

**Vietnamese Phonology and Graphemic Borrowings
from Chinese:
The Book of 3,000 Characters Revisited**

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1. Among the textbooks used in traditional Vietnam to teach Chinese as a classical foreign language to schoolchildren, and referred to as "cultural dictionaries," there are *Nhất Thiên Tự* 一千字 "The Book of One Thousand Characters" [Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1963 & 1989], *Tam Thiên Tự* 三千字 "The Book of Three Thousand Characters", *Ngũ Thiên Tự* 五千字 "The Book of Five Thousand Characters" [Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1973], *Tự-Dúc Thành-ché Tự-học Giải-nghĩa-ca* 同德解義歌 [Chen 1971; Nguyễn Hữu Quỳ 1971; Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1988]. All of these pedagogical tools use Vietnamese verse as a mnemonic device to teach Chinese characters together with their glosses in the vernacular, the latter cited in *nôm*, i.e. "southern or demotic" characters [Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1959 and 1990].

Whereas the other three books use the typically Vietnamese *lục-bát* "six-eight" meter, *Tam Thiên Tự* uses lines of four words (*tú-tự*) with the following rhyming scheme:

THIỀN	giòi	ĐỊA	dất
CỦ	cất	TÔN	còn
TỰ	con	TÔN	cháu
LỤC	sáu	TAM	ba
GIA	nhà	QUỐC	nước
TIỀN	trước	HẬU	sau

etc.

天	垂	地	坦
攀	桔	存	群
子	猩	孫	綈
六	老	三	巴
家	茹	國	諾
前	累	後	叒

In his review of the Nguyễn emperor's Chinese-Vietnamese dictionary entitled *Tự-Dúc Thành-ché Tự-học Giải-nghĩa-ca* [Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1988],

Nguyễn-Trần Huân mentioned a Haiphong edition of *Tam Thiên Tự* edited by Xuân-Lan in 1911, and a Hanoi edition edited by Ninh-Hà in 1935: Dr. Nguyễn-Trần wrote [1974:366] that the latter editor cited Ngô Thị Sĩ (1726-1780) as the scholar who compiled this word list in 1776 [377].

To my knowledge there are two other editions: one edited by the polyglot scholar Petrus Trương Vĩnh-Ký in Saigon in 1898, and the other edited by Buddhist scholar Đoàn Trung Côn and published by Trí-đúc Tòng-thơ in Saigon in 1959. Lê Văn Quán [1981:168-169] disclosed that the Social Sciences Library in Hanoi has as many as six editions with the title *Tam Thiên Tự Giải-dịch Quốc-ngữ*, blockprinted under the reign of Emperor Duy Tân, in addition to an earlier text (found in the back of *Đạo-giáo Nguyễn-lưu* by Monk Phúc-Diền). This latter text, he said, is entitled *Tam Thiên Tự Toản-yếu*, and shows the printing date as the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Thiệu-Trị, i.e. 1845.

For my 1973 paper, I used the manuscript graciously lent to me by Mr. Đỗ Linh Thông of Vienna, Virginia, entitled *Tam Thiên Tự Giải-dịch Quốc-ngữ*, edited by Father Vũ Khoa of the Phát-diệm Cathedral in North Vietnam, and published in late summer of the second year of the reign of Emperor Duy-Tân, the Year of the Monkey Mậu-Thân, i.e. 1908. The title page indicates that the book came from a second printing of the woodblock kept at the above cathedral and that it sold for 0.30 piasters.

In his 52-line Preface written in both Chinese and Vietnamese, Father Vũ Khoa confessed [1908: 1-4] that he did not know the identity of the author of this Chinese-Vietnamese dictionary, who must have been "an extremely erudite scholar" [Preface, lines 1-2]. But actually *Tam Thiên Tự* was not the work of an anonymous author. In an article which appeared in Hanoi in the review of the Institute of Historical Studies, the late scholar Trần Văn Giáp, while discussing the Origin of *chữ nôm* [Trần 1969: 7-24], revealed that the author of *Tam Thiên Tự* or *Tự-học Toản-yếu* was the scholar-poet-historian Ngô Thị Nhiệm [Trần 1969: 14-17], and not his father Ngô Thị Sĩ, as mentioned with appropriate reservation in Nguyễn-Trần Huân's book review of 1974. This matter of authorship has been confirmed by Đào Duy Anh in his monograph on *chữ nôm* [1975:123] as well as in Trần 1990 [Entry 215: 14-17]. Ngô Thị Nhiệm (1746-1803), like his father Ngô Thị Sĩ (1726-1780), came from an illustrious family of the Village of Tả Thanh-oai in Hà-đông Province (popularly known as Tó Village and famous for its lichee orchards as well as for its numerous Confucian scholars) [Trần 1984: 324-325].

2. The several *quốc-ngữ* editions of this popular primer which Lê Văn Quán mentioned in his 1981 monograph and which I have seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, were all published after the Trương Vĩnh-Ký edition of 1898, and before the more recent Trí-đúc Tòng-thơ edition of 1959. Like the one translated and edited by Trương Vĩnh-Ký, the Trí-đúc Tòng-thơ edition does not cite the *nôm* characters but gives only French glosses and Vietnamese definitions transcribed in *quốc-ngữ*. I was therefore

very happy to find a 1939 edition of the book at the Fu Ssu-nien Library of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, Republic of China, upon my arrival at Nankang, Taipei, in January 1989.

No editor's name appears on the cover of this book, printed at Thuy-Ký Press and sold at Quảng-Thịnh Bookstore (115 Hemp Street, Phố Hàng Gai, in Hanoi). The price was listed as one Indochinese piaster. Each of its 150 pages accommodates twenty Chinese characters lined up in four columns to be read from top to bottom, but the columns started from the lefthand side of each page. In each column, each entry consists of (1) a Chinese character, e.g. 天, (2) its Sino-Vietnamese reading, in this case *thiên*, followed by (3) the *nôm* character 壴 used to write down its Vietnamese meaning, (4) the quôc-ngth̄ romanization, *giời*, and (5) the French equivalent *ciel*, thus:

天	Thiên
𡌥	Giời ciel
地	Địa
坦	Dất terre

My comparison between that 1939 edition and the 1908 edition concentrates on the *nôm* characters used in each of them to transcribe the Vietnamese glosses and pertinent explanations.

3. We will, however, examine first the Preface by Ngô Thị Nhiệm in order to see what he had in mind when he started his compilation.

"In my childhood I had the opportunity to study literature. Now while serving as an official in the imperial court, each time I have some doubt about the meaning of a character, I ask the eminent scholars and we discuss and consult one another regarding the matter. Lately in carrying out my duties in the Prime Minister's office I have been able to read interesting books, so I looked up the words in various documents; those which I understood, I collected them and filed them away, then transcribed them and gave explanations, each meaning listed next to the word, with rhyming characters. I have called this total corpus of three thousand characters *Tự-học Toản-yếu*, and after completing the book I had the woodblocks made and the volume printed." [Trần 1969:16; 1990:14-16]

Although this word list "is only a tree branch amidst the forest and a spoonful of water from the sea," as Ngô Thị Nhiệm modestly put it [Trần 1969:16; 1990:16], this distinctly Vietnamese creation differs from both the Chinese *San ch'ien tzù* "Three Thousand Characters" by Su Kun Yue [Tù Côn Ngọc] and the Chinese *Ch'ien tzù wén* "One Thousand Characters" by Chou Hing Tsu [Chu Hưng-Tự] in that it uses medial rimes, with the fourth syllable of a line rhyming with the second syllable of the following line, and so forth

throughout 750 lines.

4.1. First of all, the book shows several archaic words that are either no longer used nowadays or used only in compounds. Examples are:

- bqm* 女 'prostitute' 28b
- bui* 惟 'only' 36a
- chiêu* 左 'left--opp. of right' 61b
- chin* 今 'very, really' 37a
- chung* 承 'at, because' 26a
- đa* 多 'to recover [from illness]' 53b
- dǎng* 尋 'stool' 13a
- dau-dáu* 忧愁 'worried' 50a
- dùm* 檢 'sac, package' 27a
- ghe* 技 'to distinguish' 64a
- ghín* 謹 'cautious, polite' 12b
- gin* 墾 'to hold, keep' 51a
- hen* 嘔 'to cough' 56b
- kín* 聰 'to carry [water]' 28a
- lét* 瞥 'to glance casually' 13a
- luống* 墮 'to waste [efforts]' 38a
- măng* 莽 'to hear' 48b
- náu* 隱 'to hide' 27b
- nhà trò* 妓 路 'actor, clown' 29b
- níp* 篫 'basket' 23b
- tôi* 找 'to look for' 51b
- thày mo* 索 言莫 'fortune teller' 24b

thùa 𠂔 'its..., his...' 25b

và 土昇 'to walk a long distance' 33a

vai 挑 'to sow [seeds], broadcast' 38b; etc.

4.2. The 1908 edition contains some words that could be lexical localisms peculiar to the Catholic communities of Phát-diệm and Bùi-chu. Examples are:

把 *lả* (3b, Preface: 字册吏把冊 *chữ sách lại lả sách*) with *lả* meaning 'to pay back' under **報** *báo* (15b); 'to return [object]' under **hoàn** 還 (19a), and 'to return [hospitality]' under **thù** 諸 [49b]. This verb is obviously the same as *blả* [De Rhodes 1651];

果 *lái* (28a) 'fruit' under **qua** 萊 [cf. *blái* in De Rhodes 1651]

貝 *vuối* (3a, 4b, 49a) 'together with'

4.3. All words beginning with /r-/ are transcribed with characters that contain a Sino-Vietnamese character pronounced with /l-/:

ra 口哭 'to exit' 2b, 4a;

rau 菜 'vegetable' 15b, 17a;

rau 月季 'placenta' 27b;

(*rđ*) *ràng* 暢快 'radiant' 25a;

răń 咬 'to admonish' 30b;

răng 止志 'tooth' 29b;

răt 少 'very' 49a;

râu 髮 'beard' 15a;

rét 泣 'cold' 49b;

rẽ 采 'root' 11b, 12b;

rêu 蓼 'moss' 64a;

rình 佇 'to watch' 35b;

- riêu 犀 'axe' 13a;
 rõ 火 曰 'clear' 2b, 4a;
 roi 桑 'whip' 40b;
 ròm 目 眼 'to look' 13a;
 rời 未 'idle(ness)' 34a;
 rồng 蟒 'dragon' 16b;
 rông 穗 廣 'spacious, roomy' 21b, 27a, 53a;
 roi 才來 'to drop' 24b;
 ruồi 虻 'fly' 17b;
 ruộng 立 田 'ricefield' 11b, 28b;
 ruột 肚 'intestine' 14a;
 rừng 穢 'forest' 14a;

4.4. Next, one notices that there was an alternation between initials /l-/ and /n-/: thus, the editor Vũ Khoa has *loân* for the Sino-Vietnamese entry *nôan* 雨 (page 27b) glossed as *trúng* 烈 (壯).

5. The Sino-Vietnamese entries themselves are interesting because in several cases, including those of rare characters, the meaning(s) in Vietnamese are broader than the original meaning in Chinese. For examples,

虫亢 *hàng* 'species of silkworm' (52b) is glossed as *thằn-lằn* 'lizard'; **坤𧔉**

砭 *biêm* 'stone needle used in acupuncture' (53a) is glossed as *mài* 'to polish, whet [blade]'; **石埋**

狔 *phát* 'orang utang, *cynocephalus hamadryas*' (55b) is glossed as *lon lòi* 'boar';

猪猿 **朶** *thích* 'thorn' (62b) is glossed as *buóu cây*; **癭核** 'boss, excrescence on tree';

糸相 *tương* 'light yellow silk' (64b) is glossed as *vàng* **鎮** 'yellow'.

6. Next, the shape of a *nôm* character in *Tam Thiên Tự* is different from forms found in earlier writings. Whereas earlier forms seem to reflect

the pronunciation of the time, using the 跟借 *giả-iá* "loan characters" method, characters in *Tam Thiên Tự* often use the 形聲 *hình-thanh* "phonetic compounds" method by adding a signific element, usually a radical:

足眞 *chân* 'foot' (16b), cf. 真 in *BV* [*Bach-vân-am Quốc-ngữ Thi-tập* by Nguyễn Bình Khiêm];

罿 *con* 'child, offspring' (11a), cf. 畿 in *BV*, or in *TKML* [*Truyền-ky Mạn-lục*];

惱 *dại* 'unwise' (15a), cf. 惑 in *BV*;

赤覩 *đỏ* 'red' (17a), cf. 覩 in *BV*;

覩足 *đủ* 'sufficient' (11a), cf. 足 in *TKML*;

口逐 *giục* 'to urge' (33b), cf. 逐 in *TKML*;

嗜 *khen* 'to praise' (19b), cf. 嗜 in *TKML*;

日暮 *mai* 'morning' (13b), cf. 暮 in *BV*;

TKML; **仰語** *ngửa* 'to raise one's head' (13b), cf. 語 in Taberd's dictionary, or in *TKML*;

忍 *nhịn* 'to abstain' (28a), cf. 忍 in *TKML*;

食奴 *no* 'full [from eating]' (21a), cf. 奴 in *BV*;

時采 *thăm* 'to visit' (30a), cf. 采 in *TKML*;

見 *thấy* 'to see' (23b), cf. 见 in *TKML*;

詩 *thơ* 'poetry' (25b), cf. 詩 in *BV*;

言試 *thử* 'to try' (42b), cf. 試 in *TKML*;

擣 *xanh* 'blue, green', cf. 青 in *BV*; etc.

7. All the words beginning with the retroflex *tr-* in modern Vietnamese are represented by characters that contain the /l-/ element, which scholars agree is the second member of a consonant cluster in Middle Vietnamese, as recorded in De Rhodes' dictionary of 1651 [Gregerson 1969; Nguyễn 1986]:

虫來 for (*con*) *trai* 'oyster' (16b)

礼也 for *tré* 'young' (11b)

撩	for <i>treo</i> 'to hang' (27b)
撩	for <i>tréu</i> 'to tease' (30b)
員輪	for <i>tròn</i> 'round' (21b)
竈中	for <i>trong</i> 'inside' (12b)
溜	for <i>trôi</i> 'to drift' (20a, 20b)
味	for <i>trói</i> 'to leave last wishes' (51a)
弄皮	for <i>trống</i> 'drum' (13b)
掩	for <i>trồng</i> 'to plant' (22b)
漬瀉	for <i>tron</i> 'slippery' (33b)
畧	for <i>trước</i> 'in front, before' (48a), etc.

8. Moreover, many words whose initial is /s-/ in Hanoi and /ʃ-/ in Saigon are transcribed by means of combinations which contain an /l/ element, attesting to the earlier cluster /sl-/, as in:

蒞	for <i>sach</i> 'clean' (27a)
塲	for <i>sân</i> 'courtyard' (20b)
淥	for <i>sâu</i> 'deep' (15b, 66a)
蟻	for <i>sâu</i> 'insect' (22a)
燭	for <i>soi</i> 'to light up' (19b, 37b)
礌	for <i>sỏi</i> 'pebble' (51b)
弄	for <i>sóng</i> 'wave' (21b, 45b)
燄	for <i>sôi</i> 'to boil' (34b)
澗	for <i>sông</i> 'river' (18a, 24a)
弄生	for <i>sống</i> 'alive, living' (20a, 39a)
剗	for <i>sóm</i> 'early' (23a, 29b)
瘡	for <i>sưng</i> 'swollen' (29a), etc.

巨

In the case of ~~巨~~ for *sáng* 'bright' (25a, 30b), one can posit a cluster /kl-/ , being a diacritic just like 尔 巴 車 麻 < 𠄎 司 [Nguyễn 1989:19-21].

9. Regarding reduplicative forms, of which the book lists many, we can say that, in addition to the complete reduplications such as *đàm đàm* 普音 3 (64a), *đa đà* 3 (56b), *mành mành* 帶頭 3 (66a), *le le* 隨往 3 (58b), *mò mò* 目麻 3 (59b), *đò đò* (61b), etc., a number of forms (a) reflect their respective tone registers, the level tone *ngang/bằng* occurring with *hởi*, *sắc*, and the falling tone *huyền* occurring with *ngã*, *nặng*; (b) show alternance between homorganic stops and nasals; or (c) show parallelism of vowel height (*u - i*, *ô - ê*, *o - e*):

(a) <i>chăm chắm</i> < <i>chăm chắm</i> (55b)	占 < 占
<i>đau đáu</i> < <i>đáu đáu</i> (60b)	叻 < 啟
<i>nǎm nǎm</i> < <i>nǎm nǎm</i> (55b)	南五 捏
<i>ong óng</i> < <i>óng óng</i> (64a)	擁 3
<i>phơi phói</i> < <i>phói phói</i> (64a)	派 3
<i>rầy rᾶy</i> < <i>rᾶy rᾶy</i> (60b)	汜 3
<i>võ võ</i> < <i>võ võ</i> (55b)	宇 3
<i>või voi</i> < <i>või voi</i> (55a)	山位 3
(b) <i>cun-cút</i> < <i>cút-cút</i> (56b)	鳥山 鷄骨
(c) <i>thủng-thỉnh</i> (58b, 62a)	春請
<i>mông mênh</i> (56b)	濛溟

10. The 1908 and 1939 editions represent the Phát-diệm and the Hanoi dialects respectively, as shown in the following pairs of *chữ nôm*:

短闊	<i>vǎn</i> vs. 短闊 <i>ngǎn</i> , under	DOẢN	短
把	<i>lả/trả</i> vs. 者 <i>giả</i> , under	BÁO	報
鑰	<i>lon</i> vs. 鑰 <i>tron</i> , under	TOÀN	全
須	<i>tua</i> vs. 須 <i>nêñ</i> , under	TU	須
歸	<i>náu</i> vs. 歸 <i>dáu</i> [i.e. <i>giáu</i>], under	ẨN	隱
累	<i>lái</i> vs. 累 <i>trái</i> , under	QUA	累
頰			

培 *và* vs. 步 *bô*, under **LUC** 陸
櫃 *máy rõi* vs. 櫃 *máy dối*, under **LÔI**. 倚

11. The 1908 edition shows more rigorous editing than the 1939 edition, which at times does not obey the rhyme scheme. Thus, under 遠 *tri*, misspelled as *chì* [p. 22], it gives the gloss 遠 *châm*, which would not fit into the rhyme -ây:

遠 TÓC *撐* **遲** TRI *遲* chày
雲 VÂN *雲* mây **火** HOÁK *火* lúa (1908:18b)

Elsewhere, in the sequence

必 TẤT **乙** át **須** TU **須** tua
寺 TỰ **厨** chùa **垂** BUU **驛** dich,

the 1908 edition (22b) uses for TU the gloss *tua*, an archaic form which is more tolerable than the gloss *nên* in 1939:32.

In another sequence,

剝 UÝ 官剝 *(quan)* uý **丞** THÀNG 官丞 *(quan)* thằng
齒 XÍ 齒 *răng* **眸** MÂU 眸 *mắt*,

the 1939 edition (p. 50) gives the reading *thùa* for the Chinese character 丞, to which Vũ Khoa gives the reading *thǜng*, i.e. *thǜng*, rhyming with *răng* (29b).

As for the Chinese character 煙 *sao*, the gloss 煙 *rang* (1939:68) although accurate is not so good as the gloss 煙 *thui* (1908:36a) because the latter word rhymes with *dòi* in the following 4-word line:

燎 LIÊU 燎 *dốt* **少** SAO 少 *thui*
巖 NHAM 巖 *dòi* **穴** HUYỆT 穴 *lõ*.

12. It is well known that the *nôm* script allowed an individual scribe to choose the first variant form of a character that came to his mind. However, the anonymous editor of the 1939 book, despite the initiative of providing French glosses, shows many inconsistencies and certainly lacks rigor -- on page 61, the third and the fourth columns have the ten Chinese characters and their *nôm* equivalents all mixed up -- so it can be said that this printed edition does not do justice to Ngô Thi Nhiêm's great contribution, and that the earlier book, with its scholarly apparatus, including its front matter, is more

valuable both as a teaching tool and as a research tool.

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TAM THIEN

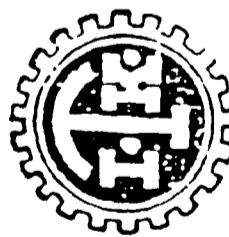
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Thiêo Giới 天 玄	Tôn chau 孫	Tiên trước 先	Nha rǎng 齦
Địa đất 地 垦	Đi chau 地	Hậu sau 後	Võ chỗ 牙
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Tòu còn 存 留	Tam ba 三	Ngưu buñle 牛	Hữu cô 有
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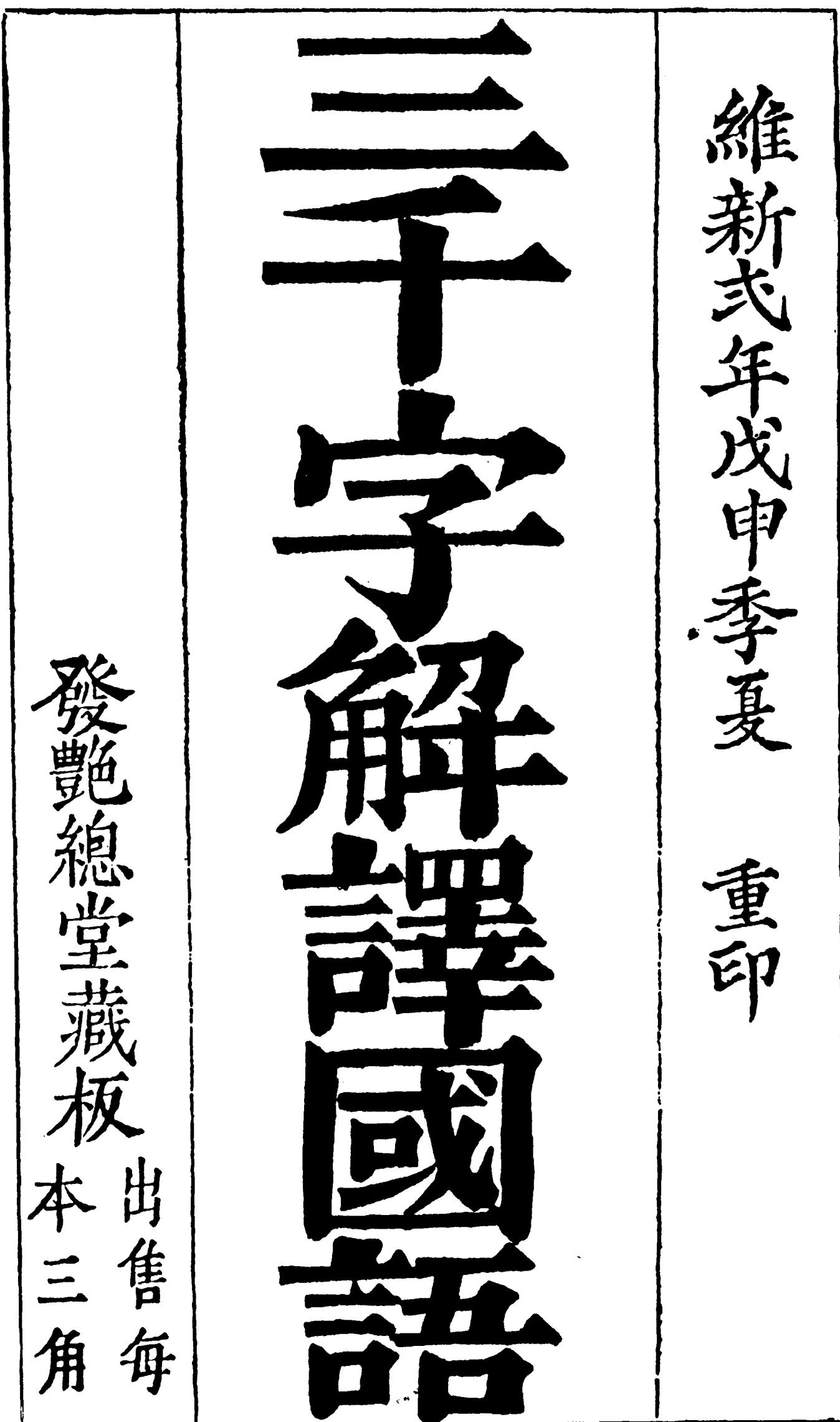
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Title page of the 1908 edition
Tam Thiên Tự giải-dịch quốc-ngữ

Dẫn riêng mấy điều cần trước.

(Sách này in lần trước thơ làm sai nhiều; lần này đã khảo lại kỹ hơn và in lần thứ hai.) 1: Các chữ nhỏ thường dùng hàng ngày độ tám tám hay là một nghìn là cũng mà sách này những ba nghìn chữ, át là sách này như bột cho dễ xem nhiều sách khác; song ai muốn được ích thì chẳng những phải học thuộc lòng, lại cần phải ý tú nhận lấy từng chữ từng nghĩa cho mình bắc, rồi thi viết ám tả nghĩa là viết thuộc lòng, chữ nào nghĩa ấy một hai lượt, hổ mà nhận và nhớ hết các chữ mới thôi, dù có tồn tại năm bảy tháng, thì chẳng mất công vô ích đâu: vì tập chữ một thê; đến khi học sách khác, thấy nhẹ nhàng lắm: vì không phải hỏi mấy chữ nữa, bằng chẳng chỉ thù như thê, chỉ học thuộc lòng. Không, thi chữ sách lại là sách chẳng được ích là bao nhiêu.

2: Về phần con trẻ mới vỗ lòng thi càng nên cứ cách ấy: mỗi ngày cho nó

Introduction to the 1908 edition by Vũ Khoa
(in quốc-ngữ)

咧盈余調勤畧。

(冊尼印吝畧儈少差趨、吝尼也攷吏技欣吧印吝次占。)

次一、各狩儒常用恒鼎、只度捲幕哈哭沒卉哭穷、麻冊尼仍距卉狩沛意思認祕曾狩曾姜朱明白、未辰曰暗寫、姜哭曰屬悉狩帝姜公沒台辣係麻認吧牧歌各狩買僱油固損耗瓶罷胸、辰庄耗功無益喪、為習狩沒体、旦欺學冊恰、覓或禽凜為空沛晦余狩女、平庄志趣如勘、只學屬悉空、辰狩冊吏把冊、庄特益哭包饒、
次二、衛分昆祕買破悉、辰強械拋格众、每鼎朱奴學也移隨飭奴、共

Introduction to the 1908 edition by Vũ Khoa
(in Nôm)

我 <small>四</small> Ngā	甚 <small>三</small> Nhàm	古 <small>二</small> Cô	此 <small>一</small> Chúc	三 Lam
所 <small>四</small> Sở	姓 <small>三</small> Tinh	士 <small>二</small> Sĩ	書 <small>一</small> Thue	千 Thiên
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Preface in Chinese and in Vietnamese by Rev. Vũ Khoa

Gây 西	二五 特 đặc	一五 靈 linh	+五 祈 ghi
lich 歷	筆 bút	牧 mục	勿 vật
nhát 壹	私 tự	武 vũ	矣 tý
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	二五 bút 筆	一五 phát 發	+五 phiết 附
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	triển 篆	linh 靈	biên 辨
	áp 押	mục 牧	bác 博
	dế 底	vũ 武	xin 叫
	mà 麻	khoa 科	đèng 行
	làm 少		cười 嘻
	tin 信		chê 吱

End of preface by Rev. Vũ Khoa in Chinese and Vietnamese

去 故	犬 狂	牛 牻	六 群	天 委
Khứ	Khuyển	Ngưu	Lục	Thiên
di	chó	trâu	sáu	giới (ngày)
來 吏	羊 羔	馬 驭	三 巴	地 坦
Lai	Dương	Mã	Ba	Địa
lai	dê	ngựa	ba	đất
女 姥	歸 徒	距 距	家 姮	擧 桔
Nǚ	quay	Cự	Gia	Cử
gái	về	cưa	nha	cát
男 爪	走 翳	牙 齒	國 諾	存 群
Nam	Chân	Nha	Cuộc	Bồn
giai	chạy	răng	mืc	còn
帯 幢	拜 裳	無 庄	前 畧	子 稜
Dài	Bái	Mộ	Biên	Cử
đai	lạy	chǎng	trước	con
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mũ	quì	có	sau	cháu

First page of Tam Thiên Tự (1908) edition by Vũ Khoa