Chinese Elements in the Tangut Script*

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I. Introduction

The Tangut script as promulgated in 1036 is generally regarded as one of the most complicated writing systems in the world. Due to the efforts of many scholars, especially Lo Fu-ch'ang (1914), Nishida (1961, 1964, 1966), Kyčanov (1963) etc. and to the translation of the *Wen-hai* and the *Wen-hai tsa-lei* into Russian by Soviet scholars (see Keping et al. 1969), we have come to understand the composition of quite a number of Tangut characters.

There is no doubt that in the formation of the Tangut script the Chinese writing system played an important part, but it remains obscure exactly what kind of influence the Chinese writing system exerted on the Tangut script. Some attempt has been made to look for the origins of Tangut characters in the Chinese

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script. An excellent study of this sort was made by Kyčanov (1964) and further investigation in this direction is certainly worthy of being persued. However, in the present paper I shall focus my attention on the principles underlying the formation of the Tangut script and try to determine the traces of Chinese influences in them.

It is generally maintained that Chinese characters are formed according to the six principles, namely, imitative symbols (*hsiang-hsing* 象形), indicative symbols (*chih-shih* 指事), semantic compounds (*hui-i* 會意), phonetic compounds (*hsieh-sheng* 諧聲), semantic borrowings (*chuan-chu* 轉注), and phonetic borrowings (*chia-chieh* 假借).

As far as the Tangut script is concerned, examples of the first category are almost absent. The only seeming example is the character  men^{1} "gate, door" (S 1932)[1], which, according to the *Wen-hai*, a Tangut dictionary compiled in the 12th century, is a picture of a door[2], but one can not fail to see in it an imitation of the Chinese character 門 ₒmuən "gate, door" (G 441a)[3], the original form of which was a drawing.

Examples of indicative symbols in the Tangut script are also rare. The only examples close to this category seem to be the graphic elements  (connected with the meaning "above") and  (connected with the meaning "below"), which are placed respectively on the top and the bottom of characters to form the compounds as follows:

	"above"		tśi̯eɯ^{2}	top (S 0188)
			li̯wu^{2}	head (S 0238)
			no^{2}	brain (S 0240)
			tśêi^{2}	wear on top (S 0209)

1. The reconstruction of Tangut sounds is based on Sofronov (1968: II, 276-403), with some modifications proposed by me (See Gong 1981). The number in the parentheses preceded by S indicates the number in Sofronov's list.
2. See *Wen-hai* No. 478 (abbreviated as W 478 hereafter), Russian translation by Keping et al. 1969, I-102. For further discussion on this graph see infra.
3. For convenience' sake, the ancient Chinese reading reconstructed by Karlgren (1957) in *Grammata Serica Recensa* is given (abbreviated as G).

世 "below"		vie²	bottom (S 4782)
		thi²	earth (S 4024)
		dźiwe²	bed (S 3515)
		dzu²	sit (S 3749)
		kạ²	level, balanced (S 5390)

The forms and meanings of the Tangut graphic elements resemble Chinese 上 źiạng° "up, above, top" (G 726) and 下 ɣa° "down, below" (G 35), with the former going back to ancient  ,  ,  ,  and the latter to , , and [4]. These are indicative symbols in the Chinese script.

The Tangut script abounds in semantic compounds. In order to compare them with Chinese, we can cite the Tangut graphs  śịə¹ "messenger" (S 4594) and  bịei¹ "urine" (S 2321) as examples. According to the *Wen-hai* (W 987), the former is composed of  (an abbreviated form of[5]  dạ² "words") and  (abb. of  dai¹ "convey, transmit"). Thus the Tangut graph for "messenger" is composed of "transmit" and "words", in contrast to the Chinese character 信 siẖěn° "message, sincere", which is made up of 人 ˛ńźiẖěn "man" and 言 ˛ngiẖɒn "word". The latter (bịei¹ "urine") is composed of  (abb. of sịwo² "bladder") and  (abb. of  zịẹ² "water"). This composition is similar to Chinese 屎 (now written as 尿) nieu° "urine", which is composed of 尾 °mjwẹi "tail" and 水 °świ "water".

In the Tangut script there are graphs which have symmetrical structures. For instance the graphs  kạ² "even, level" (S 4830),  ŋwẹ¹ "compare, side by side" (S 4872), and  tın² "ditto" have the same graphic elements on the left and right side of the graphs. This kind of construction can be traced back to the composition of Chinese graphs such as 幵 ˛kien "even, level" (G 239), 比 °pji "compare" (G 566) and 竝 °bieng "side by side" (G 840).

As far as phonetic compounds in the Tangut script are concerned, we can

4. These forms are small seal (*hsiao*-chuan 小篆), ancient graph (*ku-wen* 古文), graphs on bronzes and oracle bones respectively.
5. Hereafter abbreviated to "abb. of".

cite the graphs li̭ə^1 "pine-tree" (S 0739) and wa^1 "pig" (S 5360) as examples. The former contains the radical (abb. of si^1 "tree") and the phonetic li̭ə^1 "wind". The Chinese graph with the same meaning is 松 ˳zi̭wong "pine-tree", which, according to the *Shuo-wen*, a Chinese dictionary of characters compiled about A. D. 100, contains the radical 木 "tree" and the phonetic 公 ˳kung "public"[6]. The Tangut graph contains the radical (abb. of gi̭u^1 "pig") and the phonetic wa^1 "surname". The Chinese character with the same meaning 豬 ˳ṭi̭wo "pig" (G 45) contains the radical 豕 "pig" and the phonetic 者 °tśi̭a "auxiliary word"[6]. Here we see that the type of graphic composition used here is the same in Tangut and Chinese.

In the Chinese script there are cases where the same graphic element occupying the same position in various graphs functions sometimes as the radical and sometimes as the phonetic. The same phenomenon is also observed in the Tangut script. Following are parallel examples between Chinese and Tangut.

Chinese	毦	°ńźi	"plume"	耳 °ńźi "ear"	is phonetic
	聆	˳lieng	"hear"	耳	is radical
Tangut		ni̭u^1	"surname"	(abb. of ni̭u^1 "ear")	is phonetic
		bạ^1	"cymbal"		is radical

The interpretation of the category *chuan-chu*, which I have translated freely as semantic borrowings, in contrast to the category of phonetic borrowings, has heen the subject of controversy for many centuries. The opinion which seems to have gained influence in recent years is to interpret the term as applying to characters formed by altering an etymologically related word. From this point of view, the Tangut characters li̭e^2 "fragrant" (S 0517) and li̭e^2 "ditto" (S 0700) belong here, for they are formed from li̭e^2 "fragrant" (S 0516) by either replacing part of the graph with the radical (abb. of naɯ^2 "vegetable" S 1790) or by adding the radical "tree" on the top of the character. Following are the compound words in which these graphs appear:

6. The discrepancy between a graph and its phonetic element results from sound change.

 lie²-no² fragrance (literally "fragrant-smell", Chinese 香氣)

 lie²-nau² coriander (literally "fragrant-vegetables", Chinese 香菜)

 dɪei²-lie² lignaloes (literally "sinking fragrance", Chinese 沈香)

By the principle of phonetic borrowing a graph is used to represent another phonetically identical or similar word, for which no graph exists. Thus the Tangut graph tsɪ¹ in the sense of "also" is a phonetic borrowing, since it is primarily formed for the homophonous word meaning "small", as is attested in the *Wen-hai's* explanation of the graph  zi¹ "small" (S 1496) by removing the left vertical stroke. The process of the formation of this graph is analogous to that of the Chinese graph 亦 iäk。 "also" (G 800), which is primarily invented for the word "armpit" as can be seen from its ancient form 𠙵 showing a man with the armpits indicated by two strokes.

II. The Influence of Chinese Vulgar Script on the Tangut Script

1. Graphs with the left and right side reversed.

In the Chinese script there are graphs which contain the same elements in different positions. They are sometimes variants of the same graph and sometimes different graphs with different sounds and/or meanings. For instance, in the *Kuang-yün*, a Chinese rhyming dictionary, we find graphs as follows:

a) variants of the same graphs

 °kân black in the face

 śie° wing

b) different graphs with different sounds and/or meanings

 。iəu hesitating

 。ɣuo dewlap, how, why, what

 kuân° name of a bird

 。uâi slow wind

 。iəu plan, scheme

 °kuo thigh

 。xuân name of a bird

 。ńźwiẹ slow wind

In the *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* 龍龕手鑑, a dictionary of Chinese characters compiled by a Kitan monk around A. D. 997, such graphs appear on a large scale. The dictionary is said to have recorded the vulgar script actually

used in the manuscripts of Buddhist sutras. It is all the more significant, since this immediately precedes the invention of the Tangut script around A. D. 1036. As we find the same method of graphic composition extensively applied in the Tangut script, we have to conclude that it owed to Chinese influence. Following are but a few examples of this kind of graphic composition in the Chinese and Tangut script.

Chinese

飃俗[7] 飄正[7] (I, 43A, 10)[8] to whirl, as the wind

颺俗 颺正 (I, 43A, 10) tossed by the wind

皹通[7] 皸正 (I, 42A, 9) chapped skin

皰通 皰正 (I, 42B, 4) pustule, pimple

氍俗 氍正 (I, 46B, 7) fine wollen cloth

毦俗 毦正 (II, 55B, 7) plume

Tangut

lɪə̣̂^{2}	earth		phu^{1}	earth
khwei^{1}	big		li̭e̤^{2}	big
dźi̭wu^{1}	man		vi̭e̤i^{1}	man
nə̣^{2}	finger		nou̯^{1}	claws
sɪ̭wɪ^{1}	gɪn^{2}			whirlwind
·wo^{1}	ngo^{2}			to drive
dźi̭wu^{1}	lhi̭a^{1}			lightning, sound of thunder
kwi̭e̤^{1}	ki̭e̤^{2}			bandit

It is interesting to note that some Tangut graphs acqire the corresponding Chinese sounds and occasionally also meanings in this way. In other words, this has become a method of forming Chinese loanwords in Tangut.

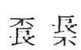
Tangut word		Chinese loanwords		Chinese	
dɪ̭ə̤^{1}	break	swei^{1}	break	碎 suâi$^{\circ}$	break
nɪ̭e̤^{1}	wild animal	śâi^{1}	wild animal	牲 ${}_{\circ}$ṣɒng	animals

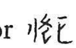
7. 俗 vulgar form, 正 regular form, 通 current form.
8. The number and letter of the alphabet in the parentheses indicate the volume, page, and line of the *Lung-k'an-shou-chien*.

Tangut word		Chinese loanwords		Chinese	
 dźi̯a^1 flame		 °i̯an^1	used in transcribing Chinese sound homophonous to "flame"	燄°i̯äm	flame
 lı̣^{2}	sweet	 thi̯e^1	house, also used in transcribing Chinese sound homophonous to "sweet"	甜 ˳diem>th-	sweet

2. Graphs formed on the principle of semantic compounds with "not" as its constituent element.

In the current Chinese script, graphs composed on the principle of semantic compounds with "not" as its constituent element are extremely rare. The graph 覔 "to search for" is composed of 不 "not" and 見 "see". In the *Yü-p'ien* it is registered as a vulgar script for 覓 . Another graph in current use is 歪 "aslant, askew". This graph is composed of 不 "not" and 正 "upright". To the best of my knowledge, this graph makes its first appearence in the *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* together with the following graphs which are no longer in use today.

 [9] 不 not 少 few, little = 多 many, much
 不 not 正 upright = 歪 aslant, askew
 不 not 長 long = 矮 short, low in height
 不 not 用 use = 弃 (棄) to abandon
 不 not 明 light = 暗 dark
 不 not 好 good = 壞 bad

The Tangut script made extensive use of this method and composed dozens of graphs with the graphic element  , which is an abbreviated form for  mi^1 "not". The following are examples:

 ni̯aɯ^2 is not <  not  is
 di̯u^1 to indict, to accuse <  not  to obey, to submit

9. See the *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* III, 64B, 8-10.

 dịe² to settle, to fix < 氵 not  to move

 ma¹ big < 氵 not fine, small

 ? curved < 氵 not  straight

 śân¹ mountain < 氵 not  low

 lị¹ dark < 氵 not  bright, light

 tśhêɯ¹ to destroy < 氵 not  to make, to do

 dze¹ to attack, to assault < 氵 not to withdraw

 dzịẹ¹ muddy, turbid < 氵 not  clear, lucid

 ɣwai¹ sideways, aslant < 氵 not  upright

 ngịẹ¹ dishevelled, bad < 氵 not  good

 lậi² greed < 氵 not  enough, satisfied

 lə to think, to remember < 氵 not  to forget

 ·wêɯ² to doubt < 氵 not  to believe

 san¹ to disperse < 氵 not  to gather, to assemble

 kêi¹ short, low in height < 氵 not  to grow up

 dzwa¹ short, low in height < 氵 not long

 kịwêi¹ without, none < 氵 not  to have

 sạ² to disperse < 氵 not group

 phə² to destroy < 氵 not  to regard, to value

3. Graphs formed on the principle of fan-ch'ieh.

In translating Buddhist sutras into Chinese, the necessity arose to render Sanskrit sounds into Chinese script. Since in Sanskrit, there were sound combinations which did not occur in Chihese, the transliteration did not always give the exact Sanskrit sound. For instance the syllable *dhyā* did not occur in Chinese, so it was rendered either in two syllables as diei-ịa 第耶, or simply as dâ 駄.

Sanskrit: upā*dhyā*ya

Chinese: 郁 波 第耶 夜 ·ịuk-puâ-*diei-ịa*-ịa

鄔 波 駄 耶 ·uo-puâ-*dâ*-ịa

鄔 波 拕 耶 ·uo-puâ-*dâ*-ịa

In the course of time, there appeared in the new translations of sutras an attempt to coin graphs by the fan-ch'ieh method, that is, to mark the sound of a character by means of two characters.

The first character is used to mark the initial and the second to mark the final. This was a method widely practiced at the time and it was but a natural development to apply it in a new field. In the *Hsin-yi-shih-ti-ching* (新譯十地經) we find the Sanskrit upā*dhyā*ya rendered now as 鄔波  耶[10] ·uo-puâ-*d*i̯*a*-i̯a. The new character di̯a is made up of two characters 亭 ˛dieng and 也 °i̯a. The *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* (A. D. 997) has recorded twenty-odd such characters. Following are only a few examples:

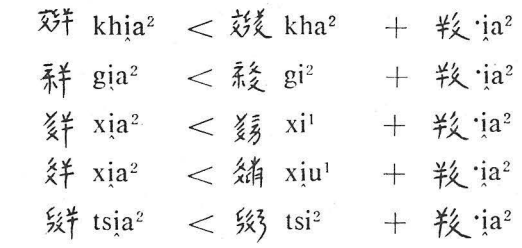
 °pi̯a ＜ 卑 ˛pjię ＋ 也 °i̯a
 °pi̯a ＜ 并 pi̯äng° ＋ 也 °i̯a
 °mi̯a ＜ 名 ˛mi̯äng ＋ 也 °i̯a
 mi̯a° ＜ 名 ˛mi̯äng ＋ 夜 i̯a°
 °ti̯a ＜ 丁 ˛tieng ＋ 也 °i̯a
 ti̯a° ＜ 丁 ˛tieng ＋ 夜 i̯a°
 di̯a° ＜ 亭 ˛dieng ＋ 夜 i̯a°
 °ni̯a ＜ 寧 ˛nieng ＋ 也 °i̯a

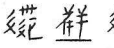
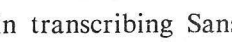
In the *T'ung-Yin*, a Tangut dictionary compiled in A. D. 1132, the Tangut characters formed on the principle of fan-ch'ieh are marked with the two component characters. Following are examples:

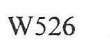
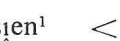
 phi̯a[2] ＜ phi[1] ＋ ·i̯a[2]
 bi̯a[2] ＜ bi[1] ＋ ·i̯a[2]
 mi̯a[2] ＜ mi[1] ＋ ·i̯a[2]
 ti̯a[2] ＜ ti[2] ＋ ·i̯a[2]
 thi̯a[2] ＜ thi[1] ＋ ·i̯a[2]
 di̯a[2] ＜ dɪn[2] ＋ ·i̯a[2]

10. See the *Hsü-i-ch'ieh-ching-yin-i* (P. 946A) 續一切經音義 compiled by a Kitan monk Hsi-lin 希麟 about A. D. 984-988.

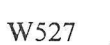
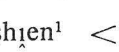
11. The *Hsü-i-ch'ieh-ching-yin-i* (P. 957B) has the expression 悉殿 *si̯ĕt-di̯a*, which seems to render Sanskrit siddhyā.



The main use of these fan-ch'ieh characters is to transcribe Sanskrit syllables. Thus Sanskrit sa*tya* is transcribed as  [12] sa^{1}-*ṭia*^{2}, while sid*dhyā* sid*dhyā* is transcribed as  [13] si^{1}-dia^{2} si^{1}-dia^{2}. In addition to the fan-ch'ieh characters used in transcribing Sanskrit sound, there are also fan-ch'ieh characters mainly used in transcribing Chinese sounds. According to the *Wen-hai*, the constituent elements of the following graphs are the same as their fan-ch'ieh:

W526  tsien^{1} <  tsi^{2} +  ·ien^{1}

used in transcribing Chinese character 晉 [14] tsiĕn "name of a dynasty"

W527  tshien^{1} <  tshi^{1} +  ·ien^{1}

used in transcribing Chinese character 秦 [15] dziĕn > tsh- "name of dynasty"

III. Chinese Elements in the Tangut Script

1. Graphs similar in shape between Tangut and Chinese.

In discussing the principle of imitative symbols, I have mentioned that the only Tangut graph referred to in the *Wen-hai* as based on a drawing (i. e.  men^{1} "door, gate") is, as a matter of fact, an imitation of the Chinese graph 門 ˛men "door, gate". It seems appropriate now to review the matter from the angle of the vulgar script, which, as we have already seen, had an important effect upon the formation of the Tangut script. There is no doubt that the Tangut corresponds to the Chinese 門 , but it remains unclear where the upper part of the graph comes from. In the *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* there is

12. Nevskij 1960, II-294.
13. *Ibid.*, II-572.
14. *Ibid.*, II-36.
15. *Ibid.*, II-65.

a graph 苘 which is explained as vulgar script pronounced as 門 [16]. The dictionary does not explicitly say that both graphs mean the same thing. But judging from the explanatory notes in the dictionary, this might be what is meant, though the graph as such exists as the first syllable in the compound word 苘冬 "asparagus". The question will remain unsettled untill we can check through the Tun-Huang manuscripts of Buddhist sutras.

The *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* has the following graphs as variants of the graph 齒 "teeth".

齒 齒 齒 古文，音齒，三同 (I, 26A, 7-8)

ku-wen forms, pronounced as 齒, the three graphs are same words

齒 舊藏作齒 (I, 26B, 2)

in the older translations of the Buddhist canons it is written as 齒

齒 古文，音齒 (II, 66A, 8)

a *ku-wen* form, pronounced as 齒

The Tangut graph kụo² "teeth" (S 0264), which is translated as 牙 "teeth" in the *Chang-chung-chu* (183), seems to have been derived from these variant forms of 齒 "teeth". The similarity in graphic shape between the Chinese graph and the Tangut one is quite obvious.

In the Tangut script the graphic element appears in the graphs such as ṣi̯on¹ "iron" (S 2599), rə̂² "copper" (S 2560), ŋi̯u¹ "brass" (S 2574), and tse² "pewter, tin" (S 2595), and is generally regarded as corresponding to the Chinese radical 金 "metal" [17]. The *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* (I, 10B, 2) has the graph 金 listed as the *ku-wen* form of the graph 金. The similarity between Chinese 金 and Tangut is conspicuous.

It is convenient to mention here in connection with the radical 金, that the Tangut graph kwi¹ "lock" (S 2550) corresponds to the Chinese graph 鎖 (W 415). Although the *Wen-hai* takes the Tangut graphic element (in) to

16. The *Lung-k'an-shou-chien* II, 26A, 5 苘 俗，音 門.

17. See Lo Fu-ch'ang (1914: 3).

be an abbreviated form of zwon^{2} "take, hold" (S 0944), it is quite possible that the form 卄 is simply derived from the form 巛 in 鎖.

The Tangut graph sə^{1} (S 3750) is explained in the *Wen-hai* (W 916) as consisting of the right parts of the graphs dźi̯wu^{1} "man" and nɪe̯^{1} "animal". This explanation is unsatisfactory in terms of both semantic and phonetic compounding. The graph is used in the *Chang-chung-chu* to transcribe the Chinese graph 絲 ₒsi (written as 絲 there) and other homophonous graphs. Since the graph does not seem to have any meaning in itself (the *Wen-hai* only says it is used in writing the Tangut family name ·i̯a^{2}-sə^{1}), there is a probability that it is simply derived from the Chinese graph 絲. The similarity between them is striking.

2. Graphs similar in composition between Tangut and Chinese.

In the Tangut script there are a group of graphs which resemble their Chinese counterparts in structure. Following are some examples:

a. Chinese: 吕 °li̯wo "family name"

Tangut: li̯wu^{2} "graph used in transcribing 吕".

The Tangut graphic element "mouth" corresponds to the Chinese graph 口 "mouth". There is a parallelism between Chinese and Tangut in the way that the corresponding elements are assembled.

b. Chinese: (L[18]I, 45, A5) = 隻 tśi̯äkₒ "one, single"

(L II, 51A, 8-9) = 雙 ₒșång "a pair"

Tangut: dzɪn^{2} "single" (S 2369)

și̯oɯ^{2} "double" (S 2381)

The Tangut graph is used in the *Chang-chung-chu* (073) to transcribe the Chinese graph 雙. Since it also means "double", we are dealing here with a Chinese loanword. Instead of piling up the same elements, they are put side by side.

c. Chinese: (L II, 55A, 10, vulgar script for 聞 "hear")

< 人 man + 耳 ear

18. The *Lung k'an-shou-chien* will be abbreviated to L. hereafter.

Tangut : [Tangut] ni^{2} "hear" (S 3605)

< [Tangut] dzi̯wo^{2} man + [Tangut] ni̯u^{1} ear

Chinese ⿱人耳 and Tangut [Tangut] have the same constituent elements.

d. Chinese: 坐 dzuâ° "sit"

Tangut : [Tangut] dzu^{2} "sit" (S 3749)

Since Tangut [Tangut] "man" corresponds to Chinese 人 "man", we have here double "man" in both graphs. The lower part of graph is 土 "earth" in Chinese and 丗 "below, bottom" in Tangut. Both are similar in form as well as in meaning.

e. Chinese: 忘 mi̯wang° "forget" < 亡 ₒmi̯wang "not" + 心 "heart"

Tangut : [Tangut] ? "forget" < [Tangut] (abb. of [Tangut] "no") + [Tangut] (abb. of [Tangut] "heart")

The graphic structure is the same in both. The Tangut graph [Tangut] is a semantic compound. The Chinese 忘 is a semantic as well as phonetic compound.

f. Chinese: 仙 ₒsi̯än "an immortal" < 人 "man" + 山 "mountain"

Tangut : [Tangut] śi̯e^{1} "an immortal" < [Tangut] "man" + [Tangut] (abb. of [Tangut] "mountain")

Chinese and Tangut have the same structure. But in the Chinese 仙, 山 ₒṣan is generally regarded as phonetic. Folk etymology seems to have played a role in producing the Tangut [Tangut].

g. Chinese: 契 khiei° "cut" < (丰 + 刀 "knife") + 大 big

Tangut : [Tangut] khi^{2} "cut" < 丰 + [Tangut] "knife"

The Tangut [Tangut] khi^{2} is a Chinese loanword. The same element 丰 appears in both graphs.

h. Chinese: 打 (read ta since the 12th century) "strike"

< 扌 "hand" + 丁 originally phonetic

Tangut : [Tangut] ta^{1} "strike" < [Tangut] "hand" + |

The Tangut [Tangut] ta^{1} is a Chinese loanword. In spite of a totally different explanation in the *Wen-hai*, the Tangut graph contains the same element

"hand" as the Chinese and a vertical stroke which seems to have derived from the Chinese 丁.

i. Chinese: 佛 bi̭uət˳ "Buddha" < 人 "man" + 弗 pi̭uət˳

Tangut: [Tangut] tha^{1} "Buddha" < [Tangut] "man" + [Tangut]

Both Chinese and Tangut graphs contain the radical "man".

The left part of the Tangut character [Tangut] resembles Chinese 王 "king" in that both have three horizontal lines and one vertical stroke. The *Wen-hai* explanation for the character [Tangut] is "[Tangut]" "man piercing three regions", quite similar to Chinese explanation for 王, which says "一貫三爲王" "one running through three is king". The Chinese influence on the formation of the Tangut character can be observed in the similar philosophical speculation.

3. Chinese phonetic elements in the Tangut script.

In the Tangut script the graphs standing for Chinese loanwords are often formed by adding radicals to Tangut graphs with the same meanings. Following are examples:

a. The element [Tangut] added.

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
[Tangut] keɯ^{1} family name	高 ˳kâu high, family name	[Tangut] bɪn^{2} high
[Tangut] wân^{2} family name	萬 mi̭wɒn° > wan ten thousand, family name	[Tangut] khɪ^{2} ten thousand
[Tangut] kon^{1} body	躬 ˳ki̭ung body	[Tangut] li̭wu̧^{2} body
[Tangut] śên^{1} body, person	身 ˳śi̭ĕn body, person	[Tangut] ·ɪn^{1} self
[Tangut] śi̭e^{2} knowledge	識 śi̭ək˳ to know, knowledge	[Tangut] sɪ̭ẹ^{2} wisdom
[Tangut] ɣêɯ^{1} to learn	學 ɣåk˳ to learn	[Tangut] dzɪ̭e^{2} to learn
[Tangut] tśi̭e^{1} to know	知 ˳ti̭e to know	[Tangut] nwə^{1} to know
[Tangut] ·i̭wan^{1} family name	圓 ˳ji̭wän round	[Tangut] ·won^{1} round
[Tangut] śi̭uo^{1} soft	熟 źi̭uk˳ > ś- ripe	[Tangut] wə^{1} soft

The Tangut graphic element [Tangut] is interpreted as representing various Tangut characters in the *Wen-hai*. However, the most important thing here is that these graphs are read as in Chinese according to the meanings of the right parts. Without a knowledge of Chinese it would be difficult to understand how these graphs are made up and how they are pronounced.

b. The element [Tangut] added.

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
[Tangut] seɯ² family name	小 °si̯äu small	[Tangut] tsɪ¹ small
[Tangut] na¹ south	南 ₒnâm south	[Tangut] zi̯ə¹ south
[Tangut] thi̯e¹ name of a place, lightning	天 ₒthien sky	[Tangut] mə¹ sky
[Tangut] ɣeɯ¹ moat	壕 ₒɣâu moat	[Tangut] dzi̯e¹ moat

The graph [Tangut] seɯ² contains the element [Tangut] tsɪ¹ "small" and is pronounced like Chinese 小 "small". In the text it is used as a loanword for Chinese 簫 ₒsieu "bamboo flute", which is homophonous to 小 °si̯äu "small" in the Northwest Chinese dialect in the 12th century. The graph [Tangut] thi̯e¹ is pronounced like Chinese 天 ₒthien "sky", because it contains the abbreviated form of the graph [Tangut] "sky". Besides, in the transcription of the first syllable in the place name 天都 ₒthien-ₒtuo, it is used as a loanword for Chinese 電 dien° > thien[19] "lightning", which is homophonous to 天 ₒthien. Here we see how these Tangut graphs acquire their sounds and meanings through the medium of Chinese language. Following are diagrams illustrating these relations:

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
[Tangut] seɯ² "bamboo flute" ⟵	簫 ₒsieu "bamboo flute"	
	↑ 小 °si̯äu small ⟵	[Tangut] tsɪ¹ "small"
[Tangut] thi̯e¹ "lightning" ⟵	電 thien° < dien° "lightning"	
	↑ 天 ₒthien "sky" ⟵	[Tangut] mə¹ "sky"

(The arrow ⟵ indicates a meaning relationship, while the arrow ↑ indicates a sound relationship.)

19. See Gong 1981: 47ff.

The diagrams show the role Chinese language plays in the formation of Tangut graphs. Below are further examples, given without explanation.

c. The element added.

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
gi̯əɯ^{1} family name	牛 ꜀ngi̯ə̯u cow, ox	gụ^{1} cow, ox
kɪ̯wên^{1} gentleman ←	君 ꜀ki̯uən gentleman	
	↑軍 ꜀ki̯uən army ⟵	ga^{1} army, soldier
dźi̯u^{2} girl, daughter	女 °ńi̯wo > ńdz- girl, daughter	bɪ̯ẹ^{1} girl' daughter
tshei^{1} wealth	財 ꜀dzâi > tsh- wealth	·ɪ̯ẹ^{1} good fortune, happiness

d. The element added.

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
tśi̯wan turn round	轉 °ṭi̯wän turn round	.dźi̯e^{2} turn round
xwên^{1} place name	分 ꜀pi̯uən > f- divide	thɪ̯e^{1} divide
śên^{1} place name	神 ꜀dźi̯ěn > ś- god	nɪ̯a^{1} god
gi̯əɯ^{1} name of a plant	牛 ꜀ngi̯ə̯u cow, ox	gụ^{1} cow, ox
tśi̯e^{1} branch	枝 ꜀tśi̯e branch	śêɯ^{1} branch

e. The element added.

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
lwen^{1} person name	輪 ꜀li̯uěn wheel	dźi̯ə^{1} wheel
xi̯eɯ^{1} to rest	休 ꜀xi̯ə̯u to rest	śi̯wu^{1} to rest

f. Other elements added.

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
xan^{1} Chinese	漢 xân° Chinese	zạ^{1} Chinese
śi̯u^{2} place name	樹 źi̯u° > ś- tree	phu^{2} tree
sɪn^{1} nature	性 si̯äng° nature	tsɪ^{2} nature
kên^{1} family name	金 ꜀ki̯əm gold	keị^{1} gold

4. Chinese semantic elements in the Tangut script.

In the Tangut script there are some graphs, the composition of which is incomprehensible, unless Chinese semantic elements are assumed to be present. For instance, the *Wen-hai* says the graph [Tangut graph] sɪ̭wə^{1} "grief, sad" has the graph [Tangut graph] su^{2} "to be like" as its constituent. Since no semantic connexion seems to exist between them, one might erroneously think that [Tangut graph] su^{2} is the phonetic in [Tangut graph] sɪ̭wə^{1} and base the study of the range of sound variation within a Tangut phonetic series on such kind of examples. But there is one thing worthy of our notice: The graph [Tangut graph] su^{2} is used in translating the Chinese word 猶 ₒi̭ə̭u "to be like"[20] in the *Lun-yü*, *The Analects of Confucius*, and there is another graph [Tangut graph] ·êɯ^{2} which is read 猶 ₒi̭ə̭u (the discrepancy between ·êɯ^{2} and ₒi̭ə̭u can be attributed either to the difference in sound systems between Tangut and Chinese or to the difference in reconstructions. Furthermore, the Chinese reconstruction ₒi̭ə̭u is that of Middle Chinese around the 6th century and we are dealing here with the Tangut sound system of the 12th century. The sound change should also be taken into consideration.) In the *Lun-yü*, the Tangut [Tangut graph] sɪ̭wə^{1} "grief, sad" is used in translating Chinese 憂 ₒ·i̭ə̭u "grief, sad"[20] which is homophonous to 猶 ₒi̭ə̭u, except in tone and the presence or absence of the glottal stop. These differences are always disregarded in the transcription. All that which has been pointed out above can not be a mere coincidence but reveals the way Tangut forms graphs through the medium of the Chinese language. The sound and meaning relationships can be illustrated in a diagram as follows:

Tangut	Chinese	Tangut
[Tangut graph] sɪ̭wə^{1} grief, sad ⟵	憂 ₒ·i̭ə̭u grief, sad	
	↑ 猶 ₒi̭ə̭u to be like ⟵	[Tangut graph] su^{2} to be like
		(cf. [Tangut graph] ·êɯ^{2} pronounced like 猶 and 憂)

The difference between this example and the examples we have given in the preceding section is that in this case there is no sound relationship between Tangut

20. Kolokolov and Kyčanov (1966: 105).

[illegible] si̭wə[1] "grief" and Chinese 憂 ˳·i̭ə̭u "grief". The relationship is semantic in nature. In the preceding section there is always a sound relationship. The Tangut graphs stand always for Chinese loanwords, therefore the connection between Tangut and Chinese is easier to discover. But in this case the connection is hidden. It can only be discovered via semantic equivalences in both languages. Following are further examples:

Tangut		Chinese		Tangut
[illegible] lhɪ² dust	⟵	塵 ˳ḍi̭ĕn dust		
	↑	陳 ˳ḍi̭ĕn > tśh- old	⟵	[illegible] tśhên¹ old
[illegible] dzwɪ² a censor	⟵	史 °ṣi a censor		
	↑	使 °ṣi an envoy a messenger	⟵	[illegible] śi̭ə¹ a messenger

IV. Concluding Remarks

In the foregoing I have tried to outline the scope of Chinese influence on the formation of the Tangut script. I have traced not only the principles of formation, but also the shape and structure of some individual Tangut graphs back to Chinese origins. The most conspicuous thing in the Tangut script is that Chinese phonetic and semantic elements are mingled together with Tangut elements in forming graphs. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this situation. In translating Buddhist canons from Chinese into Tangut, the following transcriptions are noted in Nevsky's dictionary: [21]

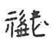
(Nevsky II, 184)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	若 提 碎 摩 論
ẑia²-thi¹-di̭ə̭¹-mo² li̭ə̭¹	ńźi̭ak-diei-suậi-muâ luən

(Nevsky II, 181)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	睒 波 咻 咻 醯 那
kɪn¹-pa¹-·i̭ə²-·i̭ə²-xi¹-na¹	śi̭äm-puâ-xi̭ə̭u-xi̭ə̭u-xiei-nâ

21. The Chinese translation of the canon has no meaning—the characters were chosen to represent the sounds of the canon as it was originally transmitted. Later, the Tangut translations were also transcriptions of sounds rather than meaning.

The third syllable in the first exmpale ( dɪ̭ə̭^{1}) is used in transcribing Chinese 碎 suâ̭i°, because both words mean "broken, small pieces". The third and fourth syllables in the second example are the same graph ( ·i̭ə̭^{2}), which is used to transcribe Chinese 咻 ˳xi̭ə̭u, because the Tangut  ·i̭ə̭^{2} means "to rest" and is synonymous to Chinese 休 ˳xi̭ə̭u "to rest". 休 and 咻 are homonyms in Chinese. These two examples show that Tangut graphs are actually read like Chinese words. In the Tangut dictionary there are graphs  swei^1 "broken, small pieces" and  xi̭eɯ^1 "to rest" which are loanwords from Chinese 碎 suâ̭i° "broken, small pieces" and 休 ˳xi̭ə̭u "to rest" respectively. These two graphs are made either by changing the left and right sides of the original graph (from  to  = ) or by replacing a part of the graph (from  to ). No matter whether the formation of these two graphs precedes the translation or the other way round, the intervention of Chinese language in the Tangut script is a fact which should not be overlooked.

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西夏文字中的漢字漢語成分

龔　煌　城

（摘　要）

西元一〇三六年頒布的西夏文字，一般咸認爲受了漢字漢語相當大的影響。本文探討西夏文字中的漢字漢語成分，首先舉例說明西夏文字的構成大致係據「六書」的原理；繼而指出西夏文字中若干表面上看來似乎非常特殊的造字方法如：一、互換左右偏傍造同義字的方法，二、利用否定詞造會意字的方法，及三、併合反切上下字造併音字的方法等，實乃受當時通行的漢字俗字影響而然（這些俗字均收錄在西元九九七年遼釋行均所編的龍龕手鑑一書中），並非另出機杼或別有來源。

在個別的西夏文字構成方面，本文分別討論下面幾種字例：一、西夏文字整個字形採自漢字，二、文字結構仿倣漢字，三、漢語語音成分構成西夏形聲字，四、漢語語意成分構成西夏會意字。

最後提到在西夏所譯佛經中有西夏字依其字義徑讀漢字音及西夏字改易偏傍以造漢語借詞的字例。這種情形顯示，漢語的語音與語義與西夏文字結合，構成西夏文字的音義層面。這樣看來，漢語介入西夏文字是不容忽視的事實。