Xixia Language Studies and the Lotus Sutra (II)

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1. The Birth and Death of the Xixia Language—Its Life

IMMEDIATELY after he had established the Xixia state in 1032, its first emperor Li Yuanhao 李元昊 ordered the creation of a new written language and a writing system for properly recording it, one that would replace the Tibetan and Chinese scripts that had been used till then. He intended, internationally, to enhance the prestige of his empire and, domestically, to strengthen the unity of its constituent tribes and to promote vernacular culture.[1] The language and its ideographs are called the Xixia language and Xixia characters, respectively. The project was quickly and superbly executed and in 1036 the fruits of the endeavor—the language and the characters—were promulgated throughout the country. As a result, a new culture area was formed in the northwestern corner of the Chinese civilization sphere, as Xixia characters replaced the use of Chinese characters. The creation of the Xixia characters also represented the birth of a unique type of ideograph.

Most of the tribes which composed the Xixia state, such as the Mi and the Minyak, spoke their own dialects, derivative of a common parent language (i.e., they were dialects of *Dangxiang yu* 党項語). Though these dialects are considered to have shared common features,[2] they must have been fairly different from each other in terms of phonology, grammar and vocabulary formation. For example, these differences between the expressions of their own designations in the Mi and Minyak dialects can be noted:

Mi (彌)　　　　　　　　　　　Minyak (彌諾)
㣎 mifi (rising 10)　　　　　　㣎 mɨ (rising 28)　㣎 nĭafi (rising 18)
㣎 nĭafi (level 21) "black"　　　Mi ← "black"

Regarding the self-names in Xixia, the Mi tribe pronounced it as rising tone 10th rhym mifi, and the Minyak tribe as rising tone 28th rhym mɨ. Regarding the word for "black," both had it as nĭafi, the Mi pronounced it with level tone, and the Minyak with rising tone.

It is very probable that the second syllable, mifi (level 11), of ŋʷwɪ-mifi (level 11) 獙儺 崀名 meaning "imperial family" was one of the corresponding cases of the Mi. Its meaning might have been the Mi of Wei 魏.[3]

From the time of its promulgation in 1036, the Xixia language improved and developed in its power of expression through the process of translation of Buddhist canons, official documents and Chinese classics, and through the creation of the nation's own vernacular literary works. The language reached the apex of its development during the reigns of Hui Zong 惠宗 (1069–1086), Chong Zong 崇宗 (1086–1139) and Ren Zong 仁宗 (1139–1194).[4] Then, as the state declined, the Xixia language was brought to the verge of extinction. It appeared to have ended its life after the destruction of the Xixia state by Mongolian troops, who invaded from the north in 1227. However, the Xixia language received a new lease of life thanks to the Yuan 元 (Mongolian) dynasty's preferential treatment of the language. This invigoration came about through the publication of *The Yuan Version of the Xixia Tripitaka* 元刊西夏大藏經.

The homeland of Xixia (Tangut) was, like Tibet, under the rule of the Office of Administrative Control 統制院 (later, the Office of Benevolent Administration 宣政院), and the Tangut were given preferential treatment as the *semu ren* 色目人 (persons with special status). Shi Zu 世祖 (Kublai Khan), who saw in the promotion of Buddhism a means of exerting control over the populace, ordered the production of a set of printing blocks of the Xixia Tripitaka in Dadu 大都, the capital of the Yuan empire. The project was suspended in 1294 when Cheng Zong 成宗 ascended the throne, but it was soon resumed and continued at Wanshousi 萬壽寺 in Hangzhou. It seems that by 1302, more than 3,620 volumes of Xixia scriptures, called the Hexi Tripitaka 河西大藏經, were completed and donated to temples in the Tangut homeland. By this time, more than 70 years had passed since the fall of the Xixia state.

The completion of the project is an almost certain fact, judging from colophons attached to *Da Zong di xuanwen benlun* 大宗地玄文本論 in the collection of Zenpukuji 善福寺 temple in Japan, as well as preface texts for Xixia scriptures obtained by Paul Pelliot, and fragments in the collection of the Tenri Central Library 天理図書館.[5]

In 1970, I found extant portions of the original Xixia triptaka at the Swedish National Museum in Stockholm, as confirmed by the "Bai-shang Daguo Xinyi Sancang shengjiao xu" 白上大国新訳三蔵聖教序 (Preface to the Principal, Great and Superior [i.e., Xixia] State's New Translation of the Three-Basket Sacred Teaching) that was attached to these

scriptures. Six sutras remained: the *Foshuo Yueguang Pusa jing* 佛説月光菩薩經 (Buddha-delivered Moonlight Bodhisattva Sutra), the *Foshuo Liaoyi Bore boluomi jing* 佛説了義般若波羅蜜經 (Buddha-delivered, Meaning-clearly-determined Perfection of Wisdom Sutra), an unidentified sutra—only the latter part of which remains, without the beginning and ending portions—along with three other fragments (A, B and C).[6] As the preface refers to itself as "New Translation" 新譯, the scriptures must belong to what I have termed the second period of the Xixia Tripitaka translation. Though it is not possible to determine how many of the volumes of the tripitaka (sutra, vinaya and abhidharma) were actually included, one may assume that it was a compilation of newly-translated Buddhist scriptures and a reprint of the tripitaka completed during the reign of Ren Zong 仁宗 (1139–94).

The fact that the translation project was completed suggests that the Xixia language was still widely used—and that knowledge of its characters had been retained—among people in the middle of the 14th century.

On the inner wall of Guojieta 過街塔 (Crossing Street Tower) at the Juyong-guan 居庸関 (Common Dwelling Pass), which is on the way from Beijing to the Western Regions, there are inscriptions of dharani texts and the account of building the tower in six languages and scripts. One of these inscriptions is in Xixia language and characters. The inscriptions were made in 1345, thirty-three years after the completion of the Hexi Tripitaka. It is possible that the Xixia script was included because the Xixia people remained an influential ethnic group even 118 years after the fall of their state. Although the Xixia texts in these inscriptions has lost the B-stems of verbs, and the use of view sentences is not as frequent as in earlier times, the script still appears to fully preserve the basic grammatical structure of the Xixia language, to the extent that it uses both of the two series of prefixes.[7]

Regarding Xixia texts after the Juyong-guan inscription, there is a paper that introduces the extant text of "Gao Wang Guanshiyin jing Gan De xu" 高王觀世音經感德序 (Preface by Gan De to the Gaowang Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds Sutra) (29 lines) dated the fifth year of Hongwu 洪武 (1372) of the Ming dynasty. This text is preserved at the Palace Museum 故宮博物院 in Beijing. The text in the preface still frequently uses the prefix series B.[8]

The approaching end of the Xixia language is evident in the text on an octagonal stone pillar, Xiangsheng chuang 相勝幢, unearthed in Hanzhuang 韓庄, Baoding 保定, 130 kilometers southwest of Beijing.[9] It was probably built by descendants of the Xixia people who had been relocated to Dadu. As the date of the pillar's completion is considered to

be the 15th year of Hongzhi 弘治 (1502), by that time 275 years had passed since the fall of the Xixia state. In the Xixia text on this pillar, the prefix series A appears, but the text does not include the B-stems of verbs. In this regard, no view sentences appear at all. The Xixia characters are used to enumerate proper nouns such the names of offices and people. One gets the impression that the characters are now little more than the empty hulls of the language. It is also possible that the characters had been handed down while the language had fallen out of use and been almost forgotten by then. In any case, it appears that the complete demise of the Xixia language was then imminent. The written language is considered to have lived for a little more than 450 years following its birth in 1036.[10]

I believe the extinction of a written language and that of a natural, spoken language should be treated as different matters.

2. Analysis of the Character System and the Restoration of the Linguistic System

Since I began studying the Xixia language and Xixia characters in the 1950s, I have always taken heed of treating the two tasks of (1) analyzing the character system and (2) restoring the linguistic system on different levels, and giving consideration to a balance between these two concerns. It is a cardinal rule that level of development of the characters and that of the language itself should not be confused when one carries out linguistic studies. It is, however, true that development in the understanding of one area accelerates development in the other. Since one can explore the Xixia language only through Xixia characters, the two, in particular, are closely connected and limitlessly intertwined. A difference in one character reflects a certain morphological difference in the language.[11]

The concepts of twin characters and double twin characters that I conceived has had a substantial effect in this field of discipline.[12] Pairs of twin characters with similar forms represent various correspondence and contrast on the morphological level. I do not however, discuss this further herein.

Difference in character form reflects a difference of meaning unit, i.e., phonological difference. To put it simply, when one reads a character form, there arises the question of which of the meaning units the character form refers to. In this regard, the research on the difference of character form is closely connected with the restoration of the phonological system of the Xixia language and, consequently, it is deeply concerned

with the genealogical study of this language.

At an early stage of my study in the 1960s, I attempted to restore the phonological system mainly based on the system from the lexicon *Tongyin* «同音»[13]. In the 1980s I published a revised version of my ideas after a major reexamination. For this I made reference to systems formulated in the rhyme table *Wuyin qieyun* «五音切韻», and the rhyme lexicons *Wenhai (Baoyun)* «文海 (寶韻)» and *Wenhai zalei* «文海雜類».[14]

Since then, I have continued to revise this version for my personal use, but there remain a fair number of matters that require further examination. The main points among them are: (1) To consider the correspondence between the subgroup of level tones 平声韻小類 and the subgroup of rising tones 上声韻小類; this is concerned with the restoration of rising-tone initial consonants 上声韻声母. (2) To reconsider initial consonants 声母 and rhymes 韻母 from the perspective of morphology; e.g., the reconstruction of vowels based on contrasts between (a) the voiced sounds of intransitive verbs and the voiceless unaspirated sounds of transitive verbs, and (b) between relaxed vowels of non-causative verbs and tightened vowels of causative verbs.[15] I hope to extensively discuss these problems in articles in the near future. Here I will consider some basic points concerning the meanings of each particular characters, making reference to the Lotus Sutra and related texts. Books like *Sancai zazi* «三才雑字», *Tongyi yilei* «同義一類» and *Fanhanyu yaoji* «番漢語要集», which are works the Xixia people at the time left as the products of their studies,[16] are, needless to say, very important material for analyzing the meanings of Xixia characters. However, I put these works out of my consideration here.

3.   The Analysis of Meanings

Lexicons, vocabulary books and phonological works all help provide important evidence in verifying the meanings of Xixia words.[17] However, the final determination is made through a correspondence between the Xixia word and its counterpart from a known language, such as Chinese or Tibetan. Let us take the basic example of verifying the meaning of the word "Buddha" 佛.

The meaning 絥 as "Buddha" is one of several characters known at the very beginning stage of early 20th century semantic research on the ideographs, when M. G. Morisse made public his studies.[18] It wouldn't be accurate to say that Morisse deciphered the meaning; the Chinese character had been written by an anonymous Chinese beside the original text in the Xixia Lotus Sutra that Morisse obtained.

At the present time, I can say the following about this character 絆 : It belongs to the 17th rhym (*yun* 韻) in *Wenhai* (*Baoyun*) and is pronounced tɦɑfi. It was originally used as the two-syllable word 報絆 fʷɨfi tɦɑfi. Later tɦɑfi by itself came to represent "Buddha." It is not an original Xixia word but a loanword. The word fʷɨfi tɦɑfi is a Xixia transliteration of the Chinese word *Fotuo* 佛陀, which, in turn, is a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit "Buddha." I assume that, while the first syllable of the Chinese *Fo* 佛 (copying "bud") came to represent the meaning of "Buddha" in Chinese, the second syllable dɦɑ (copying "dha") was used to represent "Buddha" in Xixia.[19]

Translators of the Xixia Buddhist scriptures were able to rely on the Buddhist terms established in Chinese and Tibetan. They did not translate directly from Sanskrit but created many transliterated Xixia words from the equivalents in Chinese. Some terms in the original were accepted as established, commonly-used Buddhist terms. That is to say, they were foreign words phonetically copied with vernacular characters.

Besides the examples of transliteration such as 隋魔筱 thon lɔfiɲi 陀羅尼 and 殇賤 tɦɑfi mɔfi 達磨, there are many words which were created through semantic translation.[20] The correspondence of names of things, in particular, can be made with relative ease. Among familiar examples are the Seven Treasures (七宝). In chapter 18 (The Benefits of Responding with Joy), juan 6:

金 銀	瑠璃	硨磲	瑪瑙	珊瑚	琥珀
藹 貎	瀱譴	骸牏	炰離	餕傪	鞁綬
kɪě ŋɔfi	naw ʔyɨ	ləw nǐefi	nʷɨkʷin	šʊkhʷʉ	lifi tšĭʷəw
(L66)(R42)	(R20)(L69)	(R38)(L39)	(R60)(L32)	(L28)(L28)	(L29)(R40)

In chapter 11 (The Emergence of the Treasure Tower), juan 4, 真珠 (pearl) and 玫瑰 (carnelian) appear in place of 珊瑚 (coral) and 琥珀 (amber), respectively. In chapter 1 (Introduction), the transliterated words 摩尼 (mani jewels) and 頗梨 (crystal) are used follows:

真珠	玫瑰	摩尼	頗梨
炰藹	毵齸	賤筱	燩鬤
nʷị ʔyĭě	lĭʊfi nɔfi	mɔfi ɲi	phɔfi li
(R60)(L34)	(R6)(R42)	(R42)(L10)	(L49)(R9)

The Lotus Sutra, of course, contains a wealth of Buddhist terms. Most of them are semantic translations from Chinese words. The following is the example of the *six pāramitās* (六波羅密):

布施	持戒	忍辱	精進	禅定	智慧
�㐅	㐅㐅	㐅㐅	㐅㐅	㐅㐅	㐅㐅
žifi mɪfi	kɪě ʔiefi	pǐɔfi žǐᶜw	khu ⁿdžɛfi	šĭan ndĭen	sɛ ?
(L11)(L14)	(L9)(L39)	(L51)(R41)	(L1)(L35)	(L26)(R37)	(R54)

On the other hand, the word *pāramitā* itself takes a fixed form in Xixia, 㐅㐅㐅 pɔfi lɔfi mɪfi, a transliteration of the Chinese term.

Rulai 如来 (Thus Come One, *tathāgata*) is always rendered 㐅㐅 mǐor (L90) łɛ (L61), which may be literally translated into Chinese as *shilai* 實来 (Truly Come One). The Xixia word is thought to have been translated not from Chinese but from Tibetan *yang-dag-par gshegs-pa*, which is assumed to be an older translated term.

Shizun 世尊 (World-Honored One, *bhagavat*) is rendered in various ways including with the compound of 㐅㐅 rǐur (L76) pǐu̧ (L59), meaning "world" and "respect"; 㐅㐅㐅 壞有出 (渡), meaning "[one] triumph[ed over] possessing and passed [over]," a replacement of Tibetan *bcom-ldan-ḥdas*; and 㐅㐅㐅 phɔfi khɑfi xʷan and 㐅㐅㐅 mbɑfi ʔɑfi mbɑfi, replacements of *bojiafan* 薄加梵, a Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit *bhagavat*. The latter transliteration, mbɑfi ʔɑfi mbɑfi, which is found in *Molitianmu zongchi* 摩利天母總持, is assumed to be a new term closer to the Sanskrit original.

The term 㐅㐅 ⁿdžan (R23) tšhǐu (R2) is used for translating *zhongsheng* 衆生 (living beings, *sattva*) throughout each volume of the Lotus Sutra. This form is equivalent to *youqing* 有情, the term adopted by Xuanzang 玄奘, meaning "[those] having sentience." Some Buddhist scriptures adopt 㐅㐅 sefi (R33) ndĭufi (L3) (*qing-you* 情・有, sentience-having). This is similar to the manner of translating *pusa* 菩薩 (*bodhisattva*) 㐅㐅 ⁿdžan-tsefi (R33) "those perceiving sentience." (Cf. WrT. *sems-can, byang-chub sems-dpah*.)

These Buddhist terms were used in translating Chinese classics. For example, the passage from the second chapter, Yingxu 盈虛, of *Liutao* «六韜», "以法度禁邪偽" (prohibiting evil and falsehood by moral standards…) is rendered in Xixia as "㐅㐅㐅㐅㐅㐅㐅㐅㐅㐅" (以質直心摧伏邪偽, breaking and subduing evil and falsehood by honest and upright intent).

Zhishi 質直, *xiewei* 邪偽 and *cuifu* 摧伏 are terms used in the Lotus Sutra: 㐅㐅 tšhǐa (R16) tu̧ (L58), 㐅㐅 ⁿdzəw (R38) lʷɔ (L94), 㐅㐅 kʷɨn (L32) žǐᶜw (R41). In *Zhenshi miao jing* 眞實妙經, *zhenya* 鎮押 is equivalent to *cuifu* 摧伏.

The terms in *Liutao* appear to have been devised in a fairly elaborate

manner. Three different equivalents are allocated to the character *shou* 守 in *liushou* 六守, *shoutu* 守土 and *shouguo* 守国, respectively:

六守　𣲲𦀟 tšĭew (L46) ʔĭefi (L39) (six kinds of *shou* 守: *ren* 仁, *yi* 義, *zhong* 忠, *xin* 信, *yong* 勇, *mou* 謀)

守土　𦉰𦀟 lu (R1) ʔĭę₂ (L34) 国土防衛 (defense of the national territory)

守国　𦀟𦀟 hlefi (R?) žon (R47) 国家保持 (maintenance of the state)

Though one can understand that these three characters, 𦀟 ʔĭefi, 𦀟 ʔĭę₂, 𦀟 žon, i.e., equivalents for *shou* 守, are interrelated, it is difficult to concretely determine the differences among them. In the Lotus Sutra appear examples such as 𦀟𣲲 受持 and 𦀟𣲲 žon žę (L61) 執著.

4. *The Systematic Classification of the Xixia Vocabulary*

The task of systematically classifying Xixia vocabulary has not yet been completed. There are several major issues to resolve. The Xixia poems, *Yueyue leshi* «月々樂詩» and *Dashi* «大詩» contain two conspicuous layers of vocabulary.[21] This reflects the heterogeneous composition of Xixia society—the royal family, the nobility, and the Mi and the Minyak ethnic groups. At present, I classify the two layers as layers I and II. The vocabulary of layer I, which is assumed to be the layer of the elegant vocabulary, cannot be identified yet. Layer II is that vocabulary usually regarded as the Xixia language.

This layer consists of Buddhist terminology as well as vocabulary in day-to-day use, as represented by the words from *Fanhan heshi zhangzhong zhu* «番漢合時掌中珠», a collection of Xixia-Chinese words and phrase examples.

Loanwords (transliterated words) from Chinese and Tibetan are easy to distinguish. Numerals and pronouns are also distinguishable, as is the terminology of sets such as *shi gan* 十干 (the ten calendar signs), *shi'er zhi* 十二支 (the twelve zodiac signs), *shi'er zhi* 十二直 (twelve fortune signs), *shi'er yuansheng* 十二緣生 (the twelve-linked chain of dependent arising), *shi'er xinggong* 十二星宮 (the twelve constellation signs) and *ershi ba xiu* 二十八宿 (the twenty-eight constellations).

The identification of these sets of words requires meticulous comparison between various documents. From an investigation of several Buddhist scriptures, including *Shi'er yuansheng xiangrui jing* «十二緣生祥瑞經» (Twelve-linked Chain of Dependent Arising Good Omen Sutra), *shi'er yuansheng* appears as:[22]

無明	行	識	名色	六處	觸	受	愛
𗷭𗆊	𗤮	𗥑	𗟤𗜓	𗼝𗛈	𗓕	𗓄	𗵈
mbĭu mefɦ	ⁿdžɦ	sefɦ	mĭefɦ tsu̬	tšĭew ndɔfɦ	tsĭu̬	?	ⁿdzu
(L2) (L36)	(?)	(R33)	(R35) (R68)	(L46) (R42)	(L59)		(L1)

取	有	生	老死
𗧖	𗟻	𗤋	𗼆𘄄
hlʷifɦ ndĭufɦ	wĭefɦ	tɑr(?) sɨ	
(L11) (L3)	(L12)	(R73) (L30)	

(This term appears in the Xixia Lotus Sutra, but is unfortunately missing in the St. Petersburg text.)

I have been able to extract the set *shi'erzhi* 十二直 (twelve fortune signs) from *Xinyi Tongren zhenjiu dian* «新譯銅人鍼灸典» (A New Translation of the Bronze Figure Standard for Acupuncture and Moxibustion).[23] It has proved more difficult than expected to find examples of numerals. Numbers greater than one hundred million rarely appear. Unfortunately, neither 垓 (one hundred billion) 𗤮 mĭẹ (R68)[24] nor a special synonymous form of one thousand, 𗸰𗴢 rɑr (L80) -nɑw (R19),[25] is found in the Xixia Lotus Sutra. However, fractional numbers appear in chapter 15 (Emerging from the Earth), juan 5, as follows:[26]

𗤅 𘓋 𗜲 𗥤 𘓋 四分中之一分	𗵃 𗙭 𘓋 𗜲 𗥆 億万分之一
łɨr mbʷaw khɑfɦ ʔɑ mbʷaw	rir khɨ mbʷaw khɑfɦ ləw
(L92) (R20) (L17) (?) (R20)	(R72) (R28) (R20) (L17) (L43)
one portion of four separated portions	one of yi (100,000,000) wan (10,000) portions
one quarter (1/4)	one trillionth (1/1,000,000,000,000)

The combination and ordering of the cardinal directions (east, west, north, south) is a topic of interest. 𗷭𗗋𗞞𗵈 wɨ (R61) le (?) ʁzɨr² (L86) lạ (L64) in the Xixia Lotus Sutra are literal translations from the Chinese counterparts, and the order follows that of the Chinese text. The proper order of directions in Xixia is thought to have been clockwise starting from east as in *Fanhan heshi zhangzhong zhu* «番漢合時掌中珠»: 𗷭𗞞𗗋𗵈, east, south, west, north. The intermediate (ordinal) directions between the four cardinal points are also translated clockwise from southeast in the Lotus Sutra in accordance with the Tibetan. Incidentally, *Huayan jing* «華厳経» (Avataṃsakasūtra) adopts a literal translation from the Chinese based on the axis of east and west.[27]

Chinese	東南	西南	西北	東北
	(east-south)	(west-south)	(west-north)	(east-north)

Lotus Sutra	瓾薉	薉𗾟 (south-west)	𗾟�garbled	蕤瓾 (north-east)
Huayan jing	瓾薉	𗾟薉	𗾟蕤	瓾蕤
Tibetan	*shar-lho*	*lho-nub*	*nub-byang*	*byang-shar*
	(east-south)	(south-west)	(west-north)	(north-east)

Although many personal pronouns appear in the Lotus Sutra, including the first person 𗋽 ŋɑꓸ (R14), 𗋹 mǐɔꓸ (R44), it is difficult to determine how mutual level relationships among them are really set up by examining of the usages in text. However, I note the following:

𗋽 ŋgaꓸ (R17) "to me"
𗋽𗌞 ŋgaꓸ-miꓸ (R10) "we two" and 𗌟𗌞 ŋgɨ (R28) -miꓸ "we two"
𗊬 naꓸ (R17) "you" and 𗊬𗌞 naꓸ-miꓸ "you two"[28]

It should be said that these above-mentioned forms are specific examples, rarely found in texts other than the Lotus Sutra, as are the following examples of the personal pronoun, genitive, first person: 𗹡 ŋʷʉꓸ (R25) "my," 𗹡𗉩 "my son" and 𗹡𗉩𗋘𗵽 "my stature."

Not a few examples of such specific grammatical features appear in the Xixia Lotus Sutra.

Inserted Notes in Buddhist Scriptures

A small fragment titled… 𗉆𗆧𗠇 *Nianguan men* 念觀門 (the beginning portion is lost) is included among the Khara-Khoto documents in the Aurel Stein collection. In the text the word 𗟀𗀚 tšǐa (L19) ⁿdzʋ (R5) appears with an inserted note explaining that it means 𗵽𗆧𗆳𗆳𗆧𗵾 (to put the left leg on the right leg). It is equivalent to the Chinese, *jiezuo* 結坐, *jiejia fuzuo* 結跏趺坐 "cross-legged sitting," probably meaning *ban jiezuo* 半結坐 "half-cross-legged sitting" (*jixiang zuo* 吉祥坐 "auspicious sitting"). Such explanations in inserted notes are not rare, enabling the readers to understand the text's meaning correctly.

Explanations of extant phonological works

Explanations in the rhyme lexicon *Wenhai* (*Baoyun*) «文海 (宝韻)» provide many suggestions for verifying the meaning of the words. For example, 𗉪 tɘw "egg" belonging to level-tone rhyme 43 is given the following explanation:

𥄂𥄎𥄎𥅭 、𥅾𥄄𥄎𥅴𥅬𥅘𥄂𥄨 、𥅘𥄂𥄎𥅬𥅹

"təw is equivalent to ⁿdžan. What has been laid by a bird and has not hatched is an egg. What has hatched out is called ŋafižifi."

It says that təw means ⁿdžan, and if an egg hatches, it becomes a chick. The word ⁿdžan is probably a loanword from the Chinese *luǎn* 卵 "egg," and a ŋafižifi means "egg's child," namely "chick." The word ŋafi shares a same origin with the Tibetan *sgo-nga*. 𥄂 ⁿdžan and 𥄂 ŋafi are Xixia-Chinese twin characters.

There are examples 𥄂𥄶 卵生 "[those] born from the egg" in the Lotus Sutra and *Jingang jing* «金剛經» (*Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā*).

5. *Collation of the Chinese and Tangut Buddhist Scriptures*

One reliable way to analyze the meanings of Xixia characters is to collate translated Xixia Buddhist scriptures with their Chinese originals on a text-by-text basis as mentioned above. Collation is one of the most basic and effective ways to produce sets of bilingual texts and many scholars have yielded good results. Nevertheless, if experts rely solely on this method of comparison, they will encounter unexpected pitfalls.

The Xixia Lotus Sutra is a particularly difficult text and one must abandon the expectation of being able to clarify the meaning of Xixia characters by simply collating the texts with its Chinese counterparts. Xixia translators rendered the texts nonliterally or with discretionary interpretation and some portions of text are not easily understood. As such, there are plentiful possibilities for misunderstanding and mistranslation.

A. Examples of Simple Collation

How were Chinese texts translated into the Xixia language? I would like to discuss here the practicalities of this process citing examples from the Lotus Sutra in a larger context. First, I will consider examples of simple collation.

I. Reverse Expressions of the Same Meaning

(1) Chinese   ①爾時 ②弥勒菩薩 ③従座而起 ④偏袒右肩 ⑤合掌向仏……

(At that time the bodhisattva Maitreya rose from his seat, bared [only] his right shoulder and, pressing his palms together and facing the Buddha,…) Watson 235

Xixia ①𗼨𗿀 ②𗢭𗣼𗊬𗄽 ③𗆧𗄻𗰗𗰚 ④𗫂𗒻𗊬𗤼
⑤𗵤𗉟𗑋𗼺……

This passage often appears in Buddhist scriptures. The Xixia text is rendered in 18 characters which accords with the number of characters in the Chinese original. There is a good concordance in the way in which the four four-character phrases follow *ershi* 爾時 (at that time).

① and ② present no problems. *Mile* 彌勒 is transliterated in Xixia as mifi (L11) -ɨ (R7); and *pusa* 菩薩 is translated nonliterally as "(one who) realizes sentiment." The literal meaning of Xixia ③ is "rising (from) his seat." The prefix ʔa- "upward" is attached to the verb wɔr (L89), and at the same time it indicates the action has been perfected. Xixia ⑤ means "facing the Buddha, to press [his] palms together," which is not very much different from the Chinese.

Xixia ④, however, reveals a complexity. This seems to be a faithful translation of the Chinese text. In actuality, the Xixia text includes neither *you* 右 (right) nor *tan* 袒 (to bare). Instead, it has the expressions "left" and "to wear." The Xixia text renders the phrase as "wore one side [only] his left shoulder" vis-à-vis the Chinese "bared [only] his right shoulder." 𗊬 pɑfi (L17) means "one side" and 𗤼 ŋʷifi (R10) "to wear." If one did not know the correct meanings of these Xixia characters, one might misunderstand them in completely opposite senses: "left" as "right" and "to wear" as "to bare."

II. Nonliteral and Free Translation

It is not rare to find examples where Xixia translators have rendered the text according to their own discretion, re-expressing the meaning of the original text. In translations of Chinese classical literature, for example, there are examples of translators giving plainer expression in Xixia to abstruse passages.

For instance, a passage from *Liutao* «六韜», juan 1, Wentao 文韜, reads "卒見太公坐茅以漁" (Finally, [King Wen of Zhou] sees Tai Gong himself sit in a thatched [cottage] and fishing). In the Xixia version, it rendered as "①𗼨𗿀 ②𗤒𗋽𗣼 ③𗥹𗱕𗺭𗰗 ④𗫳𗤒𗤼𗤼 ⑤𘂊 " (①At the time ②Taigong himself ③beside a thatched cottage ④throw [a line with] fishhook and catch fish ⑤[King Wen] sees = ①At the time ⑤[King Wen] sees ②Tai Gong himself ④ throw [a line with] fishhook and catch fish ③beside a thatched cottage). The Xixia version describes the action of King Wen of Zhou who views Tai Gong, clearly recognizing that the position of Tai Gong, who holds a line and is fishing, is "beside a thatched cottage."

To cite another example, *Huangshi Gong Sanlüe* «黃石公三略» reads, "聖王御世, 觀盛衰度得失, 而爲之制" ([When] sagacious emperors control the world, [they] observe [its] rise [and] fall, [and] consider [its] advantages [and] disadvantages, thus making its rules). The Xixia version renders this portion as ①𗀔𗀔 ②𗀔𗀔𗀔 ③𗀔𗀔𗀔 ④𗀔 ⑤𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔 (① sagacious emperors ② to observe rise and fall ③ to consider its advantages and disadvantages ④ namely ⑤ is emperors' duties = ① [For] sagacious emperors, ② to observe rise and fall, [and] ③ to consider advantages and disadvantages, ④ namely, ⑤ are emperor's duties). The Xixia version appears to be more readily comprehensible than the original.[29]

B. Examination of Chapter 16, "Life Span of the Thus Come One"

Next, let me examine passages from chapter 16, "Life Span of the Thus Come One," that have varying degrees of complication.

(2) Chinese 我説燃燈佛等　又復言其　入於涅槃 (I have spoken about the Buddha Burning Torch and others, and described how they entered nirvana.) Watson 226
Xixia 　𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔　𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔 (I consider that the Buddha Burning Torch and others entered nirvana, too.)

The two sentences (14 characters) in Chinese are translated into one sentence (10 characters) in Xixia, which makes the meaning rather more obsure. It is certain that the subject of the verb ʔyɨ "consider" (the last character), is "I" (the first character). The words, tefi (L36) nɨ (R61) thɑfi (L17) (the Buddha Burning Torch 燃燈佛 Dīpaṃkara tathāgata) and nĭefi (R35) -pɑn (L24) (nirvāṇa 涅槃), are fixed terms.

(3) Chinese 如是皆以　方便分別 (All this I employed as an expedient means to make distinctions.) Watson 226
Xixia 　𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔𗀔 (I am who have preached all in accordance with an expedient means.)

This is an example of translation of a Chinese verbal sentence into a Xixia nominal sentence, utilizing the equational type of sentence: "…𗀔… 𗀔" (…is …). The Xixia version has no verb corresponding to the main verb *fenbie* 分別 in the Chinese original. 𗀔 ʁifi (R10) means "all," "everything." In Xixia the verb rɨr²-tshĭefi "to preach" with prefix A

attached is used. The translation of *fangbian* 方便 tśɪěr (rising tone form of L78) -ˀyǐu (R2), is a fixed term.

(4) Chinese   若有衆生　来至我所　我以佛眼　觀其信等　諸根利鈍
　　　　　　　　随所應度　処処自説　名字不同　年紀大小　亦復現言
　　　　　　　　當入涅槃

(If there are living beings who come to me, I employ my Buddha eye to observe their faith and to see if their other faculties are keen or dull, and then depending upon how receptive they are to salvation, I appear in different places and preach to them under different names, and describe the length of time during which my teachings will be effective. Sometimes when I make my appearance I say that I am about to enter nirvana.…) Watson 226

Xixia   𗗙𗱾　𗣼𗅡 𘂝𗲆𘃽𗓰 𘂝𗉶𘄴𗠔 𘕿𗮗𗤶𗹬 𗷭𗖵𘝻𘁘
　　　　𘃶𘓺 𗗙𗰖𘃺𗓰 𘏏𗮻𘜓𘅪 𗁬𗗙𗴴𗌽 𘝻𘝻𗹬𗤢 𘓺𗥔𗤢
　　　　𗤢　𗢳𘂝𗊬𗤢

(If living beings appear in my place, I employ my Buddha eye to observe their faith and to see if their other faculties are keen or dull, and liberate them [from suffering] appropriately responding [to their receptivity]. I [appear] in different places and preach [them] different names, and describe the length of the teachings' time span (身歳 小大). Afterward, I sometimes say that I am about to enter nirvana.)

In general, the Xixia version appears to be a verbatim translation from the Chinese, using four-character phrases (with an exception of one six-character phrase). Closely examined, however, in Xixia there is no equivalent for *xian* 現 of 亦復現言 當入涅槃 (sometimes when I make my appearance I say that I am about to enter nirvana). As the verb "to enter" has a correspondent form with first pronoun, one can understand that this sentence is an agent's view sentence. Its pronoun ŋɑfi "I" corresponds with the subject (agent) ŋɑfi, which appears earlier as the fifth character (both of ŋɑfi are underlined).

The order of arrangement is standard: verbal stem, pronoun and future tense postposition. The equivalents of 名字不同 (under different names) and 年紀 (身歳) 大小 (小大) (the length of time) have the same meanings in both versions. But 随所應度 (depending upon how receptive they are) is translated in Xixia as "liberate them [from suffering] appropriately responding [to their receptivity]." 衆生 (living beings) is a fixed term. Both 度脱 (liberate ~ [from suffering]) and 演説 (preach) are listed in *Tongyin* «同音».

(5) Chinese 如來　見諸衆生　樂於小法　德薄垢重者　爲是人説　我少出家
　　　　　　　得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提　然我実成仏已来　久遠若斯

(The Thus Come One observes how among living beings there are those who delight in a little Law, meager in virtue and heavy with defilement. For such persons I describe how in my youth I left my household and attained anuttara-samyak-sambodhi. But in truth the time since I attained Buddhahood is extremely long, as I have told you.) Watson 226

Xixia　　綷嗽　茋轆鼎糤　瓰狨褻爹　瓰觥移虪疹豰祓　繡絥瓾燧
　　　　　纖雛　戺覵襖魖軿湪軿 䫂 羦　羢翂觓爹 犱 䒥犹 䇗 蘻罻紕轆嗽
　　　　　瘫耪虪燨絥

(The Thus Come One observes how among living beings there are those who love and enjoy a little Law, meager in virtue and heavy with defilement. For this reason, I said, I immediately left my household and attained anuttara-samyak-sambodhi, but in truth since I attained Buddhahood, I have spent these [long] times.)

In the Xixia version, one finds no nominative and accusative indications, and hardly any case postpositions with the exception of the locative-ablative postposition, ʔɑfi (R14), in "since I attained Buddhahood."

The Xixia version has no equivalent of the Chinese 少 (in my youth) of 我少出家 (in my youth I left my household). Instead of it, the version reads mɨ (L30) -rur (L75) (for this reason … immediately), which is a word with a note for mutual use in *Tongyin* «同音», and is annotated as "means 'newly,' 'immediately,' 'from this'" in *Wenhai* «文海». This word is fairly often used in the Lotus Sutra. The phrase mɨ-ndefi (R33) means "though ~, nevertheless." 樂於小法 (delight in a little Law) is translated as "ⁿdzu (L1) -ŋʷɪ (L8) (love and enjoy) a little Law."

The last phrase 久遠若斯 (… is extremely long, as I have told you) is translated as "I have spent these [long] times." The equivalent of "these" is rendered here not as 瘫皼 thafi-nɨ but as 瘫耪 thafi-ŋʷĭər (R78). The Xixia ŋʷĭər "number" shares the same etymology with written Tibetan *grangs* "number" and written Burmese plural suffix -*kra*. ŋʷĭər <*ŋgĭər

(6) The portion concerning the parable of the skilled physician is rendered as follows:

Chinese　諸子於後　飲他毒藥　藥發悶乱　宛轉于地
(After he has gone, the children drink some kind of poison that makes them distraught with pain and they fall writhing to the ground.) Watson 228

Xixia   蕥鹹   彼厄綇雗   彼莈緶鬝   綰孭牋觓

(The children drank poison. The poison worked to make them distraught with pain and they fell writhing to the ground.)

The Chinese 於後 (after [he has gone]) and 他 (some) of 他毒藥 (some [kind of] poison) are omitted in the Xixia version. 藥發 the poison makes) is rendered as "the poison worked" in Xixia. The Xixia word ndɔfi "poison" has two kind of tones, i.e., level and rising tones. Though it is not clear what kind of actual difference exists between the two, the latter is used here.

彼 ndɔfi (R42) poisonous herb (food poison) composed of a left hand radical "grass"

兯 ndɔfi (L49) snake venom; to concern �ဤ phǐow (R43) "snake"

In any case, the word shares the same etymology with Chinese *du* 毒 (poison), written in Tibetan as *dug* (poison) and in Burmese *a-tɔk* (poison).[30] The syllable tị of ndɔfi-tị (poisonous matter) (L67) means "food." In addition, I refer to 彼 ndǫn (R63) "to give poison" (*Xiaozi zhuan* «孝子傳»). The word mʉfi (R25) -mǐefi (L39) (悶乱 distraught with pain) is listed in *Tongyin*. The Xixia characters mʉfi (悶) and hlifi (葬) appear to be similar, but they are different characters, respectively.

綋 mʉfi (R25) "to be distraught" (2B7)

綋 hlifi (R10) "to bury" (47A2)

牋觓 (R?) -ⁿdžǐɛ (上 31) "to fall writhing to the ground" is also registered as an entry in *Tongyin*.

(7) Chinese   是時其父   還來歸家   諸子飲毒   或失本心   或不失者
           遙見其父   皆大歡喜   拜跪問訊   善安穩歸   我等愚癡   誤服毒藥
           願見救療   更賜壽命

(At that time the father returns to his home and finds that his children have drunk poison. Some are completely out of their minds, while others are not. Seeing their father from far off, all are overjoyed and kneel down and entreat him, saying: "How fine that you have returned safely. We were stupid and by mistake drank some poison. We beg you to cure us and let us live out our lives!") Watson 228

Xixia   絈莈   薷覾燚燆   綾瓲綖�   蕥鹹   彼綖雗瓤   叢脿絣薂
        祢   叢脿絣骹祢   覾覾薷莈   蕥絣雡兯   兯絈牋觓   靅瓤燆

𗣫 𗋒𗣫𗾔𗁬 𗾔𗾔𗣫𗾔 𗾔𗾔𗣫𗾔 𗣫𗾔𗾔𗾔𗾔𗾔𗾔

(At that time the father returned and came to his home. His children had drunk poison. For this reason, some had lost their sanity, while others had not lost their sanity. Seeing their father from far off and being overjoyed, all kneeled down with respect and asked him, saying: "You have safely returned, haven't you? Because of stupidity, we have drunk poison." When they said: "We only hope that you will help and cure us, letting us be bestowed our lives, …)

Most of this part of the Xixia version is rendered in four-character phrases with the exception of the portions equivalent to *shishi* 是時, *zhusi* 諸子, *huo* 或 tšhǐo (L57) and *huo* 或. The verbs lofi (L48) 歸 "to return," łẹ (R54) 來 "to come," thifi (L11) 飲 "to drink," ⁿdzǐụ (R52) 失 "to lose" and ʁzǐor² 賜 "to bestow" have prefix A, and are expressed in the perfect aspect. Nominatives and accusatives are not accompanied by postpositions. Only the locative is concomitant with the postposition ndɔfi (R42). The morpheme kʷɨ of kʷɨ (L69) mbǐʊfi (L7) "to kneel down with respect" is probably a loanword from Chinese *gui* 跪. The portion "You have safely nɔfi (R42) -ndɛ (R30) 安穩] returned, haven't you?" is an agent's view sentence, but the subject expressed by a noun (i.e., "the father") corresponding to "you" of "haven't you" doesn't exist nearby.

The first syllable ləw 唯 "only" of the portion ləw (L43) -tị (L67) 唯願 "only hope" has the same form as ləw "one"; they probably share the same morpheme. The syllable ŋgǐʊfi (R6) 救 "to cure" is a loanword from Chinese *jiu* 救. It is similar to the Xixia equivalent of *jing* 敬 "to respect," but it has a different form.

> 𗣫 ŋgǐʊfi (R6) "to save" (from Chinese 救, etc.) [above says 'cure']
> 𗣫 rẹ (R66)   "to respect" (cf. WrT. *zhe-sa* "honorific," "salute"; WrB. *rou-* "to respect")

The verb ʁzǐor² 賜 "to bestow" takes causative form as ʁzǐor² -wi.

(8) Chinese 父見子等 苦惱如是 依諸經方 求好藥草 色香美味
             皆悉具足 擣篩和合 與子令服

("The father, seeing his children suffering like this, follows various prescriptions. Gathering fine medicinal herbs that meet all the requirements of color, fragrance and flavor, he grinds, sifts and mixes them together. Giving a dose of these to his children,…)
Watson 228

Xixia   𗣼𗫨𗰛𗜓𗤓 𗧉𗡄𗙫𗥃𗰞𗔜𗆀 𗐺𗰛𗢤𗬩𗎫 𗈁𗲲𗰈𗜓𗬉
         𗀔𗫦𗲲𗰈 𗫵𗎫𗦁𗚞 𗻀𗭴𗤿𗬥 𗰛𗜓𗴘𗸰

(The father saw his children undergoing suffering like this. Then, following various prescriptions, he gathered fine medicinal herbs that meet all the requirements of good color, fragrance and flavor, and ground, sifted and mixed them together, giving a dose to his children.)

In these Xixia sentences, nominative and accusative are not accompanied by postpositions, but only the last phrase includes the dative postposition ʔyefi.

The portion ndɛ of hle (?) -ndɛ (R33) "undergoing suffering" expresses the progressive aspect, cf. WrB. -V-*nei*; tsʉ (L68) 藥 "medicine" cf. Lolo (彝語): (南華) ʂɿ⁵⁵ (武定) ʂɿ³³; li (R9) 香 "fragrance"; wị (L67) 味 "flavor" loanword from Chinese *wei* 味; ŋɑ (R56) 好 "fine" cf. WrB: *kɔng*-, Naxi (納西語): kɑ³³, Qiang (羌): nɑ. Each form enables the supposition of etymological derivatives or loanwords.

The word tɔfi (R42) -žifi (R10) 皆悉 "all" is probably a derivative sharing a common etymological origin with WrT. *thams-cad*. The verb təw (L47) -wi "to pound," "to grind" is a loanword from Chinese *dao* 搗. The verbs thu (L1) 篩 "to sift" and hlu² (L58) "to mix" exhibit a causative form by tightened vowel, as well as tị (L67) "to dose." The verb thu "to sift" is probably a derivative sharing a common etymological origin with WrB. *ti²* "to sift."

𗰛 tị (L67) "to cause to drink" "to dose."   𗬉 hlu̱² (L58) "to mix"
𗰜 thifi (L11) "to drink"   𗢤 lu² (L1) "to be mixed together"

C. Examination of Chapter 8, "Prophecy of Enlightenment for Five Hundred Disciples"

Let me continue examining slightly longer passages from the parable of the jewel sewn in the poor man's robe, which is related in chapter 8, "Prophecy of Enlightenment for Five Hundred Disciples."

(9) Chinese   ①我等 ④応得 ②如来 ③智慧 ⑤而便 ⑥自以 ⑦小智 ⑩為足
    (Although we were capable of attaining the wisdom of the Thus Come One, we were willing to content ourselves with petty wisdom.) Watson 150

Xixia   ①□□ ②□□□ ③□□ ④□□ 。⑤□□ ⑥□□ ⑦□□
⑧□□ ⑨□□ ⑩□□□

(① For us ② of the Thus Come One ③ the wisdom ④ to obtain was reasonable. ⑤ And also, ⑥ ourselves ⑦ petty wisdom ⑧ by obtaining ⑨ substitutable for the great [wisdom] ⑩ [we] regarded [it] as = For us, to obtain the wisdom of the Thus Come One was reasonable. And also, ourselves by obtaining petty wisdom [we] regarded [it] as substitutable for the great [wisdom].)

Though the Chinese and Xixia versions convey almost the same content, their styles of expression are fairly different from each other. While ①我等, ②如來 and ③知慧 are unproblematic, ④應得 is translated in Xixia as "to obtain [was] reasonable". ⑤而便, ⑥自以 and ⑦小智 are translated in Xixia as "⑤ And also, ⑥ ourselves ⑧ by obtaining ⑦ petty wisdom."

"Obtain" in these two instances is described in twin characters containing the same morpheme. These are written as 𗀁 rir (L79) and 𗀁 rir (R72), level-tone and rising-tone characters, respectively. This may be an alteration caused by the situation. (L/R-R/ → R/L-L/) The Xixia character rir "to obtain," originally a level tone, changed into a rising tone under the situation of L-L. The altered-tone form is written with a rising tone character. (See additional note 1.)

⑩爲足 of the Chinese version is translated as "⑩[we] regarded [it] as ⑨substitutable for the great [wisdom]" in Xixia. 𗀁 nifi (R10) is a terminal postposition whose function is not yet fully understood. In Xixia, there are examples of the usage of 𗀁𗀁 ʔufi-tụ (L58) "instead of," a derivative from 𗀁 ʔufi (L4) "to substitute"; Combined with 𗀁 sɛ (L33) "to count," it changes into ʔufi-sɛ (L58), which is equivalent to 以爲 "to consider" in Chinese. This usage often appears in scriptures, including *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經.

The next portion is written as follows:

(10) Chinese ①世尊,②譬如 ③有人④至親友家 ⑤醉酒而臥
(World-Honored One, it was like the case of a man who went to the house of a close friend and, having become drunk on wine, lay down to sleep.) Watson 150
Xixia   ①□□ ,②□□ ③□□ ④□□□□ ⑤□□□□
(①World-Honored One, ② [it was] like ③ [the case of] a man [who] ④ at the house of a close friend ⑤ became drunk and lay down to sleep. = World-Honored One, [it was] like [the case of] a man [who] became drunk at the house of a close friend and lay down to sleep.)

④至親友家 ⑤醉酒而臥 of the Chinese version is translated in Xixia as
④�� ⑤𗰔𗾔 "[it was] like [the case of] a man [who]
became drunk at the house of a close friend and lay down to sleep"
without equivalents of 至 "went to" and 酒 "[on] wine." In Xixia the por-
tion 醉而臥 is rendered as "became drunk and lay down"; both 醉 and 臥
take perfect aspect prefixes without taking adverbal form of the verb 醉.
� ndɔfi (R42) indicates location. 𗰔 ndafi (R17) and 𗾔 nafi (L20) are
verb prefixes A.

(11) Chinese ①是時 ②親友 ③官事 ⑤當行
      (At that time the friend had to go out on official business.) Watson
      150
      Xixia: ①�� 、②�� ③��� ④�� ⑤����
      (① At that time ② the close friend ③ on official business ④ to other
      place ⑤ desired to go … and set out / when = At that time when the
      close friend desired to go to other place on official business and set
      out.)

② nefi (R33) -wị (L67) "close friend"; ③ kon (R47) -nạ (R56) "official
business"; ④ ⁿdzefi (R33) -lĭ ẹ (R68) "other place"; ⑤ šɨfi (L29) -kĭ ɛ
(R53) "to desire to go"; kĭ ɛ is an auxiliary verb of desire. Cf. WrB. -
khyang-.
    Both ① � ⁿdzefi (R42) and ⑤ � mbefi (R33) are used with little
distinction for denoting "time." In this portion, 8 Chinese characters are
translated into 13 Xixia characters.

(12) Chinese ①以無價 ②寶珠 ③繫其衣裏與之 ④而去
      (He took a priceless jewel, sewed it in the lining of the man's robe,
      and left it with him when he went out.) Watson 150
      Xixia   ①�� ②��� ③���� ④�� ⑤���
      (① priceless ② one piece of jewel ③ the drunk man's ④ in … pock-
      et ⑤ [he] made … be kept = [He] made a priceless jewel be held in
      the drunk man's pocket.)

① pĭ ṵ (L59) -mefi (L36) "priceless"; ② ʁzɨ² (L69) -žʷị (R60) "jewel";
� ŋgɨ (R28) "one certain," unmarked accusative; ③ thafi (L20) "that,"
la (R15) -mĭ ẹ (R68) "drunk man"; ʔyefi (L36) "'s" is a genitive postpo-
sition; ④ phon (L54) "pocket" ʔu (R1) "in"; ⑤ tšhĭ u (L2) -wi (L10) "to
make ~ hold [or be held]," "to make ~ be had [or have]"; -wi is a
causative postposition. The portion in Chinese "繫 … 与" is rendered in
Xixia as "to make ~ hold," and the place of holding is "in the pocket."

The Xixia word equivalent to the Chinese "而去" does not exist in the translation. The Chinese portion with 13 characters is rendered in Xixia with 14 characters.

(13) Chinese   ①其人醉臥 ②都不覺知 ③起已 ⑤遊行　到於 ④他國
     (The man was asleep drunk and knew nothing about it. When he got up, he set out on a journey to other countries.) Watson 150–151
     Xixia   ①𗏁𘒣 ②𘔽𗦀 ③𗣼𘃜𘒣 ④𗢳𗏹𘊝 ⑤𗼃𗰜
     (① The drunken man ② knew nothing. ③ [He] got up ④ afterward, various countries ⑤ traveled, [and] = The drunk man knew nothing. [He] got up, [and] afterward, traveled various countries, [and])

① la (R15) -ⁿdzǐɔfi (R44) "drunk man"; ② mɨ (L30) -ⁿdzʷu̱ (L27) "to know nothing"; ③ ʔafi (R?) -mɪ (R7) -tị (R60) "get up and"; ④ nǐo (L57) "afterward," rǐur (L76) hlefi (R?) "various countries" (unmarked); ⑤ thɑw (R19) -ⁿdzɛfi (L35) "travel"[31]

(14) Chinese   ②為 ①衣食故 ④勤力求索 ⑥甚大 ⑤艱難
     (In order to provide himself with food and clothing he had to search with all his energy and diligence, encountering very great hardship) Watson 151
     Xixia   ①𗆟𗒛 ②𗷁𘜶 ③𗏹𗏹 ④𗫍𗥔 ⑤𗤙𗸁 ⑥𘃝 ⑦𘊝
     (① food and clothing ② because of looking for ③ in various places ④ extended efforts ⑤ very great ⑥ hardship ⑦ endured, [and] = because of looking for food and clothing, [he] extended efforts in various places and endured very great hardship, [and])

① ⁿdzifi (R10) -ŋgʷifi (R10) "food and clothing"; ② ʔǐu (R2) "to look for," nǐo (L57) "therefore," "for"; ③ rǐur (L76) - rǐur "various"; cf. WrT. re-re; ④ ʔɪě (L9) tsɪr (L77) "to sell ability," "to be employed and work," "to lend power" (*Xiaozi chuan* «孝子傳»); ⑤ ŋɪě (L9) -xǐẹ (L74) "difficult undertaking"; ⑥ ⁿdžɛfi (L35) "very great"; ⑦ la (R15) "to endure."

(15) Chinese   ①若少 ②有所得 ③便以為足
     (making do with what little he could come by.) Watson 151
     Xixia   ①𗡪𗾊 ②𘝞𗈟 ③𗤗𗗟 𗰜𘞩
     (① a very little ② [he] obtained fortune ③ regarded [it] as enough = [he] obtained a very small amount of fortune and regarded it as enough.)

① ʁzɨr (L92) -žɛ̣ (L61) "very little"; ② ʔwɑr (R73) "fortune," "goods"; rir (L72) "to obtain"; ③ wɨfi-hlɨ (?) "enough"; ʔufi (L4) "to substitute," sɛ (L33) "to count"; ʔufi-sɛ "regard."

(16) Chinese   ①於後 ②親友 ③會遇見之 ⑤而作是言
      (Later, the close friend happened to meet him by chance. The friend said,) Watson 151
      Xixia   ①□□ ②□□□□ ③□□ ④□□ ⑤□□
      (① Later ② with the close friend ③ [he] met ~ by chance ④ [the friend] scolded and ⑤ said, = Later, [he] met with the close friend by chance. [The friend] scolded and ⑤ said,)

① kụ (L58) -ⁿdzefi (R33) "later"; ② rir (R72) "with," a particle within a sentence; ③ ʔa-mbɪr (R71) "to meet by chance" ④ hmɨn² (R29) -ŋʷu (R1), an adverbal form of "to scold"; ⑤ nɑ (R56) -ʔyɨ (R28) "to tell, saying." Both versions have 12 characters, but in Xixia the word "to scold," which does not exist in Chinese, is added.

(17) Chinese   咄哉①丈夫 ③何爲 ④衣食 乃至 ⑤如是
      (How absurd, old fellow! Why should you have to do all this for the sake of food and clothing?) Watson 151
      Xixia   ①□ ②□ ③□□ 、④□□□□ 、⑤□□ ⑥□□ ⑦□ □
      (① You ② now ③ why, ④ for seeking after food and clothing ⑤ such ⑥ hardships ⑦ suffer, —you = Now, why do you suffer such hardships, for seeking after food and clothing? Do you?)

① nifi (R10) "you"; ② sefi (L36) "now"; ③ thefi (R33) -sɪ̆ɔfi (R44) "why"; ④ "for seeking after food and clothing"; ⑤ thɨ (R28) -sɪ̆ufi (R3) "such"; ⑥ tšɨ (L67) ⁿdžɛfi (L35) "great hardships"; ⑦ hli (R60) B-stem of "to suffer from." This is an agent's view sentence attached with the affix pronoun nafi (R17), which corresponds with the subject nifi. The Xixia version consists of 14 characters while Chinese 12 characters.

(18) Chinese   ①我 ②昔 ⑥欲令 ③汝得安樂 ④五欲 ⑤自恣
      (In the past I wanted to make certain you would be able to live in ease and satisfy the five desires, and so) Watson 151
      Xixia   ①□ ②□ ③□□□□ ④□□ ⑤□□ ⑥□□□ ⑦□
      (① I ② in the past ③[hoped to] make you live in ease and ④ the five desires ⑤ freely ⑥ [I] wished you would enjoy ⑦ and so = In the past I hoped to make you live in ease, and I wished you would enjoy freely the five desires, and so)

① ŋafi (R14) "I"; ② ši (L10) "in the past," "before"; ③ "you"; ʔyefi accusative postposition, nɔfi (R42) -rẹ (R66) "ease," "happiness"; ④ ŋʷufi (L27) -kĭɛ (R53) "five desires"; ⑤ ʔyefi (L36) -ⁿdzĭufi (R3) "independently" = "freely"; ⑥ wɛfi (R32) -hle (?) "to wish ~ would enjoy," taking optative prefixes. hle (?) takes A-stem neutral construction. It is unclear why ʔyɨ (R58) "to say" is inserted here. ⑦ nĭo (L57) "and so," "therefore." The Xixia version consists of 14 characters while Chinese 12 characters.

(19) Chinese 於 ①某年 ②日月 ③以無價寶珠 繫汝衣裏
    (on such-and-such a day and month and year I took a priceless jewel and sewed it in the lining of your robe.) Watson 151
    Xixia   ①𗹺𗂴𗹺𗆟 ②𗹺𗆟𗆟𗆟 ③𗰖𗆟𗆟𗆟𗆟 𗹺𗆟𗆟𗆟𗆟𗆟𗆟
    (① such-and-such a month and year ② at such-and-such a day's daytime ③ one piece of priceless jewel / made [you] hold inside of your pocket / —to you = at such-and-such a day's daytime [in] such-and-such a month and year, [I] made [you] hold one piece of priceless jewel inside of your pocket. To you.)

① wɑfi (R14) "what" interrogative pronoun. Cf. WrB. *bha*. "某甲" appearing in Buddhist scriptures is usually translated as 飛綿 so-and-so." kĭəw (L45) "year," hli (R60) "month"; ② hnɨn (R29) mbɪ (R7) "broad daylight," "daytime," khĭufi (L3) "under," "in"; ③ See p. 73, Portion 12 item ①②. Here, after -wi (to do) A stem of the verb, second-person affix pronoun nafi constitutes a beneficiary-patient's (dative and accusative) view sentence, corresponding with the preceding nifi ʔyefi "to you," a nifi form attached with the dative-accusative postposition (ʔyefi).

(20) Chinese ①今故 ②現在 ③而汝不知 ④勤苦憂悩 ⑥以求 ⑤自活 ⑧甚為癡 ⑨也
    (It must still be there now. But you did not know about it, and fretted and wore yourself out trying to provide a living for yourself. What nonsense!) Watson 151
    Xixia   ①𗹺𗆟 ②𗹺𗆟 。③𗹺𗆟𗆟𗆟 ④𗹺𗆟𗆟𗆟 ⑤𗆟𗆟 ⑥𗆟𗆟𗆟
    ⑦𗆟 ⑧𗆟𗆟 ⑨𗆟𗆟 ⑩𗆟
    (① and yet ② [it must] now there be. ③ you did not know [about it] and ④ suffered from great pain and ⑤ your back and throat ⑥ seek for — you ⑦ [nominative postposition] ⑧ truly foolish ⑨ are — you ⑩ [affirmative postposition] = And yet, [it must] be there now. You did not know [about it], suffered from great pain and

seek for back and throat (food and clothing). You are truly foolish — you [are].)

① thɨ (R28) -wɨfi (R27) "from now," "just now"; ② mĭor² (L90) "presently," "actually" [there is]; ③ see p. 74, Portion 13 item ②; ④ tšị (L67) -žị (L67) "pain" ⑤ wɨor2 (L90) -nʷefi² (L36) "back and throat," equivalent to Chinese 自活 (to live for oneself); this is a peculiar expression in Xixia indicating "clothing and food" (= food and clothing);³² ⑥ kĭu (L59) -ʔyĭɔfi (R44) "to seek for"; ʔyĭɔfi is a B-stem of 𗥱 ʔyĭu (R2); nafi is the affix pronoun of an agent's view sentence corresponding with the subject; ⑦ tafi (L20) is a postposition representing nominative or indicating the topic; ⑧ žɨfi (R25) "foolish," ʔyĭɛ (L34) "truly"; ⑨ ŋʷu₂ (R1) is an indeclinable equational verb, meaning "to be," etc.; nafi "you" also corresponds with the subject. ⑩ lɨfi (L29) is a terminal affirmative particle. Cf. WrB. -*lei*.

(21) Chinese 汝今可以此寶①貿易③所須 常可④如意⑥無所乏短
(Now you must take the jewel and exchange it for goods. Then you can have whatever you wish at all times and never experience poverty or want.) Watson 151
Xixia   𗤊 𗥱 𗏁 𗤊 ① 𗤊 𗥱 𗤊。 ② 𗤊 ③ 𗤊 𗤊 ④ 𗤊 𗤊 ⑤ 𗤊 𗤊 ⑥𗤊 𗤊 𗤊

(you, now, the jewel ① sell [if]-you ② then ③ what [you] need ④ as desired ⑤ [you will] have everything ⑥ [he] says that there is no lacking = Now [if] you sell the jewel, then [you will] have everything—what [you] need as desired. [He] says that there is no lacking.)

① ndafi (R17) -žiɔfi (R44) -nafi "you sell"; žiɔfi is a B-stem of 𗤊 (R?); nafi "you" is the terminal of an agent's view sentence corresponding with the subject; ② ku (L1) "then"; ③ šɔfi (L48) - šofi "what [you] need," which is equivalent to 所須; ④ phifi (L11) -mbĭufi (L3), which is equivalent to 如意; ⑤ žifi (R10) -ndĭufi (L3) "[you will] have everything"; ⑥ mifi (L11) -mefi (L36) "there is no lacking"; The portion of 18 Chinese characters are translated into the equivalent of 17 Xixia characters.

6. Conclusion

As clarified in the above examples, the Xixia version of the Lotus Sutra has a fairly established writing form. It is surmised that the Xixia text of

the sutra represents a writing style that had developed beyond the formative stage of the written Xixia language, having improved remarkably through the process of translating a great amount of Buddhist scriptures. There are clear and frequent examples in this sutra of the agent's (subject) view sentence and the patient-beneficiary's (object) view sentence, which are determined by the alternative use of two (A and B) stems of verbs. There are also many clear examples of variance. I regard the Xixia version of the Lotus Sutra as a material with morphological characteristics—reflecting aspects of tribal dialects—representing the written Xixia language in the golden age of the Tangut dynasty.

Notes

[1] In the 11th century, many languages belonging to the Tibetan group 蔵語群 and the Yi-Burmese group 彝緬語群 were distributed in the Xixia state and its neighboring areas, but the major tribal groups including Qiang 羌族, Jiarong 嘉戎族 and Pumi 普米族 did not create their own written languages. It was probably because the influence of the Tibetan language that had been sustained by the Tufan 吐蕃 dynasties since the 7th century was so strong. The same is true of the writing system. The Xixia state built by Li Yuanhao 李元昊 withdrew from the Tibetan influence and created the Xixia language, i.e., their unique written language. The Dangxiang (or Tangut) dialects 党項語 (spoken languages of Dangxiang (or Tangut) Qiang tribes 党項羌族) provided a grand basis for the creation of the Xixia language.

Since at least the 8th century, perhaps long before that, the Xixia area had been a multilingual region where Chinese (Northwestern dialects), Tibetan, and other languages were distributed. It is thought that the Xixia people spoke either Amdo or Khams Tibetan dialect in addition to Chinese.

[2] There is no ethnic group called the Xixia. The Xixia people called themselves 𗼕𗼄 mifi-ⁿdzǐɔfi [西] 夏人, or [Western] Xia people. Just as all China's nationalities and ethnic groups are today called "the Chinese" 中国人 (literally Central Nation people), the Xixia [西] 夏人 referred comprehensively to all the constituent ethnic groups of their state including the Mi and Minyak tribes as the "Xiaren" 夏人, Xia people. Such correspondence of the self-name, or term of national identity, in these two cases shows a characteristic of tribal languages [vis-à-vis the common national language], and has a significant meaning for research into the structure of the Xixia language itself.

[3] Besides them, 𗹭𗼄 hlʷɛ-ⁿdži (?) and 𗼈 hlifi (R10) were also used. Both of them have a left radical derived from the Chinese character 夏, probably because they might have belonged to the dialects of some other influential tribes.

[4] I believe the Lotus Sutra was translated from Chinese into Xixia during the reins of Hui Zong 惠宗. See Nishida, Japanese:「西夏語訳法華経について」(On the Tangut Version of the Lotus Sutra),『東洋学術研究』(The Journal of Oriental Studies), 2002, no. 2; English: "On the Xixia Version of the Lotus Sutra," *The Journal of Oriental Studies*, 2004.

[5] Nishida,「西夏の仏教について」(On the Buddhism in Xixia,)『南都仏教』(Buddhism in the Southern Capital, Todaiji, Nara), 1969;『西夏王国の言語と文化』(*The Lan-*

guage and Culture of the Kingdom of Xixia) Iwanami Shoten, 1997, p. 403ff.

According to the *Yuanshi* «元史» (History of the Yuan Dynasty), the Hexi Dazangjing 河西大藏經 (Hexi Tripitaka) was published five times from the sixth year of Dade 大德 to the first year of Huangqing 皇慶 of the ruler Ren Zong 仁宗 (*Cheng Zong ji* 成宗紀).

[6] See Nishida,『西夏文華厳経』(*The Hsi-Hsia Avataṃsaka sūtra*) II, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, postscript, miscellaneous notes on the Xixia translation of scriptures, 1976.

[7] Nishida,「西夏大字刻文」("Xixia Inscriptions in the Large Script" and「西夏大字刻文」("Xixia Inscriptions in the Small Script"),『居庸関』(*Juyong-guan*), edited by Jiro Murata, Faculty of Engineering, Kyoto University, 1958.

[8] Shi Jinbo 史金波 and Bai Bin 白濱, ‹明代西夏文經卷和石幢初探› ("Notes on a Ming Dyanasty Printed-Sutra Scroll in the Hsi-Hsia Script and Two Stone Pillars with Hsi Hsia Buddhist Inscriptions," «考古學報» (*Archaeologia Acta*), 1977, no. 1.

[9] See note 8.

[10] Regarding the life of the Xixia language, I hope to explain in detail at another opportunity. It will be an onerous job, especially because careful examination of various documents is required in order to describe the history of the Xixia state during the Hexi 河西 period up to the 13th century. Roughly speaking, there were two lineages in the style of the Xixia language.

(1) Simple style: Prefixes of the two series (二系列) are used frequently. Each verb consists of one stem; there is no postpositional pronoun. We do not find the two kinds of view sentences whose corresponding relations are different from each other.

(2) Complex style: Prefixes of the two series are used. Many verbs consist of two stems. There are two kinds of view sentences whose corresponding relations are different, corresponding to their postpositional personal pronouns.

The former is the pseudo-Chinese style, which developed as a well-refined written language. It was used for inscriptions and official documents and commonly employed for the translation of Buddhist texts. The latter is considered to have been used for the translation of Buddhist texts, as a writing style that reflects features of tribal languages.

[11] In the Xixia language, there are not a few cases where meanings are distinguished by the difference between two characters which are phonetically identical. For example:

老人 old man   燉緆 mafi (L 20) ʔụ (R51)
老畜 aged animal   燉穮 mafi (L 20) ʔụ (R51)

The same morpheme ʔụ is written in different ways according to the meaning, i.e., "human being" and "animal." Both mafi and ʔụ mean "aged." (Cf. WrB. *ʔou-mang²* "to become aged")

[12] I first proposed this concept in the 1997article「西夏文字新考」(A New Concept of Xixia Characters). In 1998, I put forward a new term "twin characters" 双生字 the article「西夏文字の特性」(Characteristics of Xixia Characters) (沈陽論文 shen yang article), which was included in Nishida,『西夏語研究新論』(*New Theory in Xixia Language Studies*) Kyoto, 1998.

[13] Nishida,『西夏語の研究——西夏語の再構成と西夏文字の解読』(*A Study of Hsi-Hsia Language: Reconstruction of the Hsi-Hsia Language and Deciphering of the Hsi-Hsia Script*), I, Zauho kankokai 座右宝刊行会, The Zauho Press, Tokyo 1964.

[14] Nishida,「西夏語韻図『五音切韻』の研究」(A Study of the Xixia Phonological Table, *Wuyin qieyun*), 上, 中, 下 (1–3),『京都大学文学部紀要』(Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University), 20–22, 1981–83.

[15] The existence of repeated forms in the subgroup of level tones 平声韻小類の重出韻

becomes a problem. The reason I mention the morphological perspective here is that from examples such as the correspondence between 甀 mbefi (R33) "high" and 胅 mbę (L61) "heighten," I once thought that the latter should be revised as mbę. Later, however, I found that there are the same kind examples of exchange of -efi and -ɛfi between prefix series 接頭辞系列 A and B, and concluded that in the Xixia language -e and -ɛ were able to exchange optionally under certain conditions. I am now reconsidering the revision of the first idea of converting mbefi to mbɛ.

There also remains another research subject of examining the possibility that the system of *Wenhai* (*Baoyun*) «文海（寶韻）» may have integrated the grammatical systems of the Xixia tribal languages. Cf. Nishida,「西夏語文法新探」(A New Research of the Grammar of the Xixia Language), 漢蔵語研究：龔煌城先生七秩慶壽論文集 "*Studies on Sino-Tibetan Languages, Papers in Honor of Professor Hwang-Cherng Gong on his Seventieth Birthday*," Taipei, 2004.

[16] Nishida,「西夏語『月々楽詩』の研究」(A Study of the Xixia "Monthly Happy Poems"),『京都大学文学部研究紀要』(Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University), 25, 1986; later revised and published in『西夏王国の言語と文化』(*The Language and Culture of the Kingdom of Xixia*), 1997.

[17] There are cases of inconsistency between explanations in *Wenhai* (*Baoyun*) «文海 (寶韻)» and actual usages in the documents. For example, 胅 hlʷĭu is used with the meaning of 旬 "ten days" in *Liutao* «六韜» and other literatures, but the entry (L59) in the *Wenhai* has no explanation about it. See Nishida,「西夏語訳六十四卦と鍼灸書」(The Sixty-four Hexagrams and Manuals on Acupuncture and Moxibustion in Hsi-Hsia Translation),『三笠宮 殿下米寿 記念論集』"*Collected Articles and Essays in Honour of His Imperial Highness Prince Mikasa on the Occasion of His Eighty-Eighth Birthday*," Tokyo, 2004.

[18] Morisse, *Contribution préliminaire à l'étude de l'écriture et de la langue Si-hia*, Paris, 1904

[19] thɑfi (L17) 駝 of 羬紤 xʷɔfi (R42) -thɑfi (L17) 駱駝 has the same correspondence as fʷɨfi thɑfi 佛陀 "Buddha." The Xixia language has synonyms of 敭蒺 lɑfi-ndɨ and 敪紤 mɨn-tšĭu, but neither of their etymological origins are known at all. It is also considered that 絊轮 mbʉfi-ndufi 佛塔 is also a loan word from Chinese 浮屠 (浮図).

[20] Nishida,「西夏語研究と法華経」I,『東洋学術研究』vol. 44, 2005, no. 1; English translation: "Xixia Language Studies and the Lotus Sutra" (I), *The Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 15, 2005.

[21] For further details, see note 16.

[22] The following exampls are teken from the Xixia version of 十二縁生祥瑞經.

[23] The concept of the set *shi'erzhi* 十二直 (twelve fortune signs) appears to have been transmitted to Uighur. Yang Fuxue 楊富學 considers it as the "Jianchuman" calendric system '建除満' 暦法体系, but it is in substance *shi'erzhi* (twelve fortune signs), which is thought to have been used for divination. See Yang Fuxue, ‹楡林窟 回鶻 文題 記譯釋› (Translation of and Annotations to Titles of Uighur Documents from Yulin Caves), «西域敦煌宗教論稿» (Papers on Religion in the Western Region Dunhuang), 甘肅文化出版社, 1998, p. 79. See also Nishida,「黒水城出土西夏文献について」(On the Xixia Documents Unearthed in Khara-khoto),『日本学士院紀要』(*Transactions of the Japan Academy*), vol. 60, no. 1, 2005.

[24] This character 垓 (hundred billion) appears in 七佛八菩薩陀羅尼經 (Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas Dhāranī Sūtra). 羬冹毿筊蔑 百千万億垓. The Chinese version adopts the left radical 女 "woman" instead of 土 "earth" for this numerical character.

²⁵ �� rɑr -nɑw might be a word form of the layer I 層. 𗹊 tụ (L58) is certainly a form of the Yi-Burmese linguistic sub-family 彝緬語形. Concerning correspondence between Xixia -ụ and written Burmese -ɔng, -ɔk, there are the following examples: 𗹊 tụ (L58) 千 "thousand" : ᵂʳᴮ· *thɔng*; 𗼱 tụ (L58) 檻 "cage" : ᵂʳᴮ· *tɔng²*; 𗼫 lụ (L58) 石 "stone" : ᵂʳᴮ· *kyɔk*<klɔk; 𗼆 lụ (L58) 蛆 "maggot" : ᵂʳᴮ· *lɔk*.

²⁶ The expression with five Xixia characters is adopted as it appears in a five-character verse portion. In ordinary prose expressions, the term would be written with two characters 𗃛𗉋. See additional note 2.

²⁷ See Nishida, 『西夏文華厳経』 (*The Hsi-Hsia Avataṃsaka Sūtra*) I, II, and III, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, 1975–77.

²⁸ In «金剛經懺悔滅罪傳» (A Story of Expiation by Penance on the Diamond[-like Perfection of Wisdom] Sutra), there are examples in which these two words are used as singular.

²⁹ All the text of the Xixia version of «黃石公三略» (Three Strategies of Huang Shigong) is a nonliteral translation, so that there are portions that don't exhibit character-to-character correspondence. The meanings of these are not easy to grasp.

³⁰ In «千手千眼觀世音菩薩陀羅尼經» (Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds Dharani Sutra), "the poison of snakes and insects" is written with the level-tone character 𗂅 (L49); and "the poison of poisonous weeds" with the rising-tone character 𗂋 (R42), thus there is distinction between them. In «七佛八菩薩陀羅尼經» (Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas Dharani Sutra), there are several instances of "the poison," all of which are level-tone characters.

³¹ The character form of this font is wrong. The radical is not 𗥩 of radical 153, 門 section, but the radical of 求 section (the same radical with 𗤓 "seek"). It is included in «同音» *Tongyin*, old edition, 19B5, and new edition, 20A6.

³² See Nishida, 「背中とのど」『西夏王国の言語と文化』 ("Back and Throat," *The Language and Culture of the Kingdom of Xixia*), p. 278ff.

Additional Notes

1. As tone change occurred regularly in the Xixia colloquialism, the Xixia people created particular characters denoting tone-change forms. Besides the above-mentioned instance, 𗂅 (level-tone character) and 𗂋 (rising-tone character), there is an example of 𗾱𗏾 低高 "class," which was originally a compound of consecutive level-tone characters, but changed to another compound of a level-tone character and a rising-tone character; thus the variant form was in many cases denoted with the variant form, 𗏿𗏾. An example of this kind of tone-change in colloquialism is 𗤉𗏿𗏾𗾱 ⁿdzĭ ɔfimbifimbefi sefi² 人有高下 "human beings have classes" in *Zhangzhong zhu* «掌中珠» and another in the Lotus Sutra, "In that saha-world, there are [difference between] high and low and [people are] not equal." "High and low" in this sentence is described not with 𗾱𗏾 but with 𗏿𗏾 (level-tone character and rising-tone character). This is exactly a reflection of colloquialism.

By means of distinctions in the characters, the Xixia people devised their own way to describe some linguistic phenomena that the Chinese characters do not. They identified the contrast between tones, the tone change, the difference of parts of speech, and conjugations by character forms. This could be said to be a significant revolution in a family of ideography that had been developed under the influence the Chinese characters, which was comparable to the creation of Japanese syllabaries, *hiragana* and *katakana*.

(Xixia characters are regarded as a pseudo-form of Chinese characters. Cf. Nishida, 『アジア古代文字の解読』(Deciphering Asia's Ancient Scripts, Chuko paper back, B7, 2002, p. 287).

2. The above-mentioned Xixia fractional numbers (referred to in 4. *The Systematic Classification of the Xixia Vocabulary*) do not accord with the Tibetan counterparts. The way of expressing "numeral Y per numeral X" appears to be close to the following examples from dialects of 羌語 Qiangyu (桃坪 Taoping), 普米語 Pumiyu, 阿儂語 Anongyu, 傈僳語 Lisuyu and 錯那門巴語 Cuona Menbayu:

Qiangyu $d\textrm{ʒ} \textrm{ɿ}^{33}$ $xd\textrm{ʐ}o^{33}$ <u>xte^{31}</u> a^{31} $xd\textrm{ʐ}o^{33}$ one quater
　　　　　　　四 (four) 分 (portions) 中 (aggregate) (之) ('s) 一 (one) 分 (portion)

Pumiyu $s\textrm{ā}u^{13}$ by^{55} <u>$go^{55}\gamma u^{13}$</u> $n\textrm{ā}u^{13}$ ti^{13} by^{55} one-third
　　　　　　　三 (three) 分 (portions) 之 ('s) 中 (aggregate) 之 ('s) 一 (one) 分 (portion)

Anongyu som^{53} $\textrm{ʈʰ}u^{55}$ <u>$du\textrm{ŋ}^{31}kha^{31}$</u> thi^{31} $\textrm{ʈʰ}u^{55}$ one-third
　　　　　　　三 (three) 分 (portions) 中 (aggregate) 之 ('s) 一 (one) 分 (portion)

Lisuyu $\textrm{ɲ}i^{31}$ $ts\textrm{ɿ}^{44}$ fu^{55} <u>$khua^{44}$</u> $\textrm{ŋ}ua^{31}$ fu^{55} five-twentieth
　　　　　　　二 (two) 十 (ten) 分 (portions) 中 (aggregate) 之 ('s) 五 (five) 分 (portion)

Cuona Menbayu sum^{53} ko^{31} <u>$ne\textrm{ŋ}^{35} ki^{31}$</u> $the^{\textrm{ʔ}53}$ one-third
　　　　　　　三 (three) 個 (pieces) 中 (aggregate) 之 ('s) 一 (one)

In the fragments of a scripture related to the large hand *mudras* (the name of which is unidentified) collected by Aurel Stein, there are the expressions of 散秘燚刻 三分之一 "one-third" and 散秘燚祔帰 三分之二 "two-thirds." These expressions using the verb 燚 phĭe (R18) "to open," "to solve" are thought to be fractional numbers. They may be translations from Tibetan.

Written Tibetan   *gsum cha cig*   三分之一   one-third
Maqu Amdo dialect
　　　colloquialism   *hsəm tçhi fiɳi*   三分之二   two-thirds
　　　瑪曲安多方言口語   (*gsum chahi gnyis*)
　　　Cf. Haniyu $s\textrm{ɔ}^{31}$ bi^{55} $tçhi^{31}$ bi^{55} one-third
　　　哈尼語   三　　分 (之)　　一　　　　分
　　　　　　　three separated parts' one part
　　　Jinuoyu $s\textrm{ø}^{44}$ $p\textrm{ø}^{44}$ thi^{44} $p\textrm{ø}^{44}$ one-third
　　　基諾語   三　　分 (之)　　一　　　　分
　　　　　　　three separated parts' one part

3. Juan 5 [of the Xixia Lotus Sutra published in 2005] was probably printed with movable type xylography since several characters in the text are upside down. It is also very probable that juan 7 was printed with movable type, as big and small characters are mixed and the surface of the print has been corrected in places.

Bibliographical Note

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The examples of modern Tibetan-Burmese dialects referred to in the notes are cited from 孫宏開 編著 (edited by Sun Hongkai), «羌語簡志» (*Qiangyu jianzhi; A Brief Survey on the Qiang Language*) and 各種語言簡志 (Gezhong yuyan jianzhi; Brief Surveys on Various Languages) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe), and 黃布凡主編 (edited and supervised by Huang Bufan), «蔵緬語族語言詞彙» (*Zang Meng yuzu yuyan cihui*; A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1992). The examples of the Anong language and the Maqu dialect of the Tibetan language are cited from 孫宏開 and 劉光坤 (Liu Guangkun), «阿儂語研究» (*A Study of the Anong language*) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2005) and 周毛草 (Zhou Maocao), «瑪曲 藏語研究» (*A Study of the Maqu Dialect of the Tibetan Language*) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2003), respectively.