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A PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VIETNAMESE GRAMMATICAL MARKER ∂ANG^*

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the grammaticalization process that produced the progressive marker dang in modern Vietnamese. The word dang originates from the Chinese 當 dāng, which means 'be at.' Frequently it is followed by 時 'time' modified by a noun, pronoun or noun phrase, e.g., 當 [A] 之時 'at the time of/when [A],' where A is a noun, pronoun, or noun phrase (Pulleyblank 1995). In Sino-Vietnamese Nôm texts published in the 15th century, Chinese dāng is translated as 當 dang/durong in five cases, as 侯 $h\hat{a}u$ 'be about to' in one case, and as hop 'right' in four cases. Meanwhile, in the Romanized texts of the 17th century, the element very often occurs in subordinate (adjunct) clauses, e.g., (a) dang NP (Time phrase); (b) dang khi NP+VP; and (c) khi (NP) dang VP. These patterns, compared with the usages of 當 in literary Sinitic in Vietnam, imply a sequence of developments: (Ch) 當 +NP+VP+(SUB)+NP_{temp} > (Ch) NP+ 當 +VP+(SUB)+NP_{temp} > (V) *NP+dang+VP+khi > (V) khi+NP+dang+VP. After that, the unit 'dang+VP' was reanalyzed to give rise to the progressive marker dang.

Keywords: Vietnamese, progressive, đang, grammaticalization

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1. INTRODUCTION

Mikami (2016) pointed out that the preverbal and postverbal elements expressing the grammatical aspect in Vietnamese are dang 'continuous,' sắp 'about to; on the point of,' vẫn, còn, vẫn còn 'to be or act still,' vừa, mới, vừa mới 'recent past,' rồi '(definitely) over and done with; already,' chua 'not yet,' đã 'anterior,' and sẽ 'subsequent.' Minegishi (2021) described the system of Thai aspectual expressions through four levels: syntactic level 1 (adverbials, auxiliary verbs, main verbs), morphosyntactic level (serial verbs), syntactic level 2 (directional verbs), and discourse--cognitive level (final particles). Given the same descriptive levels for Vietnamese, most of the elements in Mikami above are distributed in syntactic level 1 as adverbials or auxiliary verbs, except for $r \partial i$. The purpose of this study is to trace back the development of one of those elements, *dang*, which expresses progressive in modern Vietnamese. According to Alves (2007:225), dang/dwong originates from the Chinese 當 dāng, which means 'at a certain time' in the Middle Chinese. On the other hand, Gregerson (1991) pointed out the possible Austronesian origin of đang, đã, sắp, and mãi 'continuative.' He compared đang with sedang 'while, in progress' in Indonesian, đã with sudah 'already' in Indonesian, sắp and siap 'ready' in Indonesian, and mãi and masih 'still, yet' in Indonesian. This study aims to illustrate the process of development from the original Chinese meaning to the modern Vietnamese meaning.

After reviewing previous studies about Vietnamese *đang* in the next section, in section 3, I review diachronic studies on the Chinese 當, based on Pulleyblank (1991) and Meisterernst (2015). In section 4, I analyze the usage of 當 in the Vietnamese texts written in literary Sinitic, especially in Đại Việt Sử Kỷ Toàn Thư 大越史記全書. Then, I analyze the usage of đang in old Vietnamese texts written in Nôm and Quốc Ngữ, especially Phật thuyết Đại báo Phụ mẫu Ân trọng kinh 佛說大報父母恩重經 (PT, in short) and Cathechismus in octo dies diuisus (Phép giảng tám ngày, PG in short) by Alexandre de Rhodes (1651) in order to trace back the process of its development.

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON DANG

Considering the original meaning of 當, 'at a certain time,' Alves (2007) explained the grammaticalization process of *đang*, citing the cline IN (SPACIAL) > CONTINUOUS listed in Heine and Kuteva (2002:178-179). Bybee et al. (1994:128-129) also pointed out that the lexical sources and mode of expression in world languages' progressives are Location, Be + Nonfinite form, Movement, Reduplication, and Other. According to Alves's opinion, Vietnamese *đang* must be concerned with Location among those sources.

In addition, Alves (2009) pointed out that there existed in the 17th century another progressive marker, *chung*, which might have been replaced by *đang* in the later period¹.

Vũ (2020) analyzed the usage of dang/duong in 55 diachronic documents, dating from PT to present, and concluded that it appears constantly in most of the texts to express the continuous and nonterminal aspect of the active verbs and continuous and terminal aspect of the stative verbs.

3. REVIEW OF THE DIACHRONIC STUDIES ABOUT CHINESE 営

Among the historical studies on grammatical vocabularies of Chinese, Pulleyblank (1995) applied the form of a dictionary with examples cited from the well-known classics. Pulleyblank (1991) compiled a dictionary of reconstructed pronunciation of each Chinese character. In cases where one Chinese character has plural readings, it is noted how their meanings are different, and 當 is among those cases, claiming that dāng 當 (Y.taŋ L.taŋ E.taŋ) means 'match, correspond to; at; ought, should; undertake, act as,' whereas dàng 當 (Y.taŋ` L.taŋ` E.taŋʰ) means 'right, appropriate;

preposition to indicate place, time, etc.

¹ A similar opinion to regard *chung* as having the meaning of *đuong* can be found in Vương (2002). However, Washizawa (2017) pointed out that, in the bilingual version (Sinitic Chinese and Vietnamese) of *Thiền tông khóa hư ngữ lục* 禅宗課虚語録 *chung* correspond to Chinese pronouns 之 and 夫, while in monolingual (Vietnamese) texts it is used as a

regard as, pawn.' Those two readings of 當 are reflected in Sino-Vietnamese readings, which are *đang/đương* and *đáng*, corresponding to dāng and dàng, respectively. Pulleyblank (1995) explained that simultaneity can be expressed by dāng 當, meaning 'be at.' For example, Dāng zài Sòng yě ... 當在宋也... 'When I was in Song ...' (Mèng 2B/3); Dāng Yáo zhī shí ... 當堯之時... 'In the time of Yao ...' (Mèng 3A/4, 3B/9); Dāng jīn zhī shì ... 當今之世... 'In the present age ...' (Mèng 2B/13); and Dāng Yān zhī fāng míng fèng fǎ shěn guān duàn zhī shí 當燕之方明奉法審官斷之時 'At the time when Yān was clearly upholding the laws and scrutinizing officials' decisions ...' (HF 19, p.91)

Concerning the grammatical vocabularies expressing tense and aspect in historical documents of Chinese, Meisterernst (2015) explained the meaning of dāng 當 as (1) 'match, correspond to' and (2) 'be at,' to which the prepositional meaning is closely related. Prepositional phrases with dāng 當 refer to locatives that can be both spatial and temporal. Examples are as follows:

[calender adverbial]

(1) 當 幽 王 三 年, 王之後宮見而愛之.
Dāng Yōu Wáng sān nián, ...
(be).at You king three year
'In the third year of king You, the king went to the women's quarters of the palace and, seeing her, fell in love with her.' (Shi Ji: 4; 147)

[temporal adverbial (independent)]

(2) 當 周 夷王 之 時, 王室微,諸侯或不朝,相伐. Dāng Zhōu Yí wáng zhī shí, ...

At Zhou Yi king SUB time

'At the time of king Yi of Zhou, the royal house was insignificant, some of the feudal lords did not come to court and attacked each other.' (SJ: 40; 1692)

[temporal adverbial (dependent)]

(3) 當 是 之 時, 吏治若救火揚沸,...

Dāng shì zhī shí, ...

At this SUB time

'In our times, none of the states established East of the Mountains is stronger than Zhao.' (SJ: 69; 2247)

[topicalized subject]

(4) 費 昌 當 夏 桀 之 時, 去夏歸商, 為湯御, 以敗桀於鳴條. Fèi Chāng dāng Xià Jié zhī shí, ...

Fei Chang at Xia Jie SUB time

'At the time of Jie of Xia, Fei Chang left Xia and returned to Shang; he became charioteer of Tang and so he defeated Jie at Mingtiao.' (SJ: 69; 2247)

The prepositional phrases with dāng 當 occur in the sentence-initial and preverbal positions, and not in the postverbal position (Meinsterernst 2015:219).

4. 當 IN LITERARY SINITIC DOCUMENTS IN VIETNAM

Before analyzing the usages of *đang* in the Vietnamese documents, it is necessary to confirm if the original usages of Chinese dāng 當, as in (1)~(4), were maintained in literary Sinitic documents written by the Vietnamese authors. Here I take *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* 大越史記全書 to collect sentences with dāng 當 and analyze its usages.

Ngô Sĩ Liên 吳士連 first compiled Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư 大越史記全書 in 1479, based on Đại Việt Sử Ký 大越史記 (Lê Văn Hưu 黎文休1272) and Đại Việt Sử Ký Tục Biên 大越史記續編 (Phan Phu Tiên 潘孚先 1455). Another version of Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư 大越史記全書with 23 volumes was compiled by Phạm Công Trứ 范公著 in 1665 (TT,

in short), as well as with *Bản Kỷ Thực Lục* 本紀實錄 (16th century) and *Bản Kỷ Tục Biên* 本紀續編 (Phạm Công Trứ 范公著)*.

- 1. [當+NP+(SUB)+(NPtemp 時/後), ...]
- (5) [當此之 時],我家臣主就縛…(本紀巻之六、陳紀) at this SUB time 'At this time, our sovereigns and subjects were all caught...'
- (6) [當五刻 後]復如故。(本紀巻之十八、黎皇朝紀) at five 1/4hour after 'After 5 khac, all were restored.'
- (7) [當此純陰 月季],接得陀陽王歸,(本紀巻之十五、黎皇朝紀) at this pure yin month end 'At the end of this pure yin [day of the] month, (they) could welcome Da Duong Vuong back,'
- 2. [當+NP+VP+SUB+ NPtemp,...]
- (8) [當天 眷 西 顧 之 日], (be).at heaven favor West favor SUB day 不忍視生民之塗炭,(本紀巻之十、黎皇朝紀) 'On the day when Heaven's Favor westwardly looked back, it could not endure citizens' misery...'

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The text used in this study (see Primary Resources) contains 巻首(Preface), 外紀 (Peripheral Records, Vol. 1~5), 本紀(Basic Records, Vol. 1~19) and 続編(Continued Compilation, Vol. 1~5). When citing each sentence, I put the number of volume with its title in parenthesises, e.g., Basic Records, Vol. 2: (本紀巻之二、李紀)

- (9) [當黎朝 主 弱 臣 强 之 際], at Le dyasty sovereign weak subject strong SUB moment 登庸能師古昔之聖臣賢相,尊主庇民,如伊尹之輔太甲,周公 之輔成王,其彰彰然偉績,庶可嘉焉。(本紀巻之十五、黎皇朝紀)
 - 'At the moment when Le dynasty's sovereings were weak and subjects were strong, if Dang Dung could inherit an excellent, ancient retainer, ...'
- 3. [NP+當+VP+(SUB)+ NPtemp, ...]
- (10) 而[太后 當 奔突 跳梁 之 際], empress dowager at rush rampant SUB moment 心神不動,... (本紀巻之五、陳紀) 'However, at the moment of their rush and rampancy, Empress Dowager was calm...'
- (11) [臣 當 直 館 之 初], 得預濡毫之列。
 subject at assume officer SUB beginning
 (巻首擬進大越史記全書表)

 'When the subjects had just assumed officers at Su Quan, they could attend the procession of wetting brushes.'
- (12) [瑡 當 徇 時] 有詩云: (本紀巻之十五、黎皇朝紀)
 Su at go on patrol time
 'When Su went on patrol, he made a poem as follows.'

[NP+當+NP+VP+SUB+ NPtemp,...]

(13) [劉龑 當 北 朝 擾亂 之 時],
Luu Nghiem at Northern dynasty disturbance SUB time
席兄舊業,建國紀元,(本紀巻之五、南北分爭紀)
'When the Northern dynasty was disturbed, Luu Nghiem could rely
on his brother's achievement to found the nation …'

(14) [太宗 當 創鉅 痛深 之 日],变生肘腋, (本紀巻之二、 李紀)

emperor at deep sorrow SUB day

'On the day when Emperor Thai Tong was in deep sorrow, a disturbance occurred in a nearby place...'

It is obvious that prepositional phrases with dāng 當 referring to temporal locatives are quite common in literary Sinitic in Vietnam. Furthermore, their usage as temporal adverbials with A topicalized subject was also quite common, as in (10)~(14).

5. VIETNAMESE ĐANG IN THE OLD LITERATURE

In this study, I take into account two Vietnamese documents in order to analyze the actual usages of *đang*. One is the oldest Nôm text, and the other is the oldest Quốc Ngữ text. The former contains a Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual text in the form known as *giải âm*. In this kind of text, it is easy to see how the Chinese sentences were translated into Vietnamese.

5.1 dang in PT

The Nôm text used here is that of *Phật thuyết Đại báo Phụ mẫu Ân trọng kinh* 佛說大報父母恩重經 (*PT* for short). The original version of this Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual text was compiled between the 13th and 15th century*, and the text available now was published in the 18th century. I could find 10 sentences containing *đang* as preverbal elements. They correspond to Chinese 當, 方, 將, 故, and 曷. These elements have three kinds of meaning that is, 'should,' 'will (intention),' and 'will (future).' The Chinese equivalents, their meanings, and the number of occurrence are shown in the following table.

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^{*} Nguyễn (2008) and Trần (2012) suppose that the Nôm characters in this document represents Vietnamese in the 12th century. I suppose it was compiled between the 13th and 15th century from a philological point of view (Shimizu and Li 2019).

Table 1. đang and its Chinese equivalents in PT

đang	'should'	'will (intention)'	'will (future)'
dāng 當	3	1	1
fāng 方			1
jiāng 將			2
gù 故		1	
hé 曷			1

Each of the following examples express three meanings above*.

- 1. [當 (Ch): đương (V) 'should']
- 當 (15) a. 汝 思念 諦聽, listen, you should well consider this 卢 當 咍 渚 b. 察 宜, 帝. mầy đương xét nghe, hay lo nhớ đấy. you should look listen well think remember FP 'You should listen and consider carefully.' (34b1)
- 2. [當 (Ch): đương (V) 'will (intention)']
- (16) a. 汝 好 諦聽, 善 思念 之, 當 爲 汝 説。 you well listen, well consider this, will for you explain

55

^{*} For sentences (15)~(17), those labelled with 'a.' are Sinitic Chinese sentences and 'b.' are corresponding Vietnamese sentences written in Nôm characters.

- b. 渚 舎察宜, 咍 帝, mầy chỉn xét nghe, hay lo nhớ đấy, you well look listenwell think remember FP 當 澫 説. 麻 vì mầy mà thốt. **D**uong will for you and speak 'You listen and consider carefully, I will explain for you.' (38a4)
- 3. [當 (Ch): đương (V) 'will (future)']
- (17) a. 緣此 人 造 經 力, 是 諸 佛 with this person create sutra power, then PL Buddha 等,常 當 擁護,... etc. always will protect
 - 徴 力 导 時 b. 因 衣 経, 包 ây Nhân chưng sức người làm kinh, thì bao because at power person that make sutra then how 孛 恒 饒 等, 當 遮護,... đẳng, hằng đương nhiêu but giá hô many Buddha etc. long always protect 'Thanks to the persons' power of creating sutras, many Buddhas will always protect, ...' (30b2)

In the case of giải âm texts, where literal translation is preferred, the meaning of original Chinese sentences should be regarded as preserved in the Vietnamese sentences. Because the three meanings described above have nothing to do with the durative/continuous/progressive meaning, it is not plausible to regard the preverbal *đang* in PT as a durative/continuous/progressive marker.

5.2 dang in PG

The next objects of analysis are the usages of *đang* in *Cathechismus* in octo dies diuisus (*Phép giảng tám ngày*, *PG* in short) by Alexandre de Rhodes (1651). *PG* is well known as the oldest Quốc Ngữ text that consists

of the sentences of *Cathechismus*. I could find 18 cases in which *đang* is used, and all those cases are classified into seven patterns as follows:

- 1. [đang NPtemp ...] (2 cases)
- (18) x fau nữa đức Chúa Iefu đang bốn mươi ngày, y hiện cho đầy tớ lastly Jesus đang 40 day appear for apostle cả xem, ... biggest look, ...
 'Lastly, for 40 days, Jesus appeared for the biggest apostle to look, ...'
 (245, x-y)
- 2. [khi ... đang NPtemp ...] (1)
- (19) khi mạt blời ở tlên, đang nửa ngày, ⁱ mà thŏát chóuc when sun on top, đang half day, CONJ suddenly mạt blang thì lên, cho đến dưới mạt blời ngay, mà che moon TOP rise upto under sun right CONJ hide mạt blời, sun 'When the sun was highest at the half-day point, and suddenly the moon rose up under the sun and eclipsed the sun.' (228, h-i)
- 3. [..., đang khi ...] (1)
- (20) mà lại nhệt thực ếy một giờ rữơi làm tối mạt blời,

 CONJ solar eclipse that 1 hour half darken sun
 đang khi đức Chúa Iefu còn fốu chiụ tội tlên cây Crux,
 đang when Jesus still live suffer crime on tree cross

 'Furthermore, the solar eclipse darkened the sun for an hour and a
 half, while Jesus was still alive on the cross tree.' (229, m)

- 4. [khi đang VP thì ...] (11)
- (21) ^a mà khi đang làm việc ếy hết fực, thì đức Chúa blời CONJ when đang do work that at full force then God lộn tiếng nó, confuse language he 'When doing that work at full force, God confused his language.' (102, a)
- 5. [... khi đang VP] (1)
- (22) chẳng lọ là thấy đí gì đí gì mình làm, khi đang fốu not only that see what what self do when đang live ở thế nầy, in world this 'not only to see what he himself has done when living in this world,' (272, z)
- 6. [khi NP đang VP, ...] (1)
- (23) ^q Saố le vì khi đức Chúa Iefu đang chiụ tlên cây Crux, but because when Jesus đang suffer on tree cross ^rcó cầu cử đức Chúa blời,... have pray with God 'But as Jesus was suffering on the cross tree, they prayed together with God, ...' (258, q-r)
- 7. [... khi NP đang VP] (1)
- (24) b thì kể tlaố fự khốn nạn khác khi coến ếy đang üêi then talk in matter difficult other when army that đang surround thành Ierufalem, castle Jerusalem 'then talked in other difficulties when the army was surrounding the Jerusalem Castle,' (259, b)

It is noteworthy that all of the cases above contain dang appearing in the subordinate clauses with temporal meaning (21~24) or in the adverbial phrases (18~20). In other words, dang precedes a temporal NP in (18)~(20), whereas it appears in preverbal positions in (21)~(24).

6. DISCUSSION

Concerning 10 cases of dang in PT, all of them appear in the preverbal positions. However, as mentioned above, they all correspond, not to the Chinese prepositional 當 that is of concern here, but to the adverbials that have nothing to do with durative/continuous/progressive meanings. This means that those 10 cases are not the case of durative/continuous/progressive markers but that the elements remaining in the adverbial meanings were originally possessed by Chinese.

On the contrary, at least 14 of the 18 cases in *PG* are regarded as the durative/continuous/ progressive markers appearing in the preverbal positions. The remaining four cases appear in the prenominal positions, but the NPs following *đang* still have temporal meaning, such as 'bốn mươi ngày (40 days),' 'nửa ngày (middle of the day),' 'khi (when),' and so on.

Considering the difference in the NP word order between Vietnamese (N+A) and Chinese (A+N), as well as the correspondence between 當 (TT) and dang (PG), NP_{temp} (TT) and NP_{temp} (PG), NP_{temp} (TT) and thi (PG), and thi (PG), and thi (PG), the correspondence between the Chinese sentence patterns containing 當 and those of Vietnamese containing dang can be proposed as in Figure 1. It is important to confirm that, in the case of thi thi

TT			PG			
1.	當 NP	(SUB) NP _{temp} —	1.		đang	NP _{temp}
			(2.	khi	đang	NP _{temp})
2.	當 NP VP	(SUB) NP _{temp} —	3.	,	đang	khi
3. NP	當 VP	(SUB) NP _{temp} —	4.	Khi	đang	VP,
			5	khi	đang	VP
			6.	khi NP	đang	VP,
4. NP	當 NP VP	SUB NP _{temp}	7	khi NP	đang	VP

Figure 1. Comparison of sentence patterns in TT and PG

Based on the correspondence shown in Figure 1, I propose the process in which the Chinese sentence patterns 2 and 3 are translated into Vietnamese sentence patterns 4~7, as shown in Figure 2.

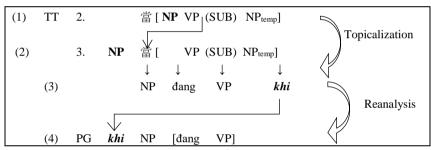


Figure 2. The process of developing dang+V

The process from sentence pattern 2 to 3 in TT can be explained in terms of topicalization (Meisterernst 2015:172). (3) in Figure 2 is the result of substituting each element of (2) to the Vietnamese equivalents. Since the word order in (3) is not accepted in Vietnamese syntax, the temporal noun khi is placed in the initial position, resulting in the sentence pattern shown in (4), which corresponds to patterns $4\sim7$ in PG. After the process from (3) to (4) had been completed, a kind of reanalysis must have occurred. The reanalysis is a type of misunderstanding of the sequence in (4) and in regarding the unit 'đang + VP' as 'preverbal + VP,' which is different from the original structure 'preposition + VP.' Once the unit 'đang + VP' as 'preverbal + VP' is formed, the original meaning of $\stackrel{\leftarrow}{\cong}$ 'be

at (a certain time)' changes to the preverbal/auxiliary meaning and begins to function as a durative/continuous/ progressive marker.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I traced back the development process of the durative/continuous/progressive marker d_{ang} in modern Vietnamese by analyzing their usages in old documents.

First, I reviewed the studies on the grammaticalization process of dāng 當 in Chinese and analyzed the usages of the same element in literary Sinitic documents in Vietnam in order to confirm the same usages are also common in literary Sinitic in Vietnam, especially the prepositional usage of dāng 當, which is the main concern here.

I considered the The usages of dang that originates from the Chinese dāng 當 by analyzing its usages in the oldest Nôm and Quốc ngữ documents. While dang in the bilingual Nôm document has nothing to do with durative/continuous/progressive meaning, the data in the old Quốc Ngữ document provide us valuable information. These usages allow us to trace back its origin to the prepositional dāng 當 in Chinese, and the fact that all of them occur in the subordinate clauses or adverbial phrases reveals an important stage in the course of its development. In the following stage, the unit 'dang + VP,' which originates from 'prepositional 當 + VP,' was reanalyzed as 'preverbal + VP' and gave rise to the new function of dang as a durative/continuous/ progressive marker.

ABBREVIATION

CONJ conjunction FP final particle

PL plural TOP topic

PRIMARY RESOURCES

Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư 大越史記全書, a variorum made by Chen Chingho 陳荊和, 3 vols., Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo, 1984.

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越南語語法標記 ĐANG 的文獻學研究

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本研究考察了現代越南語中進行體標記 dang 的語法化過程。Dang 來源於漢語"當" (dāng,"在"義) ,它後面經常跟隨著名詞、代詞或名詞短語修飾的"時"("時間"義)。例如,"當[A]之時",其中 A 是名詞、代詞或名詞短語(Pulleyblank 1995)。在 15 世紀出版的漢喃對譯文本中,漢語"當"有 5 處譯為"當",有 1 處譯為"侯",有 4 處譯為"合"。另一方面,在 17 世紀的越南拉丁文文本中,該詞彙經常出現在從屬(附加)子句中。例如,(a) dang NP(時間短語);(b) dang khi NP+VP;(c) khi (NP) dang VP。通過與越南漢文中"當"的用法比較可知,這些模式意味著一個發展順序:(Ch)當+NP+VP+(SUB)+NPtemp > (Ch)NP+當+VP+(SUB)+NPtemp > (V)*NP+Dang+VP+khi > (V) khi+NP+Dang+VP。之後,"đang+VP"被重新分析,產生了進行體標記 đang。

關鍵詞:越南語、進行體、đang、語法化