

Usage of the Grammatical Word *Thừa* in the Chinese-Old Vietnamese Bilingual Text *Tân biên Truyền kỳ mạn lục* and Comparison with Other Documents

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Abstract

Thừa is a representative Old Vietnamese word that has characteristic functions and a usage that differs across different documents. In *Tân biên Truyền kỳ mạn lục* (TBTkML), a Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual document written in the late 16th century, *thừa* is mostly used as the translation of 其 (*qí*) and 所 (*suǒ*) in Chinese. The close correspondence between *thừa* and 其 or 所 indicates that the Chinese original is literally translated in TBTkML. As a result, TBTkML includes special usages of *thừa* that are not seen in other documents. In this paper, I discuss usages of *thừa* in relation to 其 and 所 in TBTkML and compare them with usages found in other documents of the same period.

1. Introduction

In Old Vietnamese, there are several grammatical words (or function words) that are no longer used in Modern Vietnamese but have important grammatical functions in Old Vietnamese. By studying the changes in their usages, we might be able to further understand the changes in Vietnamese grammatical structure in general. The functions of these grammatical words are especially clear in Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual documents. However, examples of such research are scarce because of the small number of Old Vietnamese documents and the limited accessibility to them due to most of them being written in Classical Chinese and chữ Nôm, the writing system created based on Chinese characters for writing the Vietnamese language. Even in Vietnam, literacy in these scripts is low.

Thừa is a representative example of these grammatical words. It has characteristic functions and usages that differ across different documents. In *Tân biên Truyền kỳ mạn lục* (TBTkML), a Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual document written in the late 16th century, it is mostly used to translate the Chinese characters 其 (*qí*) and 所 (*suǒ*). The correspondence between *thừa* and 其 or 所 is quite rigid, showing a tendency for literal translation in TBTkML. This rigid correspondence leads to usages of *thừa* that are not seen in other documents. In this paper, I discuss usages of *thừa* in general, how 其 and 所 are translated in TBTkML, and how *thừa* is used in special ways in the translated text. After that, the paper compares the usages of *thừa* in TBTkML with usages in other documents of the same period.

2. About the material

Truyện kỳ mạn lục (傳奇漫錄) is a collection of short stories relating to ghosts, spirits, and the other world written by Nguyễn Dữ in the 16th century. It is written in Classical Chinese, but its locale and the people in it are Vietnamese. *Tân biên Truyện kỳ mạn lục* (新編傳奇漫錄, TBTkML), also called *Truyện kỳ mạn lục giải âm* (傳奇漫錄解音), is the bilingual text that includes the original text of *Truyện kỳ mạn lục* in Chinese and its translation in Old Vietnamese written in chữ Nôm. TBTkML is believed to have been compiled in the late 16th century by Nguyễn Thế Nghi (阮世儀). The collection is made up of four books, each comprised of five tales. Photographic reproduction of a version of the book printed in 1774 and its transliteration into the Latin alphabet (chữ Quốc ngữ today) is included in Nguyễn Quang Hồng (2008)¹. The total number of characters/syllables in the translated text is 44,638 (Trần Trọng Dương 2012: 48). The most reliable modern Vietnamese translation was made by Ngô Văn Triện from 1901 to 1947. It was collected and published in Hoàng Đức Quảng et al. (1994), together with a French translation.

Washizawa (2016) discussed some characteristics of the Vietnamese translation in TBTkML, focusing on the grammatical word *chung*. TBTkML is known to be a literal translation which in principle has a one-to-one correspondence of Chinese to Vietnamese. This is possible because both Chinese and Vietnamese are isolating languages. Their basic word orders are both SVO, but while modifiers occur before modified words in Chinese, Vietnamese uses the reverse order. Therefore, not only in TBTkML but in Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual documents in general, SVO order is maintained but the order of modifiers and modified words is changed. It is also common in bilingual documents to add common nouns such as those meaning “sir”, “country”, or “dynasty” before proper nouns, or to add grammatical words that do not correspond to any word in the original Chinese text in order to make the translation easier to understand for Vietnamese readers.

3. Usages of *thừa* explained in a dictionary

In an Old Vietnamese dictionary by Trần Trọng Dương (2012: 348), there is a section on the word *thừa* which goes as follows:

1 (noun) <old> place. *Yến thừa*: banquet

2 (Vietnamese usage of Sino-Vietnamese word) part of a rice field. *Ruộng nhiều quê tổ năm ba thừa*.

3 (functional word) <old> functional word which nominalizes the word after it. *thừa cầu*: something worth seeking || *thừa trách*: (the act of) blaming || *thừa nguyện*: what one is dreaming about || *thừa nuôi*: (the act of) bringing up || *thừa được*: gain || *thừa làm*: work that one has done || *thừa việc điều canh bội mấy phần*

4 (pronoun) <old > possessive pronoun, belonging to oneself. *thừa phận*: one’s position || *thừa lòng*: one’s heart.

As the main purpose of this dictionary is to describe Old-Vietnamese words in the 15th-century verse collection *Quốc âm thi tập* (國音詩集) by Nguyễn Trãi (阮廌), all the usages above are used in this collection, and all the examples are cited from it. Among these usages, the second one is the only usage that is still used in Modern Vietnamese.

¹ Vietnamese author names are written in full in this paper in accordance with Vietnamese custom.

4. Usages of *thừa* in TBTkML

In TBTkML, *thừa* corresponds to 其 in 325 cases, to 所 in 157 cases, and to 之 (*zhī*) in 1 case. In 24 cases, there is no Chinese word corresponding to *thừa*.

4.1. Usages corresponding to 其

According to Lǐ (1994: 304-307), 其 has the following functions:

- Pronoun:

+ Personal pronoun. Used before a noun, used as a modifier.

a. Indicates relationship of belonging.

b. Becomes subject in a subject-verb² combination, equivalent to “noun + 之” in “noun + 之 + verb” combination.

c. Used before a numeral to indicate an entire group of people or things.

+ Demonstrative pronoun, used as a modifier, indicating a thing, a time, etc.

- Adverb:

+ Indicates a time in the future.

+ Used to express advice or a command “had better”, “must”

+ The phrase “其實” means “actually”.

- Conjunction

+ Expresses assumption (“if”)

+ “其... 乎” etc. are used in making a choice.

- Modal particle

+ Expresses a euphemistic mood (makes it more tactful or less direct). “Maybe”

+ Emphasizes the interrogative mood (used before an interrogative word)

+ Expresses the interrogative mood (put after an interrogative word)

+ Softens the mood of a sentence.

In TBTkML, 其 is used in the ways written above and is translated as *thừa*. There are even cases where the usage of *thừa* does not correspond to the usages written in the dictionary by Trần Trọng Dương. The following are some examples.

- “其 + noun” → “*thừa* + noun”; 其 marks a relation of belonging.

In these cases, the usage of *thừa* is that written in the dictionary above, and 其 and *thừa* have a one-to-one correspondence (no words or phases are added, as in the examples below).

² To be more precise, “verb” should be “wèicí (谓词)”, which includes verbs and adjectives, both of which can be the head of a predicate.

(1) C: 利 其 土地 驕 其 甲兵 <I:9a:7>³
 make use of QI land boast QI soldier.
 ‘(The Qin dynasty) abused its land and showed off its troops.’

V: 闕 所 坦墀 誇 所 矛麻
 Muốn thừa đất đai, khoe thừa mâu má
 want THUA land boast THUA weapons
 ‘(The Qin dynasty) craved its land and showed off its weapons.’

- “其 + noun” → “*thừa* + noun”; 其 is a demonstrative.

The usage of *thừa* in these cases is not written in Trần Trọng Dương’s dictionary, but 其 is still translated to *thừa* in a literal way.

(2) C: 娘 適 見 因 問 其 故 <I:50b:8>
 young woman by chance see so ask QI reason
 ‘She saw him by chance, so she asked him the reason (for his action).’

V: 娘 意 侈 体 因 晦 所 據
 Nàng ấy xây thấy, nhân hỏi thừa cớ.
 young woman that by chance see so ask THUA reason
 ‘She (the young woman) saw him by chance, so (she) asked him the reason.’

- “其 + noun” → “*thừa* + noun + *ấy*”; 其 is a demonstrative.

In these cases, instead of 其 and *thừa* corresponding one-to-one, another demonstrative *ấy* is added. This might be because *thừa* originally did not serve a purely demonstrative function.

(3) C: 鄭 見 其 人 <II:3b:6>
 Trịnh see QI person
 ‘Trịnh saw that person.’

V: 官 太守 体 所 寻 意
 quan Thái thú thấy thừa người ấy
 officer Governor see THUA person that
 ‘The Governor saw that person.’

- “其 + noun” → “*thừa* + proper noun”; 其 is a demonstrative.

³ “C” is the sentence in Classical Chinese in the original text, and “V” is the sentence in the translated Vietnamese text written in chữ Nôm with Latin transliteration here. Inside the brackets <> are book numbers, page numbers, and line numbers of the first Chinese character of each sentence. In glosses, 其, 所, and *thừa* are glossed as QI, SUO, and THUA respectively because they are the subject of discussion of this paper and difficult to gloss in a few words.

This notable way of translation may also appear because *thừa* did not originally have a demonstrative function.

- (4) C: 其 人 曰 <III:54a:7>
 QI person say
 ‘That person (she) said (as follows)’

V: 所 娘 嬌 鶯 浪
Thừa nàng Kiều Oanh rằng.
 THUA young woman Kiều Oanh say
 ‘(That young woman) Kiều Oanh said’

- “其 + verb” → “*thừa* + verb”; 其 is the subject in a subject-verb combination.

This usage of *thừa* is also not written in Trần Trọng Dương’s dictionary, but 其 and *thừa* still correspond one-to-one (no other word is added in the translated text). It can also be said that this is one pattern of marking the “nominalization” or “possession” as written in Trần Trọng Dương’s dictionary.

- (5) C: 公 聞 其 來 倒 履 迎接 <III:44b:1>
 sir hear QI come reverse footwear⁴ welcome
 ‘As Sir (he) heard that he (Đư Nhuận Chi) would come, he went out to welcome him with his footwear inverse.’

V: 酌 忠 彥 嚙 所 吏 倍 跣 債 躡 綽 接
 Người Trung Ngạn mắng thừa lai, vội đi trái dép rước tiếp.
 sir⁵ Trung Ngạn hear THUA come hastily go reverse sandal welcome
 ‘As Trung Ngạn heard that he would come, he went out hastily to welcome him with his sandals inverse.’

- “其 + verb” → “*thừa* + noun + verb”; 其 is the subject in a subject-verb combination.

In these cases, correspondence is not one-to-one. A noun is added before the verb in the translated text. The reason may be because placing a verb after *thừa* (with a possessive or demonstrative function) is not a natural usage, and such usage as in sentence (5) is not the original usage of *thừa*.

- (6) C: 公 見 其 言 頗 有 理 <I:13b:6>
 sir see QI say very there is reason
 ‘Sir (he) found what he (Phạm) said very reasonable.’

⁴ 倒履(迎) is an idiom in Classical Chinese showing a manner of going out hastily to welcome someone intimate with courtesy.

⁵ The word *người* (different from *người*, a common noun meaning a person) is used to denote a subordinate person. If used as a second-person pronoun, it is close to “thou, thee” in English.

V: 昉 宗 篤 體 所 徧 吶 匪 固 理
Người Tông Thốc thấy thừa lời nói và có lí.
sir Tông Thốc see THUA word say very there is reason
'Tông Thốc saw (that) his words which he said were very reasonable.'

The following are some examples which use *thừa* completely differently than the usages written in Trần Trọng Dương's dictionary. *Thừa* in these examples is a literal translation of 其.

- Adverb marking the interrogative. "Please"

(7) C: 汝 其 識 之 <I:13b:8>
thou QI note it
'You had better note it.'

V: 眉 所 窳 蕃
Mày thừa ghi đấy.
thou THUA note that
'You had better note that.'

- Particle which stands before an interrogative word.

(8) C: 其 何 解 <IV:12b:8>
QI how dispel
'How can you dispel it (the doubt)?'

V: 所 牢 哈 擒
Thừa sao hay cỏi?
THUA how can remove
'How can you remove it (dispel the doubt)?'

+ Particle which moderates/softens the mood of the sentence.

(9) C: 極 其 歡 昵 <I:36a:4>
extremely QI glad become familiar
'(They were) extremely glad and became familiar.'

V: 窒 所 盃 囁
Rất thừa vui lòn
very THUA glad too familiar
'(They were) very glad and became (too) familiar.'

There is 1 case where 其 is a conjunction, translated as *thời*, a conjunction.

(10) C: 非 公 其 誰 <IV:60a:5>

not sir QI who

‘If it is not you, then who? (There is no one appropriate other than you.)’

V: 拯 時 埃

Chǎng người thời ai?

not sir then who

‘If it is not you, then who?’

There are 2 cases where 其 is translated as *nó*. In both cases, the usages of 其 could have been translated as *thì* like the examples above. Why they are translated as *nó* is unclear.

(11) C: 火 其 書 廬 其 居 而 後 可 <III:43a:5>

burn QI book live in QI residence then after possible

‘It would be possible only after burning those books and occupying those residences.’

V: 冊 奴 時 燹 紃 尼 奴 於 時 館

Sách nó thời đốt đi, nơi nó ở thời làm quán,

book that TOP burn away, place that live in TOP make house,

麻 糞 買 可

mà sau mới khả

but⁶ after just possible

‘It would be possible only after burning those books and making their living places your own houses’

There are several cases where 其 is translated as *chung*. These cases will be explained later in examples (21), (22), and (23).

4.2. Usages corresponding to 所

Thì also corresponds frequently to 所. According to Lǐ (1994), 所 as a grammatical word (not a notion word meaning “place”) has the following functions:

- Pronoun: (所 is an unusual demonstrative pronoun, unable to make an independent component of a sentence, necessarily being combined with a verb, a preposition, or a phrase, becoming a phrase with nominal features.)

+ Combined with a verb, it makes the following forms:

⁶ Although the common usage of *mà* is as a contradictory conjunction, it is used to translate 而 in most cases.

- a. “所 + verb”: indicates people, things, places, reasons, etc.
 - b. “所 + verb + noun”: makes a phrase with a head noun, “所 + verb” is the modifier.
 - c. “所 + verb + object”: indicates a place or manner of an action, etc.
 - d. Indicates things or places that have just been mentioned.
 - e. “所 + verb + 者 (zhě)” indicates a target which is to be influenced by the action.
- + Combined with an adjective, functioning like a verb.
 - + Combined with a noun, functioning like a verb.
 - + Combined with a preposition.

In TBTkML, 所 appears 160 times. Among them, 156 are translated as *thừa*. (And if 所 is used as a noun, which is not a grammatical word, it is usually translated into certain nouns in Vietnamese, the most common of which being *chốn*, meaning “place”)⁷ The following are examples using 所 (all of which are translated as *thừa*).

- “所 + verb”

The subject of the verb (placed before 所) is still placed before *thừa* in the translated text.

(12) C: 惟 娘 所 命 <I:20a:6>

only young woman SUO order

“Just what lady (you) order. (I will follow any order you give me.)”

V: 盃 娘 所 遣

Bui nàng thừa khiến.

only young woman THUA order

“Just what lady (you) order. (I will follow any order you give me.)”

- “所 + verb + noun” (“所 + verb” is a modifier)

Note that modifiers which include 所 are placed after the noun in the translated Vietnamese text.

(13) C: 因 出 桃 所 寄 詩 一 首 <I:65a:1>

so take out Đào SUO send poem one piece

‘So he took out a poem which Đào had sent him’

⁷ We can easily distinguish whether 所 is used as a grammatical word or not: if 所 is placed before the verb, it is used as a grammatical word. Among the remaining four cases out of 160, three of them are translated into *chốn*, although they are clearly grammatical words (<I:39a:7>, <III:2b:5>, <IV:6a:4>). In the last remaining case, the whole phrase is translated freely (paraphrased) (<I:59a:5>).

V: 因 褫 蔑 首 疎 昆 桃 所 改 送囉
 Nhân lấy một thù thơ con Đào thừa gửi đưa ra.
 so take one piece poem girl Đào THUA send hand out
 ‘So he took a poem which Đào had sent him and held it out.’

(14) C: 罄 所 需 藥 <III:5a:7>
 exhaust SUO require medicine
 ‘He used up the medicine he had required (bought)’

V: 篤 歎 藥 所 懺
 Đốc hết thuốc thừa sắm.
 pour exhaust medicine THUA buy
 ‘He poured all the medicine he had bought (into a compounding vessel).’

所 can also be combined with prepositions such as 從 (cóng), 以 (yǐ), 用 (yòng), 由 (yóu), 與 (yú), and 自 (zì) (Li 1994). Among these, the combination 所以 is found in TBTKML, denoting cause, purpose, method, means, result, related people, related things, or simply the object of a verb. In TBTKML, 所以 is translated as *thừa mặc* in all cases. *Mặc* is usually used to translate 以 as a conjunction, and *lấy* (originally a verb meaning “to take”) is usually used to translate 以 as a preposition. However, in the cases of 所以, although 以 is a preposition, it is translated as *mặc* rather than *lấy*. This may indicate that 所以 is understood as a fixed phrase, and whether 以 is a preposition or a conjunction is not considered.

(15) C: 此 吾 所 以 深 不平 <I:7a:7>
 this I SUO by deeply dissatisfied
 ‘This is the reason why I am deeply dissatisfied’

V: 意 些 所 默 審 拯 朋 恚
 Ấy ta thừa mặc thẳm chẳng bằng lòng
 that I THUA in order to deeply not agreeable
 ‘That is why I am deeply disagreeable.’

4.3. Usage corresponding to 之

There is one sentence where 之 is translated as *thừa*, as in (12).

(16) C: 副 之 子 松 蘿 之 望 <I:19b:5>
 grant this girl pine creeping plant⁸ of desire
 ‘(It is better to) grant this girl (you) the desire of pine and creeping plant.
 (It is better to let you marry someone and rely on him.)’

⁸ A parable indicating a woman (widow) without a husband to rely on.

V: 匪 所 昆媽 蒸 籬 朋 椌 松 綾 蘿
 Phi thừa con gái chung trông bằng cây tùng dây la.
 grant THUA girl of desire like tree pine string creeping plant
 ‘(It is better to) grant this girl the desire like pine tree and tendril of creeping plant.’

4.4. Usages without corresponding word in Chinese (Ø)

There are 24 cases where there is no word in the original Chinese text corresponding to *thừa* in the translated text. For example:

- Cases similar to the usages of *thừa* that corresponds to 其:

(17) C: 濁 兮 斯 濯 足 <III:71a:6>
 dirty EXC⁹ this wash foot
 ‘If it is dirty, then wash your feet with it.’

V: 濁 丕 卞 澼 所 躡
 Đục vậy bèn rửa thừa chân.
 dirty EXC then wash THUA foot
 ‘If it is dirty, then wash your feet with it.’

(18) C: 生 慘然 備 言 來 意 <IV:35b:6>
 mister melancholily completely say come intention
 ‘He melancholily told her all about his intention of coming.’

V: 撞 李 慘愁丕 恰 訥 所 意 吏
 Chàng Lí thảm sầu vậy, khắp nói thừa ý lại.
 mister Lí melancholily throughout say THUA intention come
 ‘Mister Li melancholily told her all about his intention of coming.’

- Cases similar to the usages of *thừa* that correspond to 所

(19) C: 猶 不 足 以 供 祈禱 <II:39b:1>
 still not enough to offer pray
 ‘Still not enough to offer for a prayer.’

V: 羣 拯 堵 默 訖 所 求祭
 Còn chẳng đủ mặc dâng thừa cầu tế
 still not enough to offer THUA pray
 ‘Still not enough to offer what is needed for praying.’

⁹ An exclamatory particle without a substantial meaning.

- Cases similar to the usage of *thừa* that corresponds to both 其 and 所.

(20) C: 於 楚 則 抑 之 恐 不 勝 <I:13b:4>
 against Sở (Chữ) TOP criticize this afraid not bear
 ‘They criticize Chử dynasty to the extent that I am afraid Chử dynasty cannot bear.
 (They extremely criticize Chử dynasty.)’

V: 蒸 茹 楚 時 岐 蕞 戾 所 拯 掣
 Chung nhà Sở thời chê đày lệ thừa chẳng xiết.
 against dynasty Sở TOP criticize that afraid THUA not bear
 ‘They criticize Chử dynasty to the extent that I am afraid Chử dynasty cannot bear.’

4.5. The cases where the rule of “proximity” can be applied

In cases of 之, 於/于 (yú), 夫 (fū) which are usually translated as *chung*, it is shown that they are translated into words other than *chung* if two or more of them are placed close to each other syntactically (Washizawa 2016). The same can be said in the case of 其 and 所. There are five cases where 其 and 所 (as a grammatical word) are placed next to each other, and in four of them 其 is translated as *chung* (it is translated as such nowhere else in TBTkML), while it is translated as *thừa* (which means 其所 is translated as *thừa thừa*) in the other.

- 其 → *chung*, 所 → *thừa*

(21) C: 當 官 者 願 勉 其 所 當 勉
 be charged with official TOP hope endeavor QI SUO should endeavor

監 其 所 當 監 云 <I:60a:4>
 supervise QI SUO should supervise MOD¹⁰

‘We wish that those who are in charge of official posts make effort where they should make effort and supervise what they should supervise (control themselves well).’

V: 等 當 官 意 嘆 勸 蒸 所
 Đẳng đương quan ấy, xin khuyên chung thừa
 Superior person be charged with official that ask encourage CHUNG THUA

合 勸 燿 蒸 所 合 燿 丕
 hợp khuyên, soi chung thừa hợp soi vậy.
 should encourage, reflect CHUNG THUA should reflect MOD

‘We ask those who are in charge of official posts to encourage themselves in what they should encourage themselves in (when they should), and reflect upon themselves about what they should reflect upon themselves about.’

¹⁰ A modal particle at the end of a sentence without a substantial meaning.

(22) C: 潛 覷 其 所 爲 <III: 39b:5>

secretly look at QI SUO do

‘He secretly looked at what they were doing.’

V: 穽 睇 蒸 所 爲 之

Náu dòm chung thừa làm chi

Hide peep CHUNG THUA do what

‘He secretly peeped at what they were doing.’

(23) C: 斯立 罄 其 所 有 厚 謝 <III:42a:5>

Tư Lập exhausted QI SUO have greatly thank

‘Tư Lập gave everything he had and cordially showed his thanks (to him).’

V: 昫 斯立 歎 蒸 賂 所 固 灑 謝恩

Người Tư Lập hết chung của thừa có, nhiều tạ ơn.

sir Tư Lập exhausted CHUNG property THUA have much thank

‘Tư Lập gave all the property he had and thanked him a lot.’

- 其 → *thừa*, 所 → *thừa*

(24) C: 不 徒 欺 人 又 欺 其 所 謂 佛 者 <II:38a:6>

not only cheat person also cheat QI SUO say Buddha the one

‘He did not only cheat people but also cheated the one he called Buddha.’

V: 拯 仍 啣 尋 吏 啣 所 所 浪 孛 丕

Chẳng những dối người, lại dối thừa thừa rằng Bụt vậy.

not only cheat person also cheat THUA THUA say Buddha MOD

‘He did not only cheat people but also cheated the one whom he called Buddha.’

5. Comparison with other bilingual documents

Here, I compare and contrast usages of *thừa* with other documents in order to understand more clearly the usages of *thừa* and the peculiarity of its use in TBTkML. First, we look at Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual documents and count how many times 其 and 所 are used, how many times they are translated into *thừa*, and how many times *thừa* is used in other cases. There are not many extant Old and Middle-Vietnamese documents (both bilingual and monolingual), and the texts mentioned in this section are some of the few accessible materials written in Old Vietnamese.

5.1. About materials compared with TBTkML

- *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh* (佛說大報父母恩重經, *Phật thuyết*, PT in short):

This is a Buddhist document about respecting one's parents. It was probably written with the purpose of preaching to the general population. The original Chinese text is found widely throughout East Asia, and its Vietnamese translation is said to have been made sometime in the 12-15th centuries (Shimizu 2015:136). Its photographic reproduction and Latin alphabet (“chữ Quốc ngữ” today) transliteration can be found in Hoàng Thị Ngo (1999). The total number of characters/syllables in the translated text is 4,942 (Trần Trọng Dương 2012:27).¹¹

- *Thiền Tông Khóa hư ngữ lục* (禪宗課虛語錄, TTKHNL):

This is a document about the rules of ritual in esoteric Buddhism. The Classical Chinese part (*Khóa hư lục*, 課虛錄) was written by Trần Thái Tông (陳太宗), the first emperor of the Trần dynasty, in the latter half of the 13th century, and its translation into Vietnamese was done by Tuệ Tĩnh (慧靜). The translation is said to have been done in the 14th century.¹² A manuscript from sometime in the 17-19th centuries that copied a book printed in 1631 is preserved. Its photographic reproduction and Latin transliteration are found in Trần Trọng Dương (2009). Its style of translation is not as literal as that of TBTkML, but there are many common characteristics found in the translations of the two texts (Trần Trọng Dương 2012, Washizawa 2017). Total number of characters in the translated text is 12,244 (Trần Trọng Dương 2012: 27).

- *Cổ Châu Pháp Vân Phật bản hạnh ngữ lục* (古珠法雲佛本行語錄, *Cổ Châu lục*, CCL in short)

This is a story about a woman named A Man (阿蠻) in the first century in Vietnam (then Giao Châu 交州 under the Chinese dynasties) (Nguyễn Quang Hồng 1997: 27-33). It is thought to have been written in the 15th century by the monk Viên Thái (圓態) (Nguyễn Quang Hồng 2008: 371). The photographic reproduction of a version printed in 1752 is included in Nguyễn Quang Hồng (1997) with transliteration. The total number of characters in the translated text is 2,360 (Nguyễn Quang Hồng 1997:13).

- *Thi Kinh giải âm* (詩經解音, TKGÁ)

This is a translated text of *Shījīng* (詩經), or the *Classic of Poetry*, one of the “Five Classics” traditionally said to have been compiled by Confucius. The age of the translation is not clear, but it is believed to have been made sometime in the 16-17th centuries, putting it close to the age of TBTkML (Nguyễn Tuấn Cường 2012: 26-27). However, since *Shījīng* had been widely read and translated from an early period in Vietnam (Nguyễn Tuấn Cường 2012: 24-26), it is possible that many aspects of the traditional methods of translation affected the translation of TKGÁ. Photographic reproduction of the first two parts, 周南 and 召南 in 國風, and their Latin transliterations are found in Nguyễn Tuấn Cường (2012). The total number of characters in the translated texts of these two parts is 1,899 (counted by the

¹¹ In PT, presyllables (Cv) in the CvCVC structure, which were once common in old Vietnamese but are lost today, are clearly written as characters of their own, but for the sake of consistency with later Vietnamese, each CvCVC structure is counted as one “syllable”.

¹² It is also said to have been made in the 17th century, but Trần Trọng Dương (2012:23, 34) argues for a date in the 14th century.

author of this paper). In this paper, the data from TKGÂ is taken from these first two parts.

- *Dương tiết diễn nghĩa* (陽節演義, DTDN)

Yángjié (陽節) was written by a Ming-dynasty Confucian scholar named Pān Róng (潘榮, 1419-1496). It is a Confucian document about lessons that can be gleaned from the rise and fall of rulers in history, including lessons on virtuous government, rule of law, and non-Confucian teachings (Trần Nghĩa 1993: 458). Strictly speaking, *Dương tiết diễn nghĩa* is not a translated text because for each Chinese character, a corresponding Vietnamese word is placed next to it without changing the word order to fit Vietnamese grammar. There is an extant version printed in 1890. Its age of formation is unknown, and neither a transliteration or detailed research into it have been done. The number of Chinese characters is 4,453 (counted by the author of this paper). The number of Vietnamese syllables (chữ Nôm) has not been counted, but it is estimated to be close to the number of Chinese characters.

5.2. Comparing frequencies of use

Table 1 shows how many times 其 and 所 are translated into *thừa* and how many times they are translated into other words (including cases where there is no corresponding word (Ø) in the translated text), and how many times other words in the Chinese text correspond to *thừa* or there is no word (Ø) corresponding to *thừa*.

Table 1. Use of *thừa* in bilingual documents and its correspondence to Chinese words

Document		PT	TTKHNL	CCL	TBTKML	TKGÂ	DTDN	Total
Age		12c? 15c?	14c	15c	16c	16c- 17c?	unknown	
Total characters		4,942	12,244	2,360	44,638	1,899	≈4500	
其	<i>thừa</i>	2	10	15	328	28	47	429
	Others, Ø	14	1	4	7	0	1	27
所	<i>thừa</i>	12	2	3	156	3	19	195
	Others, Ø	0	1	0	4	0	0	5
Others	<i>thừa</i>	0	2	0	1	0	1	4
Ø	<i>thừa</i>	10	89	4	24	0	0	127
Total		38	105	26	520	31	68	787
Total use of <i>thừa</i>		24	103	22	509	31	67	755

Table 2 shows the recalculated numbers supposing each document has 10,000 characters in total, rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Table 2. Use of *thừa* in bilingual documents – over 10,000 characters for each document

		PT	TTKHNL	CCL	TBTKML	TKGÂ	DTDN	Total	Average (Total/6)
其	<i>thừa</i>	4	8	64	73	147	104	400	67
	Others, Ø	28	1	17	2	0	2	50	8
所	<i>thừa</i>	24	2	13	35	16	42	132	22
	Others, Ø	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
Others	<i>thừa</i>	0	2	0	0	0	2	4	1
Ø	<i>thừa</i>	20	73	17	5	0	0	115	19
Total		77	86	110	116	163	151	703	117
Total use of <i>thừa</i>		49	84	93	114	163	149	652	109

It is clear that the numbers in other texts are quite different from TBTKML, especially in the cases of PT and TTKHNL. In TTKHNL, both 其 and 所 are regularly translated to *thừa*, but an overwhelming majority of the cases include *thừa* corresponding to no word (Ø). On the other hand, in PT, 其 is not translated to *thừa* in most cases.

In TTKHNL, the single case where 其 is not translated as *thừa* is a case where there is no corresponding word in the translated text (Ø). The single case where 所 is not translated into *thừa* is the case where 其 and 所 are placed next to each other as seen in TBTKML.

(25) C: 審 其 所 惜 <18a:3>
 examine QI SUO regret/value
 ‘Examine what they should value.’

V: 別 所 事 惜
 biết thừa su tiếc
 know THUA thing¹³ regret/value
 ‘Know what they should value.’

The two other words that are translated into *thừa* in TTKHNL are 此 (cǐ) and 厥 (jué), both of which are demonstratives. In DTDN, the single word translated into *thừa* other than 其 or 所 is also 厥 (<31b:3>). In the case where 其 is not translated as *thừa* in DTDN, 其 is written for the translated word, so it is possibly a misprint (<22b:3>). In PT, where 其 is not translated as *thừa*, it is translated as *ấy*, *này* (both are demonstratives), Ø, etc. In TKGÂ, the demonstrative 之 is translated as *ấy* in most cases,

¹³ An abstract noun in Old and Middle Vietnamese, later used mainly to nominalize the verb after it, as used in Vietnamese today.

not *thừa* as in TBTkML. Therefore, the reason for this translation in TBTkML is still not clear. The other usages of *thừa*, including cases where \emptyset corresponds to *thừa*, are similar to those found in TBTkML.

As a whole, it can be said that TBTkML is a literal translation where 其 and 所 correspond rigidly to *thừa*. As a result of this rigidity, some unordinary usages of *thừa* can be found in TBTkML.

6. Comparison with non-bilingual documents

Among non-bilingual texts, the most famous is *Quốc âm thi tập*, which was mentioned in the third section of this paper. In that document, *thừa* is used in a variety of ways just like those given in Trần Trọng Dương's dictionary. In the famous rhymed prose *Cư Trần lạc đạo* (居塵樂道)¹⁴ written by Trần Nhân Tông (陳仁宗, the third emperor of the Trần dynasty) in the 13th century, *thừa* is used four times.

However, in the 17th century Catholic documents *Thiên Chúa Thánh giáo khai mông* (天主聖教啓蒙)¹⁵ and *Phép giảng tám ngày* (*Catechismus in octo dies divisus* in Latin)¹⁶, *thừa* is not used at all. It is possible that during or after the time that TBTkML was being written, *thừa* fell out of use. *Thừa* is defined as a demonstrative or relative pronoun in all the three notable Vietnamese dictionaries written before the 20th century by de Rhodes (1651), Taberd (1838), and Huỳnh Tịnh Paulus Của (1895). However, most of the examples in them seem to be cited from the Classics and it is doubtful that *thừa* was used in ordinary Vietnamese in the times those dictionaries were written.

7. Problems to be solved

There is a question here about *thừa*: is the origin of *thừa* really the Chinese 所, as many scholars assume? If this is true, how did it gain the function of being a possessive or demonstrative pronoun which the Chinese 所 does not have? The answer to this question will not be found easily, but one clue is in the commonality of the combinations “所 + verb” and “其 + verb”, which have different structures but similar meanings. It might be that *thừa* came to function as a possessive through these usages. However, the truth is still not clear.

8. Conclusion

The usages of *thừa* in relation to 其 and 所 in TBTkML were discussed in the paper. The paper showed that there are usages in TBTkML not seen in ordinary documents. This is because the correspondence of *thừa* to 其 and 所 is regular and rigid in TBTkML. 其 and 所 are translated into *thừa* in most cases, and the usages of 其 and 所 directly affect the usages of *thừa* in TBTkML. The peculiarity of its usages were also proven through comparison with other documents.

The exact historical origin of *thừa* and how its usage has changed throughout history are problems to be solved.

¹⁴ The text can be accessed online on the website of the library of An Giang University (<http://lib2.agu.edu.vn/gsd/library>).

¹⁵ Written in the early 17th century in chữ Nôm by a Jesuit missionary Jeronimo Maiorica (1591-1656). Known to be the first catechism in Vietnam.

¹⁶ Written by A. de Rhodes in the 17th century in Latin alphabet Vietnamese (bilingual text with Latin language.)

Abbreviations

- Names of documents

CCL: *Cổ Châu lục*

DTDN: *Dương tiết điển nghĩa*

PT: *Phật thuyết*

TBTKML: *Tân biên Truyền kỳ mạn lục*

TKGÂ: *Thi Kinh giải âm*

TTKNHL: *Thiền Tông Khóa hư ngữ lục*

- Grammatical terms

EXC: exclamatory particle

MOD: modal particle

TOP: topic marker

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漢文—古ベトナム語対訳資料『新編傳奇漫録』における虚詞 thừa の用法と他の文献との比較

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要旨

Thừa は特徴的な機能を持つ語で、代表的な古ベトナム語の語であり、文書ごとに異なる用法を持つ。16 世紀に書かれた漢文—ベトナム語対訳資料である『新編傳奇漫録』では、thừa は主に漢文の「其」や「所」の訳語として用いられた。Thừa と「其」、「所」との緊密な対応関係は、『新編傳奇漫録』の訳し方が直訳的であることの証拠であり、他の文献で見られない特殊な用法を持つ原因となっている。本稿では、『新編傳奇漫録』における thừa の用法を「其」と「所」との関係で論じ、時代の近い他の文献と比較する。

(わしざわ・たくや)