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► **To cite this version:**

Mathieu Beaudouin. Tangut verb agreement: Optional or not?. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 2022, 45 (1), pp.93-109. 10.1075/ltba.21008.bea . hal-03893853

**HAL Id: hal-03893853**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03893853>**

Submitted on 11 Dec 2022

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# Tangut verb agreement: optional or not?

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The Tangut language is of particular importance to the field of Sino-Tibetan Studies, notably because of its morphological conservatism, which is unexpectedly correlated with a simplification of its syllable structure, a consequence of a process Miyake (2012) called “compression”. Such conservatism is evident in the syllable qualities reconstructed, which sometimes reflect proto-Tangut’s ancient derivational processes. Verbs also exhibit various flectional phenomena, mainly due to conversion of agreement rules and referential hierarchy rules (Silverstein 1976), in a manner reminiscent of the indexation system of languages of the rGyalrongic taxon within the Qiangic family. The present paper attempts to explain the absence of indexation in the Tangut verb, a key phenomenon in the history of verb agreement analysis. First, I recall the main rules of the Tangut verb’s agreement system, as shown by Kepping (1975) and Gong (2001). Second, cases of non-agreement are analyzed. Apart from the case of non-local contexts, we see that the absence of agreement occurs in non-finite forms resulting from a dependency pattern, such as clause chaining, topic/comment context, and semantically dependent modality.<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords :** Tangut, agreement, syntax, dependency, clause chaining, topic/comment, modality

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 The rules of agreement

As known since Kepping (1975), the Tangut verb encodes a sizeable quantity of information at both sides of the root. Preverbs (traditionally called “prefixes”) to the left of the root provide knowledge regarding orientation and TAME.<sup>2</sup> To the right

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<sup>1</sup>The transcription used in the present paper is the reconstruction of Gong (2006), as given in Li (2008)’s Tangut-Chinese dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>The template follows an order shown by Jacques (2011) and includes ancient directional prefixes, interrogation prefixes, negation prefixes, modal prefixes, and monosyllabic incorporated nouns.

of the root, one notably finds suffixes carrying agreement with the arguments of the verb. These display forms responding to different types of indexation systems.

### 1.1.1 Intransitive verbs

With intransitive verbs, the scheme is quite simple: the verb, having just one unique argument (the subject), agrees with that unique argument. The suffix will be  $-ŋa^2$  𐰽 for the first person singular,  $-nja^2$  𐰽 for the second person singular, and  $-nji^2$  𐰽 for the plural of both the first and second person (examples 1a to 1c).<sup>3</sup>

- (1) a. 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽  
*mjo<sup>2</sup> lwe<sup>2</sup>lwe<sup>2</sup> lja<sup>1</sup>-ŋa<sup>2</sup>*  
 1.HUM slowly come-1SG  
 ‘I will come slowly.’ (Leilin 07.21.A.5, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 302)
- b. 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽  
*nji<sup>2</sup> dzjir<sup>1</sup>-ya<sup>2</sup> dja<sup>2</sup>-çji<sup>1</sup>-nja<sup>2</sup>*  
 2.HON fast-LOC IMP-go<sub>1</sub>-2SG  
 ‘Go quickly!’ (Leilin 07.21.A.5, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 302)
- c. 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽  
*gji<sup>2</sup>mji<sup>2</sup> tej<sup>1</sup> pie<sup>1</sup>=jij<sup>1</sup> gji<sup>2</sup>lhji<sup>1</sup> ŋwu<sup>2</sup>-nji<sup>2</sup> jŋ<sup>2</sup>*  
 1PL Tai Bo=GEN descendants be-12PL QUOT  
 ‘They [used to] say: “We are the descendants of Tai Bo”.’ (Leilin 04.33.A.3, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 275)

The verb with a third-person subject is to be treated apart, as it never shows agreement, as seen in example (2). Finally, one must note that the occurrence of reported speech does not impede agreement, as shown by examples (1c) and (3).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Before Kepping’s seminal work, the main (and inexact) interpretation regarding two of these suffixes was that they were related to modality. Nevsky (1960, posth.: 146–147) saw in 𐰽  $-nji^2$  and 𐰽  $-nja^2$  suffixes indicating assertion, in the manner of Japanese べし *beshi*, 𐰽 *yo* or 𐰽 *ya*, an interpretation Nishida (1964–1966) accepted with some reservations. Sofronov (1968: 217–218) stayed inside this modal explanatory frame, and described suffixes encoding an “appellative mood” (“апеллятивное наклонение”). He also conjectured that the choice between 𐰽  $-nji^2$  and 𐰽  $-nja^2$  was related to a hierarchy between the speaker and the addressee. The first person suffix 𐰽  $-ŋa^2$  was not mentioned at all until Kepping, probably because of the graphic indifferentiation with the homograph pronoun 𐰽  $ŋa^2$ .

<sup>4</sup>The nature of reported speech in Tangut is probably semi-direct (Type II of reported speech in Aikhenvald 2007), or hybrid (Tournadre & Dorje 2003), like in Horpa languages (Jacques & Antonov 2014), even if I translate it as direct speech in my examples. In example (3), a more



A \ P	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
1SG			$\Sigma^1$ -nja <sup>2</sup> 𐰇	$\Sigma^1$ -nji <sup>2</sup> 𐰇	$\Sigma^2$ -ŋa <sup>2</sup> 𐰇
1PL					$\Sigma^1$ -nji <sup>2</sup> 𐰇
2SG					$\Sigma^2$ -nja <sup>2</sup> 𐰇
2PL	$\Sigma^1$ -ŋa <sup>2</sup> 𐰇	$\Sigma^1$ -nji <sup>2</sup> 𐰇			$\Sigma^1$ -nji <sup>2</sup> 𐰇
3			$\Sigma^1$ -nja <sup>2</sup> 𐰇	$\Sigma^1$ -nji <sup>2</sup> 𐰇	$\Sigma^1$

Figure 1: Paradigm of the Tangut verb (without the dual)

‘He was often thinking: “My assistants could kill me”.’ (Leilin 04.03A.4, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 267)

As can show this example given by Jacques (2014: 222), one should note that the reflexive 𐰇 *jij*<sup>1</sup>, which cause the emerging of Stem B, is considered in Tangut as a third-person object:

(6) 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

*məð*<sup>1</sup>=*kha*<sup>1</sup> *jij*<sup>1</sup> *ljo*<sup>2</sup>-*nja*<sup>2</sup> *thjij*<sup>2</sup>*yiej*<sup>1</sup>  
 fire=INTERE REFL throw[B]-2SG INTRG

‘Why throw yourself into the fire?’ (CXZ 14.1–2, Jacques 2007)

It is also to be noted, as already observed by Kepping (1985), that the possessor of a possessed argument often triggers agreement in the verb. In example (7), the verb agrees with the hand’s owner, i.e., the woman, and not the hand itself, as such a coreference would not cause agreement. The Tangut verb’s complete paradigm is summarized in figure 1 (mixed contexts where Stem B occurs are colored in orange).

(7) 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 [𐰇] 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇

*mjjj*<sup>1</sup> *njjj*<sup>2</sup>=*do*<sup>2</sup> *kji*<sup>1</sup>-*dju*<sup>1</sup> *dzjwi*<sup>2</sup>=*gu*<sup>2</sup> *dzjwo*<sup>2</sup> *gji*<sup>2</sup>  
 woman king=TERM PFV:IN-tell hall=INE people one  
 [ŋa<sup>2</sup>]=*jij*<sup>1</sup> *la*<sup>1</sup> *kji*<sup>1</sup>-*zow*<sup>2</sup>-*wji*<sup>1</sup>-*ŋa*<sup>2</sup>  
 [1SG]=GEN hand PFV:IN-holding.LV:do[A]-1SG

‘The woman told the king: “There is someone among the persons in the hall who grabbed my hand.”’ (Leilin 07.22.A.3, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 302)



Facing such diversity, the positions held by scholars have been subject to evolution. Awareness of Tangut verbal agreement is as stated above relatively recent, as the discovery of the phenomenon dates to [Kepping \(1975\)](#), and the explanation of stem alternation to [Gong \(2001\)](#). Since then, some scholars have expressed the view that agreement was optional ([Ahrens 1990](#), [LaPolla 1992b](#)<sup>6</sup>). [Jacques \(2016\)](#), on the other hand, has proposed that indexation should be seen as mandatory with transitive verbs, non-finite exceptions being found in “converbal chains”.

- (9) a. 橐 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡  
*nji<sup>2</sup> dzjir<sup>1</sup>-ya<sup>2</sup> dja<sup>2</sup>-cji<sup>1</sup>-nja<sup>2</sup> mjo<sup>2</sup> lwe<sup>2</sup>lwe<sup>2</sup> lja<sup>1</sup>-ŋa<sup>2</sup>*  
 2.HON fast-LOC IMP-go<sub>1</sub>-2SG 1.HUM slowly come-1SG  
 ‘Go quickly. Me, I’ll come slowly.’ (Leilin 07.21.A.5, cited in [Shi et al. 1993](#): 302)
- b. 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡 斡  
*cji<sup>1</sup> nji<sup>2</sup>=rjir<sup>2</sup> lhjjj<sup>2</sup> dzjwi<sup>1</sup> sjij<sup>1</sup> nji<sup>2</sup>=jij<sup>1</sup>*  
 before 2.HON = COMIT country neighbour today 2.HON = GEN  
*bji<sup>2</sup> ·wji<sup>1</sup>∅ nji<sup>2</sup>=do<sup>2</sup> ·o<sup>2</sup> tjwij<sup>1</sup> khu<sup>1</sup>∅ nji<sup>2</sup> zjo<sup>2</sup>*  
 servant do[A]∅ 2.HON = LOC alcohol cup offer∅ 2.HON life  
*khji<sup>2</sup> tsə<sup>1</sup> lja<sup>1</sup>*  
 ten.thousand autumn come  
 ‘Yesterday I was a neighbor country to you, and today I am your servant. I raise my cup to you and wish you a ten thousand autumns life.’ (Leilin 05.17B.1, cited in [Shi et al. 1993](#): 279)

The view I support here is that agreement is primarily mandatory not only in transitive verbs, but also in intransitive ones, and that the verbal forms not following the pattern above are non-finite. The key proof here is that if the cases of non-agreement can be explained by the presence of invariant contexts which, typologically speaking, also often accompany non-finite forms, agreement should be seen as mandatory.

The primary material of the present analysis consists of two xylographs, the 斡 斡 *Djjj<sup>1</sup> bo<sup>1</sup>* (‘Forest of Categories’, also known as 斡 斡 ‘Lèilin’, edition of [Shi et al. 1993](#)) and the 斡 斡 斡 *Ÿa<sup>2</sup> njj<sup>1</sup> lhjjj* (‘Twelve Kingdoms’, edition of [Solonin 1995](#)). These two documents offer the advantage of being relatively close approximations of oral speech, with the style of the translation being quite distinct from the original Chinese text.

<sup>6</sup>This optionality was for LaPolla an argument to support his view of an ‘isolating’ proto-Sino-Tibetan, of view today not shared by a majority of scholars in the field of Sino-Tibetan historical linguistics.

## 2 Clues to the mandatoriness of agreement

In dependent clauses, the emergence of a non-finite form is something that can happen in a language as familiar as English, in a sentence like ‘Who is the boy *writing on the desk?*’. In the relative clause, the action nominal ‘writing’ is used in place of the structure with the relative pronoun ‘who’ in ‘Who is the boy who is writing on the desk?’.

In Tangut, a verb inside a syntactically dependent clause (as a relative clause or a completive clause) *displays* agreement. In example (10) which cites a story from the 左轉 *Zuǒ Zhuàn* (Lord Xuan, 15), the verb inside the head-internal relative clause 榑毳窳攸罷阨阨 (between brackets) agrees with the second-person agent of the verb 攸罷阨 ‘let marry’ (that person also being the addressee of the whole sentence). I explain the absence of agreement of the copula of the first foreground clause in section 3.

- (10) 榑毳窳攸罷阨阨 { 榑毳窳攸罷阨阨 } 榑窳毳  
 斡榑窳斡榑窳斡榑窳斡榑窳

*nar*<sup>2</sup>*dzjwo*<sup>2</sup> · *we*<sup>2</sup> *khjow*<sup>2</sup> = *jij*<sup>1</sup> *da*<sup>2</sup> · *ji*<sup>2</sup> *ŋa*<sup>2</sup> = [*tja*<sup>1</sup>] { *nji*<sup>2</sup> *la*<sup>2</sup> *mja*<sup>1</sup>  
 old.man Wei Ke=ANTIERG say 1SG=[TOP] { 2.HON aunt  
*jar*<sup>2</sup> *ɕji*<sup>2</sup> - *phjo*<sup>2</sup> - *nja*<sup>2</sup> } = *jij*<sup>1</sup> · *wja*<sup>1</sup> *ŋwu*<sup>2</sup>  $\emptyset$  = *tɕhjwo*<sup>1</sup> [*ɕji*<sup>2</sup>  
 marry go<sub>2</sub>-CAUS[B]-2SG } = GEN father COP $\emptyset$  = because [grass  
*lhwa*<sup>0</sup> = *ŋwu*<sup>2</sup> *nji*<sup>2</sup> = *jij*<sup>1</sup> *lji*<sup>2</sup> *lji*<sup>1</sup> *ljij*<sup>2</sup> - *ŋa*<sup>2</sup>  
 tie]=INS 2.HON = ANTIERG favour give.back come[B]-1SG

‘The old man said to Wei Ke: “I am the father of your aunt,<sup>7</sup> the one you made wed once more; due to that reason I returned your favour to you by fastening the grass [under the feet of the enemy].’ (Leilin 07.18.A.3, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 301)<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, in the following sentence, perhaps written in semi-direct speech, the verb inside the completive 斡斡斡斡 agrees with the semantic agent 斡. As one can see, the form used in the English translation is the infinitive, i.e., a non-finite form.

<sup>7</sup>I translate here the main meaning of 毳窳, ‘aunt’ in Tangut, although 妾 in Chinese shows that 毳窳 refers here to a concubine of ego’s deceased father.

<sup>8</sup>I use the label “anti-ergative” (LaPolla 1992a) in place of “oblique” essentially because of the ability of the clitic 榑 = *jij*<sup>1</sup> to mark the semantic object of a prototypic transitive verb, a distribution not incompatible with the canonical conception of oblique case (cf., differential object marking), but which adds complexity when the label “anti-ergative” confers 榑 *jij*<sup>1</sup> a label coherent both syntactically and semantically.

(11) 席 嚙 循 { 筵 蓂 蓂 蓂 } 玆 瓿

$njj^2 bji^2 = jij^1$       {  $lj^2 zjj^2 \cdot wja^2 - nji^2$  }  $ji^2 - nja^2$   
king servant=ANTIERG { soil taxes remit-12PL } say-2SG

‘King, tell the servants { to remit the taxes }.’ (12K 132.46.06, left untranslated in [Solonin 1995](#))

These two examples cannot prove the mandatory nature of Tangut verbal agreement, but are still substantial clues. I am now going to analyze and categorize the cases where the Tangut verb does not agree with its argument(s).

### 3 Clause chaining dependency

The label “clause chaining” refers in the field of syntax analysis to the succession of foreground clauses, i.e., not subordinate to one another ([Dooley 2010](#)) inside the same sentence, with an operator dependency ([van Valin 2005](#)), typologically prenuclear in SOV languages (i.e., with a controlling position on the right). [Jacques \(2016\)](#) used the term “converbal chain” to depict that phenomenon; however, I prefer the label “clause chaining,” as converbs show a similar pattern, but not only—as I think to be the case in Tangut—limited to coordination, the defining parameter of converbal chains being the existence of a dedicated operator called the “converb” ([Haspelmath & König 1995](#)).

One could note that to validate the existence of clause chaining, the first thing to do is to prove coordination. [Haspelmath 2007](#) proposed a set of conditions we will use *vis-à-vis* example (12).

- no intercalation rule: no clause can be contained inside another;
- temporal iconicity rule: the linear order must be in accordance with the chronology of the facts;
- no cataphora rule: the first coordinate clause cannot contain a reference that appears only in the second clause;
- no focus rule: no coordinate can be focused;
- no extraction rule: it must be impossible to extract an interrogative from the second coordinate clause to put it in the first position.

As one can see in example (12) which translates a story from the *Book of the Later Han* (Volume 27), all the conditions listed ahead apply to the phenomenon:



coreferences we have to establish. In example (14), 斷 should agree with the second person, and absence of indexation should then be seen as a consequence of clause chaining, and not of the fact that the agent (the king) is a third person.

(14) 席戮悞 [讖] 肅齋斷絞戮彥 斷

*njij<sup>2</sup> kji<sup>1</sup> djij<sup>2</sup> [nja<sup>2</sup>]=:jij<sup>1</sup> ·o<sup>1</sup> ·wjar<sup>1</sup>∅ nji<sup>0</sup> dzji<sup>0</sup>=·wji<sup>1</sup>-nja<sup>2</sup>*  
king certainly [2SG]=GEN belly cut∅ pearl pulling=LV:do[A]-2SG

‘The king will no doubt cut your belly and pull the pearl out of it.’ (Leilin 04.02A.2, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 267)

## 4 Conditional dependency

The conjunction 彥 *tjij<sup>1</sup>* usually precedes a non-finite form. In a case such as in example (15), though, it is not easy to know for sure if it is a non-finite form coreferent with the agent, or if it is a generic form similar to that of the following verb 肅 *dzjwi<sup>2</sup>dzjij<sup>2</sup>* (a hypothesis I favor here). Nevertheless, there are other examples, as in (16), where the knowledge of the context allows the establishment of a coreference between the subject and the verb, and where the absence of an agreement therefore has to be explained.

(15) [彥] 慨彥肅戮悞 絞彥肅

*[tjij<sup>1</sup>] mji<sup>1</sup>-wji<sup>1</sup>∅ ku<sup>1</sup> kji<sup>1</sup> djij<sup>2</sup> kie<sup>1</sup>=bju<sup>1</sup> dzjwi<sup>2</sup> dzjij<sup>2</sup>*  
[if] NEG-do[A]∅ then necessarily rules=according.to judge

‘If it is not done, then it will be judged in accordance to the rules.’ (Leilin 07.03A.5, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 297)

(16) 彥 肅 絞 彥 戮 悞 齋 肅 [彥] 悞 ∅ 絞 戮 悞 席 絞 彥 戮 肅 [悞]  
悞 ∅ 絞 戮 悞 絞 戮 肅 肅

*thjij<sup>1</sup> xiwəj<sup>1</sup>=do<sup>2</sup> dzjwo<sup>2</sup> zeew<sup>2</sup> bju<sup>2</sup> ɕji<sup>1</sup>-phji<sup>1</sup> [tjij<sup>1</sup>] lja<sup>1</sup>∅*  
Tian Heng=TERM person send announce go<sub>1</sub>-CAUS[A] [if] come∅  
*ku<sup>1</sup> kji<sup>1</sup> djij<sup>2</sup> njij<sup>2</sup>-tsəj<sup>1</sup> mjii<sup>1</sup> bjij<sup>2</sup>-phji<sup>1</sup>-nja<sup>2</sup> [mji<sup>1</sup>]-lja<sup>1</sup>∅ ku<sup>1</sup>*  
so necessarily king-DIM entitle-CAUS[A]-2SG [NEG]-come[B]∅ so  
*kji<sup>1</sup> djij<sup>2</sup> dzjwo<sup>2</sup> zeew<sup>2</sup> jijr<sup>2</sup>-phji<sup>1</sup>-nja<sup>2</sup>*  
necessarily person send execute-CAUS[A]-2SG

‘He sent someone at Tian Heng’s place and made him say: “If you come, I will make you prince, but if you don’t come I will certainly send someone to have you executed.”’ (Leilin 09.07.B.4, cited in Shi et al. 1993: 314)





‘The starving man said: “I am from Qi, my name is Ling Zhe; I went to study literature for three years. Today I want to come back home, but my provisions are empty. I can’t come closer to my hometown.”’ (Leilin 07.16.B.4, cited in [Shi et al. 1993](#): 301)

There are still two cases that do not display agreement when the topical clitic does not appear. I treat the case of the interrogative sentence (07.16.B.4) in the next section. Regarding the sentence 07.22.A.1 reproduced in example (20),<sup>9</sup> if we consider the possibility that the last phrase is really reported speech, I hypothesize that the non-finite copula is due to a dependency similar to that of the topic/comment structure, but at an extra-clausal level (or thetical, see [Kaltenböck et al. 2016](#)).

- (20) 儼嗷駉龔劓龔彥駸 𠄎𠄎 [𠄎𠄎嗷駸 𠄎𠄎] 𠄎  
*ɣwə<sup>1</sup> dzjwo<sup>2</sup> dɑ<sup>2</sup> mja<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup> rjijr<sup>1</sup> kjw#r<sup>1</sup>=mjijr<sup>2</sup> ɣwu<sup>2</sup>-nʃi<sup>2</sup> jʃ<sup>2</sup>* [*tɕjiw<sup>1</sup>*  
 five person say other day horse steal=NMLZ COP-12PL QUOT Zhou  
*ɕjij<sup>1</sup> dzjwo<sup>2</sup> ɣwu<sup>2</sup>∅ lʃ<sup>1</sup>] jʃ<sup>2</sup>  
 dynasty person COP∅ ASSERT QUOT*

First possible translation: ‘We are the five people who stole the horse last time; we are from Zhou!’ (Leilin 07.22.A.1)

Alternative translation: “‘We are the five people who stole the horse last time.’ They were from Zhou.’ (Leilin 07.22.A.1, cited in [Shi et al. 1993](#): 302)

This form of dependency of a verbal form on a preceding sentence exists, for example, in East Greenlandic Inuit, where it has been defined by [Tersis \(2010: 588\)](#) “as a form of situational dependency at the paragraph level.” I reproduce her example in (21); one can see that the attributive, ordinarily used as a noun-modifier third-person participial (e.g., *tikkak nii-tiq* ‘man eating’, lit. man eat-ATTRIB.SG) also occurs at a discursive level in a dependent clause. In Tangut, as for clause chaining, the dependency only concerns the parameter of person and could be linked to the context of enunciation (example 9b of the introduction).

- (21) *miqsiqtit tasiita-mut nuut-taq-pu-t tattani atiwaqpim-mi*  
 child.PL Tasiilaq-DIR move-HABITUAL-IND-3PL there school-LOC  
*nayuna-qaq-ti-tit.*  
 home-have-ATTRIB-3PL

<sup>9</sup>It would have been easier not to consider this example, as it does not enter in the topic/comment structure at a clausal level, and as [Shi et al. 1993](#) analyze the phrase 𠄎𠄎嗷駸 𠄎𠄎 *tɕjiw<sup>1</sup> ɕjij<sup>1</sup> dzjwo<sup>2</sup> ɣwu<sup>2</sup>* as a narrative component. However, the verb 𠄎𠄎 *jʃ<sup>2</sup>* indicates reported speech quite consistently, while the assertive is often found in (semi)-direct-speech. I thus consider here the possibility of speech produced by the thieves themselves. More examples will be necessary to be completely sure of the exact meaning of this sentence.



(23) 𐞗𐞙𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦𐾧𐾨𐾩𐾪𐾫𐾬𐾭𐾮𐾯𐾰𐾱𐾲𐾳𐾴𐾵𐾶𐾷𐾸𐾹𐾺𐾻𐾼𐾽𐾾𐾿𐿀𐿁𐿂𐿃𐿄𐿅𐿆𐿇𐿈𐿉𐿊𐿋𐿌𐿍𐿎𐿏𐿐𐿑𐿒𐿓𐿔𐿕𐿖𐿗𐿘𐿙𐿚𐿛𐿜𐿝𐿞𐿟𐿠𐿡𐿢𐿣𐿤𐿥𐿦𐿧𐿨𐿩𐿪𐿫𐿬𐿭𐿮𐿯𐿰𐿱𐿲𐿳𐿴𐿵𐿶𐿷𐿸𐿹𐿺𐿻𐿼𐿽𐿾𐿿

*nji*<sup>2</sup> ·*wa*<sup>2</sup>=*sju*<sup>2</sup> *dzjwo*<sup>2</sup> *ɲwu*<sup>2</sup>∅  
2.HON INTRG = sort people COP∅

‘What sort of person are you??’ (Leilin 07.16B.3, cited in [Shi et al. 1993](#): 301)

## 7 Conclusion

This overview of the limited contexts where agreement does not appear reveals the importance of dependency in our understanding of Tangut grammar. Indeed, dependency is the objective explicative tool that describes the computation of a coreference from the speaker’s subjective point of view. This coreference is anaphoric in the case of topic/comment (perhaps thetic) structures or modal statements as imperative or interrogation, and cataphoric in the case of clause chaining and conditional dependency. Apart from these situations, all the verbs used in direct speech are indexed, and agreement should then be seen as primarily mandatory, non-agreement being limited to the specific contexts listed in the present study.

## Abbreviations

1SG first person singular (pronoun & suffix)	INE inessive (‘in, within’)
1.HUM first person humilific pronoun	INS instrumental
2SG second person singular (pronoun & suffix)	INTERE intercessive (‘in, among, through’)
2.HON second person honorific pronoun	INTRG interrogative
1PL first person plural pronoun	IRR irrealis
12PL first and second person plural suffix	LOC locative
ANTIERG antiergative	LV light verb
CAUS causative	NEG negative prefix
COMIT comitative	NMLZ nominalizer
COMP comparative	OPT optative
COP copula	PFV perfective
NEG.COP negative copula	PFV:DOWN downwards perfective
DIM diminutive	PFV:IN centripetal perfective
PFV:DIR directional preverb	PFV:OUT centrifugal perfective
ERG ergative	PROHIB prohibitive
EXV.on existential verb (on a surface)	QUOT quotative verb
EXCLAM exclamative	REFL reflexive
IMP imperative	SUBE subessive (‘above’)
IMP:UP upwards imperative	SUPE superessive (‘on the surface of, when’)
GEN genitive	TERM terminative
	TOP topic

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