

A Study of the Structure of Hsihsia Verb Phrases

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I

The structure of Hsihsia verb phrases has not been fully elucidated as of yet. It is not the intention of the present writer to treat the structure of Hsihsia verb phrases as a whole in the following discussions; rather, only verbal prefixes and personal suffixes, inter alia, will be discussed as the focus of this study.

It must be made explicit at the outset that different texts retain considerably different grammatical forms in Hsihsia. In some texts, prefixes, personal affixes and other particles are frequently employed, but this is not always the case, for example in such sūtras as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Da-fang guang-fo hua-yan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經) and the *Ci-bei dao-chang chan-fa* (慈悲道場懺法). On the other hand, the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (*Fa hua jing* 法華經) and the *Jin-guang-ming jing chan-hui mie-zui zhuan* (金光明經懺悔滅罪傳), which are also sūtras, do employ personal affixes and, as do *Sun-zi* (孫子) and *Lei-lin* (類林).¹⁾

Various speculations may be made about the reasons why different texts show such diversities. One possible explanation for this is that the latter are written in a simple, pseudo-Chinese style, i.e., in the style of a translation, as it were, while the former represent what Hsihsia originally looked like. Another explanation is that these two kinds of texts reflect dialects which vary from place to place, or sociolects which vary from class to class. From another viewpoint it is conceivable that the abbreviated style represents those varieties which developed as written Hsihsia in the image of Classical Chinese, while the affixed style is representative of more colloquial forms.

In any case, the latter texts are of little value in investigating the precise structure of Hsihsia verb phrases. For the purpose of considering conceivable grammatical forms in Hsihsia, there is no alternative but to rely on source materials which record their more complex usages as shown below.

First, notice the most fundamental forms of the structure of verb phrases.

PREFIX—	VERBAL STEM—	SUFFIX
{ Indication of direction }	{ Form A }	{ Indication of person }
{ Indication of aspect }	{ }	{ }
{ Indication of state }	{ Form B }	{ Indication of modality }

- 1 Basic forms:²⁾ forms with verbal stems but without affixes
 恍 lafi (L20) 'to come' 嗜 thifi (L11) 'to drink'
- 2 Determinative forms: 殼 lifi (L29)
 lifi, which indicates determination, corresponds to the Chinese 也, and is often used in the annotations of *Wen-hai* (文海) and *Wen-hai za-lei* (文海雜類). Chances are that it is cognate with the Written Burmese *-lei* < *liy*, and the Atsi *-lê*.³⁾
 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 殼 '(The word) is used in the mantra'
- 3 Terminative forms: 𪛗 -tšhīa (R16)⁴⁾ 'to finish -ing'
 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 'finish uttering this word'
 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 'finish reading the sentence'

This is the form which corresponds to the Written Tibetan *-tshar* 'to finish -ing' and is perhaps cognate with it.

- 4 Causative forms
 V 𪛗 -phifi (L11)
 V (volitional) 𪛗 -wi (L10)
 The causative form with the verbal stem accompanied by *-phifi* is used frequently, but the one with *-wi* is not infrequent when the verb is volitional.⁵⁾
 𪛗 𪛗 thifi-phifi 'make drink'
 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 šīa-wi 'had the hands tied'

- 5 Personal affixes: agents or patients follow verbal stems in the forms of personal pronouns. Here V stands for the verbal stem.

BASIC FORMS

- *V 𪛗 → V_B 𪛗 𪛗 First person
 *V 𪛗 → V_B 𪛗 𪛗 Second person

CAUSATIVE FORMS

- *V 𪛗 𪛗 → V 𪛗 𪛗 -phifi-𪛗 First person
 *V 𪛗 𪛗 → V 𪛗 𪛗 -phifi-nafi Second person

Accompanied by personal affixes, form B of the verbal stem is used instead (cf. p. 20-). As far as causative forms are concerned, the causative auxiliary *phifi* changes its form, but the verbal stem itself remains as it is, i.e. form A is used.

- 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 thafi šien-phifi 'make attain Buddhahood'
 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 thafi šien-phifi-𪛗 '(I) make attain Buddhahood'

- 6 Prefixes: indicate direction and perfective aspect

- | | | | | |
|---|---|-------|---|------------------------|
| 𪛗 | V | ʔa | V | 'upward' |
| 𪛗 | V | wifi | V | 'thither' |
| 𪛗 | V | ki | V | 'hither' |
| 𪛗 | V | nafi | V | 'downward' |
| 𪛗 | V | ndafi | V | 'upstream (inside)' |
| 𪛗 | V | riri | V | 'downstream (outside)' |

As will be mentioned below, it is only an assumption that these prefixes

function as direction indicators, and it remains to be seen whether we can conclude that all of them indicate perfective aspect as well. Forms with these prefixes, which we henceforth call prefixes 1, are all used as noun modifiers without changing their forms.

7 Prefixes 2

Prefixes 2 indicate desire and wish of the speaker.

𢇛	V	ʔefi	(L36)	V	'to desire, wish (upward?)'
𢇛	V	wefi	(R32)	V	'to desire, wish (thither?)'
𢇛	V	kefi	(L36)	V	'to desire, wish (hither?)'
𢇛	V	nefi	(R33)	V	'to desire, wish (downward?)'
𢇛	V	ndefi	(R33)	V	'to desire, wish (inside?)'
𢇛	V	riɛ	(R68)	V	'to desire, wish (outside?)'

It is surmised that these prefixes had in common the function of indicating desire, and that they originally indicated direction as part of their functions corresponding to those of prefixes 1 and were distinguished from each other on the basis of directions they indicated.

ʔa-: ʔefi-, wiɬ-: wefi-, ki-: kefi-, naɬ-: nefi-, ndaɬ-: ndefi-, riɛ-: riɛ-

Though it is difficult to identify their older functions at the present stage, it is certain that they were forms merged with prefixes 1.

8 Negative forms

𢇛	V	mifi	(L11)	V	Negation of action and state
𢇛	V	mefi	(R33)	V	Negation of the occurrence of action
𢇛	V	mi	(L30)	V	Negation of possibility

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 'sound of itself without being beaten'

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 'because (something) has not manifested itself yet'

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 'it is impossible to measure virtue'

Verb phrases with tʃhiɬ often require the demonstrative pronoun tʃhiɬ between mi and the verbal stem. The antecedent of this pronoun tʃhiɬ depends on the nature of verbs, i.e., whether they are volitional or non-volitional. This will be mentioned later.

9 Prohibitive forms

𢇛	V	tifi	(L11)	V	
𢇛	𢇛	tifi-ʃofi			'Don't wake up (someone)'

Originally the verbal stem preceded by tifi was in form B, but there are many instances where it is in form A.

𢇛𢇛𢇛 tifi wiɬfi-naɬ 'you shall not make' (form B)

Some fundamental forms of Hsihsia verb phrases have been enumerated thus far. Of these forms, prefixed forms 1, prefixed forms 2 and personal affixal forms, among others, will be examined in the following section through concrete examples.

II

When I published *A Study of the Hsi-Hsia Language II* in 1966,⁶⁾ I first pointed out the existence of six kinds of prefixes attached to verbal stems in Hsihsia. This seems to have been significant in that these six units were identified as prefixes and were treated as a single set, which indicate aspect or tense. There were some insufficiencies in presuming that the functions those prefixes had were simply to indicate aspect or tense. In that work the following functions were presumed:

- 1 務 ʔa (?)
Perfective aspect: indicates that a condition has already been attained
- 2 竣 wifɿ (R27)
Terminative aspect: indicates that a condition comes to an end
- 3 發 ki (L30)
Imperfective aspect: indicates that a condition is about to be attained
- 4 麓 ndaɦɿ (R17)
Progressive aspect: indicates that a condition is in progress
- 5 亂 rir (R77)
Indicates the object of the action
- 6 發 naɦɿ (L20)
Indicates a condition where something is filled as well as the direction of downward motion

Thereafter a Soviet scholar, Sofronov, interpreted these prefixes as indicating tense and aspect (*Grammar of the Tangut Language*, 1968).⁷⁾ In his opinion, wifɿ, rir and ndaɦɿ, ʔa, ki and naɦɿ indicate past tense (in which the effect has some relevance to the present), instantaneous aspect, perfective aspect, and inchoative aspect respectively.

Furthermore he considers that there exists another tense called the remote past, which indicates that the action expressed by the verb occurred in the past and its result has no effect on the present, which is indicated by post-posing 亂 or 發.

Thereafter a great contribution was made to the study of issues concerning the functions of these prefixes by the Soviet scholar K.B. Kepping.⁸⁾ She maintains that the basic meaning of prefixes attached to Tangut verbs is not aspect, but the direction of the action. She goes on to claim that they lost their original meaning gradually, and became indicators of aspect, attached to verbs. The main point in her claim is that prefixes are in complementary distribution with verbal stems and their respective forms do not appear in the same context, i.e., each verbal stem allows for only one prefix.

In order to clarify the distinction between forms with prefixes and those without, she interprets the verb forms with ki as follows:

VERB WITHOUT PREFIX	VERB WITH PREFIX
1 𨔵 'to go over' action	𨔵𨔵 'to get across' result of action
2 𨔵 'to pursue' action	𨔵𨔵 'to set out after' beginning of action
3 𨔵 'to come up, grow' repeated action	𨔵𨔵 'to appear' single action
4 𨔵 'to be in control of' condition	𨔵𨔵 'to get control of' change of condition

All the other five prefixes had the same functions as *ki*. Namely, she assumes that the prefix + verb form indicates either the result of an action, the beginning of an action, or a single action according to the character of the verb following the prefix.

From these observations Kepping draws the following three conclusions:

- 1 Tangut [Hsihsia] verbal prefixes are in complementary distribution [with verbal stems].
- 2 They indicate a single grammatical category, i.e., perfective aspect.
- 3 They can precede all kinds of verbs other than stative verbs, verbs followed by modal particles, and verbs followed by auxiliaries.

She presumes that those prefixes originally indicated the direction of an action, i.e., *ʔaŋ-*, *naŋ-*, *ki-* and *wiŋ-*, indicated upward, downward, hither and thither directions respectively.

As we will show later, this interpretation seems to be generally correct.

Furthermore, according to Kepping *ndaŋ-* indicates perfective aspect of those verbs which connote unfavorable meanings such as (1) the loss of life and (2) defeat in war (e.g., 𨔵𨔵 'have killed', 𨔵𨔵 'have died', 𨔵𨔵 'have been defeated', etc.), while *riŋ-* constitutes perfective aspect of verbs of speaking and of a minority of verbs of action (e.g., 𨔵𨔵 'came', 𨔵𨔵 'went', 𨔵𨔵 'reached', etc.).

ndaŋ- and *riŋ-* have many meanings, and those pointed out by Kepping are only a part of them.

Though her conclusions cited above deserve our attention, they are not completely tenable, as to

- 1 whether six prefixes are completely in complementary distribution with verbal stems;
- 2 whether they indicate the same single grammatical category, i.e., perfective aspect;
- 3 whether they do not really co-occur with stative verbs.

It is difficult to give persuasive answers to these questions. In the first place, these prefixes had no perfect functional equivalents in Chinese and were peculiar to Hsihsia. Hence it is not easy to draw a conclusion on their roles by comparison with Chinese. There are enough reasons to give various different explanations. A Chinese Hsihsia scholar Ma Zhongjian (馬忠建)

interprets ?a- + verb as 短時體, i.e., as indicating momentary aspect in which actions or states endure for a very short while, which is reminiscent of Sofronov's instantaneous aspect.⁹⁾ Four examples follow (underlined by the original writer):

- 1 脛撈 絳 張 席 牖 絳 天一曉時出王宮
- 2 翕 解 撈 繼 發 綴 往空中飛騰而去
- 3 盤 發 撈 從坐而起
- 4 慨 發 撈 不實之法, 是從緣生

It is true that these examples lead us to interpret the prefixes as instantaneous or 短時體, but it seems more appropriate to consider them as indicating that the actions are moving "upward," which are assumed by the prefixes. Let us take each example in turn; it will be possible to interpret as follows:

- 1 At daybreak, the palace comes into sight. The day breaks *upward*, starting with one point in the horizon.
- 2 fly up *moving* toward the sky and away
- 3 stand *up* from where one is seated
- 4 The false law *comes out* in accordance with karma.

In addition, Ma considers *naŋ-*, which is in opposition to ?a- as inchoative in accordance with Sofronov.

- 1 慨 發 撈 更新添十句
- 2 張 張 發 酒醉而臥
- 3 龍 發 撈 瀉置池中, 水即彌滿
- 4 餓 發 撈 餓虎見菩薩頸下流血

The same is also true with these examples: the prefix *naŋ-* is not inchoative but indicates the downward direction of actions and states. Namely:

- 1 added ten verses anew (below)
- 2 lay (down) drunk on liquor
- 3 Sprinkled (down) in the pond, the water filled it immediately.
- 4 A hungry tiger saw blood dripping (down) from the neck of the Bodhisattva.

As is shown above, the interpretation of examples is never free from difficulties; no one can observe the language directly as far as Hsihsia is concerned, since it is a dead language. Hence there is no alternative but to presume, as shown above, alleged functions from forms employed in the literature.

In the latter half of this study, the present writer intends to consider the functions of prefixed forms I anew on the basis of concrete examples I collected. Before proceeding to this subject, let us examine from another viewpoint the typology of the relationship between indication-of-direction and other grammatical categories.

III

The existence of direction indicators prefixed to verbal stems was identified in the so-called Chuanxi zoulang languages (川西走廓言語),¹⁰⁾ and has been regarded as quite important in recent years. It is no wonder that Hsihsia has the same kinds of forms, since directional prefixes are found not only in languages which belong to the Qiang-xifan language group such as Guiqiong (貴琼), Ersu (爾蘇), Ergong (爾龔), Zhaba (扎巴), Muya (木雅), Namuyi (納木依), Shixing (史興), Pumi (普米) as well as Qiang (羌) and Jiarong (嘉戎), but also in Baima (白馬), which is spoken in the region located farthest north. Moreover in Pumi¹¹⁾ and Qiang¹²⁾ these directional prefixes have some relevance to temporal expressions, which is a situation quite similar to that of Hsihsia in the twelfth century. This is an extremely interesting phenomenon. In considering typologically those languages of which direction indicators are prefixed to verbal stems, the present writer is of the opinion that the following criteria should be postulated:

- 1 The relation between direction indication and temporal (aspectual) expression: The point here is whether or not direction indicators are irrelevant to the use of the past tense (or perfective aspect) or the non-past tense (or imperfective aspect), i.e., whether they are compatible with both of them or either of them. It has been identified thus far in what languages they are compatible with the past tense, but there has been no known report on the existence of those languages in which they are compatible with only non-past tense.
- 2 The distribution of directional prefixes and verbal stems: The point here is whether there is a restriction on their co-occurrences. Some verbal stems can take several kinds of prefixes, and others the single specific prefix. It is very conceivable that as far as the latter are concerned, several prefixes which originally had different phonemic forms and functions came to acquire another common function into which older functions were integrated.

Many languages which belong to the Qiang-xifan language group impose no restriction concerning the above-mentioned two criteria. The function of direction indication is productive, irrespective of temporal expressions. On the other hand, in Pumi, the following can be pointed out on those criteria:¹³⁾

- 1 Directional prefixes are employed exclusively in the past tense.
- 2 Each verbal stem can take various directional prefixes which are functionally in opposition. For example, *sto 55* 'look' vs. *tə 55 sto 55* 'looked upward', *nə 13 sto 55* 'looked downward', *khə 13 sto 55* 'looked outside', and *xə 13 sto 55* 'looked inside'.

One verb can take several kinds of prefixes, which in turn indicate different kinds of directions, and at the same time have the function of indicating the past tense.

In Qiang (Taoping (桃坪) dialect):

- 1 Directional prefixes are used both in the past tense and in the non-past tense.¹⁴⁾
- 2 Eight types of prefixes are compatible with one and the same verbal stem, but when the subject is in the third person, the particle indicating the past -sa ʒl is omitted, and the directional prefixes no longer indicate the specific direction, but perform the function of indicating past tense.

tə ʒl phu 55	'to flee upward'
ər ʒl phu 55	'to flee downward'
zɿ ʒl phu 55	'to flee and return'
da ʒl phu 55	'to flee away'
u 55 phu 55	'to flee upstream, inward'
sɿ 55 phu 55	'to flee downstream'
xgə ʒl phu 55	'to flee backward, to the opposite direction'
xə ʒl phu 55	'to flee and go'

tə ʒl kə 51	'(He) went'
xə ʒl dʒi 241	'(He) said'
tə ʒl bʒa 15=13	'(The tree) grew'

It is reported that in some regions prefixes of the latter usage are unified into da- form, which performs the function of indicating the past tense.

This dialect of Qiang is important, in that prefixes are in the process of changing their function from that of direction indication to that of temporal expression.

In Jiarong, the following can be said on the above-mentioned criteria:¹⁵⁾

- 1 Both the past and non-past tenses are expressed by directional prefixes.
- 2 There is no severe restriction on the co-occurrences of verbal stems and directional prefixes. It is true, however, that there is a natural restriction on their co-occurrences, i.e., prefixes of downward and upward directions are allowed exclusively to express sitting down and standing up respectively.

In Tosu, too, direction indication and temporal expression are separated from each other.¹⁶⁾

- 1 The past and non-past tenses are expressed equally by directional prefixes.
- 2 Seven kinds of prefixes, attached to the same verbal stem, indicate various directions of the action.

de 55 hto 55	'to jump up'
ue 55 hto 55	'to jump down'
kue 55 hto 55	'to jump upstream, jump outside'
ŋe 55 hto 55	'to jump downstream, jump inside'
khuar ʒʒ hto 55	'to jump toward the mountain, jump to the left'
ŋua ʒʒ hto 55	'to jump toward the river, jump to the right'
nu 55 hto 55	'to jump backward, jump and go'

In short, there exist prefixes employed exclusively to indicate direction, and they are used productively, independent of temporal expressions. These are forms predominant in the Xifan language group.

In the following chart, we show forms as well as kinds of directions indicated by them in each language which belongs to this group.¹⁷⁾

LANGUAGE	(1)	(2)	(3)	INDICATED DIRECTIONS
Guiqiong	6	NO	NO	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 out of the speaker, 4 upstream (inside), 5 toward the speaker, 6 to the place where someone / something once was, to the opposite direction
Ersu	7	NO	NO	(mentioned above; Tosu)
Ergong	4	NO	NO	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 upstream (inside), 4 downstream (outside)
Zhaba	4	NO	NO	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 inside, 4 outside
Muya	6	NO	NO	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 upstream (inside), 4 downstream (outside), 5 toward the river (in the direction away from the speaker), 6 toward the river (in the direction of the speaker)
Namuyi	3	NO	NO	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 moving horizontally
Shixing	6	NO	NO	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 from the outside to the inside, 4 from the inside to the outside, 5 to the place where someone / something once was, 6 from the speaker
Pumi	6	NO	YES	1 upward, 2 downward, 3 passing away, 4 coming along, 5 outside, 6 inside
Baima	8	NO	NO	1 from downstream to upstream, 2 from upstream to downstream, 3 upward, 4 downward, 5 from the outside to the inside, 7 to the place where someone / something once was, 8 from the periphery to the center
(1) The number of direction indicators (2) Distributed to the specific verbal stems (3) Compatible with past tense alone				

The above table shows that the fundamental categories of indicated directions in these languages are reducible to the following three oppositions:

- a upward vs. downward
- b upstream (inside) vs. downstream (outside)
- c toward the mountain (in the direction of the speaker) vs. toward the river (in the direction away from the speaker)

It is well understood that in the Chuanxi zoulang languages directional prefixes will develop through a first stage in which they are used in both non-

past and past tenses and have unique functions of indicating direction (represented by Ersu, Muya, etc.), and through a second stage in which they, while keeping their function of indicating direction, have the function of expressing tense, but not of indicating direction when used in the past tense (represented by Qiang), and finally into a third stage in which they (1) are used only in the past tense, (2) are distributed to the specific verbal stems, (3) lose the original function of indicating direction, and (4) become indicators of the past tense (represented perhaps by Taopin dialect of Qiang).

The present writer is of the opinion that Hsihsia forms were between the second and third stages, or, more precisely, at a stage nearer to the third.

I think it is necessary to consider the existence of these directional prefixes in close relation to the existence of the causative prefix *s-*. In Jiarong, *sə-* is attached to the stem in the order of directional prefix — causative prefix — verbal stem, while in other languages these two sorts of prefixes came to be employed in mutual exclusion. Most languages have lost the directional prefixes, or have created another causative constituent which follows the verbal stem.

DIRECTIONAL PREFIX	CAUSATIVE PREFIX	LANGUAGE
Existent	Existent	Jiarong
Existent	Nonexistent	Qiang, Pumi, Ersu, Muya, etc.
Nonexistent	Existent	Dulong, Jingpo, etc.

Does Jiarong represent the oldest complex stratum among the Tibeto-Burman languages, as might be expected?

IV

It is dangerous to presume the function of each Hsihsia prefix on the basis of similar phonemic forms of prefixes which function as direction indicators in neighboring languages such as the Chuanxi zoulang languages. For example,

Pumi Hsihsia
 nə ɬʒ- : nəɬ- 'downward'
 khə ɬʒ- : ki- 'outside'

can be contrasted; some directional prefixes, to be sure, are of the same origin, but, for the most part, directional affixes often have forms peculiar to each language. Above all, it is necessary to depend on examples used in Hsihsia itself to presume their functions.

It is preferable to recognize how they are used in one and the same text in order to explore how the verbal stem and six prefixes are distributed in Hsihsia. As a matter of fact, however, there is no known example in which

one and the same verbal stem is compatible with all the six prefixes; most of them co-occur with one specific prefix, and there are few instances where more than one prefix is used to differentiate the meaning.

First of all, let us consider ?a-.

揮及擡雙	?a-rior	'raise both hands'
聯報擡雙	?a-rior-wi	'raise the reputation of the family'
擡統	?a-vor	'arise from —'
散旁散戮慨擡復	?a-siu	'revived, being left for three nights'

This ?a- is supposed to have had various usages. So far as the above examples are concerned, it may be safe to assume that ?a- indicates that the action is "moving upward."

?a- indicates upward direction, while downward direction is indicated by naf-.

In addition to the above examples, the following would also indicate downward direction as might be expected.

駁驂發徒 naf-hli(?) (*Jin-he dao-li*) 'dismount a horse in front of a gate'

發發騰流駁 naf-ⁿdzih (*Jin-guang*) 'creatures which were slaughtered'

發發慨駁 naf-? (*Jin-guang*) 'became deaf and does not speak'

All verb phrases with these prefixes perform the function of modifying nouns as the second example shows.

The following gātha is included in *San-dai-shu ming-yan ji-wen* 三代屬明言集文, a printed edition preserved in Leningrad, which is an anthology of texts pertaining to Zen Buddhism.¹⁸⁾

發發駁	Gātha of a layman
發發駁駁統 naf-ndiēn si	Thinking of my destined death
鹿亂龜絆綿	No favor have I to ask
凝發駁絆綿	Herein rests the mind in peace
龍駁駁駁綿	Do not censure in person

This naf-, as might be expected, expresses 'sufficiently' and 'downward', and the verb phrase with this prefix modifies the following word 'death', as the paraphrase of the first stanza shows: 'when I think of the fate of my death which has been decided'.

This naf-ndiēn is in opposition to 發發 ki-ndiēn. The latter in which the specific prefix was fossilized, is the form used as an adverb which means 'by all means' and is used frequently.

In *San-dai-shu ming-yan ji-wen* there are other instances where the same naf-ndiēn is used, which makes us infer that the main prefix 'to be decided' was naf- 'downward'.

發發發發駁駁

'The place to stand on was decided, and the roots are not shaky'

The present writer once presumed that prefixes 3) wi- and 4) ki- expressed terminative and imperfective aspects respectively. Surmised on the

model of fundamental oppositions, it is possible to interpret that the difference between 3) *wiĥ-* and 4) *ki-*, vis-à-vis 1) *ʔa-* 'upward' and 2) *naĥ-* 'downward', lies in the directions they indicate, i.e., 3) the direction away from the speaker, and 4) the direction to the speaker, respectively.

For example, there is a considerable difference between the following two views on 縊縊 *wiĥ-toĥ* 'went out of:' the one is to interpret that *wiĥ-* indicates outward direction, and the other is to interpret that it indicates the completion of the action 'to go out', irrespective of direction. Accordingly, a third interpretation will be possible: the prefix *wiĥ-* has both of these usages. If we take 縊縊 *wiĥ-rar*, which means 'past', as an example, we may assume reasonably that it, translated literally, means '(the time) gone by', i.e. (the time) which (2) has passed away (1) in the direction away from someone/something. There are, however, instances where the above interpretation is untenable. It is difficult to interpret the following examples as 'was/were born toward humans' and 'was/were born toward animals' respectively:

後歸縊縊 'was/were born among humans'

龍歸縊縊 'was/were born among animals'

A considerable number of instances are explicable on the assumption that *ki-*, vis-à-vis *wiĥ-*, indicates that the action is directed toward the speaker. This is well applied in order to interpret cases where, e.g., the verbal stem *-loĥ* 'to return' takes these two prefixes.

歸發龍龍縊縊 *wiĥ-loĥ* (*Da-zhuang-yan*)
return, saluting the tower'

歸龍龍縊縊 *ki-loĥ*
'return immediately' (*Saddharma-*)

龍龍縊縊 *ki-loĥ*
'that father returns' (*ibid.*).

1 *wiĥ-loĥ* means that someone returns away from the speaker.

2 *ki-loĥ* means that someone returns toward the speaker.

Here the indication of direction is very clear.

The opposition between *ki-* and *wiĥ-* is also recognizable in the so-called "songs of loneliness" (寂寂歌) included in *San-dai-shu ming-yan ji-wen*.

騰出歸 歸出歸
'There is neither heaven, nor earth'

發歸縊縊 龍歸縊縊
'There is neither future, nor past; everything is void'

歸縊縊 龍歸縊縊
'Everything is void; as there is no trace left, from where can we observe'

If we interpret that this *ki-* indicates the direction toward the speaker, as might be expected, we can understand what this passage is supposed to mean, viz., 'there is nothing which comes near (*ki-meh*), and there is nothing which went far away (*wiĥ-meh*)'.

In the following examples, *wiĥ-* ought to be interpreted as indicating the

completed state with no mention of directionality.

翺獲斃斃斃斃 wif-ⁿdzi

'When a wolf eats, it puts the aside rest of the feed (it leaves the feed half eaten)'

翹帝斃斃斃斃

'When a thief carries, there are footprints (he leaves the footprints)'

Moreover the verbal stem meaning 'to sit' is accompanied by wif-.

維維坐 wif-ⁿdzu

'sit down here' (*Da-zhuang-yan*)

撻獲斃斃斃斃

'revive and sit down immediately' (*Jin-guang*)

Does this indicate that someone sits down away from the speaker? In opposition to this, it may be expected that there might exist 斃斃 nañ-ⁿdzu 'to sit downward'. As a matter of fact, ndañ-ⁿdzu is found.

斃斃帝斃斃斃斃

'see (the Buddha) sits down on a lion throne' (*Saddharma-*)

Consider the following examples included in *Xin-ji jin-he dao-li* (新集錦合道理);¹⁹⁾

斃斃斃斃斃斃 wif-tsiŋ

'Through the eye of a needle goes the thread'

斃斃斃斃斃斃 wif-ⁿdzu

'In the house of a husband sits his wife'

Here it must be considered that wif- indicates a natural state in which the action is completed and consequently stable rather than the direction. That is why siuf always requires wif-.

斃斃斃斃 wif-siuf

'like the sun'

斃斃斃斃

'as if to dream'

'To dream' is expressed as ki-mieñ. Chances are that ki- is used here to indicate that the dream comes to the speaker.

Consider the following, too:

斃斃斃斃 ki-ⁿsi

'entered the gate'

Perhaps this must be interpreted as 'came in', not 'went in', given the above-mentioned principle. There is, however, no verifying this interpretation.

斃斃……斃斃斃斃 ki-ⁿdze

'was/were sent and called on —'

It follows that the proper interpretation of this is 'was/were dispatched by Yama-rāja and called on —'. It is possible to adapt the above interpretation in the context of *Jin-guang-ming jing chan-hui mie-zui zhuan*.

In *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* are included examples as follows:

斃斃斃斃斃斃 ki-n^waf

'there is no knowing'

依懶疑猜 wif-sen

'there is no inferring'

The possible explanation for the reason why one verb follows *ki-* and another *wif-* might be that 'to know' and 'to inter = to think' are recognized as approaching and leaving respectively. It is true that the principle of direction with the speaker can be applied to the main parts, but there still remain difficulties if the whole is to be explained in this way. Consider the following:

VERBS TO WHICH *ki-* IS MAINLY PREFIXED

'to see, look, hear, know, flow, come, teach, tell, live, ask, dream, acquire, collect, dispatch, double, enter'

VERBS TO WHICH *wif-* IS MAINLY PREFIXED

'to go, leave, be born, go out, think, resemble, drink, sit down, read, take out, put in, bind, fasten, return, pass, go beyond'

There is no decisive evidence to explain the fundamental difference of another opposition *ndañ-* vs. *rir-*.

訕訕藎藎訕訕 ndañ-t^wi rir-t^ɛ

'come running rapidly and say'

藎藎訕訕 ndañ-t^wi rir-lañ

'came running'

ndañ- is used with 'to run', while *rir-* with 'to come'.

We should like to apply the principle of upstream (inside) vs. downstream (outside) to the main parts of this prefix.

懽懽藎懽 ndañ-ni^ɛh-t^ɛn

'rejoicemost' (*Jin-guang*)

斃斃藎斃 ndañ-leñ

'die because of that' (ibid.)

訕訕訕訕藎藎 ndañ-kh^wañ

'repent of the sin and censure the past' (ibid.)

聳聳藎聳 ndañ-khiⁿ

'make call the name given to Yama-rāja'

It is not impossible to interpret that each of these prefixes indicates inward direction. The following examples, which are also included in *Jin-guang-ming jing chan-hui mie-zui zhuan*, are explicable in terms of inward direction.

藎藎藎藎藎藎 ndañ-ŋ^wur — ndañ-wi

'say, "Thanks to this, this disease was healed and I regained my health"'

藎藎藎藎藎藎 ndañ-le—ki-hli^ɥ

'We change our look and we all obtain human bodies'

On the other hand, it is possible to consider *rir-* as indicating the action going outward in each of the following examples:

訕訕藎訕 rir-ku-ki^ɛ

'make (someone) yell at various places'

藎藎訕訕 rir-wi

'This person committed a grave crime'

穉穉穉穉 rir-tshieh

'then explain the origin'

穉穉穉 rir-sifi

'grind with a rope'

VERBS TO WHICH ndaŋ- IS MAINLY PREFIXED

'to die, censure, live, neglect, rejoice, go, exchange, take, kill, have, give, ask, recover, manifest oneself, change, be exhausted, be finished, become, excel, etc.'

VERBS TO WHICH rir- IS MAINLY PREFIXED

'to come, preach, do, grind, go, yell, lead, collect, wait, etc.'

In many texts those forms are used which consist of rir- with 'to multiply' or 'to reach', (for example, 穉穉 rir-ma 'for the time being' 穉穉 rir-ni 'or') as adverbs or conjunctions. rir-ni is in opposition to 穉穉 ki-ni 'reached'.

As the above considerations show, the function of indicating direction which Hsihsia verbal prefixes possessed was not always clear in the twelfth century. It is considered that Hsihsia had already reached the third stage in terms of the above-mentioned developmental stages of the Xifan languages in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Moreover, Hsihsia had developed the way of indicating the direction of the action by adding 'to come' or 'to go' to the verbal stem in relation to the speaker. For example, the following expressions are found in *Avatamsaka-sūtra*:

穉穉 wiēh-laŋ 'to come to be born'

穉穉 ʔzdī-sifi 'to go to assemble'

穉穉 wə-laŋ 'to come to release'

Here forms with 'to come' and 'to go' preceded by verbal stems are used; these are not calques of Chinese. This seems to have been one natural direction of the developments in the Tibeto-Burman languages. wə-laŋ for example, corresponds to the Written Burmese *hlwat-la-saŋ*.

On the other hand, there are some grounds for the assumption that in Hsihsia the function of indicating direction was more productive, and penetrated other areas as well in its older stages.

Next, let us consider this in more detail.

V

Prefixed form 2 is considered to be the form which expresses desire or wish of the speaker; as might be expected, it also has six distinct forms. Thus far there have been no grounds for clarifying how these forms differed from each other. However, their phonemic forms show that they correspond to prefixed form 1 mentioned above, which had the function of indicating direction.

First, we shall show correspondences between those forms.

	PREFIXED FORM 1		PREFIXED FORM 2
1	ʔa- V 'upward'		𠵿 ʔeh- V
2	naɦ- V 'downward'		𠵿 nef- V
3	ki- V 'in the direction of the speaker'		𠵿 keɦ- V
4	wiɦ- V 'in the direction away from the speaker'		𠵿 weɦ- V
5	ndaɦ- V 'outside'		𠵿 ndef- V
6	ri- V 'inside'		𠵿 ri- V

It is difficult to consider that these correspondences are accidental. We assume that these two types of prefixed forms have a close relationship, since *ri-ri* and *ri-ri* show the relationship of "mutual annotation" in the liquid sounds group of *Tong-yin* 同音 (both old and new editions).

Since many forms which belong to prefixed forms 2 contain *-eh* and both series have common initial consonants, the possibility will emerge that these prefixed forms are analyzed into ʔ-: n-, k-: w-, nd-: r-, and vowels. However, we should like to assume that prefixed forms 2 are fusion forms of the above-mentioned prefixed forms 1, which indicate direction, and *-eh*, which expresses desire and wish.

The assumption that these two types of prefixed forms have some relation leads us to infer that originally prefixed forms 2 involved the indication of whether desire or wish of the speaker was directed. Though the indication of directions is so hard to verify that we must have recourse to speculation, we should like to give some concrete examples with prefixed forms 2 in the following:

- 1 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 ʔeh-tj
'intend to leave (something) behind for three night' (*Jin-guang*)
𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 ʔeh-ⁿdzieɦ
'hope to live in public' (ibid.)
𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 ʔeh-^yiu
'intend to seek a person who brings a lawsuit'
- 2 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 nef-ⁿdzi-tshar
'repent today and hope to wipe out the sin quickly' (*Ci-bei*)
--- 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 nef-rar, nef-riər
'even if — write a sūtra and confess the sin explicitly'
- 3 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 keɦ-ni
'wish to live to be a hundred' (*Guang-shi-yin*)
𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 keɦ-zih-miɦ
'even if — (your) wife and children in the town intend to give alms —'
(*Saddharma-*)
- 4 𠵿𠵿 weɦ-tɔɦ
'Make (something) go out' (*Mi-le*)
𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿 weɦ-ⁿdziu-mbiɦ
'everyone hopes for leadership in accordance with the law' (*Jin-guang*)

- 務絲務塵霰後嘯 wəf-ɬɛf
 'intend to calculate by replacing dust with a kalpa' (*Saddharma*-)
- 5 辦絲并羅 ndef-phi
 'You should discard a grudge' (*Jin-guang*)
 彌維并前 ndef-kie
 'You should return here immediately' (*ibid.*)
 能循麻及維并透 ndef-wi
 'will make my hands as they once were' (*Saddharma*-)
- 6 綴羸終羸散 riɛ-tshieɬ-wi
 'hope to be made to preach' (*ibid.*)
 雖說茲維歸綴羸 riɛ-tshieɬ
 'even if — preach the virtue of this sūtra'

As was mentioned above, it may safely be assumed that as a rule, each verbal stem was commonly used with particular prefixes 1. Presumably it is not because prefixes 1 were not restricted by the phonemic forms of verbal stems, but because they, judging from forms in cognate languages, originally had functions of indicating directions, one of which became stable. For example, 羸 tshieɬ 'to say' was used as in 羸羸 rir-tshieɬ with rir- preceding it. Its desiderative form also involved the prefixes as in 綴羸 riɛ-tshieɬ 'to want (someone) to say'. Hence it will be natural to interpret the relation between these two as follows, and to assume that the latter is a fusion form.

- 1 rir-tshieɬ
- 2 *rir-ʔeɬ-tshieɬ → riɛ-tshieɬ

In the same way, loɬ 'to return' had two forms: wiɬ-loɬ and ki-loɬ. The desiderative form of the former with the indication of direction, 'to want (someone) to return', takes the following form:

- 1 wiɬ-loɬ
- 2 *wiɬ-ʔeɬ loɬ → wəf-loɬ 後嚮
 說羸茲并羸死禰腦後嚮羸

'hope to make various bodies of Buddha return to the main land'
 (*Saddharma*-)

Similarly, 羸 ndef-wi 'to want (someone) to become', vis-à-vis 并羅 ndaɬ-wi 'became', is its desiderative form, and 維維 wəɬ-tɕɬ 'to want (someone) to go out', vis-à-vis 後羅 wiɬ-tɕɬ 'went out', is its desiderative form with the indication of direction in the same way.

They are analyzable as *ndaɬ-ʔeɬ-wi → ndef-wi and *wiɬ-ʔeɬ-tɕɬ → wəɬ-tɕɬ respectively.

As the above examples show, it is possible to assume that desiderative forms are verbal stems to which ʔeɬ is prefixed and which furthermore are preceded by directional prefixes, where these two kinds of prefixes are fused. The fusion forms, i.e., six kinds of prefixed forms 2, were represented by the specific Hsihsia scripts, so their relationship remained obscure. The relationship will

be generalized as follows:

PREFIXED FORM 1 + VERBAL STEM: DIRECTIONAL FORM
 *PREFIXED FORM 1 + ?efh + VERBAL STEM



PREFIXED FROM 2 + VERBAL STEM: DESIDERATIVE FORM

The possibility that there may have been desiderative forms which were not compatible with commonly used prefixes proves merely that the verbal stem could originally take prefixed forms 1, which were not commonly used. For example, the prefix commonly used with lafh 'to come' was rir-, and there are instances where its desiderative form is 侏侏 rir-ndefh-lafh.

侏侏 rir-ndefh-lafh

'(when —) gets his Bodhisattva to come' (*Saddharma*-)

This fact shows that lafh could originally take the directional prefix ndafh- as well as rir-. It is not incomprehensible to find that there are two types of desiderative form.

lafh: rir-lafh	ndafh-lafh
↓	↓
*rir-?efh-lafh → rir-efh-lafh	*ndafh-?efh-lafh → ndafh-efh-lafh

These fusion forms in Hsihsia nearly coincide with the same forms in Modern Qiang. Sun Hongkai (孫宏開) explains that desiderative forms in Qiang are expressed by prefixing ra 13- to the verb if some action is required of the second or third person.

no 55 ze 241 lie 33 na 31, tha 55 la 53 i 31 ra 13 xuə 33 la 33

'Since you are sick, what do you say to having him wash you = I wish you would have him wash you'

It is possible to add directional affixes before ra 13. In that case the directional affix and the desiderative form fuse into one syllable.

tha 55 la 55 qe 55, tha 55 la 55 za 51 ly 33

'He is well suited; please let him come'

This za 51 is a fusion form of z1 55 ra 13; z1 55 indicates the direction toward the mountain i.e., toward the speaker.

tha 55 la 55 kai 55 sa 15 ka 33

'You should let him go'

Here sa 15 is a fusion form of s1 31 ra 13; s1 31 indicates the downstream direction.

Moreover in Qiang there are forms with thi 33 prefixed to the verbal stem when the first person asks the second person to allow the action of the former. In indicating the direction of the action, the desiderative prefix thi 33 is furthermore prefixed to the directional prefix.

no 55 mi 55 qe 55 so 31, na 55 thi 33 ta 55 rua 31

'Since you are not well suited, let me help you'

This form is arranged in the order thi 33 + directional prefix + verbal stem. This form is not recognizable in Hsihsia; the desiderative form ndi- which deviates from the system of the above-mentioned six prefixes, may possibly correspond to thi 33?

禱 覓 批 轟 ndi-šefi

'ask for something to drink' (*Jin-guang*)

覓 覓 批 覓 ndi-hl'wif

'You should take this sūtra' (*Saddharma-*)

In Ersu and Ergong, among languages in the Chuan-xi area, the non-fused form and the directional prefix itself performs the function of command and wish at the same time.

It follows that Hsihsia has preserved older and more interesting forms, compared with those languages.

VI

Personal affixes of Hsihsia verb phrases will be discussed in this section.

It is already well known that in Hsihsia verb phrases a considerable number of verbal stems which represent person require suffixes. Only the first and second persons are represented by these suffixes.

FIRST PERSON Verb- 覓 -ŋaŋ

SECOND PERSON Verb- 覓 -naŋ

THIRD PERSON Verb- 0

Kepping subdivides the second person affixes into the singular and plural forms and gives the following forms,²⁰ with which I do not agree.

PREFIXED FORM

SINGULAR 覓 naŋ (R17) 覓 naŋ (R17) 'thou'

PLURAL 覓 niŋ (R10) 覓 niŋ (R10) 'ye'

Thus far we have endeavored to explain the reason why the character 覓 is included in the character 覓 by assuming exclusively that the former, i.e., the numeral hnin (L32) 'two' is a phonetic of the latter. However, I have noticed a strong possibility that the numeral 'two' might actually be a semantic element, and originally the pronoun might have been a dual. It is difficult to understand the reason why it involves the numeral 'two' provided that it is a plural. In practice it is often used as a singular in the texts, and the plural in turn is expressed by 覓 覓 niŋ-ni.

Besides, we hold it impossible to consider 覓 to be a personal affix, given the various contexts. For example, the following passage is included in *Jin-guang-ming jing chan-hui mie-zui zhuan*: (Your grudger) comes and lies in ambush on the way you yourself (覓 覓) go. When you reach there (覓 覓 覓 覓), not only is the royal law severe, but how do you extricate yourself (覓 覓) from the pain of stumbling when you encounter (覓 覓) that grudger. The point is that this niŋ must be a second person singular, granting that it

is a personal affix. As a matter of fact, -nañ is employed in both cases in the following to indicate a second person singular. Hence, it will be necessary to assume that niñ is a subjunctive particle (cf. Written Tibetan ni).

In relation to this personal affix, a very important issue came to light, i.e. the fact that the verbal stem is transformed when this personal affix is attached to it. At first, the attention of the present writer was limited to the fact that this was the case only with some specific verbs such as 'to hear' and 'to acquire'.²¹⁾ However, it has become evident that this transformation is observed in other verbs.

In other words, Hsihsia verbs require not only the attachment of personal affixes but also the transformation of verbal stems themselves. For example, 如是我聞, rendered into Hsihsia, is 是如聞我. Followed by ɲañ, 'I', the verbal stem of 聞 'to hear' is transformed from 聞 niñ (R) into 聞 miñ (L). In the same way, 聞 rir (L), 'to acquire' and 聞 rir (R) are transformed into 聞 rior (L) and 聞 rior (R) respectively.

聞 緘 緘 緘 緘 緘 緘

'I find a means of escape with an expedient' (*Jin-guang*)

聞 緘 緘 緘

'You should attain nirvāṇa' (*Saddharma*-)

It is necessary to consider this fact to be a very significant feature of the structure of Hsihsia verb phrases. We shall name the original verbal stem and the stem preceding the personal pronoun form A and form B respectively.²²⁾

Form B appears after the prohibitive particle or the desiderative prefix ndi. Furthermore it has become evident in recent years that the causative auxiliary phiñ had form B phiñ, being transformed itself.

聞 緘 ndi-hlɥ

'You should take'

聞 緘 緘 tih-wiñ-nañ

'You shall not make'

聞 緘 緘 ?a-šwi-nañ

'You have raised'

聞 šwi (L10) is not considered form B of 聞 vor (L89), which is similar in script, but form B of 聞 šoñ (L48).

聞 緘 tì-šoñ

'a petition'

聞 緘 緘 tì-?a-šoñ

'make a petition'

聞 緘 緘 緘 tì-?a-šwi-nañ

'if (you) put up a petition'

In some texts not form B but form A is used after the prohibitive particle tih-.

聞 緘 緘 šien-phiñ

'make (someone) become a Buddha'

拜齋訖繼 šien-phīɔɸ-ŋaɸ

'I make (someone) become a Buddha'

This opposition is evident; it is possible to infer that the latter is a fusion form of $phīɸ + \text{ɔɸ}$. Many fusion forms with -ɔɸ belong to form B. Not a small number of annotations in *Tong-yin* show the opposition between form A and form B. For example, 訖 $ndīɸ$ (R10) has the annotated word 繼 $ndēɸ$ (R33).

The following examples show that the main word is in form B, while the annotated word is in form A.

覓覓繼 leɸ-mēɸ-ndēɸ

'have never seen'

將齋覓覓訖繼 leɸ-mēɸ-ndīɸ-ŋaɸ

'I have never seen retribution'

A Chinese scholar, Shi Jinpo (史金波) in his article entitled "Existential Verbs in Hsihsia,"²³ distinguishes eleven types of existential verbs, among which 繼 and 覓, at least, must be recognized as form A and form B of the same verbal stem. The latter is not used alone unless the pronominal affix is attached to it.

FROM A 繼 $ndžēɸ$ (R32) FROM B 覓 $ndžīɔɸ$ (R44)

These two characters annotate each other, i.e., A annotates B (left), and B annotates A (right). The following are some representative oppositions of form A and form B:

FROM A	FROM B	
覓 $hl^{w}īɸ$ (L11)	覓 $hlɸ$ (L58)	'to take'
齋 $wī$ (L10)	齋 $wīɔɸ$ (L51)	'to make, do'
齋 $tshīēɸ$ (L39)	齋 $tshīɸ$ (R12)	'to preach'
覓 $kīur$ (L76)	覓 $kīɔɸ$ (L72)	'to serve'
覓 $leɸ$ (R33)	覓 li (R9)	'to see'
覓 $khi^{w}on$ (L56)	覓 $khiēɸ$ (L42)	'to give'
繼 $sīēɸ$ (R35)	繼 sen (R41)	'to think'

As the above examples show, personal affixes attached to verbal stems often indicate the subject of the action. However, there are instances where it is necessary to interpret that they rather indicate the object of the action. For example, in *Jin-guang-ming jing chan-hui mie-zui zhuan* there is an example of 覓覓繼繼 $kī-ne-ŋaɸ$. This sentence is used in the following context. That is, 'Zhang Judao says, "Please tell me whether there is a means to keep away from my grudger and avoid the severe punishment rendered by Yama-rāja, though the sin I have committed is too grave to be forgiven"'. Here $-nāɸ$ refers to the person for whom the instruction is intended. An interpretation like this may hold true on condition that the preceding verb is in form A. In the same way $nāɸ$ in the following example is the object that makes someone go:

翻誰攏亦能數弱彙

'Even though you repent of your sin, the sin will never lessen it'

We should like to assume that in these constructions a part of certain older pronominalized constructions in Hsihsia were retained only in the negative sentences with *mī*, rather than the negative particle *mī* requiring the pronoun *tshīh*.

This is an extremely interesting form. Though it is frequently observed in Hsihsia texts, it remains to be seen whether or not the neighboring languages have similar forms which correspond to it.

VIII

In this paper we have covered of some of the most important issues pertaining to the structure of Hsihsia verb phrases; however, many other issues, have yet to be solved.

Generally speaking, there has emerged a possibility that older forms of the Qiang languages are fairly well preserved in the morphological structure of this language. This is a serious issue which involves the geneology of Hsihsia as well. Recent studies are beginning to reveal many features reminiscent of Qiang, which prevent us from classifying this language as a member of the Yi or Lolo-Burmese languages simply on the basis of similarities in lexical items.

NOTES

- 1) The following printed editions, for example, are available for the Hsihsia versions of *Sun-zi* and *Lei-lin* respectively: К. Б. Кепинг: *Сунь Цзы, в Тангутском Переводe*, Москва, 1979. К. Б. Кепинг: *Лес Категорий, Утраченная Китайская Лэйшу в Тангутском Переводe*, Москва, 1983.
- 2) The reconstructed phonemic forms of Hsihsia employed in this study are somewhat different from those adopted by the present writer in previous publications. For an explanation of the new forms, refer to: Nishida, T., "A Study of the Hsihsia Rhyme Tables 'Wu Yin Qie Yun (五音切韻) I, II, III,'" *Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University* Vols. 20-22, 1981-83.
- 3) For Atsi, refer to: Yabu, S., *Basic Vocabulary of Atsi*, Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1982.
- 4) I once made a mistake in reconstructing the phonemic form of this character. Hereafter *tshīa* will be employed instead.
- 5) For these two kinds of causatives, refer to: Nishida, T., *The Hsi-Hsia Avatamsaka Sūtra* II, Postscript pp. 26-, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, 1976.
- 6) The Zauho Press, Tokyo, 1964 (Vol. I)-66 (Vol. II).
- 7) Софронов, М. В., *Грамматика Тангутского Языка*, 2 vols., Москва, 1968. In the following, the pronunciations of Hsihsia scripts are all indicated in the phonemic forms which the present writer reconstructed.
- 8) Kepping, K. B., "A Category of Aspect in Tangut" (Translated by E. Grinstead), *Acta Orientalia* Vol. 33, pp. 283-294, Copenhagen.
- 9) 馬忠建『西夏文法研究』(A Study of the Grammar of the Hsihsia Language), Un-

- published M. A. thesis, 中國社會科學院研究生院, 1987.
- 10) 孫宏開「川西走廊地區語言」『西南民族研究』, 四川民族出版社, 1983, pp. 429-454. 孫宏開「六江流域的民族語言及其系屬分類」『民族學報』 No. 3, 雲南民族出版社, 1983. The latter contains important materials.
 - 11) 陸紹尊『普米語簡志』(*A Brief Description of the Pumi Language*) 北京, 民族出版社, 1983.
 - 12) 孫宏開『羌語簡志』(*A Brief Description of the Qiang Language*) 北京, 民族出版社, 1981.
 - 13) Based on『普米語簡志』.
 - 14) Based on『羌語簡志』.
 - 15) In Zhuokeji (卓克基) dialect of Gyarong, which was surveyed by Mr. Nagano, directional prefixes are compatible with only perfective aspect. Refer to; Nagano, Y., "Directional Affixes in Gyarong," *Kikan Jinruigaku* (『季刊人類學』) Vol. 15/3, pp. 3-52, 1984, and my comment in the same volume (pp. 58-70). Here based on 瞿霖堂「嘉戎語概況」(*A Brief Description of the Gyarong Language*)『民族語文』, 1994.
 - 16) 孫宏開「爾蘇(多續)語簡介」(*A Brief Introduction to the Ersu (Duosu) Language*)『語言研究』, 1982, No. 2, pp. 241-264.
 - 17) Based on 孫宏開 (1983).
 - 18) Based on the notebooks transcribed during my stay in Leningrad. Refer to: Nishida, T., *The Hsi-Hsia Avatamsaka Sūtra II*, Postscript, pp. 32-.
 - 19) Based on the text of *Xin-ji jin-he dao-li* included in: Е. И. Кычанов, *Вновь Собранные Драгоценные Парные Изречения*, Москва, 1974.
 - 20) Kepping, K. B., "Subject and Object Agreement in the Tangut Verb" (Translated by J. Matisoff), *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 219-237.
 - 21) Nishida, T., *The Hsi-Hsia Scripts*, pp. 194-, 1967 (the first edition), pp. 196-, 1980 (the second edition).
 - 22) Refer to: Nishida, T., *The Hsi-Hsia Avatamsaka Sūtra II*, Postscript, pp. 11-, 1976; III, Postscript, pp. 258-, 1977.
 - 23)『語言研究』, 1983, No. 2, pp. 215-228.