

# A STUDY OF HSI-HSIA LANGUAGE

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HSI-HSIA  
LANGUAGE AND DECIPHERMENT  
OF THE HSI-HSIA SCRIPT

BY

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## PREFACE

I first began my studies of the Hsi-hsia language in 1950 under Professor Ishihama Juntarō of the Faculty of Letters of Kyoto University. As a seminar report for Professor Ishihama's course, I submitted a rather long study of the *Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu*, in which I attempted to work out a method for reconstructing the phonemic forms of Hsi-hsia from the Chinese and Tibetan sound transcriptions in that work. Needless to say, it was a very incomplete piece of work. I was unaware at that time of the existence of the important phonological work, the *T'ung-yin*, and my main interest was simply in making a comparative study of the words in Hsi-hsia that belonged to the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family. A few years after this, I came across a reproduction of the *T'ung-yin* in a bookstore, and realized that the phonological data contained in that work could be combined with the method that I had worked out previously to give a more reliable reconstruction of the phonemic forms of Hsi-hsia. I explained this new method at the thirty-fifth meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan in 1955, and a summary of that report was carried in *Gengo kenkyū* No. 31, pp. 67-71.

My study of the Hsi-hsia language was greatly aided by the fact that I was able to participate in a joint study headed by Professor Murata Jirō for the preparation of his publication on the Chū-yung-kuan inscription. I remember the pleasure I felt when I compared the Hsi-hsia phonetic transcription of the *dhāraṇī* in the inscription with a Sanskrit reconstruction of the original, and realized that the Hsi-hsia phonemic forms fitted exactly with the hypothetical forms I had reconstructed earlier. I wrote up what I had learned up to this point about the reconstruction of Hsi-hsia phonemic forms, but hesitated to publish the results until I could have an opportunity to consult not only the *T'ung-yin*, but the other important phonological works, the *Wen-hai*, *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, *Wen-hai pao-yün*, and *Wu-shêng yün-piao*. Though I have not yet been able to gain such an opportunity, the collection of Hsi-hsia studies and notes by Nevsky entitled Тангутская Филология, which came into my hands in 1961, fortunately contains a number of notes indicating what phonetic group the Hsi-hsia characters are classified under in the *Wen-hai*, *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, or *Wen-hai pao-yün*. Thus, although the actual texts of these phonological works have not yet been made public, much of the important data in them has become available through Nevsky's studies, and on this basis I have proceeded to write Chapter II of this book. If these important materials are published in the near future, it may be found that my conclusions require a certain amount of revision. But if I had not had the aid of Nevsky's notations, my conclusions would have been even more tentative,

and it is for this reason that publication of this book has been delayed somewhat so that full advantage could be taken of this material.

At the same time I have also been able to make progress in the analysis of the construction of the Hsi-hsia characters. Unlike Chinese characters, the Hsi-hsia characters were all devised at almost the same time, and therefore one need not worry about the influence of local developments or of changes in form or meaning of the characters over long centuries of evolution. This makes it much easier than in the case of Chinese to identify the various elements of which the characters are composed, and to discover the relationship of these elements to each other. An identification of these elements may then be employed to discover the meaning of characters whose meaning has not as yet been established. For example, if we can identify the elements for "man" placed on top of that for "horse," we may conclude that the character means "to ride a horse." Other examples are more complicated, involving complex arrangements of elements indicating meaning and sound, but the principles of analysis are the same, and if we can once grasp the principles upon which the Hsi-hsia characters have been constructed, we may proceed step by step to analyze and identify new characters. Examples of this type of decipherment of Hsi-hsia characters will be found in the second volume of this study.

Again, I was fortunate in being able to study the fragments of Hsi-hsia Buddhist writings preserved in the Tenri Central Library. These gave me much information on how such works were translated into Hsi-hsia, though I have not gone into such questions in detail in this book.

The present study represents a report on the progress which I have been able to make thus far in various aspects of Hsi-hsia language studies. While the book was going through proof, certain facts struck me and certain new interpretations occurred to me, some of which I could not incorporate in revisions and additions. I hope in the future to have an opportunity to make public these new views.

In June of 1963, I was able to join a group sponsored by the Ministry of Education which afforded me an opportunity to go to Europe and to visit the British Museum and the Institute for the Study of Asian and African Peoples in Leningrad. As is well known, the former contains the Hsi-hsia materials in the Stein Collection, the latter the rich store of books and materials in the Kozlov Collection. The Stein Collection materials are preserved in bags, sealed and stored away, as yet unclassified and practically in the state in which they were first excavated. Through the kindness of Mr. Grinstead of the Museum, I was allowed to open several of the bags and to examine their contents. What wealth of unknown materials lies hidden in these bags of the Stein Collection it is impossible to guess. At the Leningrad Institute I was about, through the good will of Mr. КЫЧАНОВ, to see the original texts of the *Wen-hai*, *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, and *T'ung-yin*, which have been beautifully mounted for preservation; but for some reason the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, which I had looked forward to seeing as well, did not seem to be at the Institute.

Hsi-hsia studies are still very new. In recent years rapid progress has been made, and there are now a number of excellent scholars such as Professor R. A. Stein in Paris, Mr. Grinstead in London, Mr. КЫЧАНОВ in Leningrad, Mr. M. B. Софронов in Moscow, and Mr. Okazaki Seirō and Mr. Hashimoto Montarō in Japan, all of whom have made contributions to our knowledge of the Hsi-hsia people and their language and culture. When the rich materials in the Hsi-hsia language preserved in London and Leningrad are finally made public, we may expect further advances in our understanding. I will be happy if, through the publication of my present work, I may contribute something toward the advancement of these studies.

This book was originally submitted to the Kyoto University Faculty of Letters in March, 1962, as a doctoral thesis. Since then, it has been received and considerably expanded. Publication has been made possible by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Japan Council for East Asian Studies, and I am particularly grateful to Professors Yoshikawa Kōjirō, Kaizuka Shigeki, and Iwamura Shinobu of the latter organization for their kindness and interest. In addition I would like to thank Professors Izui Hisanosuke and Ogawa Tamaki of the Kyoto University Faculty of Letters, Professor Fujieda Akira of the Research Institute of Humanistic Studies, and the other members of the faculty and staff of these institutions, for their frequent assistance. In particular, I want to express my gratitude to Professor Ishihama Juntarō, the pioneer in Hsi-hsia linguistic studies in Japan, for his guidance and encouragement.

The burden of printing this book has been shared by the Nippon Shashin Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, who is responsible for the first volume, and the English summary in the second volume, and the Nakanishi Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, who is responsible for the remaining portion. I am extremely grateful to both companies for undertaking a complex and demanding task, as well as to Mr. Saitō Kikutarō, Mr. Gotō Shigeki, and Mr. Mori Sanzō, for the part which they played in the production and printing of this book. The difficult task of preparing the English summary and the English translations of Hsi-hsia works was undertaken by Mr. Philip Yampolsky and Mr. Burton Watson of Columbia University, who worked with me in Kyoto, and to whom I wish to express my thanks.

Nishida Tatsuo

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# I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HSI-HSIA LANGUAGE STUDIES

THE HSI-HSIA was a powerful small nation during the Sung dynasty, having been founded in 1032 by Li Yüan-hao 李元昊, who served as its first ruler. But already in the Five Dynasties period the Hsi-hsia peoples formed a powerful tribe in the northwest areas and were, in actuality, an independent group, outside of effective control by the Chinese government. It is probable that from the T'ang dynasty on the power of this group gradually increased, and that even during the T'ang dynasty it met the prerequisites which would entitle it to be classified as an independent nation.

In 880 T'o-pa-ssu-kung 拓拔思恭 of P'ing-hsia-pu 平夏部, as a reward for his assistance in the suppression of the Huang-ch'ao 黃巢 rebellion, was appointed Regional Commandant of Hsia-chou 夏州. He was awarded the name Li 李 and the family continued to flourish through successive generations during the Five Dynasties and Northern Sung periods. The founder of the Hsi-hsia nation, Li Yüan-hao, was a descendent of this T'o-pa-ssu-kung, and in 1032 set up the Hsi-hsia nation in the area of present-day Hsia-hsi 陝西 in Inner Mongolia and Kansu. Although nominally tributary to the Sung, Yüan-hao declared himself Emperor and the nation persisted for ten generations, until in 1227 the Hsi-hsia country was destroyed by Jenghis Khan.

Perhaps the greatest cultural achievement of the Hsi-hsia was the development of a national writing, and even though it lasted as a nation but 196 years (1032-1227), the language persisted at least another 120 years after the fall of the country. Hsi-hsia characters were first promulgated in 1036, and the earliest datable manuscript left today is a public document from the military commander of Kua-chou 瓜州 of 1071. The next datable work in the Hsi-hsia script is the Kan-ying 感應 tower inscription in Liang-chou 涼州 of 1094. The last materials are the inscriptions at Chü-yung-kuan 居庸關 (1345) and the Buddhist images in the Mo-kao 莫高 cave at Tun-huang (1348). Perhaps for several score years after this the characters were still in use.<sup>1</sup>

The first to introduce Hsi-hsia characters to western scholars was A. Wylie, who in 1870 published an article on the Chü-yung-kuan stone inscription.<sup>2</sup> Wylie, however, was in error when he identified the inscription in an unknown writing as being in

1. The Hsi-hsia edition of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* 華嚴經 in wooden movable type dates possibly to early Ming, see p. 591

2. A. Wylie, "On an ancient Buddhist inscription at Keu-yung-Kwan," *J.R.A.S.* vol. 5, pt. 1, 1870,

Jurchen 女真 characters.<sup>3</sup>

Until 1882, when M. Devéria discovered an inscription incised in Jurchen characters at Yen-t'ai 宴臺 in Honan, Wylie's theory was generally accepted. The writing that Devéria published<sup>4</sup> as Jurchen characters, however, in no way resembled the then unidentified writing at Chü-yung-kuan, nor did it resemble the writing on four coins which Wylie had also previously identified as Jurchen. Devéria, who had proved that the writing was not Jurchen, felt that this unknown writing represented the writing of the Hsi-hsia. He was proven correct upon the discovery that four coins with the same unknown writing, which were definitely identified as coming from the Hsi-hsia nation, were found reproduced in the *Chi-chin so-chien lu* 吉金所見錄. Wylie, in fact, had been aware of the same four coins, but the source he used, the *Wai-kuo ch'ien-wên* 外國錢文 merely identified the script as "barbarian writing," which Wylie took to mean Jurchen. Devéria, in his identification of the writing, had one further important piece of evidence to prove his contentions. This was the Kan-ying tower inscription of the Ta-yün-ssu 大雲寺 in Liang-chou in Kansu. The front of this inscription was written in Chinese and the back contained the same unknown characters that were at Chü-yung-kuan (cf. Appendix I). Furthermore, the writing closely resembled that on the four curious old coins. This strengthened Devéria's conviction that the mysterious writing was Hsi-hsia.

When plans were being made for the publication of Prince Ronald Bonaparte's *Documents de l'époque Mongole des XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1895), Devéria submitted, along with several other rubbings, a clear rubbing of the section, containing small writing in the inscription at Chü-yung-kuan, which was in this unidentified script. When time for publication came, a name had to be given to this unknown writing. Devéria, with confidence, strongly advocated his own theory that it represented Hsi-hsia writing. But Chavannes, who was also involved in the publication, called Devéria's attention to a notice in the *Hsün-t'ien-fu-chih* 順天府志, ch. 129, in which Jurchen was clearly identified as being one of the languages represented in the Chü-yung-kuan inscription. Despite this evidence, Devéria held to his own theory and in the general introduction to the book identified the rubbings as Hsi-hsia. Each individual plate, however, perhaps because of caution on Chavannes' part, followed the Hsi-hsia identification with a question mark. But in a work published in 1898<sup>5</sup>, the writing was clearly marked as "Si-hia ou Tangout." Thus to Devéria belongs the credit for having been the first to identify the Hsi-hsia writing.

Early studies of the Hsi-hsia language were devoted largely to the writing. It was assumed that each ideograph was a phonetic character composed of various phonetic

3. Nishida, Tatsuo. "Seika daiji kokubun 西夏大字刻文," in *Kyoyōkan* 居庸關 [*Chü-yung-kuan* edited by Murata Jiro], Kyoto University, pp. 14-44. 1958, fn. 2, 3.

4. M. Devéria, "Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'ai." *Revue de L'Extrême-Orient*, t. I, n° 2, t. II, n° 4, 1882, 1883.

5. M. Devéria, *L'écriture du royaume de Si-hia ou Tangout*, *Mém. Acad. Inscr. B-L*, ser I. vol. XI. pt. 1, 1998.



units, and that each character as a whole, or the components of a character, represented a certain sound and had no relation to the meaning of the character. Working along these lines, no satisfactory results whatsoever were obtained. Wylie and Chavannes examined the large characters in the Chü-yung-kuan inscription, and by comparing them with the Sanskrit, attempted to establish their phonetic forms.<sup>6</sup> Bushell,<sup>7</sup> on the other hand, studied the individual characters for their meaning, using the Chinese as reference. M. G. Morisse<sup>8</sup> attempted to synthesize the experiments of Wylie and Chavannes with the studies of Bushell, and undertook an examination of both the phonetic and semantic forms of the Hsi-hsia characters. Using one *chüan* of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika sūtra* 法華經, he was able to determine the meaning of thirty or forty characters, but he failed, as had Bushell, to establish the phonetic form correctly. The reason for this was that he followed the methods and results published by Wylie and Chavannes, which was to compare the Sanskrit words which were transcribed into Hsi-hsia with the original Sanskrit and to note which characters were repeated. Unfortunately, except in a few instances, the characters for which he was able to provisionally assign a sound form, and the characters for which, using other methods, he was able to assign a meaning, belonged to a special separate series of Hsi-hsia characters. The reason for this was that the Hsi-hsia, in transcribing foreign languages, employed special characters such as those used for the writing of clan names, rather than ordinary common characters. This was to prevent a confusion with the meaning that these common characters normally contained. Thus, the sound forms of the basic words in the Hsi-hsia language are scarcely to be found by an examination of the Chü-yung-kuan inscription, or by a comparison of Hsi-hsia and Sanskrit transcriptions of identical texts. It is impossible to postulate the sound forms of basic words in Hsi-hsia by a comparison with the Sanskrit alone.<sup>9</sup>

In 1908 Major Kozlov, during his expedition to Mongolia and Szechuan, visited the Khara-khoto area. The pagoda of an abandoned temple in a large cemetery in the northwest corner of the city, yielded a vast quantity of Hsi-hsia manuscripts and printed books, mixed in with a large number of old Chinese printing blocks. These documents furnished priceless source material for Hsi-hsia studies and were instrumental in their further progress. Among the documents, brought back in 1909 by A. Ivanov, was the *Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu*<sup>10</sup> 番漢合時掌中珠. A printed work, it was

6. Bonaparte, Ronald, *op. cit.*, Plate 10.

7. "The Hsi-hsia dynasty of Tangut, their money and peculiar script," *JNCBRAS*, new ser. vol. 30, 1895-96, pp. 142-160.

8. "Contribution préliminaire à l'étude de l'écriture et de la langue Si-hia," *Mém. Acad. Inscr. B-L*, ser. 1, vol. XI, pt. 2, 1904.

9. Nishida Tatsuo, "Seikago no sūshi ni tsuite—sono saikōsei to hikaku gengogakuteki kōsatsu 西夏語の數詞について—その再構成と比較言語學的考察," *Isihama sensei koki kinen Tōyōgaku ronsō* 石濱先生古稀記念東洋學論叢, Kyoto, 1958, p. 87, and its english translation: The Numerals of the Hsi-hsia language—Their Reconstructions and Comparative studies, Memoire of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko. No. 19 1960, p. 123- .

10. Hereafter referred to as *Chang-chung-chu* and *CCC*.

written in 1190 by a Hsi-hsia native, Ku-lê-mou-tsai 骨勒茂才, and served as a sort of study book, giving the Hsi-hsia text and Chinese translation in parallel columns. The Hsi-hsia sounds are transcribed in Chinese characters, and vice versa, so that it is an invaluable source both for the reconstruction of the Hsi-hsia language and the deciphering of its written characters. Ivanov introduced the work to academic circles in 1909.<sup>11</sup> His report was from the outset not intended as a full study of the *Chang-chung-chu*, yet the present writer knows of no later studies which have made use of this excellent source material.

Among the documents brought back by Kozlov were several works essential to a knowledge of Hsi-hsia phonetic forms, such as *T'ung-yin* 同音 (almost the complete work), *Wen-hai* 文海 (fragmentary section on 平 tone remains) *Wen-hai pao-yün* 文海寶韻 (fragmentary section on 去 tone remains), *Wen-hai tsa-lei* 文海雜類 (fragmentary section on 上 tone and 去 tone remains), and *Wu-yin sheng-yün* 五音聲韻 (fragmentary). Yet there has been scarcely any study made of these works, and other than the *T'ung-yin*, no texts have been published.

Later studies, other than those based on the Kozlov materials, were made by Nevsky, Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎, Lo Fu-ch'ang 羅福萇, Lo Fu-ch'êng 羅福成, and Wang Ching-ju 王靜如 who based their investigations on materials brought back by the Stein and Pelliot expeditions and those housed in the Peking Library.<sup>12</sup> Progress was made and a large part of the results obtained from the study of these materials and the texts themselves were published.

In particular we should, when we come to consider the development of Hsi-hsia studies, give special attention to the contribution of the members of the Lo family of China.

Their work began in 1914 with the publication in Kyoto of the *Hsi-hsia-i Lien-hua-ching k'ao-shih* or "Study of the Hsi-hsia translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*" by Lo Fu-ch'êng. This was a continuation of the study of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika* by Morisse already mentioned above, using Morisse's text and seven double sheets of photographs, owned by Professor Hanada Tōru, of the text in the possession of the Ecole de L'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, with a Chinese translation added between the lines of the Hsi-hsia.

Following this, Lo Fu-ch'êng in 1920 brought out his *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lei-pien* or "Classified Compilation of Hsi-hsia Writing", which may be called the first Hsi-hsia vocabulary, arranged by stroke order. It contained about a hundred characters, selected from among those which could be clearly identified in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika* and the *Fan-han-Ho-shih-Chang-chung-chu*, arranged under forty headings.

Meanwhile, in 1919, Lo Fu-ch'ang's *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh-shuo* or "Outline Explanation of the Hsi-hsia Writing" was published by the Higashiyama Gakuin in Kyoto. This was a very small book, consisting of only 22 double pages; its contents were divided

11. "Zur Kenntniss der Hsi-hsia Sprache," *Известия Императорекой Академии Наукъ* 1909, pp. 1221-1233.

12. For the works of B. Laufer, N. Nevsky, Wang Ching-ju, See Tatsuo Nishida, *The Numerals of the Hsi-hsia language. op. cit.* Note 9.

into four sections, dealing with the writing system, the explanation of characters, grammar, and extant writings. The remarks made by Mr. Lo under these various headings were extremely brief, and not in all cases correct, so that from the standpoint of our present level of knowledge, they need to be emended or supplemented on many points. But at the time of publication they represented the highest level of accomplishment, and were epochmaking in the important role they played as a foundation for all subsequent Hsi-hsia studies. The contents of the work were later expanded and corrected in the *Ya-chou hsüeh-shu tsa-chih* 卮州學術雜誌 during the years 1921-22, though Lo Fu-ch'ang did not live to complete this process. It remained for his elder brother, Lo Fu-ch'êng, to bring out a revised and expanded version of the work in China under the same title, *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh-shuo* 西夏國書略說.

Perhaps an even more important contribution made by the Lo family was the reproduction and publication of two crucial texts preserved at that time in the Asian Museum in Leningrad, the *Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu* (translated in Appendix II of this work under the title of *The Timely Pearl in the Palm*), and the *T'ung-yin*, a work on Hsi-hsia phonology. Lo Fu-ch'êng did much for the advancement of Hsi-hsia studies by making these two texts available to the public, though unfortunately neither text has as yet received the thorough study it deserves.

Past Hsi-hsia studies, even though they concerned Hsi-hsia Buddhist canonical works such as the *Avatamsaka* 華嚴經 and *Saddharma-puṇḍarika* sutras, did not take into consideration the characteristics of the Hsi-hsia text, despite the fact that the title and contents were clearly known. As a result even such readily handled texts as the two above mentioned sutras have never been provided with a Hsi-hsia-Chinese glossary. That previously studied source materials are so difficult to use is a source of regret for students who have come later. Let us hope that in the future scholars will not merely rest content with establishing the title of a canonical work, but will also investigate the text exhaustively in all aspects, ranging from the identification of words down to a detailed analysis of the sentences.

Up to now the most serious deficiency in Hsi-hsia linguistic studies has been the fact that the method whereby the phonetic form representing each Hsi-hsia character was postulated has been haphazard and based on no exact criteria.

Some twenty years after Nevsky's death in 1938, a collection of his studies of Hsi-hsia and the Hsi-hsia language was published, entitled *Тангутская Филология, исследования и словарь* (Москва 1960).<sup>13</sup> The work is in two parts. The first part, occupying the beginning of the first volume, consists of nine articles; the second part, occupying the remainder of the first volume (pp. 167-601) and all of the second volume (5-666), consists of the *Тангутский словарь* or *Dictionary of the Hsi-hsia Language*, which is a photo reproduction of the author's notebooks. (See Japanese text p. 12.)

13 For further information of this work, see the author's article, *Ko Nevsky-shi no Seikago kenkyū ni tsuite*, "On the Studies of the Hsi-hsia Language by the Late Mr. Nevsky," *Gengo kenkyū* 41 (1962), pp. 55-65.

Nevsky's studies can be criticized on a number of points, as will be explained. Let us assume, for example, that here is a Hsi-hsia character that has not yet been deciphered. In order to complete the process of decipherment, there are three facts which we must discover about it. First we must discover how it was read by the Hsi-hsia people (phonemic value). Next we must discover what idea it was used to express (semantic value). Finally we must discover what elements it can be broken down into; or rather, more strictly speaking, we must discover what elements go to make it up, and in what way they have been combined (character construction). As a second step in this last process, we must also inquire whether this character has derived from some other character, or whether other characters exist which have derived from this character (character filiation). In addition, we should also inquire what word or words in other languages which are related to Hsi-hsia, are cognate with the Hsi-hsia word expressed by this character.

Concerning these various questions, Nevsky, in his studies of the construction and filiation of the Hsi-hsia characters and his hypotheses concerning their phonemic form, faithfully cites the explanatory remarks made by the Hsi-hsia themselves in their works on phonology such as the *T'ung-yin*, the *Wen-hai*, the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, the *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, and the *Wu-shêng-ch'ieh-yün*. But he does not give any clear and concrete indications of how these materials ought to be used in reconstructing the phonemic forms of the Hsi-hsia characters, or how one should go about making clear the construction and filiation of the characters. In his *Dictionary of the Hsi-hsia Language*, Nevsky postulates the phonemic form for only a small number of characters, and his attempts to analyze the construction are limited to only those characters which are recorded in the *Wen-hai tsa-lei* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, again an indication of his cautious attitude.

Nevsky appears to have attached too much weight to these Hsi-hsia works on phonology, and to have made no attempt to use them as a basis to develop methods of his own that would go beyond them. This may be said, also, of his efforts to determine the meaning of the characters. Nearly all the cases in which Nevsky assigns meanings to the characters are limited to those characters which occur in fragments of texts for which there is a parallel version of the same text in Chinese or Tibetan, or those whose meaning can be positively established on the basis of the accounts found in the works on phonology. This is undoubtedly a sound way in which to proceed, and yet it is hardly possible simply to go on forever setting aside the characters whose meanings cannot be established on the basis of parallel texts. One must at least attempt to discover some method by which to establish their meaning as well. If one of the methods used by the present writer is employed (cf. Section IV), it becomes possible to decipher the meanings of as yet undeciphered characters, even though they may not appear in any of the texts for which there is parallel text in a known language. For example, if we know that the character for "ear of rice" is made up of the radical for rice plus the character for "a point," then when we encounter a character that is made up of the

“rice” radical plus the character for “skin,” we can surmise that it must mean “rice chaff.” Nevsky, however, almost never makes use of this method of decipherment.

No one can fail to recognize that Nevsky's *Dictionary of the Hsi-hsia Language* is the product of long years of labor and investigation. And yet it is, after all, in its present form, no more than Nevsky's notebooks, and it is doubtful whether he himself would have wanted it to be published in this unfinished state. At first glance, the dictionary appears to contain well over 4,000 characters; and yet, because of various deficiencies in the data, the number of characters which are actually explained is much smaller. To give an extreme example, on pp. 170-171 of the second volume, 13 Hsi-hsia characters are entered, but of these only 4 are actually assigned a meaning.

On the other hand, there are other ways in which Nevsky's dictionary can be useful to us aside from what help it offers in establishing the meanings of the Hsi-hsia characters. For one thing, over half the characters are accompanied by a notation indicating what phonetic group they are classified under in the *Wen-hai*, the *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, or the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, and in rare cases, the *fan-ch'ieh* spelling is also given, providing us with important clues for the reconstruction of the Hsi-hsia phonemic forms. At the present time, we do not have direct access to the Hsi-hsia phonological works upon which Nevsky based his dictionary, and for this reason Nevsky's notations are of particular importance. The present writer, in Chapter Two of this work, has attempted to reconstruct the phonemic system of the Hsi-hsia language, and in the process has repeatedly made use of the material provided by Nevsky's work. In addition, it is possible, on the basis of quotations preserved in Nevsky's dictionary, to reconstruct the passages that are missing in the published text of the *Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu*. (See Japanese text p. 14.)

In its volume and scope, Nevsky's work was epoch-making and, although he did not develop any new linguistic methods in the course of his study, we cannot fail to recognize the greatness of the scholar who, thirty years ago, had already written such important studies as “An Examination of the Name of the Hsi-hsia State,” and the other studies contained in his collected works.

## II. METHOD FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF HSI-HSIA PHONEMIC FORMS

### 1. Materials for the Reconstruction of Hsi-hsia Phonemic Forms

#### A. Hsi-hsia Works: the *T'ung-yin* 同音 and the *Fan-han Ho-shih Changchung-chu*. 番漢合時掌中珠

THERE are three types of materials which provide us with a direct basis for the reconstruction of the phonemic forms of the Hsi-hsia characters. These are (1) transcriptions of Hsi-hsia words in Chinese characters; (2) transcriptions in Tibetan script; and (3) correspondences which can be established between Hsi-hsia and Sanskrit sounds. In the first group are the two types of Hsi-hsia-Chinese transcriptions which can be derived from the *Fan-han Ho-shih Changchung-chu* 番漢合時掌中珠, which will be explained a little later on. The second group consists of fragments of various Buddhist sutras, including the fragmentary Tibetan transcriptions found in the documents of the Stein collection. The third group, consisting of Hsi-hsia transcriptions of Sanskrit words, includes dhāraṇī such as the *Aparimitāyur jñānanāma-mahāyānasūtra* 無量壽宗要經 or *ārya-mārīcīnāma-dhāraṇī* 摩利支天陀羅尼 or that found in the large characters of the Chū-yung-kuan inscription or other Buddhist texts. But, as may be easily imagined, these materials are bound to be affected by the characteristics peculiar to the Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit languages respectively. For this reason, in order that we may utilize these materials, with their various individual characteristics, in a uniform manner, and employ them to supplement each other, we must first establish some reliable basis upon which to synthesize them.

In response to this need, the present writer has first of all chosen to establish, as a basis, the *T'ung-yin* 同音, a phonological work compiled by the Hsi-hsia people themselves from the point of view of their own language, and to use this to reconstruct the phonemic forms of the Hsi-hsia language. The Hsi-hsia people, influenced by Chinese phonological studies, compiled a certain number of works of their own on phonology. To some extent, the Hsi-hsia people could not avoid imitating the Chinese phonological works which were known to them; and yet the fact that they compiled their own phonological works shows the degree to which the Hsi-hsia people of this period were conscious of the phonetic peculiarities of their own language, and indicates that they had worked out a fairly reliable standard on which to proceed to the task of classifying and arranging the sound of their language. We cannot fail to pay close attention to this standard, which the Hsi-hsia people developed for themselves from the point of view of their own language.

It is probably well at this point to give a brief description of the *T'ung-yin*. The text consists of 56 double sheets put together in the so-called "butterfly binding" fashion. Each of these sheets contains 18 vertical columns reading from right to left. In each of these columns there are 8 large Hsi-hsia characters running from top to bottom. Underneath each of these large characters are smaller Hsi-hsia characters, sometimes one character placed to the left or right under the large character; sometimes two characters, one on the left and one on the right; and in rare cases, three characters running from left to right in a row. The book also contains a preface and a postface. The preface states that the work includes 6,133 large characters and 6,230 small characters, and this is probably an accurate description of the work in its complete form. The text used here, which is that reproduced by Lo Fu-ch'eng, is lacking most of the 38th sheet and part of the 55th sheet, so that the actual number of large and small characters than is less that stated in the preface.

The preface reveals, first of all, that the *T'ung-yin* is a phonological work in which 6,133 Hsi-hsia characters have been classified into nine large groups, not on the basis of their form, but on the basis of the nature of the initial sound of the Hsi-hsia word which they represent. At the end of each group is a notation indicating that this completes the group—e.g., "The heavy lip sounds group<sup>1</sup> ends here." Below this, in two columns, is a notation on the number of large and small characters included in the group. But these numbers do not correspond to the actual number of characters recorded in the text, though why this should be, or what the numbers recorded at the ends of the groups actually designate, is not clear. (See Japanese text, p. 18.)

Each of these large groups is in turn divided into two smaller groups. First come a number of characters that are punctuated at various intervals by small circles; following these is the heading "independent characters," which is followed by some twenty or thirty characters that are not marked off into groups by small circles. The number of characters contained between one small circle and the next in the first group is not constant. If we regard the characters listed between one circle and the next as "subclass 1," "subclass 2", etc., we will find that, taking the "heavy lip sounds" (bilabials) as an example, we have 147 such groups or subclasses of characters. (*T'ung-yin* pp. 2-8a.) Following these is the heading "heavy lip sound independent characters," under which are listed 112 characters without any circles punctuating them. For a table indicating the total number of characters contained in the various subclasses and groups of "independent characters," see p. 19 of the Japanese text.

What do these small circles mean, and what is the basis upon which they are used to break up the characters into subclasses? What is the significance of the fact that the circles are sometimes placed at the lower left side, sometimes at the lower right side, and sometimes in the center beneath the characters? Finally, what is the meaning of the classification "independent characters"? The answers to these questions can come

1. The names of these sound groups as they are given here have all been literally translated from their Hsi-hsia originals by the author.

only from an understanding of the overall system underlying the arrangement of the *T'ung-yin*.

In order to discover the system underlying a work that is written entirely in Hsi-hsia characters, we must search for some kind of supplementary materials outside of the text itself. As a key to the elucidation of the *T'ung-yin*, the present writer has used the three types of materials already listed above; i.e., (1) transcriptions of Hsi-hsia sounds in Chinese characters (*Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu*); (2) transcriptions of Hsi-hsia sounds in Tibetan script (various fragments); and (3) representations of the sounds of Sanskrit dhāraṇī in Hsi-hsia characters (Chü-yung-kuan inscriptions and others). Of these three types of materials, the first, because of the volume of material and the fact that it follows a unified system of transcription, proved to be of the most value.

The arrangement of the *Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu* may be illustrated by the following example taken from the section entitled "Physical Aspects of Man" (183):







𨮒	頭	𨮒	吳
4	2	1	3

In this group of Chinese and Hsi-hsia characters, numbers 1 and 2 comprise a pair of Chinese and Hsi-hsia characters which represent the same meaning—in this case, "head;" while 1 and 3, and 2 and 4, comprise pairs of characters representing similar sounds in Chinese and Hsi-hsia. In the pair 1-3, a Chinese character (3) has been used to transcribe the sound of the Hsi-hsia character (1); while in the pair 2-4, a Hsi-hsia character (4) has been used to transcribe the sound of the Chinese character (2). Let us call the relationship represented by pair 1-3 "correspondence A" and that represented by pair 2-4 "correspondence B." If we then proceed to gather together all the correspondence A's from the *Fan-han Ho-shih Chang-chung-chu*, we will find that we have a number of groups of Hsi-hsia characters, consisting of several characters each, whose pronunciation is represented by the same Chinese character. For this reason, we may assume that the pronunciation of the Hsi-hsia characters within one of these groups is the same, or extremely close in nature. Or, if there were actually differences among the pronunciations of the various characters within a single group, these differences were of too subtle a nature to be expressed by the phonemic system of the Chinese language of that period.

For example, if we take the Chinese character 吳 *wu* in our illustration above and gather together all the correspondence A's in which this 吳 character, or related characters with identical pronunciation —五, 悟, 悞— are used to represent the Hsi-hsia sound, we will find that there are 13 Hsi-hsia characters in this phonetic correspondence group. (See Japanese text p. 19.) If we now match these 13 Hsi-hsia characters up with those which are found in the circle-punctuated subclasses of the *T'ung-yin*, we will find that the first four characters belong to subclass 1 of the throat sound group (velar fricative), while the 11th and 12th belong to subclass 28 of the tooth (velar) sound group. There are many other examples to support the assumption that the subclasses represent groups of characters with the some phonemic form (setting aside for the moment the question of differences of tone.)



At the same time, we can determine what significance is to be attached to the different positions of the small circles (left side, right side, center) and to those of the small characters placed to the left or right of the large characters. (Pl. 1b.)

In the case of the small characters, it can be determined that, when the small character is placed on the lower right side of the large character, one should, in pronouncing the word represented, begin with the reading of the small character and then move up to the large character, . When the small character is placed on the lower left side, the procedure is the reverse; that is, one should begin with the large character and move down to the small character, . When there are small characters on both the right and left side of the large character, the procedure is, as might be anticipated from what has been said already, to begin with the small character on the right, move up to the large character, and then move down again to the small character on the left, . For example,  in subclass 95 of the tooth (velar) sounds group, corresponds to the *ni-ch'ing-k'ü-na* (尼頃窟那) or "middle of spring vegetable" (151) in the *Fan-han-Ho-shih-Chang-chung-chu*, and we should therefore read the *T'ung-yin* characters from right to top to left, . However, there are a certain number of cases in which the two small characters to the left and right are actually annotations indicating that the large character is a "clan name," "personal name," "place name," "Sanskrit," "particle," "onomatope," "not current," etc.; or that, as in the case of the character, , the large character is formed by a combination of the readings of the two small characters, in this case *thiñ* (left side) and *ya* (right side), giving a reading *thya=thĩa*.

The present writer is by no means the first person to make use of the material in the *T'ung-yin*. As pointed out earlier, it was used by both Nevsky and Wang Ching-ju. But, although these scholars referred on occasion to the large divisions of the words in the *T'ung-yin*, neither of them adopted as the basis of his research the system upon which the *T'ung-yin* is based. Unless one understands and fully appreciates this system, however, it is impossible to get the full value out of phonological materials of this type.

The most valuable aspect of the *T'ung-yin* system, as far as our researches are concerned, is the fact that all the Hsi-hsia characters which are ranged between one small circle and the next—that is, which belong to one subclass—are homosyllabic, and therefore, if we can discover the phonemic form of one of them, we can automatically apply the same phonemic form to the other characters in the series. As a result, if the *T'ung-yin* system is fully exploited, the number of Hsi-hsia characters for which a phonemic form based upon reliable evidence can be postulated is greatly increased.

When the present writer took up the task of attempting to determine what criteria governed the division of the characters in the nine large groups into their respective subclasses, he was unable to discover any direct evidence of the tonal differences. For this reason, when what he had postulated as one single syllabic form kept reappearing in different subclasses within a given large group—for example, the syllable *me*, five subclasses of which appear within the heavy lip sounds group—he assumed

that, although the syllabic form of all these subclasses was the same, there must be some tonal difference which led to the division of the characters into a number of subclasses. In addition, since the existence of a table of sounds entitled *Wu-shêng-ch'ieh-yün* 五聲切韻 or *Sound Table According to the Five Tones* had been announced by Nevsky, he assumed that the Hsi-hsia tones could be classified into five groups. On this basis, he proceeded to the assumption that, to return to the example given above, the five subclasses with the syllabic form *me* represented the five tones—i.e., *me*<sup>1</sup> (subclass 4); *me*<sup>2</sup> (subclass 5); *me*<sup>3</sup> (subclass 20); *me*<sup>4</sup> (subclass 21); and *me*<sup>5</sup> (subclass 90). These, he supposed by analogy with Chinese, would be found to correspond to the high level, low level, rising, departing, and entering tones of the Hsi-hsia language.

But this hypothesis proved to be erroneous. First of all, the text known as the *Wu-shêng-ch'ieh-yün*, the writer later discovered, was not a table of Hsi-hsia sounds but a table of Chinese sounds. And, although he was unable to discover exactly how many tones the Hsi-hsia language possessed, it was obvious, on the basis of what he had discovered concerning the phonemic categories of the *Wen-hai*, with their much larger number of characters, that it did not have five tones, but probably only two, a level tone and a rising tone, or possibly three, adding to these two a departing tone. It may be well to discuss this point in some detail.

First, a word of explanation about the *Wu-shêng-ch'ieh-yün*. The work is a sound table in butterfly binding form compiled in 1173. At present, two or three texts of the work are preserved in the Soviet Institute for the Study of Asian and African Peoples, Leningrad Branch, but all of these are incomplete, consisting only of fragments. Fortunately, among these fragments are included the 36 "initials" of the Hsi-hsia characters. In the introduction to the work, it is stated that the five tones consist of the level, the rising, the departing, and the entering tone, and that level tone is divided into a "clear" and a "muddy" tone, that is, a light, high-pitched pronunciation, and a heavy, low-pitched one. The contents of the work are arranged in diagram form according to the different rhyme groups and the 36 "initials," the arrangement being the same in form as those of the *Yün-ching* 韻鏡 or *Mirror of Sounds*. An example of the sound tables already published will be found on p. 23 of the Japanese text.<sup>2</sup>

The sound values represented by this table can be automatically reconstructed without any difficulty. First of all, we can determine that (1) the Hsi-hsia initial 見 *kien* has the sound k-; (2) that the Hsi-hsia initial 溪 *k'i* has the sound kh- (high tone?); (3) that the Hsi-hsia initial 群 *kün* has the sound kh- (low tone?); (4) and that the Hsi-hsia initial 疑 *yi* has the sound ŋ-. In addition, we can postulate that the first rhyme in the Hsi-hsia language (東) has the form\* -u; that the third rhyme (鐘) has the form\* -iufi; that the

2. In the case of the sound table of the *Wu-shêng-ch'ieh-yün*, the table of the 36 "initials", the representative characters of the level tone rhymes from the *Wen-hai*, and the representative characters of the rising tone rhymes from the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, the rhyme groups of the various characters, and the basic materials from which they are taken, could not be directly consulted by the writer. He has in all cases relied upon the information found in N. Nevsky, *Tangut Phonology*, Vol. I.

ninth rhyme (支) has the form \*-iě; that the eleventh rhyme (脂) has the form\* -wiŋ; and that the twentieth rhyme (麻) has the form\* -aŋ. We can therefore combine this information with what we already know, and postulate the phonemic forms for the first to the fifth columns. It is probable that the postulated forms which we arrive at in this fashion will be supported by the various examples of these characters which are used in the *Chang-chung-chu* in the A-B correspondences. (See Japanese text p. 24.)

In the same way, the phonemic values represented by the 36 Hsi-hsia "initials" can be inferred by analogy on the basis of the filiation of the Chinese characters, and automatically postulated. (See Japanese text p. 24.) The order in which the 36 "initials" are arranged is very close to the order of the nine large groups of the *T'ung-yin*, i.e., heavy lip sounds, light lip (labiodental) sounds, tongue-tip (dental) sounds, etc. But a problem is presented by the fact that the affiliations of the representative characters within each group are not always the same as those in the *T'ung-yin*.

The present writer believes that the *Wu-shêng-ch'ieh-yün* is a table of sounds of the Chinese language that was prepared for the use of the Hsi-hsia people, not a table of sounds of the Hsi-hsia language. Because so many Chinese words and sounds (i.e., sounds of Sung period Chinese) were in use in the Hsi-hsia language of the time, it is extremely easy to imagine why such a work should have been compiled. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that if all of the work were still in existence, or if all of the existing fragments were made public, they would provide much evidence upon which to base the reconstruction of the Hsi-hsia phonemic system.

#### B. The *Wen-hai*, the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, and the Rhyme Groups of the Hsi-hsia Language

Another important group of materials for the reconstruction of the phonemic system of the Hsi-hsia language is provided by the *Wen-hai* 文海. The *Wen-hai*, which is in two *chüan*, arranges its characters first of all in large groups on the basis of differences of tone, and then within these large groups establishes smaller groups on the basis of rhyme. The first *chüan*, which covers only the "level tone" group, contains about 2,600 characters, divided into 97 rhyme groups. Attached to each character are the following three types of information: (1) a description of the construction of the character; that is, one of the eight technical terms which describe how the character is made up -e.g., the character for "mud" is composed of the radical for "water" and the character for "earth;" (2) an explanation of the meaning -e.g., "'mud' is the name for that which results when water and earth come together;" (3) an indication of the pronunciation in *fan-ch'ieh* spelling -e.g., 亂 \*ndifi is pronounced by the combination 亂 蕪 藪 \*ndiuf-sifi.

It is obvious that the form of the *Wen-hai* is modeled after that of the Chinese rhyme dictionary *Kuang-yün*. The *Wen-hai pao-yün* 文海寶韻, which is preserved in a handwritten copy, appears to have originally consisted of two sections devoted to the level tone, and the rising and departing tones (actually the rising tone?), respectively, but only the second part remains in existence. The characters belonging to the rising and

departing tones are divided into 86 rhyme groups. They therefore provide material that can be used to supplement the *Wen-hai*.

It is no very difficult task to combine the material found in these two phonological works—that is, to discover which of the 86 rhyme groups belonging to the rising tone in the *Wen-hai pao-yün* correspond to which of the 97 rhyme groups belonging to the level tone in the *Wen-hai*. To do this, the present writer first determined to which of the subclasses in the subclasses in the *T'ung-yin* the character used to represent the sound of the rhyme in the level tone and rising tone groups belonged. In doing so, he became aware that, as a rule, the representative characters were chosen from syllables that had the same initial consonant. He also found that the representative characters of the level tone rhyme groups and those of the rising tone rhyme groups either belonged to the same subclass in the *T'ung-yin*, or to two subclasses that are closely allied. This situation resembles that found in the Chinese rhymes of the *Kuang-yün*. Where there are exceptions to this rule, it may be assumed that they mean that there existed syllables which had the same initial consonant and the same rhyme, only the tones being different.

The correspondences between the representative characters of the level tone rhymes, of the rising tone rhymes, and of the subclasses of the *T'ung-yin*, will be found on pp. 27–31 of the Japanese text.

### C. The Relationship between the Rhyme Groups of the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, and the Subclasses of the *T'ung-yin*

#### i) The Nature of the Subclasses of the *T'ung-yin*: Monotonemic Groups or Polytonemic Groups

A glance at the table of correspondences on p. 27 of the Japanese text will show that the representative character of the first rhyme of the level tone and that of the first rhyme of the rising tone belong to the 29th subclass of the heavy lip sounds group of the *T'ung-yin*; that the representative character of the second rhyme of the level tone and that of the second rhyme of the rising tone belong to the 25th subclass of the tongue-tip (dental) sounds group; but that, in contrast to these, the representative character of the fifth rhyme of the level tone and that of the fifth rhyme of the rising tone belong to the 56th and 57th subclasses respectively of the teeth-tip sounds group; and that the representative character of the eighth rhyme of the rising tone and that of the seventh rhyme of the rising tone belong to the 84th and 85th subclasses respectively of the teeth-tip sounds group.

From this fact alone, it becomes apparent that the subclasses of the *T'ung-yin* are sometimes made up of both level tone and rising tone words, while at other times they contain only level tone words or only rising tone words. These distinctions are very important for the reconstruction of the phonemic form of the Hsi-hsia language, and for this reason the present writer will hereafter refer to the first type as a polytonemic group, and to the second type as a monotonemic group. In the *T'ung-yin*, when two subclasses A and B standing side by side belong to the same rhyme group, the question of whether

they are monotonemic groups or polytonemic groups becomes very important. The reason is that, if both A and B are monotonemic groups, then, just as it is possible to imagine a case in which A and B represent opposing initial consonants, it is also possible to imagine a case in which they represent initial consonants of the same kind. If the latter is the case, then it would also be possible to combine A and B into a single small group that would be polytonemic. Therefore it is necessary here to define the various types of relationships which may exist between two or more subclasses standing side by side in the *T'ung-yin*.

Type 1: Subclass A □□□□□ • Subclass B □□□□□ (exp. heavy lip 26-27)  
e.g. R level 36 (R rising 33) R level 27 (R rising 25)

A and B have no connection, but are in opposition.

Type 2: Subclass A □□□□□ • Subclass B □□□□□ (exp. heavy lip 31-32)  
e.g. R level 32 R rising 29

A and B are both monotonemic, and could be combined to form a single polytonemic group. In such a case, we may imagine that the small circle separating A and B does not exist.

Type 3: Subclass A □□□□□ • Subclass B □□□□□ (exp. heavy lip 20-21)  
e.g. R level 36, R rising 33 R level 36

In this case, A is polytonemic and B is monotonemic. If there were no small circle between A and B, we could consider A and B as fitting together to form one single polytonemic group; and if there is no clear opposition of initial consonant between A and B, this possibility becomes very much stronger.

Type 4: Subclass A □□□□□□□ • Subclass B □□ (exp. heavy lip 14-15)  
e.g. R level 20, R rising 44 R level 51

This represents a case in which the first 17 characters in subclass A form one series, while the last 3 characters combine with the 2 characters of subclass B to form another series. In such a case, the small circle dividing the two groups should actually be placed at the end of the first 17 characters.

Type 5: Subclass A □□□□ • Subclass B □□ • Subclass C □□□□  
e.g. R level 11 ? R level 11

(exp. heavy lip 1-2-3)

If there is no opposition between the initial consonant of subclasses A and C, then although we do not actually know what rhyme group subclass B belongs to, we can surmise that it contains rising tone rhyme number 10, and that subclasses A, B and C compose one polytonemic subclass. In other words, A and C have exactly the same data of transcription—for example, in the *Chang-chung-chu*, the Chinese transcription *mi* 迷 is given, and the sound is transcribed in Tibetan script as dbhiḥ, ḥbhiḥ. Furthermore, if we suppose an opposition in the initial consonant of these two subclasses, it becomes necessary to add another kind of initial consonant -e.g., in addition to p-, ph-, m-, mb-, we must add mḅ- and it is unreasonable in such cases to have to

postulate another kind of initial consonant in this fashion.

As will be clear from what has just been said, the clarification of the relationships between the various subclasses in the *T'ung-yin* constitutes a very important step in the process of reconstructing the phonemic system of the Hsi-hsia language.

ii) The Problem of the Coexistence of Different Rhymes within One Subclass

The next problem which we must examine is that raised by the fact that, within a single subclass in the *T'ung-yin*, we sometimes find characters that seem to belong to more than one rhyme group. That is, we must explain why certain rhyme groups that are distinguished from one another in the *Wen-hai* and *Wen-hai pao-yün* are not so distinguished in the *T'ung-yin*.

The present writer believes that, when this phenomenon occurs in the *T'ung-yin*, the crucial questions to ask are, (1) can we find any evidence that there is a mistake in the position of the small circle separating the rhyme groups, or that something has dropped out of the text? (2) can we explain the discrepancy by assuming that there is a difference, such as might be attributed to local dialect, between the language upon which the *T'ung-yin* is based and that upon which the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün* are based? The present writer has therefore proceeded to examine all the cases in which this phenomenon occurs, and to attempt to explain them either on the basis of a mistake or fault in the text, or a difference in the nature of the language upon which the various phonological works are based. (See Japanese text p. 33.) An example of the former type may be found in the heavy lip sounds group, in which, of R level 20 and R rising 44 of the subclass 14, the latter is identical with R level 51 of the subclass 15, so that it is clear that the small circle separating the two groups has been placed in the wrong position. (See Type 4 above.) In cases in which the coexistence of different rhymes may reasonably be explained on the basis of peculiarities of the language upon which the *T'ung-yin* is based, (for examples of which, see the Japanese text p. 33-), we can expect to find parallel features in other subclasses. The fact that such peculiarities of language exist also gives us a useful hint concerning the nature of the numerous rhyme groups into which the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün* classify their words. The various examples of the coexistence of different rhymes which result from the special nature of the language upon which the *T'ung-yin* is based have, after their phonetic value was reconstructed, been grouped under ten headings on p. 69. It is clear from the results that, on the whole, the system employed by the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün* is more elaborate than that used by the *T'ung-yin*. But it is difficult to say for certain whether this is due simply to differences in the methods of classification used by the compilers of the respective works, or whether it reflects a difference in the language upon which the works are based. It is important to note, in any event, that, as has been explained above, there are certain recognizable differences in the nature of the two types of texts.

2. The Reconstruction of the Hsi-hsia Rhyme Forms as Represented in the Various Rhyme Groups of the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün*

As already explained, if we follow the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün*, we may divide the Hsi-hsia rhymes into 97 level tone rhymes and 86 rising tone rhymes. It may seem difficult to believe that the Hsi-hsia language really had such a complicated system of rhymes, and in fact the present writer, when he began his research, strongly doubted whether this large number of rhyme groups reflected the actual phonemic system of the Hsi-hsia language. If the Hsi-hsia language belongs to the same language family as Tibetan and Burmese, one would certainly expect it to have a simpler system of rhymes. But it soon became apparent to the writer that this supposition was false. And indeed, if we revise the standards upon which we calculate the number of rhyme groups, we can produce approximately the same number of distinctions in rhyme for the Tibetan and Burmese languages as well. (See Japanese text p. 40.) Thus the 97 level tone rhymes recorded in the *Wen-hai* and the 86 rising tone rhymes recorded in the *Wen-hai pao-yün* do not in fact represent an excessively large number.

When this is understood, a very important fact comes to our attention which has to do with the meaning of the so-called "independent characters" which are found in each of the *T'ung-yin's* large sound groups. Let us take for illustration the heavy lip sounds group, which, in addition to its 147 subclasses, includes 112 characters designated as "independent characters." The present writer was aware from the beginning that these characters were in many cases used mainly to transcribe the sounds of foreign languages or to represent loan words or onomatopoes. But he did not understand why there should be such a large number of words belonging to this category in the *T'ung-yin*. But now the meaning of the "independent characters" can be made clear through the fact of the 97 level tone rhymes and the 86 rising tone rhymes. If we determine that there are four initials belonging to the group of heavy lip sounds, namely, p-, ph-, m-, and mb-; and if we then combine these consonants with each of the 97 rhymes of the level tone group, we produce a total of 348 syllables. However, this represents the largest possible number of sounds that can be produced, whereas in actual practice there are bound to be a certain number of gaps or places where a phonemic form which is possible in theory does not actually exist. If we postulate 10% as the percentage of such gaps, we get 291 as the total number of actual syllables. For this reason, if we assume that the 147 subclasses represent 147 different syllables, and that the 112 "independent characters" represent an additional 112 different syllables, we still arrive at a total of only 259 different syllables, which is less than our hypothetical total arrived at by the process explained above. In effect, then, we have adequate evidence to indicate that the "independent characters" are just what their name implies—that is, syllables for the representation of which there is only this one character. Or, to put it another way, the nature of the "independent characters" is such that we should imagine each one as being the equivalent of one of the subclasses and marked off from its neighbors by small circles.

It is impossible to imagine that the 97 level tone rhymes and the 86 rising tone rhymes all represent single vowels, and therefore the next question for us to consider is

whether we can determine what types of vowel sequences are to be found in the rhymes. The present writer has postulated three types of opposition which characterize the rhyme system as a whole: (1) a V:iV opposition, that is, an opposition of a form that has no medial vowel “i” to a form that includes an “i”; (2) a V:°V opposition, that is, an opposition of a form that has a medial “w” with one that does not have a medial “w”; these two correspond respectively to the distinction between “open mouthed sounds 開口” and “closed mouthed sounds 合口” in Chinese phonology. The third type is a V:Vfi and V:Vr opposition of a form that has no final consonant with a form that includes a voiced glottal fricative; and of a form that has a nasalized vowel with a form that has a retroflexed vowel. If we proceed on the basis of this hypothesis, then, if “V” represents the vowel “a”, then we can postulate the following sixteen different rhyme forms;

a : ia : °a : i°a : ã : iã : °ã : i°ã : afi : ia fi : °afi : i°afi : ar : iar : °ar : i°ar

If these types of opposition of form were to be found throughout all the nuclear vowels of the language, then seven vowels would be sufficient for the entire Hsi-hsia phonemic system. But in actual fact, this is not the case. For this reason, the most important problem in reconstructing the rhyme forms of the Hsi-hsia language becomes that of recognizing which forms, among the sixteen possible patterns of opposition described above, are represented in the so-called *shê* 攝 rhyme groups, that is, the rhyme groups which have the same nuclear vowel. In other words, where, among all the theoretical ly possible forms, are we to look for the gaps?

As a result, when we come to the task of reconstructing the rhyme system of the Hsi-hsia language, we must examine the following points: (1) within one rhyme group, what types of phonemic forms are expressed? (2) what rhyme groups have close connections with what other rhyme groups?—that is, what rhyme groups share the same nuclear vowel and constitute a series of *shê* rhymes? But a third problem remains, namely, (3) does one rhyme group in fact represent only one rhyme, or does it represent two or more rhymes? Since it is not always true that the rhyme group and the rhyme are the same, it is perfectly possible to imagine, for example, that a single rhyme group represents both the rhyme -v and -iv, or the rhyme -v and -°v. In addition, in this connection it is also necessary to examine the following point: (4) if the rhyme groups of the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai pao-yün* were created in imitation of those of Chinese phonological works, then would it not be possible in the case of a large part of the Hsi-hsia rhyme groups to discover what Chinese rhyme groups they correspond to? These various questions need to be considered when one comes to determine the phonetic forms of the various rhyme groups.

Since the various rhyme groups do not all have the same value as materials upon which to base the establishment of the forms of the rhymes of the Hsi-hsia language, if we are to examine each of the rhyme groups, it will pose a very difficult task; it would seem, however, that it is quite possible, by using mainly those rhyme groups for which there is reliable evidence upon which to base their reconstruction, to reconstruct an used overall systematic phonemic form for the various rhyme groups in general. The



materials used for this purpose will be confined to those expressed in the phonemic systems of Chinese or Tibetan, and so it does not necessarily follow that they give an exact recording of the Hsi-hsia sound. For this reason, in the process outlined below, emphasis has been placed on the transcription materials as well as upon the oppositional relationships of the rhyme groups as a whole. The reconstruction of the rhymes which are represented by the Hsi-hsia rhyme groups has been discussed on pp. 40-53 of the Japanese text. To give an example here, for the first level tone rhyme group and the first rising tone rhyme group, materials in the first category in most cases assign the Chinese rhyme *mu* 模韻; materials in the second category employ the Tibetan character *u*; and materials in the third category reveal that these characters were used to transcribe the Sanskrit *u*. We have no difficulty, therefore, in postulating *-u* as the sound value. This corresponds to the Chinese *tung* 東 division I.

In postulating the sound values of the various rhyme groups, they have been grouped into 22 *shê*. These various *shê* may be thought of as indicating the opposition of three typical articulations of vowels, namely, those belonging to the lax vowel series, those belonging to the tense vowel series, and those belonging to the retroflexed vowel series. That is, the 1st to the 9th *shê* represent the lax vowel series; the 11th to the 16th *shê* represent the tense vowel series; and the 17th to the 22nd *shê* represent the retroflexed vowel series. The correlations of the nucleus vowels found within each series, and the system of nucleus vowels, may be seen from the table on p. 66 of the Japanese text.

### 3. The Reconstruction of the Hsi-hsia system of Initials and the Phonemic Forms of the *T'ung-yin* Subclasses

The present writer would like here to describe the basic method which he employed in reconstructing the consonant system of the Hsi-hsia language. The oppositional relationships of the Hsi-hsia initials are clearly reflected in the oppositions represented by the divisions marking the subclasses in the *T'ung-yin*. But, as already explained above, the subclasses of the *T'ung-yin* merely indicate that there are oppositional relationships or other differences between the characters classified into the various subclasses, but they give no direct hint as to what the initial sounds of the various subclasses are. In order to discover the exact nature of the initials, we must, as a matter of course, search for help from other materials. In spite of this fact, however, the system upon which the *T'ung-yin* is based is potentially capable of making clear the system of initial consonants which exists in the Hsi-hsia language. The reason we may say this is that it is possible to postulate the following three types of relationships that exist among the oppositions of the various subclasses of the *T'ung-yin*:

1. A relationship in which the rhymes are the same but the initials are in opposition.
2. A relationship in which the initials are the same but the rhymes are in opposition.
3. A relationship in which both the initials and the rhymes are in opposition.

In order to discover the system of initials that characterized the Hsi-hsia language, it is necessary to sort out, from among the subclasses of the *T'ung-yin*, those which answer to the conditions described in categories 1 and 3 above, particularly those which bear

an oppositional relationship such as is described in the first category, and study them. Fortunately, we can determine, in a large number of cases, to which of the rhyme groups of the *Wen-hai* or the *Wen-hai pao-yün* a particular subclass of the *T'ung-yin* belongs, and therefore it is not very difficult to discover which of the subclasses in the *T'ung-yin* bear an oppositional relationship to each other such as is described in categories 1 and 3 above. For example, if we find that the first level tone rhyme can be identified in subclasses A, B and C, then unless these three subclasses represent a continuous polytonemic group, it is clear that they must bear the relationship described in the first category above, that is, that they share the same rhyme but that their initials are in opposition. We may therefore postulate a different initial for each of the three subclasses. On the basis of the same evidence, we may determine that the *T'ung-yin* observes a rule that syllables made up of a certain type of vowel and a certain type of initial are never to be found in more than one subclass. As a result of comparisons made with other transcriptional materials, the present writer has studied the specific nature of the initials which may be expected to stand in oppositional relationship to each other, and has, as a result, established 50 types of principles upon which the reconstruction of these initials should be based. The task of reconstructing the system of initials of the Hsi-hsia language, in effect, then, requires as one its steps the reconstruction of the phonemic form of the various subclasses found within the nine large groups of the *T'ung-yin*. The writer has reconstructed fifty different initials which he believes represent the initials for the large group entitled "heavy lip sounds" to "liquid sounds," and has arranged them in order in the table on p. 149 of the Japanese text. In addition, on p. 150, chapter II, section 3c, "Concerning the *Fan-ch'ieh* Spellings of the Hsi-hsia Language," he has discussed the *fan-ch'ieh* spellings which, although they have not been used as positive evidence in his work here, still provide one of the important bases upon which to reconstruct the phonemic system of the Hsi-hsia language.

### III. ANALYSIS OF HSI-HSIA CHARACTERS

#### 1. Formation of Hsi-hsia Characters

THERE is scarcely room for doubt that the Hsi-hsia characters were especially created national characters, deliberately designed by the Hsi-hsia people for the purpose of having an individual and unique form of writing with which to transcribe their own language. There is also scant room for question that the characters were invented by the Hsi-hsia themselves. The Hsi-hsia called their writing 級殺彌 \* mifi 'wir-ndifi (mifi means Hsi-hsia, wir-ndifi means writing). It is not clear whether or not the Hsi-hsia people, prior to the invention of their own script, used the characters of some other language, such as Tibetan, Uigur, or Chinese, to transcribe their language. Yet as far as is known, no source material exists which represents a transcription of the Hsi-hsia language into any other script, or even any as yet undeciphered material which might possibly represent such a transcription. Consequently, at the present stage of our knowledge, it would seem safe to say that the Hsi-hsia language was first transcribed using these characters, or possibly some form of proto-Hsi-hsia characters.

Up to now there have been various theories as to when and by whom these characters were made; however, no conclusive proof has yet been discovered. Since no references to the origin of the script have been found in Hsi-hsia literature, we are obliged to turn to Chinese sources for such information as we have.

The following four notices relate to the establishment of Hsi-hsia characters<sup>1</sup>:

- i. *Mêng-ch'i pi-t'an* 夢溪筆談, ch. 25, 雜誌 2, which attributes them to Li Yüan-hao's follower Yü-ch'i 遇乞 (Yeh-li-jên-jung? 野利任榮).
- ii. *Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-p'ien* 續資治通鑑長篇 ch. 115 under 12th month, 1036, which attributes them to Li Yüan-hao.
- iii. *Liao-shih* 遼史 ch. 115, 西夏外記, which gives Li Yüan-hao's father Tê-ming 德明 as the inventor of the characters.
- iv. *Sung-shih* 宋史 ch. 485 夏國傳, which attributes the establishment of the characters to Li Yüan-hao, and their elaboration and refinement to Yeh-li-jên-jung 野利任榮.

Lo Fu-ch'ang and Wang Ching-ju both followed the explanation as given in *Sung-shih* (iv).<sup>2</sup> Lo Fu-ch'ang felt that the attribution in *Liao-shih* (iii) of the invention of

1. Nakashima Satoshi 中島敏, "Seika ni okeru seikyokuno suii to bunka 西夏に於ける政局の推移と文化," *Tōhō Gakuhō*, Tokyo, no. 6 1936. For the Chinese text of these notices, see p. 226  
2. Lo Fu-ch'ang, *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh-shuo* 西夏國書略說; Wang Ching-ju, "Ho-hsi-tzu tsang-ching tiao-pan k'ao 河西字藏經影版考," *Hsi-hsia yen-chiu*, ser. 2, Academia Sinica, ser. A, vol. 8. 1932.

the characters to Li Tê-ming was in error. N. Nevsky held that the notice in *Liao-shih* indicated that Li Yüan-hao already knew Hsi-hsia characters as a child, and that the characters thus existed before his time. They were then revised during the reign of Yüan-hao when the characters were changed to resemble Chinese square-style writing. Nakashima Satoshi disagreed with Nevsky, maintaining that the "foreign writing 蕃書" when Yüan-hao was a child was not written in Hsi-hsia characters, but, because at that time Uigur and Tibetan tribes lived among the Tangut peoples, it was written either in Uigur or Tibetan.

Considering the conditions at the time, it is quite conceivable that Yüan-hao, as a youth, was familiar with the writing of both languages. If one follows the notices in *Sung-shih* and *Liao-shih* (assuming that here Tê-ming is an error for Yüan-hao), this interpretation would seem most acceptable. In connection with this, it should be noted that the *Hsi-hsia chi-shih pen-mo* 西夏紀事本末, ch. 10, under the year 1036, states that a follower of Yüan-hao named Yü-ch'í shut himself up alone in a tower, and after several years of work, produced the first version of the Hsi-hsia characters and presented them to Yüan-hao. Yüan-hao made certain revisions and ordered Yeh-li-jen-jung to expand them on this basis. The present writer believes that this account is an attempt to fit together the information given in the four accounts mentioned above and to resolve their differences.<sup>3</sup> One cannot categorically state, however, that in Li Tê-ming's time a writing which served as a prototype to what is now known as Hsi-hsia writing did not exist, even if it was not in general public use. In this connection, as will be discussed later, one must not overlook the importance of Khitan characters as a significant motivating force in the creation of Hsi-hsia writing. But Khitan characters did not serve as the national writing of the Hsi-hsia. In the present writer's opinion, the Hsi-hsia characters, as seen in literature still extant today, date to the period of Li Yüan-hao. In Li Tê-ming's time, it would appear that Tibetan and Chinese were the ordinary means of communication.<sup>4</sup> 1036, at any rate, was the date when the writing of the Hsi-hsia nation was publicly disseminated in a fixed form, comprising some six thousand odd characters. Consequently, the characters that are known as Hsi-hsia today date from 1036 and after, and first came into general use at this time. What then were the twelve *chüan* of works in the Hsi-hsia language described in the notices in the (vi), *Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung chien* (ii), and *Liao-shih* (iii), *Sung-shih* as having been distributed at the time? This, too, is not clear, but they may have been mainly translations from Chinese works such

3. The present writer cannot agree with the suggestion that Yü-ch'í and Yeh-li-jen-jung were actually the same person. Cf. *Nakashima, op. cit.*, p. 716.

4. It is difficult to believe that the Hsi-hsia had no system of writing at all during the period from the time they became an independent nation until they devised their own characters. The present writer believes that either Tibetan or Chinese, more probably the latter, was used as the ordinary medium of communication. In the earliest works written in the Hsi-hsia characters, we find frequent quotations from Chinese or the use of Chinese loan words, and a single Hsi-hsia character had not only a Hsi-hsia reading, but a Chinese pronunciation as well, all of which would seem to support this assumption.

as the *Classic of Filial Piety* or the *Erh-ya*.<sup>5</sup> Such phonological texts and dictionaries as the *Tsa-tzu* 雜字 and the *Wen-hai* 文海 were probably produced at a somewhat later date.

## 2. Hsi-hsia and Khitan Characters

Hsi-hsia characters at first glance look remarkably much like Chinese characters, so that it is natural to assume that they were modeled after them. But there are some who would doubt this assumption; for from the tenth to eleventh centuries among the writings used in the central part of the Asiatic continent, there was one other script other than Chinese, which resembled Hsi-hsia. This was the writing of the Khitan. It is scarcely possible to deny that the Hsi-hsia, if they did not actually imitate it directly, at least created their writing with reference to that of the Khitan. Pien Hung-ju 卞鴻儒, in an essay entitled “Ch'i-tan kuo-shu mu-chih-pa<sup>6</sup> 契丹國書墓誌跋” writes:

“The writings of the Khitan, Jurchen, and Hsi-hsia all closely resembled Chinese characters because these nations lay adjacent to China. Yet in pronunciation and meaning they were different, and in this point the national writings of these three countries were comparatively closely related to each other. The lands of the Khitan and the Hsi-hsia were adjacent and in 986 Chi-ch'ien 繼遷, the Hsi-hsia lord, went to Liao, and for three generations afterwards the Hsi-hsia from time to time received patents from the Liao. Since later the prince of Liao sent an envoy, and relations between the countries became frequent, it would have been easy for the Khitan writing to have spread among the Hsi-hsia. . . . . One cannot determine precisely at just what time the Hsi-hsia writing was established, but a fairly safe estimate can be made. Tê-ming, the father of Yüan-hao, took a Khitan wife, and would thereby have had the opportunity of learning the national writing of the Khitan. It would be quite understandable then, that during Yüan-hao's reign, the need to develop a national writing should have been felt. It is quite natural to assume that the impetus for the creation of their own writing stemmed from the knowledge that Khitan characters existed. Hsi-hsia characters borrowed the brush stroke from the Chinese and each character had a meaning in itself, so that they do not resemble Khitan characters very closely. From this one can tell that they came later than Khitan characters, and represented a more advanced form of writing.”

One must indeed consider the existence of Khitan characters as a highly important motivating force in the establishment of the Hsi-hsia writing. Yet, in this writer's

5. Since, as explained in the note above, Chinese was probably the common written language until the invention of the Hsi-hsia characters, the most widely known Chinese works were probably chosen for translation in order to demonstrate the nature of the new characters. At present, fragments of Hsi-hsia translations of the *Analects*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, the *Sun Tzu* 孫子, the *Liu-t'ao* 六韜, and the *Chên-kuan chêng-yao* 貞觀政要 are still extant. It is also possible that translations from Tibetan were included among the twelve *chüan* of Hsi-hsia works mentioned above.
6. Chin Yü-fu 金毓黻, *Liao-ling shih-k'o chi-lu* 遼陵石刻集錄, ch. 6, Fêng-t'ien Library, 1934.

opinion, it was a motivating force and that alone; he cannot accept the hypothesis that there was any direct connection between the two. Although a slight possibility that the Hsi-hsia characters may have imitated the character form of Khitan writing exists, it is not conceivable that the Hsi-hsia imitated or borrowed the principle on which Khitan characters were constructed.

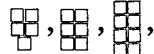
In the first place, whereas the system of Khitan written characters may be presumed to have been a mixture of phonetic and semantic elements, the Hsi-hsia written words are almost entirely semantic, and do not contain a mixture of phonetic elements.

In addition, differences between the linguistic structure of Hsi-hsia and Khitan are reflected in their respective writing systems, so that the way in which the characters are formed are quite different in the two cases. For example, in Khitan we find the following contrasting forms:

- |        |                             |        |                                    |
|--------|-----------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|
| 1. 主 王 | “emperor”                   | 2. 主 𠂇 | “of the emperor”                   |
| 3. 𠂇   | “emperor’s younger brother” | 4. 𠂇   | “of the emperor’s younger brother” |

The element 𠂇 which is found in forms 2 and 4 above expresses a state of attribution, and is combined directly with the characters in 1 and 3, being written either at the right side or the bottom. Hsi-hsia, likewise, has a character to express the attributive, 𠂇, but it is not combined directly with the character it modifies, but is written separately: Thus in Hsi-hsia we find:

- |        |           |          |                  |
|--------|-----------|----------|------------------|
| 1. 𠂇 𠂇 | “emperor” | 2. 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 | “of the emperor” |
| 3. 𠂇   | “I”       | 4. 𠂇 𠂇   | “my”             |

In connection with this fact, it should also be pointed out that, if we examine the different patterns in which the character elements are combined in the writing systems of Khitan and Hsi-hsia, we can identify 44 different patterns in the case of Hsi-hsia, but only 11 patterns in the case of Khitan, and among these 11 are included 4 patterns, , which have no counterpart in the Hsi-hsia characters.

In the second place, whereas quite frequently in Khitan, semantic characters may be presumed to represent borrowing and modifications of Chinese characters, it is obvious that Hsi-hsia characters possess their own individual form. This can be readily observed in the following chart:<sup>7</sup>

	emperor	year	country	heaven	large	word	same	moon
Chinese character	皇帝	年	國	天	太	辭	同	月
Khitan character	主 王	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇
Hsi-hsia character	𠂇 𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇

7. In connection with the study of the Khitan characters, based on the above mentioned *Liao-ling shih-k'o chi-lu*, see Murayama Shichirō, *Kitanji kaidoku no hōhō*, in *Gengo kenkyū* Nos. 17, 18; 1951; and Osada Natsuki, *Kitan monji kaidoku no kanōsei*, in *Kōbe Gaidai ronsō*, Vol. 2 No. 4, 1951. After Lo Fu-ch'eng, *op. cit.* See also Tamura Jitsuzō 田村實造 and Kobayashi Yukio 小林行雄, *Keiryō 慶陵, Tombs and Mural Paintings of Ch'ing-ling*, vol. I, Kyoto University, Kyoto 1953.

	one	two	three	four	six	seven	eight	ten
Chinese character	一	二	三	四	六	七	八	十
Khitan character	𐰇	𐰆	𐰇	𐰇	𐰆	𐰇	𐰆	𐰇
Hsi-hsia character	𐰇	𐰆	𐰇	𐰇	𐰆	𐰇	𐰆	𐰇

The above two facts obviate the chance of any success in trying to establish a relationship between the form of the elements and the principles or composition of Khitan and Hsi-hsia characters. As will be discussed later, Hsi-hsia characters borrowed a part of the principles along which Chinese characters are composed, and applied them in establishing their own writing. Although doubts might to some extent be occasioned by their resemblance in shape to Chinese characters, one would nevertheless be safe in saying that, on the whole, the form of their writing system was created independently by the Hsi-hsia peoples themselves.

### 3. Construction of Hsi-hsia Characters

The present writer has been able to bring Hsi-hsia characters together into "character types," since they possess, in the same way as do Chinese characters, character groups containing mutually similar elements. Thus upon analyzing the characters, it is possible to detect a certain number of minimal units. Yet it is practically impossible to infer a certain phonetic value for all the minimal units that have been identified, and to apply them throughout the whole range of Hsi-hsia characters.

Bernhardi and Zach, in their attempts to analyze Hsi-hsia characters, set up the following classifications:<sup>9</sup>

1. 𐰇 dient zur Umschreibung von „ch‘u“ und „shu‘.“
2. 𐰆 dient zur Umschreibung von „po‘.“
3. 𐰇 bedeutet „König“ und muss (nach Laufer) „ghu“ gesprochen werden.
4. 𐰇 ist eine hinter dem Hauptwort stehende Dativepartikel (tibetisch „bu“).
5. 𐰇 hat die Bedeutung „Sohn“ (tibet. „bu“).
6. 𐰇 steht wie 5) manchmal für „putra“ in Śariputra
7. 𐰇 ist offenbar der Phonetische Bestandteil in allen diesen Zeichen.

Let us now see whether the inferences that Bernhardi and Zach drew concerning the phonetic elements of characters with the common element 𐰇 are permissible. Based on the present writer's system of reconstruction, the inferred phonetic forms of the same characters are as follows:

1. 𐰇 \*šufi (*T'ung-ying*) Real-dental sounds" group, subclass 獨字 40B7 transcription of Sanskrit śu, large characters at Chü-yung kuan, etc.

8. Most likely borrowed from the Chinese '主王'.

9. Bernhardi A. and E. von Zach, "Einige Bemerkungen über Si-hia-Schrift und-Sprache," *Orientalische Zeitschrift* 7, 1919, pp. 232-238.

2. 脛 \*pɔfi (T'ung-ying) "Heavy-lip sounds" group, subclass 22 3B7 (*Chang-chung-chu*) 播: transcription of Chinese 菩 in 菩提, 菩薩 etc.
3. 席 \*nrefi (T'ung-ying) "Tongue-tip sound" group, subclass 96 16A2 (*Chang-chung-chu*) 寧 "king."
4. 脛 \*ʔyefi (T'ung-ying) "Throat sounds" group, subclass 4 41B6 (*Chang-chung-chu*) 耶, 盈, bound word, indicating the genitive etc.
5. 脛 \*ŋgifi (T'ung-ying) "Tooth sounds" group, subclass 43 23A1 (*Chang-chung-chu*) 亘 comparable to the "子" in "君子," "佛子," etc.
6. The character which corresponds to 脛, the putra in Śāriputra, is the same character in 5) above. This character is probably a miswriting of 5).
7. 脛 is definitely an element which is common to all the above five characters; however, we cannot say that each of these characters possesses a common phonetic element.

Despite this, there are not a few instances in other character groups where it may be presumed that one character performs the function of the phonetic element of another character. Thus, among Hsi-hsia characters, a considerable number exist which bear a construction similar to the Chinese phonetic compound type (諧聲).

The present writer believes that even though complicated characters such as these were used only by a comparatively limited number of people, that they were used at all owes itself to connecting elements operating within the whole range of the characters, which are considerably broader than has hitherto been imagined. In Hsi-hsia characters it is important to discover the elements from which one given character has been constructed, but before this is done, the overall relationship of the characters as a whole must be brought to light.

The most obvious procedure is first to establish how many basic characters there are and then to determine the associated characters which derive from these basic characters. If characters B.C., for example, contain all the elements of character A, then we can presume that A is the basic character and that B.C. derive from it. Let us briefly examine character groups I, II, and III.

Group I.	A. 脛	B. 脛	C. 脛
Group II.	A. 覿	B. 覿	C. 覿
Group III.	A. 鞞	B. 鞞	C. 鞞

B and C in group I contain all the elements of A. The same is true in groups II and III. But just on this basis alone we cannot determine positively that B and C are derived from A. This is because we do not have a clue to decipher the process of derivation which took place among the characters. Actually, in these instances, we do have this clue. In group I, A has the phonemic form \*nrɪɸ and means "ear," B is \*nifi "to hear," C has the sound form \*miɸfi, and together they mean "[I] hear." In group II, A is \*lefi "to see," B is \*kiu "to observe," C is \*me "to survey." In group III, the phonemic forms and meanings: A, \*lifi, "wind," B, \*lifi "pine," and C, \*lifi "?" can be



inferred. Thus in groups I and II it is clear that the characters as a whole associated on the basis of meaning and in group III on the basis of phonemic form. In instances such as the above, when an associating clue is demonstrable, we shall refer to characters which fit the conditions of A as “basic characters” and those that fit the conditions of B and C as “derivative characters.” To be specific, in the above examples, in group I, B is derived by attaching the radical 彡 to the left and C by adding 丩 to the top. In groups II and III “derivative characters” are similarly obtained by the addition, in each instance, of different elements.

In the association of “basic characters” with “derivative characters,” five kinds of relations can be distinguished.

- A) Association by a phonemic form common to both characters. In this instance the “derivative character” is a so-called “phonetic compound type 形聲文字 character” which includes the “basic character” as a phonemic element (group III above). see Japanese text. p. 233.
- B) Association by virtue of a common semantic field. In this instance the “derivative character” is a so-called “ideograph” which has the same semantic element as the “basic character” (groups I and II above).

These can be subdivided on the basis of three varying conditions:

- i) The “derivative character” is composed of two “basic characters.”  
Exp., a combination of 隹 “high” and 阝 “earth” makes 隄 “wall,” ;  
a combination of 覷 “to see” and 肱 “grain” makes “autumn” 穰 .
- ii) The “derivative character” is composed of one “basic character” and one element from another character, which serves as the phonetic element.  
Exp., a combination of 𠂔 “soft” and the top part of 𠂔 “iron” makes 𠂔 “tin.”
- iii) The “derivative character” is composed of one “basic character” and a character element whose meaning is not clear.  
Exp., a combination of 𠂔 “to cut” and 丩 makes 𠂔 “to separate,” a ;  
combination of 𠂔 “finger” and 𠂔 makes 𠂔 “to fasten”

Instances of i) are not uncommon, and those fitting conditions ii) and iii) are fairly frequently encountered. For convenience, this type has been designated as a “borrowed-meaning character” 借意文字.

- C) Association by both a common meaning and a common phonemic form; for example, 𠂔 \*<sup>n</sup>dzifi “to erect” and 𠂔 \*<sup>n</sup>dzifi “pillar.” In this instance the “derivative character” has the phonemic-semantic elements of the “basic character,” and words transcribed according to such characters can be considered to have, in most cases, the same morpheme.
- D) Not infrequently a “derivative character” is formed by replacing one element of a “basic character” with a different element. Such characters can be divided into four types, based on the following two criteria, together with the attendant conditions under which the characters are joined.

- Criteria      a) Takes the “basic character” as the phonemic element.  
                   b) Takes the “basic character” as the semantic element.
- Conditions    1) When the meaning of the element which has been replaced  
                   is known.  
                   2) When the meaning of the element which has been replaced  
                   is not known.

The following are examples of these four types:

- ai) 𣶒 \*rar “spring”: Takes 𣶒 \*rar “to flow” as the phonemic element changing the right hand element to 彡 “thing classifiable under water.”
- aii) 𣶒 “endurance”: Takes 𣶒 \*ɸzi “to put on(outer garments)” as the phonemic element, replacing the right hand element with 彡 “?”
- bi) 𣶒 “writing brush”: Takes 𣶒 \*ndifi “written character,” as the semantic element with the right hand element of 𣶒 “to write.”
- bii) 𣶒 \*lofi “pair”: Takes 𣶒 \*nhi “two,” as the semantic element, replacing the left hand element 𣶒 with 𣶒.

Among these combinations, types ai) and aii) are fairly common. These types of “derivative character” may also be called “phonemic compound type” and “borrowed-meaning characters.”

E) In addition, a group of characters is found which has a relationship based on the transposition of the elements on the left or right side of the character.

Examples are:

- “large” 𣶒 and “large, thick” 𣶒                      “earth” (坤) 𣶒 and “earth” (地) 𣶒 ,
- “lightning” 𣶒 and “to flash” 𣶒                      “water” 𣶒 and “fish” 𣶒 ,
- “primary cause” (因) 𣶒 and “secondary cause” (緣) 𣶒 ,
- “prison” (牢) 𣶒 and “prison” (獄) 𣶒 ,      “to steal” 𣶒 and “thief” 𣶒 ,
- “drive back” (退) 𣶒 and “expel” (除) 𣶒 , etc.

It is difficult, in this type of character, to determine which is the “basic” and which the “derivative” character. These probably correspond with those characters in Chinese whose sound form changes accompanying the change in meaning (轉注文字). Here they have arbitrarily been assigned the name “symmetrical characters.” Of course, there are instances in which “symmetrical characters” are themselves derived from “basic characters.”

#### 4. Simple Characters, Compound Characters; and Character Elements.

From the above it may be seen that Hsi-hsia characters may be placed in three major divisions: “basic characters,” “derivative characters,” and “symmetrical characters,” and “derivative characters” may, in turn, be divided into “phonemic compound type” and

“borrowed-meaning characters.” Now let us take the argument one step further forward. The determination that a given character is a “basic character” derives from the fact that no other character is included in it. Proof that a given character is a “derivative character” is obtained by ascertaining that another character or part of another character is contained within it. But in order to make clear the basis which determines whether a character is “basic” or “derivative,” it is first necessary to arrive at a definition of the meaning of “character.”

Here “character” is used in the sense of the so-called “ideograph”, and indicates that one character as a whole represents, in a certain context, a single, independent, isolated semantic unit, and does not include two or more independent semantic units. Thus, in the examples previously given “ear” 聃 and “to see” 覿, etc. are all “characters.” “To hear” 聽 and “to observe” 覷, even though they contain the elements 聃 and 覿 respectively, are both “characters,” because the element 聃 contained in both does not have an independent meaning, and is never used standing alone by itself. The character for “autumn” 穉 can be broken down into “grain” 𥝌 and “to see” 覿; however, since the character as a whole has the independent meaning, “autumn,” it may also be classified as a “character.” In order to distinguish characters such as this from those for “ear” and “to hear,” etc., the latter may be termed “simple characters,” and the former “compound characters.”

One “simple character” can be broken down into several elements or clusters of elements. For example, “ear” 聃 upon analysis is found to be composed of elements 耳 and 巛, and element 巛 may in turn be broken down into elements 丨, 冫; and 匕; “to see” 覿 is made up of elements 睪 and 見, and 見 is itself made up of elements 見 and 儿.

These elements, however, are not themselves used independently and do not represent a special, independent meaning. The present writer refers to them as “character elements,” and at the present stage of his studies finds that in all some 348 kinds are used in Hsi-hsia characters (see p. 236, Japanese text). There are not a few instances in which these “character elements” indicate generic semantic categories. For example, 水 indicates “things classifiable under water,” 金 “metals,” 土 “earth,” 木 “trees,” 艸 “vegetables,” 艹 “plants,” 鳥 “birds,” 馬 “horses,” 言 “words,” etc. Since these elements do not stand alone and have no independent meaning, they cannot be classified as “characters.”

It is possible to surmise that some of these character elements may have derived from others. (See Japanese text p. 238.) Among these elements, there are 35 which can also stand alone as separate characters. This fact does not conflict with our definition of a character element given above. For example, the character element 𥝌 can stand alone as an independent character with the meaning “grain”; at the same time, it can function as a character element, combining with a number of other characters and acting as a clue to the meaning. (see Japanese text p. 241.)

From this fact it is possible to surmise that most of the other character elements,

though they cannot stand alone as independent characters to express a concrete meaning, nevertheless serve in most cases to indicate certain broad categories of meaning. In other words, they correspond to the radicals in Chinese. Needless to say, there are many cases in which the categories indicated by the radicals in Chinese and those indicated by the character elements in Hsi-hsia do not correspond exactly. Nevertheless, it is usually possible, by examining all the Hsi-hsia characters that contain a certain character element, to discern a certain common area of meaning, just as it is by examining all the Chinese characters which have the same radical. And where this can be done, we may state hypothetically that this particular area of meaning is the one which is indicated by the character element. The writer has listed the character elements or radicals to which, on this basis, it is possible to assign a meaning, and has given them tentative names. (See Japanese text p. 241.)

Hsi-hsia characters are formed in one of four different ways: 1) one "character element"; 2) a combination of two or more "character elements"; 3) one "character" and one or more "character elements"; 4) one "character" with one or more different "characters." As a general rule, then, "basic characters" are composed following 1) and 2) above; "derivative characters" on the basis of 3) and 4); and "symmetrical characters" on the basis of 1), 2), or 3).

For the forty-four patterns in which "character elements" are combined, (see p. 246, Japanese text.)

As a result of his studies up to now, the author has identified forty-four patterns into which character elements are combined. Thus, the character forms of Hsi-hsia characters were determined according to the following four considerations:

- 1) By selection from among the various character elements (by determining which elements among the 348 different kinds, were to be used. Exp., for "water" 𣵀, the elements 𣵀, 𣵁, 𣵂, and 𣵃 were selected).
- 2) By determining the number of character elements to be used (by selecting how many—from between one and six—character elements were to be used. Exp., For "water" four elements were selected).
- 3) By determining the pattern in which the character elements were to be arranged (by selecting which among the forty-four types was to be used. For "water" the pattern 𣵀 (type D2) was selected.
- 4) By determining the actual arrangement of the character elements within a given pattern (for example, "water" 𣵀 and "fish" 𩺰 are the same under considerations 1), 2), and 3), but under consideration 4), by the transposition of the character elements 𣵀 and 𣵃, different meanings are given to each character).

The initial step taken in investigations of the construction of Hsi-hsia characters was to isolate, within a large group of Hsi-hsia characters, a common "character element" which might be presumed to indicate a special semantic category, and then to relate this element to the corresponding Chinese radical. Up to now Lo Fu-ch'ang has made the major contribution to this phase of the study of the Hsi-hsia character.

In the first edition of his *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh-shuo* 西夏國書略說, he determined the radicals of eleven Hsi-hsia characters, equating them with the Chinese. His contributions to the study of the language were of enormous value, yet the twenty-three radicals he identified represent only a small portion of the total number. Even though one picks out a series of "character elements," identifies them as radicals, and gathers together examples, it will shed little light on the principles of the composition of Hsi-hsia characters. For example, 𪛗 belongs to *T'ung-yin* "Tongue-tip sounds" group (19B6) and has subscribed character 𪛗 to the right. Since an example of its use is found in *Chang-chung-chu* (332) as 𪛗 𪛗 "nipple," by going through the procedures for the reconstruction of the Hsi-hsia phonemic form, based on the transcription in Chinese *ti-t'o* 底托 (底 is a mistake for 李 *po*) and other materials, the phonemic form \*puŋtʰu can be inferred. The first character 𪛗 has the "character element" 𪛗 which can be identified with the Chinese radical "water". From this fact alone it can readily be surmised that it indicates some thing or circumstance associated with liquids. Knowing that the character means "milk," the meaning of this "character element" becomes a bit more clear. However, just because the radical is known does not mean that the meaning of the character is understood. We must now determine what the relationship between the form 𪛗 and "milk" is, without taking the "character element" 𪛗 into consideration.

In other words, is this "character" composed of "character elements" 𪛗 and 𪛗, or is it composed of "character element" 𪛗 and "character" 𪛗? To determine this we must first investigate whether this is a "basic character" or a "derivative character." Since we have other examples of the use of 𪛗, such as 𪛗 𪛗 "not the same" in ch. 41, *Avatamsaka sūtra*, we know its meaning is "same"; from the Chinese transcription in *Chang-chung-chu* (091), we can determine that its phonemic form was \*thU. Consequently we can conclude that 𪛗 was a "character." This "character," of course, is composed of "character elements" 𪛗 and 𪛗, but these "character elements" do not indicate an independent meaning of their own. Therefore, 𪛗 may be considered as a "basic character" (type 1).

𪛗, meaning "milk", is thus derived from the "basic character" 𪛗, which means "same." This is then a "derivative character" of type 2. That this derivation occurred is known from the fact that they both had the phonemic form \*thU. We can thus arrive at the conclusion that "milk" is a "phonemic compound type" character, deriving its phonemic element from "same."

On the other hand, "nipple" 𪛗 \*puŋtʰu is similarly a "character" belonging to type 2, and is made up of the "character element" 𪛗 "things classifiable under mouth" and the "character" 𪛗 \*puŋtʰu "to chew (?)" (*T'ung-yin* subscribed character 𪛗 "tooth"). Therefore we know that this character is a "derivative character," taking its phonemic element from "chew (?)" \*puŋtʰu.

A further example is found under "Tongue-tip sounds" group (17A6) 𪛗 𪛗 in *T'ung-yin*. The same example is in *Chang-chung-chu* (125), translated in Chinese as "flood,"

and transcribed with the Chinese characters 𠂇移則那. Thus its phonemic form can be reconstructed as \*ʔzɪr naw 𠂇 “water,” as mentioned above, is a “symmetrical character,” paired with 𠂇 “fish,” and is a “character” belonging to type 1.

Again, 𠂇 “to overflow” can be broken down into the “character element” 𠂇 “things classifiable under water” and the “character” 𠂇 “to fear.” Consequently, it is clear that this is a “borrowed-meaning character,” being made up of “water” and “terrifying.” 𠂇 is a “derivative character” belonging to type 2. Similarly 𠂇 “to fear” can be presumed to be a type 2 “derivative character,” made up of the “character element” 𠂇 “trees” and the character 𠂇 “is not.” In this instance, however, the relationship of “trees” and “is not” with “to fear” is not clear.

Under *Tung-yin* “Heavy-lip sounds” group (6B7) the character 𠂇 appears, to which is attached on the right the subscribed character 𠂇. From an example in the *Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang ching* 金光明最勝王經, (*Suvarṇaprathāsottamasūtra*) ch. 6, we know that this combination 𠂇𠂇 means “hunger and thirst” (Tib. mu-ge). Because the character 𠂇 “to thirst” contains within it the character 𠂇, it can be broken down into the two units 𠂇 and 𠂇. The meaning of 𠂇 \*safi cannot be verified, but because this character is classified under the “Teeth-tip sounds” group (29B3) and has the subscribed character 𠂇 “serious illness (?)” to the right (this is a “derivative character” from the “basic character” 𠂇 “heavy”; it is classified under the “Aspirated sounds” group (54B1) with the character 𠂇 “to be ill” \*ŋoʃi subscribed to the right), it may perhaps mean a “kind of fever.” This character can also be broken down into “character elements” 𠂇 and 𠂇. Consequently, “to thirst” can ultimately be broken down into these three “character elements,” each of which indicates a special category of meaning. 𠂇 means “things classifiable under mouth,” 𠂇 means “things classifiable under water,” and 𠂇 means “nothing.” Thus, on the basis of its “character elements,” “to thirst” means “there is no water in the mouth.” However, on the basis of its construction, it must be considered a “derivative character” (“borrowed-meaning character”), taking its semantic element from 𠂇. On the other hand 𠂇 “to be hungry” can be broken down into the “character elements” 𠂇 and 𠂇. 𠂇 is actually a representation of 𠂇 “belly,” and 𠂇 is a representation of 𠂇 “empty.” This character can also be treated as a “derivative character” of 𠂇 “belly.” By joining of “belly” and “empty,” “to be hungry” is arrived at. (cf. 𠂇 \*liu “stomach,” which is made up of “belly” and “container.”)

There are not a few instances in Hsi-hsia characters where one of the “character elements” provides the meaning for the “character” as a whole, as in the examples given above where 𠂇 “nothing” represents 𠂇 and 𠂇 represents 𠂇 “belly.”

Below are typical examples of this type of representation. Here 𠂇 represents “negation” 𠂇.

\*dzɪ 𠂇 “to gather” negates 𠂇, the representation of 𠂇 “nothing.”

\*tɪ 𠂇 “to remember” negates 𠂇 “to forget.” 𠂇 is a combination of 𠂇 “mind” and 𠂇 “nothing.”

- \*Hīəw 懈 “to doubt” negates 鞞 “to believe.”  
 \*ndiē 悞 “fixed” negates 艾 “to move.”  
 \*sā 颯 “to disperse” negates 颯 “to gather.”  
 \*kiē 悞 “short” negates 鞞 “long.”  
 \*Tīafi 悞 “negation of relation” negates 鞞 “there is....”

### 5. The *Wen-hai Tsa-lei* 文海雜類—Analysis by a Hsi-hsia Native







At this stage it is necessary to consider how a Hsi-hsia native conceived the Hsi-hsia characters to be constructed. A book which contains such an analysis, the *Wên-hai tsa-lei*, exists, and although the present writer has not as yet had the opportunity to examine it at first hand, a part of it has been made available by N. Nevsky and Lo Fu ch'êng.<sup>10</sup>

Pertinent examples have been selected and are quoted below:

- A. 鞞 鞞 鞞 鞞 “China” 鞞 is composed of *all* of “China” 鞞 and the *right hand* (旁) portion of “?” 鞞 .  
 B. 鞞 鞞 鞞 鞞 “heavy” 鞞 is composed of the *top* of “stone” 鞞 and the *lower part* (底) “to sink” 鞞 .  
 C. 鞞 鞞 鞞 鞞 “to flash” 鞞 is composed of the *left hand* portion of “lightening” 鞞 and the *left hand* (偏) portion of “thunder” 鞞 .  
 D. 鞞 鞞 鞞 鞞 “claw” 鞞 is “clerk” 鞞 with “man” 鞞 removed (除).  
 E. 鞞 鞞 鞞 鞞 “to fall” 鞞 is composed of the (*left*) *lower part* (底) of “to come” 鞞 and the (*left*) *lower part* of “to go” 鞞 .  
 F. 鞞 鞞 鞞 鞞 “to be hungry” 鞞 is composed of the *left hand* (偏) portion of “belly” 鞞 and the *center* of “empty” 鞞 .

Examining this text, it is seen that the Hsi-hsia used eight different terms when describing the construction of their characters. If we are to examine Hsi-hsia characters on the basis of these principles of construction, it is necessary to note that these eight terms fall into two distinct classes.

The first class contains the following six terms:

- 1) “left hand” 鞞 The character element on the left hand side , examples C) F) above.
- 2) “right hand” 鞞 The character element on the right hand side  A).
- 3) “center” 鞞 The character element in the center  F).
- 4) “head” 鞞 The character element in the upper part  B).
- 5) “lower part” 鞞 The character element in the lower part  B) E).
- 6) “enclosure” 鞞 The character element standing on the upper and left hand side  .

10. Nevsky, N., “Concerning Tangut Dictionaries,” in *Kanō kyōju kanreki kinen Shinagaku ronsō* 狩野教授還曆記念支那學論叢 pp. 27-41; Lo Fu-ch'êng, “Wen-hai tsa-lei” *Hsi-hsia-wen-chuan-hao* 西夏文專號, Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an 國立北平圖書館刊.

These are the names used to designate the position of each "character element," which are recognized when a "character" is subjected to analysis.

The following two terms are of a considerably different nature:

- 7) "all" 𠄎 Designates the character as a whole. A).  
 8) "to take away" 𠄎 Indicates that a "character element" has been removed from a character. The case of C) in the above examples.

Thus 7) is used when a "derivative character" is explained in terms of a "basic character," and 8) when a "basic character" is explained in terms of the "derivative" one. For example, A) above is explained as a character in which "character element" 𠄎 is added to "basic character" 𠄎 to form "derivative character" 𠄎, and B) is explained as a character in which the "character element" 𠄎 has been taken from the "derivative character" 𠄎 to make the "basic character" 𠄎.

These explanations are adequate; however such explanations as 𠄎 "to flash" is composed of the left hand portion of 'lightning' and the left hand portion of 'thunder' C), and "to fall" is composed of the left lower portion of 'to come' and the left lower portion of 'to go' E), indicate that the *Wen-hai tsa-lei* deals largely with the semantic content of the characters and to a large extent does no more than analyze the "character elements" included in a character. In other words, the book leaves a strong impression of having been designed to serve as a convenient reference work for the learning of Hsi-hsia characters, rather than as a text detailing the principles of the construction of these characters. According to the present writer's analysis, "to flash" is associated with "thunder" as a "symmetrical character," and bears no direct relationship with "lightning." Again, "to fall" is a "basic character," and "to come" and "to go," which are used in explanation of it, are "derivative characters" taking their semantic elements from "to fall." Moreover, "to come" and "to go" are "symmetrical characters."

The explanation of Hsi-hsia characters by a native of the Hsi-hsia nation, as given in *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, serves as highly important source material, but one cannot say that all the explanations given are correct. In explaining Hsi-hsia characters, we must first determine of what "character elements" a given character is composed and in what way they are brought together. Furthermore, it is necessary to make clear from which "basic character" a given character is derived and what the clue to its derivation is. To discover these things is the responsibility of students of the Hsi-hsia language. It is a great mistake indeed to think that if one does not use the explanation of the characters as given in the *Wen-hai tsa-lei*, one will not be able to explain the construction of Hsi-hsia characters.

Perhaps one of the reasons that it was necessary for the *Wen-hai tsa-lei* to explain characters according to the method described above, was that—in addition to its having been designed chiefly as an aid to learning the characters—the "character elements" as a whole had, at the time the book was written, yet to be completely organized. Although we know that "character element" 𠄎 was called 𠄎 \*dzufi "man" (example



D), above), each of the "character elements" did not have a name as such. This can be considered as an additional factor which governed the manner in which explanations were given in the *Wen-hai tsa-lei*.

## 6. Hsi-hsia and Chinese Characters

As previously mentioned, a study of the over-all relationship of Hsi-hsia characters brings to light the general principles on which these characters were constructed. It has been inferred that there were 348 character elements, which can be joined to make forty-four different combination patterns. As a result we know that the principles of character construction consist in borrowing the phonemic or semantic element of a "basic character" and using it to form any number of "derivative characters." In this the Hsi-hsia characters resemble the Chinese, but the varieties of character elements and the types into which they are combined clearly indicate that the Hsi-hsia constructed their characters from their own independent standpoint. For example, the Chinese characters 銅 "copper," 錫 "tin," 鋼 "hard iron," 針 "needle" are composed by aligning (horizontally) the metal radical "金" with the phonetic elements "同," "易" "岡," and "十." On the other hand, in the Hsi-hsia characters 𨾏, 𨾐, 𨾑, 𨾒, the "metal radical" 𨾏 and 𨾐 "red" makes "copper," the "metal radical" and 𨾑 "soft" makes "tin," "metal radical" and 𨾒 "superior" the makes "hard iron"; and the "metal radical" and 𨾓 "thin" makes "needle." Thus, the characters are formed by combining (vertically) two semantic elements.

The method of reasoning used by the Hsi-hsia in the construction of their characters is of extreme interest, and one can come to more meaningful conclusions about it than one can concerning the reasoning that lay behind the construction of Chinese characters. The specific characteristics of the Hsi-hsia reasoning method will gradually become clear when we solve the riddle of why a given group of characters has a certain character form in common. Why, for instance, do 𨾏 "leopard," 𨾐 "tiger," and 𨾑 "bear" have in common the character form 𨾏 "?" This question can be readily answered because we know of the existence of the character 𨾏 "terrifying," which also has this same form. Yet solutions are not all so simple as this. Although we know that 𨾏 "belly," 𨾐 "pitcher" and 𨾑 "grave" have in common the form 𨾏, it would be difficult, thinking in terms of Chinese characters, to determine in what way these characters are connected. Once we know, however, that the form common to these three characters means "a type of container" our problem is solved. Thus, "belly" is "stomach container," "pitcher" is "water container," and "grave" is "earth container." Consequently, it is possible to infer the meaning of a given character element or a given combination of character elements. By a comparison with already known characters, the meaning of a given character element can be determined or inferred, and in this way the meaning of an as yet unreadable character (made up of these various character elements) can gradually be deciphered. Let us look at the fol-

lowing examples:

Let us suppose that the meaning of character 𩇛 is unknown. To begin with, it can be broken down into the character elements 彡, 𠂔, and 匕. 彡 is the left hand portion of 辨 “front” and 𠂔 forms the central and right hand part of 𩇛 “head.” Therefore, we can provisionally assume, on the basis of its character elements, that it represents “the front (part) of the head.” Next, to verify this assumption, we turn to the subscribed character which is associated with this character in *Tung-yin* and indicates the semantic relationship. Under “Tongue-tip sounds” group we find the subscribed character (in this instance to the right) 𩇛 “face.” We are thus able to determine that this character means: “front part of the head; face.” Quite frequently, by using the subscribed characters in *Tung-yin*, the author has been able to verify his inferences regarding the meaning of a character.

The character 𩇛 is composed of the characters 𩇛 “to love” and 𠂔 “mouth.” (“To love” is a “derivative character,” taking its semantic element from 𩇛 “God,” to which the character element 𠂔 has been added.) If the element for “things classifiable under words” is added to “to love,” the meaning: “words to love; to praise” is arrived at. Using the same principles, we must now determine the meaning of “mouth to love.” Since the subscribed character in *Tung-yin* is 𩇛 “to sip,” it is evident that “mouth to love” means “kiss.”

𩇛 \*šif has the character 𩇛 “red” subscribed in the *Tung-yin*. In addition, we know of the existence of 𩇛 \*šif “persimmon,” which is derived from \*šif; consequently we know that it means “yellowish brown color.” 𩇛 contains the character element “iron” and the character “long”; in *Tung-yin* it is subscribed with the character 𩇛 “spear,” so that we can infer its meaning to be “long spear.” 𩇛 contains the character 𩇛 “white,” and because in *Tung-yin* it has the subscribed character 𩇛 “to grow old,” we may infer that it probably means “white hair.” Using procedures such as these the author has been able to determine the meaning of a considerable number of characters, examples of whose actual use cannot be found in texts still extant. The subscribed characters in the *Tung-yin* serve as indispensable source material for the study of the Hsi-hsia language and its characters, and provide an important basis on which to conduct research.

Using the *Tung-yin* system, the author has been able to make clear one other important fact. There are occasions when the same Hsi-hsia character is placed in different groups of subclasses in the *Tung-yin*. For example: 𩇛 “large” is found in “Aspirated sounds” group (50A1) \*le and in “Tongue-tip sounds” group (13A2) \*tafi; 𩇛 “long” is found in “Light lip sounds” group (11A5) \*vɛ and in “Real-dental sounds” group (41A5) \*<sup>n</sup>dziɔfi; 𩇛 “small” is found in “Teeth-tip sounds” group (33A5) \*sie and in “Teeth-tip sounds” group (31A7) \*səw; In other words, these characters have two readings each. The author has interpreted this to mean the following: of these two readings, “big” \*le, “long” \*vɛ, and “short” \*sie represent the original Hsi-hsia phonemic form, while tafi, \*<sup>n</sup>dziɔfi, and \*səw represent borrowed Chinese phonemic

forms. Thus it is conceivable that words such as era names were actually read by the Hsi-hsia with Chinese sounds. There are quite a large number of words in Hsi-hsia which have been borrowed from the Chinese. These are not merely borrowed cultural terms, but basic words such as “body,” “flower,” and “rat,” and they exist both as words borrowed from the Chinese and in their basic Hsi-hsia forms. Moreover, in transcribing these two phonemic forms, separate characters are used. This also has been determined from an examination of the *T'ung yin*. For example, 𪛗 is used in the *Chang-chung-chu* to transcribe the Chinese characters 花 “flower”, 華 “flower” 鐮 “shovel,” and 話 “talk” and its inferred sound is \*x<sup>w</sup>a. It belongs to *T'ung-yin* “Throat sounds” group (獨) and has the subscribed character 𪛗 “flower” associated with it. In addition, it is made up of the character elements 彡, 𠂔, and 彡, and is clearly a “derivative character” made by substituting 𠂔 for 一, the “central element” in character 𪛗. There is no doubt that this is a specially-made character, used to transcribe the Chinese loan word “flower.” In the same way the character 𪛘 is used in *Chang-chung-chu* to transcribe 天 “heaven”, 電 “lightning”, 甜 “sweet”, 田 “field,” and 殿 “palace,” and has the inferred sound \*thē. It is classified under “Tongue-tip sounds” group and the subscribed character 𪛘 “palace” is associated with it. This is also a specially-made character, used to transcribe the Chinese loan word “palace.” The following words possess similar characteristics:

- 𪛙 \*piē Associated in *T'ung-yin* with the subscribed character 𪛙 “side.”  
Inferred to be a loan word from Chinese 邊 “side.”
- 𪛚 \*xā Associated in *T'ung-yin* with the subscribed character 𪛚 “name.”  
Inferred to be a loan word from Chinese 漢 “China.”
- 𪛛 \*ñzī Associated in *T'ung-yin* with the subscribed character 𪛛 “name.”  
Inferred to be a loan word from Chinese 人 “man.”
- 𪛜 \*sē Associated in *T'ung-yin* with the subscribed character 𪛜 “body.”  
Inferred to be a loan word from Chinese 身 “body.”
- 𪛝 \*k<sup>w</sup>iñ Associated in *T'ung-yin* with the subscribed character 𪛝 “to respect.”  
Inferred to be a loan word from Chinese 貴 “respect.”
- 𪛞 \*te Associated in *T'ung-yin* with the subscribed character 𪛞 “platform.”  
Inferred to be a loan word from Chinese 臺 “platform.”

Also from *T'ung-yin* the place names: 𪛟 𪛠 “甘州 Kan-chou,” 𪛡 𪛢 “銀州 Yin-chou,” and 𪛣 𪛤 “沙州 Sha-chou” have been identified.

If, in the future, the *T'ung-yin* is still more closely investigated, the identification of characters further progresses, and the still undisclosed information that the *T'ung-yin* contains is brought to light, many new discoveries in hitherto unexplored fields of the Hsi-hsia language and its characters will doubtless be found.

## IV. OUTLINE OF THE GRAMMAR OF THE HSI-HSIA LANGUAGE

### 1. Summary of Previous Studies

THE first person to publish a study of the grammar of the Hsi-hsia language was M. G. Morisse in his *Contribution préliminaire à l'étude de l'écriture et de la langue Si-hia*. His study, as mentioned above, was based on a comparison of the Chinese and Hsi-hsia translations of *chüan* 1 of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra*<sup>1</sup> 妙法蓮華經, and the meaning and supposed sound for each Hsi-hsia character was given. Morisse's approach was to synthesize the results previously obtained by Chavannes and Bushell, but nevertheless, from the same source material he was also able to discover some basic elements in the grammar of the Hsi-hsia language. Morisse was not able to fit a great number of Hsi-hsia characters to their Chinese counterparts, but the ones he was able to identify have proven to be largely correct, and his work still has value today. His grammatical observations, while limited to a few fundamental elements, are basically sound.<sup>2</sup> The following is an outline of the major grammatical points brought out by Morisse:<sup>3</sup>

- 1) Appositive substantives follow the same rules for position as in Chinese. Exp., 禪 毘 法輪 “Dharma wheel,” 袈 毘 佛 慧 “Buddha-wisdom,” 毘 禪 德 本 “root of the moral life.”
- 2) In order to make this relationship clear, or when it is needed for harmony, the particle 禪, corresponding to Chinese “之,” is inserted. Exp., 禪 衆 心 禪 衆 會 之 心 “the minds of the assembly (of monks).”
- 3) 禪 functions mostly as a dative or attributive suffix. Exp., 禪 禪 禪 衆 爲 衆 講 法 “Preach the Dharma for the assembly,” 袈 禪 禪 衆 施 于 佛 僧 “gives alms to Buddhist monks.”
- 4) The instrumental is indicated by the postposition 禪. Exp., 禪 禪 衆 禪 以 慈

1. When Morisse was stationed in Peking a Hsi-hsia version of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* in three volumes came into his hands. What he used in his researches was probably the first part of volume one only. This edition had interlinear notations in Chinese, the work of an unknown person, perhaps of the Ming period, and Morisse made use of this previous attempt at decipherment. The edition (*T'ien-p' in Miao-fa-lien-hua ching* 添品妙法蓮華經) housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contains five volumes, an addition of two volumes. Cf. Preface by Ishihama Juntarō to N. Nevsky, *A brief manual of the Si-hia characters with Tibetan transcriptions*, Osaka 1926.
2. The approximated sounds of the Hsi-hsia language were based on a comparison with the Sanskrit alone, and thus do not possess a trustworthy criteria, and must be said to be largely erroneous.
3. Morisse, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50.

修身 “with love, to lead a virtuous life,” 須殺纛孺襪芴 以喻爲衆講法 “to preach the dharma to the assembly, using parables.”

- 5) The locative is indicated by 繡 . In addition Chinese ‘中’ and ‘間’ are represented by 纛 and 孺 . Exp., 纛纛孺襪 於此悉見 “to see everything here,” 纛孺襪孺 於此世界 “in this world.”
- 6) There are only a very few examples in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* where the adjective follows the substantive. Exp., 纛孺孺 白豪相 “the ūrṇa mark (one of the thirty-two marks of a Buddha).” In most all instances, however, it is the opposite that holds true. In Hsi-hsia, depending upon the word modified, the position of the adjective was probably fixed.<sup>4</sup>
- 7) Verbs, as in Chinese, were not inflected. Tense was indicated merely by the context of the sentence, or by particles that indicated whether the action was past, present, or future. In addition, the agent of the action was made quite clear by a prepositioned noun or pronoun. The one striking difference between verbs in Chinese and Hsi-hsia was their position in the sentence. In Hsi-hsia, they are put after all word complements, at the end of the sentence or phrase. Exp., 纛孺纛 觀世音 “Avalokiteśvara,” 纛孺纛孺 行修道得 “to practice and gain the Way,” 纛孺纛孺 常修梵行 “Always practice pure living.”
- 8) Some particles come at the end of phrases or following verbs, but their meaning and function is not yet known. The most obvious one is 纛 , which corresponds to Chinese “者,” but to think that 纛 always is equivalent to “者,” is to make a worse error than would be made if one were always to translate the Chinese “者” with the same French word.

Morisse’s essay only indicated a part of the similar and differing points which were revealed by a comparison of Hsi-hsia and Chinese texts, and he failed almost completely to furnish an explanation of units which had no correspondence in Chinese, particularly the bound words peculiar to the Hsi-hsia language. But this was because of the limitations of Morisse’s materials, and one must give full praise to his work, considering the early period in which it was made.

Following Morisse, the next person to touch on Hsi-hsia grammar was A. Ivanov. In 1909 he introduced the *Chang-chung-chu* to the academic world and published a partial study. His essay “Zur Kenntniss der Hsi-hsia Sprache” was, from the outset, not a complete study of the *Chang-chung-chu*, but it served to open up a new avenue of study for later researchers. At the end of the article Ivanov treated the grammar of the language, basing all his examples on the *Chang-chung-chu*. The following are his principal observations:

- 1) Monosyllabic, disyllabic, and polysyllabic substantives existed.
  - i) Monosyllabic: “heaven” 沒 mo, “earth” 勒 lê, “fire” 沒 mo, “field” 勒 lê,

4. It would probably be better to consider that the position was determined on the basis of the characteristics of the adjective.

“eye” 每(梅) mei.

ii) Disyllabic: “water” 則移 tzê-i (perhaps diphthong), “eyebrow” 墨麻 mo-ma, “pear” 韋麻 wei-ma.

iii) Polysyllabic: Transcription of the name of a plant or tree similar to the Chinese radish 抄李羅 tza-po-lo.

2) Adjectives

“heavy” 勒 lê, “light” 盈 ying, “white” 瘳 mang, “black” 黑 hei.

3) Adverbs

“today” 盃能 pei-neng, “tomorrow” 那羅 na-lo.

4) Negation

By 名 ming: 六納名爲 liu-na-ming-wei “to be uninformed,” 你名星勒 ni-ming-sing-lê “the heart does not think.” By 沒 mo: 納玉沒尼正 na-yü-mo-cheng “I am not prepared to accept.” (Compare Tibetan ma, mi, med.)

5) In a simple sentence the predicate is placed in the first position. “The sun rises” 墨木 mo-mu; “the sun sets” 墨黨 mo tang (Ivanov had the two reversed); “I am an ignorant man” 遍怛鬼卒尼 ngo tan wei tzu-ni.

6) The attributive, in the case of words originating in Tibet, is placed after the word it modifies, exp., tu-ha “black bean.” In other instances it has the same structure as Chinese, sheng kun “sage,” sie-kun “wise man,” wêi-kun “ignorant man.”

7) The object precedes the verb: liu-na-ming-wei “to be uninformed,” p’u-pu-ming-mo “not to respect the aged.”

8) The dative is placed before the verb: wen niang kun ma “bad words harm people.”

Despite the fact that Ivanov’s study was based on new source material, he was not able to add much to the results that Morisse had obtained. Unfortunately, at the present stage of studies, it is obvious that all his research was in error.<sup>5</sup>

Next to write on the grammar of Hsi-hsia was B. Laufer. His essay, “The Si-hia language, A study in indo-chinese philology.”<sup>6</sup> was based directly on Ivanov’s study of the *Chang-chung-chu*, and because its aim was to establish the position of the Hsi-hsia language in terms of comparative linguistics, it contained no new discoveries on Hsi-

5. What Ivanov did was merely to transcribe the Chinese characters associated with each Hsi-hsia character with the sound forms of modern “Mandarin.” To take a text written in 1190, which represented the sound forms of northwest China of the time, and to attempt to interpret it in terms of the modern language, was, indeed, a great error. In addition, transcription types in the *Chang-chung-chu* such a 尼卒, were all read backwards as 卒尼. For example, “man” should be read as 尼卒, but Ivanov has interpreted it as 卒尼 tzu-ni. This error was later pointed out by A. Dragunov. Cf. “The Binoms of the 卒尼 type in the Tangut-Chinese Dictionary,” *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Sciences de l’URSS*, 1929, pp. 145-148.

6. *T’oung Pao*, vol. 17, 1916, pp. 1-126.

hsia grammar itself.<sup>7</sup> Laufer, however, pointed out that several of Morisse's discoveries fitted in perfectly with elements of Tibetan grammar. The position of the verb at the end of the sentence and the position of adjectives, which could stand either before or after the noun modified, were additional proof that the Hsi-hsia language belonged to the Tibeto-Burmese group. The conclusion that Tibetan and Hsi-hsia grammar were identical is actually not justifiable, but his arguments contributed greatly to the determination of the linguistic group to which Hsi-hsia belonged.

Morisse's discovery, Ivanov's study, and Laufer's interpretations served as a starting point for later studies of Hsi-hsia grammar, but the results obtained by these three scholars did not do full justice to the materials used, and were not founded upon suitable linguistic methods.

Lo Fu-ch'ang made a more detailed study of the grammar. In his *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh shuo* (leaves 19-26) he listed ten parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, numerals, verbs, adjectives, conjunctives, particles, and exclamatory words, under each of which characteristic concrete examples were provided. It is indeed an epoch-making work in the study of the Hsi-hsia language as a whole, but in many instances, especially in so far as grammar was concerned, there was no attempt made to treat the grammatical construction of the language as a whole. This, together with the failure to deal in detail with each of the bound words which serve a grammatical function, and with the fact that the class relationships of each bound word were not made clear, are, for the present writer, the most serious defects in Lo's study.

The next person to deal with Hsi-hsia grammar, particularly with the particles, was N. Nevsky in an essay entitled "Hsi-hsia joshi kōryaku 西夏助詞攷略".<sup>8</sup> Here he identified the following ten particles:

- i. 纒 \*ta Corresponds to Chinese “者,” “是,” “處”; equivalent of Japanese particle “wa.” Exp., na-ta wedzo 纒纒𦉳𦉳 我乃愚人 (CCC 31).
- ii. 徧 \*ye Corresponds to Japanese “tame,” “no tame ni,” but on occasions must be rendered “ni,” “wo,” or “no.” At times it corresponds to Chinese “爲,” “於,” and “之,” but there is no character with which it corresponds exactly. Exp., 徧徧𦉳𦉳 t'a-ye na yi 佛於言曰, (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* VII)
- iii. 𦉳 \*ñu Postposition, corresponding to Japanese “motte” and “de”; Chinese “以.” Exp., 𦉳𦉳徧𦉳 偈, 以, 佛, 讚 (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* VII)
- iv. 者 \*dzi Corresponds exactly with Japanese “mo.” When attached to a verb, it can be translated “tomo,” “demo,” etc.; corresponds with Chinese

7. Laufer inferred the existence of consonantal prefixes in the following words: k-pü or k-pu “five,” k-pum “heaven,” r-ni “ear,” m-ru, m-lu “worm.” This theory had its origin in Ivanov's mistaken backwards reading of the transcriptions in *Chang-chung-chu*: 魚骨 “five” 魚骨 “heaven,” 尼六 “ear.” That 沒魯 “maggot” (Ivanov makes it mo-lu) was given as m-ru, m-lu was probably also based on the same sort of inference. In all instances these are incorrect.

8. In *Naitō hakushi shōju kīnen shigaku ronsō* 內藤博士頌壽記念史學論叢, Kyoto 1930, pp. 439-451. An outline of the contents follows belows. The sounds given for the Hsi-hsia language were inferred by Nevsky and do not represent the present writer's views.





grammatical investigations, were not in themselves linguistic studies, and cannot accurately be called studies of the grammar of this language. The discovery of to what Chinese or Japanese word a specific Hsi-hsia character corresponds is, of course, an important procedure which is essential to the acquisition of the ability to read a language. Yet, by this method alone the grammar of the Hsi-hsia language cannot be understood. The first step required is to determine what the function of each word in the language habit of Hsi-hsia is.

To arrive at a definition of "grammar" is essential. The present writer defines it as: positing, within a given linguistic system, single minimal semantic units (morphemes), it is that linguistic form which possesses the function of more than one of these semantic units. The aim of the study of grammar, then, is to discover, within a given language, the grammatical forms which possess this kind of function, and to systematize them. The present writer's description of Hsi-hsia grammar is from this standpoint. As a consequence, he has put aside, for the time being, considerations of the relationship to other linguistic systems and has based his studies objectively on the discovery of grammatical forms within the Hsi-hsia language itself and on the systematization of these forms. However, in studying a language such as Hsi-hsia, the source material being limited, one cannot expect always to be able to discover type A' as contrasted to type A. Therefore one can fully anticipate various imperfections in the results obtained, which will have to wait for future discoveries before they are adequately supplemented and made clear.

Needless to say, Hsi-hsia had already become a dead language some six hundred years ago, and we have no informants from whom we can learn the Hsi-hsia language habits directly. Yet we must depend solely on written materials which are based on these habits. The result is that no matter what approach one uses, the making of a Hsi-hsia grammar is an extremely difficult task. The first problem is to determine what text to use in conducting one's investigations. Can we prove that text A, for example, is based on the original habits of the Hsi-hsia language, and has not received strong influence from some other language? Strictly speaking this sort of proof is next to impossible to obtain, in so far as the Hsi-hsia language is concerned. For example, it would be quite difficult to guarantee that the Hsi-hsia inscription at Chü-yung-kuan is based on true Hsi-hsia language habits and has not been strongly influenced by the habits of another language, and the original habits thereby distorted. Yet because, as far as we know, the Hsi-hsia language in this inscription is not a direct translation from any text still extant in any other language, we may be justified in assuming that this is so. The present writer believes that this justification is valid.

More than half of the extant Hsi-hsia linguistic research materials are Buddhist canonical works retranslated from the Chinese, so that it is logical to suspect that the forms of linguistic expression may have been, to a fairly large extent, sinicized. In actuality, some examples can be found in which, in certain places, the corresponding Hsi-hsia characters have been substituted character by character for the Chinese. Yet

if the language of these texts as a whole is examined, one will find that it has not been so thoroughly sinicized as to distort basically the original characteristics of the Hsi-hsia language. Comparing the Hsi-hsia and Chinese texts, in addition to words which fit exactly in each language, a number of words which do not will be detected. It would be best to consider these as elements essential in the expression of the Hsi-hsia language. For example, in the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, ch. 41, we have the passage: “此三昧,名爲清淨深心行 This samādhi, given a name, is the pure profound practice of the mind” (*Taishō* v. 10 p. 215). The Hsi-hsia rendering of the parallel passage is: “此三昧 纘 清淨深行 名爲 纘 綽 毘 纘 綽 纘 綽 纘 綽 纘 This samādhi is the name of the pure, profound practice.” Following “this samādhi” is inserted the Hsi-hsia character 纘 \*tafi, for which there is no corresponding Chinese character. Thus we can regard this \*tafi as being an essential word, requisite to the Hsi-hsia sentence.

Similarly, if we compare the passage in *chüan* 41 of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* which comes after the above line, the following results are obtained:

Chinese	譬如有人 從睡得寤 憶所夢事 覺時雖無夢中境界  而能憶念心不志失	Take for example a man who, Awakening from sleep, Recalls what he has seen in his dream and Although, being awake, he is no longer in the realm of dreams, Yet in the remembering mind he does not forget.
Hsi-hsia	纘 纘 綽 纘 綽 綽 綽 綽 纘 綽 綽 纘 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽  纘 纘 綽 綽 綽 綽 綽	Take for example a man who, In the midst of sleep awakes, And in recalling the things in the dream, Being awake, he is not in the realm of dreams, Yet he does not forget the remembering mind.

In the above example, the Chinese “從睡得寤 awake *from* sleep” is translated in Hsi-hsia by “awake *within* sleep” 綽 綽 綽 綽 and in each language four characters are used. In actuality, however, from the standpoint of meaning, these characters do not correspond character by character in both texts. On the other hand, Chinese “覺時 upon awakening” is similarly expressed in Hsi-hsia as “upon awakening” 綽 綽 綽 綽, but four Hsi-hsia characters are needed to express the two in Chinese. Thus we know of the existence in Hsi-hsia of a form 綽 綽 綽 contrasted with form 綽 綽. These two forms possess different “grammatical forms.” Following the Hsi-hsia language habit then, in this context, the former requires the addition of the verbal prefix 綽. Thus we are able to say that this prefix is an essential constituent in the Hsi-hsia language.

In this same Hsi-hsia text, however, we find an expression which, when compared



to be no reason why Buddhist canonical works should not be used as source material for the making of a grammar of the Hsi-hsia language.

Ever since B. Laufer indicated that Hsi-hsia and Tibetan grammar conformed to each other<sup>9</sup>, the two were believed to be very closely connected. This, however, is actually not so, as may be readily seen from the following example:

Hsi-hsia 概統猴蔬駭駮駮編鬚孺穉琬駮

Chinese 復次壞有渡壽具全喜於是如說曰

“(Again) next the world-honored one, to the delight of all the elders, preached in this way”

Tibetan de-nas yang bcom-ldan-hdas kyis tshe dang ldan-pa kun-dgah-ba la hdi skad ces bkah-stsal-to (*Avatamsaka*, ch. 41 *Pa-ch'en-sung p'an-ju ching*) 八千頌般若經<sup>10</sup>

A comparison shows that, in the first place, Hsi-hsia “again next 概統” corresponds to Tibetan ‘de-nas yang’, and that the position of “again” and “next” is not the same. The complement of the verb “preached” (Tib. bkah stsal-to; Hsi-hsia 駮), “elders all rejoiced,” is ‘tshe dang ldan-pa kun dgah-ba la’ in Tibetan, 駮駮編鬚孺 in Hsi-hsia; the Tibetan la corresponds to Hsi-hsia 孺, both indicating the locative. The subject, “world-honored one,” is indicated in Tibetan by the ‘kyis’ of ‘bcom-ldan-hhas kyis’; in Hsi-hsia no word which corresponds to it is used, and the subject is merely indicated by its position. Furthermore, whereas in Tibetan we have ‘hdi skad ces bkah-stsal-to’ “with words like this he preached,” the Hsi-hsia is rendered “in this way he preached” 穉琬駮.

If, based on the fact that the positions of the verb or the modifier are the same in both Tibetan and Hsi-hsia, one attempts to define the characteristics of the Hsi-hsia language, the result is likely to be that the similarities alone will be emphasized and the differences wholly overlooked, so that not much progress towards understanding the language will be made.

### 3. Outline of Hsi-hsia Grammar

#### A. Hsi-hsia word types

That one Hsi-hsia character represents one minimal semantic unit, is clear from correspondences in Chinese and Tibetan words.<sup>11</sup> These minimal semantic units are, when the procedures for phonetic reconstruction have been carried out, determined to be always monosyllabic in structure. For example, Hsi-hsia 𠵹 is frequently used in the literature, particularly in canonical works. Since it corresponds to Chinese “佛” and Tibetan “lha,” we know that it represents a semantic unit meaning “Buddha.”

9. B. Laufer, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-

10. N. Nevsky, Ishihama Juntarō “Hsi-hsia-wen Pa-ch'ien-sung p'an-jo ching ho shih 西夏文八千頌般若經合釋” *Hsi-hsia wen chüan-hao*, pp. 247-258.

11. There are instances in which Hsi-hsia characters are used to transcribe languages other than Hsi-hsia, for example: Hsi-hsia transcriptions of dhārāṇi.

Furthermore, in *T'ung-yin* it is classified under "Tongue-tip sounds" group (13a2, subclass 22); in *Chang-chung-chu* it is transcribed with Chinese "他" (*initial* 透; *rhyme* 歌); and in Tibetan transcribed materials it is written 'tha.' On these bases, following the methods for inferring Hsi-hsia sounds, we can reconstruct the phonetic form of this characters as \*thaf. In many instances it is possible, by following the same procedures to determine the semantic and phonetic forms of a character.

The first form recognized in Hsi-hsia words is the monosyllabic form, made up of one consonant and one vowel. This we shall designate "Type 1." On the basis of its function it can be divided into two groups: free words, which can be used independently, and bound words, which cannot stand alone.

Examples of the former are:

𠵹 \*liu "body," 𠵹 \*phu "tree," 𠵹 \*nrefi "king," 𠵹 \*tsiər "Dharma;"

Examples of the latter are:

𠵹 \*rir "...with," 𠵹 \*khafi "...within." 𠵹 \*ɣafi "...in, at,"  
𠵹 \*a "a prefix."

Canonical works, especially those translated from the Chinese, very frequently were rendered following the form that they had in the original language, with the result that disyllabic forms—transcriptions using two Hsi-hsia characters—are often encountered.

For example:

𠵹 𠵹 *ŋifi-se "pure,"	𠵹 𠵹 *mow-mə "investigate,"
𠵹 𠵹 *nrɔfi-ndže "practice,"	𠵹 𠵹 * <sup>n</sup> džū-tsefi "Bodhisattva,"
𠵹 𠵹 *kiɰ-tshl <sup>w</sup> ifi "offering,"	𠵹 𠵹 *šiā-tshl <sup>w</sup> ifi "worship."

That these are compound words, possessing a "compound form" and made up of two independent words, is demonstrable from the fact that examples of the use separately of each of the constituents have been found. The Chinese "菩薩 Bodhisattva" cannot be broken down into "菩" and "薩"; however, the Hsi-hsia \*<sup>n</sup>džū-tsefi can be divided into <sup>n</sup>džū "mind" and tsefi "to know, to awaken to."

In contrast to these, there are "compound forms," which, while disyllabic, have one constituent which is not used standing alone. For example:

𠵹 𠵹 \*<sup>2</sup>a-pafi "father"  
𠵹 𠵹 \*ŋvifi-liɔfi "returned"  
𠵹 𠵹 \*<sup>2</sup>a-<sup>n</sup>dži "already finished"

These are not compound words, but are rather single words composed of a free word and a bound word. Such words have been designated "Type 2." Next, in contrast to these, we have "compound forms," both of whose constituents are bound words. For example:

鵞鵝 *m <sup>w</sup> a-ŋa “goose” (CCC 166),	𪔐𪔐 *muŋ-tsiŋ “fly” (CCC 173),
榜辨 *ŋvur-lō “kidney” (CCC 186),	𪔐𪔐 *tʃhiŋ-rür “pimple” (CCC 194),
𪔐𪔐 *kaŋ-tʃeŋ “lion” (CCC 161),	𪔐𪔐 *ŋɣiä-teŋ “a kind of sheep” (CCC 164)

This type of “compound form” can also be treated as a single word and has been designated as “Type 3.”

When Chinese or Tibetan canonical works were translated into Hsi-hsia, a great number of Buddhist technical terms were created. In Hsi-hsia the following forms can be distinguished:

- 1) The constituents of the Hsi-hsia word correspond in meaning with the constituents of the Chinese or Tibetan word. For example: 𪔐𪔐 “world-to honor” (direct translation from the Chinese 世尊 “world-honored one”); 𪔐𪔐 “one who has had victory and passed on” (direct translation from the Tibetan bcom-ldan-hdas “world-honored one”); 𪔐𪔐 “all-beings” (direct translation from the Chinese 衆生 “sentient beings”); 𪔐𪔐 “hear-have” (direct translation from the Tibetan mnyan-yod “Śrāvastī” interpreted as the city of famous things); 𪔐𪔐 “excellent being” (direct translation from the Tibetan dge-slong “bhikṣu, monk”)

These differ in no way from the compound words of “Type 1.”

- 2) Chinese words which transcribe the Sanskrit sound, reproduced in Hsi-hsia. For example:

𪔐𪔐	*sã me ← Chinese 三昧 (from Skr. samādhi);
𪔐𪔐	*mɔŋ ni ← Chinese 摩尼 (from Skr. maṇi);
𪔐𪔐	*pɔŋ lɔŋ mi ← Chinese 波羅密 (from Skr. Pāramitā);
𪔐𪔐	*thɔŋ lɔŋ ni ← Chinese 陀羅尼 (from Skr. dhāraṇī);
𪔐𪔐	*mã šu ši li ← Chinese 曼殊師利 (from Skr. Mañjuśrī)

Because these forms cannot be broken down into smaller semantic units in Hsi-hsia, they must be treated as one word (which is also a loan word). These have been designated as “Type 4.” The Hsi-hsia characters used here are special ones, used in transcribing clan names and so forth, and do not bear any special semantic relationships.

- 3) Words in which one part transcribes the sound in the same way as in 2) above, and another part (or parts) consists of a Hsi-hsia character with the same meaning as the Chinese character it has replaced.

For example:

𪔐𪔐 \*a-sã-khi Chinese 阿僧祇 (Skr. asaṃkhyeya). 僧 represents a semantic translation.

𪔐𪔐 \*a-lɔŋ-xū Chinese 阿羅漢 (Skr. arhat). 漢 represents a semantic translation.

𪔐𪔐 \*šia li Chinese 舍利 (Skr. śārīra). 利 represents a semantic translation.

蕤 𪛗 𪛘 \*šifɪ ɲɣur ʔdzofi Chinese 帝釋天 (Skr. śakradevendra). 帝 and 天 represent semantic translations.

This type, in which phonetic loan words are combined with free words, have been designated as "Type 5."

Thus, Hsi-hsia word forms may be classified under the following five types:

- Type 1. Composed of one free word only.
- Type 2. Composed of one bound word and one free word.
- Type 3. Composed of two bound words.
- Type 4. Transcription of Chinese sound.
- Type 5. Phonetic loan word combined with free word.

B. Establishment of form classes—

Endocentric sequence and exocentric sequence

When the words discussed above are used in sequence, three representative types are recognizable. Taking an example from the *Chang-chung-chu*, we find that:

- i. a. 𪛗 𪛗 \*tsiər mbar "(large) drum of the Dharma (法鼓)" (212),
- b. 𪛗 𪛗 \*mbar khʔɛ "large drum (大鼓)" (326),
- c. 𪛗 𪛗 \*mbar tsiu "beat a (large) drum (擊鼓)" (326).

These three types of sequences have in common the word 𪛗 "large drum." a) and b), while placing the "large drum" in opposite positions, indicate a semantic resemblance; c), while placing the common word "large drum" in a similar position to b), has a meaning far removed from that of b). The Hsi-hsia transcription, the phonetic form \*mbar, inferred from the *Chang-chung-chu* and found in all of these three words, shows no change. Consequently, we are able to assume that word order is the most important unit of function, in other words, the grammar of the Hsi-hsia language. Although the *Chang-chung-chu* is the only source for parallel sequences, a great number can be identified in this work.

- ii. a. 𪛗 蕤 \*kifi šia "scent (incense) of grass (草香)" (214),
- b. 蕤 𪛗 \*šia phiō "white incense (乳香)" (213)
- c. 蕤 𪛗 \*šia ni "to burn incense (燒香)" (213)
- iii. a. 𪛗 𪛗 \*ɣiəw fa "jewelled flower (玉花)" (134)
- b. 𪛗 𪛗 \*fa se "pure flower (lotus 蓮花)" (136)
- c. 𪛗 𪛗 \*fa khʔi "to cut a flower (折花)" (331)

In these examples, despite the fact that sequences a) and b) both show the relationship between the modifier and the modified word, one notices that the position of the modifying word differs. Thus in sequence a),  $M_1$ ,  $M_2$  must be read "the  $M_2$  of  $M_1$ " (exp., the scent of flowers), whereas in sequence b) we have "the  $M_1$  of  $M_2$ " (exp., white incense). In contrast to this, in sequence c) we have: " $M_1$  (object),  $M_2$  (action)"

(exp., to burn incense). In this sequence  $M_2$  indicates the action, and  $M_1$  is the object of the agency of  $M_2$ . Sequence types a) and b) are endocentric sequences; type C) is an exocentric sequence. The present writer has named the above three sequence types "constructions A), B), and C)."

Now if we investigate further, the word that appears in the position of  $M_1$  in construction A ("Law," "grass," "jewel" in the above examples) can also stand in the position of  $M_2$  in construction A and  $M_1$  in construction B; and the word that appears in the position of  $M_1$  in construction B ("large drum," "incense," "flower" in the above examples) can also stand in the position of  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  of construction A.

For example:

禪 鈸 "Law-drum,"	鉢 禪 "Buddha-Law,"	鉢 蕪 "incense of grass,"
蕪 鉢 "incense water,"	鉢 玆 "jewelled flower,"	玆 玆 "flower fruit."

Consequently,  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  of construction A were originally words belonging to the same "form class." The difference in function results from the difference in position that they occupy within the construction. On the other hand, the words which appear in position  $M_2$  in constructions B and C, may be presumed to belong to the "form class" that stands in contrast to each one of them. Words which can stand in the positions of  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  of construction A, and  $M_1$  of construction B, have been called "Form class I, noun class"; words standing in the position of  $M_2$  of construction B have been called "Form class II, adjective class"; and those which stand in the position of  $M_2$  in construction C have been called "Form class III, transitive verb class."

### C. Form class I; Noun class.

Hsi-hsia nouns can be divided into two groups, "single nouns" and "compound nouns."

i. Single nouns. Single nouns, with the exception of loan words, take the forms of Types 1, 2, and 3.

1) Words taking the form of Type 1.

𠵹 mɤfi "heaven,"	𠵹 lhi "moon,"	𠵹 ŋjō "ocean,"
𠵹 mi "sun,"	𠵹 ɬi "earth,"	𠵹 šj'ō "iron,"
𠵹 ʔɔzɤfi "human being,"	𠵹 ŋzɤr "mountain,"	𠵹 khʷi "dog."

2) Words taking the form of Type 2.

𠵹 𠵹 ʔa-pa "father,"	𠵹 𠵹 ʔa-kɔfi "older brother,"
𠵹 𠵹 ʔa-mafi "mother,"	𠵹 𠵹 ʔa-tsafi "older sister."

The following words; 𠵹 𠵹 tshi-ʔu "salt," and 𠵹 𠵹 tsar-ɣufi "pepper" also belong to this type, and the constituent attached in the final position can be considered a diminutive, corresponding to Tibetan -bu, -gu. In addition, 𠵹 𠵹 "Tathāgata," 𠵹 𠵹 "past," 𠵹 𠵹 "future," etc. belong to type 2.



3) Words taking the form of Type 3.

In addition to the previously mentioned “lion,” “kind of sheep,” “goose,” “fly,” 綦綦 “rainbow,” 綦綦 “coral,” 綦綦 “amber,” 綦綦 “butterfly”, etc. also are classified under Type 3.

ii. Compound nouns. The combination of two single nouns forms a compound noun. On the basis of the combination-type of their constituents, they can be divided into two groups:

1) Co-ordination.

綦綦 “benefit,”	綦綦 “land(國土),”	綦綦 “void (虛空),”
綦綦 “adornment (莊嚴),”		綦綦 “undertaking,”
綦綦 “equality (平等),”		綦綦 “Vajra (金剛),”
綦綦 “words,”	綦綦 “name,”	綦綦 “secret,”
綦綦 “sound,”	綦綦 “span of life,”	綦綦 “fatigue,”
綦綦 “intuitive wisdom,”		綦綦 “obstruction.”

2) Subordination.

綦綦 “earring,”	綦綦 “this year,”	綦綦 “coal,”
綦綦 “son of Buddha,”		綦綦 “lamplight,”
綦綦 “Dharmadhātu,”		綦綦 “aureole,”
綦綦 “infusion,”	綦綦 “Emperor.”	

In addition, there are compound nouns which add the bound word 綦  
Examples of this type are:

綦綦綦 “a pure thing,”	綦綦綦 “a peaceful thing,”
綦綦綦 “the number one thing,”	
綦綦綦 “that which brings serenity,”	
綦綦綦 “one without a master,”	
綦綦綦綦 “one without different thoughts.”	

D. Subclasses of form class I (pronouns and numerals).

There is a group of words, indicating a meaning resembling that of construction A, but in which the words stand only in the position of  $M_1$  and do not appear in the position of  $M_2$ . Examples are:

- 1) 綦綦 \*nafi liu “your body,”      綦綦 \*yefi nge “one’s own benefit,”  
 綦綦 \*yefi “dzu “one’s own master,” 綦綦 \*thi i “this earth,”  
 綦綦 \*tshifi Bzofi “that time,”      綦綦 \*thafi “dzu “that person,”
- 2) 綦綦 \*sō i “three treasures,”      綦綦 \*t̄ir liē “four directions,”

瓶拜 \*nhī thafi “two Buddhas,”      股股 \*yq mufi “ten types,”  
 殷殷殷殷 \*sō yq sō mufi “thirty-three heavens.”

The constituent in the first position in 1) is a word belonging to the subclass “pronouns” of form class I; the constituent in the first position in 2) is a word belonging to the subclass “numerals” of form class I.

i. Pronouns.

a) Personal pronouns.

The forms (singular and plural) for the personal pronouns “I,” “you,” and “that man” have been identified:

First person singular	𠄎 *ṅhafi	plural	𠄎𠄎 *ṅhafi ni
Second person singular	𠄎 *nifi	plural	𠄎𠄎 *nifi ni
Third person singular	𠄎 *thafi	plural	𠄎𠄎 *thafi ni

These plural forms can be analyzed as the singular form, to which is added the bound word \*ni to make a plural form.

In Hsi-hsia special pronoun forms for honorific expressions do not exist. In addition, among the examples given by Lo Fu-ch'ang in his *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh-shuo* are: 𠄎 “you (汝)” and 𠄎 “he (他)”. “You” is \*nafi and belongs to *T'ung-yin* (16B7) “Tongue-tip sounds” group, with the subscribed 𠄎. The following examples of its use have been found: 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 “Now, you, if you're not a fox, you're a weasel” (*Lei-lin* 6); 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 “I want to meet you” (*Saddharma puṇḍarīka* VII). Perhaps this \*nafi is, in contrast to \*nifi, a pejorative pronoun, but no definite identification can be made. On the other hand, 𠄎 mufi belongs to *T'ung-ying* “Heavy lip sounds” group (3B1), subscribed with tsefi 𠄎, “other (person).” Examples are found in *Chang-chung-chu*: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎 mufi 'yefi ṅu χkǝ “to injure another person,” 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎 \*mufi 'yefi ṅziṅfi wi “to be given as a bride to another person.” Therefore, it does not mean “he,” but rather “another person,” and is consequently not a personal pronoun.

The third person pronoun tha has the same phonetic form as the demonstrative meaning “there (far distance);” it would not be incorrect to infer that the two have the same morpheme.

As discussed before, the first person pronoun was also used as a pronominal suffix attached to a verb. In addition to the example, 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎 “Thus I have heard”, other instances of this usage can be pointed out: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 “Born in the house of the Tathāgata, not knowing the great light of the world I” (*Avatamsaka*, 74); 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 “I now suddenly have been able to hear →I” (*Avatamsaka*, 36), etc.

There is no way of proving whether or not the phonetic form of the 𠄎 in this position was \*ṅhafi but it would seem correct to assume that it corresponds to the type of pronominal suffix postpositioned after the verb found in

Kachin -ŋ- and in Jyarung -ŋ(\*ŋo).<sup>12</sup>

Corresponding examples of this usage have not been found in Hsi-hsia for second and third person pronouns.

𪛗 \*<sup>2</sup>yefi means “oneself,” and is not a reflexive pronoun. Exp., 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 “I am not myself involved” (CCC 352); 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗 “Rather than fighting, repent yourself” (CCC 371).

b). Demonstrative pronouns.

In the Hsi-hsia language there are demonstrative pronouns to indicate “this (near at hand)” and “that (in the distance).” How far the semantic range of “that” extends is not known in detail, but it would be safe to say that it applies to anything except that which is specifically designated by “this.”

𪛗 “this” \*thi (rising tone):

𪛗 “that” \*thafi (level tone)

𪛗 “that” \*thafi (rising tone)

It should be noted that these two forms are distinguished by a difference in the vowel (cf. Tibetan “this” hdi; “that” de).

In connection with these two forms of the demonstrative pronoun “that,” which are distinguished by a difference in tone, it may be noted that the former, thafi (level tone), is often used as a demonstrative adjective, while the latter, thafi (rising tone), in many cases precedes one of the particles in the sentence; but the distinction between the two is by no means clear.

𪛗𪛗 thafi (level) liu (rising)-“that body”

𪛗𪛗 thafi (level) ŋziər (rising)-“that number”

𪛗𪛗 thafi (rising) ’u (rising)-“in that”

𪛗𪛗 thafi (rising) khafi (level)-“in that interval”

It may be surmised, however, that these two forms originally represented a demonstrative pronoun as opposed to a demonstrative adjective; that is, “that” (pronoun) \*thafi (rising) and “that” (adjective) \*thafi (level).

The demonstrative pronoun for “this,” or what is close at hand, shows a similar form: i.e., a single character which, although there is no distinction of tone, may be used to represent either the pronoun “this” or the adjective “this.”

𪛗𪛗 thi (rising) tafi-“as for this”

𪛗𪛗 thi (rising) nq-“this word”

In addition, there are also what appear to be pronouns indicative of place, i.e., “here” and “there”.

“here” 𪛗

“there” 𪛗 \*thafi (rising)

Among these, thafi, “there” sometimes appears in usage to be confused with the thafi (rising) described above.

12. Nishida Tatsuo “Kachingo no Kenkyū—Bamo hōgen no kijutsu narabi ni hikaku gengogakuteki kōsatsu カチン語の研究—バモ方言の記述ならびに比較言語學的考察” *Gengo Kenkyū* 38, 1960, p. 28.

In addition, we have 辨 \*tshi but it is not used as an independent word, and is apparently a bound word which can be termed a personal pronoun. Exp. 辨敏 \*thafi ndzafi “that man,” 辨變 “that time.”

c). Indeterminate pronoun.

In his *Hsi-hsia kuo-shu lüeh-shuo* (p. 8) Lo Fu-ch'ang writes that 翫 is: “a character used when indicating reverence or respect: therefore ‘there was a Bodhisattva’ is written 翫翫翫翫, ‘one by one’ is written 翫翫.” This is a “borrowed meaning” character, composed of the numeral 翫 “one” and 翫 the word radical. Examples occur fairly frequently in Buddhist works: 翫翫翫翫翫 “Next there is a world known as . . . .” (*Avatamsaka* 6); 翫翫翫翫 “there is a land known as . . . .” (*Avatamsaka* 6). The usage here scarcely accords with Lo Fu-ch'ang's explanation of the character. Rather than identifying 翫 as a pronoun indicating reverence, it would be better to consider it as one having an indeterminate meaning. The *Lei-lin* example cited above is typical of the usage of this pronoun (cf. p.564). This form corresponds to the meaning and function of the “有” in Chinese “有人” and the *mii* in Siamese *mii khon* “someone”.

d). Interrogative Pronoun.

The Hsi-hsia interrogative pronouns have the following form.

[thing]	翫	“what”	翫	“what”	翫	“which”
[person]	翫	“who”	翫	“who”	翫	“which person”
[time]	翫	“when”				
[place]	翫	“where”				

ii. Numerals.

a). The cardinal numerals are as follows:

翫 “1” *ləw,	翫 “2” *nhi,	翫 “3” *sō,
翫 “4” *t̄ir,	翫 “5” *ŋɣufi,	翫 “6” *t̄shiu,
翫 “7” *s̄a,	翫 “8” *yar,	翫 “9” *ŋgi,
翫 “10” *ɣa.		

In addition, there is another character for “10,” 翫 \*\*sia but both \*ɣa and \*\*sia are used interchangeably, so that the difference between the two cannot be distinguished.

In Hsi-hsia, as in Chinese, for units above 10 the sequences 10 and 1, 10 and 2, 20 and 1, 20 and 2, were used and there was no need, as in Tibetan, to insert various morphemes between the units 10 and 1.

“11” 翫翫 *ɣa ləw	“12” 翫翫 *ɣa nhi,	“13” 翫翫 *ɣa sō,
“14” 翫翫 *ɣa t̄ir,	“15” 翫翫 *ɣa ŋɣufi	“16” 翫翫 *ɣa t̄shiu
“17” 翫翫 *ɣa s̄a,	“18” 翫翫 *ɣa 'yefi,	“19” 翫翫 *ɣa ŋgi,
“20” 翫翫 *nhi ɣa,	“21” 翫翫翫 *nhi ɣa ləw,	“30” 翫翫 *sō ɣa,

- “31” 𪛗𪛗𪛗 \*sō ɣɑ ləw, “40” 𪛗𪛗 \*t̥ir ɣɑ, “41” 𪛗𪛗𪛗 \*t̥ir ɣɑ ləw,  
 “50” 𪛗𪛗 \*ŋɣuɸi ɣɑ “51” 𪛗𪛗𪛗 \*ŋɣuɸi ɣɑ ləw, “100” 𪛗 \*xiɸ,  
 “200” 𪛗𪛗 \*nhi xifi, “1000” 𪛗 \*tu, “3000” 𪛗𪛗 \*sō tu,  
 “10,000” 𪛗 \*khi, “80,000” 𪛗𪛗 \*yar khi, “100,000,000” 𪛗𪛗 \*rir,  
 “10,000,000,000” 𪛗𪛗 \*xifi rir.

b). Ordinal numerals are formed by adding 𪛗 \*tsəw after the cardinal numeral; tsəw is believed to have originally had the meaning “to divide.”

- “first” 𪛗𪛗 ləw tsəw, “second” 𪛗𪛗 nhi tsəw, “third” 𪛗𪛗 sō tsəw,  
 “fourth” 𪛗𪛗 t̥ir tsəw, “fifth” 𪛗𪛗 ŋɣuɸi tsəw, “sixth” 𪛗𪛗 t̥shiu tsəw,  
 “seventh” 𪛗𪛗 šɑ tsəw, “eighth” 𪛗𪛗 'yar tsəw, “ninth” 𪛗𪛗 ŋg̃i tsəw,  
 “tenth” 𪛗𪛗 ɣɑ tsəw.

There are occasions when 𪛗𪛗 \*ɣuɸi tsəw “第首” is used in place of “first.”

c). Classifiers, found in Burmese, Lolo, and other languages are not recognized in Hsi-hsia. This is a feature which Tibetan and Hsi-hsia have in common. Consequently, the noun classification category as observed in the Burmese-Lolo languages is believed not to have existed.<sup>13</sup>

In the Kuan-ying Tower Inscription there are several examples, such as 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 “Fifteen liang of gold,” 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 “sixty lengths of thin silk for clothing,” 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 “seventy flags,” 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 “one thousand strings of cash,” and 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗 “one thousand bushels.” These are not classifiers in the strict sense of the word. Examples which are closer to the meaning of the term can be found in *Chang-chung-chu*: 𪛗𪛗𪛗 “one month,” 𪛗𪛗𪛗 “three stings (of a musical instrument),” 𪛗𪛗𪛗 “six strings (of a musical instrument).” The writer is reluctant to consider 𪛗 and 𪛗 as classifiers, corresponding to Chinese “個” and “線.”

#### E. Form class II; adjective class.

All words which appear in the position of  $M_2$  in construction B belong to form class II. But the same word can stand in the position of  $M_1$  to make a construction resembling construction A. For example, the 𪛗 le in: i) 𪛗𪛗 lifi le “great wind,” 𪛗𪛗 ŋhafi le “great army,” 𪛗𪛗 ɣkiē le “great strength” are in position  $M_1$ , whereas in: ii) 𪛗𪛗 le sɔɸi “sun 太陽,” 𪛗𪛗 le t̥i “moon 太陰,” 𪛗𪛗 le hi “great earth 大地,” the le is in position  $M_1$ . While in example i) this form class is clearly and consciously used as a determiner “big,” in example ii) it is used as a word indicating the generic class of the determined word, and as such cannot be separated from it. The limit of these two usages of words belonging to form class II is difficult to determine by examining the form of the words themselves, and must be ascertained by an ex-

13. Nishida Tatsuo, “Chibetto Biruma gokei no gengo to Tai gokei no gengo チベット・ビルマ語系の言語とタイ語系の言語 *Kotoba to ningen* コトバと人間, Tokyo 1958, p. 245 ff.

amination of the forms in which they are actually used. Given below are several examples of words which stand in the  $M_2$  position of construction B and which clearly belong to form class II.

玢縹	Jewel·true → pearl,	縹縹	word·true → truth,
綴縹	flower·pure → lotus,	縹縹	calm·pure → purity,
露縹	dew·sweet → nectar (amrta),	縹綴	eye·wide → wide of eye,
縹縹	wind·soft → gentle wind,	縹縹	wind·pure → fresh wind,
縹縹	cloud·dense → thick clouds.		

Words conveying the meaning of “color” and those indicating “longness” and “shortness” invariably stand in position  $M_1$ , and most clearly indicate that they belong to form class II.

縹縹	tiger·white → white tiger,	縹縹	bean·black → black bean,
縹縹	dew·white → white dew,	縹縹	wind·black → black wind,
縹縹	rice·white → white rice,	縹縹	color·black → black,
縹縹	melon·long → gourd,	縹縹	heel·short → short heel,
縹縹	heel·long → long heel.		

#### F. Form class III; Verb class.

In construction C, which takes the form  $M_1$  (object) ←  $M_2$  (action), the word in position  $M_1$  has already been designated as form class I (noun class); words which take the position of  $M_2$  in this construction have here been designated as form class III (verb class). The following are given as examples of this construction:

- i. 縹縹 “to make a ditch,”      縹縹 “to dig a well,”  
 縹縹 “to sell a paddy field,”      縹縹縹 “to cut off desire and sorrow,”  
 縹縹縹 “to learn literary subjects,”  
 縹縹縹 “to repair a temple building,”  
 縹縹縹 “to look for written characters,”  
 縹縹縹 “to go out in the world and practice the way.”

In contrast to the above, the following constructions exist:

- ii. 縹縹 “the sun rises,”      縹縹 “the sun sets,”  
 縹縹 “the wind rises,”      縹縹 “snow falls,”  
 縹縹 “the ground moves,”      縹縹 “water overflows,”  
 縹縹 “the mountain crumbles.”

In these examples we can recognize a construction D in contrast to construction C. In both constructions C and D a word belonging to form class I is put in the position of  $M_1$ , and the word in the position of  $M_2$  indicates one action. Consequently, in the

construction:

Form class I = noun class + "action," there are actually two types:

- i) M<sub>1</sub> (object) M<sub>2</sub> (action)
- ii) M<sub>1</sub> "does" M<sub>2</sub>

The difference lies in the function of the word in position M<sub>2</sub>; in other words, in the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. But there are times when it is not clear to which form a verb belongs, for example: 龍發 ōkiě tōfi is either "to make a sound" or "the sound comes out"; 舜祥龍 fīuŋ nieŋ šōfi is either "to give rise to a heart of sadness" or "a heart of sadness arises." To which group such construction forms belong cannot be definitely determined. Therefore, the word which appears in the position of M<sub>2</sub> in constructions C and D is placed in form class III; transitive verbs in construction C are designated as IIIa, and intransitive verbs in construction B are designated as IIIb.

I) In form class IIIa "transitive verbs" the following words are included:

齋 "to eat"	舜 "to drink"	發 "to study"	龍 "to lose"
龍 "to ask"	舜 "to say"	發 "to hear"	發 "to burn"
龍 "to send"	龍 "to forget"	發 "to fear"	舜 "to write"
龍 "to put on the head"	龍 "to throw away"	龍 "to trample" etc.	

II) In form class IIIb "intransitive verbs" the following words are included:

發 "to sit"	龍 "to come"	龍 "to be full"	龍 "to sleep"
龍 "to appear"	舜 "to live"	龍 "to enter"	龍 "to rain"
龍 "to change"	龍 "to separate"	龍 "to be surprised"	
龍 "to rejoice"	龍 "to shake"	龍 "to be born" etc.	

Negative forms of the verb.

- 1) Negation of action. 概 \*mifi precedes both transitive and intransitive verbs; thus the form is \*mifi + verb. Consequently, if a \*mifi is used, the word belongs to form class III.

緝概龍龍 "not to think with the mind,"  
 龍龍概龍 "not to respect one's superiors,"  
 龍龍概龍 "will not do it the next time,"  
 龍龍概龍 "not to tell true stories,"  
 龍龍概龍 "not to know worldly affairs,"  
 龍龍概龍 "not to be deluded by things."

- 2) Negation of existence. Uses the bound word 緝 \*mefi

龍龍 "sorrow is not" → without sorrow,"

- 髡髡 “stain is not” → “stainless,”  
 訖髡 “boundaries are not” → “infinite,”  
 穽髡 “fear is not” → without fear,”  
 訖莖髡 “utmost limit is not” → limitless,”  
 穽髡 “conception is not” → inconceivable,”  
 髡髡 “the remainder-is-not Way” → “the Way to no-remainder (Nirvāṇa),”  
 穽髡 “the form-is-not world” → “the world of non-form (arūpadhātu).”

This \*mefi corresponds to Tibetan ‘med.’ Just as ‘med’ is the reduced form of ‘ma-red,’ so the Hsi-hsia \*mefi may also be considered to be the reduced form of an original sequence \*mafi-wi 度. This \*mefi, in so far as its function is concerned, is the opposite of 穽 \*nriufi, 髡 \*lhi, and 穽 \*tšhiu (all corresponding to Tibetan -ldan,-can, . . . possessing.”) Compare :

- 穽穽 “having consciousness” Tib. sems-can,  
 穽穽 “auspicious, fortunate” Tib. dpal-ldan,  
 穽穽 “having the power of wetness” Tib. rlan-stobs-can  
 穽穽 “sentient (sattva),” 穽穽 “a man with eyes”, etc.

3) Negation of relation. Uses 髡 \*Tiafi.

髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 “not in existence, not in non-existence, not good, not bad, not clean, not dirty” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 “not in substance, not in non-substance, not having taste, not without taste” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 “to distinguish whether it is the Way or whether it is not the Way” (*Avatamsaks* 38).

This is the negative form of 髡 \*ŋxu, and corresponds to Tibetan min < ma-yin.

4) Negation of probability. Uses 髡 mufi.

髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 “Even though the mind arises, not knowing the reasons for its arising; even though the mind is destroyed, not knowing the reasons for its destruction” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 “Not fit to drink, not capable of being sullied” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

髡髡 髡髡 髡髡 “to be able to enter an immeasurable kalpa” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

G. Form class IV; Prefixes and suffixes—constituents attached to verbs

In Hsi-hsia there exist bound forms which are attached before and after verbs, and modify their meaning. The bound form preceding the verb is here referred to as a







灑灑靡靡靡灑灑 “all the fragrant rivers cover everything” (*Ibid.* 8),  
 綫綫綫綫綫綫綫 “The various tassels hang down together” (*Ibid.* 8),  
 灑灑灑灑灑灑灑 “From the numerous clouds came rain, and offerings  
 were made” (*Avatamsaka* 6).

It is difficult to assign a definite meaning to this form. From the examples above, it is presumed that it is a prefix which includes the meaning of “to fill, to cover,” and also conveys the sense of “facing or moving downward.”

We can infer, then, that Hsi-hsia verbal prefixes serve to indicate various points in the progressive process as well as direction of the action of the verb. Consequently, we are unable to find any specific words in Tibetan or Chinese which correspond to these prefixes.

ii. Suffixes.

It is necessary, in the Hsi-hsia language, to distinguish three classes of suffixes. For example, we can detect three contrasting forms in the following three sentences, which all have the form of the previously-mentioned construction C:

綫綫綫綫綫 “to obtain the ten kinds of perfection,”  
 綫綫綫綫綫綫 “to cause to obtain the ten kinds of perfection,”  
 綫綫綫綫綫綫綫 “to be able to cause to obtain the ten kinds of  
 perfection.”

These three contrasting forms are 綫 : 綫綫 : 綫綫綫 . In addition to these, examples of the use of 綫綫綫 “... is able to obtain!” and 綫綫綫綫 “... is able to cause to obtain!” have been found. Of these, 綫 , 綫綫 , and 綫綫綫 are all bound words which have a common function in that they are never used independently. If, however, we take their position following the verb as criteria, these suffixes can be divided into three classes. Let us arbitrarily call 綫 class 1, 綫綫 class 2, and 綫綫綫 class 3.

In Hsi-hsia there are a number of other suffixes which can be classified under these classes.

a) Class 1 suffixes.

1) 綫 \*phifi Indicates the causative.

灑灑綫 “to cause all to produce” (*Avatamsaka* 6), 灑灑綫 “to cause all to be cast aside” (*Avatamsaka* 6). This causative frequently is used in conjunction with the particles within a sentence 綫 or 綫 . Example:  
 綫灑灑綫綫綫綫綫綫綫綫綫綫 “By the teaching of revelation,  
 to bring all the myriad beings in the world to awakening” (*Avatamsaka* 6),  
 綫綫綫綫綫綫綫 “to show Buddha to sentient beings” (*Avatamsaka* 6).

In Hsi-hsia active and causative are clearly differentiated, but active and passive are not distinguishable from the standpoint of the form of the

language.

- 2) 逡 \*ndañ Indicates the progress of the action.

There are not many examples of the use of this word. Among those that have been found are:

骸骸羸嶽翁叢逡叢 “to see the various enterprises being revealed,”  
 翦翦羸捕禪羸逡叢 “oneself to see the Dharma being preached here,”  
 翦翦絆羸羸逡叢 “to see oneself receiving and maintaining the words  
 of the Buddha”.

Let us, for the time being, call this a progressive form.

- 3) 𦉳 \*dži “to end” Indicates the termination of the action.

𦉳𦉳肢逐𦉳 “to end one’s samādhi” (*Avatamsaka* 41),  
 𦉳𦉳羸羸𦉳𦉳肢羸羸 “if you have finished giving your decision; if you  
 have yet to give your decision” (*Avatamsaka* 41),  
 𦉳𦉳肢逐𦉳 “to complete entering samādhi” (*Avatamsaka* 41).  
 骸羸羸逐𦉳羸 “to finish purifying the third rank” (*Avatamsaka* 36).

Provisionally this has been called a terminative form.

b) Class 2 suffixes.

- 1) 羸 \*ti “... to be able to” Indicates potentiality.

羸羸羸羸羸 “to be able to enter the limitless kalpas” (*Avatamsaka* 41),  
 羸羸羸羸羸 “to be able to move the numberless worlds”

(*Avatamsaka* 36)

羸羸羸羸羸 “to be able to contain all adornments” (*Avatamsaka* 8)

羸羸羸羸羸 “in this way, to be able to know all things everywhere”

(*Avatamsaka* 8)

- 2) 𦉳 \*ku Indicates the conditional.

𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳 “if...caused to obtain” (*CCC* 366),

𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳 “if it is widely spoken” (*Avatamsaka* 8),

𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳 “If karma is...sees what should be  
 praised by the Tathāgata” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳 “If in this way you live in this realm” (*ibid* 36).

- 3) 𦉳 \*kie Indicates the desiderative.

𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳 “to be desirous of entering the fourth stage of flaming  
 wisdom (fourth of the ten stages of a Bodhisattva)” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳 “Therefore wishing not to produce all the many  
 evil dharmas” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

薩繆瑟綽綽 “to wish to talk more about its meaning” (*Avatamsaka* 8).

- 4) 繆 \*təw Indicates the need to do some thing.

繆繆繆繆繆 “must speak of the Way of no-remainder” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

繆繆繆繆繆繆 “must practice the ten light-shedding teachings” (36),

繆繆繆繆繆繆 “the profound, superb Dharma which one must love” (36),

繆繆繆繆繆繆 “to enter into the great compassion which all the Buddhas must enter” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

c) Class 3 suffixes.

- 1) 繆 \*lifi Indicates emphatic determination.

繆繆繆 “Don’t come!”

繆繆繆繆繆繆 “The body of the Tathāgata neither increases nor diminishes!” (*Avatamsaka* 41),

繆繆繆繆繆繆 “Cause the good root to be produced in sentient beings!” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

- 2) 繆 \*nifi The exact function of this suffix is not know. It has been provisionally interpreted as indicating an emphatic exclamation.

繆繆繆繆 “Great is their anger” (大人嗔怒) (CCC 301).

- 3) 繆 \*nafi Interpreted as a form indicating the optative.

繆繆繆繆 “I wish you would listen well to what I say” (聽我之言) (CCC 312).

- 4) 繆 \*məfi Interpreted as an exclamatory form.

繆繆繆繆 “That’s what I would call being filial” (可謂孝乎) (CCC 314).

H. Form class V Particles within a sentence.

When there is a need, within one sentence, to make clear the mutual relationship of words in a sequence, the following particles are used:

- i. 繆 \*tafi In *Tung-yin* this word is identified as a particle and in *Wen-hai tsa-lei* we find: 繆繆繆繆 “此者助語也 this is a particle.” As seen from several examples cited below, particularly under “noun expressions,” this particle is used to indicate the subject of the sentence. It is also used as: 繆繆繆 “I am a stupid person” (CCC 315) and when a series of things is being enumerated, 繆繆……繆繆…… “first is . . . second is . . . (corresponds to the *ni* in Tibetan *dang po ni . . . gnyis-po ni*). In additions, 繆繆 “this is” corresponds to the Chinese” 所謂 so-called.”

- ii. 繆 \*yefi This particle generally indicates the genitive and corresponds frequently to Chinese “之.” There are not a few instances, however, where it indicates the dative or the accusative.

- 1) 繆繆繆繆 “The bodies of sentient beings” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

繆繆繆 “the land of China” (*Kuan-ying inscription*).

- 2) 繆繆繆繆繆繆繆繆繆繆繆繆 “The Vajragarbha Bodhisattva reported to the ‘Moon of Deliverance 解脫月’ Bodhisattva saying . . .” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “to be given as a bride to another person” (CCC 296).

3) 𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “The Bodhisattva does not discard any sentient being” (*Avatamsaka* 36), 𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “to harm another person” (CCC 296).

iii. 𢇛 \*ŋɣu This particle indicates the instrumental.

See verb expression a) ii and b) ii, below.

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “The Bodhisattva, with these ten light-shedding teachings, is able to enter into the fourth stage of flaming wisdom” (*Avatamsaka* 38).

iv. 𢇛 \*ɣafi Indicates the locative and ablative.

1) 𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “The crime is with me” (CCC 316),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “The true form basically does not change” (*Kuan-ying ins.*).

2) 𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “To arise from samādhi” (*Avatamsaka* 41),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “produced from clouds, not from the pond”

(*Avatamsaka* 41).

v. 𢇛 \*ɛfi This is identified as a particle in *T'ung-yin*. From the following examples it is judged that it indicates the accusative.

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “Always produce love of the good, always give rise to profound faith” (*Avatamsaka* 47),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “to understand the various bright dhāraṇī”

(*Suvarṇa prabhāsottamarāja*),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “to produce all the merits” (*Suvarṇa prabhāsottamarāja*).

In addition, in the small writing on the east wall of Chü-yung-kuan we find an example of its use: 𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “to install all the various treasures”. The sequence 𢇛𢇛 corresponds to Tibetan la-sogs “and so forth, and the like.” 𢇛 is related to Tibetan la; 𢇛, which indicates the plural, corresponds to Tibetan sogs. Although this sequence 𢇛𢇛 is found in *T'ung-yin* (“Tongue-tip sounds” group 14A6), this usage is believed to represent a form translated literally from the Tibetan.

vi. 𢇛 \*rir Indicates the ablative.

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “Not separating from concentration on the sangha”

(*Avatamsaka* 36)

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “Not separating from concentration on the Dharma”

(*Avatamsaka* 36),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “the amount of the light is equivalent to the Dharmadhātu” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

vii. 𢇛 \*khafi Possesses the meaning of “within.”

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “I am the chief of all sentient beings” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “Within the three treasures” (*Avatamsaka* 36),

𢇛𢇛𢇛𢇛 “In the Book of Filial Piety it is said” (CCC 312).

viii. 𢇛 \*wɣ Possesses the meaning of “within.”

菝彗暉𠄎 “To produce *in* the place of practice”, 菝𠄎暉 “*In* the world”  
 (Avatamsaka 41),  
 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 “*In* the lands of the three worlds” (Svarṇa prabhūsottamāja).

Although the difference in the meaning of vii)khafi viii)’wū is not clear, because the latter has been found used in the sense of 暉𠄎 “within and without,” it may be considered to mean “inside” in contradistinction to “outside.” Since the former is found in the usage, 菝𠄎 “world (世間)” (CCC 273), it most probably means “within, between.”

As a result of these analyses, we may arrange the particles found within the Hsi-hsia sentence in diagram form as follows:

1. M (subject) taf 菝 → M
2. M (object, recipient of action of the verb) ’yefi 𠄎 → M
3. M (object, not the recipient of the action of the verb) ’efi 𠄎 → M
4. M (possessor) ’yefi 𠄎 → M
5. M (recipient of profit) ’yefi 𠄎 → M
6. M (place, origin) ḡafi 菝 → M
7. M (cause) ṅḡu 菝 → M
8. M (connection) rir 菝 → M
9. M (inside, within) ’wū 暉 → M
10. M (between, among) khafi 菝 → M

The setting up of such relationships shows certain similarities with the languages belonging to the Tibetan and Burmese linguistic groups, but the particular categories defined by the sentence particles may be said to be peculiar to the Hsi-hsia language.

#### I. Form class VI Adverbs.

Adverbs modify form classes I, II, and III and express time, place, condition, or degree. “The various” and “all” in 菝𠄎菝𠄎菝𠄎——菝𠄎菝𠄎菝𠄎 “the *various* implements for making offerings . . . are *all* prepared”; the “everywhere” in 菝𠄎 “to go *everywhere*”; the “all” in 菝𠄎菝𠄎菝𠄎 “*all* the world,” etc., can be classified as so-called adverbial modifiers. The following adverbs have been identified:

Time:	菝	“now,”	𠄎	“always,”	菝菝	“at first,”
	𠄎𠄎	“successively,”	𠄎	“afterwards.”		
Condition:	菝𠄎	“suddenly,”	𠄎𠄎	“by degrees,”		
	𠄎𠄎	“variously,”	菝𠄎	“before the eyes,”		
	菝𠄎	“thusly,”	菝𠄎	“for example,”		
	菝𠄎	“in detail.”				
Degree:	菝	“very, most,”	菝𠄎	“supremely,”	𠄎	“therefore, further,”
	菝𠄎	“all,”	菝	“all (總),”	菝𠄎	“all (一切),”
	菝𠄎	“all, each and every (皆悉),”	菝𠄎	“scarcely.”		

In addition, we have the adverbs: 繡發 “ultimately,” 辦發 “after all,” 黠靛 “swiftly,” 綵靛 “gradually,” etc. The last three of these were originally phrases which did not have a proper adverbial form. The present writer believes that “successively,” “all 一切,” “variously,” and “by degrees,” given above, in that they are forms which duplicate the same syllable, represent the original functional form of the adverb. The same applies to those words that are accompanied by a special bound form, such as “suddenly.”

J. Form class VII Conjunctions.

The following conjunctions are found in the Hsi-hsia language:

𪛗 “then”	𪛗 “if”	𪛗 “or”	𪛗 “then, again”
𪛗 “and”	𪛗 “from . . . to”		

K. Types of expression in the Hsi-hsia language.

The types of expression in Hsi-hsia may be divided into two major types, “noun expression” and “verb expression.” A “noun expression” is a noun or a sequence of nouns (Form class I), one of which serves as a head word to the noun sequence. It is an independent sequence, which does not contain the constituent elements of any larger form. A “verbal expression,” on the other hand, is a verb or a sequence of verbs (Form class III), one of which serves as a head word to the verb sequence. It is an independent sequence, which does not contain the constituent elements of any larger form.

i. Noun expressions.

The forms: 𪛗 “man,” 𪛗 𪛗 “aspects of a man,” and 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 “paper brush, ink, ink stone” are, of course, “noun expressions”; however, the “noun expressions” most frequently encountered in Hsi-hsia can be divided into the following three types:

- 1)  $M_1 M_2$  𪛗 (\* $\eta\chi u$ ).  $M_1$  is  $M_2$ .
- 2)  $M_1$  𪛗 (\* $\text{tafi}$ )  $M_2$ .  $M_1$  is  $M_2$ .
- 3)  $M_1$  𪛗  $M_2$  𪛗.  $M_1$  is  $M_2$ .

Examples are:

- 1) 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 “This is the power of the freedom of the place of practice” (*Avatamsaka* 8).
- 2) 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 “This is the power of the freedom of the Tathāgata” (*Avatamsaka* 8).
- 3) 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 “This is ten” (*Avatamsaka* 36).

In addition, there are not a few examples of a variant form of type 1, in which  $M_1$  is not clearly indicated.



叢叢龍峴叢龍叢 “Or it is the Lotus-treasury or jewelled clouds”

(*Avatamsaka* 8)

ii. Verb expressions.

“Verb expressions” take the basic form of the independently used construction C and construction D. The following types are frequently encountered:

a. i)  $M_1 M_2$  綉 (\*wi),  $M_1$  forms  $M_2$ .

綉叢叢龍峴龍綉 “The mysterious-jewelled lotus forms the castle”

(*Avatamsaka* 8),

綉叢叢龍綉 “The body of the Buddha gives forth a golden color”

(*Avatamsaka* 41).

ii)  $M_1$  報 (\*ryu)  $M_2$  綉 With  $M_1$ ,  $M_2$  is formed.

報叢叢龍綉 “Again with jewels, the palace is made”

(*Avatamsaka* 8),

綉叢叢龍綉 “with form and color the affairs of the Buddha are made” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

i)  $M_1 M_2$  綉 (\*mvi)  $M_1$  makes  $M_2$ .

綉叢叢龍綉 “The mysterious jewels of the lotus become a jewelled necklace” (*Avatamsaka* 8),

綉叢叢龍綉 “The jewels make a net; gold makes the bell”

(*Avatamsaka* 8).

ii)  $M_1$  報  $M_2$  綉 With  $M_1$ ,  $M_2$  is made.

報叢叢龍綉 “With jewels of mysterious fragrance, that circle is made” (*Avatamsaka* 8),

綉叢叢龍綉 “With all the numerous mysterious flowers, offerings are made” (*Avatamsaka* 41).

c.  $M_1 M_2$  叢 (\*siē)  $M_1$  becomes  $M_2$ .

叢叢叢叢叢 “the perfume-treasure jewels come together and become a cliff” (*Avatamsaka* 8),

叢叢叢叢叢 “The jewelled trees are aligned to form a row”

(*Avatamsaka* 8).

d.  $M_1 M_2$  龍 (\*riuf)  $M_1$  contains or possesses  $M_2$ .

龍叢叢叢叢叢 “This sea of perfume contains the great lotus”

(*Avatamsaka* 8),

叢叢叢叢叢 “All the trees of the earth and sea each contain differentiations” (*Avatamsaka* 8).

The negative forms of these “noun expressions” and “verb expressions” are as follows (see Japanese text. p. 288):

noun expression	叢	negative form	情
verb expression	i) 綉	....	綉
	ii) 叢	....	叢

- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| iii) | 𪛗 | .... | 𪛗 |
| iv)  | 𪛘 | .... | 𪛘 |

The above analysis is no more than an attempt by the writer to present an outline of Hsi-hsia grammar on the basis of modern linguistic methods. But the analysis is severely limited by the paucity of materials, and is far from satisfactory in many respects. It is to be hoped that the decipherment of texts which as yet cannot be read, and the discovery of new texts, will supply further examples of Hsi-hsia usage that can be used to correct and supplement what has been said here.

## V. THE GENEALOGY OF HSI-HSIA BUDDHIST CANONICAL WORKS

A fairly extensive number of Buddhist canonical works in the Hsi-hsia language remain extant. They, however, do not represent a uniform body of texts, indicating that the works included stem from a variety of sources. There was never a large-scale printing of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka as a whole comparable to those made in China and Tibet. The edition of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka which is believed to have been issued, was made under the patronage of the Yüan dynasty and published after the Hsi-hsia nation had fallen. Consequently, differences such as may be seen in such large printed editions as the Tibetan Narutan or the Peking editions are not to be found. Nevertheless, among Hsi-hsia canonical works, each individual text shows variations in content and inconsistencies in form.

The present writer, during the course of his investigation of the fragments written in the Hsi-hsia language housed in the Tenri Library 天理圖書館, has come across several items which differ in various details with those Hsi-hsia Buddhist texts on which studies have already been published, particularly with those housed in the Peking Library.

The Hsi-hsia texts at the Tenri Library, with the exception of *chüan* 41 of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, are all fragments of only one leaf or at the most a few leaves of consecutive text. These can be divided roughly into the following four categories:<sup>1</sup>

- i. Former collection of Chang Ta-ch'ien 張大千, 1st series.

Fragments of Buddhist works, arbitrarily pasted and sewn. Almost all of them are believed to be Yüan printed works.

- ii. Former collection of Kiyono Kenji 清野謙次

Fragments of Buddhist works, arbitrarily pasted and bound (folded style). Entitled: "Hsi-hsia sūtras, found at Hei-ch'êng, Ning-hsia-sheng 黑城寧夏省, including Yüan dynasty documents." These are believed to be chiefly Hsi-hsia 河西 (i.e. Hsi-hsia) printed works.

- iii. Former collection of Chang Ta-ch'ien, 2nd series.

Case, entitled "Tun-huang fragments." Contains seven leaves of Hsi-hsia Buddhist material. All seem to be from Yüan dynasty printed works.

- iv. Former collection of Chang Ta-ch'ien, 3rd series.

Largely economic documents, being manuscripts written in Hsi-hsia cur-

1. Nishida Tatsuo, "Tenri Toshokan Seikago monjo ni tsuite 天理圖書館西夏語文書について, *Biblia*, no. 9, 1957, p. 11 ff.

sive script. Various fragments pasted and folded on boards. No title is given, but three leaves mounted on board seventeen are printed works, similar to those in the 2nd series of the former collection of Chang Ta-ch'ien.

The present writer has, for the most part, been able to determine to which sutras these fragments belong. Among the following four sutras, at least two variant texts of each have been identified:

- 1) *Avatamsaka sūtra* (*Ta-fang-kuang-fo hua-yen ching*) 大方廣佛華嚴經  
chüan 9.
- 2) *Fo-ting-hsin Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching* 佛頂心觀世音菩薩陀羅尼經.
- 3) *Suvarṇa prabhāsottamarāja sūtra* (*Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang ching*)  
金光明最勝王經.
- 4) *Fo-shuo Fo-mu ch'u-sheng san-fa-ts'ang pan-jo-p'o-lo-mi-t'o ching*  
佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅密多經.

1) *Avatamsaka sūtra*, 大方廣佛華嚴經

The most complete version of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* is the copy bearing the cover title *Ta-fang-kuang-fo hua-yen ching* kept at the Peking Library. According to the published catalogue,<sup>2</sup> altogether thirty-eight *chüan* are represented, including complete, incomplete, and later reprinted ones. It is also housed in the Russian Institute of Orientalology, but the number of *chüan* there is not known. In Japan, in so far as is known to this writer, the following *chüan* are extant:

- a. Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University,  
Wooden movable type Chüans 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 36
- b. Oriental History Research Room, Kyoto University, Stone printing, Chüan 41
- c. Tenri Library, Stone printing Chüan 41
- d. Ishihama Juntarō collection, Stone printing Chüan 41
- e. Fujieda Akira collection, Stone printing Chüan 41
- f. Former collection of Haneda Tōru Manuscript Chüan 74

The above all are complete *chüan*. Following the title, "translated by the T'ang priest from Khotan, Sikṣānanda," is written in Hsi-hsia, indicating that the work is translated from the Chinese version of the *Avatamsaka* in 80 *chüan*. The content of both the Chinese and Hsi-hsia versions is identical. In the Hsi-hsia text, the third line following the title runs as follows:

奉天顯道，耀武宣文，神謀睿智，制義玄邪，惇睦懿恭，皇帝神翻

Here "制義玄邪" is an honorary title for Jên-tsung 仁宗 (1139-1194), and the passage indicates that he was responsible for having Sikṣānanda's translation rendered into the Hsi-hsia language. There is little room for doubt on this point. However, of the *chüan* extant in Japan, with the exception of the copy formerly owned by Haneda Tōru, none is actually a Ho-hsi (Hsi-hsia) printing. That owned by the Research In-

2. The following is based on the catalogues of Hsi-hsia works in the Peking Library and the Russian Institute of Orientalology, as found in *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an*, v. 4, no. 3.

stitute for Humanistic Studies, as will be discussed later, is a Yüan edition printed from wooden movable type, which is based on the Ho-hsi printed edition. The copies in the Oriental History Research Room at Kyoto University<sup>3</sup> and in the Tenri Library, as well as those in the Ishihama and Fujieda collections, are all of a much later date, being stone-printing reprints of the edition in wooden movable type. Prof. Haneda's *chüan* 74 is a manuscript roll, twelve characters to a line. The style differs markedly from the Yüan dynasty printed editions, and there are a large number of miswritten characters. Yet the fact that the content is in places identical, and because of other considerations, it seems most likely that it is a Yüan dynasty manuscript copy of the Yüan printed version in movable type (see p. 599).

In addition to the still-extant *chüan* discussed above, among the Hsi-hsia fragments at the Tenri Library, the present writer has found four leaves which can, by comparing them to the Chinese translation of the sutra, be identified as belonging to the *Avatamsaka sūtra*. Fragments A and B are from *chüan* 9, Hua-tsang shih-chieh p'in 華藏世界品 5, pt. 2; fragment C from *chüan* 23, Sheng Tou-shuai t'ien-kung p'in 昇兜率天宮品 23; and fragment D from *chüan* 40, Shih-ting-p'in 十定品 27, pt. 1. The *chüan* 9 mentioned above, that is housed at the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University, comprises fifteen sheets composed of folded leaves (six lines to the half-leaf and seventeen characters to the line). In style the Tenri Library edition is identical but an examination of the contents shows that the method of arranging the characters is not the same. Fragment A corresponds with the text from line 2, character 5, to line 8, character 4, of the twelfth sheet of the Kyoto University edition. The Hsi-hsia characters themselves are the same, but the position of five characters has been changed.

The present writer, judging from the character style and quality of the paper, estimates that the Tenri fragments are earlier than the movable type edition (early Ming?) and represent a wood-block printing of the Yüan period. The reason for the shift in the five characters is not quite clear, but there are three possible explanations. The first possibility is that there was a partial change in the literary form of the Hsi-hsia language, and that when the movable type edition was printed, using the Yüan edition as a basis, a part of the contents was revised. The second possibility is that because wooden movable type was used in the later version, the number of characters per line was fixed, and that during the printing of the movable type edition, characters were accidentally dropped. In other words it is either a problem of style, stemming solely from an attempt to standardize the writing, or a problem of carelessness at the time that the movable type edition was set. The third possibility is that a combination of the above two factors took place.

Which of these possibilities is correct cannot be determined here; however, it can

3. The postcards issued in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Department of Literature, Kyoto University.

be stated that the movable type edition is not merely a direct reproduction of its Yüan predecessor. From the above, it may be surmised that fragments C and D, if they were to be compared with the movable type (?) edition of *chüan* 23 and 40 kept in the Peking Library, would prove to be older printed versions of these two *chüan*, in other words, Yüan dynasty block printed editions. However, the inability to examine these two *chüan* precludes a discussion of differences in the two versions.

2) *Fo-ting-hsin Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching* 佛頂心觀世音菩薩陀羅尼經

Among Tenri Library fragments of Hsi-hsia texts are included seven leaves from *chüan* 1, 2, and 3 of this sutra. They are from the collection of Kiyono Kenji. Judging from the text of the translation, they represent, without doubt, a re-translation into Hsi-hsia from the Chinese translation. The present author, however, has not been able to find a copy of the original Chinese work. It seems probable that the *Fo-ting-hsin Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching* in the Russian Institute of Orientology (Dragunov catalogue, no. 13; Nevsky, no. 14) is similar in contents.

This Tenri fragment has borders at top and bottom, six twelve-character lines to a half of a folded leaf, and is probably a block-printed work of the Yüan period. There is also in the Tenri collection another fragment, belonging to series 1 of the Chang Ta-ch'ien collection, which has a similar content and is also a printed work. However, the style differs, there being fourteen characters to a six line half of a folded leaf. A comparison of the two follows:

Tenri fragment A: 12 characters line

- 1) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
  - 2) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
  - 3) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
  - 4) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
- 1) 日二日不過皆悉死也世音觀
  - 2) 菩薩疾藏白衣門尊化爲大悲
  - 3) 心生門數處修是法印持疾心
  - 4) 請是陀羅尼經典三卷書令心

Tenri fragment B: 14 characters line

- a) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
- b) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
- c) 𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑𦉑
- d) 𦉑𦉑

This shows that without a doubt at least two different texts of this sutra existed. The present writer estimates that the former A) is a Yüan block printed edition, and the latter fragment B) a movable type printing based on the Yüan edition. No information has been published on the contents and style of the edition housed in the Russian Institute of Orientology, so that it is not clear whether this represents one of the above two editions, or is an entirely different version (Ho-hsi printed edition?).

3) *Chin-kuang-ming tsui-shêng-wang ching* 金光明最勝王經

*Chüan* 1, 3-10 are preserved in the Peking Library, and have already been published

by Wang Ching-ju 王靜如 together with the Tibetan and Chinese translations.<sup>4</sup> Among the Tenri Hsi-hsia fragments are five leaves from this sutra.

Fragment A; *chüan* 2, 17.5×30 cm, borders at top and bottom, eight lines of sixteen characters to a line. (However, line six has three characters remaining, then five characters missing, then another three characters remaining, and again five characters missing; line seven has only three characters remaining; line eight has only one character remaining). This fragment represents *chüan* 2, Fên-pieh san-shên-p'in 分別三身品 3 of the I-chêng 義淨 translation.

Fragments B. C. D. E; *chüan* 3: (B) 17.5×30 cm., (C, D) 24×30 cm., (E) 9×30 cm.; borders at top and bottom; (B) six lines, (C, D) twelve lines, (E) three lines, (however, the upper part is damaged, so that line one has fourteen, line two, thirteen, and line three ten characters remaining); sixteen characters to a line. This corresponds to *chüan* 3, Mieh-yeh-chang p'in 滅業障品 5.

If Wang Ching-ju's text of the Peking Library edition is correctly reproduced, the Tenri fragment, although it represents only a very small part of the whole, shows a considerable number of differences when compared with the Peking edition. In fragments B and C, for example, the following differences can be noted:

	Tenri Library	Peking edition	I-chêng translation (Korean Tripiṭaka edition)
B line 3	狩獮齋齋	戮戮狩獮	當得作佛
line 4	筭纒誦舒報	筭纒舒報	調御丈夫
C line 1	齋齋	(lacking)	(lacking)
line 6	戮戮徧鋒齋	戮戮徧鋒齋	大光照如來
line 7	齋齋	齋齋	群生
line 12	齋狩齋齋齋齋	齋狩齋齋齋齋	彼佛來至其所
B line 3	Being able to become a buddha	Entering samādhi and becoming a buddha	
line 4~5	Subdue a man	Subdue a man	
C line 1	up to (乃至)	(lacking)	
line 6	Ta-kuang-ming ju-lai (大光明如來)	Ta-kuang-chao ju-lai (大光照如來)	
line 7	Sentient beings (衆生)	Gathered beings (群生)	
line 16	His buddha came to that place.	His buddha came to his own place.	

From the above comparison we can tell that there were at least two different editions of the Hsi-hsia version of this sutra. Whether this means that they were based on two different printings of the I-chêng translation, whether one of these was based on the Tibetan translation of I-chêng's Chinese translation, or whether one is a Hsi-hsia

4. *Hsi-hsia yen-chiu*, ser 2, 3. Peking, *Academia Sinica*, ser. A, no. 8, 1932-33.

revised translation or an entirely different translation is difficult to determine. (Possibly the Tenri fragment is a Yüan block printing, and the Peking version made in movable type.)

4) *Fo-shuo Fo-mu ch'u-shêng san-fa-ts'ang pan-jo-p'o-lo-mi-t'o ching*

佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅密多經

The remaining *chüan* of this sutra are *chüan* 15, kept at the Peking Library and *chüan* 17, housed in the Russian Institute of Orientology. Of the latter, only the first leaf of the *chüan* has been made available, and it is not clear whether or not other portions of this *chüan* are also in the Institute collection. These two works, however, do not represent identical printings. The Peking edition is reported as having eighteen characters to the line (catalogue, no. 19); the Russian Institute of Orientology edition has sixteen characters to the line. Since no photographs of the former have been published, it is impossible to determine the exact details, but it is presumed to be a Yüan printed edition, possibly in wooden movable type. The Russian edition, on the other hand, judging from the style of the characters, is in all probability a Ho-hsi block printed edition.

The Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka was not published at one time in great quantities under a large-scale plan, but was doubtless issued in several stages, as works were gradually translated and printed. The present writer divides the period in which the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka was being produced into two periods: 1) Ho-hsi period (1038–1227) and 2) Yüan period (1227–?). In the various texts mentioned above, the majority of instances in which textual variations occur are in the works produced in the Yüan period.

In the Ho-hsi printed texts, especially in those issued during the early period, there are few characters per line and the characters themselves are small (see, for example, the *Mo-li-t'ien-mu-tsung-ch'ih* 摩利天母總持). Translated chiefly from the Tibetan, they correspond in size to the Tibetan edition, and are incised vertically, starting from the top right. Later when the translations were based on Chinese models, the physical size of the *chüan* became larger, and the number of characters per line increased. When wooden movable type came to be used, the size of each character became fixed, as well as that of the box in which they were set. Thus when the Yüan printed edition came to be reset in wooden movable type, it was natural that various changes and differences should have come about.

Even in the Ho-hsi printed works there are several different types. In the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka, it is usual for the honorary names of the Emperor and Empress to be entered at the head of the *chüan* as translator or editor. Thus, if the first part of the *chüan* is still extant, one can generally tell roughly in what period the work was translated. For example, from the preface of the *Tz'u-pei tao-ch'ang ch'en-hui fa* 慈悲道場懺悔法 we are able to determine that this text was translated during the reign of the Emperor Ch'ung-tsung 崇宗 (1086–1139) and the Empress Liang 梁.

Based on similar notices, the Hsi-hsia sutras of the Ho-hsi period, which were trans-



lated for public use, can be divided by period into three groups:

- 1) Translations by Hui-tsung 惠宗 (1069–1086) and the Empress Liang.
- 2) Translations by Ch'ung-tsung 崇宗 (1086–1139) and the Empress Liang.
- 3) Works edited by Jen-tsung 仁宗 (1139–1194). Actually, works belonging to the first and second periods are now fairly uncommon, while those belonging to the third period of Emperor Jen-tsung are most frequently encountered.

In the *Patna-megha sūtra* (*Fo-shuo pao-yü ching* 佛說寶雨經) we find a notice that identifies it as being a translation of the first period of Hui-tsung and the Empress Liang. However, *chüan* 10 of the edition housed at the Russian Institute of Orientalogy contains a notice indicating that this sutra was also edited by Emperor Jen-tsung of the third period.

The *Kuo-ch'ü chuang-yen chieh-ch'ien fo-ming ching* 過去莊嚴劫千佛名經, the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarikā-nāma-mahāyāna sūtra* (*Pei-hua ching* 悲華經) and the *Ching-lü i-hsiang* 經律異相 are all known to represent translations by Ch'ung-tsung and the Empress Liang, and the latter two works were also edited later by Jen-tsung. There are, moreover, several works, whose original translators are not known, but which were edited later by Jen-tsung. These include *Mahā-prajñāparamita sūtra* (*Ta-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to ching* 大般若波羅密多經), the *Fo-mu ta-k'ung-ch'üeh-ming-wang ching* 佛母大孔雀明王經, the *A-p'i-ta-mo shun-cheng li-lun* 阿毘達摩順正理論, the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, the *Hsien-tsai hsien chieh-ch'ien fo-ming ching* 現在賢劫千佛名經, and the *Suvarṇa prabhāsottamarāja sūtra* 金光明最勝王經. These translations were originally not made for public use, but nevertheless were later edited by the Emperor Jen-tsung and printed for public distribution. The larger part of the canonical works printed in the Ho-hsi period was edited by Jen-tsung, so that it can be said that during his reign previously translated texts were brought together and arranged and an attempt was made to issue a Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka.

The present writer feels that even before the period of Hui-tsung, beginning from the time of Yüan-hao, when the Hsi-hsia characters were being established, canonical works were also being translated, based largely on the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. It is also not inconceivable that in addition to the canonical works translated for public use, other Buddhist works had been translated, and that not a few of these were later revised and published during the reign of Jen-tsung.

Among the works edited by Jen-tsung, there are, of course, some which were translated from the Tibetan. One such is the *Fo-mu ta-k'ung-ch'üeh-ming-wang ching*. Yet judging from the style of the *chüan* heading, even though it is a translation from the Tibetan, the style does not differ in any way from that of canonical works translated from the Chinese. The notice at the head of the *chüan*, following the title of the sutra, states only that it is a translation into the Hsi-hsia language. As in the case of Tibetan canonical works, it does not give the Sanskrit or Chinese title in the Tibetan transliteration of Sanskrit or Chinese. Thus, the Hsi-hsia translation, whether it be a re-translation from the Chinese, or a translation from the Tibetan, has the same style as a

canonical work translated from the Chinese. However, the *Mo-li t'ien-mu tsung-ch'ih* 摩利天母總持, housed at the Tenri Library, completely obviates any conclusions which might be drawn from the above example. This work begins in the following form:

Line 1	Sanskrit	'A-ri-"dzafi mafi-ri-tsifi nafi-
Line 2		mafi thafi-rar-ñži
Line 3	Hsi-hsia	The dhāraṇī of the holy mother Marīcī
Line 4		To sambodhi and all Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas,
Line 5		reverence is given.

This corresponds exactly with the form of the following Tibetan sutra:

rgya-gar skad-du /ā rya ma rī tse nā ma dha-ra ṇī/  
 in Sanskrit ārya-mārīci-nāma-dhāraṇī  
 bod-skad-du ḥphags-ma ḥod zer can zhes-bya baḥi gzungs/  
 in Tibetan "The dhāraṇī known as the holy mother marīcī  
 sangs-rgyas dang byang chub sems dpaḥ thams-cad la phyag ḥtshal-lo/  
 entrusting in all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas."

This clearly indicates that the form: Sanskrit title at the head transliterated into Hsi-hsia, followed by the title in Hsi-hsia, was used in printed Hsi-hsia canonical works and thus that works which followed the same form as Tibetan Buddhist works were published in the Hsi-hsia language. That these works were translated from the Tibetan is clear from the fact that the size of the Hsi-hsia text is the same as that of their Tibetan counterparts, and that they are similarly incised from right to left. The *Sukhāvati-vyūha*<sup>5</sup> (*Wu-liang-shou ching* 無量壽經) housed in the Tenri Library is similarly believed to be a translation from the Tibetan, and although the first of the *chüan* is missing, it can be assumed to have had a form similar to the above *Mo-li t'ien-mu tsung-ch'ih*. Furthermore, it would not seem illogical to assume that the previously mentioned *Fo-mu ta-k'ung-ch'üeh-ming-wang ching* originally had the same format, but later when it was edited at the time of Jên-tsung, it was revised to conform with the style of works which had been translated from the Chinese. Up to the present the only text which has been found with a *chüan* heading form similar to works in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka is the *Mo-li t'ien-mu ts'ung-ch'ih*, but there is a distinct possibility that at one time other examples of this type of canonical work existed. It is strongly suggested that a special characteristic of these works was the smallness of their size, and that after the period of Hui-tsung they ceased to be produced.

When we come to the Yüan period, various problems are encountered. Shih-tsung 世宗 had works belonging to the Ho-hsi and Tibetan Tripiṭaka printed, but after Ch'eng-tsung 成宗 ascended the throne, the printing of Hsi-hsia Buddhist works was stopped (29th day, 11th month, 1295; *Yüan-shih Ch'eng-tsung pen-chi*, ch. 18). The publi-

5. This is believed to be a Hsi-hsia translation from the Tibetan translation, ḥphags-pa tshe dang yeshe dpaḡ-tu med-pa shes bya pa chen-poḥi mdo. Peking ed. 甘珠爾, 祕密部 7, no. 362.

cation, however, was soon begun again in Hang-chou 杭州. In the *Ta-tsung ti-hsüan-wen pen-lun* 大宗地玄文本論 ch. 3, published at the Yen-sheng-ssu 延聖寺 in Chi-sha 積砂, a copy of which is kept at Zenpuku-ji 善福寺 in Japan, the following notice is to be found:

“At the Ta-wan-shou-ssū 大萬壽寺 in Hang-chou-lu 杭州路, Hsiang-hsi-tao 湘西道, Chiang-nan 江南, blocks for the Ho-hsi Tripiṭaka in some 3620 *chüan* and for the *Avatamsaka sūtra* were cut. They were completed in 1302. Kuan Chu-pa 管主八 rejoiced on this occasion and had printed some thirty sets of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka and over a hundred copies each of the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, the *Liang-huang pao-ch'ên* 梁皇寶懺 and the *Hua-yen tao-ch'ang ch'ên-i* 華嚴道場懺儀, and over a thousand copies of the *Yen-k'ou shih-shih i-kuei* 焰口施食儀軌. These were donated to various temples in Ning-hsia 寧夏, Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and other areas so that they may be handed down for endless years.”

Hsi-hsia fragments which can definitely be determined to have been printed by Kuan Chu-pa have previously been discovered. Pelliot<sup>6</sup> quite some time ago called attention to the petition of Kuan Chu-pa:

“Director of monks, the Kuang-fu ta-shih 廣福大師 Kuan Chu-pa donated the Tripiṭaka in the Wên-shu-she-li-t'a-ssu 文殊舍利塔寺 and makes offerings for its perpetuation into the endless future.”

The present writer has found the identical petition among the Hsi-hsia fragments at the Tenri Library. The text to which it is attached is without doubt a Hsi-hsia canonical work made at Wan-shou-ssu in Hang-chou during the Yüan dynasty.

Wang Kuo-wei<sup>7</sup> 王國維 determined that the *Avatamsaka sūtra* in the collection of Mr. Lo 羅 and that of Mr. Shao 邵 (now in the possession of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University) were Yüan printed editions, on the basis of the above-mentioned notice concerning Kuan Chu-pa in the *Ta-tsung ti-hsüan-wen pen-lun*, and because the calligraphy, and quality of the paper and ink differed from that used in the *Chang-chung-chu*, which represents a Ho-hsi printed edition. This means that among the Hsi-hsia sutras made at Wan-shou-ssu in Hang-chou, a series of works centering on the *Avatamsaka sūtra* has been brought to light. Is this conclusion, however, true? Is there no room for doubt about the statement that blocks were cut for a 3620 *chüan* collection of Hsi-hsia works known as the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka, and that they were then printed and that the Tripiṭaka was distributed in 1302? Involved here are two important questions: 1) Was the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka actually printed and distributed at Hang-chou on so large a scale as 3620 *chüan*?; and 2) was this actually a woodblock edition? The present writer, on the basis of the following arguments, would like to reply to both of these questions in the affirmative.

6. “Les documents Chinois trouvés par la Mission Kozlov à Khara-khoto,” *Journal Asiatique* XI serie, tome 3, 1914, p. 518, Note additionnelle.

7. Yüan k'an pen Hsi-hsia-wen Hua-yen ching ts'an-chüan pa 元刊本西夏文華嚴經殘卷跋, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 觀堂集林 ch. 21, p. 18 ff.

Wang Ching-ju in his "Ho-hsi-tzu ts'ang-ching tiao-pan k'ao 河西字藏經彫版考" in *Hsi-hsia yen-chiu* 西夏研究 ser. 1, says: "The Hsi-hsia did not have a printed edition of the Tripiṭaka [as a whole], and it was only at the time of Shih-tsung of Yüan that one was made." Nikolai Nevsky and Ishihama Juntarō state<sup>8</sup>: "That the printing of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka in some 3620 *chüan* was completed in 1302 has been proven by professors Lo Shu-yen 羅叔言 [Lo Chen-yü] and Wang Ching-an 王靜安 [Wang Kuo-wei]. An examination of this *chüan* [of the *Avatamsaka*] proves at least that a Yüan woodblock printed edition of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka actually existed." Thus both studies affirm the existence of a Yüan Hsi-hsia Tripitaka.

There is no positive evidence to refute this conclusion; in fact, there is additional evidence to support it. Beneath the titles in the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, box numbers have been added :

- |                      |                                   |                        |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| ch. 1-10 羶 *tsefi 薩; | ch. 11-20 羶 *liü 頭;               | ch. 21-30 牀 *muifi 生;  |
| ch. 31-40 羶 *ši'ō 鐵; | ch. 41-50 羶 *rur 悔;               | ch. 51-60 羶 *wī (孔雀?); |
| ch. 61-70 羶 *dzī 江;  | ch. 71-80 羶 *nefi 羊. <sup>9</sup> |                        |

In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, ch. 3, the box no. 羶 \*vi 號, in the *Karunā-puṇḍarīka*, ch. 9, the box no. 羶 tse 歲 and in the *Kuo-ch'ü chuang-yen chieh-ch'ien fo-ming ching* the box no. 羶 ?, are all included. These sutras were all definitely made in the Yüan period, so that, in this writer's opinion, it would not be overly rash to say that all remaining fragments of Hsi-hsia works which have box numbers noted belong to the Yüan period. Judging from this it can be deduced that the manuscript copy of *chüan* 74 of the *Hua-yen ching*, since it has the box number entered, is a copy of the Yüan woodblock edition.

The Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka of some 3620 *chüan* is said to have contained almost all of the sutra, śāstra, and vinaya contained in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Some ten years after the blocks were cut there were printed canonical works issued. The postface to the *Kuo-ch'ü chuang-yen chieh-ch'ien fo-ming ching* housed in the Peking Library gives the date of publication as 1312. A notice in *chüan* 9 of the *Karunā-puṇḍarīka* indicates that the work was printed in 1307. In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, ch. 3, we find mention of an honorary title which was used between the years 1310 and 1315, indicating that this work was published during that period.

From the notice in the *Ta-tsung ti-hsüan-wen pen-lun* it is clear enough that wood-

8. "Seikagoyaku daizōkyō kō 西夏語譯大藏經考," *Ryūkoku daigaku ronsō*, no. 287, p. 443.
9. Wang Ching-ju believed that the box numbers attached to the Hsi-hsia sutras were transcriptions of the box numbers (垂, 拱, 平, 章, 愛) used in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The present writer believes that this is in error and that the Hsi-hsia themselves assigned these box numbers. He also does not accept the assumption that Kuan Chu-pa assigned box numbers to the Yüan reprint of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka, on the basis of the *Shêng-chiao fa-pao piao-mu* 聖教法寶標目. Cf. Wang Ching-ju "Hsi-hsia-tzu ts'ang-ching tiao-pan k'ao" in *Hsi-hsia yen-chiu*, ser. 1, Peking, 1932.
10. "Seika-kyōishi to ki to doro togenzon suru saiko no mokukatsujibon ni tsuite 西夏經石と木と泥と現存する最古の本活字本について," *Ishihama sensei koki kinen Tōyō gaku ronsō*, 1958, p. 484.

blocks for the Tripiṭaka were actually cut. Recently Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃<sup>10</sup> has advanced the opinion that the *Avatamsaka sūtra* in the Kyoto University Research Institute for Humanistic Studies is not a woodblock printing, but is printed from wooden movable type. The present writer is in complete agreement, and as further proof would like to point out that: 1) in block printed Hsi-hsia texts there are occasions where the strokes from one character overlap to some degree those of the following character, but in this edition of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* the characters are clearly separated. In addition, when a commonly used character such as 徽 is miswritten as 徽 in one place, the same mistake appears frequently in other places throughout the text; and that 2) instances have been discovered in which a 𠄎 mark, the imprint of a chisel, has been left to the upper right of a character. This indicates that movable type was used.

It would seem then that there is ample proof that the *Avatamsaka sūtra* at the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies is printed from wooden movable type. This, however, does not mean that the statement "Blocks were cut for the Ho-hsi Tripiṭaka in some 3620 *chüan*," contained in the *Ta-tsung ti-hsüan-wen pen-lun*, is in error. In the present writer's opinion the *Avatamsaka sūtra* at the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, and the one made in Hang-chou represent two entirely different editions. His surmise is based on the following evidence: 1) Wang Kuo-wei determined that the *Avatamsaka sūtra* of Messrs. Lo and Shao was a Yüan woodblock printed edition, on the basis of the statement in the *Ta-tsung ti-hsüan-wen pen-lun* and the fact that the style of the characters differed from that of the *Chang-chung-chu*; 2) The petition of Kuan Chu-pa in the Hsi-hsia fragments in the Pelliot collection has no direct connection with the *Avatamsaka sūtra* of Messrs. Lo and Shao; 3) it is undeniable that the fragment with Kuan Chu-pa's petition belongs to the Yüan printing described in the notice in the *Ta-tsung ti-hsüan-wen pen-lun*; and 4) the fragment in the Tenri Library with this same petition attached, differs greatly from the edition in the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies in character style and quality of paper. The Tenri text is thus a Yüan woodblock printing.

From the above considerations the present writer concludes that a Yüan woodblock printed edition definitely existed, and that later printings in the Yüan period all made use of the woodblocks cut at the Wan-shou-ssu in Hang-chou. An edition printed from wooden movable type also existed, but this was of a much later date, perhaps of the early Ming period, when this type began to be fairly widely used. This was a reproduction of the Yüan woodblock printed edition using wooden movable type. In the movable type edition there are quite a number of errors; however, in the Yüan editions printed up to around 1320, and in the inscriptions of 1345 at Chü-yung-kuan, the correct Hsi-hsia writing was still known. By the time that the wooden movable type edition was made, there were few people left who knew the correct way of writing Hsi-hsia characters.

In this writer's opinion, there were two attempts to make a Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka. The first was at the time of Jên-tsung, when the Emperor edited translations that had been made prior to his reign, standardized their form so that retranslations from the Tibetan and those from the Chinese appeared in the same format, and continued, but failed to complete, the translation of works that had yet to be rendered into the Hsi-hsia language. The second attempt was some sixty years after the collapse of the Hsi-hsia nation, under the patronage of the Hsüan-cheng-yüan 宣政院 at the Wan-shou-ssu in Hang-chou. This consisted of a reprinting of the works which had been brought together by Jên-tsung, and with the addition of newly translated works, totaled some 3620 odd *chüan*. To each *chüan* a box number was added as an aid to locating the material. Later in the Yüan period the *Avatamsaka*, *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*, and other sutras were published. Still later, perhaps in the Ming period, a very small portion of the Tripiṭaka—perhaps the *Avatamsaka* in 80 *chüan* and a few other works—was printed in wooden movable type. Later still several copies of *chüan* 41 of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* were reproduced by stone printing.

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## 西夏語の研究

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