

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

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### 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 *ore*, and *i/si* which may possibly be cognate with PMo *\*ba*, *\*öre/\*örö*, 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:

$a < *a$	_____	] — $< *a$ [pre-Jap.]
$are < *a + *re$ (suffix)	_____	
$wa < *wa$	_____	] — $< *wa$ [pre-Jap.]
$ware < *wa + *re$ (suffix)	_____	
$wanu < *wa + *nu$ (suffix)	_____	
(Azuma dialect)		

examples:

1.  $a$  wo matikanete [Man. 3562]  
 $a$  wo matikanete  
 I [acc.] cannot wait  
 '... you can't await me'
2.  $a$  ga nusi no<sub>2</sub> mitama tamaFite... [Man. 882]  
 $a$  ga nusi no<sub>2</sub> mitama tamaFite  
 I [gen.] lover [gen.] heart giving  
 'Would you please give me your heart...'
3. tatuno<sub>2</sub>ma wo  $are$  Fa mo<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>me<sub>2</sub>mu... [Man. 808]  
 tatuno<sub>2</sub>ma wo  $are$  Fa mo<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>me<sub>2</sub>mu  
 dragon [acc.] I [top.] get  
 'I will get a dragon...'
4.  $are$  Fa itaramu... [Man. 3428]  
 $are$  Fa itaramu  
 I [top.] reach  
 'I will come (to you)'
5.  $wa$  ga yado ni sakari ni sakeru ume<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> Fana... [Man. 851]  
 $wa$  ga yado ni sakarini sakeru ume<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> Fana  
 I [gen.] home [loc.] fully bloom ume [gen.] blossom  
 'The fully blooming ume trees in my yard...'

6. *wa* ni yo<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>ri... [Man. 3408]  
*wa* ni yo<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>ri  
 I [loc.] rumor to have an affair with  
 'spreading rumor that the girl has an affair with me'
7. *ware* koFi<sub>2</sub>meyamo<sub>2</sub> [Man. 858]  
*ware* koFi<sub>2</sub> me yamo<sub>2</sub>  
 I miss [conjec.] [rhet. ques.]  
 'why should I miss you?'
8. FikoFo<sub>2</sub>si mo<sub>2</sub> *ware* ni masarite o<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>Furameyamo<sub>2</sub> [Man. 3657]  
 FikoFo<sub>2</sub>si mo<sub>2</sub> *ware* ni masarite o<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>Fu rame yamo<sub>2</sub>  
 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 koFunamo<sub>2</sub>. [Man. 3476: Azuma dialect]  
*ube* ko na Fa *wanu* ni koFu namo<sub>2</sub>  
 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. *wo*<sub>2</sub> [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 *ko*<sub>2</sub>*re*, *so*<sub>2</sub>*re*, *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:

<i>a</i> < * <i>a</i>	}	< * <i>a</i> [pre-Ryukyu]
(Miyako and Yonaguni)		
<i>an</i> < * <i>a</i> + * <i>nu</i> (suffix)		
(Miyako and Yonaguni)		
<i>wa</i> < * <i>wa</i>		

<i>wan(u)</i> < * <i>wa</i> + * <i>nu</i> (suffix)	}	< * <i>wa</i> [pre-Ryukyu]
(Amami and Okinawa)		
<i>ba</i> < * <i>ba</i>		
<i>ban(u)</i> < * <i>ba</i> + * <i>nu</i> (suffix)		
(Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni)		

examples:

1. ?a ŋa kagu kutu... [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:161]  
 ?a ŋa kagu kutu...  
 I [nom.] write [suf.]  
 'I will write (it), so...'
2. ?anu ?N hiru ka?ya [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:168]  
 ?anu ?N hiru ka?ya  
 I [emp.] go wonder  
 'I think I will go'
3. *wa:* ga ?iku: sa [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:77]  
*wa:* ga ?iku: sa  
 I [nom.] go [suf.]  
 'I will go (there)'
4. *wan* ?ikun ro: [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:78]  
*wan* ?ikun ro:  
 I go [suf.]  
 'I will go (there)'
5. *ba* ga kakadifiba... [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:173]  
*ba* ga kaka-difiba  
 I [nom.] write- [suf.]  
 'I will write (it), so...'

6. banu Nna ta:ga yaga s<sup>s</sup> sariN [Miyako dialect: Shomoji 1979:179]  
 banu Nna ta:ga yaga s<sup>s</sup> 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:

<i>w</i> (Amani, Okinawa)	_____	
<i>b &lt; w</i> (Miyako, Yaeyama, Yonaguni)	_____	
<i>p &lt; b &lt; w</i> (Uganjima [大神島] in Miyako)	_____	
<i>F &lt; p &lt; b &lt; w</i> (Kumishi [米須] in Okinawa)	_____	— <i>&lt; *w</i> [pre-Ryukyu]
<i>ɸ &lt; F &lt; p &lt; b &lt; w</i> (Kumishi [米須] in Okinawa)	_____	
<i>gw &lt; w</i> (Kudaka [久高] in Okinawa)	_____	
<i>g &lt; gw &lt; w</i> (Kikaijima [喜界島] in Amami)	_____	

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.excl.] in Mongolian:

- ① 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 *wa/ba* 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 from *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.

*Mi<sub>2</sub>* 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 *mi*<sub>2</sub> 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 *i*<sub>2</sub> and PA *\*i*. The postulate of the vocalic correspondence is very doubtful because OJ *i*<sub>2</sub> was derived from *\*o*<sub>2</sub>/*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 *o*<sub>2</sub>*re*, which are independently used.

<i>na</i> < <i>*na</i>		
<i>nare</i> < <i>*na</i> + <i>*re</i>		
<i>i</i>		
<i>si</i>		
<i>o</i> <sub>2</sub> <i>re</i>		

< *\*na*

< *\*i*

< *\*si*

< *\*o*<sub>2</sub> + *\*re*

### examples:

- na* wo mireba mukasi no<sub>2</sub> Fito<sub>2</sub> wo aFimiru go<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>si [Man. 309]  
*na* wo mire-ba mukasi no<sub>2</sub> Fito<sub>2</sub> wo aFimiru go<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>si  
 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'
- nare* mo<sub>2</sub> are mo<sub>2</sub> [Man. 3440]  
*nare* mo<sub>2</sub> are mo<sub>2</sub>  
 you [emp.] I [emp.]  
 'you and I both (wash)...'
- i* ga tukuri tukaFe<sub>2</sub>maturu o<sub>2</sub>Fo<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>no<sub>2</sub> uti ni Fa...  
 [K part 2, NKBT p. 157]  
*i* ga tukuri tukaFe<sub>2</sub> maturu o<sub>2</sub>Fo<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>no<sub>2</sub> 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. *o<sub>2</sub>re* madu irite... [N, Jimmu No. 126]  
*o<sub>2</sub>re* madu irite  
 you first enter  
 'you first enter (the palace)...'
5. *si* ko<sub>2</sub> re wo ba *o<sub>2</sub>re* to iFu [N, Jimmu No. 126]  
*si* ko<sub>2</sub> re wo ba *o<sub>2</sub>re* 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 *a/wa* with that of *are/ware*. We also find *i/si* for the 2nd person pronouns and *o<sub>2</sub>re* for the 2nd person deprecatory pronoun in Old Japanese.

(b) *Ryukyu*

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

<i>na</i> < * <i>na</i> [Okinawa dialect: hon.]	_____	
<i>nan</i> < * <i>na</i> + * <i>nu</i> (suffix)	_____	
[northern Amami dialect: hon.]	_____	
<i>na:mi</i> < * <i>na</i> + <i>mi</i> [身: 'body']	_____	
[kikaijima/northern Okinawa dialect: hon.]	_____	< * <i>na</i> [pre-Ryukyu]
<i>?ui</i> < <i>uri</i> < * <i>uri</i> < * <i>u</i> + * <i>ri</i>	_____	
[Tokunoshima/Yoronto dialect: hon.]	_____	
<i>?uri</i> < * <i>u</i> + * <i>ri</i>	_____	
[Tokunoshima/Yoronto dialect: hon.]	_____	
<i>?ra</i> < <i>?ura</i> < <i>?uri</i> + <i>a</i> (endear. suf.)	_____	
[Amami: depre.; Okinawa dialect: hon.]	_____	
( <i>n</i> ) <i>da</i> < <i>?ura</i> < <i>?uri</i> + <i>a</i>	_____	
[Yonaguni dialect: hon.]	_____	
<i>vva</i> < <i>uva</i> < <i>uwa</i> < <i>ura</i> < <i>uri</i> + <i>a</i>	_____	
[Miyako dialect: hon.]	_____	
<i>?undzu</i> < <i>uri</i> + <i>nu</i> + <i>fu</i> [主: 'main']	_____	
[Okinawa dialect: hon.]	_____	< * <i>o</i> + < * <i>re</i> [pre-Ryukyu]

*ya* < *?ya* < \**?iya* < \**irya* < \**ira* < \**iri* + \**a* < \**i* + \**re*  
 [mid-south Okinawa dialect: depre.]

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



## examples:

1. *na: ga ?iyuru Futu* [Yoronto dialect: Yamada 1981:149]  
*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)?'
3. *na:mi ya wakafe: bin* [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:91]  
*na:mi ya wakafe: bin*  
 you [top.] young [cop.]  
 'you are young'
4. *?ui da:tsi ?mo:i ga* [Tokunoshima dialect: Nohara 1986:197]  
*?ui da:tsi ?mo:i ga*  
 you (hon.) where to go [ques.]  
 'Where are you going?'
5. *?uri da:kam ?mo: ryuŋ ga* [Tokunoshima dialect: Nohara 1986:199]  
*?uri da:kam ?mo: ryuŋ ga*  
 you (hon.) where to go [ques.]  
 'Where are you going?'
6. *nyama ?ura wakasa'i* [Amami dialect: Yamada 1981:173]  
*nyama ?ura wakasa'i*  
 still you [depre.] young  
 'You are still young'
7. *?nda ŋa hi ta?nti?n bura nu?n* [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:162]  
*?nda ŋa 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. *wa mai kaka dzi: na* [Miyako dialect: Shimoji 1979:139]  
*wa mai kaka dzi: na*  
 you [emp.] write [sug.] [ques.]  
 'Why don't you write (it)?'

9. *ya ga katfi bitfi* [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:443]

*ya ga katfi bitfi*  
 you [nom.] write should  
 'You should write (it)'

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

*\*na*  
*\*ore*  
*\*ire*  
*\*onoga*

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 *o<sub>2</sub>re* and this pronoun can be postulated for Proto-Japanese as *\*o<sub>2</sub>re*.

Pre-R. *\*ire* is paired with *\*o<sub>2</sub>re*, in which Pre-R. *\*i* is in opposition to *\*o<sub>2</sub>*. This pre-R. *\*i* must be cognate with the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun *i*. R. *oka* < *\*onoga* < *\*o* + *\*no* + *\*ga* is cognate with OJ *o<sub>2</sub>no<sub>2</sub>ga* 'myself, oneself'.

These four distinct forms are certainly cognate with OJ *na*, *o<sub>2</sub>re*, *i*, and *o<sub>2</sub>no<sub>2</sub>ga* 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 pronouns.

Now we will consider the question whether OJ *na* was originally a 1st person 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<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>* 'my younger brother' (Man. 3957), *na-se* 'my older brother/husband' (Man. 3458), *na-n-imo* 'my sister/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 readily be extended in use to the 2nd person pronoun with the connotation of deprecation 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 Paecckche. 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 from 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* also 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:

Old Japanese		Altaic
<i>*i</i> [2nd p.]	←————→	<i>*i</i> [3rd p. sg.: PA]
<i>*si</i> [2nd, 3rd p.]	←————→	<i>*si</i> [2nd p. sg.: Ma-Tg]
	————→	<i>*si</i> [3rd p. sg.: OTK]

Miller (1981:200–1) asserts that OJ *ore* 'you (deprecatory)' and OJ *ono<sub>2</sub>/ono<sub>2</sub>re* '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* (*\*o<sub>2</sub>re*) 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 *ono<sub>2</sub>re* 'myself, oneself' and *ono<sub>2</sub>* 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 *ono<sub>2</sub>* and *ono<sub>2</sub>re*) may be related only with Mo *öre/örö*, or that ③ OJ *uti* and *udi* may be cognate only with OTK *öz* and MK *uri*, and OJ *ore* may have been shortened from OJ *ono<sub>2</sub>re* and may not be related with Mo *öre/örö* whatsoever because we are not certain that Mo *öre/örö* is analyzed as *ö* + *re/örö*. 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 *ono<sub>2</sub>re*. 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.

Old Japanese		Altaic
1. <i>ore</i> [loan]	←————→	<i>öre/örö</i> (PMo)
2. <i>uti</i> ; <i>udi</i> [inheritance]	←————→	<i>öz</i> (OTK) <i>uri</i> (OK)
<i>ore</i> [inheritance]	←————→	<i>öre/örö</i> (PMo)
3. <i>uti</i> ; <i>udi</i> [inheritance]	←————→	<i>öz</i> (OTK) <i>uri</i> (OK)
<i>ore</i> [< OJ <i>ono<sub>2</sub>re</i> ]		

### [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* *ŋa* *katara* *Fe* *ba*... [Man. 904]

*si* *ŋa* *katara* *Fe* *ba*

he [nom.] talk [conj.]

'since he (my child) says...'

2. *si* ŋa mawosiko<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub> Fa... [Sem. 28]  
*si* ŋa mawosi ko<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub> Fa  
 he [nom.] say matter [top.]  
 'what he (Nakamaro) said was...'
3. *si* ŋa tukaFe maturu sama ni stagaFite... [Sem. 48]  
*si* ŋa 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 pronouns *\*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 demonstrative pronouns *si* are the 2nd person pronoun *\*i* in Ryu *\*ire*, which was mentioned in the previous section. The other functions of Ryu *i/fi* 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 identical 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 formally 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 demonstrative and 3rd personal pronouns *si*. 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 morphemes 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

① emphatic nominative case suffix

*Japanese*

1. naramaro komarora-*i* sakasimanaru to<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>gara wo  
FizanaFi Fikiwite... [Sem. 19]  
naramaro komaro-ra *i* sakasimanaru to<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>gara 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 arinagusame<sub>2</sub>te<sub>2</sub> ikamedo<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub> iFenaru imo *i* obosimisemu [Man.  
3161]  
aritigata arinagusame<sub>2</sub>te<sub>2</sub> ika-me-do<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub> iFe-naru imo *i*  
[pil. 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<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> ko-ra-ga kubututu-i isitutu-i moti... [K.10; N.S.9]  
 mitumitusi kume<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> 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 mitfaru... [Omor. 20-42 (1372)]  
 firotsumo i mafi i mi tfaru  
 paddy [acc.] footpath [acc.] look [perf.]  
 'I have looked at the paddy and footpaths'
2. katanautfi-i jakuni toyomiyoware [Omor. 1-5 (5)]  
 katanautfi 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<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>*) except for the suffix *i* rather than *su*. This *su* *kakari-musubi* concord is well-established in Omorosaushi, 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 Omorosaushi 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 [Omor. 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... [Konkōmyōsaishōkyō 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. Fikamit*f* i-*i* yaki-no-omoikiya mat*f*iyori... [Omor. 14–15 (996)]  
 Fikamit*f*i *i* yaki-no-omoiki-ya mat*f* 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 ( $N \rightarrow N$ )

*Japanese and Ryukyu (Omoro.)*

1. saka- 'sake' + *i* > sake<sub>2</sub> 'sake'
2. ama- 'heaven' + *i* > ame<sub>2</sub> '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 *sake*<sub>2</sub> directly refers to the liquid itself. The relationship of *ama-* to *ame*<sub>2</sub> is similar to the first example: *ame*<sub>2</sub> 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* > katfi- '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 [tʃ] 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 predicating 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 predicating 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- (indefinitive [mizenkei] : vt) + *i* > kake<sub>2</sub>- 'write (vt)'
2. \*tat-a- (indefinitive [mizenkei] : vi) + *i* > tate<sub>2</sub>- 'stand up (vi)'

### Ryukyu

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

The izenkei form *e*(<sub>2</sub>) 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 ⑥ 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*<sub>2</sub> is that of the bound form *ama-* to the unbound form *ama-i* > *ame*<sub>2</sub>. 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*<sub>2</sub> (since the setting sun shone,...)' [Man. 135], where the *sasinure*<sub>2</sub> itself makes the conditional clause without a correlative emphatic word *ko<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>*. 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 *ī* 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 /-ĩ/, 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, *-e<sub>2</sub>* (<*-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- (indefinitive; vi) + *i* > tate<sub>2</sub>- 'to stand (vt)'
2. \*nura- (indefinitive; vt) + *i* > nure<sub>2</sub>- 'to become wet (vi)'
3. \*o<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>- (nominal adjective: 'inferior') + *i* > yo<sub>2</sub>ti- 'to fall (vi)'
4. \*yo<sub>2</sub>ko<sub>2</sub> (nominal: 'peripheral area') + *i* > yo<sub>2</sub>ki- 'to avoid/detour (vi)'

*Ryukyu*

1. \*tata- (indefinitive; vi) + *i* > tate<sub>2</sub>- 'to stand (vt)'
2. \*tuka- (indefinitive; vi) + *i* > tuke<sub>2</sub>- 'to stick (vt)'
3. \*taka- (nominal adjective: 'high') + *i* > take<sub>2</sub>- 'to be superior (vi)'
4. \*aka (nominal: 'red (n)') + *i* > ake<sub>2</sub>- '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* (> tate<sub>2</sub>), 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, *name<sub>2</sub>*- 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 predicating form and a derived predicating 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 Ryukyū 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-no<sub>2</sub> hatuse-no<sub>2</sub> kaFa-no<sub>2</sub> kami-tu se-ni *i*-kuFi-wo uti,... [Man. 3236]  
 komoriku no<sub>2</sub> hatuse no<sub>2</sub> kaFa no<sub>2</sub> 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...'

#### *Ryukyū*

1. fiForafi *i*-kotoba-ya... [Ryuka. 224]  
 fiForafi *i* kotoba ya  
 splendid [emp.] words [excl.]  
 'splendid words...'
2. tofi-ka mitose *i*-kiyote... [Omoro. 12–7 (658)]  
 tofi ka mitose *i* kiyote  
 year [gen.] 3rd-year [emp.] inviting  
 'In the 3rd year we invited (the Goddess),...'

3. mi-inotfi-no tsuna mi-hof-i-no tsuna i-jiyoku,... [Nantokayo (jo) 0-29-29]  
 mi inotfi no tsuna mi hof-i 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 Manyōshū, 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. aratayo<sub>2</sub> ni to<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>ni aramu to<sub>2</sub> tamano<sub>2</sub>wo no<sub>2</sub> tayeji *i* imo to<sub>2</sub> musubite si  
 ko<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub> Fatasazu... [Man. 481]  
 aratayo<sub>2</sub> ni to<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>ni aramu to<sub>2</sub> tamano<sub>2</sub>wo no<sub>2</sub> tayeji  
 new age [loc.] together exist [quo.] [pil.word] [gen.] disappear  
*i* imo to<sub>2</sub> musubite si ko<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub> Fatasazu  
 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<sub>2</sub>-gamo<sub>2</sub> [Man. 1851]  
 Farukaze ni midare-nu *i* ma ni mise mu  
 spring wind by become disarrayed-not that interval [temp.] show [vol.]  
 ko mo<sub>2</sub> gamo<sub>2</sub>  
 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-taikei*) 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 Manyōshū 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<sub>2</sub>re-wo tamotu-*i*-Fa Fomare-wo itasi,... [Sem. 45]  
 ko<sub>2</sub>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

① emphatic suffix

*Japanese*

1. *kimi wo si o<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>Fe ba inekatenukamo<sub>2</sub>* [Man. 607]  
*kimi wo si o<sub>2</sub>mo<sub>2</sub>Fe ba ine katenu kamo<sub>2</sub>*  
 you [acc.] [emp.] think [cond.] sleep difficult wonder  
 'as I long for you, alas I cannot sleep!'
2. *fo<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>gisu ko<sub>2</sub> yu nakiwataru ko<sub>2</sub>ko<sub>2</sub>ro<sub>2</sub> si aru rasi* [Man. 1476]  
*fo<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub>gisu ko<sub>2</sub> yu naki wataru ko<sub>2</sub>ko<sub>2</sub>ro<sub>2</sub> 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. *ko<sub>2</sub>ko<sub>2</sub>ro<sub>2</sub> 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 mo<sub>2</sub>*, *si zo<sub>2</sub>*). It is interesting to note that this suffix represented by the character 之 'this' and its meaning is similar to that of *zo<sub>2</sub>* and *ko<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>* in the later language, although *si* cannot end a sentence, while *zo<sub>2</sub>* and *ko<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>* 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 are<sub>2</sub> ba urakoFosi-kemu... [Kojiki: Seinei]

oFuwo yosi sibi tuku ama yo *si* ga are<sub>2</sub> 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 *so*<sub>2</sub>-, 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; Nihonshoki: Yūryaku 13th year; Manyoshu 4211.

(c) noun indicating honorific title

*Ryukyu*

1. tjiyan-no-*fi* Fa nei*f* iyari, ... [Omoro. 15-48 (1099)]  
tjiyana no *fi* Fa nei *fi*yari  
Jana [gen.] person [top.] sound doing  
'The person from Jana calls the tune and...'
2. tau-no-*fi* namut*fi*ya kokane mot*fi* mit*fi*weru [Omoro. 15-48 (1099)]  
tau no *fi* namut*fi*ya kokane mot*fi* mit*fi*weru  
Do [gen.] person silver gold having filled  
'The person from Do has much silver and gold'

3. kise-no-*fi*-ya waka otot<sup>2</sup>fiya [Omor. 17-7 (1181)]  
 kise no *fi* ya waka otot<sup>2</sup>fiya  
 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 *i* and *si*, the latter of which had probably the same form as the previous stage of the Ryukyu abstract noun *fi*. This Ryukyu abstract noun *fi* became developed from the demonstrative pronoun *fi* 'he, she, they (that) person'. Many examples of this semantic development can be found in Omorosaushi. *I*, \**i* of \**ire* and *fi* may be not only identical in form but also related with one another:

\**ire* ——— < \**i* [3rd P] + \**re* [pre-Ryukyu]  
*fi* 'person (honorific)' ——— < \**si* [pre-Ryukyu]

Although there are many other examples of *fi* in Omorosaushi, we will consider only a few of them. *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.

*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.

*fi* in example 3 also indicates that 'person (honorific title)', and the whole noun phrase refers to the particular person with a honorific title *fi*.

All these pieces of evidence suggest that the original function of this *si* was something emphatic or deictic; however, these qualities (emphasis or deicticness) 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 *wa* as well as possibly *o<sub>2</sub>re* and *i/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	PMo: Proto-Mongolian	Pre-Jap.: Pre-Japanese
Pre-Ryu.: Pre-Ryukyu	Ma-Tg: Manchu-Tungus	MK: Middle Korean
Mo: Mongolian	OJ: Old Japanese	OTK: Old Turkic

### 2. Grammar

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

### 3. Texts

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

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