ARE THE OLD JAPANESE PERSONAL PRONOUNS GENETICALLY RELATED TO THOSE OF THE ALTAIC LANGUAGES?

YOSHIZO ITABASHI
(Fukuoka-shi)

Abstract

All the functions of the OJ personal pronouns may never be cognate with any of the Altaic personal pronouns, except for OJ wa, as well as possibly o\textsubscript{2}re, and i/si which may possibly be cognate with PMo *ba, *ârê/*ôrô, PA *i/Ma-Tg si/OTK *si respectively. The OJ morphemes i/si identical with the OJ personal pronouns i/si seemed to play a crucial role in finding out the origin of the OJ personal pronouns i/si because the identical morphemes i/si may have the undifferentiated deictic/emphatic function in common, which became developed into the OJ personal pronouns i/si.

[0] Preliminary

Some attempts to find out the origin of the Old Japanese personal pronouns have been made since 1950s. Most of the early attempts (e.g. Murayama 1950) are concerned with the relations to the Altaic languages. There are some recent attempts (e.g. Sakiyama 1990) engaged in the relations with the Austronesian languages.

But in Japan, most of the reactions to those attempts were ambivalent and many Japanese linguists even said in chorus that it was premature to compare the Old Japanese personal pronouns to those of other languages or language families since we do not know the functions of the Old Japanese personal pronouns. If their reasoning is correct, then the time will never come that we can compare them to those of other languages. We have to work toward both ways, that is, we try to find out all their functions of the Old Japanese personal pronouns and also to compare them to those of other languages.

I will briefly explain and compare each person of Old Japanese at a time to the corresponding Altaic personal pronouns to see if they are cognate with those of Altaic.
[1] 1st Person Pronouns

(a) Japanese

First, we will look at the first person pronouns in Old Japanese and their examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & < \ast a & \text{< \ast a [pre-Jap.]} \\
\text{are} & < \ast a + \ast re \text{ (suffix)} \\
\text{wa} & < \ast wa & \text{< \ast wa [pre-Jap.]} \\
\text{ware} & < \ast wa + \ast re \text{ (suffix)} \\
\text{wanu} & < \ast wa + \ast nu \text{ (suffix)} \\
\text{(Azuma dialect)}
\end{align*}
\]

eamples:

1. \text{a wo matikanete [Man. 3562]}
   \text{a wo matikanete}
   I [acc.] cannot wait
   ‘… you can’t await me’

2. \text{a ga nusi no2 mitama tamaFite… [Man. 882]}
   \text{a ga nusi no2 mitama tamaFite}
   I [gen.] lover [gen.] heart giving
   ‘Would you please give me your heart…’

3. \text{tatuno2ma wo are Fa mo2to2me2mu… [Man. 808]}
   \text{tatuno2ma wo are Fa mo2to2me2mu}
   dragon [acc.] I [top.] get
   ‘I will get a dragon…’

4. \text{are Fa itaramu… [Man. 3428]}
   \text{are Fa itaramu}
   I [top.] reach
   ‘I will come (to you)’

5. \text{wa ga yado ni sakari ni sakeru ume2 no2 Fana… [Man. 851]}
   \text{wa ga yado ni sakarini sakeru ume2 no2 Fana}
   I [gen.] home [loc.] fully bloom ume [gen.] blossom
   ‘The fully blooming ume trees in my yard…’
6. wa ni yo₂so₂ri... [Man. 3408]
   wa ni yo₂so₂ri
   I [loc.] rumor to have an affair with
   ‘spreading rumor that the girl has an affair with me’

7. ware koFi₂meyamo₂ [Man. 858]
   ware koFi₂ me yamo₂
   I miss [conjec.] [rhet. ques.]
   ‘why should I miss you?’

8. FikoFo₂si mo₂ ware ni masarite o₂mo₂Furameyamo₂ [Man. 3657]
   FikoFo₂si mo₂ ware ni masarite o₂mo₂Fu rame yamo₂
   Altair [emp.] I [comp.] excel think [conjec.] [rhet. ques.]
   ‘The Altair would not think of his love more than I do of my love...’

9. ube kona Fa wanu ni koFunamo₂. [Man. 3476: Azuma dialect]
   ube ko na Fa wanu ni koFu namo₂
   truly child [pl. suf.] [top.] I [loc.] miss [conjec.]
   ‘My love truly misses me...’

As shown above, the personal pronouns in Old Japanese are a, are, wa, ware, wanu (Azuma dialect). A and wa never stand alone and always appear with a particle (e.g. wo₂ [acc.] or ga [gen.]), and a is found in direct association with a noun such as azuma ‘my wife’, ase ‘my spouse’, agi ‘my dear’ in the Kojiki and Nihonshoki. Conversely, wa does not have any combination with a noun in the early Old Japanese, namely, *wago ‘my child’, *wagi ‘my dear’ do not exist.

On the other hand, are and ware can stand alone as the subject of a verb. Besides that, there seems to be no difference in function between a and are and between wa and ware. The element re of are and ware may be cognate with re of koʃre, so₂re, kare, and idure, the demonstrative pronouns.

Wanu is used for ware in Azuma dialect and the nu of wanu normally corresponds to the re of are and ware. Wanu for the 1st person is also found in Ryukyu and the same sound correspondence is found between Old Japanese and Ryukyu as seen below. The -nu in Azuma dialect may be the exact cognate with -nu in Ryukyu, but at this point we do not know that for certain. That is, there is a possibility that the -nu may be a secondary/internal development in both Azuma and Ryukyu.

There seems to be some other difference in use between a and wa. Namely, a tends to be employed with such nouns as ‘body, heart, chest, face; love, unrequited love’, whereas wa has a tendency to be used with paired nouns such as ‘husband, wife/lover, father, mother’ and also with collective nouns like ‘a country, village, house’. This evidence implies that a and wa must have denoted originally different numbers (singular or dual?).
(b) Ryukyu

We now turn to the 1st person singular pronouns in Ryukyu. Note that the plural pronouns are all derived from their singular pronouns in all the persons:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & < \ast a \\
(\text{Miyako and Yonaguni)} & < \ast a \ [\text{pre-Ryukyu}]
\text{an} & < \ast a + \ast nu \ (\text{suffix}) \\
(\text{Miyako and Yonaguni)} & \text{wa} < \ast wa
\text{wan}(u) & < \ast wa + \ast nu \ (\text{suffix}) \\
(\text{Amami and Okinawa)} & \text{ba} < \ast ba
\text{ban} \ (u) & < \ast ba + \ast nu \ (\text{suffix}) \\
(\text{Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni)}
\end{align*}
\]

examples:

1. ?a ña kagu kutu... [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:161]
   ?a ña kagu kutu...
   I [nom.] write [suf.]
   ‘I will write (it), so…’

   ?anu ?N hiru ka?ya
   I [emp.] go wonder
   ‘I think I will go’

   wa: ga ìiku: sa
   I [nom.] go [suf.]
   ‘I will go (there)’

   wan ?ikun ro:
   I go [suf.]
   ‘I will go (there)’

5. ba ga kakàdijiba... [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:173]
   ba ga kaka-dijiba
   I [nom.] write- [suf.]
   ‘I will write (it), so…’
   banu Nna ta:ga yaga sʰ sariN
   I [nom.] anyone [suf.] can’t know
   ‘I don’t know who it is’

We basically have the same forms of the 1st person pronouns as in Old Japanese; but they are geographically restricted either to the northern or southern islands of the Ryukyu area: wa and wan(u) are found only in the northern islands, while a, an, ba and ban(u) are spread to the southern islands. However, we know that historically a and an were employed also in the northern islands because Amami and Okinawa dialects still have some linguistic remnants of a (Nakamoto 1983:161; Yamada 1981:133).

As mentioned above, there is some kind of suffix -nu, which is functionally equivalent to OJ -re, but we do not know the relationship between the two suffixes. They might be cognate with each other since there seems to be a regular consonantal correspondence between -n and -r.

The b- of ban(u) in Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni dialects regularly corresponds to w- of wan in the other dialects. It has been proven (Nakamoto & Hirayama 1964:50–1; Murayama 1981:67–72; Hosei Univ. 1977:16) that b- in these dialects was developed from *w- in Pre-Ryukyu:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
W (Amani, Okinawa) \\
\hline
b \prec w (Miyako, Yaeyama, Yonaguni) \\
p \prec b \prec w (Uganjima \text{[大神島]} \text{in Miyako}) \\
P \prec p \prec b \prec w (Kumishi \text{[米須]} \text{in Okinawa}) \\
\text{<} *w \text{[pre-Ryukyu]} \\
gw \prec gw \prec w (Kudaka \text{[久高]} \text{in Okinawa}) \\
g \prec gw \prec w (Kikaijima \text{[喜界島]} \text{in Amami})
\end{array}
\]

On the basis of the existing 1st person pronouns, we may reconstruct the two different forms *a and *wa in Pre-Japanese or even in Proto-Japanese. When we consider the other personal pronouns, it appears anomalous that only the 1st person is represented by two different forms. This suggests that each of these two forms are inherited from two separate sources. We will come back to this point later in this section.

Now we will consider the possible connections of the OJ 1st person personal pronouns with those of the Altaic languages. OJ a and wa are said to correspond to ba [1st p.p.excl.] in Mongolian:

Miller (1981:185–199) claims that OJ a was an allomorph of wa which corresponds to *ba which is the Proto-Mongolian 1st person plural pronoun and *man-, the Proto-Altaic 1st person plural oblique stem. But this explanation is not convincing: there is no evidence
that in Old Japanese *wa changed to *a. In addition, Miyako and Yonaguni dialects have the two 1st person pronouns *a and *ba. The initial consonant *b- of *ba corresponding to *w- of OJ *wa is very stable. Moreover, as mentioned above, *a and *wab* appear in different areas. All these show that *a was not derived from *wa or *ba. This evidence certainly weakens Miller’s first claim that OJ *a comes from *wa.

There is another claim that OJ *a was derived form *na, the 2nd person pronoun, and the *na is claimed to be the original 1st person pronoun:

1. Hattori (1959:401–2) insists that OJ *na (1st p.) was dissimilated into *a through the following stages: *nan-ga ‘my’ > *anga > *aga > *a. The function of *a then must be restricted to the possessive case only, but actually it was able to take other case suffixes like accusative *wo, dative *ni, or even another possessive *ga. Thus the function of this personal pronoun *a contradicts those of the case suffixes, so we must discard his claim.

2. Murayama (1950:42–3) asserts that *a was developed from *na (1st p.) because of the following similar changes found in Old Japanese: *nani ‘what?’ vs. *ani ‘how, why?’; *nazo ‘why?’ vs. *azo ‘why?’ But there were many cases where word-initial *n- was preserved in Old Japanese, so Murayama’s claim does not convince either. In addition, there is no evidence that *na was the original 1st person pronoun in Old Japanese.

Neither of the above claims explain why Old Japanese had two different forms, *a and *wa. My opinion is that both forms probably came originally from two different sources: the 1st person pronoun *a may have originally come from the Austronesian and OJ *wa may have been inherited or borrowed intensively from the Proto-Altaic (if this stage ever existed) or the Proto-Mongolian 1st person plural pronoun *ba.

In this connection, we should emphasize that OJ *a tends to associate with nouns of body parts and OJ *wa tends to be employed with paired and collective nouns. This suggests that OJ *a was originally a singular pronoun, and OJ *wa was originally a plural pronoun. In addition, it is odd that only the 1st person has the two different forms. Furthermore, because of this difference in meaning and number, OJ *a cannot possibly be inherited from the Proto-Altaic third person plural *a, and there may not be any other candidates for this OJ *a in any of the Altaic languages. All this evidence would indicate that the two forms of the 1st person are either loan or inherited elements from two separate language families, Austronesian and Altaic/Mongolian, respectively.

Mi2 in Old Japanese does not cause any etymological problems; originally, it was a noun, not a pronoun, meaning ‘body, flesh’. In later periods it began to be used as the 1st person pronoun. Its internal development has never been questioned. Despite this commonly accepted claim, Miller (1981:182–4)
claims that OJ *mi₂ is cognate with the P to-Altaic 1st person pronoun *bi, which is not acceptable. Besides this, there is another reason that there is no established regular sound correspondence either between OJ *m- and PA *b- or OJ m- and PA *m-; and the same holds true concerning OJ i₂ and PA *i. The postulate of the vocalic correspondence is very doubtful because OJ i₂ was derived from *o₂/u + *i, hence the first original vowel of the Old Japanese does not match at all to the supposed PA *i.

[2] 2nd Person Pronouns

(a) Japanese

As forms of the second person pronouns in Old Japanese, na and nare appear. The latter exhibits the same suffix re which is attested in are and ware. There are also three other 2nd person pronouns i, si, and o₂re, which are independently used.

\[
\begin{align*}
na &< *na \\
nare &< *na + *re \\
i &< *i \\
si &< *si \\
o₂re &< *o₂ + *re
\end{align*}
\]

examples:

1. na wo mireba mukasi no₂ Fito₂ wo aFimiru go₂to₂si [Man. 309]
   *na wo mire-ba mukasi no₂ Fito₂ wo aFimiru go₂to₂si*
   you [acc.] look-[cond.] old time [gen.] person [acc.] look each other like
   ‘When I look at you, you remind me of the person in the old days’

2. nare mo₂ are mo₂ [Man. 3440]
   *nare mo₂ are mo₂*
   you [emp.] I [emp.]
   ‘you and I both (wash)…’

3. i ga tukuri tukaFe₂maturu o₂Fo₂to₂no₂ uti ni Fa...
   [K part 2, NKBT p. 157]
   *i ga tukuri tukaFe₂maturu o₂Fo₂to₂no₂ uti ni Fa*
   you [gen.] build serve [hon.] great hall [pros.] [top.]
   ‘(you will go first) into the great hall you have built in service (to me)’
4. *ore madu irite... [N, Jimmu No. 126]
   *ore madu irite
   you first enter
   'you first enter (the palace)…'

5. *ki *ore wo ba *ore to iFu [N, Jimmu No. 126]
   *ki *ore wo ba *ore to iFu
   you this [acc.] [emp.] you [quo.] say
   'You call this ore (you)'

*Na* is not able to stand alone as subject, while *nare* can, which has exactly
the same relationship of the use *alwa* with that of *arelware*. We also find *ili* for
the 2nd person pronouns and *ore* for the 2nd person deprecatory pronoun in Old
Japanese.

(b) *Ryukyu*

Now we will consider the Ryukyu 2nd person singular pronouns:

| *na* < *na* [Okinawa dialect: hon.] | < *na* [pre-Ryukyu] |
| *nan* < *na* + *nu* (suffix) | < *na* [pre-Ryukyu] |
| [northern Amami dialect: hon.] | |
| *na:mi* < *na* + *mi* [身: 'body'] | |
| [kikaijima/northern Okinawa dialect: hon.] | |

| *rai* < *rai* < *u* + *ri* | |
| [Tokunoshima/Yoroncho dialect: hon.] | |
| *rai* < *u* + *ri* | |
| [Tokunoshima/Yoroncho dialect: hon.] | |
| *ra* < *ura* < *uri* + *a* (endear. suf.) | < *o* + *re* [pre-Ryukyu] |
| [Amami: depre.; Okinawa dialect: hon.] | |
| (n) *da* < *ura* < *uri* + *a* | < *o* + *re* [pre-Ryukyu] |
| [Yonaguni dialect: hon.] | |
| *va* < *uva* < *uwa* < *ura* < *uri* + *a* | |
| [Miyako dialect: hon.] | |
| *aindzu* < *uri* + *nu* + *u* [主: 'main'] | |
| [Okinawa dialect: hon.] | |

| *ya* < *iya* < *iryu* < *ira* < *i* + *a* < *i* + *re* | |
| [mid-south Okinawa dialect: depre.] | |

| *oka* < *o* + *no* [gen.] + *ga* [gen.] [Omorosausahi] | |
| [old Omoro: hon.; latest Omoro: deprecatory] | |
examples:

   na:  ga  ?iyuru Futu
   you [nom.] say fact
   ‘the fact that you are saying (it)’

2. nan mo:yu mi [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:91]
   nan  mo:yu  mi
   you go [hon.] [ques.]
   ‘Will you go (there)?’

   na:mi  ya  wakas[e: bin
   you [top.] young [cop.]
   ‘you are young’

   ?ui  da:tsi’?mo:i ga
   you (hon.) where to go [ques.]
   ‘Where are you going?’

   ?uri  da:kam  ?mo: ryuŋ ga
   you (hon.) where to go [ques.]
   ‘Where are you going?’

   nyama  ?ura  wakasa’i
   still you [depre.] young
   ‘You are still young’

   1964:162]
   ñda  ña  hi  ta?nti?n bura nu?n
   you [nom.] go even if be not
   ‘Even if you go (there), he won’t be (there)’

8. vwa mai kaka dzi: na [Miyako dialect: Shimoji 1979:139]
   vwa  mai  kaka  dzi:  na
   you [emp.] write [sug.] [ques.]
   ‘Why don’t you write (it)?’
   *ya ga katsu bitfi
   you [nom.] write should
   ‘You should write (it)’

We find four types of the 2nd person pronouns, *na-type, *ore-type, *ono-
type, and *oka-type, most of which are honorific. On the basis of this, the follow-
ing forms can be reconstructed in pre-Ryukyu:
   *na
   *ore
   *ire
   *ono-

Pre-R. *na is identical with OJ *na, so we safely claim that there was a *na
for the 2nd person pronoun in Proto-Japanese. Pre-R. *ore is compared with OJ
*ore and this pronoun can be postulated for Proto-Japanese as *ore.

Pre-R. *ire is paired with *ore, in which Pre-R. *i is in opposition to *o.
This pre-R. *i must be cognate with the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun *iri.
*oka < *ono- is cognate with OJ *oka ‘myself, oneself’.

These four distinct forms are certainly cognate with OJ *na, *ore, i, and
*ono- in that order, where OJ *na and i are the only pure pronouns as opposed
to denominal pronouns.

We notice that in Ryukyu does not appear an equivalent of OJ *si, the 2nd
person pronoun. This seems to imply that the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun
*si may not be the original person. That is, the original person of OJ *si must be
the 3rd person instead of the 2nd. This observation is in accordance with the
view that the Proto-Japanese pronouns *i/si must have been the 3rd person pro-
nouns.

Now we will consider the question whether OJ *na was originally a 1st per-
son or a 2nd person. In Nara period, almost all the OJ *na were used as the 2nd
person except for the vocative forms such as *na-o-to ‘my younger brother’
(Man. 3957), *na-se ‘my older brother/husband’ (Man. 3458), *na-imo ‘my sis-
ter/wife’ (NS 61), *na-ne ‘miss, ma’am’ (Man. 1800). Although these examples
show a genitive case only as opposed to the nominative or accusative, they all
denote a 1st person. Moreover, these compound forms were not found in the 2nd
person pronoun *na. Note also that the 1st person pronoun can normally and read-
ily be extended in use to the 2nd person pronoun with the connotation of de-
recration in Japanese.

However, it is odd that Old Japanese did not have other forms of the 2nd
person pronoun without that connotation, and that the addressed in the vocative
case were animals and plants. This fact seems to indicate that the original person
of OJ *na was a 2nd person not a 1st person (Jidaibetsu 1985:512) pronoun. This
fact contradicts the preceding evidence. Therefore, it is safe to state at this point
that OJ *na was both a 1st and a 2nd person pronoun in pre-Japanese. However, since a 3rd person pronoun becomes readily extended to a 1st person pronoun in many languages, it is possible or even probable that the Proto-Japanese *na may have been a 3rd person pronoun, which was developed into a 1st person pronoun as early as in pre-Japanese; this then became less frequently used, when the 2nd person pronoun *na became more productive. Then, the 1st person pronoun *na became obsolete with the remnant of the noun compound forms discussed above and the *na was used only for the deprecatory 2nd person pronoun in Old Japanese.

Miller (1981:198–9, 202–3) insists that OJ *na is cognate with the Proto-Mongolian 2nd person plural pronoun *ta and the Old Korean 1st person singular pronoun na. It is possible that OJ *na may be cognate with OK *na. However, this would not necessarily mean that both forms are inherited from Proto-Mongolian or Proto-Altaic. It is impossible to relate OJ *na to PMo *ta because the word-initial consonant t- of PMo *ta never corresponds to the word-initial n- of OJ *na. For that matter, he should have related OJ *na with Mo *na-, the 1st person singular oblique stem and not with PMo *ta.

We cannot preclude that *na as an unproductive 1st person pronoun and a productive 2nd person pronoun in Old Japanese may have been a 1st person pronoun in pre-Japanese, which was either inherited from pre- or Proto-Korean or borrowed from Old Korean, probably from Silla or Paekche. There is also another possibility that Proto-Korean had *na as a 3rd person pronoun, which then developed into the 1st person pronoun in pre-Korean and Old Korean, in which case, Proto-Japanese and Proto-Korean had had the same original personal pronoun *na.

Since the two main Altaic branches, Manchu-Tungus and Old Turkic did not have a 1st person pronoun na, or even the oblique stem na-, it is doubtful that both OJ *na and OK *na or any of them were inherited form Proto-Mongolian or Proto-Altaic. In addition, there is a very little possibility that both or either one of the two were borrowed either from Proto-Mongolian or Proto-Altaic. All this evidence leads to the conclusion that OJ *na and probably OK *na also may have been a 3rd person pronoun in Proto-Japanese and Proto-Korean but not a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. This conclusion implies that OJ *na and probably OK *na may have been inherited from some other language or language family.

Both Miller (1981:183–4) and Murayama (1950:45–6) claim that the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun i is compared to the 3rd person singular pronoun i which exists in all the Altaic main branches and can be postulated as *i for the Proto-Altaic 3rd person singular pronoun. They also insist that the Old Japanese 1st person singular pronoun i was inherited from the Proto-Altaic 3rd person pronoun and then it became extended in use to the 2nd person singular pronoun. Since this kind of extension is also very common in many language families, this suggests that this extension in use may have occurred at the latest by the end of the pre-Japanese period. But if we consider all other functions of OJ i (see be-
low), we cannot relate it with Proto-Altaic *i existing in all the Altaic branches because none of the Altaic languages show any of the additional other functions of the OJ i and also because we can hardly think that the other functions in all the Altaic branches might have been lost. Hence, we need to search another language family for the origin of this element.

Further, both Miller and Murayama insist that the other Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun si is cognate with the Manchu-Tungus 2nd person singular pronoun si, which might also possibly be cognate with that of Mongolian ci (coming from the Proto-Mongolian *ti). Both also claim that Ma-Tg si and PMo *ti are derived from the Proto-Altaic 2nd person singular pronoun *si. It is, however, impossible that the original 2nd person singular pronoun *si which is identical with the Old Turkic 3rd person singular pronoun *si was reconstructed on the basis of the Ma-Tg and PMo forms.

OJ si had not only the functions of the 2nd and 3rd person pronoun but also many other functions (see below), which probably developed for external reasons. These other functions cannot be found in the corresponding Ma-Tg si [2ps] and OTK *si [3ps]. Thus, OJ si cannot be either inherited or borrowed from Proto-Altaic, and it is impossible to connect it etymologically with any of the Proto-Mongolian and Proto-Turkic mentioned above.

The above mentioned comparative details are put together in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Japanese</th>
<th>Altaic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i [2nd p.]</td>
<td>*i [3rd p. sg.: PA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*si [2nd, 3rd p.]</td>
<td>*si [2nd p. sg.: Ma-Tg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*si [3rd p. sg.: OTK]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miller (1981:200–1) asserts that OJ ore ‘you (deprecatory)’ and OJ ono2/ono2re ‘myself, one’s self’ is cognate with all the Altaic words, Mo örelörö ‘guts’, Ma-Tg ur ‘animal’s stomach’, OTK öz ‘own, self; he’ and that the reflexive meaning ‘self’ appears to be the original meaning of these words including OJ ore. But those words in Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus branches have concrete meanings as opposed to abstract meaning in Old Turkic; and the concrete meaning of basic words such as these above is normally older than the abstract meaning. In other words, abstract meaning is normally derived from its concrete meaning if both meanings have something in common, which in this case they do. We can also hardly think that these concrete meanings as above are derived from the abstract noun ‘self’. Thus, Miller’s claim would not hold. Moreover, there seem to be some Old Japanese cognates which fit to these Altaic words: OJ uti ‘home’ and udi ‘tribe’. We also know that OJ ore (*o2re) consists of o and re not of or and e (the latter of which Miller tries to compare with Mo örelörö, Ma-Tg ur, OTK öz, and analyzing the Mo forms as ör + e/o in order to find fitting forms to the other Altaic words). It is well known that Old Japanese
also had *ono₂re ‘myself, oneself’ and ono₂ meaning ‘myself, oneself’ in which the re of ore is some kind of suffix. This makes us doubt that the Old Japanese ore is cognate with these Altaic words. And instead, it would indicate either that ① Old Japanese ore might be a loan from Proto-Mongolian which is less likely or that ② OJ uti and udi may be cognate only with OTK öz and OK uri ‘cage’, and OJ ore (for that matter OJ ono₂ and ono₂re) may be related only with Mo örelörö, or that ③ OJ uti and udi may be cognate only with OTK öz and MK uri, and OJ o₂re may have been shortened from OJ ono₂re and may not be related with Mo örelörö whatsoever because we are not certain that Mo örelörö is analyzed as ö + re/rö. That is, there may be two possible sources of OJ ore: one is either inherited or borrowed from Altaic and the other is internally developed from OJ ono₂re. However, for the above reason, we conclude that OJ ore was internally developed rather than borrowed or inherited from Altaic. Hence, it is an internal element. The results of the above explanation are summed up in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Japanese</th>
<th>Altaic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ore [loan]</td>
<td>örelörö (PMo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. uti; udi [inheritance]</td>
<td>öz (OTK) uri (OK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore [inheritance]</td>
<td>örelörö (PMo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. uti; udi [inheritance]</td>
<td>öz (OTK) uri (OK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore [&lt; OJ ono₂re]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[3] 3rd Person Pronouns

(a) Japanese

As already mentioned in the previous section, OJ had one 3rd person pronoun: si. And *i did not appear as a 3rd person pronoun, but did appear as a demonstrative pronoun, which will be dealt with in the following section.

si ──── < *si [pre-Japanese]

examples:
1. si na kataraFe ba… [Man. 904]
   si  na  kataraFe ba
he [nom.] talk [conj.]
‘since he (my child) says…’
2. *si n̄a mawosiko₂to₂ Fa... [Sem. 28]
   *si n̄a mawosi ko₂to₂ Fa
   he [nom.] say matter [top.]
   ‘what he (Nakamaro) said was...’

3. *si n̄a tukafe maturu sama ni stagaFite... [Sem. 48]
   *si n̄a tukafe maturu sama ni stagaFite
   they [nom.] serve [him] state [pros.] follow
   ‘because of what they (one or two of the common people served (to
   him)...’

   *Si in the first two examples serves as the 3rd person singular and *si in the
   last example as the 3rd person plural.

(b) Ryukyu

The 3rd person pronouns are normally displaced by the demonstrative pro-
nouns *kare which goes back to *ka + *re. The only words whose forms are
identical with those of the Old Japanese noun *i and 3rd person and demonstra-
tive pronouns *si are the 2nd person pronoun *i in Ryu *ire, which was men-
tioned in the previous section. The other functions of Ryu i/íi will be dealt with
in the following section.

[4] Old Japanese and Ryukyu Morphemes *i and *si

There are many morphemes with different functions in Ryukyu which are identi-
cal with the Old Japanese noun *i, so the Ryukyu noun *si and the 3rd person and
demonstrative pronoun i/si. It seems that all these morphemes are not only for-
manly but also semantically related with one another including the Old Japanese
and Ryukyu noun *i and the demonstrative and 3rd person pronoun *si. Almost all
scholars have treated all these morphemes separately because they thought the
functions of all these morphemes were different from one another. Thus, they
have never tried to integrate them into a larger framework that can handle all
these morphemes including the Old Japanese and Ryukyu noun *i and the demo-
strative and 3rd personal pronouns *i. The scope of their study seemed to be
too narrow to cover all of the functions. That is why they failed to explain all the
functions systematically.

When we systematically consider all the functions of these identical mor-
phemes and the nouns and pronouns mentioned above, we may be able to reason
that all these morphemes belonging to the two separate particular word families,
*i and *si would have an underlying common function, although they appear to
have different functions on the surface.
As previously explained, the functions of the Altaic 2nd and 3rd person pronouns cannot explicate all the functions of the Old Japanese and Ryukyu morphemes and pronouns, since the functions of the Altaic pronouns do not possess most of the functions of the OJ and Ryu morphemes i and si. Therefore, they must be traced into some other languages and/or language families such as Ainu, Giliyak, Austronesian and Austroasiatic.

Now, we will consider all the functions of the Old Japanese and Ryukyu morphemes i identical with the 2nd person pronoun i. First, we will look at all the suffixes with different functions:

[A] All the functions of the morpheme i

(a) suffixes

@ emphatic nominative case suffix

Japanese

1. naramaro komarora-i sakasimanaru to2mo2gara wo
   FizanaFi Fikiwite… [Sem. 19]
   naramaro komaro-ra i sakasimanaru to2mo2gara wo FizanaFi
   Naramaro Komaro- [pl] [nom.] rebellious friend-[pl] [acc.] inciting
   Fikiwite…
   leading
   ‘Naramaro, Komaro, and other bad and rebellious men inciting and
   leading a band of rebels…’

2. aritigata arinagusame2te2 ikamedo2mo2 iFenaru imo i obosimisemu [Man.
   3161]
   aritigata arinagusame2te2 ika-me-do2mo2 iFe-naru imo i
   [pl. word] consoling go-wish- [conj.] home-is wife [nom.]
   obosimisemu
   long for
   ‘Although I would like to go, consoling myself with the beautiful gloomy
   and uncertain…’

Ryukyu

1. ototaru-i kimokarato… [Omoro.14–11 (992)]
   ototaru i kimo-karato
   Ototaru [nom.] heart-from
   ‘Ototaru is (adored) very much and…’
I in the Old Japanese and Ryukyu examples clearly shows the nominative case suffix, whose function is to emphasize the nominativeness (the nominative case is normally indicated without any specific suffix in Old Japanese). In Ryukyu the nominative case suffix ga has the same function; and the Ryukyu ga is cognate with Old Japanese nga.

② emphatic accusative case suffix

**Japanese**

1. mitumitusi kume\textsubscript{2} no\textsubscript{2} ko-ra-ga kubututu-i isitutu-i moti... [K.10; N.S.9]  
   mitumitusi kume\textsubscript{2} no\textsubscript{2} ko-ra ga kubututu i  
   [pil. word] Kume [gen.] soldier- [pl] [nom.] kubutsutsu [acc.]  
   isitutu i moti  
   ishizutsu [acc.] having  
   ‘soldiers in Kume having kubutsutsu and ishizutsu (swords)...’

**Ryukyu**

1. firotsumo-i mafi-i mit\textsuperscript{5}aru... [Omoro. 20–42 (1372)]  
   firotsumo i mafi i mi tsaru  
   paddy [acc.] footpath [acc.] look [perf.]  
   ‘I have looked at the paddy and footpaths’

2. katanaut\textsuperscript{5}i-i jakuni toyomiyoware [Omoro. 1–5 (5)]  
   katanaut\textsuperscript{5}i i jakuni toyomi yoware  
   sword-having [acc.] country get famous [resp.]  
   ‘I hope I, having a sword, will be famous throughout the country’

Since further examples of this Old Japanese accusative case suffix are not found in any documents of the Old Japanese period, and this text above appears repeated several times in identical form, we believe that this function was almost fossilized by the time of early Old Japanese. In other words, this suffix was no longer productive by the time of early Old Japanese, probably because the other accusative case suffix wo had become predominant by that time (Itabashi 1989:153).

Both Iwa and Hokama (1981:226–7) have claimed that the i of the second Ryukyu example was a kakari-joshi, which correlated with the sentence-final verb + yoware (izenkei form) because this kakari-musubi concord is identical with ‘su’... ‘V + yoware’ (of which su corresponded to the Old Japanese ko\textsubscript{2}so\textsubscript{2}) except for the suffix i rather than su. This su kakari-musubi concord is well-established in Omorosauschi, so that according to their claim, this i must also be a kakari-musubi concord with the identical function with the su concord. However, there remains a question: since Omorosauschi has already had a well-
established *su* concord, why would it need some other concord which had the same function? This implies that this *i* concord must have had some function different from the function the *su* concord had; this *i* can be regarded as the accusative case suffix rather than the kakari-joshi because this type of *i*, that is, the accusative case is found only in this example of Omorosaushi. The idea of the *i* concord is doubtful because this example is the only one with their claimed *i* concord as opposed to the *su* concord which is represented many examples of Omorosaushi.

③ vocative case suffix

*Ryukyu*

1. otomako-*i* akamako-*i* okaruna [Omoro. 14–17 (998)]
   otomako *i* akamako *i* okaru-na
   my sister- [voc.] my sister [voc.] exist- [ques.]
   'My sister, are you home?'

   This is the only example of the vocative case in Ryukyu and no analogous use can be found in Old Japanese. The *i* in this example clearly shows the vocative case which serves as the emphasis on otomako and akamako, the nouns before the suffix. That is, this suffix makes these nouns stand out as opposed to some other elements in the sentence.

④ locative case suffix

*Japanese*

1. kono kuni-*i* keu-wo Firomuru-ni... [Konkömyōsaishōkyō Vol. 6 (early Heian)]
   kono kuni *i* keu wo Firomuru ni
   this country [loc.] sutra [acc.] spread [temp.]
   'When I go on a mission in this country...'

*Ryukyu*

1. Fikamitsi *i* yaki-no-omoikiya matšiyori... [Omoro. 14–15 (996)]
   Fikamitsi *i* yaki-no-omoiki-ya matš i-yori
   east road [loc.] Yaki- [pos.] -love- [emp.] waiting-is
   'I might see my love of Yaki on the east road,'

*i* is not found in any document of the early Old Japanese period like Nara, which does not necessarily mean that the locative case of *i* did not exist at that
time. But rather, that case of \( i \) probably may have been used in Old Japanese, but it did not appear in any document until the early Heian period. What is more, the locative case suffix \( ni \) almost took over the role of the locative suffix \( i \) in Old Japanese (we believe \( i \) and \( ni \) were developed from the referential nominal \( *i \)). The locative function of \( i \) reappeared in the formal document, which tends to retain old forms and remnants, such as a Buddhist sutra at a later time.

Ryukyu also has a locative case suffix \( i \) as shown in the example above. Some scholars such as Hokama (1981:225) claim that the inscription of this letter was ‘ha’ rather than ‘\( i \)’; but in some other texts except for the Iwa text appears ‘\( i \)’, so we assume that the letter in question is ‘\( i \)’, not ‘ha’.

In terms of functions there is no doubt that this Ryukyu \( i \) serves as the locative case suffix, rather than just an emphatic element on the noun before it, although its original function must have been a deictic emphasis on the noun before it.

5 unbound nominalizing suffix (N → N)

*Japanese and Ryukyu (Omoro.)*

1. saka- ‘sake’ + \( i \) > sake2 ‘sake’
2. ama- ‘heaven’ + \( i \) > ame2 ‘rain’

As in the examples above, the function of the suffix \( i \) is deictic/emphatic; by changing the combining nominal form to the unbound form: the noun itself becomes more definite and specific. Saka- itself is not used alone but is used with other nouns like -ya ‘shop’, the combination of which becomes a word directly related to sake, whereas sake2 directly refers to the liquid itself. The relationship of ama- to ame2 is similar to the first example: ame2 is the specific material falling from the ama- ‘heaven’, which is not normally employed alone.

6 verbal suffixes

1) continuative (ren’yokei) forming suffix

*Japanese*

1. *kak- + \( i \) > kaki- ‘to write’
2. *tat- + \( i \) > tati- ‘to stand up’

*Ryukyu*

1. *kak- + \( i \) > katji- ‘to write’ [Ryuka]
2. *num- + \( i \) > numi- ‘to drink’ [Ryuka]
This kind of suffix \(i\) appears only in four-step, upper one- and two-step, and irregular conjugation verbs in Old Japanese. The same suffix appears only in one- and two-step conjugation verbs in Ryukyu.

As in both Japanese and Ryukyu examples, this suffix \(i\) is thought to serve as a nominalizing element for both Japanese and Ryukyu verbs. When a Ryukyu verb has a final \([k]\) in the stem, it becomes palatalized into \([tf]\) as shown in Ryukyu example 1 above. On the other hand, when a Japanese verb has the same consonant in the stem, it never becomes palatalized. However, this phonological difference never affects the meaning of the word.

Furthermore, this suffix can be also thought of as a predicking suffix if the final (shushikei) form with \(-i\) of ra-line irregular verbs (like \(ar-i\) and \(wor-i\)) is viewed as more of a basic form than the other form with \(-u\) of four-step verbs (such as \(tat-u\) ‘to stand’ and \(tug-u\) ‘to tell’). That is, this suffix \(i\) can end a sentence. This view of the predicing function contradicts the previous tenet of the nominalizing function. We take the latter view because we regard some other derived conjugations mentioned above and below as part of a unified verbal system; those conjugations can be explicated in a lot more systematic way than the ordinary view of the nominalizing function (cf. Matsumoto 1995:162–5).

2) conditional (izenkei) forming suffix

**Japanese**

1. *kak-a- (indefinite [mizenkei] : vt) + \(i\) \(>\) kake\(_2\) ‘write (vt)’
2. *tat-a- (indefinite [mizenkei] : vi) + \(i\) \(>\) tate\(_2\) ‘stand up (vi)’

**Ryukyu**

1. *ik-a- (indefinite [mizenkei] : vi) + \(i\) \(>\) ike- ‘go (vi)’
2. *mat-a- (indefinite [mizenkei] : vt) + \(i\) \(>\) mate- ‘wait for (vt)’

The izenkei form \(e(2)\) of four-step conjugation verbs is derived from the combination of the mizenkei suffix \(a\) and the izenkei forming suffix \(i\). This suffix \(i\) is probably the same as that of \(\odot\) above: the deictic/emphatic suffix. The relationship of the mizenkei form, for instance, \(kak-a-\) to the original form of the izenkei and meireikei form \(kak-a-i > kake_2\) is that of the bound form \(ama-\) to the unbound form \(ama-i > ame_2\). The main function of the forms of four-step conjugation verbs is characterized by ‘indefinite and generic’, whereas that of the forms of nouns is characterized by ‘definite and specific’. Thus the main function of the izenkei form is deictic/emphatic such as ‘iriFi sasinure\(_2\) (since the setting sun shone,…)’ [Man. 135], where the sasinure\(_2\) itself makes the conditional clause without a correlative emphatic word \(ko_2 so_2\). This implies that the
original function of the izenkei form was probably to make verb stems independent and emphatic just as unbound nouns do. (Matsumoto 1995:166)

3) imperative (meireikei) forming suffix

Japanese

1. oshaku-ni maira-i to no onoFosenari [Otogisaushi; Kokurie] oshaku ni maira i to no onoFose-nari
pouring [purp.] coming [imp.] [quo.] [pos.] command- [cop.]
‘He commanded, “Come to pour (sake into my cup)”...’

Although only one example is cited from the early Edo period, it may be the case that the use of this suffix in Old Japanese may not have been proven. However, there are some dialects where this function of the suffix is found; for instance, my dialect (Sendai; Miyagi) has the same suffix i(n) or i to make an imperative (meireikei) conjugation:

1. oga- ‘to place s. th. down’ [mizenkei] + i(n) > ogai
2. hashira- ‘to run’ [mizenkei] + i(n) > hashirai
3. mi-ra- ‘to look’ [mizenkei] + i(n) > mirai
4. uda- ‘to strike’ [mizenkei] + i(n) > udai

We do not know the function of the final nasal /n/ of /-i(n)/, but it may be some kind of suffix. In fact, this final /-n/ can be omitted, but it seems that the older generations have this nasal or a nasalized vowel /-i/, in which case it may have been a fusion of the vowel and the following nasal /-n/.

Of course this kind of dialectal verification does not prove any existence of this suffix in Old Japanese, since these forms in this dialect may possibly be an internal development. However, the possibility of the internal development is extremely low; that function of that dialect must be a remnant of the function of Old Japanese because the phonological fusion of -a-i before the Old Japanese period did not take place in that dialect and remained intact, while the ordinary imperative (meireikei) form is the result of that fusion, namely, -e₂ (<-a-i), which may have taken place in Old Japanese. These dialectal examples infer that at least this suffix is not so rare and give support to our supposition of the existence of this suffix before the Old Japanese period.

The function of this suffix must be the same as that of the izenkei forming suffix, that is, the deictic/emphatic suffix, since the meireikei form is employed to specifically address the second person. As its name shows, the suffix of the meireikei form is a stronger realization of the deictic/emphatic function than that of the izenkei form.
4) Resultant-state forming suffix

**Japanese**

1. *tata-* (inddefinitive; vi) + i > tate₂- ‘to stand (vt)’
2. *nura-* (inddefinitive; vt) + i > nure₂- ‘to become wet (vi)’
3. *o₂o₂-* (nominal adjective: ‘inferior’) + i > yo₂tī- ‘to fall (vi)’
4. *yo₂ko₂* (nominal: ‘peripheral area’) + i > yo₂ki- ‘to avoid/detour (vi)’

**Ryukyu**

1. *tata-* (inddefinitive; vi) + i > tate₂- ‘to stand (vt)’
2. *tuka-* (inddefinitive; vi) + i > tuke₂- ‘to stick (vt)’
3. *taka-* (nominal adjective: ‘high’) + i > take₂- ‘to be superior (vi)’
4. *aka* (nominal: ‘red (n)’) + i > ake₂- ‘to dawn (vi)’

In Japanese examples 1 and 2, the function of the suffix i is to change a transitive to an intransitive verb and vice versa. The suffix i of the ren’yokei form of four-step conjugation verbs, for example, tat-i is originally the same as that of lower two-step conjugation verbs tata-i (> tate₂), which infers that the original function of the suffix i to verbal stems is to predicate them (Matsumoto 1995:162).

In Ryukyu examples 1 and 2, the same can be said about the original function of the suffix i, (note that there seem to be fewer examples in Ryukyu). Thus, the suffixed verbs in all the first two examples of Japanese and Ryukyu can be called ‘resultant state verbs’. The fact that the intransitive verbs changed their function to the transitive verbs is that the original resultant state was reinterpreted into their actor-action motion (Matsumoto 1995:165). For instance (Matsumoto 1995:165):

*tata nama-i
shield line up

The possible meanings are:

1. shields form in line
2. shields are being lined up
3. someone forms shields in a line

The original meaning of the sentence was probably either (1) or (2), but then that resultant state was restructured into the actor-action motion, which the verb indicates, name₂- to mean (3). There seem to be many examples of reinterpretation of verbs into actor-action verbs or agent/situation verbs in which case the original verbs are transitive. Therefore, it is safe to claim that each ren’yokei form of four- and two-step conjugation verbs is a predating form and a derived predating form [e.g. tati (vi) and tata-i (vt)] respectively, so that these two
verbs were originally one single verb, which came to be conjugated separately (Kawabata 1979:337; Matsumoto 1995:165–6).

Japanese examples 3 and 4 show that the function of the suffix $i$ is to change an adjective or a nominal to a verb. We can state from this observation that the original function of this suffix $i$ is to change from a simple state to the resultant state (= to make inchoative verbs) which the verbal stems or nouns indicate, rather than referring to the simple state or nominal form. The same principle is applied to the third and fourth Ryukyu examples, although the number of the examples may be fewer than those of Old Japanese.

To sum up, we can safely claim that the original function common to all the suffixes $i$ is deictic/emphatic; some of those suffixes appear as markers to indicate particular emphasis.

(b) prefixes
① emphatic prefix (to nouns, verbs and adjectives)

Japanese

1. komoriku-no₂ hatuse-no₂ kaFa-no₂ kami-tu se-ni i-kuFi-wo uti,... [Man. 3236]
   komoriku no₂ hatuse no₂ kaFa no₂ kami tu [pil. word] [gen.] Hatsuse [gen.] river [gen.] upstream [loc.]
   se ni i kuFi wo uti
   rapid [loc.] [emp.] peg [acc.] strike
   ‘striking the pegs in the rapid of the upstream of Hatsuse River,...’

2. umi-ni i-detaru sikama kaFa... [Man. 3605]
   umi ni i detaru sikama kaFa
   ocean [dir.] [emp.] going-out Shikama river
   ‘Shikama River running into the ocean...’

Ryukyu

1. siForaşi i-kotoba-ya... [Ryuka. 224]
   siForaşi i kotoba ya
   splendid [emp.] words [excl.]
   ‘splendid words...’

2. toşi-ka mitose i-kiyote... [Omorö. 12-7 (658)]
   toşi ka mitose i kiyote
   year [gen.] 3rd-year [emp.] inviting
   ‘In the 3rd year we invited (the Goddess),...’
3. mi-inotši-no tsuna mi-hoši-no tsuna i-jiyoku,... [Nantokayo (jo) 0–29–29]  
mi inotši no tsuna mi hoši no tsuna i jiyoku  
[hon.] life [gen.] rope [hon.] star [gen.] rope [emp.] strong  
'The rope of life and of a star is so strong,...'

The prefix i is not only found in Old Japanese but also Ryukyu. There are numerous verbal examples of this prefix in Manyoshu, while there are very few nominal examples of this prefix in it. In Omorosaushi of Ryukyu, on the other hand, there are a number of verbal and nominal examples of this prefix.

The function of the prefix i is to emphasize either a noun or a verb after it. It developed probably the same way as the unbound nominalizing suffix i, namely, the deictic/emphatic function. The noun or the verb to which the prefix added becomes more definite and specific: the noun in the first example is a definite and specific peg, which has the very similar function of the definite article ‘the’ of English. The verb, idetaru in the second example is used with a directive case suffix which indicates a specific destination, (the ocean the river runs into). Likewise, the verb ikoFu in example 2 indicates the particular invitation of the Goddess.

The i in the 3rd Ryukyu example, the adjective jiyo-shi carries emphasis. This kind of adjectival emphasis is not found in Old Japanese. This adjectival emphasis may be the result of an internal development rather than an old remnant from pre-Japanese. Note that no remnants of this emphasis have been found in Old Japanese. However, the distribution of this emphasis i in Ryukyu is broader than that in Old Japanese. This may indicate the original Old Japanese and Ryukyu i may have been more of a general emphasis than a specific emphasis.

(c) demonstrative pronoun ‘that’

Japanese

1. aratayo2 ni to2mo2ni aramu to2 tamano2wo no2 tayeji i imo to2 musubite si ko2to2 Fatasazu... [Man. 481]  
aratayo2 ni to2mo2ni aramu to2 tamano2wo no2 tayeji  
new age [loc.] together exist [quo.] [pil.word] [gen.] disappear  
i imo to2 musubite si ko2to2 Fatasa-zu  
that wife [com.] unite [emp.] matter realize-
not
'I could not promise my wife to last our relationship forever,...'
2. Farukaze-ni midarenu-i ma-ni misemu komo_2-gamo_2 [Man. 1851]
   Farukaze ni midare-nu i ma ni mise mu spring wind by become disarrayed-not that interval [temp.] show [vol.]
   ko m_2 gamo_2 child [emp.] [excl.]
   ‘While spring wind has not yet disarrayed (it), I wish I could show (it) to children’

This function is found only in Old Japanese and not in Ryukyu. The demonstrative pronoun appears to be always preceded by the attributive form (*ren-tatkei*) of the verb, *tayeji*- and *midarenu*-

The function of this *i* is to emphasize the clause immediately before it in order to relate that clause with the subsequent clause. In other words, the *i* has the function of referring back to the preceding clause: to a demonstrative pronoun. There is at least one more example in Manyoshu for this: No. 1359.

It is also possible to regard this *i* as a noun meaning ‘fact’. If it is the case, then this noun may have developed from the original undistinguishable deictic/emphatic function of *i* through the stage of the independent demonstrative pronoun; and it belongs to the category of the following section (d). In either case, these apparently different functions may have been developed from the original referential role of *i*.

(d) noun indicating ‘person/fact’

*Japanese*

1. ko_2re-wo tamotu-i-Fa Fomare-wo itasi,… [Sem. 45]
   ko_re wo tamotu i Fa Fomare wo itasi this [acc.] cherish person [top.] praise [acc.] receive fact
   ‘Those who believe in this (teaching) are to gain praise,…/believing in this (teaching) is to gain praise,…’

2. suturu-i-Fa sosiri wo maneki-tu. [Sem. 45]
   suturu i Fa sosiri wo maneki tu abandon person [top.] abuse [acc.] invite [cont.] fact
   ‘those who do not believe in (this teaching) are to invite abuse/not believing in (this teaching) is to invite abuse’

It would be easier to grasp this semantic relationship between the two forms, if we interpret *mono* as ‘person, fact’.

This noun *i* is found only in Old Japanese, but not in Ryukyu, although a similar noun *si* appears only in Ryukyu. There are very few examples of this
noun *i* even in Old Japanese and the only examples we have found are cited from the same compound sentences in the Semmyo. This seems to imply that this function had already become unproductive or even obsolete by the time of the early Old Japanese period.

The noun *i* in these examples indicates the two separate meanings ‘person’ and ‘fact’, which are indistinguishable in interpreting the sentence, since either meaning can be understood. We cannot determine which of the two meanings is original: one can postulate that the meaning ‘person’ is more likely to have been used because it is more concrete in its meaning than ‘fact’, which represents an abstract concept. Note that a concrete meaning is older than the abstract one. On the other hand, if the original meaning was deictic/emphatic, then the meaning ‘fact’ may have been derived directly from the emotional concept.

[B] All the functions of the morpheme *si*

(a) suffixes
(0) emphatic suffix

Japanese

1. kimi wo *si o2mo2Feba inekatenu kamo2 [Man. 607]
   kimi wo *si o2mo2Fe ba ine katenu kamo2
   you [acc.] [emp.] think [cond.] sleep difficult wonder
   ‘as I long for you, alas I cannot sleep!’

2. *Fo2to2to2gisu ko2 yu naki wataru ko2ko2ro2 si aru rasi [Man. 1476]
   *Fo2to2to2gisu ko2 yu naki wataru ko2ko2ro2 si aru rasi
   ‘cuckoo this place [pros.] sing cross heart [emp.] exist appear
   the cuckoo, crying, flies over this place, perhaps he has (the same) feeling
   (as I have)’

There is only one kind of suffix *si*, emphatic suffix, which is well attested by many examples, but found only in Old Japanese, not in Ryukyu. One of the characteristics of that suffix (as opposed to the suffix *i*) is that it can follow most parts of speech: it can occur after a noun (e.g. *ko2ko2ro2 si, hito si*), verb (e.g. *miraku si, yorite si*), other suffixes (e.g. *sika si, wo si*), and it can precede other suffixes (e.g. *si mo2, si zo2*). It is interesting to note that this suffix represented by the character 這 ‘this’ and its meaning is similar to that of *zo2* and *ko2so2* in the later language, although *si* cannot end a sentence, while *zo2* and *ko2so2* can. This evidence shows that unlike the suffix *i*, this suffix cannot morphologically and syntactically affect the predicate of a sentence. Its function is simply to put
emphasis on the particular part of speech immediately before it and/or transfer on it the dominance of a deictic element.

(b) demonstrative pronoun ‘that’

Japanese

1. OFuwo-yosi sibi tuku ama-yo si-ga are₂ ba urakoFosi-kemu... [Kojiki Seinei]
   OFuwo yosi sibi tuku ama yo si ga are₂ ba
   [pil.word] [suf.] mackerel pierce ama [excl.] it [nom.] leave [cond.]
   OFuwo Sibi (name) sibi
   ura koFosi kemu
   heart miss [sup.]
   ‘Sibe!, who tries to win OFuwo’s love, if the mackerel (OFuwo) left you behind, you would feel lonely.’

The suffix as a demonstrative pronoun is found only in Old Japanese, but not in Ryukyu. However, there is only one example for its use. This is because there are other forms of the demonstrative pronoun so₂-, which had taken over in most cases the function of this demonstrative pronoun si by the time of recorded history. This infers that this example above must have been a remnant of an early systematic use of si as a demonstrative pronoun. As mentioned earlier, the 2nd and 3rd personal pronouns were expressed by the same si, that is, the same si had the undivided function of the demonstrative and personal pronouns. In this section, we will not explain those cases again, referring only to some additional places of occurrence the 3rd person pronoun: Semmyo 24, 28, 48; Nihonshoku: Yūryaku 13th year; Manyoshu 4211.

(c) noun indicating honorific title

Ryukyu

1. tsiiyan-no-fi Fa neiʃi iyari, ... [Omaro. 15–48 (1099)]
   tsiiyana no fi Fa neiʃi iyari
   Jana [gen.] person [top.] sound doing
   ‘The person from Jana calls the tune and...’

2. tau-no-fi namutʃiya kokane motʃi mitʃiweru [Omaro. 15–48 (1099)]
   tau no fi namutʃiya kokane motʃi mitʃiweru
   Do [gen.] person silver gold having filled
   ‘The person from Do has much silver and gold’
3. kise-no-\textit{fi}-ya waka otōsīya [Omor. 17–7 (1181)]

kise no \textit{fi} ya waka otōsīya
Kise [gen.] person [top.] my brother
‘The person from Kise is my brother’

This type of abstract noun designating an honorific title such as ‘Mr, Majestic’ is not attested in Old Japanese and is found only in Ryukyu. Old Japanese had two types of demonstrative pronouns \textit{i} and \textit{si}, the latter of which had probably the same form as the previous stage of the Ryukyu abstract noun \textit{fi}. This Ryukyu abstract noun \textit{fi} became developed from the demonstrative pronoun \textit{fi} ‘he, she, they (that) person’. Many examples of this semantic development can be found in Omorosaushi. \textit{i} of \textit{*ire} and \textit{fi} may be not only identical in form but also related with one another:

\textit{*ire} \quad <^*i \text{[3rd P]} +^*re \text{[pre-Ryukyu]}
\textit{fi} ‘person (honorific)’ \quad <^*si \text{[pre-Ryukyu]}

Although there are many other examples of \textit{fi} in Omorosaushi, we will consider only a few of them. \textit{fi} in example 1 indicates ‘person (honorific title)’ and the whole noun phrase refers to the particular person with a honorific title who came from the village called ‘Jana’ and who may be the village chief.

\textit{fi} in the second example shows, just like that of the first example, the ‘person (honorific title)’, so the entire noun phrase indicates the particular person who came from the village called ‘Do’. If we go one step further, this whole noun phrase can be referred to as a person’s name. This type of semantic and functional derivation is very common in Omorosaushi.

\textit{fi} in example 3 also indicates that ‘person (honorific title)’, and the whole noun phrase refers to the particular person with a honorific title \textit{fi}.

All these pieces of evidence suggest that the original function of this \textit{si} was something emphatic or deictic; however, these qualities (emphasis or deixis) are not always separable in their function.

[5] Conclusion

All the evidence we have seen so far points to the following conclusions: the OJ personal pronouns \textit{wa} as well as possibly \textit{o}_2\textit{re} and \textit{i/}\textit{si} may be cognate with the corresponding Altaic personal pronouns. The rest of the OJ personal pronouns are not cognate with the particular Altaic personal pronouns. We infer from this conclusion that the Altaic personal pronouns did not play a major role in forming the OJ personal pronoun system as a whole, but did play an important role in filling some gaps of the personal pronouns in individual cases promoting to stabilize their functions of the OJ personal pronoun system as a whole.
We also infer that OJ or pre-Japanese is a nongenetic language whose lexicon and grammar were inherited from more than one language or language family in connection with the OJ personal pronouns.

**Abbreviations**

1. **Languages**

PA: Proto-Altaic  
Pre-Ryu.: Pre-Ryukyu  
Mo: Mongolian  
PMo: Proto-Mongolian  
Ma-Tg: Manchu-Tungus  
OJ: Old Japanese  
Pre-Jap.: Pre-Japanese  
MK: Middle Korean  
OTK: Old Turkic

2. **Grammar**

acc.: accusative  
conj.: conjunction  
conjec.: conjecture  
cop.: copula  
com.: comitative  
comp.: comparative  
cond.: conditional  
depre.: deprecatory  
emp.: emphatic  
fut.: future  
gen.: genitive  
hon.: honorific  
imp.: imperative  
loc.: locative  
nom.: nominative  
pil.: pillow word  
pl.: plural  
pos.: possessive  
pros.: prosecuteive  
ps.: person singular  
purp.: purposive  
ques.: question  
quo.: quotation  
rhet.: rhetoric  
suf.: suffix  
sug.: suggestive  
top.: topic

3. **Texts**

K.: Kojiki  
Man: Manyōshū  
N.: Nihonshoki  
NKBT: Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei  
Omor.: Omorosaushi  
Sem.: Semmyo

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