

FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY TOWARDS VERNACULAR LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT  
AND  
THE CASE OF PHAM QUYNH IN VIET-NAM

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When French colonialism began to gain a firm foothold in Viet-Nam at the beginning of the 1860s, the French administration made a series of political decisions, based on previous French experience in the area and on their perception of the Vietnamese social situation, which had a serious and long-lasting effect on the status of the Vietnamese language and, in turn, on modern Vietnamese history. This paper will try to suggest an outline of the situation first encountered by the French and indicate the probable motivating factors behind their policies. We shall also document the course of events during and just prior to the 1914 - 1918 War which brought to prominence a young writer-politician, Pham Quynh, whose role in Vietnamese history has been controversial, to say the least.

Let us for a moment examine the pre-French colonial language context of Viet-Nam and identify some of the salient features of that period as they bear on our inquiry. During the 1,000-year era of direct Chinese domination (111 B.C. - 939 A.D.), nearly all

of the more familiar Chinese cultural, political, social, and religious institutions were introduced into Viet-Nam. The Chinese language was one of these institutions. While we have not as yet found any evidence that Chinese was widely spoken in Viet-Nam at the time, it seems to have been the only written language, used primarily for administrative and literary purposes, up until at least the XIIIth century. And its predominance in administrative use continued, with a few exceptions, right up until the XIXth century and the coming of the French. On the one hand, it proved to be a most effective tool for the promotion and maintenance of Chinese culture and Chinese political control; on the other hand, it helped reinforce the divisions between social classes in Viet-Nam itself. To<sup>know</sup> Chinese was to have exclusive access to administrative documents and the high literary and cultural appurtenances of power. It was the outstanding mark of the educated man. The fact that acquiring written Chinese was a slow and difficult process tended to exclude, however unconsciously, the poorer student and restrict its accessibility; this might lead one to suppose that there was little impetus for the "intelligentry"\* to look favorably upon any language reforms that would encourage undue competition.

During the initial period of Chinese control in Viet-Nam there seems to have occurred a steady immigration of ethnic Chinese who rather naturally flowed towards the centres of power, something not surprisingly found in other colonial situations at various times

\*a coined word meant to describe that class of people in Chinese society who were both land owners and the main source of candidates to the civil service through the literary examination system.

and places. It can be said with some certainty that their knowledge of written Chinese was no impediment to their ability to impose themselves under these circumstances and one cannot help but notice the parallel with the semi-literate Corsican's ability to find a job in colonial Algerian officialdom.

Nonetheless, the force and cohesion which Chinese ideas and social forms lent to Viet-Nam along with the slow realization that continued Chinese domination did not favor the economic interests of the landed aristocracy provided both the tools and the motivations for the temporarily similar growth of a national consciousness in all Vietnamese social classes and led to the eventual political independence of Viet-Nam in the Xth century.

This political independence did not, however, lead to a rejection of Chinese social institutions nor of the continued use of written Chinese as a major underpinning of such institutions. Significantly, one of the first acts of newly established Vietnamese dynasties was the establishment of triennial literary examinations, in Chinese, for the recruitment of the civil service.<sup>1</sup>

Among the peasant classes, spoken Vietnamese continued to be the medium of communication.<sup>2</sup> We also suspect that Vietnamese had long since become the spoken language of the aristocracy, although it is conceivable that this had always been the case.<sup>3</sup>

Another interesting feature of the pre-French colonial language situation in Viet-Nam was the existence of a demotic script called *chữ-nôm* (字喃). While some Vietnamese scholars are wont to push its origins back beyond a doubtful point<sup>4</sup>, we have some fragmentary evidence of its existence as early as the VIIIth century<sup>5</sup>, historical references to it from the XIIIth century<sup>6</sup>, and epigraphy from the XIVth century.<sup>7</sup> *Chữ-nôm*, a modified set of Chinese characters used to transcribe the Vietnamese vernacular, was in use for personal letters, for poetry of a more popular nature, and for introducing students to Chinese, up through the XIXth century. While its use occasionally met with Court approval, it was more often than not relegated to a very secondary rôle, disdained by the intelligenty as uncouth.<sup>8</sup> Its existence was, however, another proof of the use of spoken Vietnamese in all classes of society.

We have said (p. 1) that French language policy was based in part on previous French contact with Viet-Nam. We are referring to that period between 1600 and the middle of the XIXth century when French missionaries and soldiers of fortune developed an interest in promoting at first the faith of their fathers and, later on, the money of their bankers in the Indochinese peninsula. Christian missionaries, with the Frenchman Alexandre de Rhodes the most important among them<sup>9</sup>, created a romanization of the Vietnamese vernacular, later dubbed *quốc-ngữ*, for use in religious texts. It was later to become the standard romanization of the language throughout Viet-Nam.

While the effect, if not the intent, of the continued use of written Chinese was the linguistic isolation of the Vietnamese peasant masses from the written word, the intent, if not at first the effect, of the creation of quốc-ngũ was the spreading of the written word throughout the lowest levels of society. Quốc-ngũ was designed for the expressed purpose of Christian religious instruction; the vast majority of potential converts in Viet-Nam were drawn from the peasant classes, that is to say, those who were not generally capable of reading Chinese. As we have noted above (p. 4), there already existed a demotic transcription, chũ-nôm, but this system virtually necessitated a fair knowledge of written Chinese in order to be read; we have no reason to suppose, therefore, that chũ-nôm was widely known among the masses — the fact that the missionaries chose largely to ignore chũ-nôm<sup>10</sup> when looking for a medium to transmit their message would reinforce our notion that a common instrument for written communication with the peasantry was lacking in pre-French colonial Viet-Nam. But quốc-ngũ was intended by its creators as a vehicle for the transmitting of what was considered by the Vietnamese Court and intelligentry to be subversive material, i.e. a foreign ideology which could, and to some degree would, undermine the institutions of the state and the cultural paraphernalia that accompanied it. The Christian community, a small group before the XXth century, was dealt with rather firmly by Vietnamese officialdom and quốc-ngũ never gained any currency outside that community before the coming of French hegemony.

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The situation which greeted the French in 1860 when they began the conquest of Viet-Nam can be summarized as follows: 1) the Vietnamese language was spoken daily by most everyone in the country; 2) the official written language of administration and of literature was Chinese though it was apparently not spoken much, if at all, by ethnic Vietnamese<sup>11</sup>; 3) there were two transcriptions of the vernacular: one, based on Chinese characters which, though probably the more widely known of the transcriptions, found itself in limited use in literature and letters, a useful knowledge of which was probably concentrated in the main in the upper social classes; the other transcription, quốc-ngữ, a comparatively simple and accessible romanization whose currency was restricted to a small body of Vietnamese Christians.

What led the French at the outset of their colonial adventure in Viet-Nam to decide on a policy of adopting quốc-ngữ as the sole and official transcription of the Vietnamese vernacular? What were the implications and effects of that policy? How did Phạm Quỳnh become a principal instrument of that policy?

The French wished to expand, consolidate and enforce their control over Viet-Nam; to do so they needed firstly, to subvert the authority of the Vietnamese mandarin elite, nearly 100% of which was opposed to the French presence and, secondly, to possess some means of communication

with the general population other than through the mandarinat. Further, we cannot ignore the notion of the "Mission Civilisatrice" (the French equivalent of the "White Man's Burden") as an integral part of French colonial thinking which, if not a primary cause for the initiation of certain language policies, at least served them as a convenient excuse. Cultru, in his Histoire de la Cochinchine française des origines à 1883<sup>12</sup>, and later on Osborne, in The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia<sup>12</sup>, have gone into some detail regarding French linguistic policy in the period 1859 - 1905. Marr also touches on this subject in his Vietnamese Anticolonialism.<sup>14</sup> Simply stated, our summary and analysis of the important features of the pre-1905 period would include these observations: the colonial administration, at first military and, following 1879, civilian, established a number of schools for the signal purpose of training a corps of French-Vietnamese interpreters-translators recruited from the local population. For a time, these schools existed alongside traditional village schools which gave instruction in Chinese characters. The administration at first tolerated the public use of Chinese and there was some debate as to the advisability of its suppression.<sup>15</sup> In 1878, Admiral Lafont finally decreed that the romanized transcription would be obligatory in all public acts and that the application of this decree was to begin in 1882. Because of the rather feeble number of quốc-ngữ schools, the inadequate finances and deficient staffing thereof, and the poor quality and quantity of quốc-ngữ teaching materials available, the decree of 1878

remained somewhat theoretical and even at the turn of the century it is probable that the number of Vietnamese functionally literate in quốc-ngữ did not much exceed the number who could read Chinese.

The French were active in promoting a journal in quốc-ngữ, the Gia-Đinh Báo, which first appeared in April of 1861 as the organ of the Sài-gòn city government. It was the only regularly published periodical in quốc-ngữ until the establishment in 1897 of the Nam Kỳ. Thereupon, several other short-lived publications appeared and always, as with the Gia-Đinh Báo and the Nam Kỳ, under the direction of Frenchmen.

In theory, the idea of speaking directly to the Vietnamese through the medium of a simple romanized vernacular and a thoroughly controlled press should have succeeded both in undercutting the mandarins, who still relied upon written Chinese, and in promoting a wide-spread interest in French ideas.<sup>16</sup> But, besides the quantitatively insufficient nature of the French effort in this domaine, there were other considerations which impeded their "oeuvre." There was a natural reluctance on the part of the intelligentry to associate with the French.<sup>17</sup> The interpreters, therefore, were often drawn from the Catholic Vietnamese community, where some knowledge of the romanization already existed, and from the merchant or well-to-do peasant classes where a knowledge of quốc-ngữ and association with the French might give them an economic boost in life; it was not unknown for such families to hedge their bets in sending one son to quốc-ngữ



school and another to a Chinese character school. By and large, the popular opinion of the interpreters could be likened to that of trustees in a jail: they were often seen as sell-outs, uncultured, petty martinets, lording it over their betters, disrupters of an ancient and divinely-ordained social system whose power derived from association with a foreign occupier. Perhaps we should not forget that Viet-Nam possessed a multi-millenary culture and that the French generally did not send their first-born sons nor their most noted humanitarians to run the colonial administration.

In sum, then, the French were headed in the direction of establishing *quốc-ngữ* as a functional transcription of the Vietnamese vernacular; but for the first half century of their rule in Viet-Nam, the insufficiency of their efforts combined with a certain popular resistance to change and slowed their progress.

The issue of popular resistance to *quốc-ngữ* went further than simple distaste for the interpreters and their ilk and the social dislocation they symbolized. Part of the "Mission Civilisatrice" was the introduction of French cultural ideas through the medium of this romanization. As was realized with dislike by a minority of French officials like Luro (see note 15) and, in fact, as was intended by policy-makers like Bonard, there existed a whole body of traditional learning written in Chinese, an understanding of which could not be gained by someone exclusively literate in *quốc-ngữ*. A sense of mystery and reverence, possibly aided by their arcane qualities, was attached to

these traditional works whose loss implied a loss of cultural identity. Given the respect which the Vietnamese had always accorded to this body of literature and the esteem in which the educated men who could read it were held, one can more fully comprehend why knowing quốc-ngữ did not have the appeal the French hoped it would.

The protagonists of nationalism, the literati, continued to use Chinese in their anti-French tracts. We can observe that the quasi-exclusive use of Chinese by the anti-colonialist movement, while legitimizing it, may at the same time have ultimately weakened it by reducing the numbers of those who could read its propaganda. It was not until the advent of the intellectual ferment produced throughout Asia by the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 that Vietnamese nationalists began seriously to consider the advantages which the use of quốc-ngữ could offer their cause. At this point where the nationalist movement, inspired by the Japanese example, started modernizing its methods, French language policies were put to their most serious test.

In the spirit of modernization and coming to grips with the impact of Western technology, a group of nationalist leaders set up the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục (東京義塾)\* in Hà-nội in March, 1907. At the time, the use of quốc-ngữ was more common in southern Viet-Nam than in the North. The French had permitted the establishment in Hà-nội \*roughly, the Tongking Free School

of a few private schools furnishing instruction in French, Chinese, and quốc-ngữ to the children of the well-to-do and the purpose of these schools seems to have been to prepare their pupils for study in France. By contrast, the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục sought to provide the necessary intellectual tools to those young Vietnamese who dreamed of a strong and independent future Viet-Nam. It was at the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục, for the first time in the nationalist movement, that professors encouraged their students to learn quốc-ngữ and to use it as a vehicle for their new ideas.

In connexion, a journal was started which printed articles in quốc-ngữ as well as in Chinese (for older readers). The school and its journal, the Đảng-cổ Tùng-báo, began to work on the publication in quốc-ngữ and Chinese of the works of Western thinkers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau and, interestingly enough, the French authorities became decidedly nervous at this turn of events. As a countermove, they opened a school called the Học-quý Tân Trường (學貴新場) but it could not compete successfully with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục; the authorities finally closed down the latter in January, 1908, and a few months later found a pretext for jailing its founders. The success, albeit ephemeral, of the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục clearly demonstrated to the French the need to take the business of education seriously in hand lest the Vietnamese themselves soon be able to develop an educational movement that would escape governmental control.

The French sought an agent for their policy of a renewed emphasis on the development of publishing in and, thereby, popularizing the romanization of the Vietnamese vernacular. They found the first such agent in a young journalist named Nguyễn Văn Vĩnh.<sup>18</sup> Working through a French publisher named Schneider who had previous contact with Vĩnh, the authorities financed, on a contractual basis, editing a quốc-ngữ review called the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí. The goal of this publication was the neutralizing of nationalist propaganda and this goal was clearly enunciated by Schneider in its first edition. The work of Vĩnh consisted mainly of translating into quốc-ngữ those works which "best" represented French culture. His own ideas were well-fitted to the anti-mandarinal and anti-"nho học"\* bias that was intended for the journal. The format of the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí, reminiscent somewhat of the Gia-Định Báo, included news favorable to France, essays on Vietnamese culture, poetry, and translations, especially serialized episodes from Chinese adventure novels like the San Kuo Chi (三國志). It was hoped that the range of subject matter — and perhaps Vĩnh's own rather tame nationalism; he had once been associated with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục — would incite broad reader interest. In the event, it seems that it was the literary rather than the political content of the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí that was able to hold the public's attention and the publication lasted less than four years.

The colonial authorities thereupon turned to a young

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\* 儒學 Confucian (≅ Classical) studies

writer, working on the staff of the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí, who was to prove a most valuable asset to their policy of spreading quốc-ngữ through a controlled press. This man, Phạm Quỳnh, was both personally and politically a complex individual.<sup>19</sup> At first a secretary-translator at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient and later a contributing editor at the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí, Phạm Quỳnh had fallen under the influence of Louis Marty, the "grand old man" of the Sûreté\* in Indochina.

Originally from Toulouse, Marty was trained as a lawyer and took courses at the Ecole Coloniale before coming to Viet-Nam as an administrator. Once there, he studied both the Vietnamese language and Chinese characters. It was the scholarly Marty, amateur historian and numismatist, one of the most subtle, most faithful servants of French colonialism, who first recognized the great potential which Phạm Quỳnh offered.

The First World War marked the beginning of a campaign of French propaganda in the Far East which had as its targets the educated classes of Viet-Nam and China. French leaders thought there was a pressing need to counteract pro-German sympathy among the region's intellectuals. Louis Marty, then Director of the Bureau Politique du Gouvernement Général, had the idea of translating, into Chinese, French texts on history and politics. In the name of creating a current of sympathy favorable to France and the Allied war effort, these texts were then to be fed to \*equivalent, more or less, to the secret police

periodical publications in China. (The French had also managed to "buy" a few journalists in Bangkok and elsewhere). Marty turned to Phạm Quỳnh to oversee the translation of the texts in question. Marty's selection of Phạm Quỳnh had hidden objectives other than the ostensible one of making propaganda... First of all, Marty could keep a watchful eye on the work of a very intelligent young "indigène" who, if ever he were to become an enemy of the régime, might turn dangerous. In addition, Marty could begin to play the rôle of an intellectual god-father, a powerful man who, in the guise of friendship, was apt to assure and advance the career of Phạm Quỳnh to the degree that the latter proved his loyalty, not simply to France, but to his friend and mentor, i.e. Louis Marty.

In the month of September, 1917, Albert Sarraut, Governor-General of Indochina, sent to the Ministry of the Colonies in Paris a nine-page aide-mémoire in which he described the actions taken by his office to spread throughout the Far East propaganda favorable to the French position in the Great War.\*

"Au lendemain de la déclaration de guerre, la nécessité d'agir sur l'opinion publique indigène par une propagande appropriée, méthodique et permanente, apparut d'autant plus impérieuse que les Allemands avaient pris depuis plusieurs années, dans le domaine de la publicité, en Extrême-Orient, une avance considérable, et que leur propagande insidieuse atteignait profondément la collectivité annamite, par le véhicule des caractères chinois. Dans les rapports qu'ils vous ont adressés, mes prédécesseurs ont maintes fois fait allusion à l'hostilité latente que l'activité prévoyante de nos ennemis avaient réussi à déterminer contre nous, dans la plupart de milieux asiatiques,..."

\*Saraut's aide-mémoire and an accompanying aide-mémoire by Louis Marty, both of which are cited in the original hereunder, may be found in the Archives d'Outre-Mer, Paris; viz.: A. O.-M. Nouveau Fonds 11, dossier 56.

Sarraut was particularly anxious to "correct" the influence of the pro-German ideas of K'ang Yu-wei (康有為) who was widely read not only in China but by those Vietnamese who got their new ideas through reading in Chinese.<sup>20</sup> In his aide-mémoire, Sarraut posed the question, "Sommes-nous maîtres de l'opinion publique indigène?" The answer to his question was obviously, "Non!"

"C'est dans ces conditions que le Gouvernement Général qui, s'était abstenu de participer financièrement (sic) à ces publications locales, a été amené à prendre l'initiative de créer une 'Revue' en langue indigène, s'adressant aux pays annamites et répondant aux buts d'éducation et de propagande que nous devons poursuivre."

The idea of founding such a publication in quôc-ngũ, to be called the Nam Phong Tap-chí, doubtlessly originated in the the Bureau Politique with Louis Marty, and Sarraut attached to his aide-mémoire Marty's notes justifying the idea. The Vietnamese intelligentsia was now open to foreign influences and France risked losing what little control she had over the traditional élite; she had to create a new elite, trained in quôc-ngũ not Chinese and, at the same time, convert or discredit the old élite. Marty recognized the delicate nature of this enterprise.

"Nous sommes arrivés à une époque où l'on peut, où l'on doit même tout laisser dire dans ce pays, où le nombre de gens instruits et doués de sens critique augment chaque jour. L'essentiel est que la conclusion de nos écrits s'impose d'elle-même à l'esprit des lecteurs, soit nettement favorable à la pérennité de l'influence française. C'est le point délicat et c'est à quoi doit parer le contrôle effectif exercé sur la revue Nam Phong par le Chef du Bureau Politique du Gouvernement Général qui, en est le promoteur officieux."

It was precisely for this reason that:

"Un très grand libéralisme dans le choix des sujets traités sera observé, afin de conserver à ce recueil un caractère suffisant d'indépendance et d'impartialité, sans lequel cette œuvre de propagande aurait le sort de toutes les tentatives du même genre, faites jusqu'à ce jour et qui ont échoué, à cause de la naïve et maladroite partialité administrative qui les inspirait."

As for questions of an openly political nature, Marty showed that great subtlety that was his principal arm: from the first issue of Nam Phong Tap-chi, he cited a line (written by Pham Quỳnh),

"Pourrons-nous songer à notre émancipation politique, à notre autonomie future tant que nos Protecteurs ne nous auront pas jugés capables de diriger nos propres affaires?"

Then Marty added for the edification of the Minister:

"Ce passage est intentionnel, soupape nécessaire pour les sentiments nationalistes qui existent et qu'il est plus habile de laisser s'exhaler que de vouloir les comprimer."

The question was where could the French find Vietnamese who were well enough educated to keep the journal functioning, clever enough and sufficiently patriotic in appearance to fight successfully against the Confucian nationalists, and yet faithful enough to France to remain politically reliable? Marty tells the Minister of his choice:

"Les deux principaux rédacteurs: M.M. PHAM-QUYNH et NGUYEN-BA-TRAC ont pris cette revue sous leur nom, afin qu'elle conserve aux yeux du public un caractère exclusivement indigène. Elle sort également pour la même raison des presses d'imprimerie indigène."

The Nam Phong Tap-chi was to become the most important and



the longest running (1917 - 1934) vehicle for the French policy of expanding and perfecting quốc-ngữ in this century. Later nationalists have often accused the journal and its principal editor and contributor, Phạm Quỳnh, of having put the Vietnamese people to sleep, of having redirected their enthusiasm for national emancipation. This was certainly the government's intention in founding the Nam Phong Tạp-chí and in putting Phạm Quỳnh at its head. His fate seems to be like that of General Pétain, at one time honored and feted (Phạm Quỳnh was Minister of Education in the Imperial Cabinet at Huế and later Prime Minister), and subsequently resolutely rejected (he was executed by the Việt Minh in 1945), possibly for good reason in both cases. The factors aside from his own considerable literary talents which conjoined to thrust him into the public arena at a very young age are now clear. As of 1917, the authorities put at his disposal a powerful journal, one whose finances they underwrote and whose distribution they assured thus protecting him from competition and giving him the cachet of official respectability.

Phạm Quỳnh's critics, and they are legion, reproach him with having favored modernization through collaboration with France, weakening true national interests by preaching false nationalism. They say he favored reactionary French philosophers and writers like Maurras and Barrès, and this is undeniable. At best he often showed an incredible naïveté, in thinking, for example, that the colonial authorities were

ready for local educational autonomy<sup>21</sup>, or that France, grateful for Vietnamese sacrifices during World War I, proposed to install a true protectorate<sup>22</sup>, or, again, once a high educational level became generalized in Viet-Nam, that France intended to recognize Vietnamese independence.<sup>23</sup>

To declare, however, that Phạm Quỳnh was a simple puppet of the French would be a gross oversimplification because this would mean that he was a passive individual, responding to command. On the contrary, a quick perusal of his writings, be it in Vietnamese or in French, show him to be a highly intelligent man, actively pursuing a course of action he believed to be useful and necessary. How was a mind of this calibre turned to the profit of French colonialism and, especially, its not disinterested language policies?

Louis Marty probably understood Phạm Quỳnh as well as anyone, maybe better than Phạm Quỳnh himself, for he knew that if inner conflict arose between Phạm Quỳnh's two chief qualities, the love of ideas for their own sake (the intellectual self) and rigid, authoritarian, personal loyalism, atavistically Confucian, (the moral self), then the moral considerations would out. Thus was Louis Marty able to play Iago to Phạm Quỳnh's Othello.\*

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\*there is some evidence to suggest that Marty also tried to play this role vis-à-vis Võ Nguyên Giáp as a young man. The future General Giáp must have been made of sterner stuff.

NOTES ON TEXT

1.) viz., inter alia, Lê Thành Khôi, Le Việt-Nam, histoire et civilisation, Paris, 1955, pp. 148-149; the original references will be found in Ngô Sĩ Liên (吳士連), Đại-Việt Sử-ký Toàn-thư (大越史記全書), "Lý Nhân Tôn (李仁宗)" quyển III: this is a XVIIth century text.

2.) This is evidenced by a long tradition of oral literature, the "tục-ngữ (俗語)" or proverbs, the "ca-dao (歌謠)" or folksongs, as well as folk tales, some of which were written down in Chinese as early as the XIVth century; viz., Việt-diện U Linh tập (越南幽靈集), 1329; Linh-nam Trích Quái (嶺南摭怪), 1492 or 1493?.

3.) A very large number of lexical items filtered down to Vietnamese and this group of items was not restricted to words in technical or literary usage. The process we suppose took place during the earliest period was that of intermingling spoken Vietnamese and Chinese, first at the lower levels of the intelligentry and slowly reaching up to the Court as it became more isolated from metropolitan China. At the same time there may have been created a pidginized Chinese used by villagers in their contacts with officialdom, particularly during the period of direct Chinese rule, and with Chinese traders and drifters. The result was the creation of the basic modern Vietnamese lexicon which received infusions of new Chinese terms now and again as monks, scholars, and traders sojourned abroad. Thus we find a variety of modern pronunciations of the same originally Chinese lexical item in Vietnamese (e.g. "dùng" or "dụng" for 用; "vi" or "vị" for 為; "ghê" or "kỹ" for 几, etc.) and we can infer that certain items were reintroduced at different times in history or with different Chinese regional pronunciations.

- 4.) cf. Bửu Cầm, "Nguồn gốc chữ-nôm," Văn-hóa Nguyệt-san, 1960, pp. 347-355.
- 5.) i.e. in 791, a certain Phùng Hùng (馮興) revolted against the Chinese and took the reign title of Bô-Cái Đại-Vương (布荖大王). In this instance "bô-cái" means "father and mother (of his people)" and is a use of Chinese characters to represent Vietnamese vernacular lexical items. viz., Toàn-thư, "Kỷ thuộc Tùy-Đường", quyển V.
- 6.) The poet Nguyễn Thuyên (阮詮), later called Hàn Thuyên (韓詮), was supposed to have composed poetry in chữ-nôm in his Phi-sa tập (披砂集), in the later half of the XIIIth century. viz., Toàn-thư, "Trần Nhân Tông (陳仁宗)", quyển V. The Phi-sa tập has long since been lost.
- 7.) The stele of Hồ-thành-sơn (護城山) in Ninh-Bình province, dating from 1343, contains some twenty-odd village names in chữ-nôm. viz., H. Maspero, "Etude sur la phonétique historique de la langue vietnamienne," Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient, tome XII, no. 1, p. 7.
- 8.) For a fuller discussion of chữ-nôm viz., inter alia, S. O'Harrow, L'histoire socio-littéraire de la langue vietnamienne, (MS. Sorbonne, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), pp. 14 - 38.
- 9.) Father Alexandre de Rhodes, 1591-1660(?), a Spanish Jew by ancestry, a papal subject by birth and residence (born March 15th, 1591, at Avignon, in the shadow of the palace of the Popes Clement), and a Frenchman in all other respects, is sometimes erroneously credited (as per E. Gaspardone, "L'histoire de la philologie indochinoise," Dân Việt-Nam, no. 2, December, 1948, p. 15) with having created the quốc-ngữ romanized alphabet. he did, however, the major work of codifying and rationalizing this transcription, Thanh-Lãng's objections in Bảng Lược Đồ Văn-học Việt-Nam, vol. I, p. 381, notwithstanding.
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10.) A few Christian religious texts are found in chữ-nôm, cf. MS. by Girolamo Majorca (1634 or 1635) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

11.) There was a growing community of unassimilated and semi-assimilated ethnic Chinese in Viet-Nam at this point but they seem to have had little linguistic effect on the general population and, to the extent they considered themselves to be Chinese, the French colonial authorities treated them as a group apart.

12.) Paris, 1910, q.v.

13.) Ithaca, New York, 1969, q.v.

14.) Berkeley, California, 1971, q.v.

15.) Some like Admiral Bonard, felt the use of Chinese characters to be incompatible with progress and that French ideas could not be transmitted thereby. Others, such as Luro and Philiastre, felt that the abolition of Chinese characters would provoke "la chute morale de l'éducation vietnamienne." viz., O'Harrow, op. cit., p. 70.

16.) A few complete books in quốc-ngữ were also published such as those by Trương Vĩnh Ký, but, when compared with the quantity of available literature in Chinese, they were but a drop in the bucket.

17.) This was more noticeable in the central and northern sections of the country where the French ruled through the Protectorate than in Cochinchina where they had installed a direct colonial government and where the classical tradition was less firmly implanted.

18.) Nguyễn văn Vinh was born April 30th, 1882, in the village of Phường-đức, province of Hà-Đông. He passed the examinations of the Collège des Interpretes at the extraordinary age of ten. Because of his young age, he was kept at school until 1896 when he took the exams a second time and graduated first in his class. He first served as Secrétaire de Résidence at Lao-kay, then at the Tribunal of Hải-phong. After having visited the Marseilles Exposition in 1906, he left governmental service to go into the printing business with a Frenchman named Dufour. In 1907, he took over as editor of the new Dai-Nam Đông-văn Nhật-báo which, in collaboration with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục, was later to become the Đảng-cổ Tùng-báo. At this time he used the nom de plume of "Tân Nam-tử (新南子 — The New Vietnamese Man)". He later published Notre Journal (1908, in French), Notre Revue (1910, also in French). Vinh became well known for his quốc-ngữ translations of such French works as Manon Lescaut, Gil Blas, and Les Trois Mousquetaires, as well as plays by Molière and the Fables of la Fontaine, etc. He believed totally in the importance of quốc-ngữ and is remembered for having said, "The future of our country depends on the future of quoc-ngu," (Nước Nam ta mai sau hay dở ở như chữ quốc-ngữ), a phrase often repeated later by Phạm Quỳnh. Vinh had a strange, mercurial side to his nature; he was one of the earlier Vietnamese Freemasons and he ultimately died searching for gold in Laos.

19.) Thanks to the generous cooperation of Phạm Quỳnh's daughter, Mme. Phạm thị Ngoan, we have been able to learn something of his early life. Phạm Quỳnh (范瑾) was born December 7th, 1892, in Hà-nội, to Phạm Hữu Diên (范有典) and Vũ thị Đoan (武氏端). His family came from Lương-ngọc (良玉) in the province of Hải-Dương. His mother died less than a year after his birth, followed by his father in 1900. Raised from the age of nine by his grandmother, he entered the Collège du Protectorat where he graduated first in the Class of 1908. He was apparently enrolled in Paul Beau's University of Indochina until its suppression, following the Đề Thám revolt. He may have had some contact with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục but until Louis Marty's personal papers can be inspected we shall not know where to look for evidence of this possibility. At the age of sixteen he became a fonctionnaire,

attached to the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. In 1909, Phạm Quỳnh married Lê thị Vân (黎氏雲) and the first of their thirteen children, a son, was born in 1911. In spite of his schooling, Phạm Quỳnh was primarily a self-taught man. It was while working at the Ecole Française that he perfected his knowledge of Chinese and he published his first known written work, "Deux oraisons funebres," in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XIV, vol. 5, pp. 41-55.

20.) The French colonial government banned the importation to Indochina of books in Chinese after November 6th, 1914. This ban was most difficult to enforce.

21.) O'Harrow, op. cit., pp. 146-147 and 176.

22.) Ibid., pp. 176-177.

23.) Even Varenne, the so-called "socialist" Governor-General, wished to disabuse Phạm Quỳnh of this preconception. viz., "Hai bài diễn-thuyết về chính-sách 'Pháp-Việt Hợp-tác'", Nam Phong, tome XVIII, no. 105, April, 1926, pp. 237-246.