

French loanwords in Vietnamese: the role of input language phonotactics and contrast in loanword adaptation*

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1. Introduction

(1) The goals of today's presentation

- Examine vowel adaptation in French loanwords in Vietnamese
- Examine the types of knowledge adapters bring:
 - o Native phonology
 - o Phonetic/perceptual similarity between source and native language sounds (Steriade 1999, Kenstowicz 2001, Boersma and Hamann 2001, Peperkamp and Dupoux 2008, Yun 2014)
 - o Input language (L2) phonology (Kang 2010, de Jong and Cho 2012)
 - when phonetic similarity underdetermines the adaptation pattern
 - regularization of phonetically motivated correspondences based on L2 categories

2. Data

(2) Data and sources

- A list of over 1,000 loanwords from French
- Primary list
 - o Dictionaries: Nguyễn et al. (1986, 1998), Lê et al. (1988)
 - o supplemented with commonly used forms that the second author is aware of
- Loanword list in Huynh (2010)
 - o collected from various published sources and dictionaries
 - o checked for common usage and pronunciation with Vietnamese informants from Saigon and Hanoi
- Fieldwork (2013)
 - o around 30 commonly used loanwords elicited from 14 native speakers residing in Vietnam using a picture naming method
 - o General validity of French-Vietnamese sound correspondences in the written data verified

(3) French transcription

- *Lexique* 3.80 (New, et al. in press; <http://www.lexique.org/>)

(4) Vietnamese transcription

- *vPhon* (Kirby 2008, <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/~jkirby/vphon.html>)¹

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¹ The Vietnamese transcription presented below is based on the Hanoi dialect orthography-sound correspondences. But, the Southern dialects (e.g. Saigon) likely had substantial influence on the adaptation and development of French loanwords. Due to time constraints, we will not discuss the dialectal variation in this presentation.

3. Background: French and Vietnamese Phonology (Hanoi)

(Tranel 1987, Walker 2001, Féry 2003, Fougeron Smith 1999, Thompson 1965, Phạm 2006, 2012, Kirby 2011, Emerich 2012)

(5) French consonant inventory

	Labial	Dental	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Labial-palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	p b	t d				k g	
Nasal	m	n		j̊		(ŋ)	
Fricative	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ				χ
Approximant	w	l		j	ɥ		

(6) Vietnamese onset consonant inventory

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	(p) b	tʰ t d̊	tç	k	?
Nasal	m	n	j̊	ŋ	
Fricative	f v	s z		x ɣ	h
Approximant	w	l (r)			

(7) Vietnamese coda restrictions

- voiceless stops [p, t, k, kp], nasals [m, n, j̊, ŋ̊m], and glides [j, w] only

(8) French vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
Oral vowels	i y e ø ɛ œ a		u o ɔ (a)
Nasal vowels	ɛ̄ (œ̄)		ɔ̄ ã

(9) Vietnamese vowel inventory²

	Front	Central	Back
Monophthongs	i e ɛ, (ɛ:)	ɯ ɤ ɤ̄, (ɛ̄:)	u o ɔ, (ɔ:)
Diphthongs	iə iɛ	ɯə ɯɛ	uə

- Length contrast in central vowels, /ɤ, ɤ̄/ and /a, ă/, accompanied by quality difference.
- /ă/ and /ɤ̄/ only occurs in closed syllables.
- /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ only occur in syllables closed with a velar coda.

² In Southern dialects, the lax vs. tense mid vowel contrast is marginal. This may have contributed to the variation in the mid vowel adaptation. Northern diphthongs correspond to long monophthongal vowels in the Southern dialects. (Vương and Hoàng 1994, Pham 2006)

(10) *Loi de position* effect in standard French

	Non-Final Syllable (~unstressed)		Final Syllable (~stressed)			
	Open	Closed	Open	others	Closed /z/ /ʁ/ /ɲ/ /g/	
ø/ø	✓		✓	✓	✓	
ɔ/œ		✓		✓		✓
e	✓		✓			
ɛ		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

- Lax mid vowels occur in closed syllables and tense mid vowels occur in open syllables.
- Systematic in non-final (unstressed) syllables but less systematic in final (stressed) syllables.
- Before /ʁ/, only lax vowels occur.
- Dialectal variation: the restriction holds more systematically in some dialects of French.

(11) Rhyme co-occurrence restrictions for dorsal codas in Vietnamese

Vowel	[c n]	[k ŋ]	[kp ɳm]
Front	i	✓	
	e	✓	
	ă (< ε)	✓	
	ɛ:	(✓)	
Central	ɯ	✓	
	ꝝ		
	ă	✓	
	a	✓	
Back round	u		✓
	o		✓
	ɔ		✓
	ɔ:	(✓)	

- Dorsal codas assimilate to the place of articulation of the preceding vowel, except for /ɛ: ɔ:/.

4. Correspondences between French and Vietnamese vowels

(12) Summary of overall correspondences

	French	Vietnamese
Oral vowels	/i/ /u/ /y/ /ə/, /ø/, /œ/	/i/ /u/ /wi/, /u/, /i/ /ɛ/
	/o/ /ɔ/ /e/ /ɛ/ /a/	/o/, /ɔ/ /o/, /ɔ/, /ɔ:/ /e/, /ɛ/ /ɛ/, /e/ /a/, /ă/, /ɛ/[ă]
Nasal vowels	/ɛ/ /ã/ /ጀ/	/ɛŋ/ [ăŋ] /ãŋ/, /ãm/ /ጀŋ/, /ጀŋ/, /ጀm/

- See appendix for examples of vowel correspondences.

4.1. Mid vowels /e ε/ and /o ɔ/

(13) Variation

- Both French and Vietnamese have tense vs. lax mid vowel contrasts and one may expect straightforward correspondences between French and Vietnamese mid vowels. But, a lot of variation is found.

(14) Before coda /k/

- Only lax vowels occur before /k/ in French and these vowels are always adapted as lax (and long) regardless of whether the coda /k/ is deleted or retained as /k/ in the Vietnamese output.

a. Coda /k/ deletes word-finally.

<i>vert</i>	/vɛk/	<i>ve</i>	/vɛl/	'green'
<i>maillechort</i>	/majʃɔk/	<i>mai xo</i>	/maj1 sɔl/	'nickel silver'

b. Coda /k/ is adapted as /k/ not word-finally.

<i>thermos</i>	/tɛkmɔs/	<i>téc mó̂t</i>	/tɛ:k5 mot5/	'thermostate'
<i>corset</i>	/kɔksɛ/	<i>coó̂c xé̂</i>	/kɔ:k5 se1/	'bra'

(15) *Loi de position* effect

- When pre-/k/ contexts are excluded, other things being equal, lax vowel adaptation is more likely if the vowel ends up in a closed syllable than in an open syllable in the Vietnamese output.

a. Adaptation of /e/

closed σ: lax	<i>tennis</i>	/tɛnis/	<i>ten nít</i>	/tɛn1 nit5/	'tennis'
open σ: tense	<i>allez</i>	/ale/	<i>a lê</i>	/a1 le1/	'go!'

b. Adaptation of /ε/

closed σ: lax	<i>veste</i>	/vɛst/	<i>vét</i>	/vɛt5/	'blazer, suit'
open σ: tense	<i>corset</i>	/kɔksɛ/	<i>coó̂c xé̂</i>	/kɔ:k5 se1/	'bra'

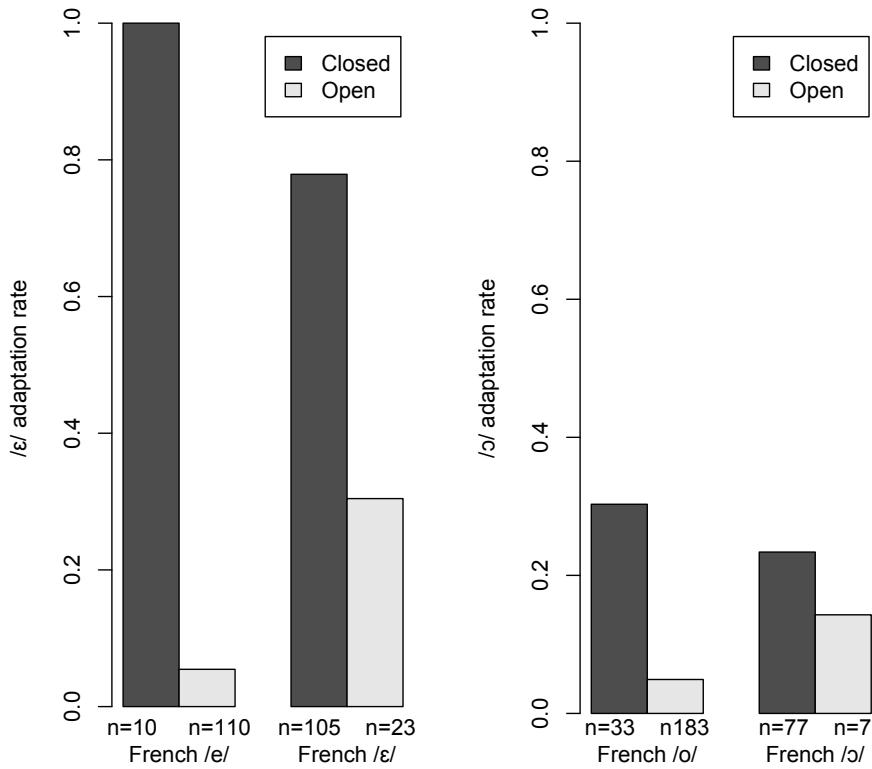
c. Adaptation of /o/

closed σ: lax	<i>neurone</i>	/nøkɔn/	<i>no'ron</i>	/nɔl zɔn1/	'nerve'
open σ: tense	<i>zéro</i>	/zɛkɔ/	<i>dê rô</i>	/zɛl rɔ1/	'zero'

d. Adaptation of /ɔ/

closed σ: lax	<i>pomme</i>	/pɔm/	<i>bom</i>	/bɔm1/	'apple'
open σ: tense	<i>oxygène</i>	/ɔksiʒen/	<i>ô xi</i>	/ɔl si1/	'oxigen'

Adaptation of French mid vowels by Vietnamese output syllable structure



(16) *Loi de position* in derived closed syllables

- Particularly interesting are the adaptations where the syllable structure changes from French to Vietnamese and the vowel quality changes to adhere to *Loi de Position*.
- Adapters are not merely mimicking the French input vowels but seem to be extending the *Loi de Position* effect productively.
- Most of these examples involve orthographic geminates being pronounced as real geminates.
- Such geminate pronunciations are reported for French but restricted to particular words and speech styles (Tranel 1987) and are likely an emergent properties of Vietnamese.³

a. /e/ > /ɛ/ in closed syllable due to orthographic germination

<i>dessert</i>	/d <u>e</u> sε̯/	<i>dét xe</i>	/d <u>ɛ̯</u> t5 se1/	'dessert'
<i>essence</i>	/e <u>sə̯s/</u>	<i>ét xă̯ng</i>	/ɛ̯t5 sǎ̯ŋ1/	'gasoline'
<i>cresson</i>	/k <u>res</u> ɔ̯/	<i>két sō̯ng</i>	/k <u>ɛ̯</u> t5 so̯ŋ1/	'watercress'
<i>confetti</i>	/k <u>ɔ̯feti/</u>	<i>công phét ti</i>	/ko̯ŋ1 f <u>ɛ̯</u> t5 ti1/	'confetti'
<i>marketing</i>	/ma <u>ʁkɛtiŋ/</u>	<i>ma két tinh</i>	/ma1 k <u>ɛ̯</u> t15 tijn1/	'marketing'
<i>cellulose</i>	/s <u>ɛ̯lyloz/</u>	<i>xen lu lô</i>	/s <u>ɛ̯</u> n1 lu1 lo1/	'cellulose'
<i>tennis</i>	/te <u>ni</u> z/	<i>ten nít</i>	/t <u>ɛ̯</u> n1 nit5/	'tennis'

³ According to Fouché (1973), in contemporary French gemination tends to be found with sonorant consonants.

b. /o/ > /ɔ/ in closed syllable due to orthographic germination

<i>tonneau</i>	/t _{ono} /	<i>ton nô</i>	/t _{ɔ̃} n1 no1/	'barrel'
		<i>tô nô</i>	/t _o 1 no1/	'barrel'
		<i>tó nô</i>	/t _o 5 no1/	'barrel'
<i>baïonnette</i>	/baj _{ɔ̃} net/	<i>bay on nêt</i>	/bâj1 ɔ̃n1 net5/	'knife on a long gun'
<i>commande</i>	/k _{ɔ̃} mād/	<i>com măng</i>	/k _{ɔ̃} m1 măŋ1/	'order'
<i>mayonnaise</i>	/maj _{ɔ̃} nez/	<i>may on ne</i>	/măj1 ɔ̃n1 ne1/	'mayonnaise'
<i>pommade</i>	/p _{ɔ̃} mad/	<i>pom mát</i>	/p _{ɔ̃} m1 mat5/	'skin cream'
<i>sonnet</i>	/s _{ɔ̃} nɛ/	<i>xon nê</i>	/s _{ɔ̃} n1 ne1/	'sonnet'

- French open syllables may also end up closed syllables in Vietnamese due to truncation.

c. /e/ > /ɛ/ in closed syllable due to truncation

<i>métrique</i>	/m _ɛ t̪rik/	<i>mét</i>	/m _ɛ t5/	'metric'
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d. /o/ > /ɔ/ in closed syllable due to truncation

<i>copier</i>	/k _{ɔ̃} pje/	<i>cóp</i>	/k _{ɔ̃} p5/	'to copy'
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4.2. Low vowel /a/

(17) /a/ > /a/ in open syllable

<i>compas</i>	/k _{ɔ̃} pa/	<i>com pa</i>	/k _{ɔ̃} m1 pa1/	'bus'
<i>cabine</i>	/kabin/	<i>ca bin</i>	/ka1 bin1/	'virus'
<i>bar</i>	/ba _z /	<i>ba</i>	/bâ1/	'bar'
<i>phase</i>	/faz/	<i>pha</i>	/fa1/	'phase'
<i>garage</i>	/ga _z aʒ/	<i>ga ra</i>	/gâ1 za1/	'vegetable'

(18) Closed syllable

French input		Vietnamese output coda	[a]	[ă]	[ጀ]	proportion of [a] adaptation
labial	/b p f/	p	12	1		73.9%
	/m/	m	5	1	4	
dental	/d t z s/	t	37			81.5%
		c		8 (/ɛ/)		
		k	1			
	/n l/	n	38			
		ɲ		2		
		ŋ		6		
postalveolar	/ʒʃ/	t	8			100.0%
palatal	/ɲ/	ɲ		4 (/ɛ/)		0.0%
velar	/g k/	k	3	23 (/ă/)		11.1%
		c		1		
uvular	/k/	k	34			100.0%
		t	2			

- French /a/ is mostly adapted as Vietnamese long [a], except before a French palatal or velar coda, where the vowel is adapted as short [ă].

- /a/ is adapted as [ă] (</ɛ/) before palatals due to a Vietnamese phonotactic restriction on palatals (cf. (11)).

<i>pagne</i>	/pajŋ/	<i>banh</i>	/bɛŋ1/ [băŋ]	'maximum security prison'
<i>champagne</i>	/ʃapajŋ/	<i>săm banh</i>	/săm1 bɛŋ1/[săm băŋ]	'champagne'

(19) Velar vs. Uvular

- The adaptation before velar stops cannot be due to Vietnamese phonotactics.

a. /aʁ/ > /ak/

<i>garde</i>	/gaʁd/	<i>gác</i>	/yak5/	'to guard'
<i>carbone</i>	/kaʁbɔn/	<i>các bon</i>	/kak5 bɔn1/	'carbon'
<i>carton</i>	/kaʁtɔ̃/	<i>các tōng</i>	/kak5 tɔŋ1/	'carb board '
<i>marque</i>	/maʁk/	<i>máć</i>	/mak5/	'label, brand'
<i>marxiste</i>	/maʁksist/	<i>máć xít</i>	/mak5 sit5/	'marxist'
<i>garde</i>	/gaʁd/	<i>gác</i>	/yak5/	'to guard'

b. /ak/ > /ăk/

<i>bac</i>	/bak/	<i>băć</i>	/băk5/	'high school diploma'
<i>facture</i>	/faktyʁ/	<i>phăć tuya</i>	/făk5 twiə1/	'bill, receipt'
<i>contact</i>	/kɔ̃takt/	<i>công tăć</i>	/koŋ1 tăk5/	'switch'
<i>taxi</i>	/taksi/	<i>tăć xi</i>	/tăk5 si1/	'taxi'

- In French, vowels are longer and lower before /ʁ/ than before other coda consonants (Fougeron and Smith 1999, Montreuil 1995) but this cannot explain why /ak/ coda is singled out for a short vowel, while /at/ and /ap/ pattern with /aʁ/. (See the appendix)

c. /at/ > /at/

<i>hydrate</i>	/idʁat_də_karbɔn/	<i>hi đờ rát các bon</i>	/hi1 đờ2 zat5 kak5 bɔn1/	'hydrated carbon'
<i>de carbone</i>				'kilowatt'

d. /ap/ > /ap/

<i>abcès</i>	/apse/	<i>áp xe</i>	/ap5 se1/	'abscess'
<i>cap</i>	/kap/	<i>cáp</i>	/kap5/	'baseball cap (hat)'
<i>kappa</i>	/kapa/	<i>cáp ca</i>	/kap5 ka1/	'kappa'

(20) Covert contrast

- The input language contrast between /ʁ/ vs. /k/ is neutralized to /k/ but the contrast is realized as length/quality difference on the preceding vowel.
- The underlying /k/ is made distinct from the derived /k/ (from /ʁ/), above and beyond what is expected from the patterning of other phonetically similar structure (/p/ and /t/ codas).

(21) Covert /ʁ/ vs. /k/ contrast effect in high vowels

a. V_[+high]ʁ > /Vək/

<i>course</i>	/kuʁs/	<i>cuốc</i>	/kuək5/	'ride'
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a. V_[+high]k > /Vk/

<i>acide sulfurique</i>	/asid_sylfyʁik/	<i>a xít sun fu rich</i>	/a1 sit5 sun1 fu zik5/	'acid sulfuric'
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(22) Covert /ɛ/ vs. /k/ contrast effect in mid vowels

- In closed syllable, we generally expect preference for lax vowels in mid vowels, due to *loi de position* effect.
- The /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ before a coda /k/ seem to show preference toward tense /e/ and /o/ adaptation (higher and shorter) over lax /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ adaptation.
- which results in a better contrast from coda /k/.

French /ɛ/ adaptation in closed syllables

	[ɛ]	[e]	lax ratio
before /ɛ/ > [k]	24	0	100%
before other consonants	78	20	80%
before /k/ > [k]	3	4	43%

French /ɔ/ adaptation in closed syllables

	[ɔ]	[o]	lax ratio
before /ɔ/ > [k]	23	0	100%
before other consonants	16	50	24%
before /k/ > [k]	2	10	17%

a. /ɛk/ > /ɛ:k/

berger	/bɛkʒe/	béc giē	/bɛ:k5 ze1/	'breed of dogs'
fermeture	/fɛkmətɥyʁ/	phéc mo tuyā	/fɛ:k5 mʁ1 twiø1/	'zipper'

b. /ɛk/ > /ek/ [ec] (~[ɛ:k])

bifteck	/biftek/	bip téch	/bip5 tek5/	'beef steak'
telex	/telɛks/	té léch	/te1 lek5/	'telex'

c. /ɔk/ > /ɔ:k/

bordeaux	/bɔʁdo/	boóc dô	/bɔ:k5 dø1/	'purple red'
morphine	/mɔʁfin/	móocphin	/mɔ:k5 fin1/	'morphin'
porte-bagages	/pɔʁtbagaz/	boóc ba ga	/bɔ:k5 ba1 ya1/	'carrier seat in the back of a bike'
short	/ʃɔʁt/	soóc	/sɔ:k5/	'shorts'
corset	/kɔʁsɛ/	coóc xê	/kɔ:k5 se1/	'bra'

d. /ɔk/ > /ok/ [ɔkp̩] (~[ɔ:k])

bloc	/blɔk/	bò lòc	/bɔ2 lok5/	'calendar'
		lòc	/lok5/	
boxe	/bɔks/	bóć	/bok5/	'boxing'
dock	/dɔk/	đòć	/dok5/	'port'
docteur	/dɔktœʁ/	đòć to'	/dok5 tʁ1/	'medical doctor'
inox	/inɔks/	i nòć	/i1 nok5/	'stainless steel'

5. Concluding remarks

- *Loi de position*
 - o Vietnamese adapters seem to extend the French phonotactic tendencies in loan adaptation productively.
 - o Such “intrusion” of L2 phonology knowledge seems possible because phonetics underdetermine the adaptation. The vowel qualities of French and Vietnamese vowels do not match up perfectly.

- At the same time, the L2 knowledge employed in adaptation is not native-like as can be seen in orthographic gemination.
- Covert contrast of /k/ and /χ/
 - The underlying contrast of the input language is realized as contrast on the preceding vowel.
 - There is a phonetic ground for this adaptation pattern but again phonetics underdetermine the pattern.
 - What is special about /k/ vs. /χ/? High frequency and saliency of the contrast?

Appendix I

/i/ > /ɪ/

<i>litre</i>	/litʁ/	<i>lít</i>	/lit5/	'liter'
<i>morphine</i>	/mɔʁfin/	<i>móoc-phin</i>	/mɔ:k fin/	'morphine'
<i>saphir</i>	/safiʁ/	<i>xa phia</i>	/sa1 fiə1/	'saphir'

/u/ > /ʊ/

<i>coupe</i>	/kup/	<i>cúp</i>	/kup5/	'trouphy'
<i>limousine</i>	/limuzin/	<i>li-mu-din</i>	/li1 mu1 zin1/	'limousine'

<i>tour</i>	/tuʁ/	<i>tua</i>	/tuə1/	'time, a round, match,'
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/y/ > /wi/, /u/, /i/

<i>(auto)bus</i>	/bys/	<i>buýt</i>	/bwit5/	'bus'
<i>virus</i>	/virkys/	<i>vi rút</i>	/vi1 zut5/	'virus'
<i>légume</i>	/legym/	<i>la ghim</i>	/la1 yim1/	'vegetable'
<i>turbine</i>	/tyʁbin/	<i>lê ghim</i>	/le1 yim1/	
		<i>tua bin</i>	/tuə1 bin1/	'grind'
		<i>tuyêt bin</i>	/twiət6 bin1/	

/ø/ > /χ/

<i>bleu</i>	/blø/	<i>lo</i>	/lχ1/	'blue'
<i>tondeuse</i>	/tõdøz/	<i>tōng đor</i>	/toŋ1 đχ1/	'tool for haircut'

/œ/ > /χ/

<i>docteur</i>	/døktœʁ/	<i>đóć tor</i>	/dok5 tχ1/	'doctor'
<i>fauteuil</i>	/fotœj/	<i>phô toi</i>	/fo1 tʂj1/	'seat'

/ə/ > /χ/, deletion

<i>chemise</i>	/ʃəmiz/	<i>sor mi</i>	/ʂχ1 mi1/	'shirt'
<i>matelot</i>	/matəlo/	<i>mạch lô</i>	/mek6 lo1/	'salior'

/ã/ > /ăŋ/, /an/, /aŋ/

<i>satan</i>	/satã/	<i>xa tăng</i>	/sa1 tăŋ1/	'satan'
<i>cantine</i>	/kătin/	<i>căng tin</i>	/kăŋ1 tin1/	'cantin'
<i>brancard</i>	/brãkaʁ/	<i>băng ca</i>	/băŋ1 ka1/	'stretcher'

/ă/ before /p b/ > /ăm/

<i>jambon</i>	/ʒãbɔ̃/	<i>giăm bông</i>	/zăm1 bօŋ1/	'ham'
		<i>dăm bông</i>	/zăm1 bօŋ1/	
		<i>dăm bon</i>	/zăm1 bօn1/	

/ɛ/ > /eŋ/ [ăŋ], /e:ŋ/

<i>seringue</i>	/søkɛg/	<i>xo ranh</i>	/ʂχ1 zęŋ1/	'syringe'
<i>satin</i>	/satɛ/	<i>xa tanh</i>	/sa1 teŋ1/	'satin'
		<i>sa tanh</i>	[sa1 tăŋ1]	
		<i>xa teng</i>	/sa1 te:ŋ1/	

/ɛ/ before /p b/ > /em/

<i>timbre</i>	/tɛbʁ/	<i>tem</i>	/tɛm/	'stamp, label'
	/ʒ/ > /ɔŋ/, /ɔ:ŋ/, /ɔŋ/			
<i>savon</i>	/savɔ̃/	<i>xà ông</i>	/sa2 ɔŋ1/	'soap'
		<i>xà phòng</i>	/sa2 fɔŋ2/	
		<i>sà bong, xà bong</i>	/sa2 bɔŋ1/	
		<i>xà vông</i>	/sa2 voŋ1/	
<i>pont</i>	/pɔ̃/	<i>boong</i>	/bɔŋ1/	'deck of a ship'
	/ʒ/ before /p b/ > /ɔm/, /om/			
<i>bombe</i>	/bɔ̃b/	<i>bom</i>	/bɔm1/	'bomb'
<i>trompette</i>	/tʁɔ̃pet/	<i>tom bét</i>	/tɔm1 bɛt5/	'trumpet'
		<i>trôm pét</i>	/com1 pet5/	
		<i>trom pét</i>	/com1 pet5/	

Appendix II : Phonetics of French vowels

- French vowels /a/ before coda /p, t, k/ and /ʁ/
- Nonsense words, 6 repetitions

a			
Coda consonant	Mean F1	Mean F2	Mean duration
p	546.0	1377.3	51.0
t	532.3	1402.8	57.8
k	541.0	1538.0	69.0
R	620.7	1360.3	72.2

- /a/ before /k/ have substantially higher F2 in French.
- But, this does not explain the adaptation in Vietnamese.
- Long /a/ is described as more front (higher F2) than /ă/. (Thompson 1967, Emerich 2012)

Appendix III : Role of Vietnamese syllable structure

- To verify the contribution of Vietnamese syllable structure in predicting the mid vowel choice, independent of French syllable structure and French input vowel quality (in Standard French), various logistic regression models are compared in their AIC values.
- Logistic regression models
 - o Dependent variable: tense vs. lax vowel adaptaiton
 - o Independent variables: all possible combination of
 - French input vowel quality (tense vs. lax)
 - French input syllable structure (open vs. closed)
 - Vietnamese output syllable structure (open vs. closed)

/e/ vs. /ɛ/	AIC	/o/ vs. /ɔ/	AIC
F. vowel	249.59	F. vowel	205.71
F. syllable	231.25	F. syllable	207.55
V. syllable	201.74	V. syllable	188.53
F. vowel + F. syllable	231.62	F. vowel + F. syllable	207.55
F. vowel + V. syllable	201.61	F. vowel + V. syllable	187.88
F. syllable + V. syllable	203.69	F. syllable + V. syllable	176.81
F. vowel + F. syllable + V. syllable	200.90	F. vowel + F. syllabel + V. syllable	177.33

- Addition of the Vietnamese syllable structure improves the model (=reduces the AIC values) the most compared to the other two factors.
- After French and Vietnamese syllable structures are taken into account, French input vowel quality makes almost no additional improvement.