Deictic Motion Verbs in Tangut

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In Tangut there are certain verbs of motion which are oriented with regard to the speaker or addressee (in dialog) or a fixed reference point (in narrative). These are the verbs meaning 'come' (\(\text{la}^1\) and \(\text{ld}^1\)).

1) \(\text{tIn}^1 \text{la}^1 \text{ku}^1 \text{ki}^1 \text{ndIe}^2 \text{nIn}^2 \text{tsaI}^1 \text{mie}^1 \text{X phi}^1 \text{na}^2\)
   if come therefore certainly lord become CAUS 2nd
   'If you will come [to me in my kingdom], then I will certainly make you a prince.' (GC)

2) \(\text{thI}^2 \text{ku}^1 \text{na}^2 \text{ndo}^2 \text{ml}^1 \text{tshIe}^1 \text{la}^1 \text{ni}^2\)
   this after you at not EMPHATIC come PLURAL
   'After you [copy the Suvarnaprabhasa] we will come to you no more.' (GS)

3) \(\text{sIe}^1 \text{ldIe}^1 \text{ndo}^2 \text{ldIe}^2\)
   first four person come
   'At first there came four people [to Jang Ju-Dao].' (GS)

and 'go/leave' (\(\text{tshIe}^1 \text{JIo}^2 \text{ndo}^2 \text{ngI}^2 \text{leu}^2 \text{no}^2 \text{Ie}^2 \text{swon} \text{lhO}^1 \text{sIe}^1\))

4) \(\text{tshIe}^1 \text{JIo}^2 \text{ndo}^2 \text{ngI}^2 \text{leu}^2 \text{no}^2 \text{Ie}^2 \text{swon} \text{lhO}^1 \text{sIe}^1\)
   then person one one piece silk take market go
   'At that time a certain person set out for market with a piece of silk.' (GC)

5) \(\text{mbIe}^2 \text{ngom}^2 \text{ma}^1 \text{ta}^1 \text{mo}^2\)
   guest PLURAL fear go
   'I fear that the guests will leave.' (GC)

The deictic motion verbs in Tangut behave grammatically like other verbs except that they do not combine with auxiliary verbs (discussed below).

Of particular interest are the combinations of deictic motion verbs with the markers of perfected aspect. In Tangut there are seven prefixes of perfected aspect which are in complementary distribution with one another. (Six of these are discussed in Kepping 1971; the entire set is described in Kepping 1979). Six of these are etymologically associated with the direction
of the action. We can arrange these oriented prefixes in pairs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a}^1 & \quad \text{ki}^1 & \quad \text{na}^1 & \quad \text{tho}^2 \\
\text{up} & \quad \text{towards} & \quad \text{down} & \quad \text{away from} \\
\text{ndi}^2 & \quad \text{tho}^2 & \quad \text{hither} & \quad \text{hence} \\
\text{does not indicate direction of motion and hence} & \text{is not paired}
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs with the meaning 'come' (\text{la}^1 and \text{ldie}^2) form the perfective aspect principally with the prefix \text{rie}^2, although the verb \text{ldie}^2 can be combined with the prefix \text{na}^1, for example, in the sense of 'to fall (of rain)', and also with the prefixes \text{ki}^1 and \text{via}^2, as in examples 6 and 7:

6) \text{tha}^1 \text{.iwan}^1 \text{.sion}^1 \text{.lia}^1 \text{.rie}^2 \text{.ki}^1 \text{.ldie}^2 \\
that \text{Yuan Shao} \text{west side} \text{PERF come} \\
'That Yuan Shao came from the west.' (S)

7) \text{zi}^2 \text{.ldia}^2 \text{.u}^2 \text{.zic}^2 \text{.via}^2 \text{.ldie}^2 \\
soldier mouth in water \text{PERF come} \\
'In the mouths of all the soldiers, saliva appeared.' (GC)  \\
\text{[lit. 'water came out']} \]

The verbs meaning 'go/leave' form the perfective with the prefix \text{tha}^2, as in examples 8-10:

8) \text{phio}^1 \text{t\text{sh}ia}^1 \text{tha}^2 \text{.sio}^1 \text{na}^2 \\
\text{world into} \text{PERF go} \text{2nd} \\
'[The Lord of Hell said to Jang Ju-Dao] go into the world.' (GS)

9) \text{wen}^1 \text{.kho}^1 \text{tha}^2 \text{.sio}^1 \\
\text{Wen Qin} \text{PERF leave} \\
'Wen Qin left [the battlefield without waiting for his father].'  (S)

10) \text{nd\text{i}vo}^2 \text{.kha}^1 \text{.via}^2 \text{.we}^2 \text{phio}^1 \text{t\text{sh}ia}^1 \text{tha}^2 \text{.rie}^2 \\
\text{people among} \text{PERF born world into} \text{PERF go} \\
'[The animals which you killed] were born as people and went out into the world.' (GS)

The verb \text{vie}^1 is exceptional in forming its perfective with the prefix
riŋ^2:  

11) mio^2 nga^2.In^1 riŋ^2 viei^1 1In^2 mI^1 ndIIn^2 lhio^1 ndIIn^2  
I army OBJECT PERF leave see NEG return PRESENT  
mI^1 tshiə^1 1In^2  
NEG can see  
'I saw the army leave, but I will not be able to see them return.' (GC)  

The verbs la^1 'come' and viei^1 'go' are apparently antonyms, as we can see from example 12:  

12) nga^1 X X šiie^1 ndzai^1 nia^1 la^1 viei^1 .em^2 tiei^1  
army camp pitch when chariot light come go sentry post  
'When the army pitches camp, the light chariots go hither and thither [lit. 'come-go'] and they post sentries.' (S)  

Recall that these two verbs take the same perfective prefix, riŋ^2.  

Three of the verbs of motion, la^1, ldie^2, and šiə^1, are homonymous with auxiliary morphemes which occur following other verbs to indicate that the active participant in the event described by the verb has set out for somewhere. In this construction la^1 and ldie^2 indicate that the motion is directed toward the location of the speaker/addressee, while šiə^1 indicates motion away from the location of the speaker or addressee. These morphemes are not verbal suffixes, but auxiliaries, as they can simultaneously modify two different verbs. We will refer to them as auxiliary verbs. Most commonly these auxiliary verbs are used with verbs which do not have a motional sense, as in examples 13-15:  

13) nga^2.In^1.ta^1 we^2.viə^2.a niwo^1 na^1 xvi^1 ni^2  
I POSS head TOPIC city east gate behind PERF hang PLURAL  
ion^1 nga^1.u^1.In^1 ldie^1 la^1 šiie^1 kIIn^1 1In^2 nga^2  
Yue army Wu OBJECT destroy come when let see 1st  
'[You pl.] hang my head on the eastern gate of the city.  
When the army of Yue comes to destroy [the kingdom of]  
Wu, let me see it!' (GC)
14) tšhien¹ nga¹ ndzai¹ ldle¹ tšiwe¹ mI¹ tši¹ ri¹
Qin army fight come victory NEG can get
'The Qin army arrived to fight, but they were not able to obtain victory.' (S)

15) .u² an¹ w² .In¹ xia¹ ngiu² sì¹ ni²
Wu An city OBJECT quickly save go PLURAL
'[A warrior said] we will set out directly to save the city of Wu An [武安].]' (S)

Following the auxiliary verb we can have a modal verb, agreement marking, the causative phi¹, and the future In¹. When a deictic auxiliary, the causative marker, and an agreement marker all occur, the order is

Verb - Auxiliary - phi¹ - agreement

as in 16:

16) nga² ta¹ sā thu¹ kī¹ žaw² mbi¹ ri² ldle²
I TOPIC Si-tu PERF send because PERF come
ni² .In¹ mie² sìe¹ khwa¹ mei¹ la¹ phi¹ nga²
you POSS govern model examine come CAUSE 1st
'I was sent by the Si-tu (司徒) to come and check up on your governing.' (GC)

When the verb is also marked with the future morpheme In¹, the order is

Verb - Auxiliary - agreement - .In¹

as in 17:

17) nga² ta¹ mē¹ kī¹ žaw¹ wi² nga² tsw² mbie² tšiu¹ ni²
I TOPIC heaven PERF send Tung Hai place Mi Qu
ni² pu² sì¹ nga² .In¹
house burn go 1st FUT
'I have been sent by Heaven. I intend to go and burn [lit. 'burn go I intend'] the house of the Tung Hai Mi Qu.' (GC)

The deictic auxiliaries can occur after motion verbs, but this is rare. We have found only three examples of motion verbs in construction with deictic auxiliaries -- the verbs are ṛa² ni² 'reach, attain', ṛa² ra² 'go through', and ndzai¹ sìie¹ 'wander, stroll'. With verbs of motion the deictic auxiliaries apparently specify the direction of motion with respect to the speaker/addressee, as in 18-19: