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## The category of directedness of action in Tangut (prefixes-correlates of aspect and mood)

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### 1. Introduction

1.a. A system of verbal affixes denoting direction of action (direction indicators) seems to represent a characteristic feature of the languages spoken in a vast region in Central Asia. This phenomenon, in the form of prefixes, is widely spread among the languages of the so-called Chuanxi minzu zoulang<sup>2</sup> in China (Sun, 1990: 23—4), whereas, in the form of suffixes, it exists in such Tibeto-Burman languages as Deng (Sun, *et al.*, 1980: 208) and, as recent expeditions have shown, in some Himalayan languages as well (Bickel, forthcoming; Rutgers, forthcoming).

The Tangut language, an extinct Tibeto-Burman tone language spoken nearly one thousand years ago and one of the few Tibeto-Burman languages ever written, possesses a complicated system of prefixes, which by their origin indicated direction of action. It is to be kept in mind that the Dangxiang tribes, the ancestors of the Tangut, left the northern part of the Chuanxi minzu zoulang in two waves and settled in Gansu and Ordos during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries (Kyčanov, 1968: 11—13).

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<sup>2</sup> Chuanxi minzu zoulang is a 'strip of territory extended from southern Gansu and eastern Qinghai down through western Sichuan and southeastern Tibet to western Yunnan and the northern Burmese and Indian frontiers' (Sun, 1990:1).

Since Tangut is an extinct language, the choice of Tangut texts for linguistic analysis is crucial. It was already observed (Kepping, 1985: 15—19, 1990: 50; Nishida, 1987: 1) that different Tangut texts represent different grammar. Basically (but not exclusively, see Kepping, 1990: 50) these grammatical discrepancies correspond with the division of Tangut data preserved up to now into Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts. Buddhist texts regarded as sacred were translated verbatim and, as a result, according to Nishida (1966: 562—565) the Tangut language in Buddhist texts is heavily sinicized. Since starting my work on Tangut grammar, therefore I have mainly used Tangut translations of Chinese *secular* texts (not canonical, i. e. not Buddhist or Confucian texts; for the list of Tangut texts used in this study see p. 289). My assumption was that these Tangut texts represent a language not so strongly influenced by Chinese language as the translations of canonical texts were<sup>3</sup>. All the texts used in my study are printed in a form of a wood-block cut during the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The Tangut system of prefixes arranged in pairs indicating opposite direction of the action was discovered in the Tangut language in the 1960s (Kepping, 1968; English translation in: Kepping, 1971), while an account of such a system in the languages of Chuanxi minzu zoulang bearing a striking resemblance with Tangut data was first published in the 1980s (Sun, 1981).

The category of direction of action in Tangut was not accounted for by Nishida Tatsuo (1966) and Sofronov (1968, 1) and prefixes involved were considered by them either as markers of various aspects (Nishida, 1966: 578—580) or as markers of tenses and aspects (Sofronov, 1968, 1: 194—195, 200—204). Nishida (1987:5) wrote that my interpretation of these prefixes as originated from direction indicators (Kepping, 1971, 1979: 287—307, 1985: 176—212) 'seems to be generally correct'. He follows my interpretation of two pairs, 𐰚 a' — 𐰚 na<sup>1</sup> and 𐰚 ki<sup>1</sup> — 𐰚 viə<sup>2</sup>, as 'upward — downward' and 'to the speaker — away from speaker'<sup>4</sup>, respectively. But on some points Nishida raised certain objections, e. g. in his efforts to define a directional meaning for the prefix 𐰚 riə<sup>2</sup>, which in the set of perfective prefixes, in my opinion, is the only one without this meaning and consequently without a pair, Nishida seeks to establish an oppositional pair for this prefix. As there still remains some room for discussion, the Tangut system of directional prefixes deserves a special study. It is necessary to clarify this category in Tangut not only in the interest of the Tangut studies, but, importantly, for the comparative

<sup>3</sup> My assumption proved to be correct, since only Tangut translations of Chinese secular works have revealed in Tangut language such grammatical phenomena as the verb agreement, ergative construction, a set of plural markers, etc. (for details see Kepping, 1985) which were not observed by Nishida and Sofronov both of whom were working with canonical texts in Tangut translation.

<sup>4</sup> Later I changed my interpretation of the pair 𐰚 ki<sup>1</sup> — 𐰚 viə<sup>2</sup> to indicate more exactly 'here-there', 'inside-outside' (Kepping, 1985: 179-80).

study of corresponding phenomena in related modern Tibeto-Burman languages.

First it is necessary to define the term 'direction indicator', since this term up to now has not been explained in the works on Tangut directional prefixes. The failure to define the term is due to its seeming simplicity, but it has various understandings. Some scholars ascribe to a single prefix the meaning of two diametrically opposed directions (Kyčanov, 1967: 92; Nishida, 1987: 14<sup>5</sup>), which is impossible (cf. if a semaphore is simultaneously indicating 'right turn' and left turn', in fact, it does not show the direction at all). I propose to define the term 'direction indicator' as follows: a direction indicator is a verbal affix indicating one and only one direction of action of the verb.

1.b. In the Tangut language there are seven prefixes of perfective aspect and six prefixes of optative mood, which originally were direction indicators. The pair of prefixes of perfective aspect and prefixes of optative mood, which indicate one and the same direction I designate as prefixes-correlates (Kepping, 1980, 1984, 1985: 190, 208—12). Below I will discuss how I establish the meaning for each of the prefixes, summarized here for the readers convenience:

<i>Perfective aspect</i>		<i>Optative mood</i>	
1. 𐰇 a?	—	𐰇 in <sup>1</sup>	'upward'
2. 𐰈 na <sup>2</sup>	—	𐰈 nin <sup>2</sup>	'downward'
3. 𐰉 ki <sup>1</sup>	—	𐰉 kin <sup>1</sup>	'here', 'inside'
4. 𐰊 viə <sup>2</sup>	—	𐰊 vici <sup>2</sup>	'there', 'outside'
5. 𐰋 ndi <sup>2</sup>	—	𐰋 ndin <sup>2</sup>	'towards the speaker'
6. 𐰌 tha <sup>2</sup>	—	no correlate yet identified 'away from the speaker'	
7. 𐰍 riə <sup>2</sup>	—	𐰍 rie <sup>2</sup>	? (direction not found)

The phonological correspondence of the aforegiven markers reveals their common origins, since in general the prefixes-correlates have one and the same initial consonant and an identical following vowel, while the difference between them lies mainly in the final consonant. Although the phonological resemblance within a pair of prefixes-correlates does not represent my primary argument for establishing a similar original meaning for the prefixes-correlates (this point will be discussed later), nevertheless it strongly supports the idea (Kepping, 1985: 190—191) that prefixes of

<sup>5</sup> Nishida (1987: 14) tries to unite in a pair the prefixes 𐰌 tha<sup>2</sup> and 𐰍 riə<sup>2</sup> speculating that the prefix 𐰍 riə<sup>2</sup> may be interpreted as indicating inward direction and at the same time as indicating outward direction. I believe that these two prefixes do not form a pair and that 𐰌 tha<sup>2</sup> means 'away from the speaker' and 𐰍 riə<sup>2</sup> 'no direction' respectively.

optative mood were derived from the prefixes of the direction of action, combined with a certain grammatical morpheme meaning optative (apparently something like \*-n).

The fact that the Tangut verbal prefixes originally denoting different directions of the action, in the XII-th century already express one and the same grammatical meaning, is reflected in the explanations of different prefixes in the indigenous Tangut dictionary 'Homophones' (Li, 1986) and 'The Sea of Characters' (Kepping *et al.*, 1969): the explanation of the perfective prefix 𐰇 ki<sup>1</sup> states that it has the same meaning as 𐰇 na<sup>1</sup> and 𐰇 riə<sup>2</sup> (Kepping *et al.*, 1969: 533); in the 'Homophones' the optative mood marker 𐰇 rie<sup>2</sup> is explained by its correlate from the set of perfective prefixes, viz. 𐰇 riə<sup>2</sup> (Li, 1986: 748). Thus there is no doubt that the Tangut grammarians themselves were aware of the fact that the two sets of prefixes could be traced back to one and the same origin. At the same time the data on the prefixes-correlates registered in the Tangut dictionaries, 'Homophones' and 'The Sea of Characters', reveals the high level of the Tangut philology tradition<sup>6</sup>.

It should always be borne in mind that prefixes-correlates are only by their origin connected with direction of action, since in the Tangut texts I have studied they act mainly as aspect or mood markers.

I consider the markers of perfective aspect and optative mood as prefixes, i. e. a part of the verb, since between them and the verb only a negation and/or a grammatical morpheme 𐰇 ldiə<sup>1</sup> meaning 'though', 'even', 'despite' may be inserted.

A verb with one of these prefixes may occur with the causative marker 𐰇 phi<sup>1</sup> and one of the agreement markers, viz. 𐰇 nga<sup>2</sup>, 𐰇 na<sup>2</sup> or 𐰇 ni<sup>2</sup>.

The verb itself may have only one prefix, i. e. either one from the set of perfective markers, or one from the set of optative markers. Thus the prefixes of perfective markers and the prefixes of optative mood are in complimentary distribution.

Now let us turn to both sets of prefixes.

## 2. A set of perfective aspect markers.

Six out of seven Tangut prefixes of perfective aspect can be arranged into three pairs, each pair juxtaposed by the direction of the action:

- |                      |   |                    |                 |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. 𐰇 a <sup>?</sup>  | — | 𐰇 na <sup>1</sup>  | upward-downward |
| 2. 𐰇 ki <sup>1</sup> | — | 𐰇 viə <sup>2</sup> | here-there,     |

<sup>6</sup> S. E. Jakhontov (St. Petersburg University) considers the level of Tangut philological science higher than the contemporary Chinese level (personal communication during our cooperative work on 'Tangut Phonological Tables' project).

For the seventh prefix, viz. 𐤀𐤊  $\text{ri}\ddot{\text{a}}^2$ , I have not found any direction of action, but since it shares with other perfective prefixes some common features I consider 𐤀𐤊  $\text{ri}\ddot{\text{a}}^2$  as a perfective prefix as well (for details see p. 278—280).

Thus there is every reason to assume that these seven prefixes have one and the same grammatical meaning. These prefixes are not linked with the expression of the time of the action, since the form 'prefix + verb' can denote an action completed in the past (example 1: note that each verb is used in this sentence with its 'own' prefix), a future action (example 2) or be an imperative form (example 3):

聚茲耆類霜結冰融處所散較

Wei Wu di *followed* the plan of Xun You, *burnt* the carts belonging to Yuan Shao, and *routed* him in the place called Guandu. (*Sun Zi* 5a—5a)

na<sup>2</sup> 'ôn<sup>2</sup>u<sup>1</sup> a<sup>?</sup> phôn<sup>1</sup> riə<sup>1</sup> khwə<sup>1</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> tôn<sup>2</sup> zie<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> niuo<sup>1</sup> mə<sup>2</sup> lhiə<sup>?</sup>  
via<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>

When a raven's head *turns white*<sup>7</sup> and horns *appear* [on the head of] a horse, only then will I let you go to your native kingdom (*Lei lin* 264)

<sup>7</sup> Note that the prefix here precedes an adjective, viz. 𠄎 phon<sup>1</sup> 'white'.

[3] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

si<sup>2</sup> ndziwo<sup>2</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> 'ia<sup>1</sup> na<sup>2</sup>

Woman, *stand still!* (Notes 12—2)

To clarify the distinction between the meaning of the form of the verb with one of the prefixes and that of the verb without a prefix, parallel sentences will be cited, in which a verb is used first without a prefix and then with one of the seven prefixes:

[4] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

re<sup>2</sup> tshie<sup>2</sup> ndziwo<sup>2</sup> tiə<sup>2</sup> 'ia<sup>2</sup>

[If] the commanders *are angry*, [it means that] the men are tired. (Sun Zi 26a—2).

[5] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

thie<sup>1</sup> xwai<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> tshie<sup>2</sup> lie<sup>2</sup> sin<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>

Tian Heng *got angry* and killed Lisheng. (Sun Zi 48—2a)

[6] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

ngi<sup>2</sup> ie<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> thin<sup>2</sup> 'ei<sup>1</sup>

Why are you not *crying* when your son has died? (Twelve kingdoms)

[7] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

ma<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> ugu<sup>2</sup>

Having heard [about this], the mother *began to cry*. (Sun Zi 33A—4a)

[8] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

tin<sup>1</sup> viei<sup>2</sup> ziə<sup>1</sup> 'wə<sup>1</sup> zie<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>2</sup>

While *surrounding* the enemy, leave one side open. (Sun Zi 13A—4a)

[9] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

ndzion<sup>1</sup> viei<sup>2</sup> ziə<sup>2</sup> ndzéi<sup>2</sup> vie<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> 'wə<sup>1</sup> zie<sup>1</sup> 'wə<sup>1</sup> tshī<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> siei<sup>1</sup> sie<sup>2</sup> ldeu<sup>2</sup> min<sup>1</sup>

For example, when the enemy *has surrounded* [us, we] must not think of how to break out (Sun Zi 16B—7b)

[10] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

tshiu<sup>1</sup> tsôn<sup>1</sup> nin<sup>2</sup> 'i<sup>1</sup> mbi<sup>2</sup> riē<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> khiu<sup>1</sup> 'o<sup>2</sup> thi<sup>1</sup>

During the night the ruler of Chu [kingdom] Zhuang Wang was drinking wine together with all the officials. (*Lei lin* 285—2)

[11] 靡靡 矧矧 矧矧 矧矧 矧矧

to<sup>2</sup> ži<sup>2</sup> nie<sup>1</sup> ldi<sup>2</sup> ndə<sup>1</sup> ndə<sup>1</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> thi<sup>1</sup>

All [the robbers] rejoiced and at once drank [the poisoned wine]. (*Sun Zi* 12B—5b)

[12] 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼

媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼

ngi<sup>2</sup> mbin<sup>2</sup> siei<sup>2</sup> žie<sup>1</sup> kei<sup>1</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup> via<sup>1</sup> zu<sup>1</sup> śia<sup>1</sup> kei<sup>1</sup> khwi<sup>1</sup> tsê<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup> phə<sup>1</sup> khion<sup>1</sup>

When [the people from Fergana] take a wife (lit. wife request), [they] buy and give as presents hair adornment and bracelets made of gold<sup>8</sup>. (*Lei lin* 143—5)

[13] 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼

ni<sup>2</sup> pha<sup>1</sup> ngi<sup>2</sup> mbin<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup> siei<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>

Take another wife (lit. wife prefix 媼 riə request)! (*Lei lin* 173—7)

[14] 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼

šiwə<sup>1</sup> šiwə<sup>1</sup> mbiu<sup>2</sup> khion<sup>1</sup> wə<sup>1</sup> ? niuo<sup>1</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup>

[If the general] frequently gives awards, [it means that] he is in a desperate situation. (*Sun Zi* 26B—1)

[15] 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼

tha<sup>1</sup> mbu<sup>1</sup> khu<sup>2</sup> mbie<sup>1</sup> ngəw<sup>2</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> thi<sup>1</sup> ngo<sup>1</sup> viə<sup>1</sup> ngəw<sup>2</sup> 'in<sup>1</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> khion<sup>1</sup>

That is the reason why [the ruler] released the girls from the harem and gave them to the bachelors. (*Lei lin* 38—1)

[16] 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼 媼媼

ku<sup>1</sup> xan<sup>2</sup> śiei<sup>1</sup> tshie<sup>2</sup> mbie<sup>2</sup> kwie<sup>1</sup> 'ie<sup>2</sup> khi<sup>2</sup> žie<sup>1</sup> nga<sup>1</sup> sô<sup>1</sup>

During the Late Han dynasty the 'red browed' robbers were heading an army of about one million. (*Sun Zi* 5A—6b)

<sup>8</sup> The second part of example 12 (the principal clause of the compound sentence, beginning with the word 'gold') is not quite clear to me, but this part is not relevant here.



[17] 虜 驍 轉 妮 訖 義 兒 龍

娘 妮 惟 妮 訖 義 兒 龍

'êu<sup>1</sup> siwo<sup>2</sup> a' tshie' 'in<sup>1</sup> nga<sup>1</sup> riə<sup>2</sup> sô<sup>1</sup> 'eu<sup>1</sup> niuo<sup>1</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> lho' a' 'wei<sup>1</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> pha<sup>2</sup>

Yao Xiang got angry, *headed* his army, left [his] fortifications, joined in battle with [Fu Huangmei and] was defeated. (*Sun Zi* 18A—6b)

These examples show that the verbs provided with a prefix express an action 'as limited, concentrated in some limit of completion, whether the moment of origin, i. e. the beginning of an action, or the moment of its completion, i. e. its result' (*Grammatika russkogo yazyka*, 1960: 494). Thus in Tangut the grammatical relations between a verbal form without a prefix and a form with a prefix coincides with the opposition 'imperfective verb — perfective verb' in Russian<sup>9</sup>.

In texts these seven prefixes of perfective aspect may precede all groups of verbs: they combine with transitive and intransitive verbs, dynamic verbs, and stative verbs<sup>10</sup>, *verba sentiendi*, verbs of speech, copula, etc. They are not to be found only in front of verbs followed either by modal verbs, or by auxiliary verbs. They may occur with adjectives as well<sup>11</sup>.

Thus the seven prefixes are in complimentary distribution, expressing one and the same meaning of perfective aspect. It is to be stressed that the meaning of perfective aspect for these prefixes is observed in the texts all of which share two common features: 1. they are rather late (all the texts are from the 12<sup>th</sup> century), 2. they are translations of Chinese secular works. A diachronic study of usage of these prefixes is a matter for the future.

An analysis of the lists of verbs<sup>12</sup> which regularly occur with the respective prefixes shows beyond doubt that the prefixes were connected with certain directions of the action.

Thus the prefix 轉, a' stands in front of verbs generally indicating an upward movement, whereas the prefix 訖 na<sup>1</sup> shows the opposite direction, viz. downward. In example 18 the verb meaning 'rise' has the prefix

<sup>9</sup> Different meanings of the perfective aspect in Tangut are not considered in this study.

<sup>10</sup> Nishida Tatsuo (1987:5) has ascribed to me a statement that Tangut prefixes do not occur with stative verbs. On the contrary, I have always described these prefixes as occurring with stative verbs as well (Kepping, 1971: 290, 1979: 295, 1985: 177).

<sup>11</sup> It should be borne in mind that in Tangut the verbal affixes may also occur with adjectives. This phenomenon is observed in Chinese and other TB languages as well. In these languages the verbs and adjectives are united in a class named in Chinese *weici* (on the term see Sun, 1981: 42, note 1).

<sup>12</sup> For the lists of verbs occurring with certain perfective prefixes, see Kepping, 1979: 297-305.

𐰇, a<sup>?</sup>, while in the front of the verb 'to fall down' stands the prefix 𐰇 na<sup>1</sup>:

[18] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

kie<sup>1</sup> mə<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> 'wə<sup>1</sup> su<sup>2</sup> a<sup>?</sup> wuo<sup>1</sup> jei<sup>1</sup> na<sup>2</sup>?

They act as if they are surrounded by fire: now *rising*, now *falling down*. (Sofronov 1968, 1: 204)

In the next sentence (example 19) the verbs 'to mount a horse' and 'to dismount a horse' indicating opposite movements have prefix 𐰇, a<sup>?</sup> and prefix 𐰇 na<sup>1</sup> respectively, since 'to mount a horse' is an 'upward' action and 'to dismount a horse' represents a 'downward' action:

[19] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

a<sup>?</sup> ndzai<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> phon<sup>2</sup> tshia

na<sup>1</sup> lhiə<sup>?</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> tsiuo<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>1</sup>

When [they] *mount horses* (prefix 𐰇, a<sup>?</sup>), flags go raised,

When [they] *dismount horses* (prefix 𐰇 na<sup>1</sup>), [they] get into the mud (*Proverbs no. 275*, translation is mine and it is tentative).

Usually the adjectives 𐰇 mbin<sup>2</sup> 'high', 'lofty' and 𐰇 mbi<sup>2</sup> 'low' go with prefixes 𐰇, a<sup>?</sup> and 𐰇 na<sup>1</sup> respectively. However, there is an example in which these prefixes are used quite the reverse, i. e. the prefix 𐰇, a<sup>?</sup> stands in front of the adjective 𐰇 mbi<sup>2</sup> 'low', whereas the prefix 𐰇 na<sup>1</sup> is in front of the adjective 𐰇 mbin<sup>2</sup> 'high', 'lofty'. Perhaps this inversion was a device to emphasize the unevenness of the terrain:

[20] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

a<sup>?</sup> mbi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> mbin<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>1</sup> liwe<sup>2</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup>

[When here the terrain<sup>1</sup> is rising and [there] it is going down, this is a barrier [for the army]. (*Sun Zi 5B—7a*)

The next two prefixes, viz. 𐰇 ki<sup>1</sup> and 𐰇 viə<sup>2</sup>, form a pair with the meaning 'here-there' and 'inside-outside' respectively. The first meaning 'here-there' is demonstrated in the next example:

[21] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

ndziə<sup>1</sup> pu<sup>2</sup> riə<sup>2</sup> tiə<sup>2</sup> 'in<sup>2</sup> riə<sup>1</sup> lheu<sup>1</sup> su<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> nin<sup>2</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> nin<sup>2</sup> siə<sup>1</sup> tiə<sup>2</sup>  
mi<sup>1</sup> nda<sup>2</sup> phi<sup>1</sup>

Burn the ships, break the pots. [Chase the army] as [you would] drive a flock of sheep. Chase it this way (prefix 𐰇𐰏 ki<sup>1</sup>) and that way (prefix 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup>), [but do it in a such way that the army] is ignorant of where it is being driven. (*Sun Zi* 40A—2a) (Chin. text: *wang lai* 往來 'come and go')

It should be noted that in the text of 'Newly gathered notes on love to the younger ones and respect for the elders' (Kepping, 1990: 55—56) occurs a pair of demonstrative pronouns, viz. 𐰇𐰏 tsio<sup>1</sup> — 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup> 'this-that'<sup>13</sup> where 'that' is the character which stands for the perfective prefix 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup> 'there'. Thus it means that 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup> was connected with the indication of something which is rather far — 'that', 'there'.

The meaning 'inside-outside' for these prefixes becomes clear from the verbs they are connected with (for the prefix 𐰇𐰏 ki<sup>1</sup> see also the example 22 — 'looked inside the mouth'). The fact that the verb 'to be born' is preceded only by the prefix 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup>, in my opinion, demonstrates the meaning 'outside' denoted by this prefix 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup><sup>14</sup>.

I suspect that the pair of prefixes 𐰇𐰏 ki<sup>1</sup> — 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup> originally showed the direction towards the river (east?) and towards the mountain (west?) respectively, since (1) an opposition 'towards the river — towards the mountain' is quite ordinary for the category of direction of action in the languages of Chuanxi minzu zoulang, which are closely related to the Tangut language, and (2) the opposition 'water (Yellow River, east) — mountain (Helanshan, west)' proves to be of the utmost importance in the Tangut culture (Kepping, forthcoming). But if there was such a meaning for these Tangut prefixes, it cannot be found in the Tangut translations of Chinese secular works which were used as the source material for this study. Only Tangut original texts can supply the necessary data for such a revelation.

The pair of prefixes 𐰇𐰏 ndi<sup>2</sup> — 𐰇𐰏 tha<sup>2</sup> 'to the speaker — away from the speaker' according to S. DeLancey (1983: 101) is related to a well-attested Tibeto-Burman deictic demonstrative system exemplified by Tibetan *'di*, Jinghpaw *ndai* 'this', Tibetan *de*, Jinghpaw *dai* 'that'.

The prefix 𐰇𐰏 tha<sup>2</sup> often shows the perfective aspect of verbs having adverse connotations, e. g. deprivation of life, defeat in battle and some other verbs meaning loss in a broad sense (to lose, to forget, to give away, to get hungry, to refuse, etc. ) but at the same time it is also found with such verbs, as 'to come into possession', 'to become happy', etc.

The prefix 𐰇𐰏 tha<sup>2</sup> represents one of the most frequently used Tangut perfective prefixes, attested 137 times in *Sun Zi* (Kepping, 1979),

<sup>13</sup> So far the manuscript 'Newly gathered notes on love to the younger ones and respect for the elders' (Kepping, 1990) is the only text where I have found this pair of demonstrative pronouns.

<sup>14</sup> I think that Nishida's (1987: 12) doubts on the usage of prefix 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup> with the verbs meaning 'to be born' can be dispelled if we assume the meaning 'outside' for this prefix.

more than 300 times in Lei lin (Kepping, 1983) and 74 times in Tangut proverbs (Kyčanov, 1974). On the other hand, the prefix 𐰇𐰺 ndi<sup>2</sup> occurs less frequently in the texts (of the perfective prefixes it was the last to be identified): in Sun Zi and in the Proverbs it is found 3 (!) times in each text, but in 'Lei lin' 76 times. One may speculate that 𐰇𐰺 ndi<sup>2</sup> was gradually supplanted by 𐰇𐰾 tha<sup>2</sup> which is corroborated by the fact that these two perfective prefixes have only one correlate in the set of the optative mood markers, the prefix 𐰇 ndin, see p. 286—287.

Since prefix  $\text{ri}\dot{\text{a}}^2$ , for which I could not find any directional connotation, is in a way a controversial grammatical morpheme, it will be discussed separately (see p. 278—280).

Although the prefixes originally functioned exclusively as direction indicators, eventually a certain prefix 'stuck' to each verb and turned into the perfective aspect marker of the verb. In this way direction indicators were converted to perfective aspect markers.

Still, sometimes one and the same verb may have different prefixes. This may happen in two cases. Firstly, the original meaning of the prefixes as direction indicators sometimes may be preserved, e. g. the verb 𐌲𐌹 'iu<sup>2</sup> 'to look' with prefix 𐌵𐌹 ki<sup>1</sup> (example 22) means 'to look inside', with prefix 𐌶𐌹 vjə<sup>2</sup> this means 'to glance back' (example 23) and with prefix 𐌴𐌹 na<sup>1</sup> the same verb means 'to glance downward' (example 24). Such cases are not rare:

[22] 秀 嬌 姿 媚 妖 情 婉 婉 情 韻 蕩 然

kwo<sup>1</sup> wen<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> 'iu<sup>2</sup> ldia<sup>2</sup> 'u<sup>2</sup> rie<sup>1</sup> xwai<sup>1</sup> ngi<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> tshiu<sup>1</sup> lin<sup>2</sup>

Guo Wen *looked into* [the animal's] mouth and saw that a bone had stuck there. (*Lei lin* 69—2)

[23] 許安祿 變幻玻璃 悅濃齋

ngi<sup>1</sup> mbi<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> ndzia<sup>1</sup> zie<sup>1</sup> niuo<sup>1</sup> vie<sup>2</sup> 'iu<sup>2</sup>

[Wu Yuan] having made one step *glanced back* [on the girl]. (*Leilin* 279—5).

[24] 移恆鹿歸前發恆駟

ngi<sup>2</sup> niuo<sup>1</sup> só<sup>1</sup> 'iauw<sup>2</sup> 'won<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> 'iu<sup>2</sup>

The child followed [his mother] and cried, but [she] *did not* even glance down [at him]. (Notes 11—8)

Secondly, an unusual prefix in front of a verb is connected with polysemy, when different prefixes occur with one and the same verb because of different meanings of the verb, e. g. when the verb 𪛗 *tôn*<sup>2</sup> means 'to grow' (as a tree), in perfective form it has prefix 𪛗 *viə*<sup>2</sup>; if the same verb means 'to rise' (as the sun, moon, etc.), then it has the prefix 𪛗 *a*<sup>?</sup>:

[25] 涸井旁樹有凌霄藤

kha<sup>2</sup> 'u<sup>2</sup> son<sup>1</sup> a<sup>?</sup> phu<sup>2</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> tôn<sup>2</sup>

In the well a tree *has* grown. (Lei lin 207—1)

[26] ... 姝日轉晴，曉風配□<sup>15</sup>

mbe<sup>2</sup> lhiə<sup>?</sup> a<sup>?</sup> tôn<sup>2</sup> lhiə<sup>?</sup> 'won<sup>1</sup>

The sun and the moon *have* risen, and all the country is lit up.  
(Proverbs no. 3)

## 2a. Prefix 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup>

No other prefix of the set of perfective aspect markers has attracted so much attention as 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup>: nearly all tangutologists have expressed an opinion about it. The difficulties in establishing the meaning for 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> becomes clear out of the varieties of definition suggested for 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup>. In his early works Nishida (1966: 579) regarded 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> as an object marker corresponding to Chinese *suo* 所. Later (1987: 14) Nishida considered 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> as a direction indicator, viz. 'inside'<sup>16</sup>, together with five other prefixes of the perfective aspect. Sofronov (1968 1: 194) argues that it is a past tense marker. Grinstead (1972: 240) in his dictionary ascribes to this morpheme iterative meaning. Kyčanov (1967: 92) states that 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> is a direction marker and that the action expressed by the form 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> + verb' be directed towards the object of the action or away from the object of the action.

According to the definition given on p. 3 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> cannot be a direction indicator, since it shows two opposite directions of the action — 'inward' and 'outward' (Nishida, 1987: 14) and 'towards the object' and 'away from the object' (Kyčanov, 1967: 92).

In the following example, the verb 𪛗𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> ldie<sup>2</sup> (prefix 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> + verb 𪛗 ldie<sup>2</sup> 'to go') occurs twice. In the first case it means 'went away' and in the second — 'came', i. e. the movement towards and away from one and the same place (the river, where the gold was thrown in) is expressed by one and the same verb 𪛗𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> ldie<sup>2</sup>:

[27] 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗  
𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗  
𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

<sup>15</sup> One character is missing.

<sup>16</sup> Stating that prefix 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup> may mean 'inward' and 'outward', Nishida, while arranging into pairs the six prefixes known to him (prefix ndi<sup>1</sup> was not known to Nishida) concludes by ascribing the meaning 'inside' to the prefix 𪛗 riə<sup>2</sup>.

ni<sup>1</sup> tiei<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> nwə<sup>1</sup> mbu<sup>1</sup> tshio<sup>2</sup> ria<sup>2</sup> kei<sup>1</sup> zwon<sup>2</sup> zie<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> mbə<sup>1</sup>  
ndzio<sup>2</sup> riə<sup>2</sup> ldie<sup>2</sup> 'u<sup>1</sup> nga<sup>1</sup> ra<sup>2</sup> niuo<sup>1</sup> mbiē<sup>1</sup> 'in<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ldu<sup>1</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup> riə<sup>2</sup> ldie<sup>2</sup> zie<sup>2</sup>  
mbiū<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> sie<sup>2</sup> kei<sup>1</sup> lhwi<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> riə<sup>2</sup>

Since [Wu Yuan] did not know the house [where the girl lived, he] threw the gold into the river and *went away*. When the army of Wu had gone, the girl's mother *came* crying; she reached the bank of the river, took the gold and went away. (*Lei lin* 280—3)

In my opinion, the problem may be solved if two homophones rendered by one and the same character 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> were to be distinguished:

1. 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> — a perfective aspect marker being in complimentary distribution with other six prefixes of perfective aspect.

2. 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> — iterative aspect marker<sup>17</sup>.

In Tangut texts the perfective aspect marker 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> is more frequent than the iterative aspect marker 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup>. The perfective prefix 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> is used in the same fashion as all the other prefixes of perfective aspect, i. e. it has a definite set of verbs (mainly verbs of movement and speech) with which it occurs. From the following example it is obvious that the form of a verb with the prefix 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> acts like any other prefix from the list of perfective prefixes would act:

[17] 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

'eu<sup>1</sup> siwo<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup> tshie<sup>2</sup> 'in<sup>1</sup> nga<sup>1</sup> riə<sup>2</sup> sô<sup>1</sup> 'eu<sup>1</sup> niuo<sup>1</sup> viə<sup>2</sup> lho<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup> 'wei<sup>1</sup>  
tha<sup>2</sup> pha<sup>2</sup>

Yao Xiang got angry (prefix 𐰇𐰏 a<sup>2</sup>), *took command* (prefix 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup>) of his army, left (prefix 𐰇𐰏 viə<sup>2</sup>) [his] fortifications, joined in battle (prefix 𐰇𐰏 a<sup>2</sup>) with [Fu Huangmei, and] was defeated (prefix 𐰇𐰏 tha<sup>2</sup>). (*Sun Zi* 18A—6b)

The form 'prefix 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> + verb' has the meaning of iterative aspect in two types of cases:

1. when the verb is accompanied by an adverb meaning 'many times', 'not once':

[28] 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

siwə<sup>1</sup> siwə<sup>1</sup> we<sup>2</sup> 'a<sup>2</sup> riə<sup>2</sup> nie<sup>2</sup>

[Zang Gong] many times *attacked* the town. (*Sun Zi* 13A—7a)

[29] 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

<sup>17</sup> This was the meaning of the morpheme 𐰇𐰏 riə<sup>2</sup> known to Grinstead (1972: 240).

Tao Kan did not follow these words and the advisers *repeated* (lit. *said*) them again and again. (*Sun Zi* 15B—1b)

2. when the verb which usually has another prefix (not 𐀓𐀆 riə²) occurs with the prefix 𐀓𐀆 riə². The presence of an 'unusual' prefix seems to be a signal that the verb form has the iterative aspect meaning, e. g. the verbs 𐀓𐀆 sa¹ 'to kill' and 𐀓𐀆 žiə² 'to sell' use the perfective prefix 𐀓𐀆 tha² 'away from the speaker', but in the sentences 30 and 31 these verbs are used with the prefix 𐀓𐀆 riə², and, as a result, the verbs have the meaning of iterative aspect:

...Marrying [his daughter] off, [he] *killed* cows, sheep, pigs, roosters, geese and ducks. (Preface to the *Suvarnaprabhasasūtra*)

In the next example the speaker explains how he came to return to his native kingdom:

I *was sold* many times, that is the reason why [at last] I got here [to my native kingdom]. (*Twelve kingdoms*)

This is only a preliminary description of the iterative marker 𐰇𐰏𐰤 *riə*<sup>2</sup>. A more profound understanding of its usage will be possible when a larger Tangut data base is available.

### 3. A set of optative mood markers

Five out of six Tangut prefixes marking optative mood were identified as such already by M. V. Sofronov (1968, 1: 210); the prefix 𐽀 *nin*<sup>2</sup> was added to the list later (Kepping, 1985: 187).

However, the connection between these prefixes and the set of perfective aspect markers was not noted by Sofronov. He proposed four variant explanations of these markers: 1) Tangut had five different optative moods, but eventually the distinctions between these five moods disappeared and all of them were supplanted by the most frequent prefix in the texts, viz. 𐰚 ndin<sup>2</sup>. 2) There are certain distinctions among the prefixes, but they are so subtle that they could not be detected in the few Tangut texts Sofronov had at his disposal. 3) The initial consonant of the verb, or the tone of the verb, is responsible for the usage of a certain prefix. 4) The distinctions between the prefixes of optative mood are purely stylistic (Sofronov, 1968, 1: 210).

The optative markers do not appear as frequently as perfective aspect markers. The table below shows the frequency of usage of the prefixes-correlates in the Tangut translation of the Sun Zi military treatise:

<i>Perfective aspect</i>		<i>Optative mood</i>
𐰇 a <sup>1</sup> 112	— upward —	𐰇 in <sup>1</sup> 7
𐰇 na <sup>1</sup> 25	— downward —	𐰇 nin <sup>2</sup> unattested
𐰇 ki <sup>1</sup> 179	— here —	𐰇 kin <sup>1</sup> 4
𐰇 viə <sup>2</sup> 76	— there —	𐰇 viei <sup>2</sup> 4
𐰇 ndi <sup>1</sup> 3	— to the speaker —	𐰇 ndin <sup>2</sup> 30
𐰇 tha <sup>2</sup> 137	— away from the speaker (has no counterpart)	
𐰇 riə <sup>2</sup> 60	— no direction —	𐰇 rie <sup>2</sup> 3

The usage of prefixes-correlates in the Tangut translation of *Lei lin* (Kepping 1983) shows a similar breakdown.

Although data on the optative markers is rather limited, it still shows that these prefixes are associated with certain verbs. Therefore it was quite natural to conclude that the optative mood markers following the pattern of the perfective aspect markers were in complimentary distribution as well. My analysis of the usage of the prefixes of optative mood has revealed that:

1. Each of the prefixes of the optative mood is associated with a certain group of verbs.
2. These verb groups coincide with the groups already singled out as occurring with certain prefixes of perfective aspect.
3. The prefixes of optative mood originally expressed a certain direction of action, hence they can be arranged into pairs of prefixes juxtaposed by the direction they convey:

𐰇 in <sup>1</sup>	𐰇 nin <sup>2</sup>	upward-downward
𐰇 kin <sup>1</sup>	𐰇 viei <sup>2</sup>	here-there, inside-outside
𐰇 ndin <sup>2</sup>	?	(towards the speaker + away from the speaker)
𐰇 rie <sup>2</sup>	?	(no direction)

4. Each of the optative markers correlates in principle with one and only with one perfective aspect marker. So such pairs of prefixes of perfective aspect and optative mood I call prefixes-correlates (see the Table of prefixes-correlates on p. 269).

### 3a. Continuous aspect marker 𐰇 in<sup>1</sup>

One of the optative aspect markers, 𐰇 in<sup>1</sup>, has a homophone, recorded by the same character 𐰇 in<sup>1</sup>, which, standing in front of a verb, expressed a continuous action. This latter meaning for the morpheme 𐰇 in<sup>1</sup> has not been reported before. The form 'prefix 𐰇 in<sup>1</sup> + verb' denotes



[32] 圓錐螺雨後散放後記

[33] 姚花龍精淮蘇龍王龍族好

[2] 說續姚括辭飛悔濤姦難滋悅陸順美 四

[34] 結 端 故 辭 非 悔 故 端 後 青

[35] 楊 璽 梁 永 祥 梁 永 祥

wo<sup>1</sup> kew<sup>1</sup> zie<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> 'ie<sup>1</sup>

[He] collapsed into the water and *was drowned*. (*Lei lin* 270—1)

[36] 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

ziẽ<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>1</sup> nin<sup>2</sup> 'iẽ<sup>1</sup> ngiẽ<sup>2</sup>

[Wang] *wanted* [him] *to be drown*. (*Lei lin* 265-1)

[37] 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

nin<sup>1</sup> tha<sup>1</sup> nōn<sup>2</sup> tiow<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> lin<sup>1</sup> tshia<sup>1</sup> zi<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>1</sup> tha<sup>1</sup> nie<sup>1</sup> ldi<sup>1</sup>

Wang *having seen* this petition was very happy. (Preface to the *Su-varṇaprabhasasūtra*)

[38] 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

'ion<sup>1</sup> nga<sup>1</sup> 'u<sup>1</sup> 'in<sup>1</sup> ldiẽ<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> ziẽ<sup>1</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> lin<sup>1</sup> nga<sup>2</sup>

*Let me see* when the Yue army will come to defeat Wu. (*Lei lin* 44-4)

Unlike the other optative prefixes, the most frequently used optative prefix, 𐰇 ndin<sup>2</sup>, correlates with two perfective prefixes, namely, 𐰇 ndi<sup>2</sup> 'to the speaker' and 𐰇 tha<sup>2</sup> 'away from the speaker'. This can be seen in the list of verbs with which the prefix 𐰇 ndin<sup>2</sup> is used. The verb 𐰇 lhwi<sup>?</sup>, as a rule associated with the perfective prefix 𐰇 ndi<sup>2</sup>, is to be found with the optative prefix 𐰇 ndin<sup>2</sup> (examples 39—40), while the verb 𐰇 sa<sup>1</sup>, having as its perfective prefix 𐰇 tha<sup>2</sup>, also appears with the same optative marker 𐰇 ndin<sup>2</sup> (examples 5 and 41):

[39] ... 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

xā<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> 'in<sup>1</sup> lhwi<sup>1</sup> ngwi<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup> lhwi<sup>?</sup>

...[These three persons] *have taken* Xia-ji's garment. (*Lei lin* 35-7)

[40] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

ngwə<sup>1</sup> ndzwı<sup>1</sup> 'iei<sup>1</sup> wə<sup>2</sup> ngı<sup>2</sup> ndin<sup>2</sup> lhwi<sup>?</sup>

May [you], heavenly Emperor, once more *take* an object. (*Lei lin* 195—3)

[5] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

thie<sup>1</sup> xwai<sup>1</sup> a<sup>?</sup> tshie<sup>?</sup> lie<sup>2</sup> sin<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>

Tian Heng *got angry* and killed Lisheng. (*Sun Zi* 48-2a)

[41] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

sei<sup>1</sup> tha<sup>2</sup> ndziwa<sup>1</sup> ndin<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>1</sup> 'i<sup>1</sup>

Having finished telling fortunes, [the ruler] said: 'Kill him'. (*Lei lin* 41-4)

The controversial prefix 𪛗  $riə^2$ , like all the other perfective prefixes, has as its prefix-correlate the optative prefix 𪛗  $riə^2$ :

[42] 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗

$mi^1 mbu^2 'in^1 riə^2 la^1$

Even uncalled — comes by itself. (*Proverbs* no. 92)<sup>18</sup>

[43] 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗

𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗

$'a^2 ndziwo^2 kha^1 a^2 ndziwo^2 ngi^2 tsjə^1 'we^2 riə^2 riə^2 via^2 ndzin^2 zi^2$   
 $niuo^1 riə^2 riə^2 la^1$

Choose one man out of ten and send him forward. *Let* the others come later (*Sun Zi* 4B—1a)

Thus each pair of prefixes-correlates has its own class of verbs (adjectives), with which the pair forms verbs of perfective aspect and optative mood, respectively. These classes of verbs in principle share a common direction of action, but sometimes there is no such motivation. The distribution of the perfective aspect prefixes is often marked in the Tangut dictionary *The Homophones*, e. g. the verb 𪛗  $tôn$  'to appear', 'to come out' (Chin. translation 出) is given in the dictionary with the prefix 𪛗  $a^2$  (*Li* 1986: 678), the verb 𪛗  $pei^1$  'to spit' with the prefix 𪛗  $na^1$  (p. 666), the verb 𪛗  $lhjə^1$  'to beat' stands with the prefix 𪛗  $ki^1$  (p. 763), the verb 𪛗  $khwa^1$  'to send away' with the prefix 𪛗  $via^2$  (p. 711), the verb 𪛗  $kô^1$  'to make' someone to come' with the prefix 𪛗  $ndi^2$  (p. 702), the verb 𪛗  $pha^1$  'to defeat' with the prefix 𪛗  $tha^1$  (p. 667), the verb 𪛗  $ni^2$  'to come' with the prefix 𪛗  $riə^2$  (p. 683).

### Class of verbs (adjectives)

occurring with the pair 𪛗  $a^2$  — 𪛗  $in^1$  'upward'

This class<sup>19</sup> includes (1) the verbs which have the meaning of an upward movement and (2) verba sentiendi. The adjectives 𪛗  $phôn^1$  'white' and 𪛗 (no reading) 'strong' use these prefixes as well.

<sup>18</sup> I suppose that this proverb represents in fact a Tangut riddle; the answer, in my opinion, is 'a dog' (a dog always returns home without calling).

<sup>19</sup> Here and elsewhere are recorded only the verbs found with both of the markers, i. e. the perfective and optative prefixes. For lists of verbs found in the texts with the perfective aspect markers see Kepping, 1979: 297-305.

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*Perfective aspect*

*Optative mood*

𐰇𐰺𐰍 a' 'wei' 'to join the battle'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 in' 'wei' 'may join the battle'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 a' ndzêi <sup>2</sup> 'to begin to doubt'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 in' ndzêi <sup>2</sup> 'may be in doubt'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 a' lhei <sup>2</sup> 'to change'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 in' lhei <sup>2</sup> 'may change'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 a' phôn' 'to turn white'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 in' phôn' 'may turn white'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 a' ? 'to become strong'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 in' ? 'may become strong'

Class of verbs (adjectives)

occurring with the pair 𐰇𐰺 na' — 𐰇𐰺 nin' 'downward'

To this class mainly belong the verbs indicating a downward movement (in a broad sense):

*Perfective aspect*

*Optative mood*

𐰇𐰺𐰍 na' 'ie' 'to drown'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 nin' 'ie' 'may drown'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 na' sə' 'to load'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 nin' sə' 'may be loaded'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 na' tsiwu <sup>1</sup>	𐰇𐰺𐰍 nin' tsiwu <sup>1</sup>
'to beat a drum once'	'may beat a drum once'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 na' khi' 'to lay under'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 nin' khi' 'may lay under'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 na' ndiwe' 'to bite'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 nin' ndiwe' 'may bite'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 na' 'ei' 'to boil'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 nin' 'ei' 'may boil'

Class of verbs (adjectives)

occurring with the pair 𐰇𐰺 ki' — 𐰇𐰺 kin' 'here', 'inside'

To this class belong the verbs that indicate approaching, drawing near, moving inside and entering. The adjective 𐰇𐰺 nin' 'near' is also found in this class.

*Perfective aspect*

*Optative mood*

𐰇𐰺𐰍 𐰇𐰺 ki' ? nin' 'to come near'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 𐰇𐰺 kin' ? nin' 'may come near'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 ki' lhiu' 'to reach'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 kin' lhiu' 'may reach'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 ki' ndzie' 'to cross the river'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 kin' ndzie' 'may cross the river'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 ki' ldiēi' 'to come inside'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 kin' ldiēi' 'may come inside'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 ki' xēu' 'to learn'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 kin' xēu' 'may learn'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 ki' mīe' 'to dream'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 kin' mīe' 'may dream'
𐰇𐰺𐰍 ki' nin' 'to come near'	𐰇𐰺𐰍 kin' nin' 'may come near'

Class of verbs (adjectives)

occurring with the pair 准  $v_{iə}^2$  — 故  $v_{iei}^2$  'there', 'outside'

In principle the verbs of this class are united by the idea of moving away from or coming outside:

*Perfective aspect*

准 愧  $v_{iə}^2$  lhio<sup>1</sup> 'to retreat'

准 现  $v_{iə}^2$  tôn<sup>2</sup> 'to appear'

准 出  $v_{iə}^2$  lho<sup>7</sup> 'to come out'

准 吃  $v_{iə}^2$  ndzie<sup>1</sup> 'to eat up'

准 饮  $v_{iə}^2$  thi<sup>1</sup> 'to drink up'

准 说  $v_{iə}^2$  sei<sup>1</sup> 'to tell a fortune'

准 走  $v_{iə}^2$  khwa<sup>1</sup> 'to go far away'

*Optative mood*

故 愧  $v_{iei}^2$  lhio<sup>1</sup> 'may retreat'

故 现  $v_{iei}^2$  tôn<sup>2</sup> 'may appear'

故 出  $v_{iei}^2$  lho<sup>7</sup> 'may come out'

故 吃  $v_{iei}^2$  lho<sup>7</sup> 'may eat up'

故 饮  $v_{iei}^2$  thi<sup>1</sup> 'may drink up'

故 说  $v_{iei}^2$  sei<sup>1</sup> 'may tell a fortune'

故 走  $v_{iei}^2$  khwa<sup>1</sup> 'may go far away'

Class of verbs (adjectives) occurring with the prefixes 致  $ndi^2$ , 奔  $ndin^2$  and 惹  $tha^2$  'to the speaker' and 'away from the speaker'

This class consists of verbs, which indicate the direction 'to the speaker' and are connected with the pair of prefixes-correlates 致  $ndi^2$  — 奔  $ndin^2$ . The verbs indicating the opposite direction, i. e. 'away from the speaker' (used with perfective prefix 惹  $tha^2$ ) also belong to this class. For the prefix 惹  $tha^2$  I could not find a correlate from the set of optative mood markers. Apparently such a correlate does not exist and the verbs forming their perfective aspect with prefix 惹  $tha^2$  also used the prefix 奔  $ndin$  in the optative. The adjective 紧  $a^1$  'strict' is also found in this class.

*Perfective aspect*

致 开  $ndi^2$  lhwi<sup>7</sup> 'to receive'

致 耕  $ndi^2$  kiwei<sup>7</sup> 'to harvest'

致 净  $ndi^2$  swin<sup>1</sup> 'to make clear'

惹 杀  $tha^2$  sa<sup>1</sup> 'to kill'

惹 杀  $tha^2$  ? 'to behead'

惹 拜  $tha^2$  wə<sup>1</sup> 'to submit'

惹 紧  $tha^2$  a<sup>1</sup> 'to strengthen'

*Optative mood*

奔 开  $ndin^2$  lhwi<sup>7</sup> 'may receive'

奔 耕  $ndin^2$  kiwei<sup>7</sup> 'may harvest'

奔 净  $ndin^2$  swin<sup>1</sup> 'may make clear'

奔 杀  $ndin^2$  sa<sup>1</sup> 'may kill'

奔 杀  $ndin^2$  ? 'may behead'

奔 拜  $ndin^2$  wə<sup>1</sup> 'may submit'

奔 紧  $ndin^2$  a<sup>1</sup> 'may strengthen'

Class of verbs occurring with the pair 𐰇𐰺 riə<sup>2</sup> — 𐰇𐰺 riə<sup>2</sup> (no direction)

Unlike all the other prefixes-correlates this pair does not indicate any direction. The pair is found in combination with some motion verbs. Verbs of speech are also included into this class.

*Perfective aspect*

𐰇𐰺 𐰇𐰺 riə<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> 'to come'  
𐰇𐰺 𐰇𐰺 riə<sup>2</sup> zwon<sup>2</sup> 'to go'

*Optative mood*

𐰇𐰺 𐰇𐰺 riə<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> 'may come'  
𐰇𐰺 𐰇𐰺 riə<sup>2</sup> zwon<sup>2</sup> 'may go'

5. Direction indicators in the languages of Chuanxi minzu zoulang.

According to Chinese scholars, ten languages spoken in the Chuanxi minzu zoulang, namely, Qiang, Pumi, Jiarong, Muya, Zhaba, Ersu, Ergong, Namuyi, Shixing, Guiqiong belong to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman languages (Sun, 1990: 23-4). In the description of the verb in these languages, the category of directedness of action is regarded as a distinctive feature of this branch (Ma, 1991: 297) 'in contrast with both Tibetan and Loloish' (Sun, 1990: 24).

The number of prefixes in the Qiangic language varies from three to nine, but usually there are five to six prefixes altogether.

The directional prefixes in the Qiangic branch may be united in pairs showing diametrically opposite directions:

upward — downward  
here — there (inside — outside, upstream — downstream)  
to the river — to the mountain

Some of the languages possess all three pairs of prefixes, others have only two. Usually the missing pair is the one which shows the opposition 'towards the river — towards the mountain'. The disappearance of this pair seems to represent the process of simplification of the system of prefixes (Qu, 1990: 41).

In some Qiangic languages a verb may occur with any of the prefixes; in others a verb can be used with two or with only one of them. In some languages the prefixes are only connected with direction, in others they also represent past tense markers.

The system of Tangut directional prefixes is strikingly similar to the corresponding system in Pumi and Ergong. The following table shows the systems of directional prefixes in these three languages<sup>20</sup>:

<sup>20</sup> The Table presents data taken from Lu (1980) and Sun (1983: 149—50).

	Pumi (Lu)	Ergong (Sun)	Tangut
upward	tə	zə	𐰇 a <sup>1</sup>
downward	nə	ne	𐰇 na <sup>1</sup>
inside or to the water (upstream)	xə	ge	𐰇 ki <sup>1</sup>
outside or to the mountain (downstream)	k'ə	wu	𐰇 viə <sup>2</sup>
to the speaker	də	—	𐰇 ndi <sup>2</sup>
away from the speaker	t'ə	—	𐰇 tha <sup>2</sup>

The similarity between the system of directional prefixes in Tangut and Pumi even includes details such as the grouping of the verbs according to the connection with a certain prefix.

It seems that the development of direction indicators into aspect (mood) markers which in Tangut language was almost completed<sup>21</sup>, is still a continuing process in Qiangic languages. Obviously Tangut language in its development has gone farther than these modern TB languages, since the latter have retained archaic features, viz. direction indicators. Perhaps this situation is connected with the fact that Tangut language, as afore-said, in the 7<sup>th</sup>—8<sup>th</sup> centuries was 'taken out' of the Chuanxi minzu zoulang. Thus the system of directional prefixes, demonstrating different stages of development in the languages of the Chuanxi minzu zoulang, together with the Tangut data, offer a rare opportunity to reconstruct the process of the historical development of this phenomenon.

I think DeLancey (1983: 101-3) is correct when arguing that the Tangut system of direction indicators represents the missing link in S. Wolfenden's hypothesis (Wolfenden, 1929: 2-4) concerning the existence of direction indicators in Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

## 6. Conclusion

Tangut perfective aspect and optative mood represent separate grammatical categories each of which is expressed by a set of different prefixes which by their origin indicated the direction of the action. For Tibeto-Burman languages, as far as I know, it is a rather rare phenomenon, when one and the same grammatical meaning is expressed by means of a series of different grammatical morphemes which are in complementary distribution. This phenomenon is more usual with flectinal lan-

<sup>21</sup> In Nishida's opinion (1987: 10) Tangut prefixes did not develop as far as to function as past tense indicators (= perfective aspect), although they are near to this stage of development. Since Nishida's choice of Tangut texts for linguistic study differs from that of mine (he uses all kinds of Tangut texts, mainly Buddhist, whereas I use more homogeneous texts in the sense of contents and dating), it seems that his outcome is a synchronic one, while mine is more diachronic.

guages (e. g. the plural of substantives in Russian is expressed by several endings, -i, -a, -y, -ya, etc. , but with each noun only one ending is used). It is to be noted that the system of Tangut perfective prefixes also resembles Russian verbal prefixes.

It is as yet unclear why in each set, one of the prefixes corresponds to a homophone with a deviating aspectual meaning: the perfective prefix 𐰇𐰏  $ri\dot{o}^2$  corresponding to the iterative prefix 𐰇𐰏  $ri\dot{o}^2$  and optative prefix 𐰇𐰏  $in^1$  corresponding to the continuous prefix 𐰇𐰏  $in^1\dot{2}\dot{2}$ .

My study of the system of directional prefixes in Tangut has so far been based almost exclusively on Tangut translations of Chinese secular works. The usage of these prefixes therefore remains to be compared with that in original Tangut texts, i. e. in proverbs<sup>23</sup> (Kyčanov, 1974), poems and songs (for some of which see Nishida: 1986) and in such texts as the Liangzhou stele (Nishida, 1964: 161-76). It should be noted that Tangut original texts abound in the usage of directional prefixes. I suppose that these texts will confirm my analysis, but at the same time it is likely that they will supply us with essential information on the usage of these prefixes as pure directional indicators. This information will be of great importance for the historical and comparative study of the languages of the Qiangic branch, to which, in my opinion, Tangut belongs.

### List of abbreviations of the Tangut texts used as source material

*Lei lin* — text published in Kepping (1983: 147—572).

*Notes* — text published in Kepping (1990: 151—186).

Preface to the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra* — text preserved in the MS Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg, Russia.

*Proverbs* — text published in Kyčanov (1974: 152—213).

*Sun Zi* — text published in Kepping (1979: 477—578).

*Twelve kingdoms* — text preserved in the MS Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg, Russia. On the contents see Kepping 1974.

<sup>22</sup> There is a certain connection between continuous and iterative aspects, which is obvious in the next example from the 'Proverbs' (no. 29):

In the depth of the Yellow River fishes are swimming (continuous prefix)

In the highness of the Black mountains birds are flying (iterative prefix).

<sup>23</sup> Especially proverbs are to be singled out, since they consist of two parallel parts. A comparison of the usage of the prefixes in parallel parts of a proverb usually gives clear semantic clues.



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