bunun, Almora hla, Thebor la, Kanauri go-l-sań, Tšamba-Lahuli la-za (p. 138), Minor group Tόto ta-ri, Dhimal ta-li1 (p. 169), Southern Branch Kushish *S-k'la, Luše t'la, Thado t'la, Śiyang t'a, Vuite Xa (p.247), Old Kukish Aimol, Langrong t'a, Purum hla, Hrangkhong ta, Hallam t'a, Biate -t'a, Kolhreng t'a, Kom, Tarao t'la, Lamgang t'a, Anal (si) t'ą' (p. 252), Kuki *S-k'la, Tśiru t'ą (p. 262), Mara t'la (p. 266), Luhupa Branch Kwoireng tšā-hyu, Khoirao t'a (p. 301) ] Burmish Bur. *hla, M Bur. lă, Lolo Phumoi la\, Akha la\, Nyi t'la-, Ahi hlo-, Lopho hyo-, Phupha la (p. 366) ] Baric Tipura tāl, Bodo dān 'month', Metš dān (in compounds), Moran dan, Dimasa dain3, D daiń, B tain, Hojai deń, Dhimal tālǐ, Garo dźa, Abeng dźa-dźoń (p. 435, 443) ] Shafer's comments on the medial l: 'As in Indo-European, medial l causes a good deal of difficulty in Sino-Tibetan because of its effect on preceding consonants. Old Bodish has only kl and bl. Luše only tl and t'ł and some other Kurkish kl and k'ł. In Middle Burmese *-l- becomes -y- and only occasionally do we have *-l- preserved in an Old Burmese inscription. or in the Tavoy dialect.' (p. 423). With these implications we can equally apply them to the various Vietnamese forms of 'blời, blăng, trời, trăng, and giói, giăng. ]
10. gáu 'bear' [ OB d-om, Bur. wam, Luše vom, K. *Xwom (X is a guttural of unknown type), Mikir t-o-wām (St.), Rawang t-o-gōyām, (i.e. t'-gōām), Rgyarong (ti-)gom (p. 19) ]
languages Kukish m-lei, Buman hle, Thebor, Kanauri le (p. 136), Northern Assam Midźu mb-lai, b-lai (M) (p. 180), Southern Branch Kukish *m-lei, all languages Lu sei, Thado, Ralte, Siyang, Vuite lei (p. 248), Old Kukish Mara, Tlonsai pa-lei, Ŝ andu pa-lai, Lailenpi -pale(i), Miran pəlį_, Lothu pəlį¯, Zotung la\ (p. 268), Hrangkhol me-le, Mikir de (p. 277), Meithlei kei (p. 280), Karenic Pwo p’le2, Sgaw plë4, Bwe ple (p.416) ]


15. răn 'snake' [ O Bur. *p-r2ūl, M Bur. m-re, Luśei rūl, Pankhu (Le), Bandzogi (Le) m-rūl, Bom mā-rui, Kapwi mā-run, Aimol rul, Lamgang pa-rūl, Anal p-rul (pp.14, 25-27)]


18. giông 'wind' [ M fēng 風 puń-, O Bur. *m-puń, Hlota m-poń, Tśungli mo-puń, Tengsa mā-puń, Yatśam mo-puń (pp. 25-27), Luhupa Branch Kukish *m-puń, Mongsen m-uń (p. 318) ]

19. liêm 'to lick' [ O Bur. *m-liakʾ, M Bur. lyak, Luśei liak, Lamgang p(i)-lik, Anal pi-lik, Kom ma-lek, Tśiru mė-lek, Ŝo m-le-, Ukhrul -mā-lek, Rong lyak (pp. 25-27) ]
20. cá 'fish' [M yú 魚 nő-, OB nya, < *ńya, M Bur. ńa\, Luśei ńa\ | cf. Luhupa Branch (p. 288): Ukrul, Phadang, Khoirao, Kabui k’ai, Kupome, Khunggoi, N. Luhupa k’i, Maram, Dayang –k’a, Kwoireng -k’a, Kabui k’a (Go), Empeo, Zomoni -k’a, Imemai -k@ (pp. 36-39), Luhupa Branch Kukish *k’ai, Ukhrul, Phadang, k’ai, Tś anmphung -k’ai, Kupome, Khunggoi, N. Luhupa k’i, Kabui -ka, Imemai -k’@, Zo moni -k’a (p. 288), Ukhrul, Phadang k’ai, Kupome, Khunggoi k’i (p. 309) ]
21. ngào 'roast' [M áo 熬 nău-, OB brńos (pp. 36-39) ]
22. (nghẹn)ngào 'weep' [V. (nức)nở ?, M áo 嗷 nău-, OB ńus, M Bur. ńui (pp. 36-39) ]
23. ngỗng, ngang 'goose' [M é 鵝 nă ~ M yàn 雁 nă (wild goose), OB ńăn < *ńan, M Bur. ńan (pp. 36-39), Siamese, Lao hăn_1 (p. 71) ]
24. nhọ 'young' [M ní 倪 nāi-, M Bur. ōy (pp. 36-39) ]
25. mụ 'woman' [M lăo 姥 mo/, OB mo, Luśei mo (pp. 36-39) ]
26. người 'thou' [M é 而 nyi-, OB nyi-d, M Bur. ni (Hor) (pp. 36-39) ]
27. mồm 'mouth' [M wěn 吻 mūn/, OB mur-, Luśei hmūr (pp. 36-39), Old Kukish Kuki *hmūr, Hrangkhol fur (p. 258)]
28. mờ 'dim, dark' [M méng 朦 moń-, OB rmog, M Bur. mok (pp. 36-39) ]
29. màn 'curtain' [M màn 幔 mān-, Siamese mān (yam) (pp. 36-39) ]
30. mắt 'eye' [M mù 目 muk, OB mig, M Bur. myak (myuk), Luśei mit (pp. 36-39) ||
                       Eastern dialects Khams mig (p. 112), Dwags mig (p. 115), W. Himal. lang. Kukish mik’, Bun an mig, Thebor mi, Kanauri mig’ (p. 138), West Central and East Himalyish Raling, Kiranti mak, Dumi mik-, ma- (p. 153), Northern Assam Midžu mi’ (p. 181), Southern Kukish Kukish *mik’, Šo mi’ (p. 220), Southern Branch Kukish *mik’, Luśei mit, Thado mit, Ralte, Vuite mit-, Šiyang mit’ (p.246), Old Kukish Kuki *mik’, Tśiru mik, Aimo, Purum, Langrong, Hallam mit, Hrangkhol mīń (p. 257), Mikir mek, Ukhrul mk (p. 178), Luhupa Maring mit, Ukhrul mik, Maram -mek, Kabui hmik, Empeo -mik, Hlota -m’yek (p. 316) ]
31. mưa 'rain' [Chin. (absent in Shafer's list), OB ro- (W.), Bur. rua M Bur. rwa, Luśei rua’ || W. Himal. lang. Kukish r2ua’ (p. 138), S. K. Šo yo’ (p. 208), Luhupa Branch Ukhrul -rő, Phadang, Khunggoi ru-, Kupome ro-, Empeo -rui, Hlota -ru (p. 307) ]
32. (dây)leo 'creep' [M lěi 纍 lwi/, Luśei hrui (pp. 36-39)]
33. rừng 'forrest, jungle' [ M lín 林 I'am-, liam (sēn 森 forest), Luśei ram (p. 67) ]
   Central Branch Kukis *r2am, Ngente, Haka ram (p. 230) ]
34. lội 'lazy' [ M lăn 懶 lān/, Siamese grān2^ (pp. 36-39) ]
35. lối 'road' [ OB lam, M Bur. lam, Luśei lam (p. 40) | Old Kukish Kuki *lam, Tarao - lam (p. 256) and most of other languages all show the articulation of /lam/. ]
36. lỗ 'hole' [ OB rlubs, M Bur. lup (p. 40) ]
37. bướm 'butterfly' [ OB pʿye-ma-lep, M Bur. lip-pra, Luśei -pʿe-hlep || Baric Branch: Garo -pi-lip (pp. 40, 41), Southern Kukish Šo pam-ba-lāt (p. 221) ]
38. đi 'to walk, go, come' [ ~ V 'đến' | M lǚ 履 lyi/, Siamese lī (p. 41) | Minor group Tsangla de, Almora di (p. 172), Kukish di (come), Amora Branch of W. Him. di, de (go) (p. 330) ]
39. ăng 'basin, jug' [ M ăng 盎 ʾāń, Siamese ʾāń_2, M Bur. ʾāń (p. 42) ]
40. ngáp 'yawn' [ M hā 哈, OB hā, M Bur. Ha (pp. 42-43) ]
41. hong 'to roast' [ M hōng 灼 xong-, Siamese /hōn/ (pp. 42-43) ]
42. ghe 'crab' [ M xié 蟹 ɣeyi/ (366: Li-chi 861-d), Siamese gey (small prawns), (p. 63) Kukish t ?-yai (p. 200) ]
   Norther Assam Miśing ta-ke, Yano ta-tśie (p. 200), Old Kukish Luśei ai, Mara tśa-ia (< *t-ai) Kami tā-ai, Mikir tše-he (p. 277) ]
43. khuya 'night' [ M yè 夜 ịă, OB hā, M Bur. Ha (pp. 42-43) ]
   Southern Kukish *ń-ya (pp. 42-43), Luhupa Branch Tśamphung nā-yu- (p. 301) ]
44. vòng 'circular' [ M yuán 圆 ʾwăn-, Kukish *wal, Luśei val, Katśin val, M Bur. wan\ (pp. 42-43) ]
45. quay 'revolve' [ Chin. jıuən, Siamese wǐyěn, Luśei vir, Katśin Kăvin, Garo wil- (pp. 42-43) ]
47. cảm 'chin, jaw' [ M jiă 頰 kep, OB mgal, O Bur. *m-kʿa, Panku (le) kʿa, Biate (St) ma-kʿa, lamgang ba-kʿa (pp.25-27), Kukish *m-kʿa, Luśei kʿa, Dimasa /-ska, Katś in n-kʿa, Siamse, Lao kēm\2 (p.44) ] A W. Bod. Sbalti gal (p. 81), Old Kukish
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

48. kẹo ‘pull’ [M qiān 聯 k’en-, Siamese, Lao k’ ēn\3 (p. 66), Central Branch Kukish *kai, Lušeī k’uaň, Kukish tum\ (p.202) ]
49. hổng ‘hole, hollow’ [ V also ‘trống’, M kông 孔 k’ong/, M Bur. ā-koň, Diamasa koň -t, OB k’un (p.44) ]
50. trống ‘drum’ [ M qiāng 楠 k’@ng- (Chin. hollow wooden beaten instrument of music Li-chi), Kukish *k’uaň, Lušeī k’uaň, Kukish tum\ (p.202) || Northern Assam Miśing, Tagen -dum, Yano, E. Nyising -düm (p. 202) ]
51. kham ‘bear, endure’ [ M kăn 堪 k’an-, M Bur. k’am (p.44) ]
52. khó ‘difficult’ [ M. Bur. k’ak, OB k’ag-po (p.44) || OB W. dka-ba, Sbalti, other Bod. languages Tsangla ka-lo (p. 117) ]
53. ho ‘cough’ [ M kē 咳 k’ayi, Lušeī k’u, Dimasa kusu (p.44) ]
54. thò ‘hare’ [ M tù 兔 t’o, Siamese t’o_ (p.45)]
55. cày ‘a plow’ [ Siamese t’ai/, M Bur. t’ay, Katśin t’ai(p.45) ]
56. thêm ‘add’ [ M tān 添 t’em_, Siamese, Lao t’em2/ (p.45) ]
57. thắm ‘try, investigate’ [ M tām 探 t’am-, Siamese, Lao t’am/ (interrogate, question) (p.45) ]
58. mở ‘to open’ [ Chin. p’yěi- (?), OB p’yes, p’ye (pf.) (p.45) || Other Bod. languages Tsangla p’i (p. 118) ]
59. bụi ‘dust’ [ Kukish *p’ut, Lušeī p’ut, M Bur. p’ut, OB bud (p.46) ]
60. cự, kỳ ‘fear’ [ (see also sō, dè) | M jì 忌 gyi, Kukish *kri, M Bur. kre\ (p.46) ]
   Luhupa Branch Longla k’i-, Holta k’yu (p. 305) ]
61. ghé, kỳ ‘seat’ [ M jī 几 kyi, OB k’ri (p.46) ]
62. cùi(chỏ), khuỷu ‘elbow’ [ M jū 矩 kū/, Kukish *ku, Lušeī kiu, O Bod k’yu (p.46) ]
63. khóc ‘weep’ [ M qì 泣 k’yap, k’iəp, OB k’rab- (p. 67), Kukish *krap’, Lušeī ṭap’, grap (p.46) || Other Bod. languages Gurung kro-(d), Muri kra-dźʾ (p. 125), South Branch Thadao -kap-, Śiyang, Vuite kap (p. 250), Meithlei kap- (p. 283), Luhupa Branch Imeanai -kra, Zumoni ka-, Tengima kra (p. 320), Tśairelish Katśinish krap ’, Kadu k’rap (p. 410) ]
64. cây ‘tree, trunk’ [ Kunkish *kūń, Luśei kūń, M Bur. ā-kūń \ (p.46) | Central Branch
Haka kūń, Kapwi kūn (p. 242) ]
65. gạo ‘rice’ [ SV cốc ‘cereals’, M gǔ 穀 kôк (grain, cereals) (p. 70), Kukish *kOk ?,
M Bur. kok, Katśin -gu (p.46), Luhupa Branch Rengma -ko, Tengima -ko (p. 322) ]
66. rồng ‘wide’ [ M guăng 廣 kwāng/, Siamese kwāń2 \ (p.46) ]
67. cứng ‘hard’ [ M qiáng 強 găń/, Kukish *krań ?, Ka. Greń, OB m-k’rań \ (p. 65) ‘firm,
solid’: M jiān 堅 ken-, Siamese kēn_1 (p.46) | Southern Kukish Śo kāń (p. 221) ]
68. cóc ‘frog’ [ M hà 蜢 kāp, Siamese k@p- (p. 67) ]
69. kêu, gọi ‘to call’ [ M jiāo 叫 k.trip, Kukish *ko, Luśei ko, M Bur. k’o, Katśin gau, (p.
65), Luhupa Branch Kwoireng, Rengma ko-, Kabui kau-, Empeo ku, Zumomi -ku,
Dayang ku, Tegima ke (p. 286) ]
70. kháu ‘beautiful’ [ M jiāo 嬌 kīau, Siamese kēw2, M Bur. kro (p. 67) ]
71. rūa ‘wash, bath’ [ Dimasa –gui, di-gru, Katśin krut, OB bkrut (p. 67), Burmish Bur.
*tšī, M Bur. t’sē\, Lolo Akha tsi\, Ahi, Loloopho tš’ə\, Nye tś’e\, Ulu t’si (p. 366) ]
72. sông ‘river’ [ M jìăng 江 k@ng, OB kuń, O Bur., M Bur. k’loń (p. 69), Kukish *kua
ń, Luśei kuań, Dimasa di-k’oń (p. 67), Luhupa Branch Maring, Ukhrul koń, Khoibu,
Phadang, Khunggoi, (N.) Luhupa koń-, Kupome kon-tă (p. 286), (It is interesting
to see all ST forms are cognate to the v ‘sông’, which further strengthen the
argument for their affiliation.) ]
73. tía ‘father’ [ M tìè 爹 t’ă-, Siamese tā, OB ’a-tă (p. 67) ]
74. cháu ‘nephew’ [ M zhi 姪, Kukish *t’u, Luśei, M Bur. tu, Dimasa du- (p. 48)]
75. đào ‘dig’ [ Kukish *tai, Katśin dai (p. 48), Burmish Bur. *do\, M Bur. tu\, Phumoi tu
\, Akha tu\, Nye du\ (p. 369), Tśairelish Katśingish t’o, Kadu t’u (p. 408) ]
76. thấy ‘see’ [ Chin to\, OB Mig-ltos (p. 48) ]
77. trứng ‘egg’ [ M dàn 蛋, Kukish *tuì, Luśei tui, Dimasa di, OB dui (p. 48) ]
78. điểm ‘mark’ [ M diăn 點 tem/, Siamese tēm2 (p. 48) ]
79. lắm ‘many, much’ [ Siamese t’@m/, Kukish *tam, Luśei tam (p. 48) || Old Kukish
Kuki *tam, Luśei tam, Tśiru tām-, Aimol -tam (p. 256) ]
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

80. trán ‘forehead’ [M diān 顛 ten- (top of the head; summit), Siamese, Lao ţën_ (p. 48), OK Lušei -tśal, Kom tše (p. 261) | Kuksih M–tśal, Baric Tipora mă-tśal (và ngťráṇ?) (p. 438)]

81. đúng ‘stand’ [M zhàn 站, Kuksih *M-tuń’, Lušei tuń’, Dimasa doń- (p. 48)]

82. ném ‘taste’ [also V ‘liém’, M tiān 舔 Chin. tʿem/, Kuksih *M-tem, Lušei tem (p. 48)]

83. bung ‘belly, stomach’ [M fú 腹 puk, Siamese, Lao pǔm, Kuksih *p@, *puk, Lušei p@, pum, *puk, M Bur. -puik, wam\-puik, Dimasa bik-ma (p. 49), OB p’o-ba, zebug, (p. 69) || OT Bob. lang. Gurung, Muri p’o, Thaksya p’o4 (p. 124), Southern Kuksih Śo a-bu(ə)n (p. 221), Old Kuksih Haka p@, Tlongsai peu (p. 269), Burmish Lolo poń, Akha po¯ (p. 374)]

84. bà ‘grandmother’ [M bǐ 妣 pyi/, OB pʿyi-mo, Kuksih *pi, Lušei pi, Dimasa a-bi (p. 49)]

85. vác ‘carry on back’ [M fú 負 bǔ/, Kuksih *t ?-pu, Lušei pu, M Bur. puī, Dimasa – bu (p. 49)]

86. búa ‘axe’ [M fú 釜 pū, M. Bur. Pū- tś‘in (p. 49)]

87. bóc ‘flay, peel’ [M bò 剝 p@k, Siamese, Lao p@ʿ@k (p. 49)]

88. bát(ngát) ‘broad’ [M bó 博 pāk (Shijing 50; 771 a-c), Kuksih *pāk, Lušei pak, Dimasa –ba (p. 49), Mikir arpak )p. 277]

89. bông, bùp ‘flower, petals’ [M pàn 瓣 băn (petals), Siamese pān, Kuksih *pār, Lušei pār, Mikir pār (petal), M Bur. pan\, Dimasa bar, Katśin pan, ban (p. 49), OB āba, āba-па (to open, bgin to bloom) (p. 74)]

90. bay(bông?) ‘to fly’ [Chin pǔn\, Dimasa pur, OB p’ur | V bông, M fān 翻 p’an (to fly up (of aprks)) (p. 49), OB āp’a-bar (p. 74) || Eastern dialects mpʿurwa (p. 111), Minor group Toţo bĩ, Dhimal b‘ir (p. 168), Norther Assam Midźu p’yũń, Meyöl pʾōń (p. 188), Burmish O Bur. pyam, M Bur. pyam, N Bur. pyã, Megyaw, Samong pe (p. 359)]

91. bắn ‘to shoot’ [Siamese, Lao pën_, Lušei per’ (p. 49)]
92. bẹp 'flat' [ also V biển ~ bằng 'board' M biễn 屬 pen/ (flat, signboard, tablet), Siamese pên2, Kukish *pər, M Bur. pyañ, Diamasa –p’er, Katśin byen, pen, Siamese, Lao pên2 (p. 66), Tśairelish Katśinish p’eök, Kadu pye (p. 409) ]
93. trọt 'to slip' [ also V té 'fall down', M diè 跌 det, OB äred (p. 51) ]
94. đền 'palace, temple' [ M diàn 殿 den, Siamese đën1 (p. 51) ]
95. dọt 'burn' [ OB drugs, M Bur. tok (p. 51) || Northern Assam Midźu t’ak (M) (p. 186) ]
96. độc 'poisson [ M dú 毒 duok, M Bur. tok (p. 51), OB drug, dug (p. 69) ]
97. đốt 'burn' [ OB drugs, M Bur. tok (p. 51) || Northern Assam Midźu t’ak (M) (p. 186) ]
98. đàng, đường 'path' [ also, V 'road, way, route', M táng 唐 dāń- (Shijing 700 a-b: path in a temple, also, 'route, road'), Siamese, Lao dāń (also, road, way) (p. 51) ]
99. sơn 'paint' [ M xī 漆, OB rtsi, Katśin tsi, M Bur. ts’e\ (p. 51) ]
100. rét 'cold' [ Souther Kukish Kukish *śik, Katśin śik, Luśei śik (p. 52) ]
101. chua 'sour' [ M suān 酸 suān-, Kukish *t’ar\, Kanauri sur-, Luśei t’ar (p. 52) ]
102. chỉ 'finger; point at' [ M zhǐ 指 tśi/, Siamese dźi2 (p. 59) ]
103. tiếng 'sound' [ M shēng 聲 śīń-, Siamese śīyěń (p. 52) ]
104. chị 'elder sister' [ M zǐ 姊 tsi/, OB ’a-tś’e, Katśin tset ? (p. 52) ]
105. rượu 'spirits, liquor' [ M yǒu 酉 ịǔ/, OB yu (Thebor), Luśei -zu | (p. 63) M lăo 醺 lau-, M Bur. lo-dža Siamese lo\1, Lao hlo\ (all fermented liquors, wine, alcohol) (p. 59) ]
107. câu 'hook' [M jiu 丩 kǔ-, OB kyu (p. 59)]
108. (đầu)gối 'knee' [Lušeí *k’u, Siamese k’o_1 (p. 59)]
109. mù 'blind' [M máo 瞀 mu, OB dμs-λn (p. 60)]
110. bố 'father' [M fù 父 bū/ ('father, elderly relatives of the same surname, old
    man'), M Bur. b-ui, Lušeí pu (p. 60)]
111. mù 'fog' [M wù 霧 mū, OB rμ-ba, M Bur. muig (p. 60)]
112. cậu 'uncle' [M jiu 鈚 gǔ/, OB k’u-bo, M Bur. *k’u (p. 60), Luhupa Branch Tśungli,
    Mongsen, Tśangki -k’u, Rong -ku2 (p. 306)]
113. gốp, gọp 'gather' [VS tụ, M jǔ 聚 dzū/
    , còu 湊 ts’u (to collect, to assemble), M Bur. tśū (p. 60)]
114. cụ 'headman' [~ also V gọc ?, SV cự, M jǔ 亘 gŏ/ (Chin. 'large, great,
    chief'; Chin. Śan k’uiw1 'be great, large in bulk, size; be proud, self important'),
    OB āgo, Siamese, Lao go^2 (beginning, origin, cause) (p. 61)]
115. cuốc 'dig a hole' [M è 職 ɖʐǒ- (to hoe, excavate), Lušeí tśo (Dimasa dżao)
    (p. 61)]
116. ná 'crossbow' [SV nỏ, M nú 弩 no/, Siamese, Lao nā1, mai2 (p. 61)]
117. già 'grow old' [M qí 耆 gyi-, OB bgres, M Bur. kri\ (p. 61), as 'old, aged' OB
    rmo, rmos || A W. Bob. Sbalti rgas-, Burig rgas- (p. 80)]
118. nhỏ 'young' [M ní 倪 nai-, M Bur. ñay (p. 61) || 'younger sibling, child'
    Kukish *nau, Lušeí nao, Khimi nau (p. 209), Maring naõ, Ukhrul-naõ, Khoirao-
    nau (p. 312), also for 'young' Souther Branch Kukish *ń-r ?-no, Lušeí no, Thaso-
    nou, Ralte -no, Śiyang no, Vuite -no (p. 248), Meithlei -nau (p. 282), Luhupa
    Branch Ukhrul -ńă-nui, Tśungli nu (p. 311)]
119. gà 'cock, hen' [M jǐ 雞 kăi-, Siamese, Lao kai_1 (p. 61)]
120. báo 'speech' [V báo 'report, inform, announce, publish', M báo 報 pau\ (Chin.
    report, inform), M Bur. po, Lušeí *pao, Siamese, Lao pāw_1 (divulge,
    announce, publish) (p. 61)]
121. sớm 'early' [M zăo 早 tsau/, M Bur. tso]
122. keo 'glue' [M jiāo 膠 kăo-, M Bur. ko, Siamese, Lao kāw (p. 61)]
123. vào 'come' [ also V vô, Chin. ? (absent in Shafer's list), OB ḫoṅs, M Bur. waṅ (enter), Lušeī *waṅ (p. 64) ]
124. vòng 'round' [ M wān 彎 wăn-, M Bur. ʾwan (p. 64) ]
125. muối 'saltpeter, niter, salt' [ M xiāo 硝 sịau-, M Bur. śo-ra, Maru, Nung R. yam-sau, Katśin šau (p. 64), also as 'salt' Luhupa Branch Kukish m?-tśi, Lušeī tśi, Maring ma-tśi, Khoibu mi-tśi, Phadang mā-tśé, Kupome ma-tśew, Khunggoi ma-tśi, Kwoireng mā-tai, Tśungli me-tse, Khri, Tengsa mā-tśi, Rengma tše, Imemai ma-tśi, Tengima mě-tsa, Zumoni ma-t (p. 293) ]
126. eo 'waist, loins, middle part' [ M yāo 腰 ịau-, Siamese ěw, Lao ěw/ (p. 64) ]
127. mèo 'cat' [ M māo 貓 mịau-, Siamese, Lao měw (p. 64) ]
128. đái 'urinate' [ M niào 尿 nīau, Siamese yīyěw, Lao ńyəw_^, ńiew (p. 65) ]
129. liếm 'lick' [ also V 'ném', M tiān 舔 Chin. tʾem/, *lem/, OB lem- (W.) (The roots in W. Himalayish is, however, leb-; cf. Siamese lep 'to put out the tongue' (~ V lè, thè 'put out the tongue'). But, Bāhing lyăm 'tongue', EE. Him. lěm. The Chin. form is based on Cant. lim/, Sino Annamese liém (Emeneau)) (p. 66), all Old Kukish languages show the articulation of /lei/ (p. 252), Luhupa Branch Kuksih *m-liakʾ, Lušeī liakʾ, Rong lyak (p. 317) ]
130. xếp 'to fold' [ M dié 疊 dep, OB ldeb-pa, Siamese d@p | M zhé 撮 tśīp, Siamese, Lao tśīp_ (p.67) || also OB lteb- || Eastern dialects Amdo hteb- (p. 108) ]
131. hết 'to not exist' [ V 'finished, consumed', M miè 滅 met, OB med-pa, Siamese, Lao hmēăƫ/ (Lao: 'finished, consumed') (p. 65) ]
132. đánh 'beat, strike' [ M dă 打 teń, OB teń (Mantśati unit), Lušeī deń (p. 66) || also OB rduń, E. dialects Dwags duń (p. 115) ]
133. kêm 'unite in one, put together' [ V 'attach, together, with', M jiān 兼 kem-, Siamese kēm (mix, intermix, mingled), Lao kēm/ (together, with) (p. 66) ]
134. nhắm 'be sleepy' [ M mián 眠 men- (to close the eyes, to sleep). M Bur. myań (p. 66) ]
135. thò 'breath' [ M 息 sièk (to breathe), M Bur. ā-sak (p. 66) ]
136. chích 'to bite' [ M zhí 蟄 śīk, OB tśig (Kanauri), Siamese tśiğ_ (p. 66) ]
137. kêm 'thongs' [ M qián 鉗 gīm-, Siamese, Lao gīm (p. 66) ]
138. bắp(chân) 'calf of leg' [M bìn 臓 bin/ (knee-cap, knee, leg, mod. 腓 pài for calves), OB byin-pa (p. 68)]
139. cân 'weigh' [M jīn 斤, M Bur. k'yin, Luși kīn (p. 68)]
140. giêng 'first month' [M zhèng 正 šī, Lao tšyəń (tšień) (p. 69)]
141. tiếng 'voice, sound' [M shēng 聲 śīń-, Siamese šīęń/, Lao syəń/, (sień) (V, S, L: word, language, sound) (p. 69)]
142. liên 'continuous' [M lián 连 līn-, Lao lyən (lien) (p. 69)]
143. bánh 'cake, pastry' [M bǐng 餅 pīń/, Siamese pēń\2 (meal, flour), Lao pēń\ (cake, bread) (p. 69)]
144..bat(tai) 'hit, strike' [M pū 撲 pʿok, OB pʿog (p. 70)]
145. chất 'heap together' [M zú 族 dzok (to collect together), OB ãdzog-pa (p. 70)]
146. mờ 'obscured' [M méng 朦 moń-, Ob rmońs (p. 70)]
147. lổ 'hole' [OB rlubs, M Bur. lub, Siamese, Lao hlŭp (hollow, deep) (p. 71)]
148. búp 'bud' [OB mum, M Bur. (arch.), Luși -mūm (p. 71), Tšairelish Katš inish BOm?, Kadu, Khauri a-bum (p. 412)]
149. t'ai 'pendant ears' [M dā 耷 tāp (big ear), Siamese, Lao tūp_ (p. 71)]
150. ngậm 'hold in the mouth' [M àn 唵 ʿām-, Luși *um, Siamese ʿ@m (p. 71)]
151. canh 'branch, fork' [M gē 格 *kāk, M Bur. k'ak (p. 72), Luhupa Branch Kukish *kāk, Luși kāk, Zumoni -kụ-ba (p. 320)]
152. nâng 'to rise, raise' [M áng 昂 ńāń-, Siamese ńāń^2 (p. 72)]
153. yên 'saddle' [M ān 鞍 ʿān-, Siamese ʿān (p. 72)]
154. màn 'curtain' [M màn 幔 mān\, Siamese, Lao màn\1 (p. 72)]
155. ngاعتم 'put or throw into the moth' [M hán 含 ɣām-, M xián 銜 ɣām-, OB gams, Siamese, Lao gām- (p. 72)]
156. chàm 'indigo' [M lán 藍 lām-, OB rams, Siamese grām (p. 72)]
157. dám 'gall, courage' [M dăn 膽 tăm-, Siamese, Lao tăm\ (p. 72)]
158. mất 'to die' [M wáng 亡 mań-, Luși mań (p. 72)]
159. đen 'dark, black, somber' [M xuán 玄 ɣuʷen-, Siamese, Lao gūn (night) (p. 72)]
160. mồm "jaw" [ also V môi 'lips', M wến 吻 mǔn/ (lips), OB mur- (only in compound), Lušei hmur (point, end, tip), all Kukish languages 'mouth' || Minor group Kukish hmûr, Newari hmu-tu (p. 74), Central Kukish kukish *hmûr, Lušei hmûr (tip), Kapwi mun (p. 242) ]

161. bâu 'gourd' [ M Bur. bʿu, Lušei būr (p. 74) ]

162. than 'ashes' [ M tān 炭 tʿān, OB tʿal-ba, Siamese, Lao tʿān_1 (p. 75) ]

163. rắn 'snake' [ M mǐn 閩 min- (modern M shé 蛇), OB sbrul, M Bur. mrwe, Lušei rūl (p. 75) || A W. Bod. Sbalti ybul, Burig zbrul, Ladwags rul (p. 83), Northern Branch Thanphum rūl (Taʿoa), Matupi Xřūl (p. 251), Old Kukish Kuki *p-r2-ūl, Lušei rūl, Aīmōl rul, Hrangkhol mi-rul (p. 258), Kom ma-ri, Tśiruma-ro (p. 261), Mara pa-ri, Sabeu pe-ri (p. 272), Marinq pʿrul, Mikir (R.) pʿurul, Mikir (W.) pʿurui (p. 278), Burmish O Bur. mruy, N Bur. mvei, Intha hmvi, Danu mwe, Samong moiń, Lawng -moi, Tsaiwa māvi (p. 362) ]

164. rơi 'drop, fall, let fall' [ M luò 落, OB kʿrul, M Bur. kʿrwe (p. 75), also Luhupa Branch Kukish klu, Lušei tlu, Phadang ku loi- (p. 292) ]

165. mo 'practice sorcery' [ M wū 巫, OB rol-ba, M Bur. rwa (p. 75) ]

166. cuốn 'to coil' [ also V cuống 'roll', M juān 卷, 捲 kwīn (roll, scroll, roll up), OB bsgril (to wind), M Bur. kʿwe, Lušei kual (p. 75) ]

167. ho 'cough' [ M ké 咳 kʿayi, Lušei kʿu (p.76) || Central Kukish Kukish *m-r-kʿus, Kapwi kʿu (p. 242), Southern Branch Thado Thado kʿu, Śiyang kʿu (p. 251) ]

168. giói, trời, ngày 'sun, day' [ OB nyi-, M ri 日 nyit < *nyit-ā < *nyi'-ta (p.76) || also OB nyin, E. dialect Dwags nyen-te (p. 114), Old Kukish *k?-ni, Lušei, Meithlei ni (p. 280), Burmish Bur. *ni-, M Bur. ne', Lolo Ahi, Lopho ňi, Chōko ňi, Ahi ňi-, Weining ňi, Phumoi nĕ̄, Akha nā̆̄, Ulu niĕ̄ (p. 366) | (day) Baric Bodo -ni, Metś -nai, Dimasa, Tśutisa, Atong, Wanang, Ruga, Kontś, Mośang -ni, Namsingia -ni, Muthun, Mulung -niy, -ni, Tśang nyet (p. 428) ]

169. sáng 'distinct, bright' [ OB gsbal- || A W. Bod. Sbalti xsal- (p. 78) ]

170. cẳng 'foot, leg' [ ~ V chân, chơn', OB rkań || A W. Bod. Sbalti rkań 'origin', skań 'shin' (p. 79), Southern Bodish Dangdžongskad, Lhoskad, Śarpa kań- (p. 90), Eastern dialects Amdo rkań-wa (p. 105), Southern Kukish: Kukish *kʿoń, Šo
k’on (p. 221), Old Kukish Luṣei k’oṅ, Meithlei k’oṅ (p. 284), all other Old Kukish languages show the articulation of /ke/ (p. 253), Burmish Bur. *k’ri, M Bur. k’re, Lolo Phumoi k’u, Akha k’u, Ahi k’i-, Nyi, Lolopho tś’ə-, Chōko tś (p. 366), Tś airelish Katsinsh k’oṅ/, Kadu lā-goṅ (p. 412) ]

171. cỏ 'grass' [ OB stswa || A W. Bod. Sbalti rtswa, Burig ștsoa (p. 79) ]
172. sätt 'iron' [ OB ltśags || A W. Bod. Sbalti ltśak, Burig stśaK- (p. 80), Northern Assam Meyöl tśāk (p. 179) ]
173. đói 'hunger' [ OB ltogs-pa || A W. Bod. Sbalti ltok-, Burig ltok (p. 80) ]
174. tròng 'look' [ OB tlos || A W. Bod. Sbalti, Burig ltos (p. 80)]
175. thấy 'see' [ OB mt’oṅ, Sbalti, Burig t’oṅ (p. 81), other Bod. languages Tsangla t’oṅ (p. 117), West Himalayish languages Buman, Themor, Kanauri, Mantśati -taṅ, Tśamba-Lahuli ta- (p. 133) ]
176. tròng 'empty' [ OB stoṅ-pa || A W. Bod. Sbalti stoṅ (p. 81), OT Bod. lang. Tsangla stoṅ-po (p. 117) ]
177. nói 'vessel, pot' [ OB snod || A W. Bod. Sbalti snod (p. 81) ]
178. râu 'beard' [ OB sma-ra || A W. Bob. Sbalti smay-ra, Burig smayan-rā (p. 81), other Bod languages Ladwags smari-ra, Tsangla maṅ-ra (p. 118) ]
179. cūa 'door' [ OB sgo || A W. Bob. zgo, Burig zgō (p. 81), Eastern dialect sgo (p. 111), Minor groups Kukish k’ār, Newari k’ā, Burmish M Bur. k’a, (p. 384), Lolo Lisu k’a (p. 384) ]
180. bọt 'bubble' [ OB sbu-ba || A W. Bob. zbw-, Burig zbal- (p. 81) ]
181. đêm 'night' [ OB mts’an-mo || A W. Bod. Sbalti ts’an (p. 81), Souther Branch Kukish *yān, Luṣei zān, Thado yān, Śiyang yan3, Vuite zan (p. 247) ]
182. mâu 'color' [ OB mdog- || A W. Bob. Burig -dok (p. 82) ]
183. ngọt 'sweet' [ OB mnår-ba || A W. Bod. Sbalti, Burig ņar- (p. 82) ]
184. mōi, mò 'lips, beak' [ OB mtś’u || A W. Bod. Sbalti k’am-tśu, Burig k’am-tśū (p. 82) ]
185. mūi ‘nose’ [ OB mtś’ul-pa || A W. Bod. Sbalti snam-sul (nostril), Burig snam-tś’ul (p. 82), Norther Assam Midžu mīnyuṅ, Meyöl mīnoṅ (p. 187) ]
186. bọt 'flour' [ OB p’ye || A W. Bod. Sbalti -p’e, Burig -p’e (p. 82) ]
187. phía 'side, direction' [ OB p’yogs || A W. Bod. Sbalti -p’yox, Burig -pi (p. 82) ]
188. dôi 'pair' [ OB dor || A W. Bod. Sbalti dor (p. 83) ]
189. nóng 'hot' [ OB dro-ba || A W. Bod. Sbalti trong-, Burig drun- (p. 83) ]
190. nhọn 'sharp' [ ~ V 'pointed' | OB rnon-pa || A W. Bod. Ladwags rnon- (J) (p. 83) ]
191. gió 'wind' [ OB rdzi || A W. Bod. Ladwags zi (p. 86), Luhupa Kukish t-k-?-k’li, Luśei t’li, Tengima -k’ra (p. 292) ]
193. ngủ 'sleep' [ OB snyid || S. Bod. Groma nyiʾ- (p. 91) ]
194. khác 'different' [ OB k’yad || C. Bod. Choni k’yä (p.102) ]
195. vua 'king' [ OB rgyal-po || E. dialects Amdo rgyal-wo (p. 105) ]
196. bànčân 'foot' [ OB bań, OB rkań-pa (leg) || E. dialects Amdo hkań-wa (p. 106), Kham s rkań-pa (p. 112), W. Hima. lang. Thebor bań-k’at (p. 133) ]
197. cätt 'cut' [ OB btśad || OT Bod. lang. Tsangla tśa (p. 117) ]
198. thăng 'straight' [ OB drań-po || OT Bod. lang. Tsangla drań-po (p. 117) ]
199. büt 'pull out weeds' [ OB p’ut (pf.) || OT Bod. lang. Tsangla p’ut (p. 118) ]
200. trăng 'white' [ OB dkar-ba || OT Bod. lang. Gurung, Marmi, Thaksya tar- | Shafer: Parallel to OB dkar-ba "white" are not found outside Bodish, and one can only say the the primitive Tibeto-Burmic form may have been *t-ɣar which would explain the preservation of the prefix and the dropping of the initial.) (p. 125) ]
201. chí, chây 'louse' [ OB šig || W. Himal. lang. Kukish hrig, Bunan šrig, Thebor ši, Kanauri rik (p. 135) ]
202. lại 'arrive, come' [ OB sleb || W. Himal. lang. Bunan leb, Mantši hleb (p. 138), Minor group Toṭo, Dhimal le- (p. 169) ]
203. chằnmày 'eyebrow' [W. Himal. lang. Thebor mik-tśam (also 'eyelashes'),
Kanauri mik-tsam (p. 140)]

204. móng 'claw, fingernail' [OB sder-mo || West Central and East Himalayish
Vayu deme (p. 144)]

205. củ 'potato' [OB skyi-ba || W. C E. Himal. lang. Dumi ki 'yam', Kulung k’e,
Rodong -ki, Kiranti, Waling -k’i, Balali k’u, Limbu, Yakkha k’e (p. 152)]

206. quăng 'throw away' [Kunkish wor’ < *war’ || Minor groups Newari wā- (p.
160)]

207. bàn 'put on clothes, wear' [Southern Branch Kukhish *bun, Kukish bun, Lu
šei bun, Ralte -bn-, Śiyang būn (p. 250) || Minor groups Newari pū (K), Tśairelish
Katśingish bun, Kadu p’un (p. 411)]

208. trâu 'buffalo' [Northern Assam Miśingoish Midźu tāloi (p. 182), Old Kukish
Kukish *loi, Luśei loi, Meithlei i-roi (p. 282)]

209. cột 'bind, tie' [N. Ass. Midźu kid3 (M), Meyöl kid3 (p. 185), Tśairelish Katś
inish k’it, Kadu git (p. 410)]

210. nâu 'brown' [N. Ass. Midźu rańāl, Meyöl ńāl (p. 186)]

211. bắp 'corn' [N. Ass. Midźu b@ (N), Taying ma-bōl(N) (p. 186)]

212. (bồng)bế 'carry' [N. Ass. Midźu ba (N), Taying ba (N) (p. 186), E. Nyising b
ū (p. 194)]

213. ruộng 'field' [N. Ass. Miśingoish jhum, Yano rek, Bunang rig (p. 204)]

214. khum 'bow down' [Kukish kum ?, (to stoop), Ka. kum, gūm || N. Ass. Miś
ing kum, Yano rek, Bunang rig (p. 204)]

215. cùng 'together' [Kukish M-k’@m || N. Ass. Miśingoish kum (p. 204)]

216. kep 'pinch, tongs' [Kukish -k’ep, Dimasa K’ep (p. 204)]

217. vùi 'bury' [S. K. Kukish *wui, Luśei vui, Khimi vui (p. 208), S. Br. Thado
wui, Śiyang wi (p.249), Luhupa Branch Kukish *wui, Luśei vui, Phadang tśa-hui
(p. 312)]

218. ngắn 'short' [S. K. Luśei hniam, Śo nyen, -nen (p. 218)]

219. bàn [S. K. Hwalngau bāl, Śo ba (p. 220)]

220. là 'defecate' [S. K. Luśei ēk’, Śo ek (p. 221)]
221. móc 'mildew' [S. K. Luśei ēk' hmuar, Šo -hm@ (p. 221)]
222. lón 'great, large' [S. K. *lian, Šo len (p. 222), Kapwi -lin (p. 39), Old Kukish Kukish *lian, Luśei lian, Mara lai, Tlongsai lai-pa, Sabeu -lai (p. 271)]
223. sét 'thunderbolt' [S. K. *-krēk, Luśei tēk, Tśinbok ŋ-ŋrēk/ (p. 222), Old Kukish *M-Krēk, Tśiru me-tšek, Purum -tek (p. 261)]
224. nā 'mother' [Central Branch Kukish *nu, Haka, Panku nu, Taungtha, Šon še -nu, Bandžogi nu (p. 230), all Old Kukish languages show the articulation of /nu/ (p. 252)]
225. vö 'husk' [C. Br. Kukish *wai, Luśei wai, Pankhu -vai, Haka vai (p. 230), Old Kukish Meithlei wai (p. 282)]
226. voi 'elephant' [O Bur. *m-ɣui, Šo (a)-mui, Yawdwin m-wi, Ukhrul mā-vhû, Phadang mahwi (pp. 25-27), C. Br. all languages, Haka, Taungtha, Šonše wi (p. 232), Lahupa Branch Kukish *m-ɣui, Luśei wi, Ukhrul mā-vʿu, Phadang ma-hwi (p. 312)]
227. trong 'clear' [C. Br. Kukish *M-r-tʿiańʾ, Kapwi ma-tʿeń (p. 242)]
228. xâu 'bad' [Northern Branch Kukish *tšiatʾ, Luśei tšiatʾ, Šiyang šiě, sʿia (p. 244)]
229. tōt 'good' [Old Kukish Kuki *pʿra, Luśei tʿa, Tśiru, Kom, Langang, Anal -tʿa, Aimol, Hallam, Kolhreng -sa, Purum -tʿa, Langrong tʿa, Biate tʿa- (pp. 261, 262)]
230. xa 'far' [Southern Branch Kukish *hlaʾ, Luśei lā, Thado -la, Ralte -la-, Šiyang -la, Vuite -la (p. 246)]
231. lāi 'again' [S. Br. Kukish leʾ, Luśei leʾ, Thado le, Ralte leʾ, Šiyang le, Vuite leʾ (p. 248)]
232. lān 'times' [S. Br. Kukish *lai, Luśei lai, Thado -lai, Ralte -lai-, Šiyang lai, Vuite -lai- (p. 248)]
233. bű, bà 'large, female' [C. Br. Kukish *pui, Luśei pui, Haka pi, Šonše, Band žogi -pi (p. 234), S. Br. (also 'female') Thado -pî, Šiyang -pui, Vuite pi (p. 249)]
234. ūc, nguc 'chest' [S. Br. Kukish *ir, Luśei, Ralte ir (p. 249)]
235. sao 'star' [S. Br. Kukish *ɣār, Luśei ār-ši, Thado, Šiyang a-ši (p. 249), Old Kukish Kuki *ɣār, Tśiru ār-ši, Aimol ār-ši (p. 256), Luhupa Branch Maring sor-,
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?  

Ukhrul sir-, Phadang sār-, Kupome su, C. and N. Luhupa sā-, Maram sā-gai, Rong sā-hór (p. 324)

236. mỏ 'mouth' [ ~ V 'miệng, mồm, mõm' | S. Br. Kukish *hmūr, Luṣei hmūr, Thado mu, Śiyang mu' (p. 249), Old Kukish Luṣei hmūr (also V mồm 'point', Mara hm@-, Tlongsai -hmo (p. 172), Luhupa Branch Maring, Khoibu mur, Ukhrul mor, Kupome mo-, Khunggoi -mo, Kwoireng -mun, Rengma mañ- (p. 324) ]

237. nói 'say' [ OB ńag, M Bur. ńak (speech) (pp. 36-39), S. Br. Kukish *soi, Luṣ ei soi, Thado soi-, Ralte -soi- (p. 249) ]

238. mọi 'slave' [ S. Br. Kukish *boiʾ, Luṣei boiʾ, Ralte boi-, Vuite boi (p. 249) ]

239. đầy 'full' [ S. Br. Kukish *dim, Luṣei dim-, Thado dim, Śiyang dim (p. 251), Tśairelish Katśinish dim, Kadu dem (p. 411) ]

240. nai 'deer' [ Old Kukish Kuki *ŋai, Luṣei sa-ŋai, Tširu, Aimol, Purum, Kolhreng, Kom sā-ŋai, Lamgang -sā-ŋai (p. 253), Kukish *ŋai, Meithlei sā-ŋai (p. 179), Luhupa Branch Maring sā-ŋai, Ukhrul sa-ŋai (p. 309) ]

241. ruột 'bowels' [ Northern branch Thanphum ā-rīn, Matupi Xrīl (p. 251), OK Kukish *k-r2īl, Luṣei rīl, Mara rī (p. 272) ]

242. dưới 'under' [ OK Kuki *tʿau, Luṣei tʿau-a, Tširu tʿ@i, Aimol tʿoy-a2, Purum -tʿuy-a, Hallam tʿoy-a (p. 253) ]

243. mất 'lose' [ OK Kuki *mañ, *hmañ, Luṣei mañ, Aimol, Purum -mañ-, Hallam mañ- (p. 256), Luhupa Branch Rengma -m´e-, ememai mo-]

244. thật 'very' [ OK Kuki *tak, Kolhreng -tak (p. 256) ]

245. rất 'much, many' [ OK Kuki *yāt, Kolhreng -yāt- (p. 257) ]

246. cãi 'quarrel' [ OK Kuki *kalʾ, Luṣei kalʾ, Anal kal- (p 257) ]

247. rớt 'fall' [ OK Kuki *klākʾ, Luṣei tlākʾ, Biate, -klākʾ (p.257) ]

248. uông 'drink' [ OK Kuki *in, Luṣei in, Biate in, Purum in-, Kom -in- (pp. 257-258) ]

249. cừu 'goat' [ V. trừu 'sheep', OK Kuki *kēl, Luṣei kēl, Tśiru, Purum, Lnagong kel, Kom ke (p. 259), Luhupa Branch Maring, Ukhrul yāo (p. 312) ]

250. ngựa 'horse' [ OK Kuki *kor, Luṣei -kor, Tśiru, Prum -koř, Aimol, Langrong, Hrangkhol -kor (p. 259) ]
251. cóc ‘toad’ [ OK Kuki *Prok, Luśei, Lamgang -tok, Tārāo -tok (pp. 262-262) ]
252. còng ‘drum’ [ OK Kuki *k’uāŋ, Luśei k’uāŋ, Tśiru, Lamgang k’oŋ, Aimal k’ū woń, Langrong -k’@ń, Hrangkhol k’oŋ-, Kolhreng k’ūwoń, Kom k’an (p. 260) ]
253. muồn ‘wish’ [ OK Kuki *nuam, Luśei nuam, Aimal -nwom-, Langrong -n@m-, Hrangkhol pūn, Kolhreng -nūwom-, Kom -hnūm- (p. 260) ]
254. trai ‘masculine’ [ OK Luśei tśal, Kom ma-tśe, Tśiru a-tsa (. p 261) ]
255. rào ‘fence’ [ OK Luśei pal, Kom ra-pe, Tśiru ra-pa (p. 261) ]
256. dê ‘goat, wild goat’ [ M yáng 羊 jań || Burmish Lolo Nyi ȝo/, Ahi ȝu-, Loolopho yai (373), also O Bur. *-it, M Bur. tś’it, Lolo Phumoi tsut, Akha tś’i, Ulu tś’ yi (p. 372), OK Kukish *M-ya, Luśei, Mara sa-ya, Tlongsai s@-z@ (p. 266), also Kukish *yau, Meithlei yao (sheep) (p. 282) | (~ SV 'mùi' wèi 未 as in the 12 animal Zodiac table), Kukish *me, Luśei me, Śandu mya (p. 269), Luhupa Branch Maram mi, Kwoireng, Khoirao -ka-mi (p. 307) ]
257. dày ‘thick’ [ OK Kukish *t’sa’, Luśei t’sa’, Mara t’sa (p. 266) ]
258. nắng ‘sun’ [ OK Kukish *k?-ni, Luśei ni, Mara, Tlongsai, Hawthai nań (p. 267) ]
259. nghe(loan) ‘obey, listen’ [ OK Kukish *-r-ńai, Luśei ńai, Sabeu -ńey (p. 269), Luhupa Branch Hlota -ńa-, Tśungli -ńa, Longla ńa (p. 310) ]
260. kéo ‘force or pull open’ [ Old Kukish Kukish *t-keo, Luśei keo, Mara *sa-kei (p. 269) ]
261. câu ‘fishhook’ [ OK Kukish *ar-t?-kuai, Luśei -kuai, Mara kei (p. 269) ]
262. lật ‘turn over’ [ OK Kukish *M-let, *let ‘upside down’, Luśei let, letʾ, Mara pa-li, li, (p. 269) ]
263. nhét ‘tack in’ [ OK Kukish *yep’, Luśei zep’, Mara zi (p. 271) ]
264. kén ‘choisy’ [ OK Kukish *k’iań, Luśei k’iań, Tlongsai, Mara k’ (p. 271) ]
265. vượn ‘monkey’ [ OK Kukish *-y@ń, Luśei z@ń, Tlongsai a-zeu, Miram -a-zau_ (p. 271), Meithlei yöm (p. 280), Luhupa Branch Maring yuń, Khoibu, Ukhrul, Phadang Kupome, Khunggoi, C. and N. Luhupa, Maram, Khoirao -yoń, Kwoireng -dzoń (pp. 296, 297) ]
266. hàn ‘solder’ [ OK Kukish *hār, Luśei hār, Tlongsai h@- (p. 271) ]
tên 'arrow' [ OK Kukish *t'al, Lušeī t'al, Sabeu tśa-ney (p. 272), Mikir tāl (p. 277) ]

tre 'bamboo' [ OK Kukish *tśāl, Lušeī tśāl, Hawthai -tśa, Sabeu -tśe (p. 272) ]

thuí 'rot' [ OK Kukish *t'u, Haka tu, Mara tu, Mikir t'u (p. 277) ]

dđơn 'be rumored' [ OK Kukish *t'ań', Lušeī t'ań, Mikir t'ań (rumor) (p. 277) ]

quạt 'fan' [ OK Kukish *yāpʾ, Lušeī zāpʾ, Mikir hi-zāp' (p. 277) ]

cūi 'bend down' [ OK Kukish *kūr, Lušeī kūr, Mikir kur (p. 278) ]

lung 'back' [ OK Kukish *hnuń, Lušeī hnuń, Mikir nuń (p. 278) ]

dōng 'water course' [ OK Kukish *duń, Lušeī duń, Mikir duń (p. 278) ]

trà(giá) [ OK Kukish *d@r, Lušeī d@r, Mikir dor-pet (p. 278) ]

trùn 'worm' [ OK Kukish *til, Lušeī tśi, Mikir til (p. 279) ]

người 'thou' [ OK Kukish *nań, Lušeī, Meithlei nań (p. 283) ]

phông 'swell' [ OK Kukish *puam, Lušeī puam, Meithlei pom- (p. 284), Luhupa Branch Rong pūm-byom (p. 319), M Bur p'wam', O Bod sbom-`, Tś airelish Kātsinis puam, Kadu pūm (p. 411) ]

sừng 'horn' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *t-ń-r-ki, Lušeī ki, Maring tśi, Khoibu, Khoirao -tśi, Khunggoi-tśi, C. Luhupa -m-tśi, N. Luhupa (a)kā-tśū, Kabui tśai (p. 287) ]

sợ, dè 'fear' [ (See also cử, kỵ) Luhupa Branch Kukish *kri, Luśei ţi, Maring, Khoibu, Khunggoi, Mongsen tśi-, Ukhrul ņā-tśi, Phadang n-dźé, Tśangki tsă- (p. 290), Tś ungli -tso, Mongsen tsi-, also Tśangki tsê- (p. 305) ]

hùm 'tiger' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish hum, Maring hum-, Khoibu hom-, Khoirao -hu- (p. 300) ]

hành 'onion' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *ho, Kupome, Maram, Kabui -hau (pp. 299, 300) ]

dất 'earth' [ Luhupa Branch *k-m-de’, Kwoirng kā-d-di, Kabui kā-n-di, Khoirao n-d’a, Empeo go-dei (p. 307) ]

ai 'I' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *ei, Phadang i, Kupome ai, Khunggoi ei3 (p. 307) ]
285. trái 'left' [ Luhupa Branch Hukish *t-p?-wei, Luśei vei-, Kupomr wai- (p. 307) ]
286. mỗi 'white ant' [ Luhupa Branch *lei, Luśei lei-, Ukhrul, Kupome, Khunggoi lei-, Phadang lei-3 (p. 307) ]
287. hay 'know' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *tʿeiʾ, Luśei tʿei-?, Kabui tai- (p. 308) ]
288. chơi 'to play' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *tśai, Luśei tśai, Hlota tśa- (p. 310) ]
289. sôi 'to boil' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *so, Luśei śo, Tśungli -so, Rong tsu (p. 311) ]
290. cào 'grassshopper' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *kʿau, Luśei kʿao, Ukhrul kʿaǒ, Imemai kʿ- to-zè, Zumoni tʿla-ku (p. 312) ]
291. làm 'make, do' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *siam, Luśei śiam, Zumomi ši-, Tengima si- (p. 322), Burmish O Bur, M Bur. lup, N Bur. louʾ, Arak., Intha lot, Tavoy lauʿ, Samong lak (p. 361) ]
292. chị 'man's sister' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish *far, Luśei kʿao, Ukhrul kʿtsar, Kupome -dźa-, Maram -ti-, Kwoireng -tan- (p. 324) ]
293. dệt 'weave' [ Burmish O. Bur. rak, M. Bur. rak, N. Bur. yeʾ, Intha yak, Danu yet, Tavoy yit (p. 346), Lolo Ahi ye, Nyi ie-, Lolopho yi (p. 370) ]
294. bông 'suddenly' [ Burmish M. Bur. pʿrut-, N. Bur. pʿyouʿ-, Lawng pyat ('fast') (p. 358) ]
296. khum 'to stoop' [ Burmish O Bur. kʿum, M Bur. kʿum, N Bur. kʿoǔ, Lawng kam, Tsaiwa kim (p. 361) ]
297. xong 'complete' [ Burmish O Bur. tśum, M Bur. tśum, N Bur. soǔ, Tavoy sa ū (p. 361) ]

300. chở 'market' [Burmish M Bur. dź'e\, Lolo Ahi tś'ə\, Nyi k'ə, Lolopho tś'e\— (p. 367) ]

301. gai 'thorn' [Burmish Bur. *tś(')o\, M Bur. tś'u, Lolo Lolopho tśu (p.369) ]

302. mặc 'to dress' [Burmish Bur. *wat, M Bur. wat (p. 3371) ]


304. dăn 'lead' [Burmish Lolo tsiń\, Ahi tsań (p. 374) ]

305. lưa 'mule' [Burmish M. Bur. la\, Lolo Ahi lo\, Nyi la-, Lolopho lo (p.379) ]

306. u 'mother' [Tśairelish Tśairel (a)-u, Mru u, Katśinish u ? (p. 391) ]

307. đen 'black' 'black' [OT Bod. lang. Gurung mloń-ya, Marmi mlań-ai, Thaksya malań (p. 127), Tśairelish Katśinish dum, Andro tum-, Sengmai t'um-, Sak -t'ün (p. 397) ]

308. hăm 'twenty' [Tśairelish Katśinish m-kul, Andro hol, Sak hǔn (p. 397) ]

309. non 'young, soft' [Tśairelish Katśinish -no, Kadu nu (p. 408) ]

310. phun 'sprinkle' ['V 'bân' | Tśairelish Katśinish p'ul, Kadu bun (p. 408) ]

311. lăn 'roll' [Tśairelish Katśinish lum, Kadu lum- (p. 410) ]

312. sạch 'clean' [OB seń-, Tśairelish Katśinish M-r?-t'iań', Kadu seń (p. 411) ]

313. cẳng 'leg' [Tśairelish Katśinish k'oń\, Kadu lā-goń (p. 412) |OB rkań-pa, Karenic *k’ań, Karenni mā, Pwo k’ā9, Sgaw k’@7, Taungthu kań, Yinbaw kań\, Taungyi -k’ań3, Thaton k’ań3 (pp. 418, 419) ]

314. lá 'leaf' [OB lab-ma || W. Himal. lang. Kukish lap?\, Bunan, Mantšti lab (p 138), Tśairelish Katśinish lap, Rawang -lāp, Khālang -lāp (p. 402), Mnyamskad lap-ti, West Himal. lab, Midzę, Kadu lap (p. 405), Luśei la, Karenic *hla\, Karenni lā, Pwo la28, Sgaw la7, Bwe lā7 (p. 414) ]

315. vợ 'wife' ['V 'mợ' | OB sna, O Bur. hna, Karenic *hma-\, Karenni mā, Pwo mə38, Sgaw mā1, Bwe mā’ (p. 414) ]

316. nghe 'hear' [OB -nä, O Bur. na, Karenic *na\, Pwo nā6, Sgaw nə8-, Bwe mä' (p. 414) ]

317. bò 'cow' [OB ba, OB E. *bik || A W. Bod. Burig bā (p. 83), Groma, Šarpa bo (calf), Dangđongskad, Lhoskad ba (p. 93), Central Bodish Lagate pa-, Spiti, Gtsang, Dbus, Āba b’ā, Mnyamslad, Džad pa (p. 98), other Bod. languages]
Rgyarong (ki)-bri, -bru (p. 120), modern Bod. dialects New Mantšati (bullock), Tšamba Lahuli (ox) baṅ, Rangloi baṅ-ṭa (bullock) (p. 130) || also Chin. 牝 byi/ (Chin. cow, female of animal), OB āibri-mo (tame female yak) (p. 59), Minor group Toṭo pik-(a), Dimal pi-(a) (p. 187), Southern Branch Kukish *b@ń, Luśei b@ń, Thado boṅ, Vuite -b@ń- (p. 250), E. Himalayish bi’, Khambu pi’, Lohorong, Yakhha pik (p. 330) for 'buffalo': Luśei pā-na, Khami *mā-na, Karenic *-na-, Karenni pæ2-nā2, Pwo pæ1-na6, Sgaw pæ2-næ8, Bwe pa-nā2 (p. 414) ]

318. cọp 'tiger' [ Old Burmese t-kei, Middle Burmese kya\ < *kla < *kī-la, Luśei -kei, Tśiru ā-kei, Mara tša-kei, Meithlei kei, Mikir te-ke (pp.22-23), Southern Branch Kukish *t-kei, Luśei kei', Thado -kei, Śiyang, Vuite kei (p. 248), Old Kukish Tśiru -kei, Amol ā-kei, Purum kei, Hrangkhol -gei, Hallam -ikei (p. 253), Old Kukish Mara tša-kei, Tlongsai, Hawthai, Zotung kei (p. 268), Khami tā-kei, Mikir ta-ke (p. 277), Karenic Pwo -kē38_, Sgaw kē2, Bwe k’e (p.416) ]

319. bē, biēn 'sea' [ M. Bur. pań-lay, Karenic *pañ, Pwo pa9-lai28, Sgaw pā7-lə7, p@7-lə7 (pp. 416, 418) ]

320. gò 'hill, mound' [ M qīu 丘 kʿu, M xū 虚 kʿǒ-, Siamese kʿo/ (p.44) | M. Bur. ko, Luśei ko, Karenic *kʿo, Pwo kʿo28 (p. 416) ]

321. mọ 'mother' [ OB mo, Karenic *mo, Pwo mo5, Sgaw mo8 (p. 416) ]

322. cō 'throat' [ OB lkog-ma || A W. Bod. Sbalti rkox | Karenic *gōk, Pwo kʿō1, Sgaw kō4 (p. 417) ]

323. mọ 'dream' [ OB rmań-lam, M Bur. mak, Kukish mań || OT Bod. lang. Rgyarong (rta)-romo (E.) (p. 121) | Northern Assam Taying ya-mo (p. 190), Miśing, Abor ma(ṅ), Yano -m@, E. Nyising -ma, Tagen m@-na (p. 196), Burmish O Bur. ' ip-mak, N. Bur. me', Lawng -m@ (p. 346) | Luśei mań, Karenic *mań, Pwo -me’3, Sgaw -m@8, Taungthu -mań, Paku -mo5, Geba, Bwe -ma2, Yinbaw -mań (pp. 418, 419) ]

324. nhọ 'remember' [ Karenic Paku -nọ4, Bwe, Geba -ne2, Nuku -nẽ (p. 419) ]

325. lôn 'vagina' [ Karenic Paku li5, Bwe čli2, Geba a2li2, Taungyi ḡn, Thaton ḡn2 (p. 419) ]
326. cất 'penis' [ OB mdže- || A W. Bob. Sbalti dže- (p. 81) ]
327. ngón 'finger, toe' [ OB mdzug-gu, O Bur. *m-yuń, Luśei zuń, Khimi mă-zuń, Maring, Phadang m-yuń, Tšangli me-yon, Maring ma-tin (p. 44) || A W. Bod. Burig zu' (p. 81), Central Branch Kukish *m-yuń, Kapwi -uń (p. 240) | also OB bran-mo, West Himalayish languages Thebor brań, Suntśu bran-tś, Kanauri prat-ts, Mantśati bren-ze (p. 136), Southern Branch Thado -yuń, Ralte zuń, Šiyang -zyum, Vuite zuń- (p. 247), Luhupa Branch -ma-yuń, Ukhrul yuń-, Kupome -yuń-, Kwoireng, Kabui -dźuń, Empeo dźuń- (p. 316), Hlota -ioń-, Tšungli me-yoń, Mongsen -mi-yuń (p. 318), Rengma dźoń-u (p. 320), Tšairelish Katśinish m-yuń, Kadu l-iń (p. 410) | 'finger' Karenic Geba -no1, Naku -no2, Yinbaw -no1, Taungyi -no2, Thaton -no3 (p. 420) ]
328. đá 'stone' [ OB rdo || A W. Bob. rdo-, Burig rdǒa (p. 80), Ladwags rdo (p. 85), Eastern dialects Amdo 'do (p.108) | Karenic Paku lō5, Bwe, Geba lo2, Nuku lō\ (p.420) ]
329. cứt 'dung, feces, excrement' [ M shǐ 屎 tśi, OB ltśi-ba (p. 59), skyi-bskyis, Siamese k’i2, M. Bur. k’ye1, Dimaras k'į, Katśin k’yį (p.44), Burmish Bur. *k’yį1, Lolo Ahi k’į1, Nyi tśe1, Lolopho tśe- (p. 366) | Karenic Sgaw kʾi2- (p. 421) ]
330. xương 'bone' [ OB rus-pa | OT Bod. lang. Rgyarong ša-ru (E.), šarhu (H.) p. 120), || West Central and East Himalayish Baging rõ-sye, Sunwari ru-še, Tš aurasya ru-su, Dumi sa-lu < *sa-ru, Khaling so-lo, Rodong sa-ru-wa, Karanti sa-i-ba, Waling sa-ia, sa-r’-wa, Rungtśh sa-yu-ba, yu-ba, (p. 148), Karenic Paw tś wi28, Sinhma, Tangthu -swi (p.423) ]
331. cong 'crooked, bent' [ M Bur. kwań, OB koń (p.46), Old Kukish Kuki *-koi, Luśei koi, Biate koi (p. 255), Melthlei -k’oį (p. 282) | Baric Dimasa goń, Garo goń-, Namsangia -kuąń (p.427) ]
333. câm 'chin' [ Lušei k’a, Karenic *k’a₁, Pwo k’a2-lə, Sgaw k’a7, Bwe k’a2 (p. 414) | Baric Dimasa k’u-sga, Namsangia ka’, Banbara ka (jaw), Tšang kau-ša ň (p 427) ]


335. qua 'crow' [ OB k’wa-ta, Baric Garo, Bodo, Metś, Tipora, Dimasa, Namsangia -k’a (p. 427) ]

336. mät 'face' [ Southern Kukish Kukish *hmai, Lušei hmai, Khimi -mai (p. 207), Central Branch Haka hmai-, Šonše hmai, Bandźogi mai (p. 230), Kapwi mai- (p. 239), Southern Branch Thado mai, Šiyang, Vuite mai (p.246), Northern Branch Thanphum -hmai, Matupi m(e)hūt (p. 251), Luhupa Branch Marin, Ukhrul, Phadang mai, Kupome, Khunggoi mai1, Hlota -m’a, Tšungli, Mongsen ma (p. 310), and most of the Old Kukish languages show the articulation of either /hmai/ or /mai/ (p. 253), Meithlei mai (p. 282) | Baric Garo mik-k’ań, Bodo mǎ-k’ań, Metś mu-k’ań, Tipora, Dimasa mu-k’aň (p. 427) ]

337. tro 'ashes' [ Baric Garo tapra, Tipora, Dimasa t’āpla, Bodo hat’@pla, Metś ha-topla, Atong tap-pa-ra, Mośang tap-t’a, Namsangia tapla, Tšang tap (p. 428) ]

338. câp 'steal' [ OB rku, Burmese k’uᵣ, Baric Mosang a-gu, Namsangia hu-, Angwangku ku, Tšang kok (p. 428) ]

339. ngáy 'snore' [ O Bur. *m-hnār, Lušei hnār, Mara pa-hn@, E. Mikir iń-nar, Mikir in-ńar (by assimilation) (pp. 25-27), OK Kukish *m-hnār, Lušei hnār, Mara pa-hn@ (p. 271), E. Mikir iń-nar, Miker in-ńar (p. 277) | Bodish ñug, Baric Tšang ńak-ńak (p. 428) ]

340. chuột 'rat. mouse' [ Luhupa Branch Kukish **b-yl\, Lušeī zu, Maring yu-, Phalang ma-su3, Kipome ma-džeu, Kwoireng tā-dža, Empeo -zu (p. 305) | Baric Namsangia džu-pu, Banpara zu, zu, yu (p. 428) ]

341. cánh 'wing' [ N. Assam Midžu kloń (M), Meyöl (p. 185) | Baric Garo grań, Tipora -kra (feather), Metš grań, Dimasa -gā-rań (feather), Wanang ka-rań, Moș ang wu-roń, Banpara rań (p 428) ]

342. lấy 'take, get' [ Minor group Newari lā- (p.158) | Southern Kukish Khimi lau < *lo (p. 207), Southern Branch Kukish *lā', Lušeī lāk', Thado la', Ralte -la-, Š iyang la', Vuite -la- (p.246) || Also Luhupa Branch Kukish *lo̩, Lušeī lo, Maram, Kwoireng lo-, Kabui lao, Khoirao lau-, Empeo lu-, Zumomi lu-, Dayang lu, Tengima le, Tšakrima le- (p. 299), Tšairelish Katsǐngish lo, Kadu lu, Rawang lu (p. 404) | Baric Moșang lu (seize), Namsangia lu- (catch), (pp. 435, 441) ]

343. trái 'fruit' [ OB se-, Chin. (?), Katšin si, M Bur. -sī, Kukish *t'ei̱, Dimasa t' ai, Lušeī t'ei (p. 52) | Southern Kukish Khimi lau < *lo (p. 207), Southern Branch Kukish *t'ei, Khimi -t'ai (p. 207), Šo te (p. 218), Minor groups Newari se, si, Old Kukish Kukish *t'ei̱, Lušeī t'ei̱, Mikir t'e (p. 276), Luhupa Branch Ukhrul t'ei, Phadang t'i, Tšamphung -t'ai, Kupome t'ai, Khunggoi t'ai-, C. and N. Luhupa -t'ai, Zumomi, Dayang -t'i (pp. 289, 308, Tš airelish Katsǐngish t'ei, Rawang -sī (p. 404) | Baric Garo -t'e, Bodo, Metš, Dimasa, Tipora -t'ai, Tsutiya tśi-ti, Wanang t'ai, Atong t'ai (p. 436) ]

344. sống 'live, alive, raw, green' [ OB gson || A W. Bod. xson-, Burig son (p. 78) | Bur. hrań (live, to be alive), Kukish -hriń, Baric Bodo, Metš t'ań, Dimasa, Lalung t'ań, Garo -t'ań, gi-tiń (unripe, green), Wanang -t'iń (raw), Moșań -t'iń (unripe), Namsangia -hiń (green, raw), Thebor -sīń (live), Kanauri šoń (alive, to live), Mant šti sriń (live, living), Katšinish kā-siń (raw, not ripe) (p.436) ]


346. làng 'village' [ Baric Tšang sāń (p437) ]
347. **khói 'smoke'** [ OB k’u (NNW), M Bur. -k’u-i, Luśei -k’u (p. 59) || Kukish *m-k’u, Bur. -k’u-i, Diamasa -k’u-dí, Katśin -k’ru (p.44) || West Himalayish languages Bunan, Thebor k’u (p. 132), other Bod. languages Rgyarong -k’u (p. 120), Meithlei -k’u (p. 280), Luhupa Branch, Holta -k’u, Tśungli, Mongsen -k’o-1, Khari k-ü, Maring k’u, Ukhrul k’ut, Phadang -k’ut, Khunggoi -k’u, Dayang -k’u (pp. 305, 306), Burmish Bur. *k’uĩ, Lolo Akha k’oĩ, Nyi k’əĩ, Ahi k’ōĩ, Ulu k’ōĩ, Wei-ning k’ü (p. 368) || Baric Garo, Tipora, Muthun -k’u, Dimasa -k’u-di, Atong -k’u-si, Mošang -k’ru (p. 441) ]

348. **cú 'owl'** [ V cū 'old', M jìu 舊 gǔ (Chin. modern 'old', it is interesting see the phonetic resemblance in both words.), M Bur. ku, Luśei *ku, Siamese, Lao go^ (p. 60) || Baric Garo, Bodo, Metś, Tipora, Dimasa, Namsangia -k’udu (p. 427) || other Bod. languages Rgyarong -k’u (p. 120) || Baric Tipora, Bodo, Metś -k’u (p. 441) ]

349. **mây 'cloud, fog'** [ OB rmugs-pa || N. Ass. Miśing d@-muk, Yano d@-mök, Tagen d@-mó’ (p. 200), Luhupa Branch Kukish *t-meī, Luśei -mei, Maring rā-mai (p. 308), Tśairelish Tśairel mai, Kśatsinish t?-mei (p. 391) || Kukish t?-mei, Baric Tśang sañ-meï (p. 442) ]

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**B) Problems in proving cognates of numerals**

There exist problems in proving the relation among Chinese and V numerals. In fact, all the forms appear in most of the ST languages, or at least in Chinese, do not show uniform sound change patterns for the whole numeral set. However, one cannot solely base on similarity in numeral counting to draw any conclusion in genetic relation as some have done so in the past. Numeral counting in Vietnamese from 1 to 5 are somewhat similar to those numerals spreading out in the Mon-Khmer languages. Some of their forms are indisputably cognates showing there is a clear V phonetic connection to them.

In all ST languages, some etyma of what we found with numerals are:
1 to 10 [ OB g-tśig 1, g-nyis 2, g-sum 3, b-ţi 4, l-ńa < *b-l-ńa 5, d-rug 6, b-dun 7, b-rgyad 8, d-gu 9, b-tshu 10 ] (Shafer, pp. 21-23, 29-33, 37, 41, 56)

1 môt [ M yī — 'it, M Bur. 'atś, Siamese 'ět_3 ]


4 bôn [ M sī 四 si, OB bźi < *bźli, Siamese sī_1, M Bur. le/, Luṣei li || Archaic West Bodish dialects Sbalti bźi, Burig zbźi (p. 78), West Himalayish languages Kanauri pō, Buman, Themor, Mantśati, Almora pi, Jangali pari (p. 134), West Central and East Himal. Dumi bʿyal, Khaling bʿal, Rai bʿalu, Thulung bli (p. 152) ]

Shafer: The only indication of primitive prefix b- being preserved are in the word "four" in certain dialects: Thulung bli, Tśaurasya pʿi, Dumi bʿyal, Khaling bʿal Rai bʿalu compared with OB bźi < *bźli. (p. 157) while in Northern Assam Taying kă-prei, Midu ka-pi having the ka- prefixes which are preserved from a Kukish *k- ancient prefix that has been lost in other Tibeto-Burmic languages due to the following consonantal complex. (p. 186), other N. Ass. languages: Kukish b-n-dʿli, Miśing, Abor a-pi, Yano, C. Nyising a-pli, E. Nyising a-pl, Apa Tanang pulyi (p. 193), Old Kukish Lamgang, Anal p-il-li (p. 252), Mara, Tlongsai, Sabeu -pali (p. 267), Luhupha Branch Kukish *b-n-dʿli, Tśungli pezo, Longla pʿe-zé, Monsen 'pʿé -li, Khari pa-li, Tśangki pʿé-li, Tengsa pʿa-l4, Rong fā-li, Hlota mē-zú (p. 304), Dayang, Zumomi bi-di, Keźma pedi, Imenai pa-di (p. 305), Tśairelish, Andro pi-, Sak pri, Kadu pi- (p. 396), Melam a-bli, Khanang ā-bri,meklam -be-li (p. 400) ]

Baric Garo bri, Atong bǐ-ri, Ruga -bri, Tipora brui, Bodo broi, Metś bre, Dimasa biri, Mośang bāl, Namsangia bēl (p. 441) ]

5 năm [ M wǔ 五 *ńo/ < *ńa OB lńa < ST *p-l-ńa, Bahing, Tableng ŋa, Burmese ŋal, Luṣei ŋa, Dwags liañe, Anal pā-ńa, Purum, Kohreng, Kom rā-ńa, Lamgang]
pā-rā-ña, Abor pī-la-ńō, Needham p-l-ń@, Siamese hā̀ || Southern Bodish
Lhoskad, Šarpa ńa (p. 91), Eastern dialects Khams lńa (p. 111), Dwags liańe (p. 115), other Bod. languages Tsangla ńa (p. 117), Gurung, Murmi, Thaksya ńa (p. 123), W. Himal. lang. Bunan, Themor ńa-1, Almora ńa-ii (p.134), Minor group
Dhimal na (p. 166), OK Mara -pəna¯ (p. 267) | Baric Garo, Awe bri, Abeng bri, Bodo broi, Metś -bre, Dimasa bri, Hojai -bri, Wanang bri, Atong bī ri, bəraí, Ruga -bri (p. 428)

- 6 sāu [ M līu 六 luk, O Bur. *t-r1uk, M Bur. k'-roki, Kukish *t-r2-uk, Lušei ruk, Mara tša-ru, Tlongsai tša-ru (=8?), Maram sā-řuk, Kwoireng tsha-ruk, Empeo (S) su-ruk, Tengima sū-ru, Kehena sē-řə, Chin. luk (the initial *r- < Ch. l-) (p. 32), Old Kukish Sabeu -tša-ru, Miram -tsə-řu(′), Lailenpi -tsə-řu\, Lothu tsə-řu\| (p. 268), Meithlei tā-ruk (p. 280), Luhupa Branch Rengma se-řo, Kežma sa-ř, Imemai tšo-ro, Zumomi tso-ya, Dayang tsu-gwo, Tšakrima su-ř, also Zumomi so-yo’ (p. 320) | Shafer: If the occlusive of *t- prefix had come into direct contact with the r in the Kukish and proto-Chinese words for 'six', as its phonetic correspondent d- does in Old Bodish drug 'six', we should have had Luš ei ŭuk instead of the ruk we find and perhaps Chin. t’uk instead of luk. (p.32) | Karenic Pwo tšu38, Sinhma sot, Thangthu s’u (p. 423)

- 7 bây [ M qī 七 tśʿit, Kharao tšă-ri, Siamese tšēt_3 || A W. Bod. Sbalti bdun, Burig ţdun (p. 78) ]

What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

Shafer's comments:

We may have traces of other labial prefixes in the Karenic words for 'four' and 'seven' both of which have 'infixed' w which is not found in other Sino-Tibetan languages. But a b-prefix found in both these words in Old Bodish. Consequently we may legitimately inquire whether there is not some connection between the infixed w in these words in Karenic and the b-prefix in Old Bodish.

From Old Bodish bźi four, Dwags pli, Gurung bʼli, vli, etc. I have tentatively reconstructed Bodish bźli and from the Kurkish languages the Kurkish reconstruction *b-n-dʼlil. Actually I can only say that the prefix in this word was a labial which differed from *m- and *p-prefixes. It may have been *v- and *w-, and the Karenic form, let us say vli, the prefix dropping in Pwo and Brā’ li and through metathesis becoming lwi in Sgaw and in most of other Karenic languages.

A more daring suggestion to account for O. B. bdun 'seven' -- in most other Tibeto-Burmic languages *s-Nis, but *nwi in Karenic, -- is that the form for 'seven' something like *sibdunis which with an accent *sibdūnis became O. B. *bdun. The combination sbd cannot occur in Old Bodish, and when some phoneme had to give way in Old Bodish it seems to have been the first: ST *m-lʼtʼei tongue, O. B. ltše, ST *p-l-ŋa O. B. lŋa. But when the accent was *sibdunis, we may infer the development *sibunis > *siwunis > *sinwis Karenic *nwi and the *sibdunis -- *sunis > *s-Nis in the majority of Tibeto-Burmic languages. Metathesis has frequently preserved consonants that otherwise would have
dropped, as is particularly clear in Bodish dialects, and we may infer a similar preservation in these words in Karenic.

In the meanwhile, the fact that the MK numerals are based on the system of five and in Old and Modern Khmer there exist loaned elements of Thai counting system, such as 10,000, which in turn is cognate to those of Chinese, may make one wonder why the Vietnamese counting system is based on ten instead of just five like those of the Mon-Khmer languages. While the V counting system continues to go on with 'chục, trăm, ngàn, vạn, triệu, and tỷ' (tens, hundred, thousand, thousands, million, and billion, respectively), which are certainly derived from Chin., we still have to try to reconcile the disparity of collective cognitiveness of a people who had mathematically counted on tens had borrowed two different numeric sets from different sources. Could that be those MK numerals borrowings as a subset of the V numeral system for the reason that the MK counting system is cognitively five-digit based? Does it mean that the Vietnamese first borrowed or they initially had already had one to five and then borrowed "sáu" (six) to "mười" (ten) from Chinese or somewhere else later on? It would be much more logical that way, otherwise, we have to look for the source of 'six' to 'ten' if it could not be assumed that from the beginning the V people had already had their counting system based on ten?

Let's try that with those of Chinese and other languages in the ST linguistic family. Just for fun we can actually play with some of the numbers first to establish some rapport on sound change patterns, if indeed it is frevolous that we could find there are any in the case of Vietnamese numerals. Therefore, this discussion should not be considered as serious and formal analysis, but the bottom line is they will provide a parallel analogy for working with most of other basic words as well. In historical linguistics if there exist patterns of sound changes for sufficient items, usually more than six words in the same category, then those etyma in the languages involved could have the same origin etymologically or simply are borrowings. "Origin" means a word is originated from the same root while "borrowings" involves loanwords that were adapted to express certain concepts, including words in basic realm, either for abstract meanings or concrete
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

objects, of which the language of borrower might have been lacking. For examples, loanwords in Chinese borrowed from the Yue languages could include 子 zǐ (SV tý, VS chuột) for 'rat', for 午 wǔ (SV ngọ, SV ngựa) 'horse', wèi 未 (SV mùi, VS dê) for 'goat', 亥 hài (SV hợi, VS heo) for 'board', etc. as they appear as representatives for 11 animals -- with the only exception of 'hare' 兔 tú (SV thọ, VS thò), for some reasons, which has been used to substitute 卯 mão (SV mão, VS mèo) while this word was obviously to denote 'cat' as it appears uniformly in other languages including those of Daic and MK sub-linguistic families -- in the 12 animal zodiac table. However, that is not the same case with the Chinese 江 jiāng, 虎 hǔ, or 狗 gǒu. Even though they also have Yue origin, they should be considered as to be originated from the same root as those of that VS 'sông' (river), 'cọp' (tiger), 'chó' (dog), or 'ngà' (ivory) respectively. This fact obviously does not constitute a genetic affiliation -- so do those of numericals in V to those in MK language -- and while the V terms for 'răngkhênh' (canine tooth, cuspid) or 'ngôiôm' (to squat like a dog) should be seen as having their origin from the Chin. 犬齒 quánchǐ (=犬牙 quányá \ @ 牙 yá = tooth VS 'răng') and 犬坐 quánzuò (犬 quán = 'dog'), both the V 'nonsông' (country) and 'hùnhổ' (gungho) are culturally-accented loanwords from 江山 jiāngshān (cf. SV 'giangsan') and 猛虎 měnghǔ (SV 'mãnhhổ') which entered the V vocabulary only after this language were long well established and had developed with its own distinctiveness, that is, after it had completed its total break-up from the Vietmuong group and formed its own Vietic-Annamese linguistic branch.

In the case of numerals in V and MK specifically we can also put it another way that the MK languages might have borrowed them from the V. It could be possible as we could see similar etyma in many other basic words in Luce's list which seem to show agreement with those in Chinese. As mentioned earlier, the fact that the counting system in the Mon-Khmer languages is based on the system of five sheds doubt on the source of whole numeral set in V. We could raise the question of the origin of the Vietnamese numerals sáu to mười , gearing them to somewhere else. We have the right to suspect the Chinese numerals to have something worth speculation. Let's examine these patterns:
1. 六 lìu 'six' sáu [ M 六 lìu < MC luk < OC *rhuk | FQ 力竹 | According to Starostin: be six, six. For *rh- cf. Jianyang so8, Shaowu su7. | According to Shafer: Old Tibetan: *drug, Middle Burmese *k'rok, Lusei ruk ],
2. 七 qī 'seven' bảy [ M 七 qī < MC chjit < OC *shit | FQ 親吉 | MC reading 臨開三入 | Like Mandarin, most of the dialects are no longer retaining the final -t | According to Starostin: Protoform: *nit (s-), Meaning: seven, Chinese: 七 *chit seven ( < *snhit ʔ). Burmese: khu-natɕ seven. Kachin: sjənit2 seven. Lushei: KC *s-Nis. Comments: Limbu nu-si seven; PG *ni(s) seven; BG: Garo sni, Dimasa sini; Rawang sanit, Trung sjə3-ŋit1; Kanauri stiɕ; Mantshati nyiz/i; Rgyarung snis, -şnes; Namsangia iŋit; Andro sini. Sh. 123, 134, 411, 429; Ben. 16; Mat. 203 ],
3. 八 bā 'eight' tám [ M 八 bā < MC pat < OC *pre:t | FQ 博拔 | According to Shafer: Old Tibetan *brgyad, Middle Burmese *hrats, Lusei riat, Sbalti bgyad, Burig rgyad ],
4. 九 jǐu 'nine' chín [ M 九 jǐu < MC kʌw < OC *kwjaʔ | According to Shafer: Old Tibetan *dgu, *go (in 90’s), Middle Burmese kui, Lusei kua, ],
5. 十 shí 'ten' mùō [ M 十 shí < MC ʂʌp < OC * | According to Shafer: Old Tibetan *btsu, Sbalti p'tsu, Burig stsu ].

Let's try to find some corresponding patterns for those numbers:

1) { l- ~ s-} correspondences are numerous:

- 蓮 lián 'lotus’sen [ M 蓮 lián < MC ljen < OC *rjan ],
- 浪 làng 'wave' sóng [ M 浪 làng < MC laŋ < OC *ra:ŋs | M 來宕 ],
- 亮 liàng 'bright, pretty' sáng, xinh [ M 亮 liàng < MC laŋ < OC *raŋʔs | FQ 力讓 | Hai. siaŋ | According to Starostin: For OC *r- cf. Xiamen liaŋ6, Chaozhou liaŋ4, Fuzhou lioŋ6, Jianou lioŋ6. Cf. also 朗 *ra:ŋʔ, 景 *kraŋʔ 'bright', 爽 *sraŋʔ 'bright, dawn'. | Doublet 朗 *_a:nŋʔ bright, 亮 *raŋʔ brightness, 景 *kraŋʔ bright, 爽 *sraŋʔ bright, dawn ],
- 郎 láng 'man' chàng [ M 郎 láng < MC lʌŋ < OC *ra:ŋ | MC reading 宕開一平唐來 ],
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

2007

•螺 luó 'clam' sò [螺 luó < MC lwa < OC *roj ],
•潛 qián 'submerge, furtive' lặn [ ~ Also, VS , lén, lăn, lánh | M 潛 qián < MC tsiam < OC *diiam | ¶ q- ~ l-, ng- (OC *d- ~ l-) | cf. 潛逃 qiántao (SV tièmesão) : lăntrôn, # trốnlánh 'to hide away' ],
•心 xīn 'heart' (figuratively) lòng (See etymology in previous section),

2) The Sino-Vietnamese sound for Chinese 七 qī is thất and we also have the pattern { B(p)- ~ T(th)- };

•匹 pǐ 'mate' SV thất [ M 匹 (疋) pǐ < MC phjit < OC *phit | FQ 譬吉 ],
•必 bì 'have to' SVtattività [ VS phải 'must, have' | M 必 bì < MC pjit < OC *pit | FQ 卑吉 ],
•畢 bì 'finish' SV tốt [ M 畢 bì < MC pjit < OC *pit ],
•卑 bèi 'inferior' VS tề [ SV tề | M 卑 bèi < MC pje < OC *pe | FQ 府移 ],
•奔波 bènbó 'busy oneself for' VS tấttả' [ SV bônba | M 奔 bèn < MC pon < OC *pje:r, *pje:rs | FQ 博昆, 甫悶 ],
•投 tóu 'to throw, to put in' VS bỏ [ SV đầu | M 投 tóu < MC dɣw < OC *dho: ],
•套 tào 'a set' VS bộ [ SV sáo | M 套 tào < MC taw < OC *ta ],

which loosely gives us the { t(h)- ~ p(h) } correspondence.

This analogy is questionable once we take into consideration the case of ba 'three' and bốn 'four'. It seems that we cannot establish any correlation between the Chinese and Vietnamese numerals at all. However, ba (VS) and tam (SV) 'three' 三 sān corresponds to Hainanese /ta/ and if both Chinese sān and Vietnamese 'ba' were cognates, ba had undergone a process of dropping -m and change s- (or t-) to b-. Therefore, Hainanese /ta/ could be a plausible cognate with "ba" if we could also find other words that repeat this pattern, something like "biết" ~ Hainanese, Amoy, Fukienese /bat/ and /tai/ 知 zhī (SV tri, VS hay as in 'haybiết' 'be aware of'). If that were the case for 'ba', it were more likely that it had gone through a dissimilating process that shifted the rounded ending -wm to the front and labialized to become b- (cf. Middle Chinese sam < *som, Proto-
Chinese **sawm, Tibetan gsum, gsum-po ‘third’.) The sound change that occurred causing the transfer of rounding from the final labial to the initial is not mine alone, but also initiated by Baxter and later adopted by Bodman (1980) in his study. If this reasoning is worth speculating, ba must be very archaic. Reversibly, the pattern \{ p- \sim t- \} shows a parallel correspondence p- and s- between modern Mandarin and Sino-Vietnamese:

- 聘 pìng 'betroth' sính [ M 聘 pìng, pin < MC phjian < OC *phjianh ],

and Mand. P- (b-…) ~ Sinitic-Vietnamese S- (ch-…) :

- 怕 pà 'afraid' sọ [ M 怕 pà < MC po < OC *phra:ks | MC reading 假開二去禡滂 ],
- 派 pài 'dispatch'sai, (~ 差 chai) [ M 派 pài < MC phaj < OC *phre:ks ],
- 比 bǐ 'compare' so, bì (as in 比方 bǐfāng: sosánh) [ M 比 bǐ < MC pji < OC *pij? | FQ 卑履, 必至]
- 別 bié 'do not' chớ [ M 別 bié < MC bet < OC *brat | According to Starostin: to separate, branch off. Also read MC pet, OC *prat ]
- 曬 shài 'sun dry' phơi [ M 曬 (晒) shài < MC ʂai < OC *ʂaɨj ],
- 扇 shàn 'fan' SV phiến,
- 燭 shān 'to fan' SV phiến,
- 筮 shì 'devination' SV thệ, phé,
- 小 xiăo 'little' VS bé.

The same pattern also appears in dissyllabic words:

- 比肩 bǐjiān 'to shoulder' sátcánh,
- 并肩 bìngjiān 'to shoulder' sánhvai,
- 並非 bìngfēi 'do not' chăngphái,
- 傍晚 bángwăng 'dusk' chàngvảng,
- 起源 qǐyuán 'originate'.batntgùn,
- 起头 qǐtóu 'start' bátđâu,
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

and the pattern, as usual, appears internally in the Chinese language:

- 聽 chéng 'gallop' (cf. 唱 píng) SV sinh, VS phong,
- 津 jīn 'river bank' (cf. 筆 bǐ) SV tân, VS bến,
- 走 zǒu 'run' ~ 跑 păo (modern Mand.) chạy,
- 霄 xiāo 'vault of sky' SV tiếu ~ also read báo, bó bâu,

The sound change from Chinese labials to Vietnamese dentals is noted and speculated by several linguists such as Maspero and Karlgren (giving no explanation), Arisaca Hideyo and Paul Nagel as noted by Pulleyblank (1984). According to Pulleyblank, the whole sound change process can be summed up as follows:

Vietnamese t- was derived from s- < ts- < psi- < pci- as if they are from ts-. Forrest (1958) credited to Ancient Chinese pj-, bj- and the process of palatalization before certain words beginning with s- were borrowed in Vietnamese. The reverse process of s > p, therefore can be deduced.

If the cases of bài and ba represent anything meaningful, 四 sì 'four' SV tứ [tɨj] Nôm bốn must have gone through the same process.

If the cases of ba, bốn, bài are correct, tám should fit into the same corresponding pattern b- ~ t-.

3) { j- ~ ch- } seems to justify the case by itself: 九 jǐu ~ chín 'nine'. In fact, the corresponding patterns are easy to find: 煎 jiān: chiên 'fry'; 走 zǒu: chạy 'run', 腳 jiăo: chân 'foot'; 焦 jiāo: cháy 'burnt', 正 zhèng: chính 'main'...

4) { S(h)-(x-, q-, z-) ~ m- } pattern is rare, yet it can still be established as follows:

- xián lɔn : mặn 'salty' [ M 鹹 xián < MC ham < OC *grjem | MC reading 咸開二平咸匣 | Dialects: Changsha xan12, Shuangfeng gā12, Nanchang han12, Meixian ham12, Cant. ha:m12, Amoy ham12 ($); kiam12 | ¶ h- ~ m- < *OC grj- ~ m- ]
- xīn 新 : mới 'brand new' [ M 新 xīn < MC sjin < OC *sin | FQ 息鄰 ].
qing 請 : mời 'invite' [ M 請 qíng < MC chjŋ < OC *shenʔ | According to Starostin: to invite, ask, request (L. Zhou). Also read *tɔ(ŋ)enς, MC tʃeŋ, Mand. qing (with irregular q-) 'name of a season (autumn)' (Han)],
qing 慶 : mừng (also 興 xìng) 'celebrate' [ M 慶 qìng < MC khɔiŋ < OC *khraŋs ],
shi 失 : mất (SV: thất) 'loss' [ M 失 shī < MC šit < OC *iit | MC reading 臨開三入質書 ],
sè 色 : màu (SV: sắc) 'color' [ M 色 sè < MC ʃik < OC *srjək | MC reading 曾開三入職生 ],
xiě 血 : máu 'blood' [ M 血 xiě, xiè < MC xwiet < OC *swit | FQ 呼決 | According to Starostin: Viet. also has tiểt 'animal blood' - an archaic loan (with t- regularly representing OC *s-, which was already lost in MC). ]
zuǐ 嘴 : môi 'lip' [ ~ VS 'mò, mõm' | M 嘴 zuǐ < MC tsjwɜ < OC *tsjojʔ | MC reading 止合三上紙精 FQ 即委 | According to Starostin: Originally written as 角 (q.v.) and also read OC *tcej, MC tsje (FQ 即移) 'a horn-shaped curl on the head of birds and cats'. Tibetan : mtʃu lip, beak.]
shèng 剩 : chứa ~ mứa 'leftover' [ ~ VS thụa | M 剩 shèng < MC ʑjəŋ < OC *ljəŋs | ex. 剩飯 shèngfàn : bỏchứa = bömứa (cơmthừa) 'food leftover' ]
míng 明 : sáng 'bright' [ M 明 míng < MC maiŋ < OC *mranŋ | FQ 武兵 | According to Starostin: be bright, enlightened, clear, pure, manifest. Regular Sino-Viet. is minh; Viet. mai (with a variant 'mOi') means 'tomorrow' and may be a colloquial (distorted) borrowing from MC in the special usage: 明日 maiŋ-ɲit 'tomorrow'. For *m- cf. Xiamen mi2, Chaozhou menŋ2, Fuzhou minŋ2, Jianou minŋ2, manŋ2. The original meaning must be 'clear eye-sight' (whence 'bright, pure', etc.); the meaning 'eye-sight' is actually rather widely attested during L. Zhou.]
mō 摸 : sờ 'touch' [ ~ VS mò, mó | M 摸 mō, mó < MC mo < OC *mha: | According to Starostin: Also read *mha:k, MC mʌk id. The character is sometimes (since Tang) used instead of mọ 'to copy, imitate' q.v. Standard Sino-Viet. is mọ; another colloquial loan from the same source is Viet. mọ 'to grope, fumble'. ],
màn 慢 : chậm 'slow' [ M 慢 màn < MC man < OC merans ].
If numerals ‘six’ to ‘ten’ in Vietnamese are truly related to those in Chinese as it fits into the sound change patterns as enumerated above, we have the right to doubt the genuineness of the first five numbers being originated from Mon-Khmer, but they are just cognates evolved from the same source. In any cases, shí 十 may not be ‘mười’, but it must be ‘chục’ as demonstrated by the Cantonese sound /shʌp/ for sure.

This hypothesis is underlined by the supposition that the more ancient the roots are, the more likely that sounds have changed more drastically, sometimes beyond recognition and losing all phonetic traces. This is surely contrary to the belief that basic words are more static than others. That is because, with the exception of those real common basic words pronounced with very simple monosyllabic sounds such as 爸 bā (VS ba) "dad", 媽 mā (VS má) "mom", 食 shí (VS xơi) "eat", 飲 yǐn (VS uống) "drink", 土 tǔ (VS đất) "soil", etc., complex and multi-syllabalic words were the most vulnerable to changes and easier succumbed to many other factors, which is as common as those cognates in Indo-European languages. Just imagine languages of the same root started out with the same basic words at a very early ancient stage and each one developed each own way during a span of many thousand years, probably from a language of initials of consonantal clusters without tone to languages with simple initials and tones as known in many Sino-Tibetan languages such as today's Chinese, Tibetan, and Daic languages. That is true in the context that languages are not fossilized and constantly in dynamic change to evolve from primitive to sophisticated stages, especially for those that must have undergone drastic change from toneless consonantal clusters to tonal system to differentiate meanings, in this case, monosyllabic ancient Chinese.

If the illustrations of the cases sáu, bảy, tám, chín, mười are not convincing enough, let’s go back and take a quick review of many other patterns that repeat between Chinese and Vietnamese as in the case bảy, ba, bốn with the pattern { S- ~ B- } as illustrated above and then continue on to the cases of một ‘one’, hai ‘two’, năm ‘five’. I will give out a short list, which, like other cases illustrated above, is by no means exhaustive:
1. **một** 'one' < **nhất** (SV) [ M ㄧ yī < MC ?jit < OC *ʔit < PC **ʔɨt (~ɠ-) | FQ 於悉 | MC reading 至開三入質影 ].

The pattern { y ~ m } :

2. **yáo** 舀: môi (~muỗng) 'scoop' [ M 舀 yăo < MC jiaw < OC *jiaw | MC reading 效開三上小以 ],

3. **yán** 鹽: muối 'salt' [ M 鹽 yán < MC jem < OC *am | MC reading 咸開三平鹽以 ]


    Kiranti: *ru\m. Comments: Ben. 57; Mat. 184 ],

4. **yóu** 魷 mực 'cuttlefish' [ M 魷 yóu | ~ phonetic stem M 尤 yóu < MC jəu < OC *wjə 

5. **yăn** 眼 (modern usage) ~ **mù** 目 (old usage) : mắt 'eye',

6. **giây** [dʒjʌj]: 秒 miăo 'second' [ M 秒 miăo < MC mjɜw < OC *mews ],

7. **dân** [jʌn]: 民 mín 'citizen'

8. **diệu** [jiəw]: 秒 miào 'miraculous'

9. **diễn** [jiən]: 面 miàn 'face'

10. **danh** [jaɲ]: 名 míng 'name'

11. **hai** ~ 二手 ‘two’ nhỉ (SV) [ M 二 èr < MC ñi < OC *nijs | FQ 而至 | SV nhị /nhej/ < hei ],

12. **năm** ~ 五 ‘five’ < ngū (SV) [ M 五 wǔ < MC ño < OC *ŋhaː | FQ 疑古 | MC reading 遇合一上姥疑 | According to Starostin : be five. For *ŋh- cf. Xiamen ŋo|6, Chaozhou ŋou4, Fuzhou ŋo6, Jianou ŋu6, ŋu8. | Dialects: Wenzhou : ŋ22, Changsha : ŋ2; u 2 (lit.), Meixian : ŋ2, Cant. : ŋ22 ]

Strictly speaking, the difference in sounds might have been a result of sound changes that could be either from Proto-Chinese or even from a form of Chinese in a traceable time. We can test our hypothesis by just trying to pronounce the Sino-Vietnamese "nhấ t" and "thập" with the initial m- (that is, drop nh-) , Sino-Vietnamese nhị /nhei/ with h-
(that is, drop n-), Sino-Vietnamese tam, tú, thất with b- (cf. Hainanese /ta/) , Sino-Vietnamese "lục" with s- (cf. Mand. liu), and ngũ (cf. Cantonese /ŋ/) with n-, bát with t-, c ưu with [c] (that is, with Vietnamese orthograpy ch-/ch/).

In any cases, the weakness of the points made here about the origin of numerals in Vietnamese is obvious, the Vietnamese "một" to "năm" is much more in close resemblance with those of Mon-Khmer languages while keeping distance with those of Chinese. Again, what has been discussed so far in Vietnamese numerals is just a suggestive approach in searching for the Vietnamese etymology of Chinese origin of other words, which cannot be all wrong as analyzed in the analytic approach and not the numbers themselves. Just as I have mentioned originally in my writing that nothing about the numerals is certain.

B) The unfinished work

In the past Vietnamese had been once believed to belong to the Mon-Khmer group of the Austroasiatic linguistic family. Later on in 1911, 1912 and 1952, however, Maspero reclassified Vietnamese with the Thai (T’ai, Tai, Dai, Tay) languages, members of the Daic division of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family, with which Vietnamese shares, among other things, a tonal system on the Chinese model. This viewpoint was shared by Forrest (1958) who inserted that "before the Chinese conquest, Annam [Vietnam] and Kwangtung [Guangdong or Canton] were long under one rule; but everything points to that rule having been T’ai [Dai] rather than Mon-Khmer.[...] When first recorded by European Missionaries in the seventeenth century, Annamese [Vietnamese] still had compound initial groups of consonants in cases where they are now reduced to simple sounds. The phonetic history is in this respect parallel with that of T’ai and Chinese, and this fact, so far as it goes, tells in favour of a T’ai basis for the language rather than a Mon-Khmer” (p.102).

also recognized that "Vietnamese is typologically closer to Chinese than are either Japanese or Korean and, in many ways, even Tibetan, in spite of the fact that Chinese and Tibetan are genetically related while Chinese and Vietnamese are not (unless the relationship is an exceedingly remote one)" (p.91). I myself prefer to further put Vietnamese in a sub-group of the Sinitic division of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family despite of the fact that Sinitic division as classified consists only of Chinese dialects. Nevertheless, by all means I do not implicitly or explicitly mean Vietnamese is a Chinese dialect. In reality, Vietnamese marks off from Chinese by some of its distinct grammatical feature of "noun + adjective" order, which could be considered as an obstruction to linguistic affiliation, and a layer of certain basic words similar with those of, probably, including Daic and Mon-Khmer origin and those of an unidentified stratum, i.e. words that have been classified as such which I can not associate with anything of Sinitic origin, for example "bô" (as compared to "trâu" 牛 níu 'water buffallo'), definitely having Sino-Tibetan orig (see the above ST section) but not clearly identified in Chin., and "sůa" (while there existing "bú" as 哺 bǔ 'suck'). I still suspect that the etyma might have lost when they had not been in use and substited with other usages with different meanings as in many cases in Chin. just as in the cases of "lâc" (in place of dążphprung花生 huāshēng 'peanut' [Hai. /wundow/]) 落 luò (SV lâc) [ 'đậulạc' #落豆 luòdòu | etymology: VS 'roi, rót, rọng' | M 落 luò < MC lak < OC *ra:k | Starostin : to fall, drop, die. The word is used in modern Chinese in 落花 'fallen flowers' and 落花生 'earth-nut, Arachis hypogaea' (attested since Qing) - which is obviously related to Viet. lasc 'earth-nut' (although the direction of borrowing is not quite clear). Cf. perhaps also (as a more archaic loan) Viet. râce 'to sprinkle, to dredge, to sow' ('to let fall')], or "dưahâu" (watermelon) -- "hâu" cannot be used alone -- [ M 塊瓜 kuàiiguā (khỏîqua) | @ # M 塊瓜 kuàiiguā \ @ 塊 kuài ~ hâu | M 瓜 guā < MC kwɑ < OC *kwra: | FQ 古華 | MC reading 假合二平麻見 | as apposed to modern M 西瓜 xīguā, which becomes another word in V: duâtây (literally 'western melon') to mean a different kind of non-native melons], bánhdâ y # 餃餅 jiăobǐng, and bánhchưng # 蒸餅 zhēngbǐng -- modern Mandarin 粽子 zòngzi -- (both being different kinds of rice cakes) as they have been previously believed to be indigenous glosses. This is an important point since because, in the cultural context,
these words are closely related to the mystic legends of 18 ancestral Hồngbàng Kings of the Vietnamese people.

For all those reasons along with its undeniably intimate closeness with Chinese (to be applied equally to all Chinese dialects) in its all capacities as soon to be discussed in this paper, the Vietnamese language should be adopted into the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family. Until now nearly 400 languages and dialects as have been recorded and classified within this family. For Tibetan and Chinese, it is assumed that in the prehistoric time the Tibetans and “Chinese” were originally the same people and formed a common language before differentiation later on. The formation of Chinese is the result of the fusion of Tibetan and languages of native peoples living in the areas around today’s Henan province. On becoming itself, Chinese has been equally influenced by those languages, which might have included those of the Yue languages or Austroasiatic origin in a limited sense. However, according to Norman (1988), “the fact that only a relatively few Chinese words have been shown to be Sino-Tibetan may indicate that a considerable proportion of the Chinese lexicon is of foreign origin [...] , languages which have since become extinct.” (p.17) We, in one way or another, can hypothesize that the "foreign origin" Norman mentioned could have been the "Yue" vocabulary stock, that includes basic words, from which the later Vietnamese had shared with the Chinese language.

By the same interpretative interpolation and deduction, after taking into account of all historical Chinese circumstances that have contributed to the emergence of the Chinese people and their language, as have been examined by many authors, hypothesis of formation of the “Vietnamese” people and their nation, before and after the Chinese conquest, might have gone the same route of their language as previously discussed. The hypothesis of "foreign origin" shared by both Chinese and Vietnamese in the early days of their development can be based on archaeological findings by Zhang, Zengqi (1990) in Zhongguo Xinan Minzu Kaogu (or Anthropology of ethnic peoples in China's Southwest regions ) for our theoretical merits. We can safely say that Vietnamese had been formed by the fusion of languages spoken by the aborigine, collectively known as
the Yues (BáchViệt), as manifested by the Daic layer of vocabulary and those of Miao-Yao and Mon-Khmer of the Austroasiastic linguistic family, having been originally lived in the habitat of today’s southern parts of China, with dialects spoken by Han (Chinese) settlers -- having emigrated continuously in waves throughout the process in a time span started probably 4000 years ago until the modern time -- as shown in the multi-layers of Proto-, Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, Early Mandarin and modern Mandarin. For the last 2000 years or so it had been further mixed with other languages spoken by other indigenous peoples further to the south along the migrating route of the ancient “Vietnamese” (one branch of the Yues) to form the Việt-Mường group (about 1500 years ago) until they split into Mường and Vietnamese (AD 1000) branches. The other native peoples are believed to speak other dialects of Dai, Miao-Yao and Mon-Khmer, which are similar to those languages still spoken by the peoples inhabiting in today’s mountainous parts of today’s Vietnam. As of today, traces of those linguistic strata, obviously, have become much more foreign to Vietnamese than those of Chinese elements. Here is a graphic overview of proportional Vietnamese linguistic strata as manifested by its etymology:
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

The basis for Sino-Tibetan inclusion is further strengthened when we examine a classic example of tonality, which has set Vietnamese apart from the Mon-Khmer linguistic sub-family. Mon-Khmer languages are toneless while Vietnamese is, like other languages of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family, accented with six tones (in today's visual orthography) or, to be exact, eight tones as categorized according to Chinese traditional phonology. Amazingly, that tonal system fits exactly into the tonal scheme as that used for Chinese (Norman 1988, p.55). Tonality is a special linguistics feature existing only in the Sino-Tibetan languages and is considered as non-transferable. Japanese and Korean are good examples of this case because though both languages have borrowed massive Chinese vocabulary since ancient time, they have become neither tonal languages nor even slightly accented with those of their Chinese loanwords. The Mon-Khmer cognates
that are shared by both Vietnamese and other Mon-Khmer languages have never had
tones in the Mon-Khmer languages except for Vietnamese.

We should pause a bit here to take an interesting note about tonality. In the last few
decades, linguists and language educators alike in the USA, Canada, and other
countries such as Australia, French... in doing research on Vietnamese and Chinese
youngsters' process of acquisition of languages, have wondered at what age they
acquire "tones" and whether the kids pick them up when they first learn the first words in
their life or later on. The answer for this question is obvious: they have acquired the
tones as they first acquired their mother's tongues -- the tones did not come at later
stages of language acquisition.

That was what Henri Maspero (1912) proposed in his research that tone is an inherent
feature of languages and cannot be derived from non-tonal elements; a corollary of this
view was that tonal languages could not be genetically related to languages which
lacked tone. (Norman 1988, p. 54) A good example of this case is that most of the
French and English loanwords in Vietnamese are all accented with tones. (See
APPENDIX A). If Vietnamese is characteristically a non-tonal language genetically, it
would have intrinsically had no need to accentuate those foreign loanwords with tones.
Another classic example is those Chinese loanwords such as 防火 fánghuǒ (SV phò
nghoả 'to prevent fire') and 放火 fànghuǒ (SV phônghoả 'to set fire'), 水稻 shuǐdào (SV
thuỷđạo 'aquatic rice') and 水道 shuǐdào (SV thuỷđạo 'aquatic duct') or 隧道 shuǐdào
(SV thuỷđạo, 'tunnel'), 首都 shǒudū (SV thủđô 'capital') and 手刀 shǒudāo (SV thủđao
'hand knife'), etc. in the Korean language: they are pronounced the same with no tonal
distinction to differentiate their meanings in writing native Korean Hangul unless Hanja,
or the original Chinese characters of those words, must be illustrated! It will be all clear
when we examine pronunciations of those French or English that appear in the Chinese
and Khmer languages. How's about Chinese and Vietnamese loanwords, such as
"chowmein" or "Vietcong", in the English language?
For those glosses listed in the tables in the previous chapter, we can see that the correspondences between basic words in Vietnamese and other Mon-Khmer language are not uniform on one-to-one basis between Vietnamese and a Mon-Khmer language under examination. Some basic words in Vietnamese related to those cognates are actually scattered in several Mon-Khmer languages, not as the whole set of words from one language to the other as in the case of Chinese ~ Tibetan and Chinese ~ Vietnamese. This fact suggests that a closely uniform connection between the Vietnamese and Chinese languages. The similarity between the numerals 1 to 5 between Vietnamese and other Mon-Khmer languages alone, of course, is not enough to establish the genetic affinity of Vietnamese with those languages. A compelling speculation we can see here is that those words could have been variants of Vietnamese loanwords in those Mon-Khmer languages, as usually happened as the results of influence of a much more advanced people along with their language having imposed onto those less developed peoples, probably long before the emergence of the Khmer Kingdom (802-1432) in the farthest southern parts of today’s Indo-Chinese peninsula (Cambodia). For the numerals 1 to 5, the only thing still intrigues our mind is the Mon-Khmer counting system is based on five while that of Vietnamese is based on ten! Borrowings in either way with the omissions from six to ten does not make sense.

Statistically, an approximate of more than 90% of Vietnamese vocabularies, including many basic words, are of Chinese origin. I get this percentage figure by taking sample pages from a typical Vietnamese dictionary and count them. Give me a sample page, I will be able to show you an approximately the same statistical number as foresaid or just examine word examples cited throughout this writing you will reconcile yourself to that figure.

With all other factors pointing to the Chinese connection, why must Vietnamese be considered as a language of the Mon-Khmer origin, or of a larger Austroasiatic linguistic family as currently seen by linguistic circles for that matter, but not of Sino-Tibetan linguistic family? In reality, as already mentioned above, what is more important here lies the nature and characteristics of a language than proofs of true genetic root of it.
When we are talking about it, we are discussing about a living language with all its attributes and peculiarities that make it become what it is. And Vietnamese, in this case, is characteristically more Chinese than Mon-Khmer for that matter.

In the following sections, we are going to examine Sinitic-Vietnamese words of Chinese origin, many of which might have not been aware of before this research and its sibling work entitled The Etymology of Nôm of Chinese Origin (Click here to view).

E) Vietnamese and Chinese cognates in basic vocabulary stratum:

Any people on earth with their language, from beginning when they first lived together and formed mutual commonalities, must have had a set of their own basic vocabularies to start with. It is hard to imagine that they had to borrow words of daily activities and of natural phenomena and man-made things existing around them. The similarities that Vietnamese share with Chinese in basic vocabulary stratum certainly will make us wonder why it has been so. Finding an answer to that question is much preferable to trying to fortify a solid genetic relation with the Mon-Khmer linguistic family, or, for that matter, with Chinese or any other Sino-Tibetan languages such as Daic (Tày) or Zhuang (Nùng). No matter what progress the Mon-Khmer camp will have made in the days to come, Mon-Khmer elements are just foreign material that might have made an imprint only in Mường, but not Vietnamese. Just like the composition of speakers of those languages, analogically, ancestors of speakers of Mon-Khmer languages ("the origin") might have been the indigenous inhabitants in all the land in today's Vietnam, but their present descendants are still minorities among the larger majority of "Kinh" people, or the present Vietnamese ("the mixed stock"). Linguistically, Mon-Khmer elements that exist in the Vietnamese language should be treated with the same manner. What we are seeing is not "the origin" at birth but with "the mixed stock" as it appears with a massive Vietnamese words of Chinese origin.

1) Chinese basic words:
In this section we will continue to do the task of proving the Vietnamese and Chinese commonalities in the basic vocabulary stratum by going the Sino-Tibetan route.

We have examined the Mon-Khmer ~ Vietnamese basic word list. Now let's do the same with those of Chinese ~ Vietnamese. In Chinese those basic words, mostly the fundamentally pictographs, i.e. pictural symbols, were probably the first characters that had initially been created in the Chinese writing system. (For those etymons which have already been enumerated in the previous sections, press Ctrl + F for quick reference.)

- **giời (trời)** 日 rì 'sun' (SV nhật) [ ~ VS ngày 'day' | M 日 rì < MC rìt < OC *nit | According to Starostin : MC ɲit < OC *nit, Min forms: Xiamen tɕit8, lit8, Chaozhou zik8, Fuzhou nik8, Jianou ni8. | ¶ r- ~ gi-, y-~ nh-, j-, jh-, ng- | cf. Cant. /jat/ and /jit/ | See comments on 'giâng' (the moon). Also, for M 明 míng < MC maiŋ < OC *mraŋ | FQ 武兵 | According to Starostin : be bright, enlightened, clear, pure, manifest. Regular Sino-Viet. is minh; Viet. mai (with a variant 'moi') means 'tomorrow' and may be a colloquial (distorted) borrowing from MC in the special usage: 明日 maiŋ-ɲit 'tomorrow' or ngàymai. Additionally, 天 tiān is another word for 'trời'. Beside the meaning of 'day', it signifies something a little bit more abstract and spiritual such as heaven, the sky, the Almighty, etc. | M 天 tiān < MC thien < OC *thi:n | FQ 他前 | MC reading 山開四平先透 | According to Starostin: Also used for a homonymous *thi:n 'to brand the forehead'. 'trán' |

  Coresspondences in fixed expressions: **trời oì** 天阿 tiānnà 'Oh My Lord', **trể ntrội ì** # 天上 tiānshàng 'upper in the sky, in the Heaven', **trời cao có màt** 老天有眼 lăo tiān yǒu yăn 'the Almighty has eyes', **ÔngTròìgià** 老天爺 Lăotiānyé 'the Supreme Lord', **trồiđạt** 天地 tiāndì 'heaven and earth, trờísàng 天亮 tiānlìang 'daybreak', **trồiđoì** 天黑 tiānhēi 'it's getting dark', **trồiràm** #陰天 yìnťiān 'cloudy', **trỏi ănh** # 冷天 lěngtiān 'cold day', <I.TRÒIČAODĀTRỌNG< i>天高地厚 tiāngāodìhòu 'the vastness of the universe' , **dōitrọíđapđài** 頂天立地 dǐngtiānlìdì 'to stand straight to confront the world', etc. Therefore, we can say Chinese 日 rì and 天 tiān are doublets, just like 'trời' and 'giời' in Viet. )
• giăng 月 yuè 'moon' (SV nguyệt) [~ VS trăng ~ tháng 'month' | M 月 yuè < MC jwjat < AC *jwot | MC reading 山合三入月疑 | If giăng < trăng then it could evolve into 'tháng' /thaŋ/ (month) | In the 16th century this word was transcribed as 'blâ nghị'. Just like 'blởi' for 'mặttrời', it could have been a variation of 'mặttrăng' of which the b- had all the capacity to become 'mặi'. In the meanwhile, giăng ~ M yuè correspons to the pattern gi- ~ y-, close to nh-, j-, jh- and ng- as in 'nguyệt'. Cf. Cant. /jat/ and /jit/. | ¶ y- ~ tr- : ex. 羣 yú (du) trừu | Corresponding compounds: trăngkhuyệt # 月虧 yuèkuī (nguyệtkhuy) 'wane of the moon, crescent', trăngrãm 月盈 yuèyíng (nguyệtdoanh) full moon, the moon in the 15th of the month in lunar calendar, thằngdũ # 大月 dâyuè (month with 30 days), thằnggiếng # 正月 zhèngyuè (1st month), vàngtrăng 月暈 yuèyùn (the rounded ring illumminated around the moon) ,
• bố 父 fù 'father' (SV phụ),
• mẹ 母 mǔ 'mother' (SV mẫu),
• con 子 zǐ 'child, son' (SV tú) [ M 子 zǐ < MC tsjɤ < OC *caʔ | According to Starostin: Shuowen: 十一月物氣**萬物**.人以為稱.象形.凡子之屬皆從子. ###古文子.從###.象髮也.###籀文子.**有髮.臂脛在几上也. child, son, daughter, young person; prince; a polite substitute for 'you' Also read *cjəʔ-s, MC cjy\, Mand. zì 'to treat as a son'. Related is 字 *tɕjəʔ-s 'to breed' q. v. The character is also used for an homonymous word *cjəʔ 'the first of the Earthly Branches' (in Sino-Viet.: tý). | Dialects: Fuzhou 囝 kiaŋ (M jiăn), Hainanese /ke/, which could have been originated from Ausroasiatic kiã 'son, child'. ]
The closest external parallel is probably Tib. \(\text{ɲen}, \text{ɡn}e\) a relative - obviously derived from \(\text{ɲe}\) near (= OC 邻 *nej? q.v.). Thus OC *nin is an old -n-derivate < *nej-n. GSR 0388 a-e | ¶ r-, y- ~ ng- : 日 \(\text{rì}\) (nhất) \(\text{ngày}\), 牙 \(\text{yá}\) (nha): răng ~ ngày, 壓 \(\text{yàn}\) : ngàn | If 'nhân' could evolve into ngàn (cf.. Hai. \(\text{njəŋ}\), Chaozhou \(\text{naŋ}\)), it could become 'người'.]

- \(\text{anh}\) 兄 'older brother' (SV huynh) [ M 兄 xiōng < MC xwyajɲ < OC *smraŋ | ¶ The dropping of the initial h- gave rise to -uynh => 'anh']
- \(\text{đồng}\) 丁 trai 'man' (SV đinh) [ M 丁 đình < MC MC tien < OC *te:n | FQ 當經 | According to Starostin : A somewhat later meaning (attested since Jin) is 'nail, peg' - more usually written as 釘. Within the onomatopoeic reduplication 丁丁 'go zheng zheng, sound of beating' the character is read as *tre:n, MC t.a.iŋ (FQ 中華), Pek. zhe:ng, Go tiyau, Kan tau (thus in Shi 7,1). Besides the ST etymology it is interesting to note Common Austronesian *tijaŋ 'Pfahl, Stange' (VLAW 137).]
- \(\text{trai}\) 丁 đing 'male' (SV đinh),
- \(\text{non}\) 山 shān 'mountain' (SV sơn, san),
- \(\text{nước}\) 水 shuǐ 'water' (SV thuỷ),
- \(\text{đất}\) 土 tǔ 'soil',
- \(\text{đồng}\) 田 tián (SV điền) 'rice paddy' (SV điền) [ ~ ruồng 'paddy', sân 'hunt' | M 田 ti án < MC dien < OC *lhi:n (Chúý âmđầu l-) | FQ 徒年 | ¶ (*OC) l- ~ r- for 'ruồng'(s- ~ r- is common in Chinese ~ Vietnam) | According to Starostin : For *lh- cf. Min forms (with secondary palatalization): Chaozhou chaŋ2, Fuzhou cheŋ2, Jianou chaŋ2. Used also for a homonymous (and possibly related) *lhi:n 'to hunt'; for the derived *lhi:n-s, MC diën (FQ 堂練) 'to cultivate, till; royal domain'. Sino-Tibetan: Protoform: *li:ŋ. Meaning: field, Chinese: 田 *lhi:n field. Tibetan: gliṅ island, continent, region, country; z/ĩŋ field, ground, soil, arable land. Burmese: krañh dry land, ground (OB krañ). Kachin: mjeliŋ1 a forest, wood. Lepcha: ljaŋ the earth. Comments: BG: Garo buruŋ, briŋ forest, Dimasa ha-bliŋ field in second year of cultivation; Moshang, Namsangia liŋ forest, Rawang mjeliŋ id. Simon 27; Sh. 435; Ben. 40, 80-81; Peiros-Starostin 212. Matisoff (Mat. 176) compares the Burm.
form with Jnp. kriŋ1 firm, stable kriŋ1-muŋ2 hill (see *tiŋ) | Note the association with 'rùng'.],

- mưa雨 yǔ (SV vũ) 'rain',
- lửa火 huǒ 'fire' (SV hoả) [ M 火 huǒ < MC xwʌ < OC *smjə:jʔ | ¶ hw ~ l: ex. 大伙 dàhuǒ: cǎlű, 同伙 tónghuǒ: dōngloā, 过 guó: quá [wa], 灘 wān: loan; 話 huà: l ọi, 裸体 luǒtí: loāthẹ ~ 果 guǒ: quá /wə/ ],
- mắt目 mù (SV mục) 'eye',
- đầu首 shǒu 'head' (archaic),
- mặt 面 miàn 'face' (SV diện) [ M 面 miàn < MC mjen < OC *mhens | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan face; to face; face to face. Viet. men is a colloquial loanword (with the meaning 'to face' < 'to approach'); regular Sino-Viet. is diện. For *mh- cf. Xiamen bin6, Chaozhou miŋ6, Fuzhou meŋ5, Jianou miŋ6. | MC mjen =< -jen > tỵhoá thành -jat. | ¶ -en, -an ~ at: : ex. 咽 yàn: nuốt; 粉 fén: bột; fēn: hạt; 淡 dàn 淡: nhạt, lạt; 晕 yùn 晕: ngất, mài 麦: mạch; mài 脉: mạch; mù 目: mạt; mò 默: mặc; máng 忙: mắc ~ bận, § wáng 亡: mất, mì 密: mật; mù 木: mộc; mò 没: một... | Compounds: miànkǒng 面孔 khuônmặt, miànmào 面貌 mặtmày, mätt mất mặt méimiàn, méimí trước qiánmiàn, mấtsau 後面 hòumiàn | Sino-Tibetan: Kachin: man1, Lushei: hme:l face, looks, appearance (cf. also hmai the face), Lepcha: mlem, a-mlem face ],
- tim 心 xīn 'heart' (~ lòng),
- chân足 zú (SV tử) 'foot' (SV túc) [ M 足 zú < MC tsjouk < OC *ɕok | FQ 即玉 | MC reading 通合三入燭精 ],

- sao 星 xīng 'star' (SV tinh),
- bạn 朋 péng (SV: bằng, as in 朋友 péngyǒu) bạn 'friend' [ @ 伴 bàn (SV bàn) | M 朋 péng < MC bɤŋ < OC *bhjəŋ | FQ 步崩 | According to Starostin: string of cowries, a pair; associate, peer, friend. For *bh- cf. Chaozhou phen2, Yilan phijəŋ 2, Longdu phaŋŋ6. | x. bánh hũ ],
• sáng 明 míng sáng 'bright', mai 'tomorrow',
• cha 爹 diè 'daddy' (~ SV tía),
• ba 爸 bā 'dad' (VS ba),
• má 媽 mā 'mom' (SV ma),
• nữ 娘 niàng 'mom' (archaic in V., but still being in use in Beijing dialect as ni ár),
• sông 江 jiāng 'river' (SV giang),
• đất 地 dì 'land' (SV địa) [ M 地 dì < MC di < OC *thajs | FQ 徒四 | MC reading 止開三去至定 | According to Starostin: MC di is irregular (*d.e\ would be normally expected). | cf. 土地 đấtđai, 土 tǔ (thổ) đất ],
• mây 雲 yún 'cloud',
• nóng 燙 tàng 'boiling hot' (SV tháng),
• coi 看 kàn 'look' (SV khán) [ M 看 kàn, kăn < MC khàn < OC *kha:ns | MC reading 山開一去翰溪 | According to Starostin: to inquire, investigate; to see, look (Han). Also read *kha:n (~-r), MC khán, Mand. ka:n 'to guard, preserve' (Sui). | ¶ k- ~ /k-/, x- ],
• đầu 頭 tóu 'head' (SV đầu) [ M 首 shǒu ~ M 頭 tóu < MC dɤw < OC *dho: | (hence shǒu 首 became 'first, chief, leader' as in shǒuzhăng 首長 chieftain ) ],
• chạy 走 zǒu 'run' (SV tẩu) [ M 走 走 zǒu < MC cʊw < OC *tʂoʔ-s, *tʂo:ʔ (q.v.) which allows to reconstruct *c-. ],
• chân 腳 jiăo (~cẳng) 'leg' (interestingly, we also have bājiăo 巴腳 : bànchân), (SV cước),

and some other characters of dubious association:

• một 一 yī 'one' (SV nhất),
• hai 二 ēr 'two' (SV nhị),
• ba 三 sān 'three' (SV tam, Hainanese /ta/),
• gỗ 木 mù 'tree, timber' (SV móc) [ M 木 mù < MC muk < OC *mho:k | FQ 莫卜 | Shuowen : 冒也.冒地而生.東方之行.從木.下象其根.凡木之屬皆從木. tree. Initial
*mh- is suggested by Meixian muk7. "Gỗ" is derived and based on the deduction from the symnymous compound 木材 múcái (mộctài) where "gỗ" is actually from M 材 cái (SV tài) < MC ʑʊj < OC *ʑhə: ],


- tay 手 shǒu 'hand', 臂 bì (SV tý) 'arm' ~ < VS 'tay' for 'hand' (see discussion in previous section),

Additionally we can also expand the list to contain other basic words, of which both Vietnamese and Chinese are cognates. Below we will examine basic words of this nature and explore the possibilities of their being cognates with those of Chinese.

Again, this research paper definitely is not about the genetic affinity of the Vietnamese language. Yet, its implication of those vocabularies ranging from common basic words as cited above and many other fundamental words as follows suggests an affiliation with Chinese, a member of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family, though. (Note: the list provided is representative, not a complete list. Many etymons in this list have been provided in previous sections. For reference, press Ctrl + F)

1. **Family relations:**

In addition to those lexicons discussed previously, here are some more:

- ông (~ cồ, trống) 公 (grandfather): gōng (SV công).
- tôi 我 wǒ 'I, me' (SV ngã) [ ~ VS qua | M 我 wǒ < MC ŋʌ < OC *ŋha:jʔ | FQ 五可 | MC reading 流開一上苟疑 | Shuowen: 施身自謂也.或說我頃頓.從戈手.手古文垂也.一曰古文玉字.凡我之屬皆從我. | Hai /wa/ | According to Starostin: I, we; my, our (inclusive, according to Yakhontov) The form 吾 *
ŋha:, (a later subjective/objective counterpart of 我) is still used very rarely during Early Zhou; several times there occurs also an emphatic form *ŋha: ŋ 'I for my part'. Initial *ŋh- is suggested here by archaic Min forms: Chaozhou ua3, Jianou ŋuoi8 // ue|8 (see ROCP 126). | In old Chinese there are many for to address 'I, me, we.. such as 吾, 余, 咱 ... but they all related in pronunciation. We also see 咱 zà (VS ta) ~ zān (~ 咱們 zánměn VS chóngminh 'we, us') gives us the lead to 'tôi'. In Vietnamese 'tôi' seems to have appeared very late for a few centuries, which I suspect was originated from 婢 bì (SV tì) > = 奴婢 núbì (SV nòti), a humble way to address oneself. However, if 'tôi' is put into the phonological context with 'wǒ' 我 (cf. 找 zhăo ~ as 'tòi' in 'tìmòi' 'to look for', and the association with the form 我倆 wǒliăng to give rise to 'dōilūa' ('we both'). In any cases 咱 zà or zān is the most plausible form, since in dialectal Chinese it means 'tôi' v à 'ta'.

- cha, tía 爹 diè 'father' (SV tìa),
- vợ, bụa 婦 fù 'wife' (SV phụ),
- chồng 君 jūn 'husband' (SVquán),
- chóngminh 咱們 zánměn 'we, exclusively' (SV tamôn),
- dōilūa 我倆 wǒliăng 'we both, two of us' (SV ngãlưỡng),
- chị 姊 zǐ, jiě 'older sister' (SV tỷ, tỉ) [ M 姊 zǐ, jiě < MC tsjɨ < OC *ɕjəjʔ (~i) } According to Starostin : elder sister; cousin (Schuessler). Regular Sino-Viet. is tí. ]

2. Natural surroundings and phenomina:
- trời, giới, ngày 日 ri 'the sun' (SV nhật),
- trăng, giăng 月 (moon): nguyệt (SV), yuè (Mand.) (~tháng 'month'),
- lửa 火 huǒ 'fire' (SV hoả),
- sao 星 xīng 'star' (SV tinh),
- sáng 晨 chén 'morning' (SV thin) [ M 晨 chén < MC tʂin < OC *dhjər | FQ 植鄰 | Dialects : Changsha: sjən12, Nanchang : sjen31, Meixian: sjen12, Cant. sán12, Amoy : sin12, Chaozhou siŋ12, Fuzhou : siŋ12 ],
- trưa 畫 zhòu 'noon' [ M 畫 zhòu < MC .Subject is time of daylight, morning, day. Standard Sino-Viet. is trú. OC *-iw-s is reconstructed because the word is sometimes written (as a loan) as 調 in Shi. | Shuowen: 日之出入, 與夜為介. 從畫省, 從日. "An\n
- tối 夜 xiāo 'night' (SV tiêu) [ M 夜 xiāo < MC sjew < OC *saw | FQ 相邀 ]

- sáng 亮 liàng 'bright' (SV lượng) [ ~ VS xnh | M 亮 liàng < MC lɑŋ < OC *raŋʔ | FQ 力讓 | Hai. siaŋ | According to Starostin: For OC *r- cf. Xiamen\n
- tối 黑 hēi 'dark' (SV hắc) [ M 黑 hēi < MC xɤk < OC *smjə:k | MC reading 鬼開一入德曉 | ex. 黑暗 hēiàn (hắcám) : 舊ităm ]

- gió, giông 風 fēng 'wind' (SV phong), [ M 風 fēng < MC pjuŋ < OC *pjɔm, prɔm < PC: **pryŋʷ, *prym | ¶ M 風 fēng ~ giông /dʒŋʷ/ -> gió /dʒɔ/ ~ phong /pfɔŋʷ/, © 凬 | § 虫 chóng (trùn) giun | ex. giôngtố # 颱風 táifēng 'taiphoon', 風雨 fēngyǔ > # mưagiông > mưagió]

- bão 暴 bào 'storm' (SV bạo) [ M 暴 bào < MC bjaw < OC *ba:kws | FQ 薄報 | Starostin: be oppressive, violent; to oppress, overpower. Also used in a compound: 暴虐 *ba:kʷs-ŋhakʷ 'be oppressive, coercive'. For *b- cf. Min forms: Xiamen, Fuzhou po6, Chaozhou pau4, Jianou pau8. | cf. giôngbão, gióbào 暴風 bàofēng 'storm'

- nắng 陽 yáng 'sunshine' (SV dương) [ M 陽 yáng < MC jaŋ < ɬaŋ ~ nắng | MC reading 宕開三平陽以 | cf. trờinắng 太陽 tàiyáng | According to Starostin: sunshine, sunshiny place. Specific meanings attested in archaic literature are: (sunshiny place) > 'South slope of a mountain; North slope of a valley or river, South; 10th month'. A homonymous word rendered by the same character is *ɬaŋ 'be elated'. Viet. has also a word nắng 'sunny' - which may be an earlier loan from the same source (with nasal assimilation). The character is also (since Han) sometimes written as 景

Page | 230
without the radical. | Tibetan languages: Burmese: lanh be bright, clear, transparent. Kachin: leŋ3 be light, bright. Lushei: lin (lin) be red-hot, be aglow. Lepcha: loŋ, a-loŋ reflective light | cf. trời nắng 太陽 tài yáng 'sunny', ánh nắng 陽光 yang guăng 'sun ray',]

- **đất** 土 tǔ 'soil' (SV thổ),
- **dia** 池 chí 'pool' (SV tri) | M 池 chí < MC ðe < OC *taj | FQ 直離 |
  According to Starostin: Regular Sino-Viet. is tri. Unaspirated *Ł- is witnessed by Min reflexes: Xiamen, Chaozhou ti2, Fuzhou tie2, Jianou ti9 and must be reconstructed in this case (although normally *Ł- > MC j- in this position). The character is also used in the die-sheng 差池 *shraj-Łaj 'be uneven'. ],
- **ao** 湖 (lake): hú (SV hồ) | M 胡 hú < MC ɠo < OC *gha: | FQ 戶吳 |
  According to Starostin: For *gh- cf. Min forms: Xiamen o2, Chaozhou ou2.,
- **sông** 江 jiāng 'river' (SV giang),
- **khe** 溪 xī 'creek' (SV khê) | M 溪 xī < MC khiej < OC *khe: | MC reading 蟹開四平齊溪 | According to Starostin: mountain stream, crevice (L.Zhou). Regular Sino-Viet. is khê. Mand. has also a doublet (and more usual) reading xi: (without a MC origin),
- **suối** 川 chuān (SV xuyên) | M 川 chuān < MC ʨwen < OC *thon | MC reading 山合三平仙昌 | 川 chuān (xuyên) makes us think right away 'sông', but 'sông' certainly was derived from 'krong' =< 江 (phonetic stem 工/kong/) as in Mekong (Mêkông) 湄江 Méijiāng. 川 chuān (xuyên) may not be related to /kong/ because 川 chuān appears in an older form than 江 jiā ng 'sông' ~ 'krong'. In the meanwhile, 'suối' is closer to 川 chuān (xuyên) phonoetically and semantically.],
- **lá** 葉 yè 'leave' (SV diệp),
- **mây** 雲 yún 'cloud' (SV vân),
- **mưa** 雨 yǔ 'rain' (SV vũ),
tạnh 晴 qīng, qíng 'clear sky after a rain' (SV tánh, tành, tinh, tình) [ M 晴 qīng | MC reading A: 梗開三平清從; B: 梗開三平清精 | ~ 星 xīng (tinh) ~ sao < MC sien < OC *she:n 桑經 | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan star; asterism, constellation. The character was also used in Early Zhou for another word, *tɕeŋ 'to become clear (of sky)' (MC tɕeŋ, Mand. qíng, Viet. tinh; despite Schussler, this word is quite distinct etymologically from *she:n 'star'). Since Han this word was denoted by a different character, 晴. For the latter, standard Sino-Viet. is tinh, but there also exists a colloquial loan from the same source, Viet. tạnh. For OC *sh- cf. Min forms: Xiamen chĩ1, Chaozhou chẽ1. | cf. 'sao' ],

3. **Spiritual beliefs:**

- Bụt 佛 fó 'Buddha' (SV Phật),
- thầymo ~ phùthuỷ : 巫師 wūshī (vusư) [ @# 巫師 wūshī @ 師 shī ~ thuỷ (thị?) \巫 wū ~ phù \¶ w- ~ ph-, m- | M巫 wū < MC mu < OC *mha || M師 shī < MC ʂi < OC *srij | FQ 疏夷 | § 时 shí (thời, thì) | According to Starostin: multitude, army; (person in charge of it:) master | § thàytrò 師徒 shītú (sưđỗ) demonstrates the possibility that 師 shì could evolve into 'thầy' with đ- ~ tr- (the initial đ- must be older than tr-): đở > trở | cf. thàytrò 'master and pupil', thàythơ 'master and apprentice', thàygiáo 'teacher' ],
- thiêng 靈 líng 'sacred' (SV linh) [ M靈 líng < MC lieŋ < OC *re:ŋ | ¶ l- ~ th- ],
- bùa ~ bói 卜 bǔ 'devine' (SV bốc) [ M卜 bǔ < MC puk po:k | FQ 博木 | According to Starostin: divine by bone or tortoise shell oracle ],
- ma 魔 mó 'ghost' (SV ma) [ Mmó < MC mwa < OC *mha: | Starostin: ghost, devil (Wei). The word (*mha: in Late Old Chinese) is a contraction of 魔羅 *mha:-la: < Sanskr. ma:ra 'spirit of death, evil ghost'. ]
- quỉ 鬼 guǐ 'spirit' (SV quỉ) [ M鬼 guǐ < MC kw$j < OC *kuj? | FQ 居偉 | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan spirit. ghost (apparently not spirits of the deceased) ],
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

4. **Plants, stables, foods, meats:**
   - lúa ~ gạo 稻 dào 'rice' (SV đạo),
   - hạt 核 hè 'seed' (SV hạch) [ M 核 hè < MC ɠajk OC *ghrjə:k ],
   - lạc 落 luò (SV lạc),
   - đậu 豆 dòu (SV đậu),
   - trái 實 shí 'fruit' [ M 實 shí < MC ʑit < OC *lit | FQ 神質 | According to Starostin: be solid, true; actually, really. Used also for *lit 'fruit'; *lit 'be rich'. The three meanings of 實 are probably one and the same word: 'fruit' < 'to be fruitful = rich'; 'to bring fruits < be effective, true'. Viet. has also a colloquial loanword thiệt 'real, genuine'. | Modern M in later development 水果 shuíguǒ 'fruit' ~ VS 'tráicây']
   - rau 菜 cài 'vegetable' (SV thế) [ M 菜 cài < MC chɤj < OC *shje?:ts | FQ 倉代 | ¶ x-, s- ~ r- : ex. 蛇 shě (xà) rắn 'snake', 缩 suō (thúc) rút 'shrink'],
   - cải 芥 jiè, gài 'mustard' (SV giới) [ M 芥 jiè, gài < MC kjaj < OC *kɛj ],
   - củ ~ sắn 薯 shǔ 'yam' (SV thự) [ M 薯 shǔ < MC ʂjə < OC *dʑɨjə ],
   - tiêu 椒 jiāo 'pepper' (SV tiêu) [ M 椒 jiāo < tsjew < OC *cew | FQ 即消 | According to Starostin: Chinese prickly ash, also called Szechuan or Japanese pepper (Xanthoxylum simulans), used as condiment. Also read *ce:w, MC ciew id.; used as well in a die-sheng 椒聊 *ce:w-re:w 'pepper plant'].
   - chuối 蕉 jiāo 'banana' (chiêu) [ M 蕉 jiāo | MC reading 效開三平宵見 | It must be a loanword from languages of the Yuè | phonetic stem: 焦 jiāo (SV tiêu, VS cháy ) 焦 jiāo < MC tsjew < OC *cew | FQ 即消 ],
   - mít 菠蘿蜜 bōlómì 'jackfruit' (balamât) [ M 菠蘿蜜 pōlómì | M 菠蘿 bōló means 'pineapple' (Eng.) while 'jackfruit' is originated from Portuguese
(which in turn was derived from Malay -- 'jackfruit' <- Portuguese: jaca < Malayalam cakkai + 'fruit'). Obviously 'mit' and 菠蘿蜜 bolómi are related and it must have the Yue origin.

- dưa 瓜 guā 'melon' (SV qua) [ M 瓜 guā < MC kwa < OC *kwra: | FQ 古華 | MC reading 假合二平麻見 | cf. duahâu 塊瓜 kuâiguā (khốiqua) | @ # M 塊瓜 kuâiguā
- dừa 椰 yē, yé 'coconut' (SV gia) [ M 椰 yē, yé < MC jia < OC *jia | It must be a loanword from the Yue
- bầu, bí 魽 páo 'gourd' (SV biều) [ M 魽 páo < MC bow < OC *bru: | FQ 蒲交 | According to Starostin: gourd; calabash cup. The Viet. reading is early; the literary norm is biệu. For *b- cf. Min forms: Xiamen, Fuzhou pau2, Jianou pu9
- hành 蔥 cōng 'onion' (SV song, thông)) [ M 蔥 cōng < MC chuŋ < OC *sho:ŋ | FQ 居紅 | According to Starostin: Welsh onion (Allium fistulosum); of onion color, onion-green | ¶ c- ~ h-
- tỏi 蒜 suàn 'garlic' (SV toán) [ M 蒜 suàn < MC swjən < OC *so:rs | FQ 蘇貫 | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan garlic (Qi). Viet. tỏi is an interesting case of replacing MC -n by -i; it probably reflects a variant *swʌj with the dialectal development *-r < -j. Standard Sino-Viet. is toán.
- dừa 薑 jiāng 'ginger' (SV khoương) [ M 薑 jiāng < MC kaŋ < OC *kaŋ | FQ 居良
- cá 魚 yú 'fish' (SV ngư),
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

6. Body parts and anatomy:

- **sò 螺 luó 'clam' (SV la),**
- **ruốc ~ tép 蝦 xiā 'shrimp' (SV hà) [ M 蝦 xiā < MC ğa. Oc *ghra: | | MC reading 假開二平麻曉 | According to Starostin: frog (Han). Used only in the compound 蝦蟆 *g(h)ra:-mra: id | cf. 'nhái'],**
- **hến 蜆 xiàn 'mussel' (SV nghiễn) [ M 蜆 xiàn < MC ɠiɛn < OC he:nʔ | According to Starostin: a k. of mussel (Corbicula leana) (modern). Also read *g(h)e:nʔ, MC ɠi/en; *khe:ns, MC khi\en. The standard Sino-Viet. reading is quite irregular: nghiễn. The usage of 螺 for 'mussel' is quite recent; the earliest attested meaning of the character (in Erya) is 'a k. of silkworm', and the word may be actually a dialectal variant of the standard 螺 *ke:nʔ 'silkworm' (q.v.). Cf. also Viet. kiến 'ant' (borrowed from the same source?) | Cant. /hin/ ],
- **thịt 膱 zhí 'meat' (thức) [ M 腱 zhí < MC tʂɪk < OC *tjɪk | It could have also been derived from 腊 xì (tích) © M 腊 xì ],
- **canh 羹 gēng 'broth' (SV canh) [ M 羹 gēng < kɒiŋ < OC *kra:ŋ ].**

5. **Body parts and anatomy:**

- **đầu 頭 tóu 'head' (SV đầu),**
- **mặt 面 miàn 'face' (SV diện),**
- **mắt 目 mù 'eye' (SV mục),**
- **sống mũi 鼻梁 'nose' (SV tịlương),**
- **hàm, cằm 含 hán 'chin' (SV hàm),**
- **răng 牙 yá 'tooth' (SV nha) [ M 牙 yá < MC ŋya < OC *ŋrya:| MC reading 假開二平麻疑 | | y- ~ r:- 硬 ying: dai ~ rắn, 阮 ruăn (nguyễn) ~ 元 yuán; 惶惶 yíyí: rayrút; 耀 yào: roi; 隱 yín (riêng) as in 隱私 yǐnsī: riêngtư; 夭夭 yāoyāo: râmrap; 蝇 yíng: ruồi (nhảng), 芽 yá: măng, 崖 yá: răng(núi), 曰 yuè: ràng; 炎 yán: nóng boiling hot ~ modern Mand. rè 熱 | ex. quánrú 牙肉: nướurăng (~lợirăng), yáchǐ 牙齿: răngcỏ || It also means 'tusk, ivory'],**
- **râu 鬚 xū 'beard' (SV tu),**
- **bung** 腹 fù 'stomach, belly' (SV phục) [ M 腹 fù < puk < OC *puk | ¶ OC *p- ~ > b-, f- ~ b- | FQ 方六, GSR 1034 h | According to Starostin: Tibetan: (W) ze-a~bug the maw or fourth stomach of ruminating animals. Burmese: pja uk belly, stomach. Lushei: KC *puk. Lepcha: ta-fuk, ta-bak the abdomen, the lower part of stomach. Kiranti: *ʔpo/k. Comments: Sho puk; Kham phu: belly, abdomen; Gyarung tepok. Sh. 49, 69, 409; Ben. 77,]
- **đùi** 腿 tuǐ 'lap' (SV thối, thoái) [ M 腿 tuǐ < MC thoj < OC *lu:jʔ | FQ 吐猥 | MC reading 蟹合一上賄透 ],
- **vai** 背 bēi 'shoulder' (SV bội),
- **ngực** 臆 yì 'chest' (SV ức),
- **hông** 腰 xiōng 'hips' (SV hung),
- **eo** 腰 yiāo 'waist' (SV yêu),
- **đít** 屁 pì 'buttocks' (SV tí),
- **sốnglưng** 脊梁 jǐliáng 'spine' (SV tíchlương),
- **chân** 足 zú 'foot' (SV túc), etc.

and plenty of words to name body organs: tim 心 xīn, gan 甘 gān 'liver', phổi 肺 fèi 'lung', thận 腎 shèn 'kidney', etc. of which the etymological affinity is so obvious that there is no need for explanation.

6. **Sensual and emotional acts and feelings:**
- **liếm** 舔 tián 'lick' (SV thiểm, thiêm) [ M 舔 tián < MC thiɛm < OC *sle:mʔ | FQ 吐猥 | According to Starostin: to lick (Tang). Viet. liếm must be an archaic loan (unless it is a chance coincidence); standard Sino-Viet. is thiêm. | ¶ l- ~ th- | thiêng 靈 líng (SV linh) 'sacred' ],
- **ngửi** 嗅 xìu (SV khứu),
- **sờ ~ mó, mò 'to grope' 摸 mō, mó (mô) [ M 摸 mō, mó < MC mo < OC *mha: | According to Starostin: Also read *mha:k, MC mʌk id. The character is sometimes (since Tang) used instead of 摹 *mha:, MC mo 'to copy, imitate' q.v. Standard Sino-Viet. is mò; another colloquial loan from the same source is Viet. mò 'to grope, fumble'. | ¶ m ~ s- ],
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

7. Daily and common activities:

- ăn 吃 'eat' (SV 'nghát'),
- xiŭ 食 shí 'eat' (SV thực),
- uŏng 飮 yín 'drink' (SV ām) [ M 飮 yín < MC ?ìn < OC *ʔjêm? | Cant. jè m21, Zyyy: ijem2 | MC reading 深開三上寢影 ],
- đi 去 qù 'walk' (SV khứ) [ M 去 qù < MC khĕ < OC *khaʔ | MC reading 遇合三去御溪 | According to Starostin: Also read *khaʔ-s, MC kho\, Mand. qù, Viet. khủ 'to go away, leave'. | Most of dialects read tśy3 [¶ q- ~ đ- ],
- đứng 站 zhàn 'to stand' (SV trạm) [ M 站 zhàn < MC tʂən < OC *tars | MC reading 咸開二去陷知 ],
- chạy 走 zǒu 'run' (SV tẩu) [ M 走 zǒu < MC cʊw < OC *ɕo:ʔ | MC reading 流開一上厚精 | According to Starostin: to run, make run, gallop. Probably related to 趣 *tʂoʔ-s, *tʂo:ʔ (q.v.) which allows to reconstruct *tɕ-.
- cày 耕 gēng 'plow' (SV canh) [ M 耕 gēng < MC 耕 kaijʊŋ < OC *kre:ŋ | MC reading 梗開二平耕見 | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan a plough | Dialects: Chaozhou kẽ11, Wenzhou: kiɜ11, Chuangfeng: kiẽ11,
- bú 哺 bǔ 'suck' (SV bộ) [ M 哺 bǔ < bo < OC *ba:s ],
- nhìn 眼 yăn 'look' (SV nhãn) [ M 眼 yăn < MC ŋan < OC *ŋhrjənʔ | FQ 五限 | According to Starostin: eye-hole, hole; eye (L.Zhou). Also read *ŋ(h)jə:nʔ, MC ŋʔn, Mand. ŋn 'convex'. In Bai the word means both 'hole' and 'eye'. | ex. nhìnchằmbẳm 眼巴巴 yănbaba 'to gaze', nhìntrừngtrừng 眼瞪瞪 yănndendeng 'stare at'
- khóc 哭 kù 'weep' (SV khỏc) [ M 哭 kù < MC khuc OC *kho:k | MC reading 通合一入屋溪 ],
- đái, tiểu 尿 niào 'urinate' (SV niếu),
- là 屎 ē 'to shit' (SV a) [ M 屎 ē | => đi ia (Cant. /osi/ 屎尿 and 屎 /oi/ is equivalent to 'la'.]
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- đéo, dự, bè 嫖 (闝) piáo 'fuck' (SV phiếu) [ M 嫖 (闝) piáo < MC phjew < OC *phew | Cant. phiu12 ~ tiu2 (coloquial) | ¶ p- ~ d- ],
- sống, dề 生 shēng 'live, give birth to' (SV sanh) [ M 生 shēng < MC ʂɒiŋ ~ ʂɑiŋ < OC *shreŋ ~ *shreŋs | FQ 所庚 (sanh) ~ 所敬 (sinh) | MC reading 梗開二平庚生 | Dialects: Hai. te11 (x. dễ), Chaozhou: sē 11, Amoy : sǐ11 ~ cǐ 11, Wenzhou siɛ1, Fuzhou chiaŋ1. | cf. xoitái 吃生: 'to eat raw' ],
- chết 死 sǐ 'die' (SV tử) [ M 死 sǐ < MC sji < OC *sijʔ | MC 止開三上旨心 || It can also be 逝 shì (thệ) | M 逝 shì < MC tsjai < OC *djats. According to Tsu-lin Mei 'chết' is an Austroasiatic word which was transcribed in Chinese ancient document as 礼 **tsct 'to die' ] (Read more at The case of "chết"),
- đánh 打 dă 'hit, strike' (SV đả),
- khiêng, gánh, cõng 扛 káng 'carry on one's back or shoulders' (SV cang) [ ~ VS gǒng | M 扛 káng < MC khɑŋ < Oc *kha:ŋs | FQ 糟浩 | MC reading 效開一番溪 | According to Starostin : to set up, lift up. Also read *gha:ŋ, MC ɠʌŋ (FQ 胡郎), Go gau, Kan kau id.],
- mơ 夢 mèng 'dream' (SV mộng') [ M 夢 mèng < MC mʊŋ < OC *mhjəŋs | According to Starostin : to dream. Also read *mhjəŋ, MC muŋ (FQ 莫中), Pek. měng 'be blind to, unenlightened' (cf. 蒙 ). Cf. also Viet. mò 'to dream' (with a loss of the final nasal after a nasal initial). For *mh- cf. Min forms: Xiamen baŋ6, Chaozhou maŋ6, Fuzhou maŋ5, mon5 (cf. also 懵 MC muŋ, Fuzhou mon5 'dark, obscure, silly') | Cant. mouŋ5 ],
• trồng, giống 种 zhòng, zhǒng ‘to plant, race’ (SV chủng) [ ~ VS dòng | M 种 zhòng, 种 zhòng (trồng) < MC tʂouŋ < OC *to 之隴ʔ | FQ 之隴 | MC reading A: 通合三上腫章; B: 通合三去用章 | According to Starostin: seeds; cereals. Also read *toŋʔ-s, MC tɕoʊŋ (FQ 之用), Mand. zhòng ‘to sow’. The word also means ‘kind, sort, race’ ( > ’seed’), which is reflected in a colloquial Viet. loanword (from another dialectal source) giống ‘kind, sort; race, breed, strain’.

• đốt 燃 shāo ‘to set fire’ (SV thiêu) [ ~ VS sôi, sốt, thảp | M 燃 shāo < MC şew < OC *snɛw | Starostin: to burn, incinerate (L.Zhou). Also read *sŋew-s, MC şeʊw, Mand. shào ‘to burn (grass for fertilizing land)’.

• cháy 焦 jiāo ‘to burn’ (SV tiêu) [ M 焦 jiāo < MC tsjew < OC *ɕew | According to Starostin: to burn, char (L. Zhou). Shuowen says phonetic is 集 *tɕ(h)jəp; it is possible only if the latter graph was taken with the alternative reading *tɕip (see under 集). The 焦 series clearly has a *tɕ-initial (see RDFS 247); as for *-ew (not -aw), see the rhyme for 譙 (ibid., 556). A later attested meaning is ‘dark yellow color’.

• xấu 醜 chǒu ‘ugly’ (xù),

• xinh, sáng 亮 liàng ‘pretty’ (SV lượng),

• lời 話 huà ‘spoken word’ (SV nói | M 話 huà < MC ɠwɑi < OC *ghwra:ts | According to Starostin: speech, lecture. Standard Sino-Viet. is thoại (with unclear th-). For *gh*- cf. Xiamen, Chaozhou ue6, Fuzhou, Jioanou ua6. | ¶ hw- ~ l- : ex. 火 huǒ (hoả) lửa | cf. 舌 shě : VS lư ỡi ‘tongue’ | However, according to Starostin: 辭 cí < MC ʐjy < OC *lhjə ~ l ɔi ‘tongue’ | However, according to Starostin: 辭 cí < MC ʐjy < OC *lhjə ~ l ɔi. Sino-Tibetan words, speech; excuse, indictment, pleading. Viet. lời is an archaic loanword; regular Sino-Viet. is từ. Protoform: *lja Meaning: speak, speech Chinese: 辭 *lhjə words, speech. Tibetan: zla, zlo (s) (p. bzlas, bzlos, f. bzlo, i. zlos) to say, tell, express. Lushei: hla a hymn, a song (KC *hla). Lepcha: li/, li-n to speak, to tell, Kiranti: *lja , Comments: Bunan la-la. Sh. 138, Bod. 181. ].

8. Animals:
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- cá 魚 yú 'fish' (SV ngư),
- gà 雞 jī 'chicken', (SV kê),
- thò 徒 tù 'hare' (SV thố) tù [ M 徒 tù < MC tho < OC *tha:ks | FQ 湯故 ],
- trâu 牛 niu 'water buffallo' (SV ngưu),
- chó 狗 gǒu 'dog' (SV cẩu),
- mèo 貓 māo 'cat' (SV miêu),
- voi 為 wēi 'elephant' (SV vi) [ archaic; modern Mand. means "vi" 'because'],
- cọp 虎 hǔ 'tiger' (SV hổ),
- chim 禽 qín 'bird' (SV cấm),
- bòcâu 白鴿 báigē 'pigeon' (SV bạchcáp, bạchcác) [ M 白鴿 báigē \ @ 白 báí ~ bò | M 鴿 gē < MC kɤp < OC *kjə:p | FQ 古沓 | According to Starostin: pigeon (Tang) ],
- condế 蟋蟀 xīshuài 'cricket, locust' (SV tấtsuất) [ M 蟋蟀 xīshuài < MC ʂjɛtʂ jet < OC *srjitsrjuət | ~ M 蟋 xī ~ 蟀 shuài \ @ 蟀 shuài ~ con 子 zǐ ].

Insects, pests, and parasites:

- chí 吃 chí 'louse' (SV siết, sát),
- kén 蠶 cán 'silkworm' (SV tằm) [ M 蠶 cán < MC ʑɤm < OC *tʂjə:m ],
- muội 蟲 (mosquito): wén (Hainanese /me/),
- ruồi 蠅 yíng 'fly' (dăng) [ ~ VS nhặng, lẳng | M 蠅 yíng < MC jiŋ < OC *ljəŋ | FQ 余陵 | MC reading 咸開三平蒸以 | According to Starostin: a fly. Viet. làng 'bluebottle' is archaic, reflecting a form like WH *ljəŋ. A later loan from
the same source is probably Viet. nhằng 'bluebottle' (nh- reflecting MC j- with assimilatory nasalisation); regular Sino-Viet. is dằng. || According to Tsu-lin Mei, "ruôi" is of Austroasiatic origin [Read more at The case of "ruôi"],

- sâu 蟲 chóng 'insect' (SV trúng) [~ VS trún, giun, sân],
- gián 蟑螂 zhāngláng 'cockroach' (SV trườnglang) [ VS @ 'gián' < M 蟑螂 zhāngláng ],
- đỉa 蛭 zhì 'leech' (SV điệt, đết, chật) [ M 蛭 zhì < MC cít < OC*tít, < PC **ti k | Also MC tsít < OC *tít, *trit, | TB: sdig scorpion | Zhu Fagao : zyxlj p250: *ʧiet, ʧhiet ].

9. Man-made objects and tools:

- nhà 家 jiā 'home, house' (SV gia),
- cửa 戶 hù 'gate, door' (SV hột) [ M 戶 hù < MC ɠɔ < OC *gha:ʔ | MC reading 遇合一上姥匣 | Dialect: Shuangfeng: ɠjəu32 | According to Starostin: Sino-Tibetan door; household. Regular Sino-Viet. is hộ. Cf. also Viet. ngõ 'gate' (one of the cases of Viet. rendering Chinese stops as nasals). Protoform: *k(h)a. Meaning: open, opening. Chinese: ¤á *g_a:ʔ door. *g_a:ʔ door. Burmese: kah to divide, be stretched apart, be spread; tam-khah door, gate. Kachin: cʰŋkha1, nkha1 door, (H) sumkha be wide open. Lushei: ka to open (as mouth, legs); mouth; KC *ka. Comments: Tangkhul kha-moŋ door, Rawang phjaŋ-kha id.; Sgaw ka to open. Sh. 46, 400, 407, 427; Ben. 120, 134; Luce 2. Cf. *Qʷyj, *Qa., *Qʷyj: door, gate 閘 *w_jej gate. sgo door, go place, room. The Tib. form can be compared with OCh. 畿 *g_jej threshold or 埚 *kja: territory; a comparison with OCh. 戶 *g_a:ʔ door (see Simon 13, Luce 2, Peiros-Starostin 217, Gong 47) is less probable, since the latter goes well together with PST *k(h)a open, opening.]},
- cội 臼 jiu 'mortar' (SV cữu),
- dao 刀 dāo (đao) [ M 刀 dāo < MC tʌw < OC *ta:w | FQ 都牢 | According to Starostin : knife. Viet. dao is colloquial; regular Sino-Viet. is đao. A related form is probably 鉤 *taw 'big sickle' q.v. (with further parallels). | ¶ d- ~ iʃ/- ],

- bàn 案  án 'table' (SV án) [ M 案  án < MC ṭbn < OC *ʔa:ns | MC reading 山開一去翰影 ],
- ghế 椅  ý 'chair' (SV ý) [ M 椅  ý < MC ki < OC *krjəjə ],
- rương, hòm 'suitcase' (SV sương) [ M 箱 xīāng < MC sjaŋ < OC *saŋ | ¶ s-, x- ~ r- : ex. 鬚 xū (tu) râu | FQ 息良 ],
- buồng (SV phòng) 'room' [ M 房 fáng < MC baŋ < OC* bwon | MC reading 宕合三平陽奉 ],
- giường 床 chuáng (sàng) [ M 床 chuáng < MC ʂaŋ < OC *tʂhraŋ | ¶ ch- ~ gi- ],
- bếp庖 páo 'kitchen' (SV bào) [ M ©庖 páo < MC bạw < OC *bhū < PC **brū | § bầu庖 páo (biều) > bí ],
- quầy, củi 櫃 gui 'coffer, cupboard' (SV quỹ, quả) [ M 櫃 gui < MC gwi < OC *gruts(-js) | According to Starostin : box, coffer. In Early Chou written without the 75th radical: 匱. Another colloquial loan from the same source is Viet. quầy 'counter, bar' (the word has this meaning in modern Mand., too). Regular Sino-Viet. is quả.],
- tủ 櫝 dú 'cabinet' (SV độc) [ M 櫝 dú < MC duk < OC *lho:k | ¶ d- ~ h- ],
- chén 盞 zhàn 'bowl' (SV tràn) [ M 盞 zhàn < MC can < OC *tsjre:nʔ | MC reading 山開二上產莊 ],
- đũa 箸 zhú 'chopstick' (SV trợ, chừ, trừ) [ M 箸 zhú < MC ɖʊ < OC *dras | FQ 遲倨 | Hainanese: /du/],
- thìa, chìa 匙 chí (spoon) (SV thi, chuỷ) [ M 匙 chí < MC tʂe < OC *dhe ],
- cừi 機 jī 'weaving apparatus' (SV cd) [ ~ VS 'máy' | M 機 jī < MC kyj < OC *kjej | According to Starostin : device, apparatus. One of the later meanings is 'circumstances, occasion' (reflected in Viet. cd). | For 'máy', ¶ j- ~ m- : ex. 幾 jī (co) máy ], etc.

10. Most of functional words and grammatical markers (hurst虚詞 xucí), indispensable in the Vietnamese language:

- và 和 hé, hè 'and' (SV hoà) [ ~ VS hва, wa, hoa | M 和 hé < MC ṭwn < OC *ghwa:j | FQ 戶戈 | MC reading A: 果合一平戈匣; B: 果合一去過匣 | Dialect:
Wenzhou: A: vu12; B: vu12 | According to Starostin: 'be'. For *ghʷ- cf. Jianou o2. Also read *ghʷa:j-s, MC ɠwʌ', Mand. hè, Viet. hoạ 'to respond in singing, join in'. In Viet. cf. perhaps also hùa 'to follow, imitate'.

- với 'with' 與 yǔ, yú, yù (dǔ, dù) [ M 與 yǔ < MC ju < OC *la? | FQ 余呂 | Starostin: with, and A somewhat later (but attested already in L.Zhou) reading is *la?-s, MC jo (FQ 羊茹), Mand. yù, Viet. dù 'to participate, take part'. The character 與 is also used in Shijing for OC *la (MC jo, FQ 以諸, Mand. yu/), translated by Schussler as: perhaps: be rich. A reading *lha (MC jo, Pek. yu/) is attested since Late Zhou as a contraction of 也 + 乎 (*lhiəj + *wa:). For etymology cf. 以.]

- cùng 跟 gēn 'along with' (SV căn) [ ~VS gốc, gót | 跟 gēn < MC kən < OC *kən | MC reading 臻開一平痕見 | ¶ g- (k-) ~ g- : jī 雞 (kê) gà; g- ~ k- : 岡 gāng (cương) cứng ]

- tới, đến 到 dào 'to' (SV đáo) [ M 到 dào < MC tʌw < OC *ta:wʔs ]

- dođó, chonên 所以 suōyī 'therefore' (sòđĩ) [ M 所以 suōyī \ 所 suǒ ~ cho, do, @ 以 yǐ ~ nèn, dố \ ¶ y- ~ n-, d- ],

- vithē 於是 yúshì 'as a result' (SV vuthị) [ VS ở, về 'at, in, in regard to': M 於 yú (vu) < ?a < OC *a? | M 是 shì < MC tʑɘ < OC *deʔ | FQ 承紙 | Shuowen 直也. 从日正. 凡是之属皆从是. # # # 简文是. 从古文正. According to Starostin: this is (link verb or inverted demonstrative pronoun). The Bai forms may also reflect 在 (q.v.); the form is translated as 是, 有 and 在. Etymology see under 之 *tjə.],

- dép 以 yǐ (dĩ) [ M 以 yǐ < MC j̥ < OC *ljeʔ | ¶ y- ~ d- | FQ 養里 | According to Starostin: Shuowen: 用也. 從反已. 卯侍中說. 已意已實也. 象形. (746). Sino-Tibetan to take, use, employ. For *l- cf. Min forms: Xiamen, Chaozhou, Fuzhou i3. ],

- ở 於 yú 'at, in' (SV vu) [ M 於 yú < ?a < OC *a? ],

- tài 在 zài 'in' (tài) [ M 在 zài < MC zv̥ < OC *zhjaʔ? | FQ 咋宰 | According to Starostin: be in, at, etc.; to exist; ('be into smth.' =) to examine. In old texts occurs also with the meaning 'to examine' (Sch.: perhaps same word = 'to
be into smth.'). The word is probably related to 存 *zhjà:n 'to be, exist' (through -n-derivation), which allows us to reconstruct an aspirated *zh- in OC (arguments for *zh- in 存 see in RDFS 99). | x. trongkhi, tronglúc, d ang 正在 zhèngzài (chánh tài) ],

- visao 為什麼 wēishēme 'why' (vithâpma) [ © M 為什麼 wēishēme | me =< -aw (-ao) | Dialect : Beijing 為啥 wēishā ],
- vìlà 為了 wèile 'because' (viliễu) [ M 為了 wèile ],
- gì, sao 啥 shà (xá) [ Beijing : 啥 shà | phonetic stem M 舍 shè < MC ʂia < OC ɕia ],
- 對於 duìyú (đốivu) [ M 對於 duìyū > © M 對 duì < MC toj < OC *tu:ts | Starostin: to respond, answer. Probably < earlier *tu:p-s, cf. 答 *tje:p ( < *tu:p). In Early Chou used also with a meaning 'show appreciation, thank' (Sch.: 'perhaps: respond with gratitude'); later usually used with a more general meaning ('respond, correspond') > 'be contrary to, opposite to'. ],
- chotôi, chođến 直到 zhídào (trựcđáo) [ M 直到 zhídào \ @ zhí ~ cho | M 直 zhí < MC ɖik < OC *dhrjək ],
- lềra, thựcra 其實 qíshí (kỳthực) [ @ # M 其實 qíshí \ ¶ q- ~ l-, sh- ~ r- ],

11. Besides, all other abstract concepts and general terms are mostly of Sino-Vietnamese origin which are plentiful and dominant in the Vietnamese language, almost any word in a paragraph or a even in a short sentence, practically. Just name one and you'll get one!

a) Sino-Vietnamese words:

Below are samples of Chinese loanwords called HánViệt or Sino-Vietnamese, dominantly of about 65% of the existing Vietnamese vocabulary stock, spelled and pronounced in a special Vietnamese way. These SV lexicons have deep roots in Middle-Chinese, which fits well into the old Chinese phonological scheme with syllabic finals and tones match perfectly the old Tang's poetic rules and ancient phonological rhyming books (see Nguyễn Tài-Cần. 1979).
In Chinese, even though each character in dissyllabic words above can be used independently as a complete word, this class of words are considered as dissyllabic words by Chinese specialists. However, in Vietnamese, many of those syllables in the Sino-Vietnamese dissyllabic words are not free to be used on their own. That is to say, they can only appear in one combination or another. Just like those words of Latin or Greek origins in English we have something like sociologist, historian, librarian, intersection, missionaries, etc. in which Chinese equivalents of radicals such as "socio", "libra", or "inter"... cannot be used the way they plainly are.

b) Sinitic-Vietnamese words:

An 吃'eat', uống 飲 'drink', đại 尿 'urinate', là 畜 'to shit', đẻ 生 'give birth', ngành 行 'profession', trước 首先 'firstly', thường 通常 'mostly', thùa 仇恨 'hatred', tức 愤怒 'anger', trông 看 'looking', chờ 等 'to wait', sân 場 'stage', trường 雪堂 'school', lâm 猪三八 'non-sense', giông 暴風 'rainstorm', đi đi 'land', chối 推辞 'refuse', rút 退出 'withdraw', lỡ 理想 'ideal', căng thẳng 'stressful', riêng 隱私 'privacy', chửi骂 'scolding', trống 腰 'clear and clean', ban ngày 白日 'noon time', ban trưa 白晝 'noon time',...
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

Like Sino-Vietnamese, these Sinitic-Vietnamese words are also Chinese loanwords, but they have been completely "Vietnamized" or localized. Some of them may have an older age than those of Middle Chinese from which the Sino-Vietnamese vocabularies have been derived. Many of them are complete variations or modifications of original words which may or may not still carry the same original meanings. In most of the cases they are just other versions of an original form, which may appear in all shapes and sights with different spellings and pronunciations and have been even coined with new material. Somewhat similar examples in English are like those of "familial" and "familiar", "infant" and "infantile", "coffee" and "café", "blond" and "blondie", "road" and "route", "aerospace" and "airspace", "grand" and "grandiose", "entrance" and "entry", "serpent" and "serpentine", or like varied usages of foreign loanwords such as "chaomein", "shusi", "burrito", "taco", "kowtow", "typoon", "kindergarten", "wagon", "vendor", "agent", "bourse", "rendezvous", "accord", "regard", "guard", "résumé", "exposé", "mercy", "pardon", "à la carte", "en masse", etc.

In fact, many common Vietnamese words of Chinese origin can be extended to a very much larger number than those quoted in the examples above — the long list of those words supposedly to give you an idea of how large magnitude of the Chinese influence...
is on the Vietnamese vocabularies -- to the extent of other words considered to be basic. Except for later loanwords, those fairly common words either could have originated or evolved from the same roots with those of Chinese. Interestingly some of those words have been derived words from non-Han languages used by non-Han speakers in areas of today's southern China, commonly known as descents of the Yuè or BáchViệt or speakers of Austroasiatic languages as currently referred to by linguistic specialists, such as:

- sông 江 jiāng ‘river’,
- đường (dàng) 糖 táng ‘sugar’,
- dừa 椰 yě ‘coconut’,
- chuỗi 蕉 jiāo ‘banana’,
- mít 菠蘿婆 pōlómì ‘jackfruit’,
- sarrassiêng 榴蓮 liulián ‘durian’,
- chanh 橙 chéng 'lemon' [ modern Mandarin: lǐngmèng 檸檬 ≤ Eng. 'lemon', 橙 chéng is to denote a kind of citrus ],
- tràu 檳榔 bīngláng [< blau],
- ná弩 nú 'crossbow', along with many others such as 'lúa' (paddy), 'gạo' (rice), 'chó' (dog), 'cọp' (tiger), etc. as many of them have been mentioned and discussed in the previous sections.

In any cases, the list can go on and is inexhaustible, not just limited to those cited examples above. Nobody can do that with any of the Mon-Khmer languages.

Additionally, both languages share the same morphology, phonetics, tones, use of classifiers, metaphorical idioms as well as linguistically distinctive expressions, much of their grammar, and any other linguistic traits. None of any other Mon-Khmer languages (except for some characteristics that Miao dialects have in common if they are classified as Mon-Khmer languages as Forrest did) has any trait or slight suggestions of such linguistically distinctive peculiarities.
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

2007
V) HOW SOUND CHANGES HAVE COME ABOUT:

A) In search of sound change patterns:

For better understanding of sound change patterns, you should first distinguish the sound change variations between Sino-Vietnamese and Sinitic-Vietnamese and recognize that their patterns of sound changes are of different models even they were originated from the same Chinese words. The following examples of dissyllabic words, partially structured with either a Sinitic-Vietnamese or Sino-Vietnamese element or both of each type, demonstrate best those phonetic discrepancies. Note that Vietnamese usage of all these words might have changed a little, e.g. in reverse order or slightly having steered away from the original meaning, even though most of the time there are correspondences phonetically and semantically pointing directly to equivalents in Chinese, such as

- **tính yêu** [ < SV tình yêu 愛情 àiqíng 'love'; SV tinh + VS yêu ],
- **ưa thích**, **yêu thích** [ < SV ái thích 愛戴 àidài 'like'; VS ưa, yêu + thích ],
- **thợ mộc** [ < 木匠 mùjiāng 'carpenter'; VS thợ + SV mộc ],
- **một căn góc** [ < yì jiàn 一間 + góc 角 + su 宿 ‘a small flat’; all are built with Sinitic-Vietnamese elements ]
- **thớt** [ < SV thớt 書信 shūxìn ‘mail’; cf. SV tữ 書, 詞 cí ].

In fact, sound changes from Chinese to Sinitic-Vietnamese are diachronic and manifold. It could have been some familiar word we seem all to know too well, but actually not, such as

來 lái: lai (SV)

1. **lái** : "come", variations: láilái lái: "Lái đây nầy!" or "Tôi đây!" (Come here!),
2. **lại** (a grammatical particle): Màn lái! 慢来! "Chậm lại!" (Slow down!),
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

3. 再 zài: 來 as in 再來 zài lái! 撒了來! 'Do it again!' (再來 zài lái can also be: "lặp lại" 'repeat!' or "trở lại" 'return')

4. 再 lái: 本來 běnlái "vǒnlái" (originally), 原來 yuánlái "nguyênlái" (initially),

5. vậy (a grammatical particle): 你去那裏來 Nǐ qù nálǐ lái? "Mày (đã) đi đâu vậy?"
(Where did you go?)

6. 向: 上來 Shànglái! "Lên đây!" (Come up here!),

7. 向, 撒: 上來 Láibùjí "Tới không kịp!" '(We, I, he..) cannot come (on time)', "Làm không kịp" 'It can't be done (on time)' or 亂來 luànlái "làmcàn" 'do things carelessly',

8. sau: 未來 wèilái "maisau" (in the future).

打 dă: dă (SV) [ M 打 dă, dă < MC tǐn < OC * teːŋ | According to Starostin: to hit, strike, beat (L.Han). Also read OC *treːŋʔ, MC t.a./iŋ id. The strange -ŋ-less reading is first attested in Zhengyun (FQ 都瓦 = *ta/). Most Sino-external systems reflect the latter reading; note, however, Viet. đánh 'to beat, hit' which probably directly reflects MC tǐn (although with an aberrant tone).]

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Additionally, sound changes have occurred at different periods or evolved from different sources, and sometimes drastically changed beyond recognition due to its colloquial nature to adapt to local speech habit and other factors as in
• 玉 yù [y4] SV ngoc [ŋokʷ] ‘jade’ [ M 玉 yù < MC ŋöuk < OC *ŋok | FQ 魚欲 ] and
• 承 chéng [ʈʰəŋ], SV thưa [thia], also thùng [thjɤŋ], VS nhận [ɲʌn] (~ VS dâng, nâng) ‘lift, hold up, receive’ [ M 承 chéng < MC zǐñ < OC *dʒæŋ | According to Starostin : to lift, hold up, present, receive; continue. Standard Sino-Viet. is thủa (with a strange loss of the final dental).]

however, most of the time they follow well-defined patterns and linguistic rules.

In contrast to those of Sinitic-Vietnamese, sound changes from Middle Chinese to Sino-Vietnamese are diachronic and scholarly in nature, evolved from the official language spoken at the old-timed royal court and among literati. These sound change patterns are easy to categorize because they strictly follow a systematic phonological rule known as fănqiè 反切 or phonological spelling. It is from this old phonological spelling system that all the available Chinese characters can be pronounced in Sino-Vietnamese sounds. Of course, there are always exceptions reflecting different historical periods, for example,

• cuộc, cục 局 jú ‘status’, [ ~ VS gục ‘bent’ | M 局 jú < MC goʊk < OC *gok ],
• oai, uy 威 wēi [ M 威 wēi < MC ʔwyj < OC *ʔuj | FQ 於非 ],
• chú, chua 注 zhù ‘annotate’ [ ~ VS trút, rót, chảy, | M 注 zhù < MC tʂʊ < OC *toʔ s | According to Starostin : to conduct water, pour; be led to, flow to. Also read *tro(ʔ)-s, MC t.u, Pek. zhù id.],
• chủa, chủ 主 zhǔ ‘master, Lord’ [ M 主 zhǔ MC < tsu < OC *toʔ | FQ 之庾 | According to Starostin : person in charge, master. A more archaic loan in Viet. is chủa ‘lord, prince’ (cf. the Eastern Han Chinese form *tɔwa?).]
• bá, bách 百 băi ‘hundred’ [ M 百 băi < MC pek < OC *prak | Qièyǔfǔ 切韻 EMC period baijt4, AD 601 and bà (as in bátánh 百姓 băixìng ‘common people’ MC baj ],
• tràng, trường, trưởng, trướng 長 cháng, zhăng ‘long, grow, senior’ [ M 長 cháng, zhăng < MC ḍañ < OC *dɾañ, MC ʈʐ, OC *tranʔ | According to Starostin : be long,
tall, long-lasting. Also read zhàng, MC t.a/ŋ, OC *trajŋ, Viet. trưởng 'to grow up; grown up; elder, senior; to preside'

and there are some irregularities which have some amusing appearance, such as

- thừa 承 chéng 'present, receive' [ M 承 chéng < MC ʐiŋ < OC *dhjaŋ | According to Starostin: to lift, hold up, present, receive; continue. Standard Sino-Viet. is thừ a (with a strange loss of the final dental). ],

- luật, suất 率 lǜ 'lead, rate' [ M 率 lǜ, shuài < MC ʂwit < OC *srut | According to Starostin: (perhaps) a leather band, and a sacrifice in which such a band was applied to animals. The original meaning is not attested in texts (and can be guessed only by the graphic structure of the character). Instead, in Early Zhou texts the character is used for homonymous words: *srut 'all (adv.)'; *srut 'to lead; to follow'. Since Late Zhou it was applied also to another word, OC *rut, MC lwit, Mand. ǜ 'portion, rate, proportion'. Standard Sino-Viet. readings are suất (for MC s.wit) and luật (for MC lwit); suất, however, is used in the meaning 'portion, part', thus actually representing MC lwit. Besides, Viet. colloquial sốt 'at all', suốt 'throughout' (cf. also trót 'entire, whole') most probably go back to the same source (MC s.wit, OC *srut 'all (adv.)'). | cf. 比率 bǐlǜ (tỷsuất) : bựcmức, tỷlệ, xá csuật 'rate' ],

- tịch 席 xí 'mat, banquet' [ ~ VS tiệc | M 席 xí < MC zjek < OC *lhiak | FQ 祥易 | According to Starostin: mat. A later meaning is 'sitting place; banquet'. Standard Sino-Viet. is tịch. ],

- thoại 話 huà 'speech' [ M 話 huà < MC ɠwɑi < OC *ghwra:ts | According to Starostin: speech, lecture. Standard Sino-Viet. is thoại (with unclear th-). For *gh "- cf. Xiamen, Chaozhou ue6, Fuzhou, Jioanou ua6.. ],

- thuyết 說 shuō, shuì 'talk' [ M 說 shuō, shuì < MC ʂwit < OC *ɬwet | FQ 失爇 | MC reading 山合三入薛書 | ¶ d- ~ n-: | According to Starostin: Protoform: *ɬo > t. Meaning: speak, say. Chinese: 說 *ɬot speak, explain. Tibetan: şod (p. bṣad) to say, to declare; ātṣad (p., f. bṣad, i. şod) to explain; cf. also rzod (p., f. brzod) to
say, to declare. Kachin: (H) brat, prat to speak, as a foreign dialect with ease and accuracy. Sino-Tibetan to explain, excuse, speak; speech, words, agreement. Also read *ɬot-s, MC ʂwej (FQ 舍芮), Mand. shuí 'to halt, rest overnight'; often used instead of 脫 *ɬot 'to take off, let loose' and 悅 *ɬot 'to delight in, be pleased'.

I will examine in detail the example of côngcuộc, 'task' [ M 工作 gōngzuò (SV côngtác) | MC /koŋʷtzok/ | M 作 zuō, zuó, zuò < MC tzwʌk | for tz- cf. Cant /tzwʌk/ | Starostin: MC cʌk < OC *ɕa:k | FQ 則落 ] as I will do with other cases throughout this paper, because it involves the process of sound change and one common aspect of word formation in Vietnamese with Chinese material.

Be reminded that the denotation of sandhi process of assimilation used in this paper is to mean a linguistic rule of sound changes by assimilating the involved sound with those that are within the realm of either meanings, sounds, or both of those words that carry some similar contours, phonologically and semantically. As in the case of côngcuộc, the influence of the preceding velar ending [-ŋʷ-] causes the initial of the next syllable [tz-] change to [kw-] in dissyllabic formation. The process is further continued by Vietnamese speakers by associating the morpheme [kwok] with an homonym cuộc (< SV cục) which has a close meaning as that in the compound côngcuộc, hence [koŋʷtzok] > [koŋʷkwok]. It is no doubt that many non-specialists of Sino-Vietnamese will be tempted to assign to cuộc a Chinese cognate jú 局 right away. Also, it's worthy to note that in Vietnamese, except for the Chinese original meaning of 'cuộc' as in (SV) thếcuộc 世局 shìjú (> cuộcđời) 'life', this compound usually is used only in the context côngcuộc xáydung 建設工作 jiānsè gōngzuò 'the task of building' or côngcuộc tranhdâu 鬥爭工作 dòuzhēng gōngzuò đợ 'the fighting task' with the same meaning as côngtác (SV) while 工作 gōngzuò in modern Mandarin can also mean 'job', for which the Vietnamese việclâm (a localized alteration 幹活 gànhuó: làmviệc 'to work') is the equivalent in bothe etymology and meaning. For that reason, we can assume that the formation of the word côngcuộc is a local development in Vietnamese originated from 工作 gōngzuò. Of course, we can not exclude the possibility that 工作 gōngzuò can be the compound derivation of gōng 公 + j
ú 局 (a derived doublet of 作) if we apply the sandi rule to the formation of this Chinese compound even though this compound word seems not to exist in the Chinese vocabulary as known to the author. And if that is the case, then the scenario [koŋʷtɔk] > côngcuộc is no longer a local development in Vietnamese but a variation of the same Chinese cognate.

In other cases, sometimes there arises confusion in etymological roots due to contamination from similar Sino-Vietnamese sounds or semantical mask with extended usages, such as

- 吃 chī (SV ngật) 'eat' ~> 'xơi' [ 食 shí (SV thực) 'eat'] instead of 'ăn',
- 川 chuān (SV xuyên) 'creek' ~> 'sông' [ 江 jiāng (SV giang) 'river' ] instead of 'suŏ i',
- 煩 fán (SV phiền) 'disturbed' ~> 'buồn' [ 悶 mèn (SV muốn) 'sad' ] instread of 'bực',
- 凤凰 fènghuáng (SV phướnghoàng) 'phoenix' ~> VS 'phướnghồng' ('delonix regia, flame tree') [ VS 'hồng' is from 凰 huáng, not 紅 hóng (SV hồng), just a confusion with the similar sound. ],
- 地帶 dìdài (SV địađái) 'stretch of land' ~> 'dãiđất' as opposed to 'đấtđai' 土地 tǔdì (SV thổđịa) 'land',
- 太陽 tàiyáng (SV tháidương) 'the sun' ~> VS # 'mặttrời' instead of 'trờinắng' (sunshine),
- 明年 míngnián (SV minhniên) 'new year' ~> VS # 'nămmới' as opposed to 'sangn âm' (next year), etc.

The foundation for the revised reconstruction as such is partially based on certain peculiar vocalism and articulation of Vietnamese initials and finals that fit into ancient Chinese phonological and rhyme schemes deduced from Old Chinese linguistic materials as well as recent discoveries and reconstruction of Proto-Chinese and Old Chinese by many renown linguists of our time.
For example, one of the most striking peculiar labiovelar vocalism in modern Vietnamese with those of finals -c, -ng which are preceded by a rounded vowel such as ɔ-, o-, u- or a medial -w-) in Vietnamese orthography, i.e. [-uwk, -uwŋ, -owk, -own] (characterized by the liabialization of the same ending consonants) appears to resemble so closely with those Old Chinese finals ending with labiovelars *-kw[kʷ], *-gw[gʷ], and labiovelar nasal *-ngw[ŋʷ] (Li, along with some other linguists such as Pulleyblank, independently reached the same conclusion.) For illustration, the examples of 風 fēng and 心 xīn are sufficed:

- giông, gió 風 fēng 'wind' (SV phong) [ M 風 fēng ~ giông /dʒŋʷ/ ~> gió /dʒɔ/ | SV phong /pfɔŋʷ/ <~ MC pjŋ < OC *pjəm (< prəm < pjŋʷ) < PC **prŋʷ | MC reading 風 phong | cf. 颱風 táifēng: SV đàiphong, VS # giôngtố 'typhoon', 風雨 fēngyǔ > # mưa giông > mưaagiông 'rainstorm', 風暴 băopheng, VS #giôngbào 'storm',

- lòng 心 xīn 'heart' (SV tâm) [ ~ VS tim | M 心 xīn < MC sjəm < OC *sjəm (< *ljəŋʷ)| TiềnHánViệt *sjʌmʔ, § Cant. /sʌm/, Old Viet. : lâm | cf. diănxīn 點心: SV điềmtâm, VS lốtlòng 'snack, breakfast',痛心 tòngxīn: SV thốngtâm, VS đaulòng 'heartbroken'.

In Shijing 詩經 ("The Book of Odes") 風 usually rhymes with 心, 林, etc., all fitting into 侵 MC tshjəm rhyme group and 東 MC djung [ < OC **djaŋʷ] (cf. SV lòng [lɔŋʷ]) (1), division III (having -j- medial). Yu Nai-yong (1985. pp. xiii, 277-79, 286) grouped it with the same classification but in class Chinese (ending with -m). It is interesting to see that words ending with -ŋʷ in this class in Vietnamese happen to be articulated with all initial consonants, so it is not hard to connect that with lòng [lɔŋʷ]. His reconstruction of Proto-Chinese and Old Chinese 風 as **pljom > *pljəm and 嵐 as **plom > *bləm is based on xiéshēng 諧聲 which shows two different initials in Middle Chinese as [piuŋ] and [lam] respectively, all from

- 凡 fàn *bljəm 'every, all', SV phàm, VS những [ MC bwym < OC *bljəm | FQ 符泛]. Compare
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

Some other linguists have similar reconstructions with only minor differences. For example, Bodman (1980 p. 121) came up with PC **pyəm, OC *pjəm and MC pjum for 風 and commented on the opinion about the inter-rhyning of the *-əm, *əng and *-ung finals in OC as being divided between those favor *-m in the -uŋ endings, that the *-uŋ was perhaps a dialect reflex of -əm. Schuessler (1987. p.385) modified Li’s Old Chinese 林 as gljəm. Forrest (1958 p.114) observed that in the archaic period Chinese still tolerated consecutive labials, i.e. the initial P- and the ending -M (capital letters signify arbitrary consonants of similar class of articulation), and he concluded that the OC 風 ending must have been the same as that of 心, that obviously appears to us as -m.

From the above view we can safely speculate that during the sound change transition from OC *-jəm to MC -jung, it must have gone the through the process of labialization of the OC final to become -juŋʷ. It is interestingly enough that this phonemic feature still shows in the Vietnamese language. Pulleyblank (1984) shared the same view when representing final -uŋ as -əŋʷ and he hypothesizes that the OC final must have been pronounced as that of Vietnamese ông [oŋʷ] and ong [əŋʷ], of which the final labiovelar is realized with double, labial and velar, articulation.” (p.123?) On the other hand, for the Middle Chinese period, Forrest noted that -ung remained unchanged everywhere unless the preceding consonant is a labial P- in which case it is dissimilated to -ə- as 風 pronounced fēng in Mand. (p. 182.) The implication we can draw from Pulleyblank’s and Forrest’s views is that Vietnamese giông might have occurred during the transitional period of Ancient Chinese (also known as Early Middle Chinese or EMC) where p- was palatalized and dropped from pjum to become a glide j-, that eventually gave rise to juŋ " > joŋ" > jə as it appears in the last two forms in modern Vietnamese. Of course, this process of sound change went differently from the one that gave rise to Sino-Vietnamese phong. It was the same as in the case of 凡 fán to go one step further to become nhūng and it is not hard to see that the initial of /juŋʷ/ was nasalized to …/juŋʷ/, then the rounded vocalism was unrounded to become …j, ng. This hypothesis is very likely because the Vietnamese language has its tendency of resistance for p- and
substitute it with b-, ph-, h-, j-, nh- ...- or to have this initial palatalized to t-, s- and the like, and, sometimes, even with the rounded labiovelars dropped to become -w or -o. This commonly happened not only with Vietnamese words of Chinese origin but within the Chinese dialects themselves as well. Based on this deduction, we can assume with certainty that Proto-Vietnamese (PV) and Old Vietnamese of giông might possibly have had similar sounds as those of · in Proto-Chinese and Old Chinese. In the meanwhile giô might have been a local innovation or merely an alternation of the former by changing the labiovelar to -ɔ. An interesting thing is that in the form of Sino-Vietnamese phong [pfɔŋʷ], of which the initial is an alternation of b- and both labials remained in the same word. Consecutive labial occurrence is regarded as a distinct feature of Old Chinese while Sinitic-Vietnamese giông reflects an old Chinese linguistic feature of an ancient period that the Chinese language had developed “its distaste for consecutive labials” as Forrest put it and modern Sinitic-Vietnamese also still keeps this linguistic feature.

The undeniable correlation of Vietnamese and Chinese in the case of the ending -juŋʷ, to be expanded to many other cases, demonstrates the kinship of both languages from which we can actually draw a parallel line for the historical development of both Vietnamese and Chinese. From this hypothesis we can actually reconstruct many Old Chinese initials and finals and build an analogy of the Chinese-Vietnamese sound change patterns which can eventually be used to find more Vietnamese etyma of Chinese origin.

B) An analogy of Vietnamese etymology:

As we shall see, beside the similarities of basic words, Chinese throughout its history of development has continuously influenced the formation of the Vietnamese language continuously for over hundreds of years and left its traces clearly in all contemporary Vietnamese linguistic aspects. One way to identify those Chinese traces in Vietnamese etymology is to utilize an analogical method. It is a methodology that analogy can be used as a tool in historical linguistics of which linguistic forms have been standardized,
categorized, and tabulated. Among them are development or production of patterns that resemble those already predominating in a language. In this section and the next we will examine some patterns of sound changes that make many of the exemplified words listed throughout this writing candidate cognates with those associated Chinese words.

1) A corollary approach:

Corollary approach in this research is an etymological analogical method to establish linguistic attributes for candidate lexicons by making use of properties found to be similar based on their lexical peculiarities and characteristics, that is, the very same nature that has already occurred and existed in those words. Let's use this corollary approach to examine some common words of which the authenticity is somewhat controversial. The important thing is you can see how I have gone about with this approach to rationalize my hypotheses.

Please note that this is only an attempt to find the Vietnamese etymology of Chinese origin by utilizing one among many techniques and methods available to date at our disposal. In any cases for those words that are not likely plausible cognates it does not mean that others are also falling under the same blanket -- each should have each own merit as in the field of Sintic-Vietnamese studies sound changes do not always follow strict rules that those of scholarly Sino-Vietnamese have.

- "răng":
Phonologically, we have

răng 牙 (tooth): nha (SV), yá (Mand.), ngah (Cant.), gheh (Hai.) [ M 牙 yá < MC ŋ ya < OC *ŋrya:] MC reading 假開二平麻疑 || ¶ y- ~ r- | According to Tsu-lin Mei: 牙 yá ~ "ngà" and it is of Austroasiatic origin (See The case of "ngà") and the patterns:

1. { y ~ ng-, r- }:

硬 yìng: dai ~ rắn, 阮 ruăn (nguyễn) ~ 元 nguyên; 恁 yìyi: rayrút; 耀 yào: rói; 隱 yǐn (riêng) as in 隱私 yĩnsī: riêng; 夭 yìyì: rayrứt; 耀 yáo: rọi; 隱 yǐn: n (riêng) as in 隱私 yĩnsī: riêng; 夭 yìyì: rayrràt; 耀 yáo: rọi; 然 yán: nóng [ ~ modern Mand. rè 熱 ~> 'rát' ].

Also, note that the Vietnamese southern Rạchgiạ dialect always substitutes r- with g-, e.g. gàng for răng.

2. { a (e) ~ -an,-ang }:

打 dă: đánh (= "quánh" /wajŋ/), 嗎 mà: mắng, 得 dé: đặng (< được, /daek/ Hainanese), 月 yuè: nguyệt, giăng; 月 yuè: rạng; 俄 é Nga (Russia); 鵝 é: (SV nga) ngan, ngỗng; 蛇 shě: rắn (SV: sà); 炸 zhà: rắn; 耀 (曜) yáo: rói...

From 牙 yá, the Chinese compounds have also given rise to some dissyllabic words:

- quányá 犬牙 "răngkhênh",
- yáròu 牙肉: nuóuràng [ ~ # lợiràng ~> lợi],
- yáchǐ 牙齿: "răngcò".

• "mặt":

We have 面 miàn (face): dien /jien/(SV) [ M 面 miàn < MC mjen < OC *mhens
modern M miàn < MC mjên (*-jen > denasalized to -jat \¶ *-n ~ -t ), and the patterns of {-en, -an ~ -at}:


and compound dissyllabic words:

- miànkǒng 面孔 khuôn mặt,
- miànmào 面貌 màtmày,
- mấtmặt 没面(子) méimiàn(zì),
- mấtrước 前面 qiánmiàn,
- màtsau 後面 hòumiàn...

From this pattern, we can safely establish a miàn ~ mặt correspondence.

• "cá":

We have 魚 ‘fish’ yú [ M 魚 yú < MC ȵu < OC *ŋha | FQ 語居 | MC reading 遇合三
平魚疑 | Shuowen 水蟲也.象形.魚尾與燕尾相似.凡魚之屬皆從魚. (575) | 
*ŋja\. Comments: PG *tâŋa; BG: Garo na-t<ł, Bodo ɳa ~ na, Dimasa na; 
Chepang ɳa ~ nya; Tsangla ɳa; Moshang ɳa; Namsangia ɳa; Kham ɳa:ɬ; Kaike 
ŋa:; Trung ȵa1-pla<ʔ1. Simon 13; Sh. 36, 123, 407, 429; Ben. 47; Mat. 192; Luce 
2. | OC *ŋh- ~ k- (ca- ), 

For cá, it corresponds to OC *ŋha. The etymology: 魚 cá ‘fish’ yú <*ŋga [ *ng- > 
Nôm k-; ** ŋ- > MC njw- > SV ngư]. The pattern ng- ~ k- is very common in
linguistic sound changes, which can also occur via interodals g-, gh-, kh- etc., such as kê > jī 鶏 > gà.

Also, from "cá" we have other dissyllabic equivalents:

- dăyú 打魚: dánhcá,
- yúcì 魚刺: # xươngcá,
- xiányú 魚縣: # cámăn,
- fūyú 脯魚: # khôcá,
- jǐngyú 京魚: # cákinh...

- "l(ra)"
  We have 火 (fire): hoả (SV) [ M 火 huǒ < MC xwʌ < OC *smjə:jʔ | /fó/ (Cant.) ] and the pattern { h(w)- ~ l- } :
  - 大伙 dàhuǒ: cällt,
  - 同伙 tónghuǒ: đồngloã,
  - 过 guò: quá [wa], lỗi,
  - 災 wān: loan;
  - 話 huà: lời
  - 裸体 luộtǐ: loãthể [~ phonetic stem 果 guǒ: quả /wa/ ].

- "g(ạ)o"
  We have 稻 dào (rice): đạo (SV) [ M 稻 dào < MC dɑw < OC *lhu:ʔ ~ ɫhu:ʔ (Schuessler : MC dâu < OC *gləwʔ or *mləwʔ) | MC reading 效開一上皓定 | However, according to Starostin : Viet. lúa is an archaic loanword; regular Sino-Viet. is đạo. Protoform: *ly:wh (~ l-), Meaning: rice, grain, Chinese: 稻 *lhu:ʔ (~ɬ h-) rice, paddy, Burmese: luh sp. of grain, Panicum paspalum, Kachin: c^je khrau1 paddy ready for husking. Kiranti: *lV 'millet' | SR: 1078 h-k ].
The pattern \{ g- \sim d- \} is rare in Chinese ~ Vietnamese correspondences, but for a historical linguist, it is not hard to see why "gạo" could be a variant of 稻 đạo (SV), dào (Mand.), or even "lúa". However, it is likely that this is a loanword in Chinese which had come from the south where rice planting was originated, which is listed by Maspero (1952) as Vietnamese and Thai cognates. The point to make here is that they were all evolved from the same root varying in sounds and conveying slightly the same connotation in different forms.

• "đất":

We have ɻ tǔ (soil) : thổ, dỗ, dổ (SV) [ M ɻ tǔ < MC dwo < OC *daʔ (Li Fang-Kuei : OC *dāg̚) | FQ 他魯 | MC reading 遇合一上姥透 | According to Starostin: MC tho < OC *thaʔ (Note the final -ʔ) | Also used for *d(h)aʔ (MC do, Pek. dũ) roots of mulberry tree.]

The sound change can fit into the following patterns:

\{ t- \sim d- \}

tử 突: đột; tụ 圖: tù: doctr: dốc; hú: hột; bụ: bất; bi 畢: tốt, bị 必: tất; gũ 骨: cố
tử 檠 dú; độc 讀 dú; tâ 脫: đường; tán 讀: đảm; tân 壇: dái; tú 腿: đùi; tổng 痛: đau; tôu 头: đầu; tã 踏: đạp; tụ 圖: đồ; tiáo 条: điều, diăn 點: điểm; shào (tiể u): đốt 燒...

Note: in Chinese 地 dì (SV dià) 'earth', a later development, is a doublet of ɻ tǔ, which can be used to further strengthen the case tǔ = đất, for example, for the combination of both tǔdi

- tǔdi 土地 (SV thŏđia) 'land' and didài 地帶 'stretch of land' we have 'đấtđai',
- dimiàn 地貌 'the earth's surface' # mạđất,
- dikuái 地块 'a piece of soil' #عطيđất,
kuàidì 块地 'a piece of land' khoảngđất,
diýù 地域 'area' # vùngđất,

"đốt":

For shāo 燒 (SV thiêu) ~ đốt (to burn) [ M 燒 shāo, shào < MC ʂew < OC *snɛw | According to Starostin: to burn, incinerate (L.Zhou). Also read *ʂɛw-s, MC şe\w, Mand. shào 'to burn (grass for fertilizing land)'. | ¶ sh- ~ đ- ] it is not hard to see that sh- or th- (or s- for that matter) can give rise to đ- if we take into consideration the case of an alternation of 燒 shāo, that is

- "sốt" as in "phátsǒt" 發燒 fāshāo (SV phátthiêu) and
- "thắp" as in "thắpnhan, thấpbịch" 燒香 shàoxiāng, which is the same as "dōtnhân, dōphương". Also, a reduplication, via localization, of shāo(+shāo) 燒+焼 has added a new word "thiếudớt" into the Vietnamese vocabulary. (The same pattern occurred for 少 shăo ~ thiếu| sót > "thiếusót", that is the same as quèshăo 缺少.)

In addition to those words that follow the pattern { th- ~ đ- } to connect tǔ with "đả t" as given in the examples above, "thiếu" ~ "đớt", where sh- usually gave rise to th-, could be originally evolved from an archaic đ- [ the Nôm word "đớt" must be an older form of "thiếu" since this th- sound did exist in archaic and ancient Chinese while /d-/ still exists in some Chinese dialects such as Hananese or Amoy. "Thiếu", a Sino-Vietnamese or HánVịệt word, is a variation of Middle Chinese ], we can also find other examples in the pattern { sh- ~ đ- } in place of { th- ~ đ- }:

{ sh- ~ đ- }

- 深 shēn: dặm (SV thâm),
- 生 shēng :đẻ (Hainanese /te/),

Page | 264
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- **首 shǒu**: đầu (SV thủ) (~ 头 tóu),
- **箸 zhú**: đũa (Hainanese /du/),
- **水 shuǐ**: nước (VM đák) [ cf. 踏 tă > đạp],

**con**:
We have con ~ 子 zǐ 'child, son' (SV tù) [ M 子 zǐ < MC tsjɤ < OC *caʔ | According to Starostin: Shuowen : 十一月物氣**萬物��?.人以為稱.象形.凡子之屬皆從子.###
古文子.從###.象髮也.###籀文子.**有髮.臂脛在几上也. child, son, daughter, young person; prince; a polite substitute for 'you' Also read *cjəʔ-s, MC cjyl, Mand. zǐ 'to treat as a son'. Related is 字 *tɕjəʔ-s 'to breed' q. v. The character is also used for an homonymous word *cjəʔ 'the first of the Earthly Branches' (in Sino-Viet.: tý).].

In the dialects of Fuzhou (Fukienese) it is represented with 囝 kiaŋ (M jiăn), in Xiamen (Amoy) [kẽ] and Hananese [ke], a close sound with Vietnamese con, which could have been originated from Ausroasiatic kiã 'son, child', which might be a cognate with 子 zǐ [ cf. 海子 háizǐ: #concái ].

**sao**:
We have sao 星 xīng 'star' (SV tinh) [ ~ VS tạnh (clear sky after rain) | M 星 xīng < MC sieŋ < OC *she:ŋ < se:ŋ | MC reading 梗開四平青心 | FQ 桑經 | Zyyy: sijəŋ1 | Dialects : Hai.: se11 (cf. shēng 生: ㄝ Hain.: /de/), Hankou: ʂin11, Sichuan: ʂin11, Yangzhou: ʂi11, Chaozhou: sin11, Changsha: sin11, Shuangfeng: $ ʂin11, ʂiõ11, Nanchang: $ ʂin11, ʂian11 | According to Starostin: The character was also used in Early Zhou for another word, *ʑeŋ 'to become clear (of sky)' (MC tsjeŋ, Mand. qíng, Viet. tinh; despite Schussler, this word is quite distinct etymologically from *she:ŋ 'star'). Since Han this word was denoted by a different character, 晴. For the latter, standard Sino-Viet. is tinh, but there also exists a colloquial loan from
the same source, Viet. tạnh. For OC *sh- cf. Min forms: Xiamen chī1, Chaozhou chē1. | GSR 0812 x-y |

- lá:

We have 葉 yè 'star' (SV diệp) [ M 葉 yè < MC jep < AC *lhap < OC *lap < PC **lɒp | MC reading 咸開三入葉以 | Most of the Tibetan languages carry the the sound near lá: Tibetan: ldeb lá, tō, Burmese: ohlap cánhhoa., Kachin: lap2 lá, Lushei: le:p búp, Lepcha: lop lá, Rawang şa lap lá (cuốn bánh) ; Trung ljep1 lá, Bahing lab. Sh. 138; Ben. 70. | cf. 卑 yú => 律 lǜ ].

- uống:

We have uống ~ 飲 yǐn (drink) (SV ẩm) [ M 飲 yǐn < MC ʔɨmʔ < OC *jəmʔ | FQ 於錦 | According to Starostin : to drink. Also read *ʔ jəmʔ -s, MC ʔ im (FQ 於禁) 'to give to drink’.],

In fact, with the exception of intimate relationship among many Chinese dialects themselves for historical reasons, remarkable linguistic closeness of Vietnamese with Chinese dialects is worth investigating their possible kinship rather than merely a loan relationship. Their resemblance in basic words such as yú 魚 cá 'fish', 葉 lá 'leaf' yè , mi 面 mǎt, yín 飲 uồng 'drink' is far more closely than even those of Mon-Khmer (MK) or Sino-Tibetan have among themselves.

2) Words of unknown origin:

Unfortunately, we cannot find all the Vietnamese words of Chinese origin by applying all the approaches and principles that we have discussed so far. Many words in Vietnamese, except for those appear clearly loanwords such as "cápduơn" from an
identifiable source like the Khmer language, are questionable regarding their roots, which, sometimes look like Chinese, for instance:

- "lưng" 脊 jǐ, jí (tích) [ M 脊 jǐ, jí < MC tsiajk < OC *tsiajk | cf. sốnglưng ~ lòng : 脊梁 jǐliáng (tíchlương), tuýsống : M 脊髓 jísuí, jǐsuí (tíchtuỷ), sống ~ côtsống : 脊柱 jízhù (tíchtrụ), hence sông ~ lòng | ¶ s- ~ l- ]
- "vai" 背 bèi (bội) [ ~ VS vác | @ M 背 bèi < MC bɔj < OC *bjə:ks | FQ 蒲昧 | According to Starostin : to turn the back, disregard. Also read: MC poj (FQ 補妹), OC *pjə:ks 'the back, posterior part'. | ¶ b- ~ v- || § 腿 tuǐ : đùi ],
- which, in turn, could have been variation of words of Khmer origin or it can be the other way around.

In any cases, we can provide a long list of Vietnamese words of questionable or unidentified origin:

- màngtang, mỏác, cùichò, gòmá, dực, cái, congáí, ngữa, heo, mồhôi, banngày, ngủ, đànông, đànbà, congáí, bò, sữa, nho, thơm, ổi, soài, ...

However, no matter what, we can still have many of those words appear in some fixed expressions or compounds of which one of the syllable words is of Chinese origin, for example,

- ngữa: 午 (SV "ngọ" as listed 7th in the Chinese - Vietnamese zodiac table) 'horse',
- heo: 亥 (SV "hợi" as listed 12th in the Chinese - Vietnamese zodiac table) 'pig',
- banngày: 白日 báirì 'daytime',
- bantru'a ~ buőitruação: 白晝 báizhòu 'noon time',
- mồhôi: 冒汗 màohàn (~ 出汗 chù hàn 'sweating') 'sweat',
- buồngngủ (~phòngngủ): 臥房 wòfáng 'bedroom' (wò for "ngủ"),
- đànông: 公+幫 gōng+bāng 'men' or it can be 男人  nánrén (namsinh) [ @ 人 rén (nhân) ~ ông 公 gōng (công) | modern M 男人 nánrén (namnhân) ~ modern M 男
3) Questionable words of Chinese origin:

Besides, we also have a long list of words that are suggestive of Chinese origin, but many of them are closely related with those of either the Mon-Khmer languages or unknown sources, which make them dubious as Chinese cognates, for instance:

- mốt, hai, ba, bốn, năm... (numerals one to five... As discussed earlier, there exist no six to ten' in the Mon-Khmer languages.),
- tai: 耳朵 ěrduō(< lỗtai?) 'ear, ear drum',
- trai: 公 dīng (< trống? or < 丁 đinh?) 'male',
- gái: 母 nǚ (< mái?) 'female',
- voi: 為 wēi 'elephant' (archaic, modern Mand. 'for'),
- lúa: 來 lái 'unhusked rice grains' (archaic, modern Mand. 'come'),
- "không" could not have been from "không" 空 but from "chằng". Before the 16th century, there was not "không" as an antonymn of "có", but existed only "chằng". It is likely from 並非 bìngfēi )VS chẳngphải), or 並不(是) bìngbúshì, equivalent to "chằng", the contraction of "chẳngphái". Also, in Beijing dialect there is "béng" 還, that gave rise to "dừng" in Vietnamese. However, “dừng” may not be the root of "chằng" and they might have no relation with each other.
- "blời" 日 rì (?): 'sun' (but 'giời' and 'ngày' seems to fit very well to 'rì'),
- "blăng" 月 yuè (?): 'moon' (but 'giăng' and 'tháng' also seems to fit very well to 'yu è'), [ For "blời", "blăng", they might have been just alternations of "mặttrời" and "m
"ättrâng" where b- has been vocalized as "măt". Otherwise, "giỏi" 日 ri and "giăng" 月 yuè can not fit into a sound change scheme where gi- corresponds to both r- and y-, which, in turn, might have been evolved from some ancient sounds that must have been close to the initials nh-, j-, jh- and ng- as we can see in HánViệt "nhất" and "nguyệt".

(1) a) rừng, rậm 林 lín 'forest' (SV lâm) [ M 林 lín < MC lim < OC *rj âm < PC **rj âm ~ OC *srj âm (~ 森 sâm) râm) | Tibetan languages: Burmese: rum 'râm', Kachin: dîngram2 'rùng', Lushei: ram 'rùng' | Cant. lâm/ | ¶ l- ~ r-, ex. 龍 lóng (long) rồng ].
b) lấn 侵 qīn (xâm) [ M 侵 qīn < MC chjim < OC *shim | ¶ q- ~ l- ],
c) 東 dōng 'the east' (SV đông) [ Starostin: 東 dōng < MC tuṇ < OC *tor | FQ 德紅 ]
VI) CASE STUDY WORKSHEET:

Below is a "Case study worksheet" for you to practice in exploring those Vietnamese words of possible candidates of Chinese origin. This is how I usually visualize in my mind when I attempt to find words cognate to plausible Chinese equivalents. For you, assumably still at loss or unfamiliar with all the complication of abstract concepts such as lexicographical dissyllabics and etymological analogy, it is nice to have something concrete to start with after all theories and arguments as well as hypotheses discussed so far.

Below are some helpful suggestive guidelines, yet you should keep in mind that this worksheet is just one of many possible organized ways to do on paper following my dissyllabic and analogical methodologies as have been discussed throughout this paper. By all means what appears in the worksheet is much of brainstorming techniques more than rigid principles since you can always add something else relevant to the etymological work you are working on. Later on once you get used to the actual process you may be able to work out mentally just like you second habit.

To start working you may want to examine some of the provided examples just right before some blank rows and columns in this worksheet where you can write down candidate words of possible Chinese origin in the first column (1) in both monosyllabic ("đơn âm tiết") and dissyllabic ("song âm tiết") sub-columns. In Vietnamese there exist many words that are homonymous, which will give you more ideas to explore further.

In the 2nd column (2) called "sandhi" (chuyển âm), sub-divided into smaller columns named "association" (liên tưởng) and "assimilation" (đồng hóa), respectively, you should try to ask yourself the question why the word is said that way, but not something else? What has caused it to become such vocalization and what are the possibilities of its
relation to other similar words in both Chinese and Vietnamese? Have they all been evolved from the same roots?

In the 3rd column (3) called "analogy" (sósánh) you will have a chance to classify the word into the "categorical" (thể loại) groups and then you can try to apply the principle of "corollary" (quy nạp) as mentioned in this paper. That is, you should know which words ought to be in the same category as those under examination and then from there you should continue to use the principle of analogy to explore further possible leads for even more words that can appear differently in several, not just only one, Chinese equivalents.

There is a very good chance that the word your are examining is of a product of local development (chữ mới) (column 4) where new innovation ("Vietnamized" or Việthoá) has been rendered. You may find that in many cases all the original Chinese traces inside that word have disapppeared completely. Therefore, in the sub-column called "sound changes" (biến âm), do not expect to find systematic patterns of sound change which certainly do not fit into plausible phonological rules as we used to see in the shifting phonetic patterns that have resulted in the existing Sino-Vietnamese glosses.

Also, keep in mind that all sound changes are possible, though, when you attempt to relate the word under scrutiny to other "possible sources" (nhân dạng chữ gốc) (colum 5), especially when dissyllabic formation of both words in both Chinese and Vietnamese are taken into consideration. In other words, you should not examine only single Chinese character and assume that it is the only channel, or the only way, that such character can give rise monosyllabically to only another word in Vietnamese. That is, the words under discussion are also possible results of sound changes from several different words of Chinese origin; that is what sub-column "Word-character" or "tự" and sub-column "Word" or "từ" are for.

In all possibilities, try your best to fill out in all the provided blanks as many as possible and do not worry much about the exact columns they should belong to. If you cannot do
so, just leave them blank for a while. Later on, hopefully, when you return to review the whole things you may discover something new in the process.

In other words, the purpose of this worksheet is to give you a concrete tool to explore more Vietnamese words of Chinese origin in addition to what you have already known and accepted them as the only plausible Chinese cognates.

**Case study worksheet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Candidates</th>
<th>(2) Sandhi</th>
<th>(3) Analogy</th>
<th>(4) Local development</th>
<th>(5) Possible sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mono-syllabic</td>
<td>Dissyllabic</td>
<td>Associati on</td>
<td>Assimilati on</td>
<td>Categori cal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siêng 'hard- working'</td>
<td>siêngnăn gi 'industrious'</td>
<td>能 néng (SV: 'ability')</td>
<td>能 néng (SV: 'ability')</td>
<td>能 néng (SV: 'ability')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tròu'tea se'</td>
<td>długión 'play'</td>
<td>chógiôi 'chơi'</td>
<td>dâu 活 'alive'</td>
<td>dâu 活 'alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chú 市 'market'</td>
<td>chóhuba</td>
<td>phocho 'market'</td>
<td>市 shi 'market and shop'</td>
<td>市 shi 'market and shop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Sound Change</td>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Corollary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uồng (drink)</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chầu (attend)</td>
<td>'attend'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luôn (conveniently)</td>
<td>'conveniently'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đái (urine)</td>
<td>'urine'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sound Changes:*
- Monosyllabic
- Disyllabic
- Associaton
- Assimilation
- Categorical
- Corollary
- Sound changes
- Innovation
- Word-character
- Word
Alternatively, you can also tabulate your findings in a table. Do you still remember the metaphorical sentence in the first paragraph in section D about the monosyllabic tree and dissyllabic leaves? That is what a stems and leaves type plot comes into this picture. This tabulation is good for establishing a firm rapport for those dissyllabic words evolved from the same etymological stem, though. By doing so you can have a concrete overview of how we have been able to derive supposedly previous unknown elements from those dissyllabic words assumably of Chinese origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem (etymology)*</th>
<th>leaves (variations)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chá (炸 zhà)</td>
<td>cá 魚 yú, lụa ~ giò 肉 ròu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mắm (鹹 xián)</td>
<td>roc ~ tôm (tép) 蝦 xiá, riêu 蟹 xié (~géchê), cá (~măn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dứa (瓜 guā)</td>
<td>háu 塊 kuài, tây 瓜 xī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban 白 bái</td>
<td>ngày 日 ri, trua 畫 zhòu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trăng (月 yuè)</td>
<td>khuyệt 虧 kuĩ , ramid 菩 yùn, sâng 亮 liăng (~#măt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tay (手 shǒu)</td>
<td>bàn 板 bàn, chân 腳 jiăo, ra 出 chú, săn 顺 shùn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bể (小 xiǎo)</td>
<td>nhỏ 小 xiăo (~ tì), cô 姑 gū, mẫu jiău, con 孩 hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòng (心 xīn)</td>
<td>dau 同 tông, lốt 點 diăn, tán 坎 kăn, buôn 悶 mën, cõi 境 jìng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cả 大 dâ</td>
<td>gan 膽 dăn (~ @ 胆 găn), anh 兄 xiông, bể 海 hài, lũi 伙 huó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thơ (匠 jiāng)</td>
<td>móc 木 mù, nè ® 泥水 nǐshuí, sât 鐵 tiê (~thiệt), khoá 锁 suô, ngôi 瓦 wâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bè ~ biển (海 hãi)</td>
<td># cả 大 dâ, # sóng 浪 làng, cùa 口 kŏu, # cuộp 蠟 kŏu (~贼 zêi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

*For etymology of these words, refer back to previous sections or press Ctrl + F for quick search.
VII) A SYNOPSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL SOUND CHANGES FROM CHINESE TO VIETNAMESE:

Based on the new methods of exploring plausible cognates as presented in the foregoing sections, here we will attempt to recap some common sound change patterns as have been discussed throughout.

In short, phonological sound changes from Chinese to Vietnamese have frequently occurred to any sounds among the initial, medial, final, and ending of a word. In polysyllabic words, sound changes of a syllabic ending would have occurred without phonetic restraint of the original syllabic-word. Also, as the same patterns of sound changes could happen internally inside a language, which likely occurs due to the local speech habit, for instance, l- ~ r-, n- ~ l-, tr- ~ ch-, -n ~ -ng, -t ~ -k, etc. certainly we can base on those similar internal correspondences in pattern to apply to both Chinese and Vietnamese inclusively to explore further what could have had taken place reciprocally when they were in contact with each other, for example, krong (Proto-VM) 'sông' ~ jiāng (river) ~ MC /kong/ ~ SV giang [¶ kr- ~ s, kr- ~ g-, g- ~ j-, j- ~ gi-, gi- ~ s-, j- ~ s-] ; chó ~ /kro/ (Proto-VM) ~狗 (dog) ~ MC /kjəw/ ~ /SV cẩu ~ VS cầy [¶ kr- ~ ch-, kr- ~ k-, k- ~ ch-].

A) Sound changes in the neighboring pronouncing positions:


B) Pattern { l- & S-} (same as s, c, x, ch, sh, j, z, zh, q)


C) Pattern S (same as c, x, q, ch, sh, j, z, zh..) { S-~ r- }

D) Pattern S (same as c, x, q, ch, sh, j, z, zh..) { S- ~ T- } (same as d, th, tr, )
- chí 匙: thìa, chí 遲: trễ, chā 擦: thoa(sức), shūn 順: suôn(sẻ), xuôi (SV thuận), shān 善 thiện (SV), shì 試: thử, shēng 生: đẻ, qù 去: đi, qián 前: trước,
- tà 塌: sập, tà 踏: chà (đạp), tào 套: sáo (SV), tui 推 suy...

E) Pattern { l- ~ r- }
- lóng 龍: rồng, luò 落: rớt, liăo 了: rồi, liăo 垃圾: rác, luó 籮: rỗ, lián 廉 rẽ, liàn 練 rèn, lòu 漏 rỏ...
- rèng 扔: liệng, (yá)ròu 牙肉: (răng)lợi, răn 染: lây, ....

F) Pattern { p- (b-) ~ t- (d-) }
- biàn 便: tiện, biān 偏: thiên (SV), béi 卑: tỳ (SV > tớ, tôi); bèn 本: thân(cây), piào 精: déo, bènbó 奔泊: tấttà (~ vãtvã) ( tứ 四> bốn?, tam 三 > ba? Hainanese: [ta]...}

G) In reality, beside those common sound changes, we can say that any sounds can change to any sounds. However, in many cases, we can still recognize the original form:
u 投 bò, rù 入: vò, rụ 乳: vú, rẹn 仍: vẫn, ràng 让: nhường, rẹn 忍: nhịn, wān 灣: loan (SV; VS: vịnh), huǒ 火: lửa, huà 話: lời, yè 葉: lá, zhòng 重: nặng (Hảinam: /dang/), líng 靈 thiêng, mín 民 SV dân, miăo 秒 giây...  

H) There are also cases that sound changes might have occurred beyond recognition. However, their etymology is still traceable based on the pronunciation rules in Middle-Chinese for Sino-Vietnamese words:


Yet for those Sintic-Vietnamese words that might have changed this way, we are left with virtually no means but analogy to prove their original authentic forms:


I) Sino-Vietnamese sound loans -- sandhi process of association:

In Vietnamese, there are a lot of Sintitic-Vietnamese words that sound like Sino-Vietnamese words, but actually they are not: Thídụ:

- "ông" is not from "ông" 蓥 but from"công": 公 [ ~ also 'trọng', 'cô' | hence 數 gủ ~> 'trọng'? ],
- "tiểu" maybe is not from "tiểutiện" 小便, but from "niào" 尿 (niệu) (the initial n and t interchangeable). "tiểu" may become "đái", and "lànìào" 拉尿 can give rise to "đi đái" [ l and đ are interchangeable!],
- "trường" (trong trườghọc) is not from 場, but from 堂 táng (đường, and an older form of it is "tường" 庠 xiáng)
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- "hiểu" is exactly "hiểu" but in colloquial dialect the Sino-Vietnamese "hội" 会 in modern Mandarin. 聞 has been identified with 會 as in 體會 thấuhiểu;
- "hiệu", hay, ham, hào... all were derived from "hào" 好
- "tham", thèm, ham... is from tham
- "hiền" là 賢, but in colloquial expression it is 善 (tiện) as in hiênlành
- "côngcuộc" is originated from "côngtác" (a result of a associative sandhi process of "cục")
- "chiếntrận" is from "chiếntrường" (a result of a associative sandhi process of "trận")
- "mai", meaning tomorrow, does sound like a Sino-Vietnamese word. It must be a variant from Beijing dialect "mínr" 明兒, that is "mai"

J) Homonymns and synonymns:

There are many words that can be read the same in Chinese, but with different meanings. Similarly, there are also dialectal pronunciations for the same characters which have given rise to different usages, especially when they entered the Vietnamese vocabulary. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that with the same word, the Vietnamese language may also have differentiated that very character with different sounds either by means of association with other words or internal localization:

- hội, hợp, hận, hội, hiểu, hay... all are derived from "hội" 會 [ % @ 會 hui ~ hiể u 聞 xiào (hiệu), hay 知 zhī (tri) | M 会 hui < MC ɣwʌi < OC *guats ]

Similarly, we have

- 放 fàng: phỏng, bàn, bò, buồn, phỏng... [ M 放 fàng < MC pwoŋ < OC *pǎŋš | According to Starostin: to put away, put aside; neglect; banish In Viet. cf. also a colloquial word: phỏng 'to take away, to carry away']
• 照 zhào: chiếu, chụp, soi, rọi, theo... [ M zhào < MC tsəw < OC * taws | MC reading 效開三去笑章 | FQ 之少 ]
• 瘦 shòu: gầy, ròm, sỏ...
• 肥 féi: phi, mập, phé, mồ...
• 大 dà : đại, to, cát, dừ, sở, ...
• sảnh: 場 chăng (SV: trường): sân khấu 劇場 kịchtrường, sân bay 場+飛, "trường" combined with "phi",
  - giấc as in "một giấcmộng": 一場夢 yì chăng mèng,
  - trận: chiến 戰場 (SV: chiếntrường), bệnh mất trận: zhànchăng, 一病病 yì chăng bìng,
  - cơn (một cơnbệnh: yì chăng bìng, but một cõngiờ: 一股風 yì gǔ fēng),
  - xuất (hát) : 一場 戲 yì chăng xì,
  - trườngthi (試場 shìchăng), but trườnghoc is 學堂 xué táng,
  - chặng (as in"đi một chặng đường"),
... all are varriants of "trường" 場!
• "đời" is not from 等 děng (đẳng) in modern Mandarin, but "đài" 待 (dài). We also have jiéđài as "tiếpdón", but "đừaón" from 接送 jièsòng, and "đưa" và "đón" also sông (tặng) (Hainanese: /tang/ and /dang/!), but "đạttiền" is "jiāoqián" 交錢 (giaotién), "đồnggió" 兇風 dòufēng, 迎風 yíngfēng "hồnggió, ngônggió", đón xuân 迎春, but "đón mẹ", "đời mẹ", @& 待母 dài mǔ.
• vãi, vật, rải, vung, vũt, ném, liẹng, lia, quăng 扔 rèng [ M 扔 rēng < MC ɲiŋ < OC ɲjəŋ ],
• tông, đụng, tán 撞 zhuàng,
• xối, dội, sôi, xông, xắn, tông, đượ, sáng 冲 chòng, etc...

K) Similarities with modern Mandarin:

The case of "mai" (~ 'mainày' 明兒 mínr) has given rise to the idea that we can only search for Vietnamese words of Chinese origin from only Ancient Chinese and Middle Chinese or Sino-Vietnamese, but we can also look for roots in modern Mandarin, for instance:
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- nào: 哪 nā 'which'
- dó: 那 ná (nó - tiếng Huế dialect) 'that'
- rỗi, nổi: 了 lē, liào (indicate 'already')(examples: không quên nổi: 忘不了! wàng bù liào! 'unforgettable', quên rỗi. 忘了 wàngle!) 'already forgot'
- sẽ: 将 jiāng 'will' (cf.: 酱油 jiangyóu, Cantonese: xìdáu)
- vẫn: 仍 réng 'still'
- đây: 那 zhèi 'this'
- đúng: 對 duì 'correct'
- làm: 領 lìng 'make, do, cause', for example:
  - 領我惊愕 lǐng wǒ jīng'é: làm tôi kinhngạc 'I'm surprised...', but 'làm' can also be originated from other sources as in:
  - 幹啥 gànshā: làmgi (vây)? ('what are you doing?')
  - 幹活 gànhuó: làmviệc ('work'),
  - 幹家務 gânjìawù: làm việc nhà 'doing house chords',
  - 耕田 gēngtián: làmdong 'work in the farm field',
  - 勞動 láodòng: làmlụng 'labor',
  - 當官 dàngguān: làmquan 'be an official',
  - 當兵 dàngbīng: làmlính 'be a soldier',
  - 弄樣子 nòngyàngzǐ: làm dángvẻ (làmravẻ) 'make oneself look like',
  - 弄錢 nòngqián : làmtiền 'make money', etc.
- luônluôn: 老老 láoláo 'always',
- vìsao(mà): 為什麼 wèishěme 'how come',
- chúngmình: 咱們 zánměn 'we',
- riêngtu: 隱私 yǐnsī 'privacy',
- hàngxóm: 鄰居 língjū (~lánggiềng) 'neighbor',
- mauchóng: 馬上 mǎshàng (~ 盡快 jìnkuài) 'quickily',
- bạtmạng: 拼命 pìnmìng 'daring',
- cảlũ: 大伙 dàhuǒ 'the whole group',
- đạochích: 盜賊 dàozéi 'burglar',
- cạnly:幹杯 gànbèi '(dringking) cheers',
• sangrūa: 沖印 chōngyìn 'photo development and print'
• maulēn: 快點 kuàidiăn 'quick' (mauđi - cf. Cant.: /faitì/), but 愉快 yúkuài: # vuivẻ ...
• ... đi ... la (for example: 拿啦 nála! 'take it'lâyđi!, đi đại 拉尿啦 làniào là! 'go pee'didái đi!

L) Localization and innovation or "Vietnamized" (Nômhoá, Việt hoá):

(1) Reverse of word order (#, "iro"): We can often find correspondences in both Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese words, but they are in reverse order of each other: bảo đảm = 擔保 dànbăo (đảmbảo), ân ái = 愛恩 àiēn (ái ân), đồng điển = 簡單 jiăndăn (giản đơn), sản xuất = 出產 chúchăn (xuâtsăn)...

For those Sinitic-Vietnamese words the order seems to be always in reverse in comparison with those of modern Mandarin equivalents:

-  hẹn hò 'dating' = 約會 yuèhuì (ướchội, also giving rise to "ướchẹn") < hui + yê
-  tình yêu 'love' = 愛情 àiqíng (áitình) < qíng + ài
-  bất Reagan 'nonsense' = 三八 sānbā (tambát) < bā + sān
-  vắng tặc 'swear' = 俗話 sùhuà (tụcthoại) < huà + sù
-  đường cái 'road' = 街道 jièdào (cái đái) < dào + jiè
-  đường cong 'route' = 途徑 tújīng (đòkinh) < jīng + tú
-  concái 'children' = 孩子 háizi (hàitử) < zǐ + hái
-  condào 'knife' = 刀子 dāozi (đaotử) < zǐ + dāo
-  trường học 'school' = 學堂 xuétáng (học đường) < táng + xuế

As we all may know, this is a result of re-arrangement of syntactical order in the Vietnamese language where a modifier mostly is put after the modified. This phenomenon demonstrates clearly in synonymous dissyllabic words in which two syllables were originated from either two different Chinese characters or just one which may still convey the same original meaning if it still retains an older form and its sound has not been altered by mean of reduplicative process, for example:
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- thiêngliêng 'sacred' [ @& < 灵 líng (linh) + 灵 líng (linh) | M 灵 líng < MC lie ɲ < OC *re:ɲ | ¶ l- ~ th- ], that is to answer the question: thiêng+what? thiêng+liêng, so "liêng" is 灵 líng (linh) that modifies the "thiêng", making the word understandable,

- hơisức 力气 liqi 'strength' (SV lựckhi) [ ~ VS sứclục \ @ 气 qi ~ 力 lì ].

However, that is not always the case since sometimes the boundary of the modified and modifier is blurred. In other words, those dissyllabic words still retain the original order as they were first loaned, for instance:

- mùmắt 盲目 mángmù 'blind' and it alternate expanded form "mùquáng" 'blindly',
- mắt kính (~mắtkieng) 眼镜 yănjìng 'eyeglasses' [ Hainanese 目镜 /matkeŋ / ],
- căng thằng 緊張 jǐnzhāng 'stressful',
- siêngnăng 勤勉 qínmiăn 'industrious',
- togan, cả gan 大膽 dàdăn 'daring',
- sächsé 清潔 qīngjié 'clean', etc.

(2) Local innovations: Other common linguistic phenomena such as combinations of ancient roots with modern words, applying concepts of certain words to other words, or adding new elements and local innovations, etc. which have happened in other languages also take place in Vietnamese:

- lẽsống: 理想 líxiăng 'ideal',
- bênhvực: 幫忙 bāngmáng 'be on one's side',
- ânnhậu: 應酬 yìngchóu (have a drink)
- hiệnnay: 現在 xiànzài (SV: hiệntại) 'at present',
- múarôi 目偶戲 mùǒuqì 'puppetry',
- đêxôm 淫蟲 yínchóng (~quĩrâuxanh) 'lecherous',
- bahoa, tàolao 大話 dàhuà 'boasting',

283 | Page
hoatay 花手 huāshǒu (~ khéotay 巧手 qiáoshǒu) 'skilful',
câgân, togan = 大膽 dàdăn 'daring',
câlû 大伙 dâhuǒ 'whole group',
bátcóc 綁架 bângjià 'kidnap',
trőînâng = 太陽 tàiyang 'sunny',
(nräg) chômôm = 犬坐 quánzuò (khuyêntoa) (archaic) 'squat',
hIÊuthào = 孝順 xiàoshùn (hiểuthuận) 'piety',
lươnthể = 順利 shùnlì (suônsè, thuậnlợi) 'conveniently',
hoâicông = 費工 fèigōng (phícông) 'wasting time',
chôidî = 嫖妓 piâojì (but 嫖 also giving rise to déo, dũ, bè! 'fuck'),

Many other words have evolved and further expanded their meanings if those secondary meanings have not already existed in the original loanwords:

• caothâp: 高低 gāodì (high+low=height) => 'rank in a competition',
• #nângnhê: 輕重 qīngzhòng (light+heavy=weight) => 'reprimand',
• tonhô: 大小 dàxiăo (large+small=size) => 'whisper in somebody’s ear',
• trênduốtíi 上下 shàngxià (above+below=position) => 'act within one’s rank', etc.

(3) Integration and combination -- Combinations of ancient words with modern words or with both Sinitic-Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese words:

• chàiđũi: 羅 luó 'net fishing' (SV: la, VS lười, in ancient time it read as *jrai, so we have "chài + lười"),
• xecô, côxe: 車 chē 'carriage' (SV: xa, VS xe, in ancient time it read as 居 SV cù, VS cô, with the radical 古, so we have "xe + cô"),
• thígôi: 時間 shíjiān 'time' (SV: thọigian) [ < @& 時 + 時 ],
• gió distância shishên,
• giónây, gióđây 今兒 jīnr 'now' [ > @#bâygiơ],
• súclûc: 力氣 liqì 'strength' [ 力 li, SV: lực, @& 力 súc + 力 lực],
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?  

- sinhđẻ: 生育 shēngyù 'reproductive' [ 生 shēng, SV: sinh + đẻ Hainanese /đẻ/],
- cừacải: 財產 cáishǎn 'property' [ 材 cái, SV tài, @& của + cải ]

(4) Permanent word formation made up with associated classifiers:
- khuônmặt: 面孔 miànkǒng 'face',
- cuồnghọng, cỏhọng: 喉嚨 hólóng 'throat',
- (một) bórau (cải): 一把菜 yì bă cài 'a bunch of (vegetable)',
- (một) cănphòng, cǎibuồng: 一间房子 'room'.

(5) Assimilation -- Word formations through the sandhi process of association:
- lại 再: zài 'again',
- āndòn 挨打: ăidă 'get hit',
- āntiền 贏钱: yínqián 'win a bet',
- ānnhậu 應酬: yìngchóu 'eat and drink',
- ānnăn 懺恨: yīnhèn (archaic) 'in remorse',
- bòphi 白費: báifèi 'waste',
- bòphiếu 投票: tóupiào 'cast a ballet' [ ~VS @ dăuphiếu ~ đibầu ],
- muavé 買票: măipiào 'buy ticket',
- chodên 隻到: zhídào 'until'.

(6) Analogical word formation -- If a Vietnamese word is derived from a word of Chinese origin, chances are that an antonymn of that is also from the same source, of which both word-syllables make up a dissyllabic word:
- caothấp: 高低 gāodì (high+low=height),
- #nặngnhẹ: 輕重 qīngzhòng (light+heavy=weight),
- khócruồi: 哭笑 kùxiào (cry+laugh=sentiment),
- dàingắn: 長短 chángduàn (long+short=length),
- gàymáp: 瘦肥 shòuféi (skinny+fat=shape),
(7) Sound omissions -- It is not unusual to see that many monosyllabic word in Vietnamese correspond to only those polysyllabic equivalents in Chinese. That is is the result of sound omissions or contractions. This sound change phenomenon can be the products of localization, simplification, or retention of old way of pronunciation or meanings. However, that is not always the case. Again, as in many examples (marked with *) below, many of the loanwords were originally monosyllabic, then later they evolved into dissyllabics to avoid homonyms as in monosyllabics in the Chinese language itself. This type of word formation can also be considered as a local innovation and lexical development internally because it characterizes itself as independent entities by either retaining the original form or adjusting the polysyllabic development to the minimum and not distorting the intended significance despite of changes in the original borrowing language. Here are some examples:

- dốkhỏi : 躲(不)開 duǒ bú kāi 'unavoidable',
- mấtdạy : 沒教(養) méijiàoyăng 'impolite',
- mấtmặt : 沒面*(子) méimiànzǐ 'losing face',
- rác (rácruôi) : 垃圾 lèse (also lāji - rácruôi) 'garbage',
- lầm (lãmlō ~ lãmlàn) : 錯誤 cuòwù 'make a mistake',
- bỏ (trúbọ) : 廢除 fèichú 'eliminate' [ @ 投 tóu ],
- soigương : 照鏡*(子) zhàojìngzǐ 'look in the mirror',
- cậu : 舅(父)* jìufù 'uncle' (mother's brother),
- (cậu) mọ : (舅)母* jiǔmǔ 'aunt' (uncle's wife),
- (cô) đương : (姑)丈* gúzhàng 'uncle' (aunt's husband'),
- mòn(nhẵn) : 磨光 móguāng 'worn-out',
- thầy : (老)師* lăoshī 'teacher',
- gã : (出)嫁* chùjià 'daughter married out',
- rể : (女)婿* nǔxü 'son-in-law',
- câbọn(người) : 大幫(人) dábāngrén 'a bunch of people',

- tonhọ: 大小 dàxiăo (large+small=size),
- трéndưới 上下 shàngxià (above+below=position)....
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- nay (giờnày) : 今兒 jīnr 'now',
- đang : 正在 zhèngzài 'being in progress' [ @ 当 dāng (SV dang) ].

In many cases, when sound omissions occurred in both languages, with the same disyllabic word, Chinese took on the original monosyllabic one, i.e., the one that had existed before the development of an equivalent disyllabic word, while Vietnamese might take on a later developed sound and adopted it as the main word and, in some other cases, it was assimilated with another word, for instance,

- 耳朵 ěrduō 'lỗtai' (eardrum) ~;> duō for 'tai',
- 隱私 yǐnsī 'riêngtư' (private) ~;> yǐn for 'riêng',
- 黑暗 hèiàn 'tốităm' (darkness) ~;> hèi for 'tối',
- 黃金 huángjīn 'kim)vàng'~;> huáng 'vàng',
- 應酬 yìngchóu 'ănnhậu' (have a drink) ~;> nhậu 酬 chóu while 'ăn' is associated with 吃 (eat),
- 喉嚨 hóulóng 'cổhọng' (throat) ~;> 喉 hóu 'cổ',
- 銅板 tóngbăn 'đồngbạc' (monetary unit) ~;> tóng 'đồng' while 'bạc' is associated with 錢幣 qiánbì 'tiềnbạc'.

(8) Influence from other Chinese dialects:

Chinese characters are pronounced differently in different dialects and sometimes even has different pronunciations in just one dialect just as it does in Vietnamese. Moreover, a Chinese character sometimes appears to have many sounds in Vietnamese just because they had been pronounced according to different Chinese dialects which were brought into the Vietnamese language in different periods of time in the past.

In fact, we can find all characteristics of each Chinese dialect, including Mandarin, in Vietnamese beside the overall features such as morphology, phonology or idiomatic expressions, which they all have in common. For example, the Vietnamese second tone at the lower register “õ” is somewhat similar to nasalized final vowels in Fukienese, i.e., ē, ā... and those of Beijing dialect suffix -er 見, e.g.
or tonal system in the Hunan dialect, as accented in Mao Zedong's Mandarin, resembles that of Huế dialect of Vietnamese, etc.

In any cases the fact that Mandarin sound is selected to represent modern Chinese is only a matter of convenience and oftentimes it is useful to make comparative analysis to see how sound changes from the same source turn out to be in two different languages, i.e., Mandarin and Vietnamese. That does not always mean that Vietnamese words directly originated only from those of Mandarin because they might have been originated also from other Chinese dialects. However, there is strong evidence that modern Vietnamese appears to have a lot of similarities with Mandarin. For instance,

- 還 zhèi 'this, here': dây ~ này ~ nì,
- 那 nà, nêi 'that, there': dây ~ dô ~ nó,
- 膝蓋 xīgài 'knee': dàuguôí,
- 所以 suoyí 'therefore': chonên,
- 於是 yúshì 'as a result': vîthê,
- 陌生 mòsheng 'unfamiliar': làlùng,
- 體諒 tǐliàng 'pardon': thalỗi,
- 見諒 jiànlìang 'sorry': xînlỗi,
- 體會 tǐhuì 'understanding': thâuhiêũ,

which appears as they are just "twisted sound" of the original Mandarin pronunciations.

Also, it is interesting to see that some other sounds of other Chinese dialects resemble much more pronunciations of certain Vietnamese words of Chinese origin or of the same roots with those of Chinese. For example, in Mandarin ‘mango’ is called

- 芒果 màngguǒ, but in Fukienese ‘mango’ is [suã] (IPA "~" signifying nasalization), in Vietnamese it is soài,
- 舌 shē ‘tongue’ Cantonese 腦/léi/ (?) and Vietnamese luōí,
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

- 囝 jiān (~ 子 zǐ) 'child' Fukienese (Amoy) [kē], Hananese [ke], Vietnamese con,
- 羊 yáng 'sheep' Chaozhou dialect [jē], Vietnamese dê [je],
- 耕 gēng 'plow' Chaozhou [kē], Vietnamese cày,
- biết 'know' (?) Hananese /bat/, Fukienese /paiʔ/, Amoy /bat/ 'to know, to recognize', Vietnamese biểt,
- 生 shēng 'give birth', Hainanese /de/, Vietnamese đẻ,
-屙 ē 'to shit', Cant. /o/, Vietnamese ỉa,
-嫖 piào (?) /tiew/ Cant. 'fuck', Vietnamese dęo, dụ, etc.

These examples manifest the lowest linguistic stratum of Vietnamese in which words of the same root shared by the Yue peoples are still in use by their descendants at present day while other words might have been variants of either direct influence from one language to the other or merely a uniform result of sound changes.

Other cognates can also be found in daily common words such as

- chào: 早 zăo (modern Mandarin) 'hello'
- thấy : 睇 dì (?) /thay/ (Cant.) 'see'
- tậmbậy: 三八 sānbā (that also giving rise to tằmbạ, sàbát...)(Fukienese) 'non-sense'
- đụng: 碰 pèng 'touch'
- mò (~sờ, & sờmó): 摸 mó 'feel by hand'
- dừng: 甭 péng (Beijing) 'not to'
- mai: 明儿 mínr (Beijing) 'tomorrow'
- nay: 今兒 jīnr (Beijing) 'now'
- luônluôn: 老老 lâoláo (Beijing) 'always'
- gàtrông: 雞公 /koikong/ (Hainanese and Fukienese) 'rooster',
- gàmái 雞母 /koimai/ (Hainanese and Fukienese) 'hen'
- cùlét (?)/kalɛt/ (Hainanese) (= thọclét, chóccười M 逗笑 dòuxiào) 'tickle'
Some linguists will argue that words like those have cultural influence from China and cannot be used to establish a genetic kinship with Chinese, that is, only common basic words count. Many linguists, after eliminating obvious Chinese loanwords and other areas like grammar and phonology, work only with the residue of what is leftover called ‘fundamental or basic words’. Many of these leftover words are thought as non-Han (non-Chinese) origin, but they never know that some of them really are.

Examples like these are numerous. They are worth discussing much more than just listing simple corresponding phonetic patterns, especially the sound change rules from Old Chinese to modern Chinese and Vietnamese.

Nevertheless, the point to be made here is that sound changes are multifaceted in both time and space. That is, one Chinese word can evolve into different Vietnamese words at different periods as Haudricourt (1961) noted that Chinese words of classical Chinese are pronounced differently from words of the vernacular language which were from an older form of Chinese.

VIII) CONCLUSION:

So far as it is concerned, in the field of Sinitic-Vietnamese studies Vietnamese words of Chinese origin have not been fully explored as they deserve. Though some Sinitic-Vietnamese aspects have been addressed under different subject matters, most specialists of Vietnamese have examined the Vietnamese etymology of Chinese origin to date by comparing only monosyllabic words with individual equivalents of Chinese characters. Their common approach is to treat Sinitic-Vietnamese words only within the framework of the phonological systems of Sino-Vietnamese as compared to Middle Chinese while Ancient Chinese, Old Chinese, and modern Chinese dialects have been neglected for the most parts even though they have given rise to numerous modern Vietnamese words.
Additionally if there is any meaningful work having been done in the Sinitic-Vietnamese fields, it has been plagued with a misconception about the true nature of both Chinese and Vietnamese as those of monosyllabics where the monosyllabic Vietnamese words of Chinese origin have been investigated only on one-to-one basis monosyllabically. To make the matter worse, unfortunately, the misconception of Vietnamese and Chinese monosyllabics is still widely accepted as a matter of fact. As we see in today’s linguistic books whenever a case study of a monosyllabic language needs to be presented, Vietnamese or Chinese are often cited as examples of monosyllabic languages. Unfortunately, such short-sightedness is par for the course these days. This deficient approach has certainly hindered further development of break-through nature in the Vietnamese etymological study, that is, no new discovery of Vietnamese words of Chinese origin has been made. Therefore, the subject of dissyllabics has been discussed in length with different perspectives and how to derive etymologically a great number of Vietnamese words from dissyllabic variations of Chinese orin as a result.

The new dissyllabic and analogical approaches discussed in this research will certainly help linguists of Vietnamese discover more Vietnamese words of Chinese origin, which, in turn, will clarify some other etymological issues revolving around basic word stratum since that can be also examined with the same methodologies. With this new way of exploring the field of Sinitic-Vietnamese studies, once we have come up solid cases as proofs of Chinese origin of a majority of Vietnamese words and, for those glosses that are not, of any other origin, for the same matter, lexicologists of Vietnamese will be able to compile a modern Vietnamese dictionary completed with lexical etymology for the first time in history. Finally, we may contemplate the ideas of reclassifying Vietnamese as a member of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family once again.

(To be continued -- this research is still in the process of extensive editing.)
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APPENDICES

The appendices below will help one make judgement whether: (1) Vietnamese is a dissyllabic language, (2) it should be written the natural way by combining associated syllables to form a word. This in return will help you understand that when Chinese dissyllabic words change into Vietnamese dyssyllabic equivalents they do not follow the same patterns as monosyllabic words do, (3) presentations of other credible findings by other authors which show affiliations of basic lexicons that are cognates in both Chinese and Vietnamese, (4) supplementary materials as tools to approach Vietnamese and Chinese historical phonology.

APPENDIX A

Examples of some polysyllabic and dissyllabic vocabularies

I) Composite words:

Ngáoộp, giómáy, lọnxàngău, liềntüst, láplaláplüng, b<ulubuloa, híhahíhùng, bínhxín, rũ
ngmõ, lạđạt, bếurẽ, mốcxinh, thuíinh, bếrc, bêtha, chinxinh, dầydă, thácmać, trí
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

chthượng, tríchbõlương, òtrườngnhôngnhông, tráiptrường, tômò, tátbát, bứcxúc, bứcrức, táymày, tátbát, bàngkhuâng, bờpchờ, bờihi, hùnghô, phằngphất, mồh, changvang, chàtvạt, khucmác, nghịvức, bòiatt, giangs, tuyécumêo, hâchixâng, hôtêngâu, tǔđếuư ông, sáchbách, yêudương, thuonghai, âmâng, làmbiếng, tôinghiêp, mòcoi, goâbùa, hîh üns, thâphòm... cephir, cêrem, cêphào, cêlâm, cêkêđêngâng, laca, cêgiêt, cêgât, cêrâ, cêrâ, cêrôt, Cânâ, cêtàng, cêchôncêchâo, cêtrâtcêduôt, cêrâng, cêduyt, cêrâng, cê lâc, cêricecâtàng, cêtàng, cêtêng... cülân, cülao, cülêt, cêncû, lúcû, cûû... hoasoan, hoavôngvang, hoacûtêng, hoamât, tàihoâ, hoatay, hoaliêu, dâohoa, hoahoêhoasói, bahoâ, bahôachoícêchoê ... bagai, battrôn, tâiba, b condominium, chuangôiba, hôtêngâu, baphái, bahôi, bôhôn, bôcâu, baquân... tâhoâtamtînh, cêuhoâ, hoâlô, hoâdiêmson, nhâ ydû, bêpêmûc, baola, thûamûa, dassâm, nhátpêch, chánphêo, êâm... cháuclâu, bûr mbuôrm, duûê, chuônchuôn, làçê, suûtú... duâhâu, duâgan, bídăo, khoâtêqua... tráđûa, ch ûndûa, bûlubûlo, sâbát, viêtlách, xácêbácxângbang, âmbâyâmb, тамphào, bavôbatâp, tróttquôt, tômguû, cóntâm, bánhêm, bánhít, bânhdây, bânhdây, bânhexe, cîcô, bõtôcô, dânhcê, cêôê, câthu, câêm, câchêp, cângû, cêôê, dânhdô, têcdô, lâmmtôi, chàndân, càmrâm, cânnhân, nhúngnhêo, tiênnong, ruôngrây, obê, têngbôcê, bâmtrôn, trêocângng ông, baquexôlô, thàgiàn, diêuvoi, xaxâm, xaxôi, xalácxalô, sáchbách, bàngkhuâng, mônglung, ngôngâng, ngôngâng, tocmach, heomay, cûichô, chànmay, bàvai, chômúc, ch ômá, chôdê, nhàquê, nhâvân, nhângû, nhâmât, nhâtu, nhâlaô, laócông, laopheri, laodôao, lânôan, môttay, taychoî, tàytrô, tayvôt, châmrai, gàprüt, lêlêng, tôluô, cûasô, maymân, hàphôii, dôtnât, thongôy, dôet, dângngât, giàusu, nghêonân, tôrômôt, rámô, phâyphây, châmri, lêmê, nêhâng, bâithama, gaôcô, ngàôôp, biênlân...

NOTE: "Composite" used here is to convey the meaning of something closely affixed to a radical which can not be broken into separate syllables, either one or both is a bound morpeme, i.e. independently in the Chinese original form as a character which may carry a meaning, but as a sole syllable in Vietnamese, which can not function independently, it may or may not mean anything and it needs to appear in combination with other syllable to make a complete word. This kind of composite words are found numerous in the Vietnamese language. They are commonly used in daily life. Compare
words in English of the same nature: windy, curious, vague, pitiful, lovely, creamy, marvelous, tomato, salmon, unique, volcano, butterfly, kitchen, handy, camel, melon, excited, handsome, etc. Can you break these words into separate syllables and still use each of them independently with its original meaning?

II) Dissyllabic compound words:

Nhanhchóng, nhàthờ, trườnghoc, giâybút, sinhđe, vợchồng, chames, anhem, nhạccụa, trời đất, dồngruộng, nướcmat, tiềnbac, bànhgé, chuacay, maquy, thanhánh, troiphat, bàngđen, sôngnúi, nhànuốc, mâybay, sânbay, nhâmay, ghêngđoi, bànviệt, giuòngngư, phongăn, quétlửa, máylạnh, túlạnh, máyhát, lýlê, chọcdợi, IDGET, ruouchê, cởbac, ...

**NOTE:** Just like compound words in English, e.g. blackboard, therefore, airplane, moreover, billboard, airport, bookworm, football, baseball, notebook, software, harddisk, honeymoon, plywood, handicraft, aircraft, shipyard, graveyard, grapefruit, jackfruit, pineapple, etc., Vietnamese compound words are in great numbers. Each word-syllable in a word can be used independently as a word.

IV) Reduplicative dissyllabic and polysyllabic compound words:

Lạnhlẽo, nóngnẩy, buồnbã, văngvẳng, mànmận, ngọtngào, ngánhằng, khôkhao, giagiån, xaxôi, năngnề, nhènhàng, mêmân, phephpây, châmchì, lolâng, mácmô, rërúng, viễnvông, mòmàng, saùsác, dêduâ, hoaohoê, đaidêt, sêsoân, mômâm, hẹnhói, rôngrâi, âmuc, thăngthừng, quauquo, chácchân, vãngvé, côicút, lôiâ, dudâ, dâuđơn, luônluôn, mêmái, nhanhnhâu, runrây, lâclu, lôilônh, lênlêen,hydration, nhènhàng, lâplalâphûng, bùlubuloa, hihahihìng, xíchixixon, lùntalângtûng, carihchâtang, ...

**NOTE:** Reduplicative compound words are made of a one-syllable word plus a variation of that with a little change in sound. This type of words renders a subtle change in meaning of the radical. An affix to the original word is usually a reduplicative element that has a different tone and initial or ending comes before of after a radical. Comparable structures of this type of words are those of "childish", "slowly", "talkative", "handy", "continuous", "fashionable", "horrendous", "fabulous", exited", exciting", "initial", "
"vital", "likewise", "shaking", "shaky", "lonesome", "troublesome", "mimicry", etc. An affixed syllable or add-on component, just like those similarly structured words in English, cannot be used independently.

V) Polysyllabic "Vietnamized" English and French words:

Càphê, càrem, xecamnhông, phíchnuóc, sônuóc, canô, building, oânhtũi, bótét, lagu, s àlách, nuôcsõt, xâbông, sócôla, dâmbông, phôma, vôlâng, mêgabai, internet, website, software, rôbô, radiô, lade, photocópy, coppi, óxygen, câtbnât, dếphô, dốpdiéc, vốtka, virút, cólê, môît, tivi, video, diaaccount, galâng, dôla, vila, phècmatuya, ǥâcmânggiê, cómpa, tráibôm, bômhôî, dângxê, câulacbô, vacâng, ôtô, nhâga, ôten, dâuâng, bülô, cáisoong, choîgem, truitoatpen, chaymaratông, menbo, hopgu, hàmbôgo, mesû, màdam, xinêma, thùngphuy, kilômê, centimê, milimê, xebuít, xemôtô, móto, dênmângxông, xyláp, phàcmaxi, dôctô, diaréctô, áoghilê, bôcomplê, ópâclo, micôrô, phàctuya, trábiu, ô cxîthoá, sida, ad, cângxe, buyarô, rômôt, móocchê, súngcahnňông, túbuýphê, chàyá pphe, nhâbâng, trächeck, sônáchba, mincólaymo, bôldôsô, alâchsô, acîsô, cângtin, mí ttính, Ácănđinh, Hoathinhďôn, Balê, Ánglê, Vaticăn, sôviêt, bônxvêích, gacdôco, gcgian, trúngôplêt, hôtgâôpla, âobânh tô, âomângtô, bugi, épphê, âcxít, âtpirin, dômi, dô migâcxông, diplôm, gângto, ápphich, táplô, bancông, salông, kánhmuxoa, lêmônât, ruô urum, ruôuvan, dươngrây, xêngang, tángê, miniduyûp, càrô, súngruôlô, xeruôlô, môtphin, xi phê, phàctuya, cóngtąc, cóngtô, rôbinê, marisên, phôngten, phàngtadi, phuôcxèt, xícâ ngďan, sandan, bigiângtin, phûlit, rômôt, boongtàu, tichkê, bánsôn, ditau, váira, dîtcô, dâ ngxê, lângxê, pianô, vôliông, honda, trumpêt, câtómât, xûchxích, patê, tráibo, dácô, x êrum, xiarô, xêrê, bângrôn, bângnhac, dôlen, rumba, bêpga, mónên, modalità, xilô, nôixú pde, padõuxuy, somi, balô, bûpbê, tâcxì, buôcboâ, cònghra, dêpô, âopull, quàngin, jàtkêt, zêrô, suwinggum, sabôchê, sôppho, xêplôn, pátîo, vida, bida, côcacôla, pêpsi, vôlâng, âmïya, ampe, kîlôoát, tàngdo, xuytvôntô, cátsêt, ghisê, nhâbâng, tivi, gàrôti, chòisôp, khâchsôp, cômïuto, dîppô ... 

NOTE: These are variants of words of French and English origins, which are spelled in Vietnamese orthography. Though words in this classification are in limited numbers,
they are best presented in polysyllabic combining formation. They are considered as loanwords of "foreign" origin. Their syllables are an integrated parts attached the others and cannot certainly be used as independent words even though the Vietnamese syllable itself may mean something else unrelated. The implication of these examples is that if dissyllabic Sino-Vietnamese words are seen as "foreign" loanwords in the Vietnamese language, then their nature and characteristics are virtually the same, not to be separated.

VI) Some culturally-accented Vietnamese of Chinese origin:

ăngđòn (deserved punishment) 挨打: ăidā
ăntiền (win bet) 贏錢: yínqián
ănnhậu (have a drink) 應酬: yínchóng
dệxôm: (lecherous) 婢蟲: yínchóng
hạnhhò (dating) 約會: yèhuì
dànhcuốp (rob) 打劫: dăjié
dànhbài (play cards) 打牌: dăpái (Mand)
tầmbây (tầmbạ, sàbát) 三八: tambát (SV), sānbà
chánngán (sick of) 厭倦: yànjuān
bậtcuối (laugh) 發笑: fáxiào
bạtkhóc (cry) 發哭: fákù
banngày (daytime) 白日: báirì
bồcâu (pigeon) 白鴿: báigē
chạngvạng (at dusk) 旁晚: bángwăn
cågan (daring) 大膽: dàdàn
dùmá (fuck you) 他媽: tāmā
khợkhào (foolish) 傻瓜: sāguā
ámcúng (warm) 溫馨: wēnqìng
muárǒi (puppetry) 木偶戲: mùouxì
xinlỗi (apologize) 請罪: qingzuì
mồcôi (being an orphan) 無根: wūgēn (Mand.) ~ 無辜 wúgù
chắc chắn (certainly) 一定 : nhất định (SV), yìdìng
đưa đón (to see off and to pick up) 接送: jièsòng
cờ đợi (wait) 期待: qídài
yêu đương 愛戴: àidài
thương yêu (love) 疼爱: téngài
không dám đâu (not so)  敢当: bù găndàng

NOTE: The implication of these basic and not-so-basic words of the same roots between Chinese and Vietnamese, in addition to those Sino- Sinitic-Vietnamese vocabularies which are indispensable in the Vietnamese language, is that Chinese is classified as a polysyllabic language, so is Vietnamese. To learn more about this please go to The Etymology of Nôm of Chinese origin.

APPENDIX B

The International Phonetic Alphabet in Unicode

APPENDIX C

Examples of some variable sound changes Thuận Nghịch Độc by Duc Tran

The author constructs an etymological analogy based a poem by Phạm Thái (1777-1813) which is written in "Thuận Nghịch Độc" form, that is, standard reading is for Sino-Vietnamese sound:

青春鎖柳冷蕭房 Thanh xuân khóa liễu lãnh tiêu phòng
錦軸停針礙點妝 Cẩm trục đình châm ngại điểm trang
清亮度蘚浮沸緑 Thanh lương độ tiên phù phất lục
淡曦散菊彩疏黃 Đạm hy tán cúc thái sơ hoàng
情痴易訴簾邊月 Tình si dị tố liêm biên nguyệt
夢觸曾撩帳頂霜 Mộng xúc tằng liêu trướng đỉnh sương
while, as in old Chinese-based Nôm writing, Sinitic-Vietnamese sounds can be also read in reverse (naturally some Sino-Vietnamese sounds, inseparable part of Vietnamese vocabularies, are included also):

from these reading we can see clearly the relations between those Sino- ans Sinitic-Vietnamese words:

- Cẩm = Gấm
- Cưỡng = Gượng

with this onset, we can apply the same patterns to other words:

- Cận = Gần
- Can = Gan
- Cân = Gân
- Cấp = Gấp
- Cổn = Gợn
- Các = Gác
- Kê = Gà
- Ký = Gửi
What Makes Vietnamese So Chinese?

• Kỵ = Ghét
• Ký = Ghi
• Vũ = Múa
• Vũ = Mưa
• Văn = Mây
• Văn = Muôn
• Vương = Mong
• VREQQ = Mạng
• Tự = Chết
• Tự = Chữa
• Tự = Chữ (cái)

and so on.

NOTE: Specifically with the above example, in the comments regarding Chinese ~ Vietnamese cognates, Duc Tran seems to see only the Sinitic-Vietnamese sound changes in comparison with those of Sino-Vietnamese on one-to-one correspondence within the monosyllabic words even though he did mention about the correlation of those Vietnamese sounds to those of Mandarin sounds: "Cái lạ ở chỗ các ví dụ trên phân theo chiều theo tiếng Bắc Kinh hay Pinyin đều theo một luồng phụ âm nhất định." (That means "the interesting thing about the words in the example is that all consonantinal initials as said in Beijing dialect or Pinyin follow a certain pattern of correspondent initials.") This is how it has been done by most of specialists in the Chinese-Vietnamese etymological fields.

APPENDIX D

The case of "sông"

by Tsu-lin Mei

江**krong/kang/chiang ‘Yangtze River’, ‘river’.
“river” in Mon-Khmer: VN sông; Bahnar, Sedang krong; Katu karung; Bru klong; Gar, Koho rong; Laʔven dakhom; Biat n’hong; Hre khoang; Old Mon krung. Cf. Tib. Klu ‘river’; Thai kho ‘ŋ’canal’.

Chiang has a Second Division final in MC, and according to the Yakhontov-Pulleyblank theory, this implies a model –r- or –l- in OC.** The OC reading for this word in Li Fang-kuei’s system is *krung.* Further evidence for –r- consists of the fact that some words with as their phonetic have disyllabic doublets, whose first syllable has a velar initial and whose second syllable is lung: 空=窟窿 ‘hole, empty,’ 项=喉咙 ‘neck, throat,’ 鸿=屈龙 ‘wild goose.’** The final has been reconstructed as –ung by Karlgren and Tung T’ung-ho, -awng by Pulleyblank, and –ong by Yakhontov.** In spite of these minor differences, it is clear that the final had a rounded back vowel in OC.

It is immediately clear that the Mon-Khmer forms are related to the Chinese form. What remains to be discussed is the direction of the loan.

There are reasons for thinking that the Chinese borrowed this word from the AA’s. OC has four common words for names for rivers: 水 shui, 川 ch’uan, 江 chiang, 河 ho. The first two are general words; the last two are proper names, chiang ‘Yangtze River’ and ho ‘Yellow River.’ On the other hand, krong etc. is a general word for ‘river’ in AA. In borrowing, a general word for a descriptive term often becomes a proper name in the receiving language; witness Mississippi and Wisconsin, ‘big river’ and ‘big lake’ in Algonquin, which became proper names in American English.

The two general words for ‘water’ and ‘river’ in OC, shui and ch’uan, occur in the oracle bones and can be traced to Sino-Tibetan: ‘water’ Tib. ch’u; Bara, Nago dui; Kuki-chin tui; Chinese 水* siwər/świ/shui, 川* t’iwen/tś’iwän/ch’uan. The nasal final in ch’uan probably represents the vestigial form of a plural ending, and there is a phonological parallel in the sound gloss in the Shuo-wen 水,准也(准 **ń*wən); shui and ch’uan are therefore cognates. OC 河 ˠɑ/g’*earlier * g’al or *g’*r, we suspect, is a borrowing from Altaic. **
Chiang is of relatively late origin. It did not occur in the oracle bones. The bronze inscriptions contain one occurrence of this word, and the Book of Odes, nine occurrences, in five poems. When the word chiang acquired the general meaning of ‘river,’ its use as names of rivers was limited to south of the Yangtze. Both these facts again suggest that chiang was a borrowed word.

Other etymologies for chiang are less plausible. Tibetan had klu’river.’ But a Sino-Tibetan origin of klu/krong is ruled out because chiang is a late word with a restricted geographic distribution, and because MC 2nd Division generally corresponds to Tib. –r- but not to –l-. Similarly, the basic word for ‘river’ and ‘water’ in Tai is na:m; khlo:ŋ is a secondary word restricted in its meaning to ‘canal’, with limited distribution in the Tai family; it is unlikely to be the source of Chinese * krong. The most plausible explanation is that both Tibetan and Thai also borrowed klu* and khlo:ŋ from AA.

We will now try to show that the Chinese first came into contact with the Yangtze in Hupei, anciently part of the Ch’u Kingdom. This must be region where the Chinese first came into contact with AA’s and borrowed chiang from them.

The Han River has its source in Shensi whence it passes through Honan and joins the Yangtze in Hupei. As the Chinese came down from their homeland in the Yellow River valleys, it was natural for them to follow the course of the Han River. This general conclusion is also supported by textual evidence. The word chiang ‘Yangtze River’ occurs in five poems in the Book of Odes. In Ode 9,204,262, and 263, chiang occurs in conjunction with han ‘Han River,’ either in the compound chiang-han or in an antithetical construction wit han in the other part. The only poem containing chiang but not han is Ode 22. But his poem belongs to the section Chao-nan 召南, and this term is also what the Chou people used for the region which formerly belonged to Ch’u. Moreover, according to several authorities, the term 江南(literally ‘south of the River’) as used during the Han dynasty refers to Ch’ang-sha 长沙 and Y-chang 豫章, in present Hunan and Kiangsi. The implication is that chiang in chiang-nan refers to the middle section of the Yangtze and not the entire river.
The notion that the Chinese met the AA’s in the Middle Yangtze region of course does not exclude their presence elsewhere; it just gives a precise indication of one of their habitats. It is perhaps pertinent to mention that the Vietnamese believed that their homeland once included the region around the Tung-t’ing Lake 洞庭湖 which is in that general area.** Another Vietnamese legend states that their forefather married the daughter of the dragon king of Tung-t’ing Lake.**

Textual and epigraphic evidence indicates that the word chiang came into the Chinese language between 500 and 1000 B.C. Mao Heng’s Commentary to the Odes also assigned all poems celebrating the southern conquest to the reign of King Hsan (827-781 B.C.). The first half of the first millennium B.C. can therefore be taken as a tentative date for the AA presence in the Middle Yangtze region. Recently, however, archaeologists are increasingly inclined to the view that contact between North China and South China occurred as early as the Shang dynasty: artifacts showing strong Shang and early Chou influence have been discovered in the lower Yangtze region, and according to some scholars, also in the Han River region.

** If further investigations show that pre-Chou traffic between the North and the South was extensive and bi-directional, we may have to revise the date for chiang upward.

Source: http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/tm17/paper459.htm]

APPENDIX E

The case of "chết"
by Tsu-lin Mei

札**tsɛt ‘to die’

In Cheng Hsüan’s commentary on the Chou-Li, the gloss 越人谓死为札“The Yüeh people call ‘to die’札” occurs.** Cheng Hsüan lived during the Eastern Han (127-200 A.D.) and there seem to be no grounds to doubt the authenticity of this gloss. According
to Karlsgren’s Grammata Serica Recensa the OC reading of the character was *tsā. This is Karlsgren’s group II. There is good reason to believe that his reconstruction is erroneous. Tuan Yü-ts’ ai assigns this character to his group twelve, which corresponds most nearly to Karlsgren’s group V.** Chiang Yu-kao places it in his 脂 group which also corresponds most nearly to Karlsgren’s group V.** How do we explain this discrepancy? There are several ways to assign a given character to an OC rhyme group. It may be assigned on the basis of its occurrence in a rhymed text, but if it does not appear as a rhyme word, then there are only two alternative methods for determining its proper membership: a few Middle Chinese (hereafter MC) rhymes all go back to a single OC category; this is the case, for example, with the MC rhyme 唐 which derives from the OC 阳 group in its entirety. For such MC rhymes, the assignment to an OC rhyme category is mechanical. Frequently, however, a given MC rhyme has more than one OC origin. This, in fact, is true of the character in question. 札 belongs to the MC 黒吉 rhyme; this rhyme derives from three different OC rhyme categories: 祭, 微, and 脂 corresponding roughly to Karlsgren’s II, V, and X. The only way to determine which OC rhyme category such words as this belong to is to examine their hsieh-sheng connections. In the Shuowen, is defined as follows: 札牒也, 从木乙声. In GSR 505 a reading *•iɛt is given for; this is Karlsgren’s group V. And in the Shih-ming, written by Liu His, a younger contemporary of Cheng Hsan, the sound gloss is 札, 木节也(木节 *ts*+, OC 脂 group).** Clearly 札 should belong to the same group as 乙; the proper reconstructions is tsɛt and not tsət as given in GSR 280b. Tung T’ungho does not give this character in his Shang-ku yin-yün piao-kao,** but it is simple enough to place it where it belongs—viz. on page 215 in Tung’s 微 group; the proper form in Tung’s system is *tsət.

There can be no doubt that this word represents the AA word for ‘to die’: VN chết; Muong chít, chét; Chrau chu’t, Bahnar kʰcit; Katu chet; Gua test; Hre ko’chit; Bonam kachet; Brou kuchêit; Mon ch*t. More cognate forms can be found in Pinnow, p. 259, item K324f. The Proto-Mon-Khmer form has been reconstructed by Shorto as kʰat,**
which is extremely close to our OC form. There is even the possibility that Proto-MK* k-
is reflected in the glottal initial of the phonetic 乙.

'To die' in other east and southeast Asian languages are: Chinese 死 *siər; Tib. * ‘chi-ba,
šhi; Lolo-Burm *še; ** Proto-Tai *tai; ** Proto-Miao *daih. ** Here Chinese goes together
wit Tibeto-Burman, and Proto-Tai goes together with Proto-Miao. None of these forms
has any resemblance to *tst.

Source: http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/tm17/paper459.htm ]

APPENDIX F

The case of "ruóż"

by Tsu-lin Mei

维虫 ‘fly’**

‘fly’ in Mon-Khmer: VN ruɔi; Camb. Ruy; Lawa rue; Mon rûy; Chaobon rûuy; Kuy ?aruɔy;
Souei ᵇarɔɔy; Brurůay; Ngeʔ, Alak, Tampuon rɔɔy; Loven, Brao, Stieng ruay; Chong r*ɔ
ʔy; Pear roy.

Cf. Proto-AA * ruwa(j) (Pinnow, p. 268, item 356).

The word 维虫 wei ‘fly , gnat' occurs in the Ch’u-yü 楚语 section of the kuo-yü 国语: “It is
as if horses and cattle were placed in extreme heat, with many gnats and flies (on them)
亡虫维虫之既多, and yet they are unable to swish their tails.” GSR 575 defines wei as
‘gnat’ and gives its OC value as *dwr. Karlgren’s definition ‘gnat’ (or our ‘fly’) fits the
above passage, the locus classicus of this word. It is further substantiated by old
dictionaries; the Kwang-ya 广雅 defines 维虫 as 虫羊, and the Fang-yen 方言 states that
羊(虫羊) is a dialect form of 蝇 ‘fly.’ Karlgren's OC value, however, requires revision.
The OC value of 维虫 can be ascertained via its phonetic 维 wei; the form of the character indicates that it is the name of an insect pronounced like 维. The initial of wei in MC is 喻四, the yü initial. Li Fang-kuei has argued convincingly that the OC value of yü IV is a flapped r- or l-, somewhat like the second consonant of ladder in American English; he writes it as *r-. ** 乌弋山离 ‘Alexandria,’ a Han dynasty transcription, has弋 MC (with a yü IV initial) matching –lek (s)-. The word 酉, one of the twelve earth’s branches, has *r- in Proto-Tai, still attested in several modern dialects. Sino-Tibetan correspondences point to the same value, for example, ‘leaf’ Chinese 叶* * rap/*äp/yeh; Tib. lob-ma, ldeb (*dl-).

The final of wei has been reconstructed as –d by Tung T’ung-ho and Li Fang-kuei, and as –r by Karlgren. These are values for the earlier stage of OC. By the time of the Kuo-yü, which is relatively late, -d or –r had probably already become –i.

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The Mon-Khmer forms have a wide distribution. More cognate forms, including some in the Munda branch, can be found in Pinnow, p. 268, item 356. VN rui etc., then, is a very old word in AA: it is also the general word for ‘fly.’ The standard word for ‘fly’ in OC is 蝈* * riəng, which was already attested in the Odes. The word 维虫 wei ‘fly,’ on the other hand, is a hapax legomenon. Clearly, wei ‘fly’ was borrowed from the AA’s into the ancient Ch’u dialect.

In Li’s system, the distinction between ho-k’our and k’ai-k’ou (with or without –u/-w-) is non-phonemic in OC, and the OC value of 维 in his system is *red. In terms of our problem, there are two possibilities. Either OC had no –w- at all, phonemic or non-phonemic, in which case the best the Chinese could do to approximate the AA form (which has a rounded back vowel) is *reĩ< *red; or else, OC had a non-phonemic –w-, in which case the OC form is *rwał. We have chosen the latter alternative.

The two loanwords, chiang ‘Yangtze River’ and wei ‘fly’, suggest the following sequence of events. The Chinese came to the middle Yangtze between 1000 and 500 B.C., and there met the AA’s. Subsequently, some of the AA’s migrated toward the south, and
some were absorbed into the Ch’u population. That is why this word shows up in the Ch’u-yü section of the Kuo-yü and nowhere else.

It seems appropriate to mention in this connection that the Ch’u people clearly contained non-Chinese elements. King Wu of Ch’u acknowledged that he was a southern barbarian; the poet Ch’ Yan lamented, “I was sad that the southern tribesmen could not understand me”; and the Lü-shih ch’un-ch’iu stated that “Ch’u was derived from the barbarians.” In view of what has just been said, we know that one of the ethnic groups constituting the Ch’u people was AA.

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APPENDIX G

The case of "ngà"
by Tsu-lin Mei

牙** ngra/nga/ya ‘tooth, tusk, ivory’

AA: VN ng ‘ivory’; Proto-Mnong (Bahnar) * ngo’la ‘tusk’; Proto-Tai * nga.

Chinese ya has a 2nd Division final in MC, which, according to the Yakhontov-Pulleyblank theory, calls for a medial –r- in OC. And it is our belief that OC *ngra was derived from an AA form similar to Proto-Mnong * ngo’la.

Our theory that Chinese ya was a loan is base upon the following considerations. (1) The oldest Chinese word for ‘tooth’ is ch’ih, which once had an unrestricted range of application, including ‘molar,’ ‘tusk,’ and ‘ivory.’ (2) Ya is of relatively late origin. When it first appeared, it was only used for ‘animal tooth’ and ‘tusk,’ which was and still is the meaning in AA. (3) While North China once had elephants, they became quite rare during the Shang and Chou dynasties, and ivory had to be imported from the middle and lower Yangtze region. Imported items not infrequently bear their original names,
and by our previous argument, the Yangtze valley was inhabited by the AA’s during the first millennium B.C.

Ch’ih 齿 consists of a phonetic 止 and the remaining part as a signific. The latter is a pictograph showing the teeth in an open mouth. Ancestral forms of the pictograph occurred frequently in the oracle bones. Since adding a phonetic is a standard method for creating new graphs for old words, we can be reasonably certain the oracle bone forms cited represented ch’ih. The graph of ya, however, has no identifiable occurrence in the oracle bones and only one probable occurrence in the bronze inscriptions. This statement is based upon the fact that ya is listed neither in Li Hsiao-ting’s compendium of oracle bone graphs nor in Yung Keng’s dictionary of bronze graphs. **Karlgren cited a bronze form for ya in GSR (37b). But Kuo Muo-jo marked this occurrence of ya as a proper name, which makes it impossible to ascertain the meaning further.**

There are reasons to believe that the absence of ya from early epigraphic records was not merely accidental. The oracle bones contained many records of prognosis concerning illness, and among them tooth-ache. **The graphs used were always ancestral forms of ch’ih. The oracle bones also contained a representative list of terms for parts of the body, including head, ear, eye, mouth, tongue, foot, and probably also elbow, heel, buttock, shank**. The absence of ya under such circumstances is quite conspicuous.

A graph must first exist before it can become a part of another graph, and the older a graph, the more chances it has to serve as part of other graphs. By this criterion, ch’ih is much older than ya. In the oracle bones, ch’ih occurs as the signific of three graphs. In the Shuo-wen, ch’ih occurs as the signific of forty-one graphs, all having something to do with tooth; ya, only two graphs, one of which has a variant form with ch’ih as the signific. The Shuo-wen also tells us that ya has a ku-wen form in which the graph for ch’ih appeared under the graph for ya. What this seems to indicate is that when 牙 first appeared, it was so unfamiliar that some scribes found it necessary to add the graph for ch’ih in order to remind themselves what ya was supposed to mean. 牙 also occurs as
the phonetic of eight graphs (six according to Karlgren). But none of these graphs is older than 牽, and our conclusion is not affected.

The meaning of ch‘ih in the oracle bones is primarily ‘human tooth’, including ‘molar.’ On one shell, there occurred the statement……which has been interpreted, “Yn came to send a tribute of elephant’s tusks.”** But other interpretations are also possible. The use of ch‘ih as ‘tusk, ivory’ in most clearly illustrated in Ode 299 懼彼淮夷，來獻其琛，元龜象齒 “Far away are those Huai tribes, but they come to present their treasures, big tortoise, elephant’s tusks”; and not quite so clearly in two passages in the 禹贡 “Y kung,” both of which listed 齒,革,羽,毛 as items of tribute. Here ch‘ih can mean either ‘ivory’ or ‘bones and tusks of animals,’ all used for carving. Lastly, ch‘ih also applies to tooth of other animals, 相鼠有齒“Look at the rat, it has its teeth” (Ode 52).

Beginning with the Book of Odes we have unambiguous evidence for the use of ya. But in the pre-Han texts ya still did not occur frequently, and an analysis of this small corpus reveals that ya was never used for human tooth. Hence the Shuo-wen’s definition of ya as 牽, usually interpreted as ‘molar,’ seems to reflect a later, probably post-Ch‘in, development.** The most frequent occurrence of ya in the sense of ‘tooth’ is in the compound 爪牙‘claw and tooth,’ and there the reference to animal tooth is quite clear. The Yi-ching contains a line in which the meaning of ya was ‘tusk’: 豕之牙吉 ‘the tusk of a castrated hog:[the sign is] propitious.’ The line in Ode 17 誰謂鼠无牙 probably means ‘who says the rat has no tusks?’ but some scholars prefer to interpret ya simply as ‘teeth (incisors).’

Elephants once existed in North China; remains of elephants have been unearthed in Neolithic sites as well as in An-yang.** Ivory carving was also a highly developed craft during the Shang dynasty.** These facts, however, should not mislead us into thinking that elephants had always been common in ancient North China. Yang Chung-chien and Liu Tung-sheng made an analysis of over six thousand mammalian remains from the An-yang site and reported the following finding: over 100 individuals, dog, pig, deer, lamb, cow, etc.; between 10 and 100 individuals, tiger, rabbit, horse, bear, badger (獾)
The authors went on to say that rare species such as the whale, the rhinoceros, and the elephant were obviously imported from outside, and their uses were limited to that of display as items of curiosity. This view is also confirmed by literary sources. In the Han Fei-tzu, it is said that when King Chou of the Shang dynasty made ivory chopsticks, Chi Tzi, a loyal minister, became apprehensive – implying that when as rare an item as ivory was used for chopsticks, the king’s other extravagances could be easily imagined. Importation of ivory in the form of tribute was also reported in Ode 299 and in the “Yü-kung,” both of which were cited above.

The history of ya and ch’ih can now be reconstructed as follows: The people of the Shang and Chou dynasties have always depended upon import for their supply of ivory. But during the early stage, ivory and other animal tusks and bones were designated by ch’ih, which was also the general word for ‘tooth.’ Items made of ivory were also indicated by adding a modifier 象 hsiang ‘elephant’ before the noun, for example 象##，象弭，象箸 ‘ivory comb-pin,’ ‘ivory bow tip,’ ‘ivory chopsticks.’ Then ya came into the Chinese language in the sense of ‘tusk,’ because a tusk is larger than other types of teeth, ya gradually acquired the meaning of ‘big tooth, molar’ by extension, thus encroaching upon the former domain of ch’ih. When later lexicographers defined ya as ‘molar’ and ch’ih as ‘front tooth,’ they are describing, though without clear awareness, the usage of the Han dynasty and thereafter. By further extension, ya also became the general word for ‘tooth,’ while retaining its special meaning of ‘ivory.’

Some Min dialects still employ 齫 in the sense of tooth. The common word for tooth in Amoy is simply k’i. Foochow has nai3 which is a fusion of ɡɑ̌plus k’i, i.e. 牙齿. This strongly suggests that in Min the real old word for ‘tooth’ is 齫 as in Amoy, the implication being that this was still the colloquial word for ‘tooth’ well into Han when Fukien was first settled by the Chinese. The Japanese use 齫 as kanji to write ha ‘tooth’ in their language; 牙 rarely occurs. Both these facts provide supplementary evidence for the thesis that the use of ya as the general word for ‘tooth’ was a relatively late development.
In a note published in BSOAS, vol. 18, Walter Simon proposed that Tibetan so ‘tooth’ and Chinese ya 牙 (OC *ng*) are cognates, thus reviving a view once expressed by Sten Konow. Simon’s entire argument was based upon historical phonology; he tried to show

(a) OC had consonant clusters of the type sng- and C-, (b) by reconstructing 牙 as sng>*zng >nga and 邪 as z˦>*z**, one can affirm Hs Shen’s view that 邪 has 牙 as its phonetic, and (c) Chinese sng⁺ can then be related to a Proto-Tibetan *sngwa and Burmese swa:>əwa:.

Our etymology for ya ‘tooth’ implies a rejection of Simon’s view; if ya is borrowed from AA, then the question of Sino-Tibetan comparison simply does not arise. And even if our theory is not accepted, there is no reason to adopt Simon’s analysis; ya is clearly a word of relatively late origin, and the fact that 邪 has 牙 as its phonetic can be explained by assuming that the z- of 邪 resulted from the palatalization of an earlier g-.

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