

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* 爲德聖製字學解義歌 [Chen 1971; Nguyễn Hữu Quý 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 (*tứ-tụ*) with the following rhyming scheme:

THIÊN giòi DIA đất  
CỦ cất TÔN còn  
TƯ con TÔN cháu  
LỤC sáu TAM ba  
GIA nhà QUỐC nước  
TIỀN trước HẬU sau  
etc.

天壻地坦  
擧桔存群  
子罷孫招  
六老六三凹  
家茹國涪  
前畧後叢

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 Sí (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-dúc Tòng-tho 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 Toán-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 Toán-yếu* was the scholar-poet-historian Ngô Thị Nhiệm [Trần 1969: 14-17], and not his father Ngô Thị Sí, 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 Sí (1726-1780), came from an illustrious family of the Village of Tả Thanh-oai in Hà-dông 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-dúc Tòng-tho edition of 1959. Like the one translated and edited by Trương Vĩnh-Ký, the Trí-dúc Tòng-tho 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 天 used to write down its Vietnamese meaning, (4) the quốc-ngữ romanization, *giời*, and (5) the French equivalent *ciel*, thus:

天	Thiên
季	Giời ciel
地	Dịa
坦	Dát 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 Thì 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 *Tụ-học Todon-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 Thì 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 Hung-Tụ] 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* 妓 'prostitute' 28b

*bui* 惟 'only' 36a

*chiêu* 左 'left--opp. of right' 61b

*chin* 今 'very, really' 37a

*chung* 承 'at, because' 26a

*da* 夯 'to recover [from illness]' 53b

*dǎng* 喬 'stool' 13a

*dau-dáu* 叻唶 'worried' 50a

*dùm* 檡 'sac, package' 27a

*ghe* 技 'to distinguish' 64a

*ghín* 謹 'cautious, polite' 12b

*gin* 墾 'to hold, keep' 51a

*hen* 嘳 'to cough' 56b

*kín* 謹 'to carry [water]' 28a

*lét* 瞥 'to glance casually' 13a

*luóng* 隊 'to waste [efforts]' 38a

*mǎng* 莽 'to hear' 48b

*náu* 帕 'to hide' 27b

*nhà trò* 如路 'actor, clown' 29b

*níp* 篴 'basket' 23b

*tōi* 找最 'to look for' 51b

*thay mo* 裳莫 'fortune teller' 24b

*thùa* 𠂔 'its..., his...' 25b

*và* 土章 '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** *là* (3b, Preface: 字冊史把 *chữ sách lại là sách*) with *là* meaning 'to pay back' under **報** *báo* (15b); 'to return [object]' under **hoàn** 還 (19a), and 'to return [hospitality]' under **thù** 西升 [49b]. This verb is obviously the same as *blâ* [De Rhodes 1651];

**梨** *lái* (28a) 'fruit' under **qua** 蘋 [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* 哭 'to exit' 2b, 4a;

*rau* 菜 'vegetable' 15b, 17a;

*rau* 胎 'placenta' 27b;

(*rđ*) *ràng* 燥熾 'radiant' 25a;

*răń* 咲 'to admonish' 30b;

*răng* 齒 'tooth' 29b;

*rát* 怨 'very' 49a;

*râu* 髮 'beard' 15a;

*rét* 涼 'cold' 49b;

*rẽ* 礼 'root' 11b, 12b;

*rêu* 藻 'moss' 64a;

*rinh* 今 'to watch' 35b;

*niu 牛* 'axe' 13a;

*ro 龙* 'clear' 2b, 4a;

*roi 榆* 'whip' 40b;

*ròm 目* 'to look' 13a;

*ròi 来* 'idle(ness)' 34a;

*ròng 虫* 'dragon' 16b;

*róng 广* 'spacious, roomy' 21b, 27a, 53a;

*roi 护* 'to drop' 24b;

*ruòi 虫* 'fly' 17b;

*ruộng 土田* 'ricefield' 11b, 28b;

*ruột 肠* 'intestine' 14a;

*rừng 犁* 'forest' 14a;

4.4. Next, one notices that there was an alternation between initials /l/- and /n/-: thus, the editor Vũ Khoa has *lôdn* for the Sino-Vietnamese entry *noan 邪* (page 27b) glossed as *trúng* (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* *hang* 'species of silkworm' (52b) is glossed as *thằn-lằn* 'lizard'; *坤蛇*

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

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

*猪𦇵* *束* *thíc* 'thorn' (62b) is glossed as *buóu cây* *瘤核* 'boss, excrescence on tree';

*糸相* *tương* 'light yellow silk' (64b) is glossed as *vàng* *鎟* '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 假借 *giả-tá* "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:

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

**罒昆** *con* 'child, offspring' (11a), cf. 昆 in *BV*, or in *TKML* [*Truyền-ký Mạn-lục*];

**忄惱** *dại* 'unwise' (15a), cf. 忄 in *BV*;

**赤覩** *đỏ* 'red' (17a), cf. 覩 in *BV*;

**覩定** *đủ* 'sufficient' (11a), cf. 場 in *TKML*;

**囗遂** *giục* 'to urge' (33b), cf. 遂 in *TKML*;

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

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

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

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

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

**采探** *thăm* 'to visit' (30a), cf. 探 in *TKML*;

**見覽** *thấy* 'to see' (23b), cf. 体 in *TKML*;

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

**試此** *thử* 'to try' (42b), cf. 此 in *TKML*;

**撐青** *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)

**礼少** for *tré* 'young' (11b)

for *treo* 'to hang' (27b)for *trêu* 'to tease' (30b)for *tron* 'round' (21b)for *trong* 'inside' (12b)for *troi* 'to drift' (20a, 20b)for *troi* 'to leave last wishes' (51a)for *trong* 'drum' (13b)for *trong* 'to plant' (22b)for *tron* 'slippery' (33b)for *truc* '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:

for *sach* 'clean' (27a)for *sân* 'courtyard' (20b)for *sâu* 'deep' (15b, 66a)for *sâu* 'insect' (22a)for *soi* 'to light up' (19b, 37b)for *sỏi* 'pebble' (51b)for *sóng* 'wave' (21b, 45b)for *sôi* 'to boil' (34b)for *sông* 'river' (18a, 24a)for *sống* 'alive, living' (20a, 39a)for *sóm* 'early' (23a, 29b)for *sưng* 'swollen' (29a), etc.

In the case of 邑 for *sáng* 'bright' (25a, 30b), one can posit a cluster /kl-/ , being a diacritic just like 尔巴車麻 < 个司 [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 *àm àm* 吩 3 (64a), *da da* 3 (56b), *mành mành* 纳萌 3 (66a), *le le* 离生 3 (58b), *mò mò* 目麻 3 (59b), *ô ô* (61b), etc., a number of forms (a) reflect their respective tone registers, the level tone *ngang/bằng* occurring with *hỏi*, *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>chǎm chǎm</i> < <i>chǎm chǎm</i> (55b)	占< 占<
<i>dâu dâu</i> < <i>dâu dâu</i> (60b)	叨 呸
<i>nǎm nǎm</i> < <i>nǎm nǎm</i> (55b)	南五 捻
<i>óng óng</i> < <i>óng óng</i> (64a)	惱 3
<i>phói phói</i> < <i>phói phói</i> (64a)	派 3
<i>rầy rây</i> < <i>rây rây</i> (60b)	泥 3
<i>vò võ</i> < <i>võ võ</i> (55b)	宇 3
<i>vòi voi</i> < <i>või voi</i> (55a)	岱 3
(b) <i>cun-cút</i> < <i>cút-cút</i> (56b)	龜 骨
(c) <i>thủng-thỉnh</i> (58b, 62a)	春 請
<i>mõng mêm</i> (56b)	漾 漢

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

短問 *vǎn* vs. 短長 *hgǎn*, under DOÁN 短豆

把 *lả/trả* vs. 者 *giả*, under BÁO 報

全 *lon* vs. 當 *tron*, under TOÀN 全

須 *tua* vs. 鵠 *nêñ*, under TU 須

隱 *náu* vs. 跡 *dáu* [i.e. *giáu*], under ÁN 隱

菓 *lái* vs. 粧 *trái*, under QUA 菓

**墳** *va* vs. *bô*, under *LUC* 陸  
**榦** *máy roi* vs. *máy dối*, under *LÔI*. 侖

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

**速** *TÓC* 樟 *chóng* 達 *TRÌ* 達 *chày*

**雲** *VÂN* 雲 *mây* 火 *HOÁ* 火 *hùa* (1908:18b)

Elsewhere, in the sequence

**必** *TÁT* 己 *át* 須 *TU* 須 *tua*  
**寺** *TƯ* 廚 *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.

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In another sequence,

**刷** *UÝ* 官刷 *(quan) uý* **丞** *THÀNG* 官丞 *(quan) thăng*  
**齒** *XÍ* 齒 *răng* 目 *MÂU* 相 *mắt*,

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

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

**燎** *LIÊU* 火出 *dốt* **炒** *SAO* 炒惺 *thui*  
**巖** *NHAM* 顛 *dồi* 穴 *HUYỆT* 曾 *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

1

  
**TAM THIỀN TỰ**  
 MỘT CUỐN TRỌN BỘ  
 Giá 1100



1939

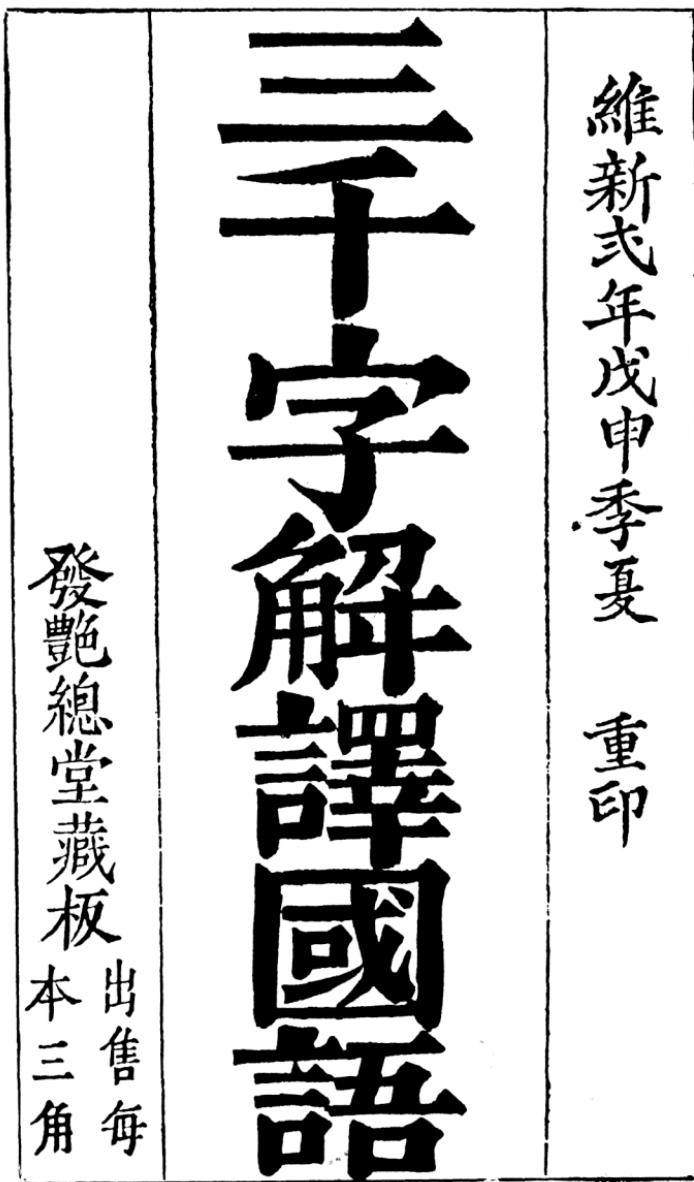
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地	Bia	六	Lục	後	Vô
地	đất	六	sáu	後	châng
地	terre	六	six	後	nón
土	Cử	三	Tam	牛	Hữu
土	cát	三	ba	牛	có
土	clay	三	trois	牛	ox
人	Tôn	家	Gia	馬	Khuyển
人	con	家	nhà	馬	chó
人	encore	家	famille	馬	chien
子	Tử	國	Quốc	犬	Dương
子	con	國	nước	犬	đê
子	jis	國	nation	犬	chiere
			10	犬	20



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 thì viết ám là nghĩa là viết thuộc lòng, chữ nào nghĩa ấy một hai lượt, hễ mà nhận và nhớ hết các chữ mới thôi, dù có tốn mất năm bảy tháng, thì chẳng mất công vô ích đâu: vì tập chữ một thê; đến khi học sách khác, thấy nhẹ mình lắm: vì không phải hỏi may ché nữa, bằng chẳng chỉ thi như thê, chỉ học thuộc lòng. Không, thì chữ sách lại là sách chẳng được ích là bao nhiêu.

2: Về phần con trẻ mới vỗ lòng, thì càng nên cù cách ấy: mỗi ngày cho nó

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

咗盈余調勤畧。

(冊尼印吝畧儈少差移、吝尼也攷吏技欣吧印吝次訛。)

次一、各字儒常用恒鼎、只度捲幕哈哭沒軒哭穷、麻冊尼仍距軒棕  
 乙哭冊尼如勃朱易貼移冊恪、双埃悶特益辰庄仍沛學屬悉吏勤  
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Preface in Chinese and in Vietnamese by Rev. Vũ Khoa

Gay 西	二五 特 đặc	一五 靈 Linh	十五 祈 Khi
lich 歷	筆 bút	牧 mục	勿 vật
nhát 壍	私 tự	武 võ	笑 tiếu
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bách 百			
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	biên 篆	linh 靈	biên 辨
	áp 押	mục 牧	bác 博
	đế 底	võ 武	xin 叫
	mà 麻	Khoa 科	dùng 行
	làm 少		cười 哮
	tin 信		chè 吱

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

去	移	犬	往	牛	犧	六	老	天	垂
Chù	Chuyển	Chó	Nghìn	Nhâm	Sát	Lục	Sán	Thiên	Biên
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來	吏	羊	羝	馬	駄	三	匹	地	坦
Lai	Đường	Đuông		Mã	Gái	Bam		Địa	
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女	姆	歸	衛	距	距	家	姑	舉	格
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Nam	Cậu	Cản		Nha		Cuộc		Gòn	
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帶	幘	拜	裯	無	庄	前	畧	子	孫
Dài	Bái	Bái		Nô		biên		Giú	
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First page of Tam Thiên Tự (1908) edition by Vũ Khoa