The Phenomenon of Expletive Infixation in Vietnamese Language From the Perspective of Pragmatics

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Abstract—Vietnamese has to date been considered to be a language without infixation. This study is an attempt to change that notion. Infixation does exist in the Vietnamese language, but in restricted discoursal and social contexts. Our analysis shows that infixes have pragmatic functions and convey one of three implications. They can be used to (1) to express a complaint, (2) to express disagreement, or (3) to enhance a compliment. For each pragmatic purpose, the social context must be considered so that offensiveness and impoliteness can be avoided. Our results reveal that the majority of the Vietnamese words containing the infix với chả express complaints and that với chả is most often inserted into nouns. This study provides Vietnamese language teachers, learners, and translators with an in-depth understanding of the Vietnamese infix với chả, as added into base words in certain styles of language play.

Index Terms—infixation, Vietnamese, expletive, social context, pragmatics, infix

I. Introduction

Infixation is not only a phenomenon of linguistics but also an expression of culture. Ultan (1975) claimed that infixes seem to be less familiar to students of linguistics than prefixes and suffixes even though all three belong to the phenomenon of affixation. According to Yu (2003, p. 2), infix can be defined as "an overt continuous morph that appears within a derived discontinuous morph that exists in a continuous form independent of the infixed form, and the individual parts of this resultant discontinuous morph must not be continuous morphs themselves." More succinctly, Mattiello (2013, pp. 186-187) defined infixation as a process in which an affix (infix) is inserted in the middle of a word. This description implies that infixes are distinct from other affixes in the way that they stand in the body of a base word. Mattiello (2013, p. 186) also reported that in some Indo-European and Austronesian languages, such as Greek and Atayal, infixes have important grammatical functions, whereas English has infixes "only within extra-grammatical morphology." In other words, infixes in English, for example, *bloody* in *abso-bloodly-lutely* and *diddly* in *ac-diddly-action*, are employed mostly as expressive expletives for the purpose of additional emphasis.

Beljan (2015) stressed that infixation is a process that is not easy to describe due to its unpredictability and irregularity. As explained by Mattiello (2013), in most cases infixes function as intensifiers or emotive stress amplifiers. This implies that in English infixation serves a stylistic purpose. Thus, no difference is found between *important* and *im-bloody-portant*, or *violin* and *vio-ma-lin*. From these two examples, the only change that infixation conveys to the new word is related to its pragmatic meaning; in other words, this is a form of language play. It can also be seen from the examples that the infix does not change the grammatical category of the word or its meaning. Hence, after the infix *-bloody-* is inserted in the adjective *important*, *im-bloody-portant* still remains an adjective with the same semantic meaning.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. A Bird's-eye View of Infixation Across Languages

As categorized by Beljan (2015), there are four relevant types of infixation in English: expletive infixation, *diddly*-infixation, Homeric infixation, and hip-hop *iz*-infixation.

It is widely known that expletive infixation is used most frequently in the English-speaking community. Expletive infixation is defined by Beljan (2015) as the process of inserting an expletive or a profanity within a word with the purpose of emphasis and intensification. Moreover, Zwicky and Pullum (1987, p. 7) concluded that expletive infixation has "clear applicability to phrases alongside words" and "highly expressive colloquial effect." Beljan (2015) further observed that expletives are a phenomenon of both morphology and phonology. The following examples from McCarthy (1982) provide evidence for this case.

(1) English expletive infixation (McCarthy, 1982)

togeth ér to-bloody-gether adv ánce ad-bloody-vance Bhow áni Bho-bloody-wani per-bloody-haps perh áps e-bloody-nough en áugh imp ártant im-fuckin-portant Kalamaz ćo Kalama-fuckin-zoo Tatama-fuckin-gouchee Tatamag ćuchee Winnipes áukee Winnipe-fuckin-saukee

(Yu, 2003, p. 6)

Regarding these examples, Zwicky and Pullum (1987) listed the most frequently used expletives in English as *bloody*, *blooming*, frigging, $f^{***in(g)}$, (god)damn, pissing, sodding, etc. As can be observed from examples (1) above, the position of the insertion of an infix into a word depends on the stress pattern of the word. It can clearly be seen that the expletive occurs prior to the stressed syllable. This observation argues against the claim that infixation in English is unpredictable and irregular (Mattiello, 2013).

Considered as a form of expletive infixation, *diddly*-infixation is actually a novel language game since "it shares with other language games the characteristic of being easily generalized by speakers to be applied to a variety of environments" (Elfner & Kimper, 2008, p. 151).

(2) Canonical examples

w dcome wel-diddly- dcome áction ac-diddly- áction mur-diddly- úrder órder or-diddly- úrder w dcome órder diddly- úrder diddly- úrder

(Elfner & Kimper, 2008, p. 151)

It is observed from example (2) that "the process involves infixation of the nonsense word *diddly* into a base word with initial stress as well as a reduplication of the rhyme and the stressed syllable" (Elfner & Kimper, 2008, p. 151). Elfner and Kimper also explained that placing the infix *-diddly-* within the base with initial stress causes difficulties for stress assignment; therefore, the role of reduplication in these examples is to "allow the position of stress to remain faithful to its base form" (Elfner & Kimper, 2008, p. 151).

Popularized by the television show, *The Simpsons*, the Homeric infixation or ma-infixation has recently become common in vernacular American English (Mattiello, 2013). The process is simply understood as the insertion of the infix -ma- into words.

(3) The Simpsons example

Homer: Well, honey, what do you like? Tuba-ma-ba? Oba-ma-bo? That one? Saxa-ma-phone?

Homer: A hundred bucks? For a comic book? Who drew it, Micha-ma-langelo?

(Yu, 2003, p. 174)

Yu (2003) states that the main purpose of *ma*-infixation is humor. Yu also noted that the "meaning of this construction indicates roughly attitudes of sarcasm and distastefulness, although, it can also be used as a form of language play" (Yu, 2003, p. 174). Mattiello (2013) observed that Homeric infixation can be applied to words regardless of their grammatical categories, for example, noun (e.g., *tele-ma-phone*, *vio-ma-lin*), adjective (e.g., *wonder-ma-ful*), verb (e.g., *underesti-ma-mate*), participle (e.g., *unsub-ma-stantiated*), or even place/personal/river names (e.g., *Ala-ma-bama*, *Micha-ma-langelo*, *Missi-ma-ssippi*).

The final infixation that can be found in English is called *iz*-infixation. This phenomenon is derived from the American hip-hop community.

(4) Lyrics example

I'm still standin' **strizong** (strong) And waitin' on my **thrizone** (throne)

And live for the **dizzay** (day) that God calls me **hizome** (home)

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Until then I'll rizzoam (roam), the face of the Izzerth (Earth) And shoot for the stizars (stars), on days of my bizzerth (birth) —Playa Fly, "N God We Trust" (from Original Hip-Hop Lyrics Archive)
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(Lindsay, 2010, p. 159)

Example (4) shows that the iz-infix is inserted before the stressed vowel. Therefore, if the word is monosyllabic, -iz-occurs between the onset and the nucleus, for example, str-iz-ong. If the word is disyllabic, -iz-occurs before the stressed vowels, as in G-iz-occurs before the stressed vowels, as in G-iz-occurs and beh-iz-occurs (Mattiello, 2013). Mattiello also states that iz-infixation rarely occurs in words that have more than two syllables.

From these four types of infixation in English, it can be concluded that infixation is a process involving both morphology and phonology. Infixation does not have any grammatical function, so it does not affect the grammatical category of the infixed word. However, it is considered a case of language play when it indicates certain stylistic and pragmatic meanings.

In some languages, however, infixation can function as a grammatical process, which means that the infix can change the grammatical category of the word.

(5) Uradhi pluractional reduplication

```
wili wilii 'run'
arja agaga 'dig'
ipijii ipijii 'swim'
wamp wampampa 'float'
ikya ikikya 'speak'
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(Crowley, 1983, p. 364)

Uradhi is a dialect of the Pama-Nyungan language in which the reduplicant copies the morphological and/or phonological unit of the base. In this language, pluractionality is marked by (C)CV reduplication, as shown in example (5). This implies that the infix changes the numeric feature of the base from singular to plural.

In other languages, infixation can result in changes in the part of speech of the infixed word.

(6) Mlabri nominalization (Rischel, 1995, p. 85).

```
a. guth 'to be ablaze'
                                            grnuh 'flames'
  kap 'to sing'
                                            krnap 'singing, song'
  peelh 'to sweep the ground/floor'
                                            prneelh 'a broom'
  tεk 'to hit'
                                            trnek 'a hammer'
                                            krwel 'spiral'
b. kwel 'to be rolled up'
                                            grla? 'speech, words'
  gla? 'to speak'
                                            prluut 'layer'
  pluut 'to peel'
                                            krlaap 'forceps of split bamboo'
   klaap 'to hold'
   gweec 'to poke'
                                            grweec 'finger'
c. chreet 'to comb'
                                            chnreet 'a comb'
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In all cases of example (6), the verbs become nouns after infixation, as also happens in the Mon-Khmer language. However, the process follows certain phonological rules. As in (6a), if the stem begins with a single consonant, the infix -rn occurs right after that consonant. If the stem begins with two consonants, the infix -r is used instead and inserted between the two consonants (6b). In the case of (6c), when the stem contains a rhotic in the initial consonants, the allomorph -n is employed and inserted before the rhotic.

It can be seen from the literature review that infixation exists in many dialects of languages. It plays different roles in each dialect. As native speakers of Vietnamese, the authors of this study attempt to examine the phenomenon of infixation in Vietnamese, which has been overlooked. Based on our observations, Vietnamese infixation is common in literary works and daily conversations. However, it has never been considered in an academic way; in other words, there has been no study on infixation in the Vietnamese language.

B. Vietnamese Morphology and Term of Affixation

As addressed many years ago by Thompson (1963), Vietnamese is a language that appears to be devoid of morphology; as a result, the argument about what constitutes a "word" has been continuously raised by linguists. Noyer (1998) classified Vietnamese as a canonically "isolating" language. It is obvious that Vietnamese lacks morphological markings for case, gender, number, and tense; thus, it has no finite/nonfinite distinction. A Vietnamese word may consist of a single morpheme or more than one morpheme. Polymorphemic words are either compound words or words consisting of stems plus affixes or reduplicants. As estimated in Nguyen (1976), roughly seven-tenths of Vietnamese dictionary entries are idiomatic polysyllabic collocations. Consider the following examples.

(7) Vietnamese morphology

Vietnamese word	English gloss	Phonological form	Morphological form
(a) mwa	"rain"	monosyllabic	monomorphemic
(b) <i>bếp núc</i>	"kitchen chores"	disyllabic	monomorphemic
(c) nhà tắm	"bathroom"	disyllabic	bimorphemic
(d) vội vội vàng vàng	"hurry-scurry"	polysyllabic	polymorphemic (reduplicative)

In example (7a), the word mua has only one syllable and one morpheme. Example (7b) is a case of a word that has two syllables but only one morpheme, since, if we separate this word into two morphemes, $n\dot{u}c$ conveys no meaning. On the other hand, (7c) shows a word that is both disyllabic and bimorphemic, since both morphemes have their own meaning. In this example, $nh\dot{a}$ means house and $t\dot{a}m$ means to take a shower. Thus, when they are combined, the meaning of the compound word can be understood as "a house (a room) where we can take a bath." Example 7(d) is an example of reduplication, which is very common in Vietnamese. The word contains more than two syllables and morphemes.

As analyzed in Noyer (1998), examples (7b) and (7c) can be categorized as two types of collocations: separable collocations and inseparable collocations, respectively. For example, $b\acute{e}p~n\acute{u}c$ can be separated by the "idiom" $v\acute{o}i$, which means *and*, an overt conjunction. However, Noyer did not indicate the purpose of this linguistic phenomenon. In the case of (7c), it is claimed in Noyer (1998) that the word cannot be separated by any element. As native Vietnamese speakers, the authors of this study would argue against these two notions of Noyer. First, Noyer only used the term "idiom" in a general way to describe the function of $v\acute{o}i$, which in this paper is argued to be an infix. Second, the word $nh\grave{a}t\acute{a}m$ in example (7c) can be separated by an infix, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.

It is widely known that the Vietnamese language has prefixes and suffixes. These two phenomena of affixation are taught and discussed in any Vietnamese language teaching program. The following examples provide some cases of affixation in Vietnamese.

(8) Vietnamese affixation

Prefix/suffix	English gloss	Example
(a) bán-	"half, semi-"	• b án th ân (body): a body half (upper/lower)
		• b án cầu (globe): semi-globe
(b) <i>phi</i> -	"non-"	• phi ph áp (law): illegal
		 phi lợi nhuận (profit): non-profited
(c) -h ớa	"-ize, -fy"	• hiện đại (modern) hớa: modernization
		• a x f (acid) h óa: acidify
(d) - <i>gia</i>	"profession, occupation"	• phi hành (travelling to outer space) gia: astronaut
		• sử (history) gia : historian

It can be seen from these examples that prefixation and suffixation in Vietnamese are expressed very clearly. They each have their own function in grammar and semantics. Consider example (8a). The stem is $th \, \hat{a}n$, meaning body, which is a noun. After prefixation, the new word $b \, \hat{a}n \, th \, \hat{a}n$ changes the meaning of its stem and grammatical category to become an adjective. The same pattern can be found in the remaining examples.

As mentioned above, the authors' observation is that Vietnamese language does have infixation, but somehow the phenomenon has been ignored and never closely examined by linguists. The present paper is an attempt to give the phenomenon academic consideration. The following sections provide an analysis of why the issue is worthy of study.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design

This research mainly used a qualitative approach, but a quantitative method was also used. Examples of Vietnamese infixations were collected from social media and websites to form a dataset.

B. Data Analysis

After the data were collected, the samples were categorized into groups. The groups were then analyzed using descriptive statistics, and the size of each group was expressed as a percentage.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Expletive Affixation in Vietnamese

As stated previously, infixation in Vietnamese is commonly used in less formal contexts, such as movies, literature, and daily conversations. It is true that infixes do not have any grammatical or semantic function with regard to the stem; the infixation does not change the grammatical category or literal meaning of the infixed word. Therefore, like English, infixes in Vietnamese function as expletives and can be considered aspects of language play or style. The four most common infixes and infix clusters are examined in this study, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.
INFIXES AND INFIX CLUSTERS IN VIETNAMESE

Infix/Infix cluster	English gloss
(1) −với−	"-with/and-"
(2) –với chả–	"-with/and + neither/not-"
(3) –với–c ái g ì	"-with/and-what"
(4) –với chả–c ái g ì	"-with/and + neither/not-what"

Table 1 shows that an infix can be used as a single infix (1 & 2) that is inserted into the base, or it can be combined with other suffixes (3 & 4) to make up a cluster that is added to the stem. As the English gloss shows, the infixes have no clear "real" meanings. This means that these infixes are nonsense in terms of semantics, especially when they occur in collocations or clusters. The following examples show that infixes in Vietnamese are expletives. It should be noted here that all the examples of infixation in Vietnamese in this study were assessed by the first author, who is a native Vietnamese speaker. The data were then discussed with three other Vietnamese linguists to ensure acceptability. Therefore, the examples in this study are the best representatives of infixation in Vietnamese language usage.

Let us take a look at the following examples.

Stem	English gloss	Stem description	Infixed word
(5a) <i>c</i> à <i>ph</i> ê	coffee	Noun/disyllabic/ monomorphemic	cà với phê
			cà với chả phê
			cà với phê c ái g ì
			cà với chả phê c ấi g ì
(5b) vất vả	tough/ difficult +	Adj/disyllabic/ monomorphemic	vất với vả
	reduplicant		vất với chả vả
			vất với vả cái g ì
			vất với chả vả c ái g ì
(5c) học hành	study + practice	Verb/disyllabic/ bimorphemic	học với hành
	(meaning to study)		học với chả hành
			học với hành c ấi g ì
			học với chả hành cái gì
(5d) <i>tắm táp</i>	bathe + reduplicant	Verb/disyllabic/ monomorphemic	tắm với t <i>á</i> p
			tắm với chả t <i>ấ</i> p
			tắm với táp c ấi g ì
			tắm với chả táp cái g ì
(5e) S ô c ô la	chocolate	Noun/trisyllabic/ monomorphemic	s ô với c ô la
			*s ô c ô v ới la
			s ô với chả c ô la
			* sôcô với chả la
			sô với côla cái gì
			* sôcô với la cái g ì
			sô với chả côla cái gì
			* sôcô với chả la c ấi g ì

Example (5) clearly demonstrates the phenomenon of infixation in Vietnamese. It can be observed that the infixes can be added in words with upwards of two syllables, regardless of the number of morphemes or grammatical categories. Explicitly, whether the word is monomorphemic or bimorphemic does not affect the use of infixes. One more argument to show that infixes in Vietnamese are expletives is that they do not change the grammatical category of the words; rather, they retain the original meanings of the words. Also, it can be generalized that the infix is inserted after the first syllable of the base.

As mentioned above, this section argues against the analysis of Noyer (1998) that some of the listed words are inseparable. The word nhà tắm, shown in example (6) below, was considered inseparable by Noyer. The examples Noyer provided could be true if the expletive is not considered an infix. However, if the expletive is an infix, then the word nhà tắm can be separated. Example (6) shows that all four infixes can be inserted into the word nhà tắm, which was considered impossible by Noyer (1998).

(6) nh à tắm
nh à với tắm
nh à với chả tắm
nh à với tắm c ấi g ì
nh à với chả tắm c ấi g ì

In Vietnamese, the function of intonation is expressive. It adds to the cognitive meaning of the words in the utterance and indicates the attitude and emotion of the speaker. Moreover, the system of intonation, pause, and tone of voice can help to deepen understanding of speech. Diacritics are used to indicate the tones of Vietnamese. The tone markings are a (no mark), \grave{a} \acute{a} , $\~{a}$ and $\~{a}$. They can be separated into two groups according to register: a, \acute{a} $\~{a}$ are realized in a higher register while \grave{a} , $\~{a}$, $\~{a}$ are realized in a lower one. Therefore, of the four Vietnamese infixes that can be inserted into a word, the infix $v\acute{o}i$ is realized in a higher register and infixes $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\~{a}$, $v\acute{o}i$ - $c\~{a}$ g \i{a} and $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\~{a}$ - $c\~{a}$ g \i{a} are realized in a lower one.

For example, a girl is walking on the street and a boy runs into her. She yells out in pain: "Tròi oi! Di với ding!" (Bold letters indicate primary stress.) This example shows that the Vietnamese infix $v\acute{o}i$ expresses anger. Moreover, di với ding makes up a sequence $a-\acute{a}-\acute{a}$ at a fairly high level because anger is expressed by a very high register and marked by a fast tempo.

From this evidence, it can be inferred that infixation in Vietnamese is very flexible and can be applied in many cases. As with English, infixation in Vietnamese has certain pragmatic implications that will be discussed in the next section along with the contexts for its use.

B. Vietnamese Infixation from a Pragmatic Perspective

The possibility of infixation allows us to note what the speaker's attitude is, which means that infixes in Vietnamese have a pragmatic meaning or play a pragmatic role.

The use of infixes depends greatly on the setting of the discourse. In particular, infixes are not used in contexts with a high level of formality. This means that social factors should be considered in the use of infixes. It is consciously understood by Vietnamese people that infixation can only be employed in certain situations and not in a spontaneous way. The issue implies that infixes do have certain pragmatic and social functions that show the user's language style.

In this study, the pragmatic functions of infixes are categorized into three groups by purpose: (1) to express a complaint, (2) to express disagreement, and (3) to enhance a compliment.

1. Complaint

Infixes are mainly used in Vietnamese to express negative attitudes. Infixation is a type of language play in which users emphasize their ideas or opinions. The most common use of infixes is to express a complaint. Consider the following example and its context.

(7) A mother is talking to her son.

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Mother: Con với chả c á! Học với hành chả ra g ĩ child INFIX REDUPLICANT What a bad child! Study INFIX practice not show what Your study habits are really poor!

(8) Two friends are talking to each other.

Person 1: Thời với chả tiết c â g ì weather INFIX XXX SUFFIX like pan fire

The weather is as hot as fire.
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Example (7) shows the pragmatic function of infixes in Vietnamese. By inserting the infix into a base, we can clearly grasp the implication that the mother is complaining about her son's performance. This can be seen as an interesting linguistic phenomenon that can rarely be found in other languages. It should be noted that the context for using infixes in complaints is very limited. There should be a certain power relationship between the people involved. Infixes can only be used by people with a higher social status or familial relationship, or among people with the same social status. Those who are younger or of lower social status should be very careful not to use infixes with elderly people or people with higher status; otherwise, it could be considered offensive.

In example (8), the conversation takes place between two friends. This is slightly different from the previous example in that the speaker is trying to judge a subjective entity. It has no purpose to blame or offend on any subjective matter. In this case, without the infixation, the sentence already has its own implication of complaining about the weather. The inserted infix cluster emphasizes the level of seriousness of the matter. In other words, the infixation makes the complaint stronger. In this case, the sentence could be uttered by a son to his mother without offense.

Therefore, the implication of infixation can vary in different social contexts. Even though infixes show complaints, their use still depends upon the target of the complaint. This phenomenon requires Vietnamese learners to have a solid knowledge and understanding of the language.

2. Disagreement

Another interesting use of infixation in Vietnamese is to express disagreement without adding any structures of negation. Consider the following examples.

```
(9) A son is talking to his mother.
  Son: Me
            cho con
                       xin
                                     tiền
                                             nh é!
           Mom let
                     me
                             insist some
                                           money EXCLAIMER
           Could you give me some money, Mom?
  Mother:
          Tiền
                 với
                        bac cáigì
                                           Con xài nhiều quá rồi đó.
           Money INF
                        coin SUF
                                      you spend much so already
           No way! You have spent so much already.
(10) Two friends are talking to each other.
  Person 1: Đi uống
                             càph ê
                                      kh ông?
                                           QUESTION WORD
           go drink
                             coffee
           Wanna go to the café?
                                      Đang bận rồi.
  Person 2: Cà
                   với chả phê
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Coffee INF XXX Being busy already No way! Busy now!

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate how infixation is used with an implication of disagreement. It is of interest that with only the infix inserted into the base, the implication of disagreement is expressed very clearly. It can be seen from the gloss that no words of negation occur in either example. However, the social factor should be carefully considered here as well. It would be very inappropriate if these two sentences were uttered by a son to his mother. This could imply that disagreement with infixation is very strong, and there seems to be no possibility that the speaker will change his or her mind. In short, infixation can be used to disagree with a suggestion or request, but it should be used in the right context; otherwise, the listener may feel offended.

3. Enhancement of a Compliment

Fortunately, infixation in Vietnamese conveys not only negative implications, but can convey a positive implication as well. Let us consider the following example.

(11) This is a comment on a video of a woman cooking.

Đảm với đang thế này mà người ta không th th mới là lạ. Capable INF RED like this but people not like then to be weird (reduplicative)

It would be weird if someone doesn't like a capable person like her.

- (11) This could not be expressed with other infixes:
 - * Đảm **với** đang thế này mà người ta không th ch mới là lạ.
 - * Đảm **với chả** đang thế này mà người ta không th ch mới là lạ.
 - * Đảm **với chả** đang **cái g ì**thế này mà người ta không th th mới là lạ.
 - * Đảm **với** đang **c ái g ì**thế này mà người ta không th th mới là lạ.

Example (11) illustrates how infixation is used to enhance a certain positive attitude toward a target object. It can be seen that, without the infixation, the sentence itself already has the implication of a compliment; however, the occurrence of the infix helps enhance the compliment. This means that the infix helps emphasize the positive meaning of the stem. In this case, the infix can be used to express a positive attitude toward those who are of higher social status, but only in informal settings. However, $-\nu \acute{o}i$ — is the only infix that can be used to imply enhancement. The other infixes shown in (11) are inappropriate for this purpose, which indicates that infixation is not flexible for this usage.

4. Quantitative Analysis

Despite being rarely used in formal writing, Vietnamese infixes can be heard in colloquial language, daily conversations, short stories, online news, and social networks nowadays. The dataset in this study was obtained from various online sources, including Facebook, TikTok, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Flickr, Forum, online news, online stories, and other websites.

The researchers collected 165 samples of infixations. The data consist of 4 samples of với, 146 samples of với chả, 13 samples of với-cái gì and 2 samples of với chả-cái gì The research focused on analyzing the với chả sample data because mostly với chả samples were collected. Descriptive statistics were calculated and the results were expressed as percentages.

The researchers have collected the data of the actual process with 4 samples of với, 146 samples of với chả, 13 samples of với-c â g ì and 2 samples of với chả-c â g ì Despite being rarely used in formal writing, Vietnamese infix can be heard and used in colloquial language, daily conversations, short stories, news online, and social networks nowadays. In this study, the researchers focused on analyzing the data of với chả samples which were handled using descriptive statistics expressed as a percentage because với chả samples were collected the most.

The data set used in this study were obtained from different online sources. The data specific to this research were collected from Facebook, Tiktok, Twitter, Youtube, Instagram, Flickr, Forum, news online, story online and other websites. The number of samples found was 165, within which 146 were identified as eligible for sample of với chả. Therefore, the results of this research were only based on 146 samples of với chả.

Hereafter Table 2 lists some Vietnamese words containing the infix với chả collected for this study.

	A LIST OF SOME V	ETNAMESE WORDS CONTAIN	NING THE INFIX Với CHả	
Ăn <i>với chả</i> n ối	Chồng với chả con	Giận <i>với chả</i> hờn	Lên với chả xuống	Thầy bói <i>với chả</i> thầy bủng
Ăn với chả uống	Con với chả cấi	Gi àu <i>với chả</i> ngh èo	Mưa với chả gi ó	Thi với chả cử
Anh với chả em	Con với chả ch áu	Gi ày <i>với chả</i> d ép	Nối với chả năng	Tiền với chả bạc
Áo với chả quần	Cúng với chả kiếng	Hẹn với chả hò	Ôm ấp <i>với chả</i> vuốt ve	T ćc với chả tai
Bạn <i>với chả</i> bè	Đáng <i>với chả</i> y âu	H ình <i>với chả</i> bóng	Ôm <i>với chả</i> ấp	Tr à với chả sữa
B éo với chả b éo	Đậu xanh <i>với chả</i> đậu đỏ	Háng với chả hớt	Ong <i>với chả</i> bướm	Tuyệt với chả vời
B ối với chả to án	Đi <i>với chả</i> đứng	Hứa với chả hẹn	Phim với chả ảnh	Xe với chả cộ
Cao <i>với chả</i> lùn	Đồng <i>với chả</i> phục	Hứa <i>với chả</i> h èo	Quần <i>với chả á</i> o	Xin với chả xỏ
Ch ân <i>với chả</i> tay	Du với chả lịch	Kh c với chả l c	S ách với chả vở	Xinh với chả đẹp
Chị với chả em	Giận <i>với chả</i> dỗi	La <i>với chả</i> h ấ t	Thần <i>với chả</i> thoại	Y âu với chả đương
Ch ó với chả m èo				

TABLE 2.

A LIST OF SOME VIETNAMESE WORDS CONTAINING THE INEX Vol Châ

(See the Appendix for the sources.)

When the Vietnamese infix *với chả* is inserted into a word stem, the original meaning of the word generally does not change. However, *với chả* influences the listener's emotions and expresses the speaker's attitude in a particular rhetorical situation. As discussed above, *với chả* can convey one of three implications in the infixed words: (1) to express complaint, (2) to express disagreement, or (3) to enhance a compliment. Figure 1 illustrates the frequency with which *với chả* is used to convey each implication in infixed words. Of 146 Vietnamese words containing the infix *với chả*, 80.14% express a complaint, 10.96% express disagreement, and 8.90% enhance a compliment.

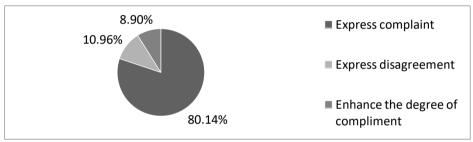


Figure 1. Use of the Infix $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\acute{a}$ by Implication

As can be seen from the pie chart in Figure 1, the majority of the Vietnamese words containing the infix *với chả* are used to express complaints. Many people often post their status on Facebook to express a negative attitude toward some topic. For example, *thi với chả cử* shows the bad feeling of not getting good exam results. After complaining, their mental state may improve when their friends comment to encourage them. In contrast, only 10.96% of Vietnamese words containing the infix *với chả* expressed disagreement. Most of them include an expression of refusal and a reason. For example, the sentence, "Ăn với chả uống g ì tầm này nữa, trễ rồi," expresses disagreement very clearly, and the reason for it is late time. However, people can suffer from a sense of disagreement. Why are they so bothered by good friends refusing their requests or declining their invitations posted on Facebook? Why does it ruin their mood? Why would something so seemingly insignificant make them feel angry with their friends and relatives? The reason is that many people fear disagreement. If they have experienced it once or a few times, they probably remember how much it hurt and worry about it happening again. Finally, a minority of usages (8.90%) enhanced a compliment. The example, "Xinh với chả đẹp như gia đình chị th ìai chẳng th chi chị oi," illustrates how the Vietnamese infix với chả is used to enhance a positive attitude toward gia đình chị. Thus, the infix với chả helps enhance a compliment. This example is from a comment on Facebook by a fan of a famous singer. This means that the infix với chả can be used to express positive attitudes toward those who are of higher social status, but, of course, only in informal settings.

Importantly, as illustrated in Figure 2, a significant majority of the Vietnamese words containing the infix $v \acute{o}i$ $c \acute{h} \acute{a}$ (47.06%) are inserted into nouns that refer to objects, people, and more sophisticated abstract concepts. Some Vietnamese nouns containing the infix $v \acute{o}i$ $c \acute{h} \acute{a}$ can change their implications depending on how they are used and what combinations they form. For example, the sentence, "... $c \acute{h} \acute{o}ng$ $v \acute{o}i$ $c \acute{h} \acute{a}$ con, $c \acute{u}$ $d \acute{e}p$ t rai $t \acute{h} \acute{e}$ $n \acute{a}y$ a i $m \grave{a}$ $c \acute{h} \acute{u}$ $a \acute{u} v \acute{o}i$...," illustrates how the Vietnamese infix $v \acute{o}i$ $c \acute{h} \acute{a}$ is used to enhance a compliment. On the other hand, $v \acute{o}i$ $c \acute{h} \acute{a}$ expresses a complaint in " $c \acute{h} \acute{o}ng$ $V \acute{o}i$ $c \acute{h} \acute{a}$ $c \acute{o}n$, $c \acute{h} \acute{e}n$ $c \acute{h} \acute{e}n$ $c \acute{h} \acute{e}n$ $c \acute{e}n$

A large proportion of Vietnamese words containing the infix $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\emph{a}$ (41.18%) are verbs used in everyday conversations and emotional expressions. These uses can be easily categorized as complaints, expressions of disagreements, or enhancements of compliments. The phrase $\hat{o}m$ $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\emph{a}$ $\acute{a}p$ provides an illustration. First, the writer of an online short story used the phrase, ... $\hat{o}m$ $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\emph{a}$ $\acute{a}p$, $c\grave{o}n$ $kh\^{o}ng$ mau $d\~{o}$ anh $m\grave{a}y$ $ng\grave{o}i$ $d\^{a}y$..., to express a complaint. Second, a sentence, $L\acute{o}n$ $r\grave{o}i$ $c\grave{o}n$ $d\~{o}i$ om $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\emph{a}$ $\acute{a}p$, em $n\acute{o}$ $cu\grave{o}i$ cho, collected from a website exemplifies a disagreement. Finally, the phrase om $v\acute{o}i$ $ch\emph{a}$ op is used to enhance a compliment. The writer posted this phrase with a picture on Instagram of herself hugging her boyfriend to show their happiness.

Finally, a minority of the Vietnamese words containing the infix $v \acute{o}i$ $ch \acute{a}$ (11.76%) are adjectives. People always use adjectives to make their expressions more visual and vivid, so the implications that Vietnamese infix $v \acute{o}i$ $ch \acute{a}$ can convey with the infixed words are clearer. Readers or listeners will get a better idea of what speakers or writers wish to bring to their attention or to picture in their minds when they read or listen to messages containing infixations.

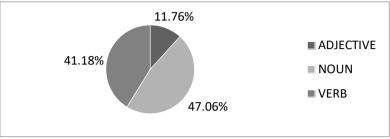


Figure 2. Percentage Use of với chả in Three Parts of Speech

V. CONCLUSION

This paper investigates the phenomenon of infixation in Vietnamese, which has been overlooked by linguists. The analysis shows that Vietnamese infixes are expletives added to base words in certain styles of language play. However, in terms of pragmatics, the functions of infixation in Vietnamese are more obvious. Infixes can be used to express complaints and disagreements, and to enhance compliments. It should be noted that the context in which the discourse takes place must be carefully considered; otherwise, listeners may take offense or feel the expression is impolite. This study has not considered the grammatical roles of infixed words in sentences, which we suggest as a topic of future research. Despite this limitation, this study challenges the traditional notion of affixation in Vietnamese, which we consider its main contribution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We were fortunate to be financially supported by Dalat University and would like to express our deepest gratitude and appreciation to Dalat University for encouraging us to pursue our research path.

APPENDIX

1	https://khosachonline.com/sach/cinderella-12-gio	G ìm à mắng mỏ dạy dỗ, cắt khẩu phần bánh quy, xong lại ôm ấp với chả vuốt ve
2	https://www.facebook.com/tamsuhv/posts/333228803521292/	Ăn với chả nói đọc tớm gọn lại vẫn là hỗn xược
3	https://tinhte.vn/thread/an-voi-cha-noi.3189030/	Ăn với chả nói
4	https://www.facebook.com/110906550361892/posts/593572772095265/	Bảo Lộc tới công chuyện, đã dịch còn bối với chả toán.
5	http://hoicodo.com/511179/chet-do-an-voi-cha-noi-noi-vay-nhung-nguoi-viet-quoc-gia- ti-nan-cong-san-lai-khoc-len-gio/	Chết dở. Ăn với chả n ấ.
6	https://www.cuoida.com/p/an-voi-cha-uong-1	Ăn với chả uống
7	https://lazi.vn/photo/album/d/37017/an-voi-cha-uong-co-beo-len-can-nao-dau-co-chu- chi-map-len-thui	Ăn với chả uống, cób éo lên cân nào đâu cơ chứ, chỉ mập lên thui
8	https://www.flickr.com/photos/77782854@N07/7844730920/	Bởi ăn với chả uống =)))) phải ghi nhớ từng giai đoạn khi ăn LOL~ "Nh 'n" - "Bỏ miệng" - "Cắn" - "Nhai"
9	https://www.cuoida.com/p/nghi-lo-chan-anh-voi-cha-em-nhin-mat-nhau-khong-chui-nhau-la-con-may	Anh với chả em, nh ìn mặt nhau, kh ông chửi nhau làc òn may
10	https://forum.568play.vn/index.php?threads/haitacv1-%C3%81o-v%E1%BB%9Bi- ch%E1%BA%A3-qu%E1%BA%A7n.51356/	Áo với chả quần
11	https://comi.mobi/truyen/den-comics/ban-voi-cha-be/	Bạn với chả bè
12	https://xem.vn/ban-voi-cha-be-1362679.html	Bạn với chả b è
13	https://www.webtretho.com/f/tam-su-chuyen-doi/ban-voi-cha-be-lai-ban-than-227161	Bạn với chả Bè-lại bán than
14	https://www.comico.vn/comicolours/title/555	Bạn với chả bè
15	https://kilopad.com/truyen-cuoi-c198/doc-sach-truc-tuyen-truyen-cuoi-dan-gian-viet- nam-b4918/chuong-9-phan-9-ti9	Cá đây, chứ đâu phải thịt mỡ đâu mà b có với chả b có!
16	https://www.facebook.com/neuconfessions/posts/1493325967383957/	Đấy bối với chả toán, hay phải có thờ mới có thi âng, v ìm ình ko thờ n ân THẢY bối sai cho
17	https://www.otofun.net/threads/cac-cu-co-tin-vao-phong-thuy-k-a.1433773/	B ối với chả to án số người ta sướng không phải làm vẫn có ăn có mặc dám k âu khổ chết là đáng!

		Mất tiền thêm lo, may màc ó20.000
18	https://www.nguoiduatin.vn/bat-ngo-voi-thu-nhap-khung-cua-thay-boi-via-he-	đồng, bối với chả toán, thế mànhiều
	<u>a38123.html</u>	người vẫn lao v ào", Việt than thở.
		"Mất người y âu v ìb ới với chả
19	https://www.yan.vn/chang-trai-kho-tram-duong-vi-trot-thich-co-gai-me-boi-toan-	to án !!! Có ai hiểu cảm gi ác của m ình
	<u>157753.html</u>	không ?
		nỗ lực, đoàn kết, t ch cực làm ăn thì
20	https://anninhthudo.vn/boi-voi-toan-post67885.antd	phất chứ b ới với chả to án.
		Vậy cái bài torot mà người ta c ó thể
		vẽ được th ì có cái mẹ gì đâu mà đòi
21	https://ask.bigbrothers.top/question/bai-tarot-boi-the-nao-duoc-nhi/	bới với chả to án, mấy ông cứ kh è
		thi ên hạ đúng lắm đúng lắm.
	1.44//h11/h19:4 7DCA A OD A 10 DT40 0 1 DT40 0 1	thi di na dung iam dung iam.
	https://books.google.com.vn/books?id=ZPrxCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT49&lpg=PT49&dq=1	
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22	=bfhV24hODa&sig=ACfU3U0NPFvzud-	Ch ân với chả tay thế đấy
	w8eFhejzk61pB_i4Bhg&hl=vi&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjVgbLficfzAhWH62EKHc5SD	·
	OgQ6AF6BAgkEAM#v=onepage&q=1%C3%AAn%20v%E1%BB%9Bi%20ch%E1%	
	BA%A3%20xu%E1%BB%91ng&f=false	
23	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4QGUMaZUe7s	Ch ân với chả tay, hok chịu nghe lời
		bấm móng gìcả
24	https://www.facebook.com/Sammishop.com86/posts/3579728625401151/	O, chị với chả em, ngh èo bay m à
25	https://xabuon.com/content/274216-chi-voi-cha-em3.htm	Chị với chả em
26	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=850983458598833	Ch ó với chả M èo
27	https://dantri.com.vn/tinh-yeu-gioi-tinh/chong-voi-cha-con-1355271194.htm	Chồng với chả con
28	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=541542776458662	Chồng với chả con
29	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eFdLJgOrRFo	Chồng Với Chả Con, Ch án Xỉu
30	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kep7vWfyd0	Chồng với chả con
31	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ZCNQsRrFe8	Oi Là Trời Chồng Với Chả Con
32	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_jHSJ-pFmPc	Chồng với chả con
33	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzmO2ebM2oQ	Chồng với chả con, chán
34	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cum_Mw7dC3o	Chồng với chả con
	https://www.cuoida.com/p/chong-voi-cha-con-chan-cha-buon-noi-hwanglong-welax-	Chồng với chả con. Ch án chả buồn
35	xem-them-nhieu-hinh-anh-cuoi-tet-ga-xa-stress-ta	n ới
36	https://mobile.twitter.com/toantran20cm/status/1410114137762320387	Chồng với chả con
30	https://mobile.twitter.com/ todintran20em/status/1410114137702320307	rồi anh Tiến quay sang người khách
37	http://www.mamnon.com/newsDetails.aspx?topicID=51530	nới: Con với chả cái, bướng lắm bác
31	http://www.manmon.com/newsDetans.aspx:topleiD=31330	a.
		"Con với chả c ái suốt ngày chơi điện
	https://www.facebook.com/SpeakYourDream/photos/con-v%E1%BB%9Bi-	tử"
	ch%E1%BA%A3-c%C3%A1i-con-v%E1%BB%9Bi-ch%E1%BA%A3-c%C3%A1i-	"Con với chả cái suốt ngày đàn đúm
38	su%E1%BB%91t-ng%C3%A0y-ch%C6%A1i-%C4%91i%E1%BB%87n-	ban bè"
30	t%E1%BB%ADcon-v%E1%BB%9Bi-ch%E1%BA%A3-c%C3%A1i-	"Con với chả cái suốt ng ày nhốt
	su%E1%BB%91t-ng%C3%A0y-/622102731560126/	m ình trong ph àng chả phụ bố mẹ
	<u>30/0E1/0DB/071t-ng/0C3/0A0y-7022102731300120/</u>	được việc gì"
		"Con với chả cái!", những người lớn
		tuổi, các bậc sinh thành đôi khi hay
39	https://thanhnien.vn/thoi-su/lay-72-ti-dong-tu-ngan-sach-den-ong-chan-con-voi-cha-	dùng câu này nói về lớp con cháu
37	<u>cai-571853.html</u>	mình, khi chúng không làm cho họ
		hài lòng.
40	https://giadinh.net.vn/gia-dinh/con-voi-cha-cai-20130925100127412.htm	con với chả cái, bướng lắm bác ạ.
	https://www.trungtamphuchoichucnang.com/am-ngu-tri-lieu/32-cau-noi-cua-mieng-	Con với chả c á, c àng lớn càng hư,
41	cua-phu-huynh-khien-tre-ton-thuong-tam-ly-nang-ne.html	không coi bố me ra g ì
		Tất nhi ên là mẹ trách, con với chả
42	https://nhandan.vn/truyen-ngan_1/toc-dai-276392	c á, tiếc chi mà không báo trước cho
1		me
		Con với chả ch ấu tặng b à con n ày ai
43	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1966219313518415	màdám nhận.
	1 // 1 // // // // // // // // // // // /	Cúng với chả kiếng, tôi đã bảo đưa
44	https://cand.com.vn/Phong-su-tu-lieu/Ruoc-hoa-dau-nam-vi-tin-thay-boi-i510343/	con đi viên màkhông nghe
	https://m.facebook.com/groups/2173232296086082/posts/T%C3%A1o-	•
1	khuy%E1%BA%BFt-posted-in-H%E1%BB%99i-C%C3%A1c-M%E1%BA%B9-	D0 1 (* 1 * 10 * 10 * 10 * 10 * 10 * 10 *
45	B%E1%BB%89m-S%E1%BB%AFa-H%E1%BA%A3i-Ph%C3%B2ng-	Đậu xanh với chả đậu đỏ!
1	'/4144779442264681/	
46	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=795482504171741	Đi với chả đứng kiểu này đây
47	https://www.cuoida.com/p/di-voi-cha-dung	Đi với chả đứng
48	https://www.facebook.com/saintsup.vnfc/posts/709223209445527/	Đi với chả đứng kiểu g ìchả hiểu?
	https://www.webtretho.com/f/tam-su-chuyen-doi/chuyen-vo-van-thuong-ngay-o-huyen-	
49	324055	Tiên sư mày, đi với chả đứng.
50	https://www.facebook.com/PerthsaintVN/posts/430880887670785/	Đi với chả đứng
51	https://dep.com.vn/dong-voi-cha-phuc/	Đồng với chả phục, sốt ruột!
		cô Manoban xuống dưới nhà gặp tôi
52	https://truyen4u.net/bangpink-vi-ngot-tinh-yeu-63-nhat-ki-gian-hon-719798242.html	mau, giận với chả dỗi
53	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=770829793334725	Giận với chả hờn
54	https://truyenfic.com/doc-chuong/series-nct-couple-markhyuck-nomin-3-	Ở đây còn giận với chả hờn.
		

ı	end/602466424.html	I
55	https://www.instagram.com/cuongtonyy	Có sống ở đời mãi đâu mà giận với chả hờn
56	https://truyenkul.net/chapter/vkook-text-classmates-kth-jjk-25- messenger/626492676.html	Ngủ rồi hả? Bớt ồn ào Giận với chả hờn
57	http://forum.ngocrongonline.com/app/index.php?for=forum&do=list&uid=18764525& p=0&sz=15	Gi àu với chả ngh èo, sự thật là t chưa nạp 1 xu nào vào game mà đồ săn boss đồ các kiểu
58	https://www.facebook.com/blogtamsu.fanpage/posts/2002752273315588/	Gi ày với chả d ép, chỉ muốn cởi n óra rồi đốt n ó ngay v à lu ôn.
59	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sPJI3GrWv9I	H áng với chả hớt
60	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AQ1P-BKefB4	Em bélắm chuyện. Ăn không lo ăn màh ứng với chả hớt. Ốn à
61	https://www.facebook.com/2363196613944916/posts/2549095118688397/	H áng với chả hớt
62	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HidT9P3dujE https://www.facebook.com/100016704968748/videos/630355464197947/	Hứa với chả hẹn :< Hứa với chả hen
64	https://www.cuoida.com/p/hua-voi-cha-hen-the-nen-chi-em-cu-phai-di-choi-nhieu-vo-sau-do-moi-lay-chong-nhe	Hứa với chả hẹn, thế n ân chị em cứ phải đi chơi nhiều vô, sau đó mới lấy chồng nhe
65	https://www.cuoida.com/2020/04/hua-voi-cha-hen_16.html	Hứa với chả hẹn
66	https://www.facebook.com/yenhtplus/videos/293068485307264/	Hứa với chả hẹn
67	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAsHFFbOQL4	Kh c với chả l c:)))
68	https://www.facebook.com/vtcnewsvn/posts/1451789881607967/	Kh c với chả l c, thanh ni ên sức d ài vai rộng
69	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1492027724317244	Buồn th ìnhậu làm đell gì mà phải khứ với chả lứ
70	https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=111061336905861&story_fbid=4455312 76792197	Đừng tự nghĩ rồi tự kh ức với chả l ức ai dẹp poster th ìcho em chứ em c ờn kh ông c óm à dẹp
71	https://www.xaluanvnn.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=2738509	Mẹ đẻ kh ức tiễn t ối 1 ân xe hoa, mẹ chồng lườm: 'Khóc với chả 1ức, 1 àm như đi chết kh ông bằng'
72	https://tamsucongso.com/lop-l/	Hứa với chả hẹnKhóc với chả lóc
73	https://iuhers.com/cdm/ngay-be-giang-khoc-loc-hua-hen-khi-20-11-ru-7-dua-khoc-to-	Hứa với chả hẹnKhóc với chả
74	nhat-dam-thi-diu-dua-nao-ve.html https://datviet.trithuccuocsong.vn/van-hoa/tin-tuc-giai-tri/lo-tin-nhan-thu-minh-goi-la-nathan-lee-lacon-cho-2364148/	lóc Điên à, vậy thì hát bài khác, khóc với chả lóc!
75	https://guu.vn/diem-tin/hom-nay-chia-tay-buon-thi-cu-khoc-di-chuyen-hop-lop-de- ngay-sau-roi-tinh-5d099ca45242f41b79199ebf.html	'Lúc ra trường th ìkh ức với chả lớc rồi chống mắt lên xem đến lức gọi họp lớp được bao nhiêu đứa thèm đi.'
76	https://o.voz.vn/showthread.php?p=59084539	Khứ với chả lứ, nhớ với nhung
77	https://trochuyenvn.com/hom-nay-ngay-10-iui-em-thu-que-1v-buon-hai-vo-chong- khoc-luon-chang-muon-lam-gi-nua-may-ban-oi.html	Cóg ìm à kh ức với chả lớc chứ.
78	https://ngontinhz.com/truyen/dinh-cap-thieu-nien/chuong-102-2/	Lại thêm một người, hôm nay là đám ma ai vậy, kh cc với chả l cc.
79	https://soha.vn/nhay-vao-be-ca-rong-choi-nguoi-chong-mat-50-trieu-ngay-tuc-khac-va- cai-ket-khoc-het-nuoc-mat-20191001145314519.htm	Giờ th ìngồi đấy màkh ứ với chả lứ.
80	https://thethaovanhoa.vn/video/giai-tri/xem-nguoc-chieu-nuoc-mat-tap-16-khan-gia-phat-ngan-vi-mai-chi-biet-khoc-loc-n20171110144730076.htm	Tr ân thực tế, chả c ó b à vợ n ào thấy chồng ngủ hết người n ày tới người kh ác m à ngồi y ân ph ân t í h rồi kh ác với chả l ác
81	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zT7mqK4S8SA	La với chả h ét Ăn học kh ông lo suốt ng ày lên với
82	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=709457359634824	chả xuống
83	http://f319.com/threads/len-voi-cha-xuong-nhuc-ca-oc.284655/	Lên với chả xuống, nhức cả ớc
84	https://click49.vn/lam-dong-xuyen-dem-giai-phong-cay-nga-chan-ngang-deo- chuoi/?fbclid=IwAR23pjmzFHSsBQOhz5ggIxCzVPqJDTumiY0Fe0rLqPzoqI37z5CV uHLM_GM	Mưa với chả gi á, nguy hiểm qu á
85	http://m.baokontum.com.vn/toa-soan-ban-doc/mua-mua-ha-15393.html	mưa với chả gi ó, cứ th th là mưa
86	https://tinhte.vn/thread/mua-voi-cha-gio-nam-nao-cung-lut.3200543/	Mura với chả gió. Năm nào cũng lụt
87	https://www.instagram.com@hoang.tranvietbao	"Mưa với chả gi ó, chỉ muốn ở nh à Netflix and chill, hoặc thức dậy ăn
88 89	https://www.cuoida.com/2020/12/noi-voi-cha-nangtodanpho69-dieucay.html https://www.facebook.com/todanpho69/posts/5041500442534434/	N ới với chả năng N ới với chả năng
90	https://truyenwiki1.com/chuong-truyen/239902-562609458/	Ôm với chả ấp
91	https://afamily.vn/hang-tui-bau-sap-de-ma-chong-van-nghien-me-met-dinh-vao-om-	Mà cũng chả còn chỗ nào nằm mà
	mot-cai-nhung-thay-canh-ngang-trai-danh-ten-to-di-ra-20201008235349517.chn	ôm với chả ấp
92	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPVL7eZIVZ8 https://kenh14.vn/mua-dong-khong-nhan-thinh-he-lo-phien-ban-loi-cua-trao-luu-vong-	Ở trường màc ờn ôm với chả ấp Này thìôm với chả ấp
	tay-om-gay-sot-mang-xa-hoi-20171213173017461.chn	
94	https://zingtruyen.net/chapter/hankisa-sweetheart/282052135/bi-mat/1118643873.html	Hai thẳng con trai mà suốt ng ày ôm với chả ấp

bitape/getrayea.com/band-dia-vui-shay.40613/chome-66.7699128 bitape/lettrayea.pom/doc-chome-ballioon-doon-organoms/562879902.html dia-pom-bitape/lettrayea.pom/doc-chome-ballioon-doon-organoms/562879902.html dia-pom-bitape/lettrayea.pom/doc-chome-ballioon-doon-organoms/562879902.html dia-pom-bitape/lettrayea.pom-doc-chome-ballioon-doon-organoms/562879902.html dia-pom-bitape/lettrayea.pom-doc-chome-ballioon-doon-organoms/562879902.html dia-pom-bitape/lettrayea.pom-doc-chome-balliope-ballio			Ôm với chả ấp, còn không mau đỡ anh mày ngồi dậy, tới lầm bầm lầu
197	95	https://gettruyen.com/thanh-dia-vui-thay.40613/chuong-66.7609128	bầu liếc qua vai thẳng Nam xem những người c òn lại trong đội.
198	96	http://truyen99.com/doc-chuong/alljoon-doan-sugamon/562879902.html	đầu rồi mà con ôm với chả ấp cái g l?
	97	https://cungcongcong.com/sh-1/	đấy
100	98		chả BướmHừm (với thái độ bực tức, hành động mạnh).
101	99	https://www.facebook.com/1027174914090090/posts/1876369089170664/	
https://m.facebook.com/bachotv.w/poos/s2/69/19/08/66/19/19/81/19/19/19/19/19/19/19/19/19/19/19/19/19	100		Quần với chả áo
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https://www.facebook.com/wathsh.com/solvente-thi-em-vo-mong-toc-voi-cha-tai-chi-https://www.facebook.com/solvente-thi-phi-tien phi-tien			
108		https://bestie.vn/2019/12/dua-doi-lam-toc-don-tet-chi-em-vo-mong-toc-voi-cha-tai-chi-	Đua đòi làm tóc đón tết, chị em võ
https://www.facebook.com/nem.thanh.huong.le/posts/260254701002424872comment id 2-2625845024361113&reply_comment_id=2625863051025977			
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vSHk4eGyIxl			T ứ với chả tai
111	110		với chả h èo làm nhân viên chờ
113	111	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vSHk4eGyIxI	Nhập được công hàng. xe với chả Cộ chạy như thế này hỏng hết hàng rồi
114	112	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p902tIXcxfs	cũng bán
115	113	https://www.tiktok.com/@bp_thaonguyen1517/video/7014518863664565531	
115	114		
117 https://m.facebook.com/honghottv1/photos/a.112952750106841/197978388270943/?ty Bị đặt y âu với chả dương cái gi! 118 https://www.facebook.com/baithuoccotruyenhay/videos/2067515976858966/ Ān với chả uống n ề n énha 119 https://baotreonline.com/giai-tri/biem-hoa/an-voi-cha-uong baotre Ān với chả uống g liằm nầy nữa, trễ rồi 120 https://www.dulichhoanmy.com/blog/chum-cuoi-qduq-voi-cha-qlichq Du với chả lịch, hết thời gian 121 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=964009470764145 Hẹn với chả họ, còn đồng việc đây. 122 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=964009470764145 Dữ thể mấy lần trước gặp th lìkh ông ôm người ta đi, bây đặt chạy đi chỗ khác cơ xong giỏ lại n đi muốn đm với chả ấp 123 https://doctruyenfull.net/doc-truyen/fanfic-than-tuong-thi-sao-dich-duong-thien-ti-thoys/chap-4-om-om-om-568797488.html Đữ thể mấy lần trước gặp th lìkh ông ôm người ta đi, bây đặt chạy đi chỗ khác cơ xong giỏ lại n đi muốn đm với chả ấp 124 https://www.wattpad.com/669360985-yoonnie-b%E1%BB%91-m%E1%BA%BP			y âu với chả đương. Chia tay :)
118			0
119 https://baotreonline.com/giai-tri/biem-hoa/an-voi-cha-uong_baotre Ån với châ uống g tầm này nữa, trễ rối 120 https://www.dulichhoanmy.com/blog/chum-cuoi-qduq-voi-cha-qlichq Du với châ lịch, hết thời gian 121 https://witter.com/hthh1004/status/1152935483489435649 Hen với châ lịch, hết thời gian 122 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=964009470764145 Ôm với châ ấp 123 https://doctruyenfull.net/doc-truyen/fanfic-than-tuong-thi-sao-dich-duong-thien-ti-thoys/chap-4-om-om-568797488.html Dã thế máy lần trước gặp th lìkh ông ôm người ta đi, bày đặt chạy đi chỗ khác cơ xong giô lại nữa muốn ôm với châ ấp 124 https://www.wattpad.com/669360985-yoonnie-b%E1%BB%91-m%E1%BA%B9- %C4%91%C3%A3-g%E1%BA%B7p-nhau-nh%C6%B0-th%E1%BA%BF- n%C3%A0o-b%E1%BB%91-m%E1%BA%B9- %C4%91%C3%A3-g%E1%BA%B7p/page/3 Lốn rỗi còn đòi ôm với châ ấp 125 https://dbtgvn.net/tamly-giaoduc/detail/1922 Lốn rỗi còn đòi ôm với châ ấp, em nổ cười cho. 126 https://truyenhit.com/172162903-mau-vun/hai-muoi-sau-747852385/ Chân thì như cái que mà bày đặt ôm với châ ấp lem nổ https://truyenhit.com/172162903-mau-vun/hai-muoi-sau-747852385/ Chân thì như cái que mà bày đặt ôm với châ ấp lem nổ cười cho. 127 https://truyenhit.com/172162903-mau-vun/hai-muoi-sau-747852385/ Chân thì như cái que mà bày đặt ôm với châ ấp lem nổ cười cho. Chinh cút ra, đã nổng thì chổ lại còn ôm với châ ấp lem nổ https://truyenqt.com/tinh-yeu-lon-doi-toi/chuong-77 Thữa cứ ra, nổng khiếp lân, ôm với châ ấp lem nổi cho địu bỏ xử Thời cứ ra, nổng khiếp lân, ôm với châ ánh sọ lầm https://kehl14.vn/quan-niem-song-ve-tien-bac-cua-keenu-reeves-toi-da-kiem-duoc-rat-nhieu-tien-toi-cho-di-rat-nhieu-va-song-don-gian-ta-deu-biet-rang-suc-khoe-tot-moi-la-dieu-quan-trong-hon-20200115122404863.chn Trà với châ sữa đây này, đừng rủ nữa nh 6 lem quan-trong-hon-20200115122404863.chn Trà với châ sữa đây này, đừng rủ nữa nh 6 lem quan-trong-hon-20200115122404863.chn Trà với châ sữa đây này, đừng rủ nữa nh 6 lem quan-trong-hon-20		<u>pe=3&_rdr</u>	
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121 https://twitter.com/hthh1004/status/1152935483489435649 Hen với chả hò, còn đồng việc đây. 122 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=964009470764145 Dã thế mấy lần trước gặp thì kh ông thi thược gặp thì kh ông thi thược gặp thì kh ông thi tược gặp thì kh ông thi thi thi tược gặp thì kh ông thì thi thi tược thì thì tược gặp thì kh ông thì kh chi tược gặp thì kh ông thì thi tra tược gặp thì kh ông thì thi thì tược gặp thì kh ông thì thì tược gặp thì kh ông thì thì thì tược thà đị thì thì tước thà đị thì tược thà đị thì thì tước thà đị thì tược thà đị thì thì tước thà đị thì tược thà đị thì tước thà đị thì tước thà đị thì tước thì tước thì tước thì tược thì tược thì tước thì tược thì tước thì			rồi
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