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' (儺 la^1 and 儺 $ldIe^2$):[1,2]

1) tIn^1 $\underline{la^1}$ ku^1 kI^1 $ndIe^2$ nIn^2 $tsai^1$ mie^1 X phi^1 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) thI^2 ku^1 na^2 ndo^2 mI^1 $t\hat{s}hi\partial^1$ $\underline{la^1}$ ni^2
   this after you at not EMPHATIC come PLURAL

   'After you [copy the Suvarnaprobhasa] we will come to you no more.' (GS)

3) $\acute{s}ie^1$ $ldi\partial^1$ $nd\acute{z}iwo^2$ $\underline{ldIe^2}$
   first four person come

   'At first there came four people [to Jang Ju-Dao].' (GS)

and 'go/leave' (菇 $\underline{\acute{s}i\partial^1}$, 菱 $\underline{ta^1}$, 刹 $\underline{ri\partial^2}$, and 麦 $\underline{viei^1}$):

4) $t\hat{s}hi\partial^1$ $\acute{z}ion^2$ $nd\acute{z}iwo^2$ ngI^2 leu^2 no^2 .$i\partial^2$ $\acute{z}won$ lho^1 $\underline{\acute{s}i\partial^1}$
   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) $mbie^2$ $ng\partial\mathrm{u}^2$ ma^1 $\underline{ta^1}$ mo^2 (GC)
   guest PLURAL fear go

   'I fear that the guests will leave.'

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 perfective aspect. In Tangut there are seven prefixes of perfective 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:

捞 a^1	'up'	揽 na^1	'down'
爻爻 kI^1	'towards'	狼 $vi\vartheta^2$	'away from'
干⺀ ndI^2	'hither'	背爻 tha^2	'hence'

爻觤 $ri\vartheta^2$ does not indicate direction of motion and hence is not paired

Verbs with the meaning 'come' (la^1 and $ldIe^2$) form the perfective aspect principally with the prefix $ri\vartheta^2$, although the verb $ldIe^2$ can be combined with the prefix na^1, for example, in the sense of 'to fall (of rain)', and also with the prefixes kI^1 and $vi\vartheta^2$, as in examples 6 and 7:

6) tha^1 .$iwan^1$ $\acute{s}ion^1$ $li\vartheta$ rie^2 <u>kI^1 $ldIe^2$</u>
   that Yuan Shao west side PERF come

   'That Yuan Shao <u>came</u> from the west.'   (S)

7) zi^2 $ldia^2$ .u^2 $\acute{z}i\varepsilon^2$ <u>$vi\vartheta^2$ $ldIe^2$</u>
   soldier mouth in water PERF come

   'In the mouths of all the soldiers, saliva <u>appeared</u>.'   (GC)
   [lit. 'water <u>came out</u>']

The verbs meaning 'go/leave' *form the perfective with the prefix* <u>tha^2</u>, as in examples 8-10:

8) $phio^1$ $t\acute{s}hia^1$ <u>tha^2 $\acute{s}i\vartheta^1$</u> na^2
   world into PERF go 2nd

   '[The Lord of Hell said to Jang Ju-Dao] <u>go</u> into the world.'   (GS)

9) wen^1 $kh\hat{e}n^1$ <u>tha^2 $\acute{s}i\vartheta^1$</u>
   Wen Qin PERF leave

   'Wen Qin <u>left</u> [the battlefield without waiting for his father].'   (S)

10) $nd\acute{z}iwo^2$ kha^1 $vi\vartheta^2$ we^2 $phio^1$ $t\acute{s}hia^1$ <u>tha^2 $ri\vartheta^2$</u>
    people among PERF born world into PERF go

    '[The animals which you killed] were born as people and <u>went out</u> into the world.'   (GS)

The verb <u>$viei^1$</u> is exceptional in forming its perfective with the prefix

$ri\underline{\ni}^2$:

11) mio^2 nga^2 $.In^1$ $\underline{ri\ni^2}$ $\underline{viei^1}$ lIn^2 mI^1 $ndIn^2$ $lhio^1$ $ndIn^2$
     I   army OBJECT PERF   leave   see   NEG   return PRESENT

   mI^1 $t\acute{s}hi\ni^1$ lIn^2
   NEG   can   see

   'I saw the army <u>leave</u>, but I will not be able to see them return.' (GC)

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

12) nga^1 X X $\acute{z}ie^1$ $ndzai^1$ nia^1 $\underline{la^1}$ $\underline{viei^1}$ $.\hat{e\underline{\mathrm{w}}}^2$ $ti\underline{e}i^1$
     army camp pitch when chariot light come go   sentry post

   'When the army pitches camp, the light chariots <u>go hither and thither</u> [lit. '<u>come-go</u>'] and they post sentries.' (S)

Recall that these two verbs take the same perfective prefix, $ri\underline{\ni}^2$.

Three of the verbs of motion, la^1, $ldIe^2$, and $\acute{s}i\ni^1$, 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 $\acute{s}i\ni^1$ 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 $.In^1$ $.u^2$ ta^1 we^2 $\underline{w}i\ni^2$ $.a$ $n\underline{I}wo^1$ na^1 xwI^1 ni^2
     I   POSS head TOPIC city east gate behind PERF hang PLURAL
     $.ion^1$ nga^1 $.u^1$ $.In^1$ $\underline{ldIe^1}$ $\underline{la^1}$ $\acute{z}Ie^1$ kIn^1 lIn^2 nga^2
     Yûe   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 <u>comes to destroy</u> [the kingdom of] Wu, let me see it!' (GC)

14) tśhien^1 nga^1 <u>ndzai^1 ldīe^1</u> tśiwe^1 mI^1 tśhiə^1 riə^1
    Qin   army fight come victory NEG can   get

'The Qin army arrived to fight, but they were not able to obtain victory.' (S)

15) .u^2 an^1 wə^2 .In^1 xia^1 <u>ngiu^2 śiə^1</u> ni^2
    Wu An city OBJECT quickly save go PLURAL

'[A warrior said] we sill 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 兩彼phi^1, and the future 希彡.In^1. When a deictic auxiliary, the causative marker, and an agreement marker all occur, the order is

      Verb - Auxiliary - <u>phi^1</u> - agreement

as in 16:

16) nga^2 ta^1 sə^1 thu^1 kI^1 źəɯ^2 mbu^1 riə^2 ldīe^2
    I TOPIC   Si-tu PERF send because PERF come
    ni^2 .In^1 mie^2 śiei^1 <u>khwa^1 mei^1 la^1</u> phi^1 nga^2
    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 <u>.In^1</u>, the order is

      Verb - Auxiliary - agreement - .In^1

as in 17:

17) nga^2 ta^1 mə^1 kI^1 źəɯ^1 viə^2 ngon^2 tɯu^2 mbie^2 tśiu^1 ni^2
    I TOPIC heaven PERF send Tung Hai place Mi Qu
    ni^2 pu^2 <u>śiə^1 nga^2 .In^1</u>
    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 爻ㄎ仄 <u>nI^2</u> 'reach, attain', 爻冇彡 <u>ra^2</u> 'go through', and 忪乇 <u>ndźiei^1</u> '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:

18) xiwe^1 we^1 <u>nI^2 ldIe^2</u> mbu^1 .i^1 mbi^2 ndo^2 źu^2 ndźie^1
Fei   I arrive come because all official to command
ndą^2 .I^1 śiu^1 źəɯ^1 śiə^1 nI^2 la^1 źie^1 ni^2 nI^2
word say Shu send messenger arrive come when you PLURAL
ti^2 vuo^1 ni^2
PROH stand PLURAL

'As Fei I had <u>arrived</u>, [the ruler of Wu] commanded all the
officials: "When the messenger [of the kingdom of Shu]   (GC)
<u>comes</u>, do not stand up!"'

19) śiə^2 .a^1 ndi ^{2} niwo^2 <u>nI^2 śiə^1</u> źię^1 .êi^2 ▼ia^2 ngu^2
south gate outside reach go when sound let out by
nga^2 ngą^2 kiwą^1 ldəɯ^2
loudly cry should

'When you <u>have gotten</u> beyond the southern gate, [you]   (GC)
should give a loud shout.'

However, it is not always possible to understand such a construction in
this way. For example, in example 20 the verbs nI^2 śiə^1 'arrive go' and
nI^2 la^1 indicate motion in the same direction, both away from the speaker:

20) khion^1 ta^1 śie^1 <u>nI^2 śiə^1</u> ndźiwe ta^1 ku^1 <u>nI^2 la^1</u>
strong TOPIC first arrive go weak TOPIC last arrive come

'The strong <u>get there</u> first; the weak arrive last.'   (S)

It is possible for a verb in construction with a deictic auxiliary
to take a perfective prefix, although we have only one such example:

21) ngwə^1 tshiwe ^{2} ndo^2 tśiwa^2 <u>kI^1 ndźêi śiə^1</u> na^2
princess at sin PERF admit go 2nd

'Go and admit your guilt before the princess.'   (GC)

Possibly the reason for this reluctance to combine the deictic auxiliary
and a perfective prefix is that here two systems which indicate direction
of action -- orienting action in space (the perfective prefix system) and
specifying the orientation of motion (the deictic auxiliaries) -- come into
conflict.

Notes

[1]   All examples are taken from three texts housed at the Institute
Vostokovedeniya in Leningrad: The Grove of Classifications (abbreviated
GC), the Tangut Sun Tzu (S), and the preface to the Golden Luster Sutra
(Suvarnaprobhasa) (GS).

[2]   The typescript of the translation was prepared by the second translator,
who is responsible for any errors in the Tangut transcription and any other
errors in this version of the paper. Tangut character versions of the example
sentences which were included in the original text of the paper have been
omitted; they can be obtained from DeLancey at the Dept. of Linguistics,
University of Oregon.

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        Possibly of Interest:

Keping [=Kepping], Ksenia Borisovina. 1981. Agreement of the verb in Tangut.
        LTBA 6.1. 39-48.

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        Frans Plank (ed.), Ergativity. London: Academic Press.

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        283-94.

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        39-54.

(also see Kwanten's bibliography in LTBA 7.1)