

Chain Shift in Vietnamese

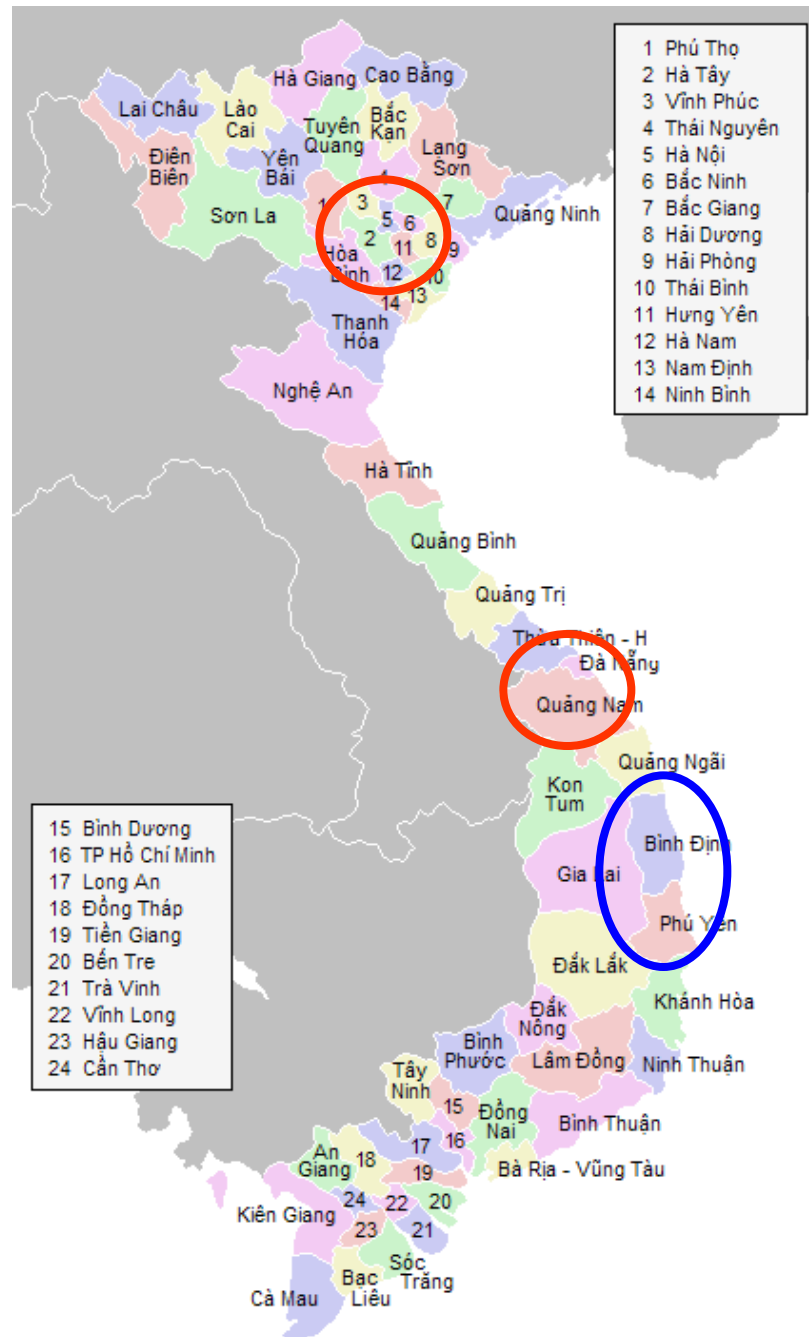
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- Comparison of two Vietnamese speech communities, Hà Nội (northern dialects) and Quảng Nam province: the ‘vowel shifts’ in closed syllables.

Where is Quảng nam?



- Peculiar features in the rhyme that are maintained by members of the QN community. How different from northern dialects?
- Characteristics of the vowel shift.
Why only in (C)VC the vowel changes in quality? Are these changes context-sensitive or random?
- Are there any internal factors that affect the ‘changes’?

Champa Kingdom 192-1832

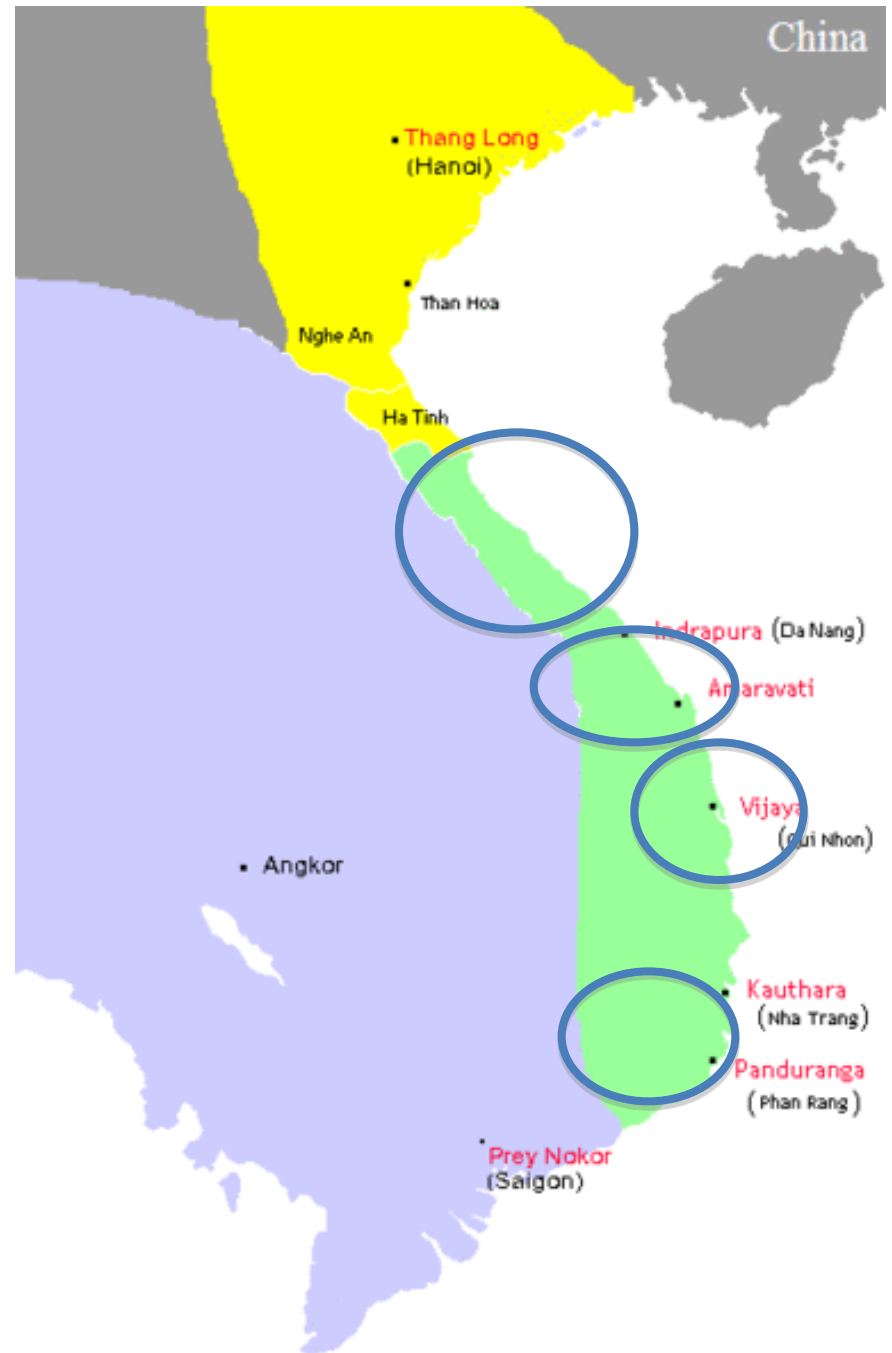
-1306 King *Jaya Sinhavarman III* offered Vietnam two northern provinces (roughly corresponded to Quảng Bình, Quảng Trị, Thừa Thiên), as a gift to marry Princess Huyền Trân.

-1402 lost Indrapura (Quảng Nam and Quảng Ngãi).

-1446 lost Vijaya (Qui Nhơn)

-1697 lost Panduranga (Phan Rang).

-1832 the remaining Cham territories were annexed to Vietnam.



Cham ruins in Mỹ Sơn, Quảng Nam (Its peak the 7th century)



Nhạn tower, Tuy Hòa, Phú Yên (south central VN)

-Cham:

Malayo-Polynesian language in the Austronesian family.

- About 162,000 Cham people living in Vietnam (2009 census).

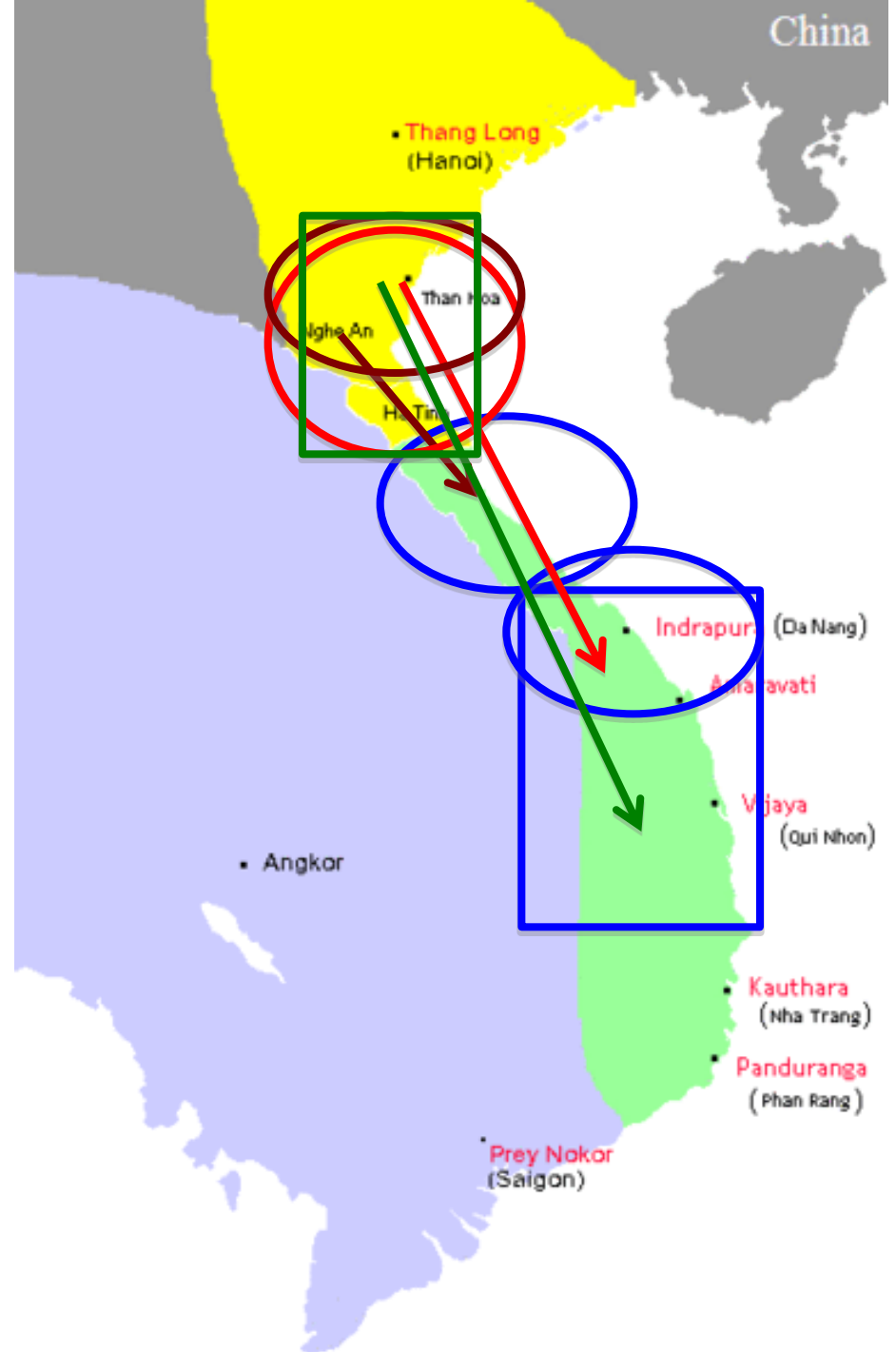


Southward expansion-migration

-1306 Vietnam took over Thuận Hoá, sending people from Thanh Hoá and Nghệ An there to live.

-1402 took Quảng Nam and Quảng Ngãi: 1st big wave of immigrants from Thanh Hoá, Nghệ An, Hà Tĩnh.

-1545 expanded to Tuy Hoà: 2nd big wave of immigrants from Ninh Bình, Thanh-Nghệ-Tĩnh.

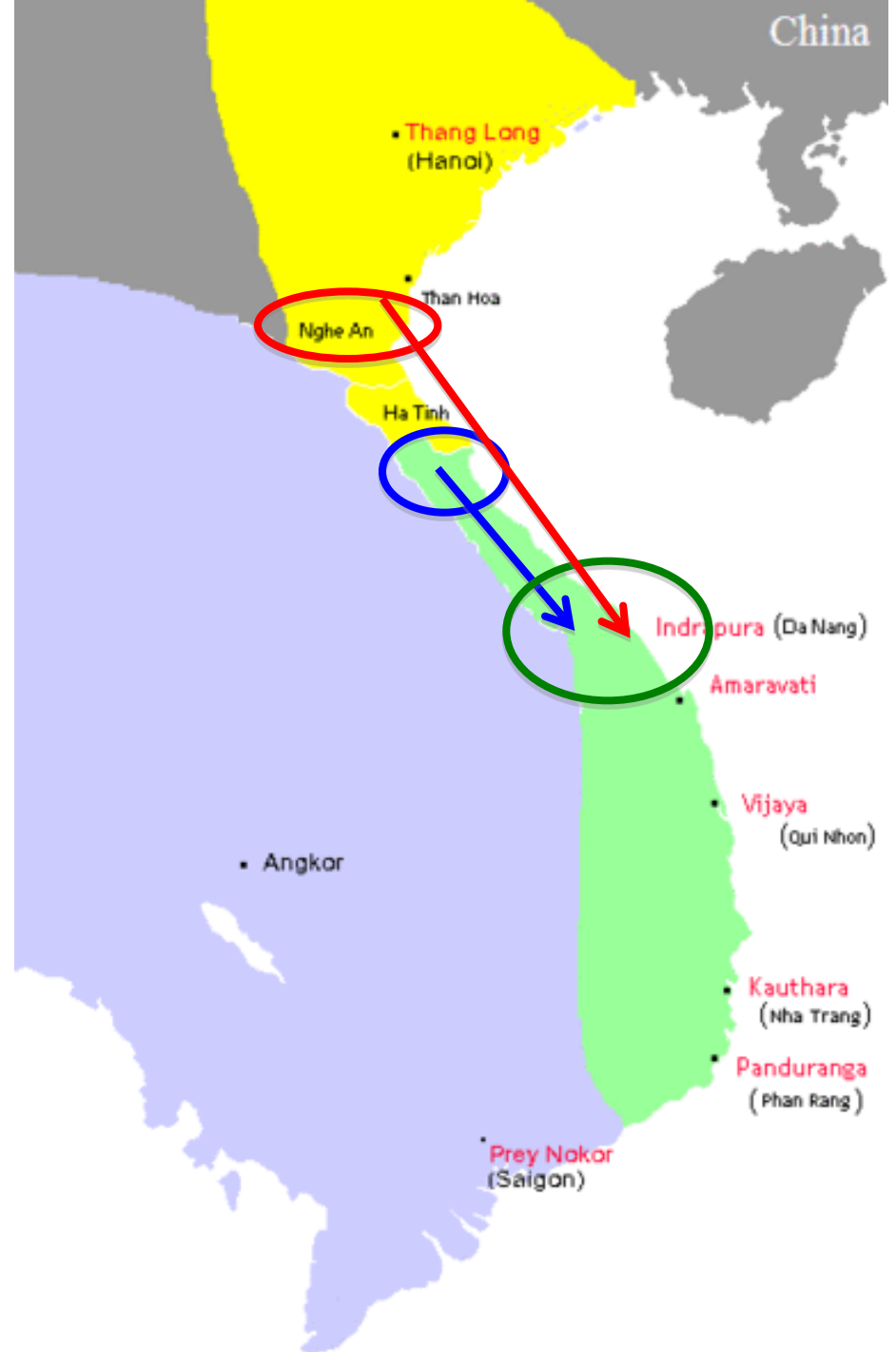


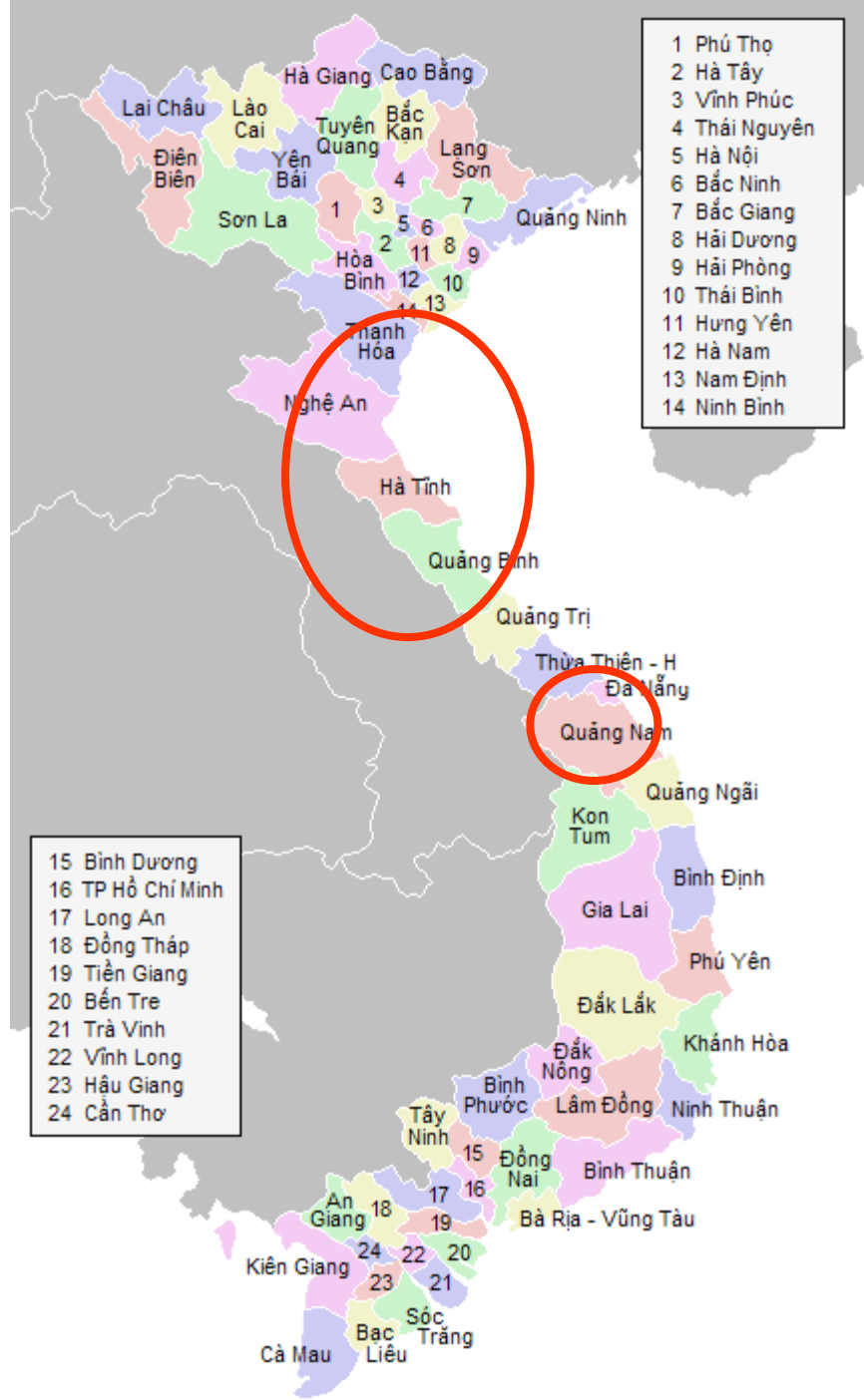
Forced mass migration to Quảng Nam

-1648: Nguyễn Lord captured 30,000 Quảng Bình soldiers and sent to **Quảng Nam**.

-1657: Nguyễn Lord brought to **Quảng Nam** people from 7 districts in Nghệ An.

(Nguyễn 2007)





- 1 Phú Thọ
- 2 Hà Tây
- 3 Vĩnh Phúc
- 4 Thái Nguyên
- 5 Hà Nội
- 6 Bắc Ninh
- 7 Bắc Giang
- 8 Hải Dương
- 9 Hải Phòng
- 10 Thái Bình
- 11 Hưng Yên
- 12 Hà Nam
- 13 Nam Định
- 14 Ninh Bình

- 15 Bình Dương
- 16 TP Hồ Chí Minh
- 17 Long An
- 18 Đồng Tháp
- 19 Tiền Giang
- 20 Bến Tre
- 21 Trà Vinh
- 22 Vĩnh Long
- 23 Hậu Giang
- 24 Cần Thơ

Locations of field work




Vowel shifts in Quang Nam dialect

1. Vowels (rhyme) have shifted only in closed syllables.
2. The shifts are often context-sensitive.
3. Evidence from other dialects shows that not only in Quảng Nam, but also in certain Southern dialects, glides are the most vulnerable segment in the coda, especially when they follow /a/, which seems to be the least stable vowel.

Vowel chart in the Hanoi dialect

	Front	Central	Back
High	i iə	ɨ ɨə	u uə
H. mid	e	ɤ: ɤ	o
L. mid	ɛ: ɛ		ɔ
Low		a: a	



Quảng Nam vowels

i:	i	ɨ:	ɨ	u:	u
	e		ɤ		o
ɛ:	ɛ				ɔ
		a:	a		ɑ

Quảng Nam vowels in open syllables

- Except for /a/, the vowels are similar to those in northern dialects although slightly diphthongized.

	HN	QN
<i>li</i> 'glass'	/li/	[li]
<i>khế</i> 'star fruit'	/xe/	[xe]
<i>xe</i> 'vehicle'	/sɛ/	[sɛ]
<i>tù</i> 'prison'	/tu/	[tu]
<i>to</i> 'big'	/tɔ/	[tɔ]
<i>sư</i> 'monk'	/si/	[si]
<i>tơ</i> 'silk'	/tʏ/	[tʏ]

The 'peculiar a' in CV and CVC

Hanoi

QN

- *cá* 'fish' /ka/ [k α] (QS)
- *Tạ* '100 kg' /ta/ [t α] (HV)
- *La* 'to yell' /la/ [l α] (HV)
- *Cà* 'eggplant' /ka/ [k α] (QS)
- *Lan* 'orchid' /la:n/ [l α ŋ] (QS)
- *(cây) đàn* 'guitar' /da:n/ [d α ŋ] (QS)
- *Tang* 'funeral' /ta:ŋ/ [t α ŋ] (QS)

Quảng Nam rhyme: (C)VC/ (C)VG

HÀ NỘI

QUẢNG NAM

1/ a:m, a:n, a:ŋ

am, aŋ

- *Làm* /la:m/
- *Bạn* /ba:n/

[lam] 'to do'
[baŋ] 'friend'

2/ a:w

o

- *táo* /ta:w/
- *(ngôi) sao* /sa:w/
- *đào* [da:w/

[to] 'apple'
[so] 'star'
[do] 'cherry flower'

3/ a:j

ɨə

- *cải* /ka:j/
- *Hai* /ha:j/
- *Bài* /ba:j/

[kɨə] 'veggies'
[hɨə] 'two'
[bɨə] 'card'

HÀ NỘI

4/ **aj, aw**

- *Bảy* /baj/
- *Chày* /caj/
- *Sáu* /saw/
- *Cau* /kaw/

5/ **am**

- *bắp* /bap/
- *(nước) mắm* [mam/

6/ **an, aŋ**

- *mắt* /mat/
- *trắng* /caŋ/
- *rắn* /ran/

7/ **ʌm, ʌŋ**

- *ấm* /ʔʌm/
- *nhẫn* /nʌŋ/

QUẢNG NAM

a: drop final glides

- [ba:] 'seven'
- [ca:] 'motar'
- [sa:] 'six'
- [ka:] 'areca nut'

a:m lengthen, labial final only

- [ba:p] 'corn'
- [ma:m] 'fish sauce'

ɛ:ŋ fronted, labial deletion

- [mɛ:k] 'eye'
- [tɛ:ŋ] 'white'
- [rɛ:ŋ] 'snake'

am, aŋ > lowering

- [ʔam] 'warm'
- [naŋ] 'ring'

HÀNGỘI

8/ **ɣj, ɣw**

- *(đèn) cây* /kɣj/
- *trâu* /cɣw/

9/ **ɔŋm, ɔkp**

- *(ổ) ong* [ʔɔŋm]
- *tóc* [tɔkp]

10/ **ɔm**

- *gom* /ɣɔm/
- *(phòng) họp* /hɔp/

11/ **ɔj**

- *còi* /kɔj/
- *voi* /vɔj/

QUẢNG NAM

a:j, a:w

- [ka:j] 'candle'
- [ta:w] 'water buffalo'

a:ŋ a:k

- [ʔa:ŋ] 'bee (nest)'
- [ta:k] 'hair'

om

- [ɣom] 'to collect'
- [hop] 'meeting (room)'

uə

- [kuə] 'to watch'
- [vuə] 'elephant'

HÀNỘI

12/ oŋm, okp,

- *Không* [xoŋm]
- *mốc* [mokp]

13/ iñ

- *lính* [liñ]

14/ um

- *túm* /tu:m/

15/ om

- *tôm* /tom/

16/ em, ep, ew

- *heo* /hew/
- *Mèo* /mew/
- *thép* /t^hep/

QUẢNG NAM

oŋm, okp,

- [xoŋm] 'no'
- [mɔkp] 'mildew'

in (look only at vowel)

- [lin] 'soldier'

im

- [tin] 'to catch'

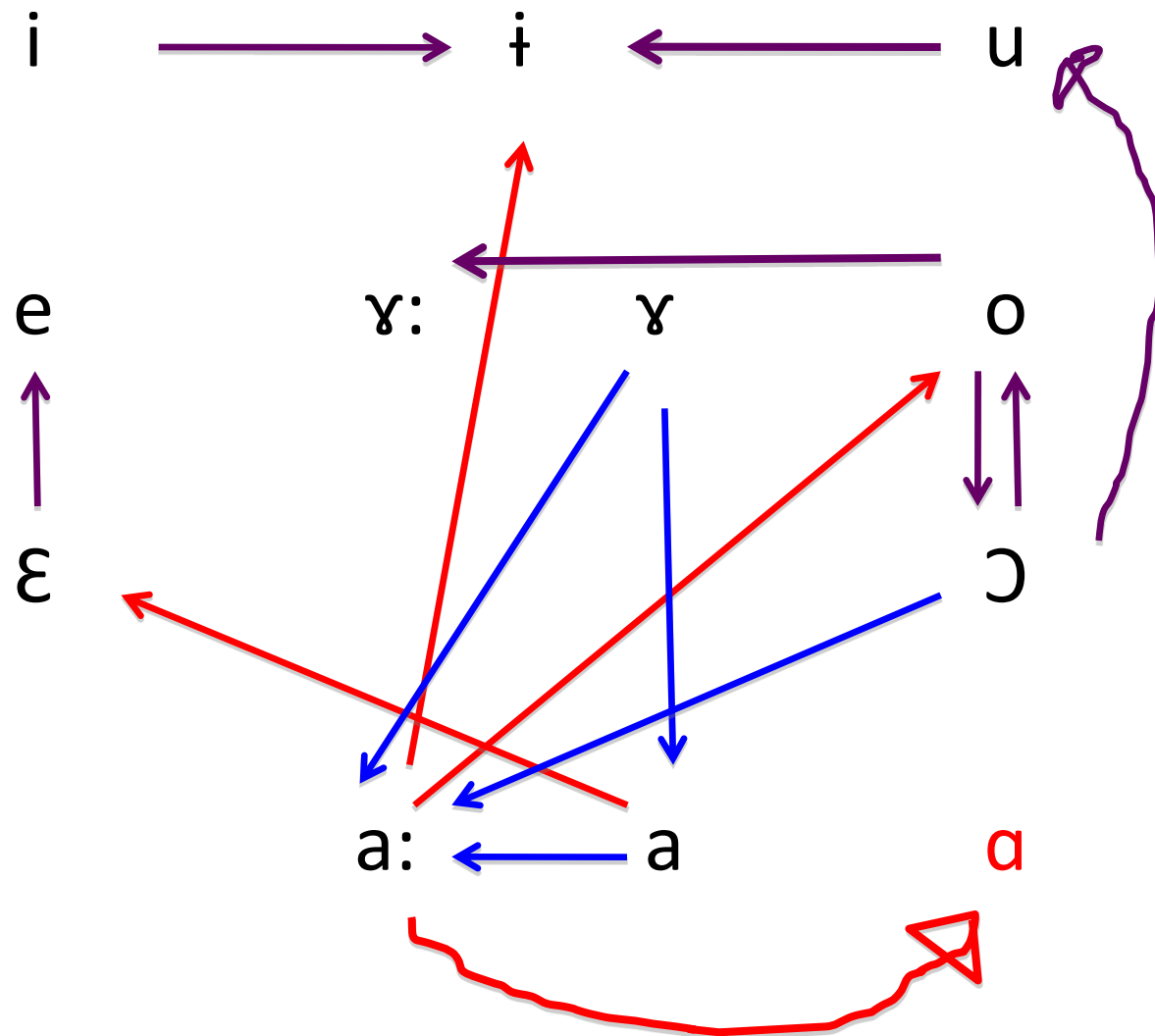
ɣ:m

- [tɣ:m] 'shrimp'

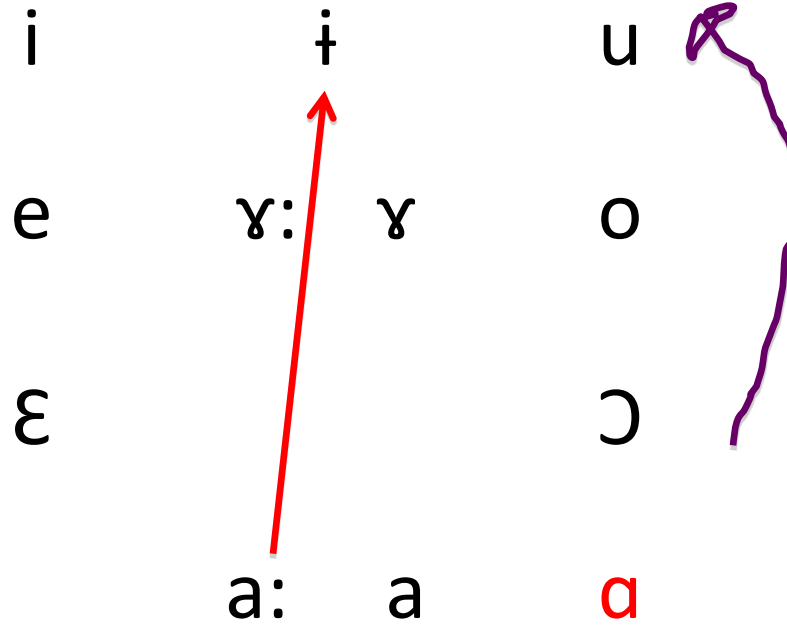
em, ep, ew

- [hew] 'pig'
- [mew] 'cat'
- [t^hep] 'steel'

16 'vowel shifts' in the Quang Nam rhymes, compared to Hanoi's.



Big 'jumps'



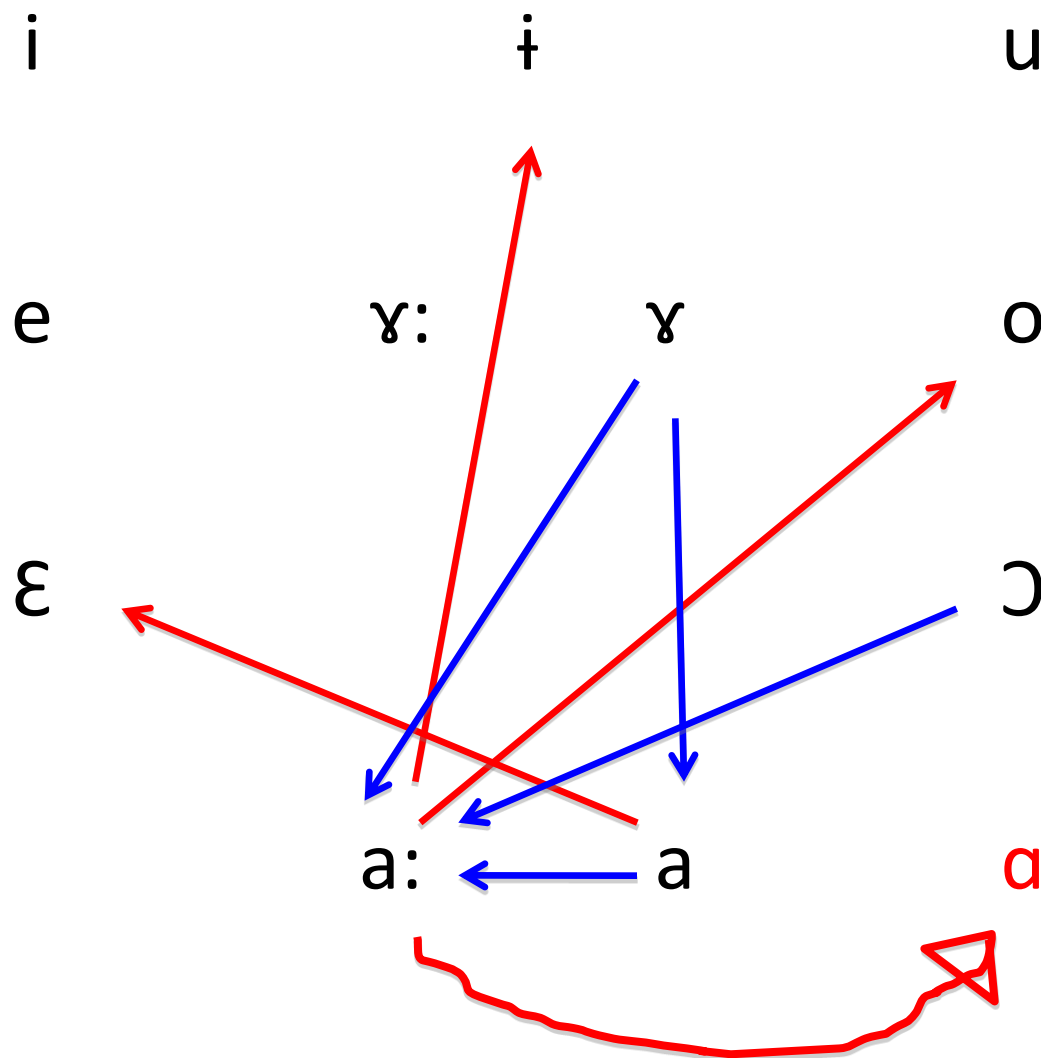
[ha:j] 'two' >

[hɪə]

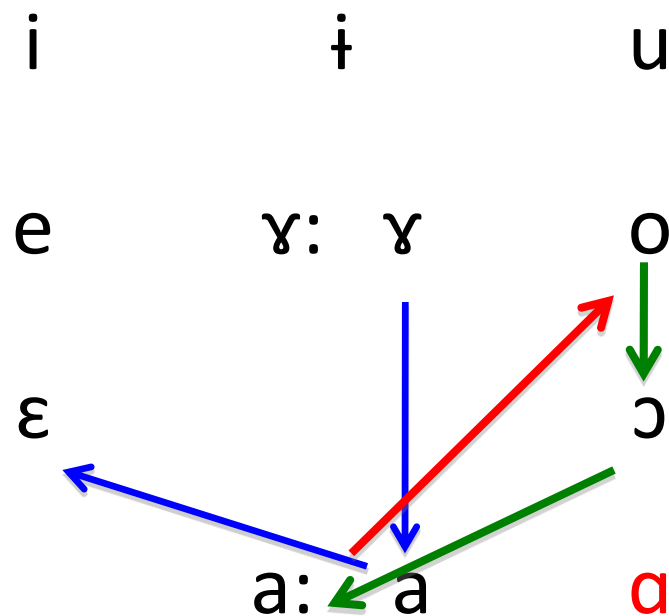
[kɔj] 'whistle' >

[kʊə]

8 movements are from or towards [a], both long and short



“chains”



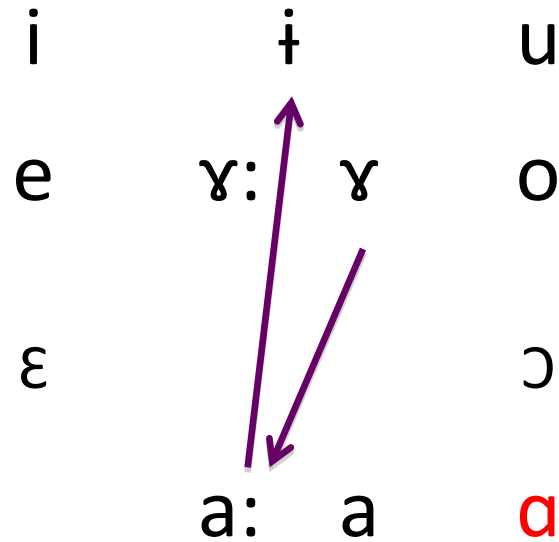
1. γ > a > ϵ before velars

- *bật* ‘step’ HN [bɤk] > QN [bak]
- *bắc* ‘north’ HN [bak] > QN [bɛ:k]

2. o > ɔ > a: before labio-velars [kp] or [w]

- *xông* ‘steam’ HN [son̄m] > QN [sɔŋm]
- *xong* ‘done’ HN [sɔŋm] > QN [xa:ŋ]
- *áo* ‘blouse’ HN [ʔa:w] > QN [ʔo]

Chain with glide -j



3. ʏj > a:j > iə before glide -j

- *tây* 'west' HN [tʏj] > QN [ta:j]
- *tai* 'ear' HN [ta:j] > QN [tiə]

Random or context-sensitive?

Not motivated: rising, lowering, lengthening...

- Lowering of /ɤ/

<i>càỵ</i>	HN [kɤj]	QN [ka:j]	‘candle’
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<i>ấm</i>	HN [ʔɤm]	QN [ʔam]	‘warm’
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- /ɔ/ raised before labials, /o/ lowered before velars

<i>họp</i>	HN [hɔp]	QN [hop]	‘meeting (room)’
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<i>mốc</i>	HN [mɔkp]	QN [mɔkp]	‘mildew’
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- Short /a/ is lengthened before labials.

<i>bắp</i>	HN [bap]	QN [ba:p]	‘corn’
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Ordered and 'natural' in chaos

- Although 'strange' and seem 'chaotic', the vowel shifts in QN dialect are not unusual. Raising, lowering, fronting, backing....are seen in many languages, and other dialects of Vietnamese.
- Even in the most 'unnatural' cases, the change is driven by the same phonetic principles and tendencies, such as co-articulatory effects, or the simplification process of a consonant cluster.
- Some shifts also reveal certain connection between variations found in different dialects.

Simplification in Quảng Nam: final glide deletion

- Simplification of Cw- in **South Vietnamese**

thuế HN /t^hwe/ 'tax' SVN [te]

- Glide deletion after short /a/ in **Quảng Nam**: /aj/, /aw/ > [a:]

tay /taj/ 'hand' [ta:]

máu /maw/ 'blood' [ma:]

- Glide deletion after short /a/, /a/ fronted in **Bình Định**: /a/ > [ɛ]

bảy /baj/ 'seven' [bɛ] 🗣️

rau /zaw/ 'veggies' [rɛ] 🗣️

- Glide deletion after /i/, /ɤ/ **Phú Yên** and **Bình Định** dialects

mười /miəj/ 'ten' [mi] 🗣️

Trời /cɤ:j/ 'sky' [tɤ:]

Context-sensitive, even in most peculiar shifts, e.g., Centralization

Hà Nội's centralization of /ɛ/

/ɛŋ/ > [aŋ]

Quảng Nam centralizes /i, u, o/

- *lính* HN [liɲ] > [liŋ] 'soldier'
- *túm* HN [tu:m] > [tɪm] 'to catch'
- *tôm* HN [tom] > [tɤ:m] 'shrimp'

This centralization is seen in many other dialects from Hue southwards.

Sài Gòn dialect also centralizes /e/:

- *hết* HN [het] > [hɤ:t] 'finish'

Dissimilation/centralization in Quảng Nam

Quảng Nam: ɔ > a/_ [kp]

xong HN [sɔŋm] QN [sa:ŋ] ‘done’

tóc HN [tɔkp] QN [ta:k] ‘hair’

[tɔkp] => [ta:k]

[lab] [lab]

In Phú Yên dialects, centralization occurs even in **open syllables**:

- *ghế* HN [ye] > [yɤ] ‘chair’

/a/ fronting

- Fronting of Quảng Nam /a/ **a** **>** **ɛ**
nắng HN [naŋ] > [nɛ:ŋ] ‘sunny’

The fronting of /a/ is also seen in other dialects:

- In **Bình Định** **a** **>** **ɛ**

<i>sáu</i> HN [saw]	>	BD [sɛw]	‘six’
<i>sao</i> HN [sa:w]	>	BD [sɛw]	‘star’
<i>tóc</i> HN [tɔkp]	>	BD [tɛɔkp]	‘hair’
<i>ong</i> HN [ʔɔŋ]	>	BD [ʔɛɔŋ]	‘bee’
<i>cau</i> HN [kaw]	>	BD [kɛ]	‘areca nut’

even in CV

ba HN [ba] > [bɛ] ‘three/Dad’

Immediate stage in a chain

The shift of certain vowel would not seem too abrupt if the immediate stage is present somewhere...

1. Fronting of a back vowel, and labial deletion

tóc 'hair'

HN [tɔkp] - Bình Định [tɛɔkp] - QN [ta:k]

2. Fronting of short [a] before velars

nắng 'sunny'

HN [naŋ] - Bình Định [nɛŋ] - QN [nɛ:ŋ]

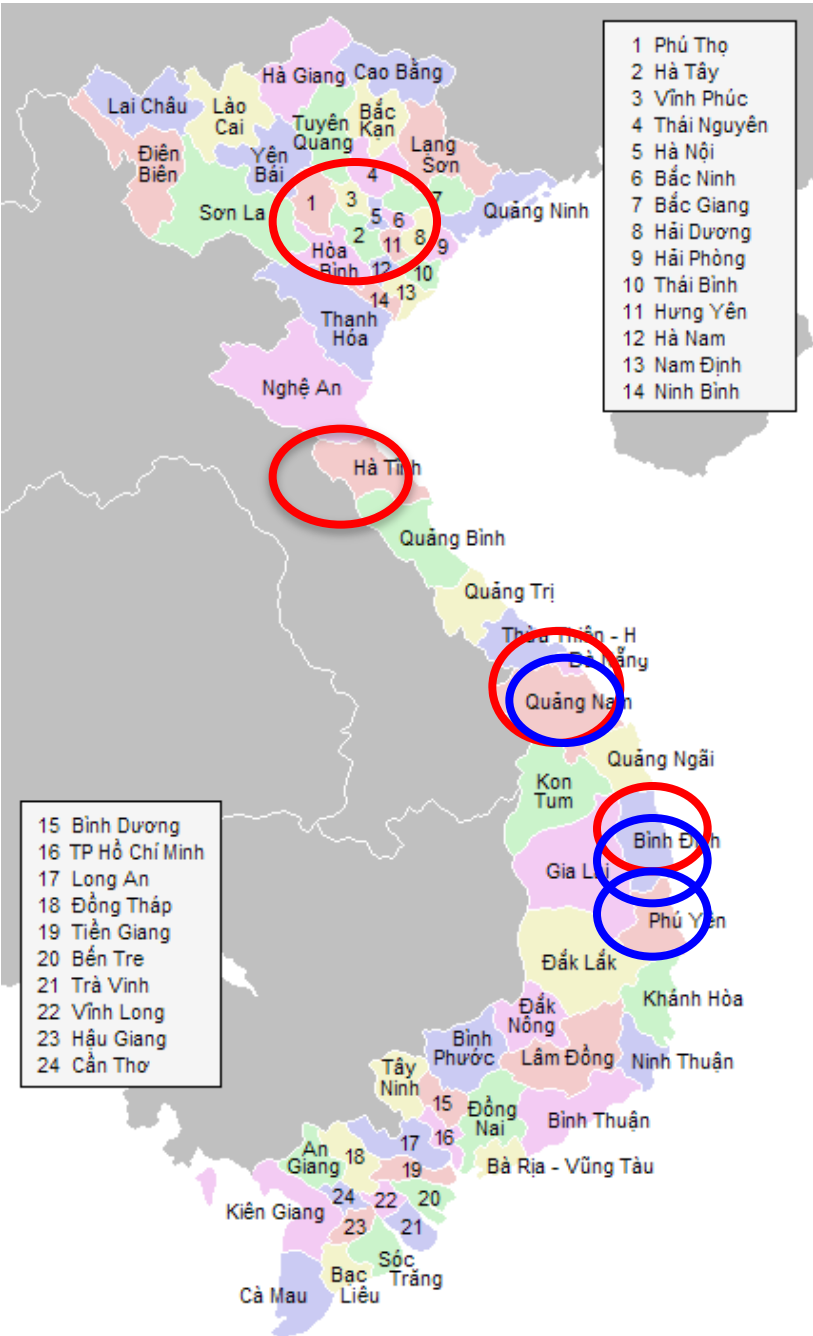
Old elements in new dialects

Old/Middle Vietnamese had palatals after all front vowels. In modern Vietnamese among front vowels:

- Quảng Nam and Hà nội retain palatals after /i/ and /e/.
- Hà Tĩnh and Phú Yên retain palatals after /ɛ/.

- Final palatals after front vowels (red).

- Simplification of VG, fronting of /a/ (blue)



Conclusions

- The Quang Nam dialect appears to be in the ‘peripheral’ area in which old elements are found among innovations. Simplification of the rhyme is one of the important and most seen processes.
- In most cases, the shift is driven by internal factors that are common in languages.
- Vowel shifts in Quảng Nam dialect are not unique to this dialect. Similar changes are found in other dialects of Vietnamese, although less abundant and at a less intense degree.
- Some of the shifts in Quảng Nam also connect with similar phenomena in neighboring dialects, forming chain shifts with various stages of what looks like the same processes.

- This phenomenon of vowel chains suggests that the rhyme in dialects of Central and south central Vietnam is not stable, especially when a final glide follows /a/.
- That the ‘chain shifts’ do not happen in CV, but only in CVC, adds to the body of evidence for a paradox in sound change: “the basic unit of sound change is the ‘phoneme’ AND the word” (Wang 1977, Labov 1994). Quang Nam data might be a case of sound change in which the ‘rhyme’ is the ‘unit’.
- Patterns of migration and language contact might offer some explanation of the chain shifts discussed here.

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