ANCIENT VIETNAMESE WORDS IN SOUTHERN FOLK SONG COLLECTIONS PUBLISHED IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

La Mai Thi Gia^{a*}

^aThe Faculty of Literature, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Viet Nam National University Ho Chi Minh City, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam ^{*}Corresponding author: Email: thigialm@hcmussh.edu.vn

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Abstract

The article examines and explains the meanings of archaic Vietnamese words in southern folk song collections published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We have identified and selected typical Vietnamese words that are now rarely used or used differently. To explain these words' meanings in folk songs, we use dictionaries, such as Vietnamese Dictionary, Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary, Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit) – the first Vietnamese dictionary, and Southern Dialect Dictionary. This research outlines a unique and exciting feature of the southern language that was popular in folk songs and people's lives in the South.

Keywords: Archaic words; Early 20th century; Folk songs; Southern Vietnam.

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1. INTRODUCTION

To identify the time when people started writing down folk sayings, ethical poems, romantic songs, and oral stories of the Southern people, 1888 is perhaps a suitable milestone since collector Truong Vinh Ky in that year first published six verses in the first issue of *Lectures Instructives (Miscellaneés)* – the first private newspaper in Vietnam and the first literary academic journal in Vietnam using the Vietnamese alphabet. Within two consecutive years, 18 issues of *Lectures Instructives* were published. Many of the published works belong to different folklore genres, such as children's songs, folk songs, proverbs, family ethical songs, narrative poems, legends, anecdotes about historical characters, jokes, and fairy tales. And other genres of folklore include rhymes, idioms, riddles, *câu thai* (which consist of four verses with alternating lines of six and eight syllables), quotations, descriptive poems, etc.

Besides Truong Vinh Ky's first six verses in *Lectures Instructives*, other folk song collections were published in Saigon from the late 19th century to the first half of the 20th century. Collectors, such as Huynh Tinh Paulus Cua, Dang Le Nghi, Khau Vo Nghi, Nguyen Cong Chanh, Nguyen Ba Thoi, Ho Cong Minh, and Dang Trong Quon published collections of southern folk songs under different names, such as *Tuc diêu, Câu hát An Nam, Câu hát góp, Câu hát huê tình, Câu hát chèo ghe, Câu hò xay lúa, Hát huê tình đối đáp, Hát dối đáp, Hát và hò góp*, etc. These collections were published by the publishing houses of Dinh Thai Son, Le Van Thinh, Duc Luu Phuong, Nguyen Quoi Loan, and Xua Nay in Saigon in the first half of the 20th century. Some collections have never gone out of print.

We have gathered ten southern folk song collections published in Saigon before 1945 (1888 to 1939) and re-published after 1945 from national and local libraries and even from the bookcases of private individuals. The collections range from a few hundred to about a thousand verses recorded consecutively without numbering. The collection with the fewest verses is $C\hat{a}u \ h\hat{a}t \ hu\hat{e} \ thh$ of Dang Le Nghi with 360 verses, and for parallelism $C\hat{a}u \ h\hat{a}t \ go p$ of Huynh Tinh Paulus Cua with 1,010 verses.

After studying these collections, we found some common linguistic features of southern folk songs related to the formation and popularization of the Vietnamese alphabet in southern Vietnam in the period before 1945. These features are Vietnamese spellings, ancient Vietnamese words, Sino-Vietnamese words, words transliterated from French, and words from southern dialects. There are unlimited uses of historical and scholarly literary classics from Vietnamese and Chinese history and culture to express the meanings of southern folk songs in the early 20th century. This article will examine some typical ancient Vietnamese words in the collections listed below. After identifying these words and counting the number of times they appear in the ten collections, we used several dictionaries to look up their meanings: *Dai Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit)* by Huynh Tinh Cua, *Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary* by Nguyen Ngoc San and Dinh Van Thien, *Sino-Vietnamese Dictionary* by Hoang Phe.

For our survey and research, we used the collections of folk songs named below (in chronological order of publication).

1. Truong Vinh Ky (1888-1889). *Lectures Instructives/Miscellanées*. Impr. Commerciale Rey-Curiol. Issues 1 to 8 were published in 1888, issues 9 to 12 were published in 1889, and issues 1 to 6 were re-published in 1889. Each issue contains 16 pages. We found six verses in these 12 issues.

2. Huynh Tinh Paulus Cua (1901). *Câu hát góp (Recueil de Chansons Populaires)*. Saigon: Impr. Commercial Ménard Legros. Second edition with 32 pages, 1,010 verses.

3. Dang Le Nghi (1907). *Câu hát đối theo bạn cấy*. Saigon: published by Dinh Thai Son, 24 pages, 635 verses.

4. Dang Le Nghi (1928). *Câu hát huê tình*. Pham Van Thinh Publishing House, 23 pages, 360 verses.

5. Nguyen Cong Chanh (1928). *Câu hò xay lúa*. Xua Nay Publishing House. Second edition with 19 pages, 554 verses.

6. Dang Trong Quan (1932). Hát đối đáp. Xua Nay Publishing House. The sixth edition.

7. Khau Vo Nghi (1933). *Hát huê tình đối đáp*. Xua Nay Publishing House, 18 pages, 359 verses.

8. Nguyen Ba Thoi (1933). *Câu hát đối đáp*. Impr. Pham Van Thinh. Second edition with 18 pages, 300 verses.

9. Nguyen Ba Thoi (1934). *Câu hát đối đáp*. Impr. Duc Luu Phuong. Second edition, 14 pages. Pham Van Cuong Publishing House, reprinted in 1959, 15 pages, 188 verses.

10. Nguyen Cong Chanh (1967). *Hát và hò góp* (rewritten), Thuan Hoa Publishing House, Cho Lon, 18 pages, 534 verses.

Since the folk verses in these collections meet the typical criteria of folk songs in Vietnamese folklore in terms of content and linguistic form, we use the term "folk songs" (*ca dao*) to refer to these verses in this article.

2. INTERPRETATION OF ANCIENT VIETNAMESE WORDS IN SOUTHERN FOLK SONGS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

Among many concerns about the language used in southern folk songs in the early 20th century, in our opinion, spelling error is the one that can be solved most efficiently and thoroughly. On the other hand, the main challenge is identifying and explaining the ancient Vietnamese words commonly used in different contexts in folk songs of previous times but rarely used in folklore and written literature or daily communication nowadays.

To overcome this challenge, we need to understand ancient Vietnamese words from different researchers' perspectives.

Đào (1975), in his work $Ch\tilde{v} N \delta m - Ngu \delta n g \delta c c \delta u tạo, diễn biến, did not use the concept of "ancient words" but instead used the term "old words" and said that those words are no longer used or rarely used. In addition, he also considers monosyllabic Chinese words in ancient texts as a type of ancient word: Among the ancient words, there are also simple words borrowed from Chinese characters to express some concepts, which later on are only expressed in Vietnamese (Đào, 1975). According to Nguyễn and Đinh (2001, p. 187) in Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary, ancient words:$

...are original Vietnamese words commonly used in everyday speech. Over time, they are no longer used and only exist in old works of literature or ancient folk songs and proverbs. "Ancient" can be understood under the circumstance in which modern Vietnamese people no longer understand the meaning of these words. The reason for this is their absence in the modern language, or that these words no longer retain their old meanings, which does not mean that these words appear the earliest.

Nguyen (1984, as cited in Trần, 2010, p. 17), in her research *Truyện Song Tinh* – *khảo đính, phiên âm, chú thích*, has presented ancient words in relation to dialects as:

...ancient words are generally understood as words with sounds and meanings. Using ancient words to make sentences is slightly or completely different from using common words nowadays. Ancient words or words still used in a certain region are called archaisms.

From the above perspectives, we show that ancient words in southern folk songs in the first half of the 20th century are related to the interpretations of the above researchers. They are old words that are no longer used or rarely used today; they only exist in old literature, folk songs, and proverbs or have different meanings from common words used nowadays, etc. These ancient words were used in everyday speech and are found in folk songs from the late 19th century and early 20th century. Later on, they are less used or combined with other words to generate different meanings. Therefore, it is not easy to find these words in Collections of recent folk songs. To look up the definitions of these ancient words, we use the dictionaries mentioned above and interpret the words in the context of folk songs.

Firstly, we want to mention a rare word only seen once in the collection $C\hat{a}u h dt$ góp of Huynh Tinh Cua and not seen again in any other collection. It is the word $t\hat{o} n\hat{e}$:

> Ngó lên tổ nễ chau mày Mảng lo sự khó quên ngày muối dưa

Translated:

The ancestors are in anger since

Decedents feel poor without worship and filial piety

(Huỳnh, 1901)

According to the explanation in D_{qi} Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word tổ nễ refers to the ancestor, the great grandfathers, the ones who established the family business (Huỳnh, 2018b). The word tổ nễ refers to the ancestors and appeared quite commonly in the vernacular used in the countryside of the Six Provinces of southern Vietnam. Also, in the folk song above, the word mảng is an ancient Vietnamese word that is used with the different meaning. But in contrast to the word tổnễ, which appears only once, the word mảng appears twenty-six times in the ten collections, often in phrases such as mảng sầu căn dươn, mảng sầu dươn nợ, mảng sầu người nghĩa, mảng săm soi, mảng thương, mảng lo, mảng coi, mảng con trăng, mảng con nước, etc.

> Cửa song loan đóng chặt còn nêm, Mảng sầu dươn nợ lại thêm sầu mình

Translated:

The gate closes tightly and wedges
Minding sorrow that brings yourself sadness
(Nguyễn, 1928)

Dọn cơm chống đũa ngồi nhìn Mảng sầu người nghĩa thất tình quên ăn.

Translated:

Serving rice and sitting still just to stare Minding sorrow of the one being lovelorn (Nguyễn, 1928)

Tiếc bấy công anh lao lung, lo vun bén cây tùng, bớ em nó ôi! Mảng săm soi trên ngọn, dưới gốc sùng chẳng có hay

Translated:

I worked hard and took care of the cedar tree, oh my dear! Just focusing on reaching the top yet abandoning its root (Khấu, 1933)

Mảng thương anh nên ba má rầy la, Choàng tay qua cổ anh Ba khóc ròng.

Minding the love for you that worries parents Wrapping arms around then starting to cry (Nguyễn, 1967)

According to Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary, the word mång means focusing on something (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). In Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word mång is defined as working hard, minding one thing. Moreover, according to this dictionary, the folk song, Ngó lên tổ nễ chau mày, mång lo sự khó quên ngày muối dưa, means worrying about poverty without worship and filial piety (Huỳnh, 2018b).

Another ancient word that we rarely see in folklore, including folk songs from the early 20^{th} century, is *mua hề*. This word appears only once in Dang Le Nghi's *Câu hát huê tình*, published in 1928. Among the fourteen words in the six-eight-word couplet (*lục bát*), there is one ancient Vietnamese word, one word of the southern dialect, and two words transliterated from French.

Ô-rơ-voa đây giã bạn ra về Căn dươn chưa bén, mựa hề phát-sê.

Translated:

Goodbye, my dear, as I am leaving now Our fate is never shared, don't be sad

(Đặng, 1928)

According to Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word mựa is no; mựa hề is do not (forbidden) (Huỳnh, 2018b). Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary also explains that mựa hề is do not (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). Furthermore, the word dươn is how people pronounce duyên, which is a common word in the South. The word căn dươn is căn duyên, meaning fate. In this folk song, there are two words transliterated from French, namely Ô-rơ-voa and phát-sê. Ô-rơ-voa is how Vietnamese people say au revoir, which means goodbye in French. It is probably as common as the English word goodbye used in everyday communication. Phát-sê means sad or angry, transliterated from the French word fâcher. The linguistic system transliterated from French is also an essential feature of folk language in these collections. We also discuss this issue in the article Dấu ấn văn hóa Pháp trong ca dao dân ca Nam Bộ đầu thế kỷ XX (La, 2021).

Another unusual word that we only come across twice in the collection $C\hat{a}u h dt$ góp of Huynh Tinh Cua is the word $\hat{a}m can$:

Gió hiu hiu dây chìu đứt đoạn

Âm can trời nhớ bạn ta xưa Bạn cũ ta xưa nay đà biệt lộ Giả khách qua đàng thượng lộ hỏi thăm

Translated:

The wind is blowing and the string is untied It is gloomy and I'm missing you My old love is far away Pretending to be a stranger, I ask about you (Huỳnh, 1901)

Trời ôi ai đánh trời gầm, Mây mưa đứt đoạn, tư bề âm can Cơ trời dâu bể đa đoan, Tơ duyên vắn vỏi thiếp chàng xa nhau.

Translated:

What makes the sky roar loudly? Rain to rain then it is so gloomy Heaven gives chance and quickly changes Why love is short-lived to part you and me (Huỳnh, 1901)

According to Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word âm can can be understood as less sunny. If the weather is âm can, the weather is not sunny. The phrase phoi âm can means drying something under the shade (Huỳnh, 2018a). The word âm can in the two folk songs above can be understood to mean that the weather is cloudy; the weather is not good; it is gloomy like the mood of couples who are apart because of a shortlived love (tơ duyên vắn vỏi). The word vắn vỏi is an old way of saying ngắn ngủi (short) (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). There is a method of drying medicinal herbs under the shade called phoi âm can. However, these words are rarely used today, both in literature and daily life.

We encounter the word *khúng* twice in the following folk songs in Dang Le Nghi's *Câu hát huê tình* performed by a call-and-response song between a male and a female.

- Male part:

Đó quyết cậy mai đây phân hoài chẳng khứng, Cha chả: có một tiếng ừ, vàng xứng mấy cân.

Why does it take so long to accept? It's just a "yes," gold is worth a few more

- Female part:

Một tiếng phải doan, ngàn vàng không đổi, Huống việc vợ chồng biết nỗi mấy cân.

Translated:

Our fate crossed is worth a thousand gold Now becoming husband and wife who knows its worth (Đăng, 1928)

- Male part:

Miệng bậu đành ừ, qua chẳng từ lao khổ, Dẫu đăng sơn cầm hổ, dầu nhập hải tróc long Trước sau giữ trọn một lòng, Bớ em ôi, vào lòn ra cúi, anh đánh sòng theo em.

Translated:

If you say "yes," there is nothing I cannot do Whether hunting tigers in the mountains or going to the sea I forever keep my heart for you and only Oh, my dear, going through all these, I'm with you always

- Female part:

Em ừ bây chừ, cha mẹ từ chẳng khứng Có phải hại anh, đau ngồi đau đứng, Bảo anh lo ngược lo xuôi, trước sau lại không vui, Bở anh ôi, chi bằng anh cậy mối nói hồi ban sơ.

Translated:

To say "yes" now will bring discomfort to parents Will it worry you, whether sitting or standing? Telling you to be so protective, no one is happy

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Oh, my dear, if only you believe in the very first bonding (Đặng, 1928)

And this word also appears once in the collection, Hát đối đáp of Dang Trong Quon:

- Female part:

Phải gặp ông Tơ em hỏi sơ cho biết Phải gặp bà Nguyệt em hỏi thiệt cho rành Vì đâu hoa nọ lìa nhành anh ơi Nợ duyên sao sớm dứt cho đành dạ em

Translated:

When I meet the matchmaker, I will question him When I see the matchmaker, I will ask the truth Why did the flower leave the branch? Why does our fate mean to end so soon?

- Male part:

Trên mẹ cha chẳng chịu, dưới anh điệu làm con Tại nơi em chẳng khứng chịu lòn, em ôi Tuy là lúc giận chứ còn lúc thương

Translated:

Parents' disagreement, I am a child not dare to disobey Where you live shows no sign of concurrence Even though a tough time, we still have love

(Đặng, 1932)

Khúng is a rare word that is no longer used. This word means "accepted, endured" (Huỳnh, 2018a) or "accepted, resigned" (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). We notice this word in call-and-response songs about marriage preparations. It can be seen that this word formerly appeared in the context of weddings and proposals. *Khúng* is not the state of approving in general but has a meaning similar to the phrase "I do" in marriage. A girl accepted the proposal, accepted to become a wife, or the girl's parents agreed to let the boy marry their daughter.

In the three pairs above, the word *lòn* appears twice in the two verses: *Tại nơi em* chẳng khứng chịu lòn, em ôi and Bớ em ôi, vào lòn ra cúi, anh đánh sòng theo em. This word also appears in a few other folk songs:

Sắt kia đá nọ còn mòn, Làm dâu vô cúi ra lòn khổ thay.

Translated:

Iron and stone are still worn Submissive as a daughter-in-law, she is so miserable $\Omega I = \tilde{\alpha} = 10(7)$

(Nguyễn, 1967)

Tháng ba cơm gói ra Hòn Muốn ăn trứng nhạn phải lòn hang Mai Hang Mai anh cũng muốn lòn Sợ e trứng nhạn hãy còn vỏ không

Translated:

In March, rice is ready for trips to the island Wanting swallow eggs to eat, Mai cave is where to go Mai cave, I'm willing to go Just being afraid to swallow eggs that still have shells

(Đặng, 1907)

According to Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), lòn is to lower down to go through and the phrase vào lòn ra cúi means being submissive (Huỳnh, 2018a). Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary explains that lòn is luồn, meaning wriggle (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). The term lòn is rarely used in today's folk songs and only appears in literature that uses much dialect. It has been replaced by the word luồn.

The word *lòn xòn* in the following folk song is rare. It only appears once among the ten collections:

Đôi ta duyên nợ lòn xòn,

Bớ anh ôi, mặt tuy giáp mặt dạ còn ước ao.

Translated:

We met in such a hurry

Oh, my dear, we met but it is never enough

(Đặng, 1928)

We have used many dictionaries such as Sino-Vietnamese Dictionary, Vietnamese Dictionary, Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị, Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary, etc. Still, this word does not belong to any category. When we used Huynh Cong Tin's Southern *Dialect Dictionary*, we found only one word, *lòn sòn*, meaning equal, almost equal, not much inferior to each other (Huỳnh, 2007). In terms of word structure, it can be said that the word *lòn xòn* in the above folk songs is another spelling of the word *lòn sòn*, but they do not have the same meaning. Therefore, in our opinion, the word *lòn xòn* in these folk songs is the other way of saying *lon xon*. *Dại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*) claims that *xon* is an old word meaning "hurried, hasty" (Huỳnh, 2018a). The *Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary* also defines *lon xon* as "in a hurry" (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). From the context of the folk verse, *Bớ anh ôi, mặt tuy giáp mặt dạ còn ước ao*, it can be affirmed that the word *lòn xòn* is used in this sense, meaning that the couple met in a hurry, so they do not feel satisfied. It is not possible that the word *lòn sòn* in the sense of southern dialect.

In two collections, *Câu hát đối theo bạn cấy* of Đang Le Nghi and *Câu hò xây lúa* of Nguyen Cong Chanh, there is a word *lương khương*, which is unusual in both old and modern folk songs.

Nước có khi chảy khi ương Gẫm tui với bậu lương khương quá chừng. Translated: The water does not flow nor stop You and I cannot be together nor apart (Nguyễn, 1928) - Female part: Anh đừng có Qua lâu mà em sầu nhớ, Thục địa anh sớm về xin chớ lương khương. Translated: Do not go far so that it makes me sad Come back to me soon; please do not hesitate - Female part: Lòng Hâu phát đây anh gìn khăn khắn, Phân Hồng hoa bâu gắn giữ ràng. Sa nhơn mến nghĩa, đôi hàng Châu sa. Translated: My heart for you, I treasure without fail You're a rose to me and should keep it in mind

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Being apart, I miss you and cry

(Đặng, 1907)

The word *lurong khurong* is absent in *Vietnamese Dictionary* by Hoang Phe. And in *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit)*, this word is defined as "troublesome, unlucky" (Huỳnh, 2018a). In *Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary*, the only word that is similar in terms of phonetics is the word *luròn khuron*, with the meaning of "interact, live with" (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). In our opinion, *lurong khurong* and *luròn khuron* are not the same. In the folk songs above, there is also the word *urong* in the verse, *Nuróc còn khi chảy khi urong*. The word *urong* is separated from the reduplicative word *urong urong*, meaning "not this nor that" (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). This meaning can be seen as a synonym of *lurong khurong* in the verse, *Gẫm tui với bậu lurong khurong quá chừng*, to indicate the dilemma of a couple. They cannot be together nor leave each other.

The word *lurong khurong* in the next folk verse is used in contrast to the word *khắn khắn*, which is the boy's response to the girl's doubt. When he heard her saying *Thục địa anh về xin chó lương khương*, the young man replied *Lòng Hậu phát anh đây gìn khắn khắn*. According to *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*), the word *khắn* means "truehearted"; if you miss someone *khắn khắn*, it means you cannot stop missing them, you are always faithful and loyal (Huỳnh, 2018a). Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary *Dictionary* also defines *khắn khắn* as always keeping something in mind (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). Thus, the boy uses the expression *khắn khắn* to affirm his feelings towards only one girl, and it is not *lương khương* like the girl's worries. At the same time, the word *lương khương* capitalized in the folk verse is also the name of a traditional medicine. It can be seen that the couple has used herb names, such as *Qua lâu, Thục Địa, Lương Khương, Hậu Phát, Hồng hoa, Sa Nhơn,* and *Châu Sa* in talking to each other.

The reduplicative word *khắn khắn* appears one more time in the collection, *Câu hát góp* of Huynh Tinh Cua. It is also used with the meaning of faithful, loyal, or undoubting:

Thuyền dời, bến cũ không dời Khắn khắn một lời quân tử nhứt ngôn

Translated:

The boat left but the wharf is still Loyal to what has been said and told

(Huỳnh, 1901)

In *Câu hát Góp*, there is another reduplicative word that is no longer used, which is *nằng nằng*:

Tiếc thay con thỏ nằng nằng Núp lùm chờ đợi bóng trăng bấy chầy

Pity, the rabbit is resolutely waiting Hiding and waiting so long for the moon (Huỳnh, 1901)

According to D_{qi} Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the meaning of the word nằng nằng is unwavering (Huỳnh, 2018b). Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary defines this word as "resolutely doing it to the end" (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). Thus, we can see that the word khắn khắn in the previous folk song and nằng nằng in this one have the same meaning, indicating certainty, stability, and determination (mental or emotional state). And both of these words are now rarely used. Only two synonyms are phonetically equivalent to them, khăng khăng and nằng nặc. In the folk verse, Núp lùm chờ đợi bóng trăng bấy chầy, there is a word, bấy chầy, meaning "for so long" (Huỳnh, 2018a). Compound words like this are rarely seen in today's literature. If this word is separated into bấy and chầy, it still retains the old meaning. And when combined with other words, we have phrases such as vô duyên bấy – that is so charmless, and chi lắm bấy – that is so much. The meaning of the word bấy is "that so, that much" (Huỳnh, 2018a) and in phrases, không chóng thì chầy and năm canh chầy, the meaning of the word chầy is "slowly, late" (Huỳnh, 2018a).

In the same way that the reduplicative words *nằng nằng* and *khắn khắn* are composed, we also notice the ancient word *tri tri* with similar meaning.

- Male part:

Bậu có chồng sao bậu không tu bị, Mỗi buổi chiều, bậu dạo thủy dạo sơn.

Translated:

You have a husband, why don't you contemplate Every time you go out to a different place?

- Female part:

Anh đừng có đem dạ nghi nan, Em dạo chơi giải muộn, chứ lòng vàng tri tri.

Translated:

Do not be skeptical and doubtful I go out for enjoyment, but I'm truehearted (Đăng, 1928) Sóng xao mặc sóng với thoàn, Bớ anh ôi duyên nguyền xưa em tạc dạ, lòng đá vàng tri tri.

Translated:

Waves are waves; boats are boats Oh, my dear, no matter what, my heart is pure and still for you (Đăng, 1907)

Nhứt ngôn trúng vạn ngôn dụng, nhứt ngôn bất trúng vạn sự bất thành Em đừng có dạ nghi anh, bớ em ôi Anh là quân tử lòng thành tri tri

Translated:

Keeping your word is everything; nothing works if you fail to keep it

Do not doubt my heart and intention, my dear

You have my word and sincere heart

(Đặng, 1932)

Rèn lòng vàng đá tri tri Một ngày cũng gọi tương tri với chàng

Translated:

Keeping faithfulness like gold and stone One day, I wish I shall be with you

(Huỳnh, 1901)

According to *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*), the word *tri* is knowing, mastering, knowledge, old acquaintance, confidant, prophet, or the word *tri* in the proverb *Họa hố họa bì nan họa cốt/Tri nhân tri diện bất tri tâm* (Huỳnh, 2018b). This proverb means that when an artist paints a tiger, he can only paint its skin, not its bones; when we observe people, we can only know their appearance, not their truest intentions. However, in the context of the folk song above, the word *tri tri* is not used in this sense. The word *tri* in *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*) is explained in the context of a Sino-Vietnamese word. The word *tri tri* in phrases such as *vàng đá tri tri*, *lòng thành tri tri*, or *năn nỉ tri tri*, etc., is similar to the meanings of the two words, *khắn khắn* and *nằng nằng*, that we have analyzed. The word *tri tri* means the state of being truehearted, faithful, and confident. In folk songs, *tri tri* refers to the certainty of the characters in love. It is as solid as gold and stone. In addition, in the verse, *Bậu có*

chồng sao bậu không tu bị, there is an ancient word tu bị. The word tu bị, as explained in Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), means "correcting, improving" (Huỳnh, 2018b). In the situation where the husband suspected that his wife's behavior is not proper for a married woman because she goes out often (dạo thủy dạo sơn), the girl used the phrase, lòng vàng tri tri (I'm truehearted), to affirm her faithfulness.

A phrase formed by combining dialect with an ancient word that we found in the collection, *Câu hát góp*, is *luy san san*:

Lụy san san đưa nàng xuống vịnh Anh trở lộn về nhuốm bịnh tương tư

Translated:

My tears are pouring as you leave I come home to my love sickness

(Huỳnh, 1901)

According to Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word san san means pouring out. The phrase *lụy san san* means tears pouring out, tears falling, crying profusely (Huỳnh, 2018b). Therefore, the phrase *lụy san san* was used to refer to crying instead of the phrase *nuớc mắt chứa chan*, as would be used nowadays. We encountered the word *lụy*, meaning tears, multiple times in southern folk songs of this period. This word occurs in phrases such as *hai hàng lụy, rơi lụy, lụy nhỏ, lụy ứa, lụy tuôn, lụy dầm, lụy thấm bâu, lụy ướt bâu, giọt lụy hồng, hột lụy, lụy ngọc, châu lụy, hột lụy châu, etc.*

Đại mộc lưu giang bất đắc hồi cố lý Em xa bạn nhơn tình hột lụy chứa chan.

Translated:

Trees drifting in the river do not expect to return Our separation brings so many tears to my eyes (Đặng, 1928)

Đôi hàng lụy nhỏ lâm ly, em xiết chi rầu rĩ, anh ôi Riêng trách ông trời già đày hủy hồng nhan

Translated:

Tears I cry profusely; I am in deep sorrow, my dear Only the creator is to blame for destroying a beauty's fate (Đặng, 1932) Sụt sùi lụy ứa thâm bâu, Bấy lâu vắng mặt, biết đâu trao lời.

Translated:

Tears of sorrow wet the collar With a long time of absence, words are hard to explain

(Nguyễn, 1928)

Suppose the word luy (tears) in the above folk songs is not an ancient Vietnamese word but a word in the southern dialect – a different way of saying the word $l\hat{\varrho}$. Surprisingly, it is not mentioned in *Southern Dialect Dictionary* by Huynh Cong Tin. In this dictionary, the word luy is defined as falling down and no longer able to function (Huỳnh, 2007). It goes with an example of the word luy in a folk song, *Nhạn đậu cành sung anh giương cung bắn nhạn, con nhạn luy rồi anh làm bạn với ai* (The swallow was perching on a fig branch; he raised his bow to shoot it. The swallow fell off the branch, so he got no friend to be with). There are also cases that we have studied for which the meaning of the word luy is falling down:

Anh hùng trường trải chín châu, Tới đây lâm lụy phải lao nhà ngươi.

Translated:

A hero conquered across nine continents Till this point falling down because of your spear

(Huỳnh, 1901)

Chiều nay người nghĩa xa anh, Chim sa cá lụy, kiểng đương xanh vội tàn.

Translated:

My loved one will go far this afternoon Birds and fish are impaired as green plants quickly wither $\tilde{}$

(Nguyễn, 1928)

Looking up in the *Sino-Vietnamese Dictionary* of Dao Duy Anh, we found the explanation of the word *luy* is "binding, involving" (Đào, 1992). We also found the word *luy* with this meaning in these folk songs:

Đặng hoa thơm em đơm cài mái tóc, bớ anh ôi Sợ lụy cái tay phàm nhơ vóc thiên hương

I use beautiful flowers to decorate my hair, my dear Being afraid of binding with hands that touched the beauty

(Đặng, 1932)

Vì ai gây lụy cho mình Mẹ cha hay đăng hành hình thân em

Translated:

Because of he who brought me tears It will bring me trouble once my parents know (Nguyễn, 1967)

Thus, the same phonetic form as the word $l\mu y$ often appeared in southern folk songs in the early 20th century. The word $l\mu y$ is both an ancient word and a regional colloquialism. When used in folk verses, it conveys three meanings, depending on the context of the folk song: $h\hat{\rho}t \, l\mu y$ (tears), $l\hat{\alpha}m \, l\mu y$ (fallen), and $l\hat{i}\hat{e}n \, l\mu y$ (involved).

Bâu is another word appearing many times in southern folk songs and phrases, such as bâu áo, hở bâu, kết bâu, nối bâu, chia bâu, and lụy thấm bâu.

Nguyệt về rành rạnh tư bề Đôi ta nguyệt chứng lời thề kết bâu.

Translated:

Moon is about to glow so brightly The two of us testify to the oath of marriage

(Huỳnh, 1901)

Áo dài năm nút hở bâu, Bớ anh ơi, thung huyên em còn đó, em dám đâu tư tình

Translated:

Five-button tunic with opened collar My dear, my parents are still here, I dare not deceive them (Đăng, 1928)

Bớ anh ôi, như ai rứt xé ruột tằm Mơ hình tưởng bóng lụy dầm thâm bâu

Oh, my dear, like someone tearing the silkworm Dreaming of my love is wetting my collar with tears (Nguyễn, 1933)

Mình đưa bâu áo tui viết tháo vài hàng, Trước thăm phụ mẫu, sau viếng nàng đôi câu

Translated:

Give me your shirt lapel so I can write a few words Parents are first, then you are my next concern (Nguyễn, 1928)

Luy thấm bâu and kết bâu are phrases appearing many times in southern folk songs. In many dictionaries, the word $b\hat{a}u$ is both an ancient word and southern dialect. For example, according to Hoang Phe's Vietnamese Dictionary, the word bâu in the old sense is a collar, and in the dialect sense, it is a pocket (Hoàng, 2003). Southern Dialect Dictionary explains it as the excess sewn at the collar to fold down every time you wear it (Huynh, 2007). According to Ancient Vietnamese Vocabulary Dictionary, the word bâu is the collar or the lapel (Nguyễn & Đinh, 2001). Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit) also states that bâu is a collar and kết bâu means to tie the knot (Huỳnh, 2018a). Thus, it can be seen that the word *bâu* can be understood as different parts of the shirt, such as the collar, pocket, or lapel. Kết bâu means tying the two lapels of a man and a woman together, and the more profound meaning is to tie the knot. If it is combined with the word *luy*, as in the phrase *luy úa thâm bâu*, *bâu* is a collar, but if it is accompanied by the word *áo*, as in the folk verse Minh đưa bâu áo tôi viết tháo vài hàng, bâu is a lapel. If it is placed in verses Ao dài năm nút hở bâu or Ai từng bân áo không bâu, the word bâu might mean collar. In addition, the word *tháo* in *viết tháo* is also an ancient word that needs to be explained. The word viết tháo is derived from viết thảo, which is the way of writing *chữ Nôm* (a logographic writing system formerly used to write the Vietnamese language) with "raw" style. In the Sino-Vietnamese Dictionary, the word thao means crude, rudimentary. Thảo cảo means "a literature sketch" (Đào, 1992). Later on, the word viết tháo was written as viết tháu, meaning writing quickly, scribbling. In *Dai Nam quốc* âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), viết tháu is writing like drawing, writing quickly or carelessly (Huỳnh, 2018b).

Trực tiết or *chực tiết* is also an ancient word found in the southern folk songs of this period:

Nhạn còn nao nức hứng sương, Đây tui còn trực tiết náu nương chờ mình

The swallow is still excited about the dew
Here I am truehearted waiting for you
(Nguyễn, 1928)
Tả phi đồng túc dọa định công
Đêm nằm trực tiết, phòng không chờ mình
There is no one on my left side
Resting in faithfulness and waiting for you
(Nguyễn, 1928)
Cách bấy thu tưởng đà ly biệt
Ai hay em còn chực tiết với anh
Many autumns passed without your loved one
Who thinks you are still so faithful?
(Huỳnh, 1901)
Gió đưa dươn nước xao dờn dợn
Gió đưa mây mây lộn dật dờ
Đó đây duyên nợ sậm sờ, bờ bậu ơi
Bậu còn trực tiết đợi chờ trông ai
Bậu còn trực tiết đợi chờ trông ai
<i>Bậu còn trực tiết đợi chờ trông ai</i> The wind makes the water turbulent
The wind makes the water turbulent
The wind makes the water turbulent The wind makes the clouds flow

Dao Duy Anh explains in detail that *trực tiết* or *chực tiết* is a Sino-Vietnamese noun, literally referring to the node of a bamboo tree, and figuratively referring to a person's integrity (Đào, 1999). However, when used in southern folk songs, *trực tiết* (or *chực tiết*) is used as a verb. Therefore, its meaning changes, which is explained in *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*) as "disciplining, refusing to reform or marry" (Huỳnh, 2018a). In the context of the folk songs mentioned above, it can be seen that southern folk used *trực tiết* or *chực tiết* in this period to refer to the value of faithfulness in a couple. This word no longer appears in folk songs collected from the later period but is replaced with the phrase *giữ gìn tiết hạnh*. In addition, in the folk verses, *Dó đây duyên nợ sậm sò, bớ bậu ơi/ Bậu còn trực tiết đợi chờ trông ai*, we also see the word, *sậm sò,* which is rarely seen or mentioned in dictionaries. In our opinion, *sậm sò* might be a misreading of *sầm sò*, which means "clearly exposed" (Huỳnh, 2018b) according to *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit)*. Based on the content of the folk song, we think that *sậm sò* and *sầm sò* have a similar meaning: the couple's predestined relationship is clear, as is why they are still hesitant.

Another word that appears ten times in the ten collections but is rarely used now is *xàu*, which refers to a wilting state of plants or a person's dull mood.

Cách xa nhau gan ruột héo xàu, Anh phân tay, em luy nhỏ tài nào không thương Translated: The soul withers since being apart To say goodbye, your tears, I treasure with my heart (Nguyễn, 1967) Nghe anh than tâm ruột như bào, Vì em mà anh đau đớn, ruôt xàu héo hon. Translated: Listening to you lament makes my heart ache Because of me, you are in pain and sorrow (Nguyễn, 1934) Huê xàu vì bởi mất sương, Em xanh xao vì bởi nhớ thương nghĩa vàng Translated: The lily is faint due to the loss of dew I'm pale because I'm missing you (Nguyễn, 1967) Anh đoái cái bui lan xàu Nhánh đào nám, chim quyên cảm, bon dế sầu. Phải chi Ngô - Hớn có cầu,

Khỏi lo Ngưu - Nữ buồn rầu đợi trông.

Translated:

I think of the wilted orchid dust The herb branch, the cuckoo, and the crickets If only the Ngo and the Han dynasties had a bridge Then no need for the Cowherd and the Weaver Girl to wait in sorrow

(Đặng, 1907)

In Southern Dialect Dictionary, xàu is defined as wilting, shrinking due to the lack of water, or drooping because of sadness (Huỳnh, 2007). According to Dại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), xàu is wilted, like in phrases such as héo xàu, bàu xàu, xàu mặt (Huỳnh, 2018b). The word xàu in the above songs is used with two objects. The first one is the human body part, such as the liver or intestines, to indicate the sad and painful state of a man and a woman when they are apart. The second one is a flower, such as an orchid or lily, to show the withered form of the flower due to lack of water. The folk verse, Huệ xàu vì bởi mất sương, also appears in later folk songs collected in the southern provinces, but xàu has been changed into sầu. Furthermore, the word sầu can be used to personify the state of a plant to metaphorize human emotions, as in this verse: Lan huệ sầu ai lan huệ héo (Wilted orchid or lily is like my sorrow). But when this word is used in the verse, Huệ sầu vì bởi mất sương (The lily is faint due to the loss of dew), it is inappropriate and distinct from the word xàu used to refer to the wilting condition of plants due to lack of water.

Another word is *hài*. It always appears in compound words that are no longer used, such as *duyên hài* or *duơn hài*:

Anh cũng không dám chắc mê sắc hay mê tài, Chẳng qua là tiền định duyên hài, bớ em ôi!

Translated:

I'm not sure if I love beauty or talent It's just a predestined fate, my dear! (Nguyễn, 1934)

Bớ em ôi, tấm lòng ai có lợt phai, Bởi chơn chưa luận ngãi, duyên hài lôi thôi,

Translated:

Oh, my dear, whose heart has faded

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Since love is not much, our fate is not sure

(Nguyễn, 1934)

Hai đứa ta đã xứng dươn hài Em ham chi bóng sắt nó hành hài tấm thân

Translated:

The two of us have a predestined relationship Do not love appearance which will ruin you (Nguyễn, 1928)

According to Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word hài means harmony, clarity, completion. If something is not hài, it cannot be done smoothly (Huỳnh, 2018a). Thus, duyên hài can be understood as a beautiful and predestined relationship, the duality of a couple. Furthermore, in the folk songs in which the word duyên hài is used, we notice a combination of many classic references or Sino-Vietnamese sentences.

> Anh hùng hưu nịch sắc, Chí sĩ mạc tham tài. Ngày sau dẫu trọn duyên hài, Bớ anh ôi, xin anh chớ học theo ngài Thái Ung

Translated:

No need for heroes to indulge in lust and scholars to be greedy Till these days your fate remains Oh, my dear, do not follow Thai Ung's steps (Đặng, 1928)

The folk song refers to an anecdote about the character, *Thai Ung*, a famous artist at the end of the Han Dynasty in Chinese history. This folk song includes a Sino-Vietnamese sentence, *Anh hùng chớ chìm đắm sắc dục và kẻ sĩ chớ tham lợi lộc*, which means that heroes should not indulge in lust and scholars should not be greedy for fortune.

> Nghinh hôn giá thú bất khả luận tài, Trăm năm chẳng hiệp dươn hài Anh nằm lăn xuống bệ, anh lạy dài ông tơ

Translated:

Marriage should not be defined by social status The hundred-year fate cannot be reconciled I fall on the ground and beg the matchmaker

(Huỳnh, 1901)

This folk song means that marriage should not be defined by social status. Still, the couple has filled themselves with the idea of *luận tài* (considering social class), so the hundred-year fate cannot be reconciled. The character intends to blame the matchmaker for their broken relationship (*chẳng hiệp duơn hài*). The word *duơn hài* is *duyên hài* in the proverb, *Duyên hài can lệ*, which means "the duality of husband and wife" (Huỳnh, 2018a).

Another interesting word is *trước* in *trước mai*, which is also an ancient Vietnamese word. This word used to be quite common in folk songs.

	Tai nghe cung oán cơ cầu bớ chàng ôi
	Phụng Hoàng, Phú Lục chạnh sầu trước mai
Translated:	
	Listen to the sad melody, oh my dear
	Phụng Hoàng, Phú Lục tell the sad harmony
	(Đặng, 1932)
	Tưởng là mai trước lại vầy
	Hay đâu mai trước một ngày một xa
Translated:	
	Thought it was union again
	Cannot believe harmony is so far to reach
	(Huỳnh, 1901)
	Huệ tàn nên con bướm chẳng vãng lai,
	Tình xưa anh đã phụ, trước mai kể gì.
Translated:	
	The lily fades so the butterfly doesn't stay
	The love you have betrayed, harmony is nothing
	(Đặng, 1928)
	Thấy đó nói ra đây em đà hiểu ý,
	Muốn cho đào lý hiệp với trước mai,
	Quản chi biển rộng sông dài,

Bớ anh ôi, ôm duyên em đợi khách chương đài bấy lâu.

Translated:

Seeing that, I understand what you mean Wanting to be in harmony Do not worry about big oceans and long rivers Oh, my dear, I have been waiting for you for so long (Đăng, 1928)

According to Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the word trước means bamboo (Huỳnh, 2018b), so trước mai is trúc mai. This expression is a symbol that often appears in folk songs to refer to a typical male and female couple. The term trúc, which is bamboo, indicates a gentleman, and the word mai, which is a yellow Mai flower, refers to a beautiful woman. In the folk verse, Muốn cho Dao lý hiệp với trước mai, there is another symbol of love, which is Dao and lý. Furthermore, in the following folk songs, besides the word trước, we also have the word sạ dĩ. In Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị (Dictionnaire Annamit), the term dĩ means "done" (Huỳnh, 2018b). Sạ is a misreading of the word sự, meaning a thing. So, the word sạ dĩ can be understood as the thing is already done.

> Khi nào thanh vắng một mình, Tôi phân sạ dĩ, dươn tình trước mai.

Translated:

When in solitude The thing is done as well as our fate (Đăng, 1928)

(Dung, 1920)

The word *chích* in *chích mác, chích bóng,* and *chích chiu* is also an unusual word in both literature and daily life.

Bấy giờ đôi ngã Sâm Thương, Chiếu đơn chích mác thiếp chàng xa nhau

Translated:

The time when Sâm Thương are apart How lonely am I when you and I are not together

(Huỳnh, 1901)

Liễu bồ chích bóng cô phòng, Vào ra hiu quạnh tấm lòng thiết tha.

Translated:

Willow tree friends with loneliness In or out of solitude accompanies a sincere heart (Nguyễn, 1934)

Đất Sài Gòn nam thanh nữ tú Anh về rồi đừng say đắm hoa tươi Để em chiu chích tương tư một mình

Translated:

The land of Sài Gòn is full of beauties When you go there, don't fall for a new taste Let me immerse into my lonely feeling (Nguyễn, 1933)

According to *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*), the word *chích* means single, odd. Therefore, the word *chích mác* means being alone, having no one by your side, which refers to the loneliness of a person in love with someone who has passed away. The word *chích bóng* means being alone without any companion. *Chiu chít* means moaning with sorrow (Huỳnh, 2018a). When the word *chích* combines with other single words to make compound words, such as *chích mác, chích bóng*, and *chích chiu*, the word *chích* retains its meaning. All three compound words refer to the loneliness or lonely lament of a man or a woman in a separation situation. Today, the word *chích bóng* is still being used, but it has changed into *chiết bóng*.

The word *dôi* in *dôi phân* is also an ancient Vietnamese word that has now been replaced by another word:

Mặt em nào có phấn dồi, Cớ sao đẹp đẽ vô hồi thế kia.

Translated:

Your face is covered with no beauty powder Why are you always so pretty? (Nguyễn, 1967)

Thấy mặt em dồi phấn anh phải lòng, Biết làm sao gá ngỡi bá tòng với em.

I'm in love when you apply beauty powder I do not know how to create an eternal bond with you

(Đặng, 1928)

In *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*), *dồi* means bringing up, tossing up, or filling (Huỳnh, 2018a). With this meaning, the word *dồi phấn* refers to the act of applying beauty powder to a woman's face. Today, the word *dồi* is still widely used, whether as a single word or combined with other words. However, *dồi phấn* is no longer used.

Similar to the word *dồi* in *dồi phấn*, the word *lậu* in *lậu tình* is also rare in folk songs nowadays:

Anh có thương em anh phải làm ngơ, Anh đừng sai trẻ đem thơ lậu tình.

Translated:

You love me, so you have to ignore Asking children to bring letters will let others know

(Đặng, 1928)

Phụng hoàng từ giã truông mây Ra về thương nhớ, ở đây lậu tình.

Translated:

The phoenix said goodbye to Truong May Somewhere, not here, to show love; it will be exposed by chance (Nguyễn, 1928)

Tay cầm nhành quế lại kế nhành trâm, Thương tui để dạ đừng viếng thăm lậu tình

Translated:

Holding a rose next to a primrose Love me, so please don't visit since people will know (Nguyễn, 1928)

In *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*), *lậu tình* is defined as accidentally letting others know (Huỳnh, 2018a). In the above songs, *lậu tình* can be understood in the context that your love for someone is accidentally exposed to people.

Your feelings are revealed by chance rather than willingly by you. If the word $l\hat{a}u$ is used separately, this is still a commonly used word. But when combined with the word $t\hat{u}nh$, the word $l\hat{a}u$ the word $l\hat{a}u$ the separately seen elsewhere.

The last word we want to mention in this article is *hiếm hiệm*, a rare word in folk songs nowadays and back then. It appears only once in the collection, *Câu hát góp* of Huynh Tinh Cua.

Muốn chơi chậu cúc tam hường Liễu huê hiếm hiệm dọc đường thiếu chi

Translated:

To want is to want potted daisies Willow flowers along the road are not so rare (Huỳnh, 1901)

The word *hiếm hiệm* is both an ancient word and a particular word of the southern dialect. In *Đại Nam quốc âm tự vị* (*Dictionnaire Annamit*), it is defined as rare or messy. The word *hiệm* means a lot, abundant (Huỳnh, 2018a). In his article, *Cách nói của người miền Tây Nam Bộ qua ca dao*, Trần (2011) explained that "when people say *hiếm hiệm*, it means it is enough. Or when people say it is *bộn bàng*, it means they have more than enough." In the above folk song, people used dialect to express deeper meanings and to implicitly compare potted daisies and willow flowers along the road. The word *hiếm hiệm* has increased the number and lowered the value of the subjects mentioned since we cannot call something with many duplicates rare! To say *hiếm hiệm* is to say it is not so rare.

3. CONCLUSION

The linguistic system of the southern people was formed in conjunction with the appearance of the national language script. The southern folk language has shown a unique characteristic of a new language through gradual improvements. It results from a convergence of features in folk languages from other regions of the country. Therefore, southern folk songs are a mixture of the national language and the unique language of the southern people in living and creating literature. From three elements: the formation of local history, the coexistence of many ethnic groups, and the fading of boundaries between localities in the same area, the southern people have created a vocabulary system of their own, which researchers continuously study, collect, and annotate into a unique regional dictionary known as the *Southern Dialect Dictionary*. It can be affirmed that the southern folk songs collected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are repositories of ancient words and the unique dialect of locals in the South. These ancient words gradually disappeared and are no longer used in literature and everyday communication. If they are used, these words might be modified or combined with other words to express different meanings. Therefore, the research on ancient Vietnamese words in southern folk song collections

published in the early 20th century can contribute to sketching a unique and exciting picture of the southern language that was popular.

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