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Altaic evidence for the Japanese and Korean case suffix systems

Itabashi, Yoshizo, Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1987

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for the Japanese and Korean Case Suffix Systems
by
Yoshizo Itabashi

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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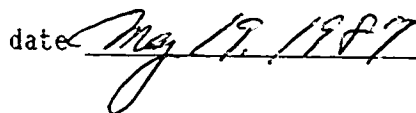
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Abstract

ALTAIC EVIDENCE
FOR THE JAPANESE AND KOREAN CASE SUFFIX SYSTEMS

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Roy Andrew Miller
Department of Asian Languages and Literature

The dissertation discusses the evidence that the case suffixes preserve for the study of the genetic relationships of Japanese and Korean, in particular the light that they throw upon the question of the precise scenario of the Japanese and Korean connections with the Altaic linguistic unity.

The Old Japanese and the Old Korean nominative i are compared with the Manchu nominative i and genitive ini of the third person singular pronoun and also with another Manchu suffix inu; with the Mongolian nominative i and genitive inu of the third person singular pronoun; and with the Old Turkic nominative *i and genitive *in of the third person singular pronoun.

The Old Japanese genitives *n/na/nö/ŋga and the Old Korean genitive *i are compared with the Manchu genitive *n, the Mongolian *n, and the Old Turkic genitive *in.

The Old Japanese accusative wo is compared with the Manchu accusative be and the Tungus accusative wa/wə, the Mongolian emphatic suffix ba and the Mongolian accusative of the reflexive-possessive baŋan/begen, and the Old Turkic emphatic suffix mä/ma.

Another Old Japanese accusative suffix i and the Old Korean accusative *her are compared with the older Manchu-Tungus accusative *i, the Mongolian accusative i and the Mongolian accusative of the reflexive-possessive iŋan, and the Old Turkic (i)g.

The Old Japanese lative gari/ga/ri/kara/ra and the Old Korean lative *ryu are compared with the Manchu-Tungus directive ri, with the Mongolian directive ru, and with the Old Turkic directive gärü/ru/ra/ri.

The Old Japanese prosecutive yu(ri)/yo(ri) and directive ni and the Old Korean directive *ri are compared with the Manchu-Tungus prosecutive li/du!i and the Mongolian prosecutive li.

The Old Japanese locative tu/du/da and the Old Korean dative-locative *a/*ai/*ahi are compared with the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative-partitive du/dā/a, with the Mongolian dative-locative du/da/a, and with the Old Turkic dative-locative-ablative-directive du/da/a. The Old Japanese comitative tō and the Old Korean emphatic *to are also compared with the Tungus emphatic da, the Mongolian emphatic da, and the Old Turkic emphatic da.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. RECONSTRUCTIONS

PA : Proto- Altaic	PK : Proto- Korean	PTg : Proto- Tungus
PJ : Proto- Japanese	PM : Proto- Mongolian	PTK : Proto- Turkic

2. LANGUAGES

Chinese

MC : Middle Chinese	NC : New Chinese	
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Japanese

NJ : New Japanese	OJ : Old Japanese	
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Korean

MK : Middle Korean	NK : New Korean	OK : Old Korean
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Manchu- Tungus

Evk : Evenki	Negd: Negidal	Sol : Solon
Lam : Lamut	NTg : Northern Tungus	STg : Southern Tungus
Ma : Manchu	Olc : Olcha	Tg : Tungus
Nan : Nanai	Oroc: Orochi	Udh : Udehe

Mongolian

Bur : Buriat	Kh : Khalkha	Mongr: Monguor
Kal : Kalmuck	MMo : Middle Mongolian	WM : Written Mongolian

Turkic

Abj : Azerbaijani	Krm : Krym	Soj : Sojon
Chag : Chaghatai	Kc : Kacha	Tob : Tobol
Chuv : Chuvash	MTK : Middle Turkic	Tkm : Turkman
Kar : Karagas	Nog : Nogai	Tum : Tumen
Kzk : Kazakh	Oir : Oirat	Uig : Uighur
Krg : Kirghiz	OTK : Old Turkic	Uzk : Uzbek
Koib : Koibal	Osm : Osman Turkish	Yak : Yakut
Kom : Koman	Sag : Sagai	

3. GRAMMAR

abl : ablative	emp : emphatic	perf : perfective
abs : abstract noun	end : ending	p : person
acc : accusative	excl : exclamatory	pil : pillow
adj : adjectival	fut : future	pl : plural
adv : adverbial	gen : genitive	pos : possessive
aor : aorist	hon : honorific	pot : potential
C : consonant	hum : humble	pref : prefix
caus: causative	imp : imperative	pres : present
com : comitative	inst : instrumental	pros : prosecutive
cop : copula	inter: interrogative	quot : quotative
cond: conditional	lat : lative	rhet : rhetorical
conj: conjunctive	loc : locative	sg : singular
conv: converbial	nom : nominative	suf : suffix

dat : dative	nomi : nominalizer	top : topical
def : definite	N : nominal	V : verb
diph: diphthong	obj : object	voc : vocative
dir : directive	pass : passive	vol : volitional
dub : dubitative	part : partitive	

4. TEXTS

Japanese

B : Bussokuseki	NKBT: Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei
K : Kojiki	NS : Nihon Shoki
M : Man'yōshū	S : Senmyō

Korean

HCO : Humin Čōngum Ŏnhe	SS : Sōkpo Sangjōl
NT : Nogŏl Teŏnhe	WS : Wŏrin Sōkpo

Manchu-Tungus

GB : Gin ping-mei bithe	S : San-yi tsung-chieh
LK : Lao-k'ita	T : Tongki fuka sindaha hergen-i dangse
MYK : Manju yargiyan kooli	

Mongolian

HY : Hua-yi yi-yu	SH : Secret History of the Mongols
LK : Lao-k'ita	

Turkic

BK SE: Bilga Kagan Inscription South East	
BK W : Bilga Kagan Inscription West	T1 E : Tonyukuk Inscription 1 East
KT E : Kul Tigin Inscription East	T1 S : Tonyukuk Inscription 1 South
KC E : Kuli Cor Inscription East	T2 S : Tonyukuk Inscription 2 South
SU E : Shine Usu Inscription East	T2 W : Tonyukuk Inscription 2 West

5. MISCELLANEOUS

* : reconstructed forms
 < : comes from; came from
 > : goes to ; went to
 ft : footnote
 vcd : voiced
 vcls: voiceless

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INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to clarify the nature and function of certain forms in Old Japanese and Old Korean, here designated 'case suffixes'; in the light of what can be learned of the history and origin of these morphemes through the technique of comparative linguistics, in this particular instance, through comparison of Old Japanese and Old Korean with a number of Altaic languages, notably Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic. Such an approach assumes the acceptance of several working hypotheses as well as of a certain amount of conventional terminological usage. The present 'Introduction' will briefly treat the most important of these elements in turn.

It is important to understand the present situation of scholarship concerning the genetic affinity of the Altaic languages with which Old Japanese and Old Korean are compared in this dissertation. There are two schools of thought at present, the Altaicists and the anti-Altaicists. Altaicists such as G.J. Ramstedt, N. Poppe, M. Räsänen and P. Aalto have believed that the similarities among the Altaic languages have resulted from genetic inheritance from Proto-Altaic. Anti-Altaicists such as G. Clauson, D. Sinor, and G. Doerfer have rejected this, and without denying the presence of these similarities, claim that they resulted instead from old or new borrowings, and that hence the Altaic languages are genetically unrelated to each other, but structurally very similar as the result of extensive borrowing of many aspects of grammar and vocabulary from each other.

There is also a third minor group, which is more or less associated with the anti-Altaicists. This group of scholars, such as K. Grønbech, J. Krueger,

L. Ligeti, and J. Benzing, does not reject the Altaic theory, but insists that the theory is premature and that it needs more proof, since the evidence shown so far is not sufficient.

Faced with these two entirely opposite theories, the author has had difficulty being impartial, but he shares the opinion that the Altaic languages have much more in common than can be explained by mere loans. This view is supported by many scholars on the grounds that there is the following crucial evidence that the Altaic languages are indeed genetically related to each other (N. Poppe 1965:125-156; R.A. Miller 1975:157-172; T. Tekin 1986:141-160):

- 1) firmly established laws of sound correspondence
- 2) many common derivational and inflectional suffixes
- 3) an identical system of personal pronouns
- 4) similarities in syntax

What is important to be borne in mind here is that it is the elements common to all the Altaic languages that make them genetically related; "what is lacking is less important than what is there"(Poppe 1965:155).

In the genetic relationship of Japanese and Korean, even though absolute 'proof' of the affinity of Japanese and Korean is impossible on the technical level, such 'proof' is still in a general sense the goal toward which this work is directed.

There are several dominant theories with respect to the affinity of Japanese and Korean. Japanese and/or Korean are/is claimed to be genetically related to one of the following language families: (1) Dravidian(Tamil); (2) Uralic; (3) Austronesian; (4) Korean/Japanese; (5) Altaic.

The Dravidian languages are spoken in southern India and include Tamil, Telugu, and other members. This family possesses an agglutinative grammatical structure and has been considered to be very close to the Ural-Altai languages. The affinity of Japanese with Dravidian has most recently been argued by Susumu Ono, and his review has been supported by Akira Fujiwara, Susumu Shiba, and Pon Kothandaraman. They assert that Japanese is genetically related to Dravidian, especially to Tamil. However, they lack understanding of the comparative method and of how it should be applied both to Japanese and Dravidian, and their work is not discussed here. The relationship of Korean with Dravidian was originally proposed by Hulbert, but this theory has lost support due to the fact that the genetic affinity of Korean has become clearer than before, which counteracts this Dravidian theory.

The second theory was attempted by V. Pröhle and recently by Lajós Kazar. Kazar claims that Japanese is affiliated only with the Uralic languages but not with the Altaic languages since the Altaic theory is not considered to have been firmly established by his standards. It is quite possible that the Uralic languages are related to the Altaic languages because there seems to be some evidence that both language families have certain phonological and morphological elements in common. They are, in this sense and in this sense only, genetically related to Japanese.

The third theory was initiated by Van Hinloopen Labberton, and developed and refined by Nobuhiro Matsumoto, Takao Kawamoto, Masachie Nakamoto, and Shichirō Murayama. Murayama, however, claims differently from the others that Japanese and Korean are hybrid languages which consist of Altaic and Austronesian, and

that Korean has less Austronesian elements than Japanese. They believe that Japanese is genetically related to Austronesian, though the author feels that they ignore the Altaic elements in Japanese. It is probable that Japanese has an Austronesian stratum to be seen in certain Old Japanese affixes, body parts, and certain other nouns. This area needs to be investigated in further detail in the future.

The theory about the affinity of Japanese with Korean and vice versa is based on the fact that both are agglutinative, and share many similar stems and certain suffixes. Although these similarities have not adequately explained, many scholars such as Lee Ki-moon, Kim Bang-han, Shichirō Murayama, Shōzaburō Kanazawa, Roy And Miller, and Karl H. Menges believe that Japanese and Korean belong to the Altaic language family. The Japanese-Korean unity has been postulated by Shōzaburō Kanazawa and Samuel Martin and some other scholars.

The theory of the affiliation of Japanese and Korean with Altaic has been much more elaborated than any other. The affinity of Japanese was first advanced by Anton Boller and later by G.J. Ramstedt and E.D. Polivanov. That of Korean was postulated by the last two linguists by demonstrating numerous convincing common vocabulary elements. Recently Shichirō Murayama, Roy Andrew Miller, and Karl H. Menges have further discussed the affinity of Japanese with Altaic. Miller's pioneering Japanese and the Other Altaic Languages successfully demonstrated the genetic affinity of Japanese to the Altaic languages and explored the nature of that relationship in detail including phonological, morphological, and lexical evidence. He has provided us with a preliminary definition of the historical status of Japanese in terms of the history of the Altaic languages.

and has documented a close historical connection between Japanese and the Tungus languages, and also between Japanese and Korean. He presents considerable evidence to show that Japanese is also a later changed form of Proto- Altaic.

The author basically endorses Miller's scheme of the relationship of Japanese and Korean with Altaic, but at the same time, he feels that we need to investigate further to see whether Austronesian elements have constituted a substratum in both Japanese and Korean, a question which cannot be considered in this dissertation. Also, in the case of Korean, we may in the future examine Gilyak, which Kim Bang-han claims to be an element in Korean, to see if this language has formed another stratum in Korean. The author also believes that phonological and morphological correspondences can be established between Japanese and Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic, and between Korean and these other Altaic languages. This leaves no doubt that Japanese and Korean are later changed forms of the earlier linguistic unity to which Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic must also belong, i.e. that Japanese and Korean are two more of the Altaic languages.

When it comes to so-called 'case', it is relevant first to mention two major types of languages: inflectional and affixal languages. In the former, cases are marked by morphological variants of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, or participles, and are distinguished from other such variants of the same words by specific inflectional endings, or by zero-endings, or by an internal vowel change, or by tone change, and so on. They constitute a system of forms that marks the grammatical function or syntactic relationship of a word to other words in a clause or a sentence. In the latter, case means in general the

grammatical function or syntactic relationship of a word to other words expressed by a suffix, preposition, postposition, or a particle, or even by word order alone (Pei & Gaynor 1975:35).

All the Altaic languages including Japanese and Korean belong to the affixal group in which case is indicated by suffixes, postpositions, or particles. Therefore, a 'case-suffix' in the Altaic languages, as well as in Japanese and Korean, may be defined as 'an ending which can be added to any noun' (Poppe 1977: 73; Gabain 1970:131).

Terms such as genitive, accusative, locative, and so forth will be employed throughout this dissertation but only because we lack more appropriate terminology for case relationships that are found in the Altaic languages, as well as Japanese and Korean, where these elements of forms and meaning have yet to be treated with sufficient precision in the literature. Until we have more detailed first-hand accounts of the case suffixes and their semantic relationships in the various Altaic languages, it is difficult to avoid simply using the Latin or Greek case terms as they are normally found in the secondary sources. What is most important to bear in mind here is that case forms as employed in this dissertation are not the same as those of the similarly named Latin or Greek cases.

It is important to note that there are two crucial features of case suffixes in Altaic, as well as in Japanese, and Korean (Poppe 1955:576-7): (1) the duality of the forms forming the declensional system. This means that they serve not only, as do the Greek or Latin case forms, to indicate syntactic relationship of words, but also as derivational suffixes to form new words which then can be further declined (e.g. Evk. ju 'house', ju-du 'in the house', ju-du-k

from the house'). (2) group-declension. When there are coordinate parts of a sentence, the last one of a group of nouns takes the case suffix and the other nouns of that group remain in their stem form.

Accepting von Gabain's definition of case suffixes, the following case suffixes will be treated in this work:

	Old Japanese	Proto-Jap.	Old Korean	Proto-Kor.
nominative	i	: *i	*i	: *i
genitive	*n/na/nö/ga	: *n/*n-kai	*i	: *i-n
topic	Fa	: *ba(?)	*ᄃn	: *i-n
accusative	wo	: *ba	?	: *ba (?)
accusative	i	: *i-gi	*her	: *gi-ru
lative	gari/ga/ri/kara/ra:	*ga-ru	*ryu	: *ru (also [inst.])
prosecutive	yuri/yu/yori/yo	: *du-li		
directive	ni (also [inst.])	: *li	*ri	: *li
locative	du/tu/da/yu/yo	: *du/*da	*a/*ai/*ahi	: *a
	(yu/yo:also [pros.])			
comitative	tö	: *da	*to [emp.]:	*da (not [comit.])

The selection of these case suffixes is based on the category of Japanese traditional grammar where they are called kakujoshi 'case-suffixes'; but it should be kept in mind that the term kakujoshi is an almost insignificant hybrid of disparate Western elements calqued mechanically into Sino-Japanese, with virtually no regard for the structure of Japanese itself. In this form kaku is the calque for 'case', but joshi is literally 'auxiliary form', and thus all but meaningless in this context.

This dissertation has been undertaken in the hope that the study of Japanese and Korean, especially the identification and documentation of the reflexes of the Altaic case suffixes in Old Japanese and in Old Korean, will shed light on the whole question of the nature and history of the earlier Altaic unity. It appears safe to assume that direct borrowings of these features from any Altaic language into Old Japanese, at least in historical time, would have been unlikely, though probably less so in the case of Old Korean because of the location of the Korean peninsula. If the Altaic case suffixes in Old Japanese and in Old Korean are not to be explained as loans, then we must establish where and when the borrowings occurred. Chance is ruled out by the detail and order of complexity of the correspondences in phonetic shape and meaning between Old Japanese and Altaic as well as between Old Korean and Altaic, and also by the fact that case suffixes belong to grammatical morphology in Old Japanese and Old Korean so that they are extremely unlikely ever to have been borrowed. If the correspondences documented in this dissertation cannot be explained as borrowings or chance, then they must have resulted from genetic inheritance from Proto-Altaic. Thus, the author hopes that the identification and documentation that are undertaken in the dissertation will eventually make a contribution not only to the study of the history of Japanese and Korean, but also to the overall investigation and refinement of Altaic historical-comparative linguistics.

Chapter One

The Old Japanese nominative case suffix i and the Old Korean nominative case suffix *i

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

Until recently the issue of the origin of the Japanese nominative case suffix had not been discussed in detail either in Korea and Japan, or in the West. As we see below, there have been very few studies on this topic, and all of them have been done in an unscientific manner, so that so far we only have unsubstantiated guesses rather than well-documented hypotheses. It is time that we examined its origin and attempted to found a solid, well-documented hypothesis.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese nominative case suffix

(a) Ishihara Rokuzō (1950)

Ishihara compared the use of OJ i and OK i and gave examples of each use. However, in historical linguistics, it is very dangerous to compare only two languages without considering other possibly related languages. He should also have considered the other Altaic languages in order to support his claim that the Old Japanese nominative case suffix was derived from an abstract noun i.

Although he cited some examples of each use, his superficial understanding of the functions of OK i made him interpret some examples wrong. For instance:

kai mon-dogbada-rur gan-wang-durur giri sarbze (Hyangga 16:7.1-8.3)

'we shall praise Buddhas of the infinite sea of virtue..' (author's translation)

Here, Ishihara gives ka 'the edge' + i [nominative] as evidence for the emphatic use of OK i. But unfortunately, he did not transcribe his text in Middle Korean unlike Ogura's text which Ishihara is citing. Ishihara's rather strange Modern Korean of Ogura's mostly Middle Korean text, cited above, alters Ogura's Middle Korean into Modern Korean, but these changes that Ishihara has introduced only cloud the issue more. In this particular example there is also no word ka 'edge' in either Old Korean or Middle Korean but rather k^z, and the i in question does not even exist: Ishihara's interpretation of his supposed kai is completely incorrect.

Ishihara concludes that all the different uses of OJ i are related to each other in use and that the Old Japanese nominative case suffix i came from an abstract noun i. The author disagrees with him that all the different uses of OJ i except for the second person pronoun i were not related in one way or another, and also he thinks it doubtful that the abstract noun was the origin of the Old Japanese nominative case suffix i. This is because, as we see later, the abstract noun had narrower syntactic and semantic distributions than the third person singular pronoun which developed the enclitic use to emphasize the subject.

(b) Murayama Shichirō (1957)

Murayama was the first scholar who attempted to compare the Old Japanese nominative case suffix with elements in all the Altaic languages. Although he presented useful ideas about the origin of this Old Japanese nominative case suffix as going back to the Proto-Altaic third person singular pronoun *i, what he gave as evidence for OJ i was not solid in the author's view, because Muraya-

ma did not present sufficient Old Japanese and Altaic data. He also omitted Old Korean forms which would have been better cognates than those in any other Altaic languages. His approach was not exhaustive because he did not deal with any of the other functions of OJ i, which are also written with the same Chinese character 伊 MC ʔi, so that one cannot take one function of OJ i and then compare it with some similar elements in Altaic. Instead, he should have compared OJ i to all the comparable elements in Altaic in function and meaning.

(1.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonogram used for the Old Japanese nominative case suffix

The Old Japanese nominative case suffix is written exclusively with the Chinese character 伊 MC ʔi used as a phonogram, especially in the Senmyō. This phonogram has always been interpreted as an orthography for OJ i throughout the Old Japanese period. This interpretation is accepted by all linguists of Japanese with the significant exception of N.A.Syromyatnikov (1981:130), who suggests that it should be reconstructed as *yi. This reconstructed form may be very important since the Old Japanese phonological system did allow an initial vowel in morphemes, but did not allow sequences of two vowels in succession. The initial glide had a tendency to be omitted because, first, there was no minimal pair to contrast it with, i.e. yi vs. i; second, the *y- in *yi was weakly articulated, eventually to disappear, i.e. to be completely assimilated to the following vowel, and thus to result in the simple form i in intervocalic position. The result of this process is seen in examples below.

(1.3) The function of the Old Japanese nominative case suffix i

The Old Japanese nominative case suffix is merely one of two different

functions of OJ i, as shown by examples below. Although the Old Japanese nominative case suffix functions as its name indicates, it is also possible to regard it as an emphasizer for the subject, which is probably the original function of this suffix.

In order to illustrate the Old Japanese nominative case suffix i, the following examples are to be considered. The translations of Manyōshū texts are based on J.L.Pierson and those of Senmyō on G.B. Sansom; the underlined portions of the texts below are written in phonograms in the originals, while the rest are written in semantograms:

1. ina tō iFedō katare katare tō nōrasekōsō sibi i Fa mawose iFi gatari tō nōru
(M 237)

ina tō iFe dō katare katare tō nōrase kōsō
no [quot.] say [conj.] talk [imp.] talk[imp.] [quot.] order [conj.]
sibi i Fa maFose iFi gatari tō nōru
Sibi [nom.] [emp.] wish force talk [quot.] proclaim

'Although I said, "No!", you ordered me saying, "Talk, talk", and so I, Sibi, spoke to you; and now you proclaim it 'forced talk.'

2. aritigata arinagusamētē ikamedōmō iFenaru imo i obosimisemu (M 3161)

aritigata arinagusamētē ika me dōmō iFenaru imo i obosimisemu
[pil. word] console go wish [conj.] is-home wife [nom.] long for

'although I would like to go, consoling myself with the beautiful gloomy and uncertain....'

3. naramaro komarora i sakasimanaru tōmōgara wo FizanaFi Fikiwite...

(S No.19 p.196)

naramaro komaro-ra i sakasimanaru tōmō gara wo FīzanaFi
 Naramaro Komaro-others [nom.] rebellious friend [pl.] [obj.] incite
 Fikiwite

lead

'Naramaro, Komaro, and other bad and rebellious men, inciting and leading a band of rebels....'

There is no doubt that i in each example clearly shows the nominative case.

It is worth mentioning that Old Japanese had a similar suffix si which had an emphatic function, which appeared after a morpheme that was emphasized. This suffix never ended a sentence and always had another morpheme, which may have been any part of speech. In this sense, this emphatic suffix seems to have been a wider syntactic distribution than the nominative case suffix i, but we may say that the nominative case suffix i can be regarded as a more restricted form of the emphatic suffix si. Therefore, when we are allowed to treat these two suffixes as the same type of suffix, then these forms remind us of the exact parallel of the Old Turkic possessive forms of the third person singular pronoun *i/*si.

The following are some example of this emphatic suffix si:

1. Fōtōtōgisu kō yu nakiwataru kōkōrō si arurasi (M 1476)

Fōtōtōgisu kō yu naki wataru kōkōrō 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)'

2. kimi wo si ōmōFeba inekatenukamō (M 607)

kimi wo si ömōFe ba ine katenu kamō
 you [obj.] [emp.] think [cond.] sleep difficult wonder
 'as I long for you, alas I cannot sleep!'

3. kamogane nō samuki yu si na wo ba ömōFamu (M 3570)

kamo ga ne nō samuki yu si na wo ba ömōFa
 goose [gen.] chirp [gen.] cold evening [emp.] you [obj.] [top.] think
 mu
 [fut.]

'Oh, the night will be cold while the wild duck's cry. How I will long for you, my love'

It is noteworthy that there were also four phonetically identical morphemes in Old Japanese with the Old Japanese nominative case suffix i: the abstract noun, the demonstrative pronoun, the nominalizing suffix, and the prefix.

The abstract noun i 'one' (in the sense of 'something, someone, that which') appeared immediately after the attributive form of a verb to make the verb into a noun designating 'person, matter'. The abstract noun had narrower syntactic and semantic distributions than the third person singular pronoun *i, which later became the Old Japanese nominative case suffix: the abstract noun cannot stand alone, while the third person singular pronoun can; the former refers only to 'person, matter', whereas the latter refers not only to 'person, matter' but also to any other noun. Thus it is safe to claim that the abstract noun and the nominative case suffix originated from two different sources.

The demonstrative pronoun i, which has been thought to have been an infix (kantō joshi) by Japanese traditional grammarians, is found in the Manyōshū 481.

1359, 1851. This pronoun occurred, in these instances, immediately after a verb, though the form is not clear, and immediately before a noun, so that it is impossible to call this morpheme an abstract noun, a nominalizing suffix, or a prefix, let alone a nominative case suffix. Thus this morpheme must have been a demonstrative pronoun i 'this'[adj.]. This interpretation fits perfectly in terms of syntax and semantics. This demonstrative pronoun must be so old that it remained only as an unproductive pronoun, which was mostly taken over by the other demonstrative pronoun kö. It is extremely important to note that this demonstrative i is undoubtedly cognate with the Old Korean demonstrative pronoun i, which is identical on all linguistic levels. At this point, however, we do not know if this demonstrative pronoun is related to the third person singular pronoun.

The nominalizing suffix i occurred immediately after the stem of a verb and formed a deverbal noun 'V-ing'. This suffix is similar to the abstract noun in that both make a noun from a verb and that neither can stand alone. Hence it must have been derived from a source other than the one of the nominative case suffix.

The prefix i occurred immediately before a verb, but remained intact in meaning. We know that this was a prefix because as we mentioned immediately before, we find the corresponding non-prefixed forms with no difference in semantics. It may have had the function of emphasizing the verb. Therefore, we may postulate that the prefix and the nominative case suffix were of two different origins.

It is worth mentioning that prefixes are not found in the Altaic languages

except for Korean, in which, in this particular case, there seems to be a remnant of the prefix i, which might be related to the Old Japanese prefix i: MK kkūl-ta 'to pull, draw'; MK ikkūl-ta 'to run over', where the meaning of the latter is more restricted to the particular case of the meaning of the former.

The stem of a morpheme in Altaic languages is always the initial portion of the morpheme, not medial or final portion of it, whereas the stem of a morpheme in Old Japanese and Old Korean is not necessarily the initial portion of the morpheme. A number of morphemes in Old Japanese and Old Korean have a medial stem which has the main meaning, so that the initial portion is of secondary importance in terms of meaning of the whole morpheme.

(1.4) A second person pronoun i

Unlike all the Altaic languages including Korean, Old Japanese had a second person pronoun i. Since we find a few examples of this second person pronoun, we believe that this pronoun was some kind of remnant rather than a later development, more precisely, that this second person pronoun was probably a remnant of the third person singular pronoun in pre-Old Japanese or Proto-Japanese, which had disappeared before the time of any written records. The shift from the third person to the second person is very common in any language family including Altaic. Thus it is most likely that the original third person pronoun came to be used as the second person pronoun, though there were other forms of the second person pronoun such as na, nare, ore, etc.

The following are examples of the second person pronoun i:

1. i ga tukuri tukaFēmaturu öFötönö uti ni Fa... (K part 2, NKBT p.157)

i ga tukuri tukaFë maturu öFötönö 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)'

2. *i ga inōti mata ayaFukarazuya...* (NS NKBT p.252)

i ga inōti mata ayaFukarazu ya

you [gen.] life also not precarious [rhet.]

'...is not your own life also precarious?'

i in example 1 is the only second person singular pronoun written with a phonogram 伊, and *i* in the second example is written with the semantogram 爾 respectively. In this sense, *i* in the first example is the only evidence for the presence of that morpheme for the second person singular pronoun in Old Japanese, but it is crucial and solid.

It is extremely important to note that Old Japanese also had *si* for the second person pronoun as well as for the third person pronoun meaning 'it'. The following are some examples of those personal pronouns:

(a) Second person singular pronoun

1. *utukusiku si ga kataraFeba...* (M 904)

utukusiku si ga kataraFe ba

tenderly [2nd p.sg.] [gen.] speak [cond.]

'as you talked with your dear voice....'

2. *si ga negaFu kökōrō daraFi ni nadetamaFi* (M 4094)

si ga negaFu kökōrō daraFu ni

[2nd p.sg.] [gen.] wish heart satisfy [cond.]

'what you desired, you got to your heart's content'

(b) Third person singular pronoun

1. torasamu ayu nō si ga Fata Fa ware ni kakimuke... (M 4191)

torasa mu ayu nō si ga Fata Fa ware ni
 catch [fut.] ayu-fish [gen.] [3rd p.] [gen.] fins [top.] I [dat.]
 kaki muke
 [pref.] turn to

'the ayu-fish you will catch, those fins, send us some please! If you might think of us lovingly!'

2. aki nō Fana si ga irōirō ni mesitamaFi... (M 4254)

aki nō Fana si ga irōirō ni mesitamaFi
 autumn [gen.] flower [3rd p.] [gen.] variously [inst.] look [hon.]

'the autumn flowers there in various colors, may He see them'

Pierson (Book 5:pp.112-3) claims that si in examples (a.1) and (a.2) are two of the few instances where si is used for the 'third' person pronoun instead of the second, and he interprets them respectively as 'as he talked thus with his dear voice...' and as 'what they desired, they got to their heart's contentment...'. We notice that example (a.2) shows the third person 'plural' pronoun instead of the third person singular. If this is the case, then these examples show the older use of this pronoun, which is extremely intriguing in terms of the relationship of this Old Japanese pronoun with the Old Turkic third person singular pronouns i/*si, as will be discussed below.

If we regard i and si as forms developed from a common source, these pronouns recall the Old Turkic genitive case of the third person singular pronouns i/*si. As we discuss under Old Turkic, these genitive forms are enclitics of the Old Turkic third person pronouns *i/*si. It is probable that there was an

earlier stage when *i/*si were used for the third person singular pronouns. It was these *i/*si that remained intact as the second and third person pronouns in early Old Japanese. This hypothesis also supports the fact that Old Japanese had the identical forms of the suffixes, which originated from these pronouns: the nominative case suffix i and the emphatic suffix si, the former of which was considered to be a special type of the latter, so that they were basically the same kinds of suffixes developed from the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns. This development is identical with those of the Old Turkic third person singular pronouns *i/*si, in which the enclitic form of the latter disappeared so that the enclitic form remained only as i in Old Turkic. Hence, we may claim that OJ i and OJ si were probably from the third person singular pronoun *i/*si respectively, which is related to the Old Turkic third person singular pronoun *i/*si.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

Until recently the issue of the origin of the Korean nominative case suffix had not been discussed in detail either in Korea and Japan, or in the West. As we see below, there have been various studies on this topic, but unfortunately many of them are only unsubstantiated guesses rather than documented hypotheses.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Korean nominative case suffix

(a) G.J. Ramstedt (1939:36-38)

Ramstedt described the Korean nominative case suffix as follows:

-i after consonants and ga after vowels are used to indicate the special

connection of the subject to its predicate, just as the particle ga in Japanese. It is called in all grammars the nominative but really -i is a determinative particle 'the' or 'its' and ga is a connecting particle which has meant 'and'.....

Where -i or ga is used, the subject of the sentence is closely connected with predicate, and also with what precedes. In determining the subject itself or asking questions referring to it, these determining particles -i, ga are used....

As was said above, -i is originally an affixed pronoun for 'that' or 'he' (third person singular), the same as i 'he' or 'she' in Manchu, -in, -n in Tungusian, ini in Mongolian and -i (the third person possessive suffix) in Turkish. Many Tungus dialects and also Ainu have ka 'but, and' and in Tungus dialects (Titow's dictionary) we find the emphatic nun 'if', 'when', 'now'.

Although Ramstedt has claimed that the Korean nominative case suffix was originally the demonstrative pronoun or the third person singular pronoun, he never provided any solid evidence for this view; instead he merely listed a number of similar suffixes in the various Altaic languages in order to support his position. Thus, his claim ended up with an unsubstantiated hypothesis.

Ramstedt, however, pointed out one important point: the Korean nominative case suffix i is probably an old third person singular pronoun originally related to the Manchu third person singular pronoun i, to the Mongolian genitive case suffix of the third person singular pronoun ini[sic], and the Turkic genitive case suffix of the third person pronoun i.

(b) Yi Hi-seung (1956:17-47)

Yi claims that the nominative case suffix is derived from the existential verb isi-ta. The following is his argument for his claim (the author's paraphrase of Yi's statements):

The nominative case suffix was uniformly i. There was originally no nominative case suffix in Old Korean since Korean belongs to Altaic which does not have nominative case suffixes; but i appeared some time later as the nominative case suffix. The nominative case suffix i was derived from isi-ta, which is the old form of it-ta, which is supported by the following:

When a speaker presents a topic in order to call the listener's attention to it, the speaker has to confirm the topic first, for instance:

(1) san-i nop-ta 'a mountain is high'

The i is replaced by the existential verb:

(2) san issōsō nop-ta 'there is a mountain and so it is high'

The issōsō is changed to igōt:

(3) san igōt nop-ta 'a mountain, it is high'

Example (3) sounds more natural than example (2) since example (3) with a demonstrative pronoun i is more acceptable in form and meaning than example (2) with the verb isi-ta. While it-ta has the meaning of existence, kyesi-ta has not only the meaning of existence but also that of honorific. kyō'osya became kkesō which is the honorific nominative case suffix in Modern Korean. Since kkesō is also derived from isi-ta, it is older than issōsō.

Yi assumes without documentation that the non-existence of the Korean nominative case suffix was inherited from Altaic, which did not have the corresponding suffix. However, he should not present the accidental gaps without any evidence that Old Korean had no nominative case suffix, unless both gaps in Korean and in Altaic are completely examined. Here we do have evidence, against his position that the nominative case suffix i was a later form, that the nominative case suffix i did exist in Old Korean, which we will see later in this section.

It seems that Yi contradicts himself in that although he claims that i is derived from isi-ta, he also states without providing any reasons that example (3) with the demonstrative pronoun i is more natural and more acceptable than example (2) with isi-ta. Yi relies too much upon his intuition rather than providing analysis, especially diachronic and comparative analysis.

We also disagree with Yi that the honorific nominative case suffix kkesŏ appeared as it was much later than the plain counterpart issŏsŏ, so that his logic does not follow, and his argument must be discarded.

Finally, we would like to recall Ramstedt's remarks on the origin of isi-ta (1949:68):

The stem [of isi-ta] loses its vowel after a preceding vowel and thus only the verbal endings remain. The initial sound has in oldest documents been marked by zero, which seems to indicate that there has been ji- < *wi-, cf. jap. iru < *wi-ru 'to be', =tung. bi-, bisi- 'to be'; Ma bi- 'is' and -bi in the present tense: arambi, sembi < arame-bi, seme-bi 'is a-doing', 'is a-saying' > 'does' 'says', etc.;

=moL bui, buju 'is', 'the being' (v. and noun) < *bu-j *bi-j, (mo.) kh.
 kalm. bury. -bi, -b, -wi, -w 'is'; buri 'each, every' (< 'all that there
 is of it'), burid-ge- 'to unite'(v.t.), bugude 'each', bukuli 'totally',
 etc.;

=t. bir 'one', birisi 'one of them', birik- 'to unite'(v.i.)

It appears to me that Ramstedt's hypothesis on the origin of isi-ta is very reasonable, and if this is the case, then Yi's claim must be entirely rejected.

(c) Yi Ki-paek (1958:94-124)

Yi Ki-paek asserts that the nominative case suffix is derived from his alleged abstract noun i. However, his investigation is based only on Korean and Mongolian philology, but is not based on other Altaic languages. He merely compares the Korean nominative case suffix with the Mongolian personal pronoun for the third person singular pronoun i. It is very risky to compare only two languages without considering the other related languages because the risk of coincidence is involved. Thus he should have compared the Old Korean nominative case suffix with some comparable case suffixes in other Altaic languages in order to reconstruct the original form.

Yi (1958:106) cites in support of his argument the i's in the following forms that he claims as abstract nouns (glosses are the author's):

1. nyörŭmjizi < nyörŭmjiz-i 'farming' < nyö 'farm'+ rŭmjiz 'to perform'+ i
2. sonjabi < sonjap-i 'a handle' < son 'hand'+ jap 'to grasp'+ i
3. chuksari < chuksal-i 'life and death' < chuk 'death'+ sar 'to live'+ i

The p in -jap- in example 2 and the i in -sal- in example 3 become b and r in intervocalic position in Middle Korean respectively. Also, the forms of these

verbs are the stems so that the combined forms of these verbal stems with i make the deverbal nouns. Thus the i in these examples is not an abstract noun but a nominalizing suffix. Here Yi merely assumes that the abstract noun, which is historically a nominalizing suffix, became the Old Korean nominative case suffix, without providing any evidence.

Yi also (1958:106) tries to refute a claim that the Old Korean nominative case suffix is derived from the personal pronoun for the third person singular *i by showing the following examples:

1. hŭrŭnŭn i nunmuriyo, chinun i hansumira (Chapka)

hŭrŭnŭn i nunmuri yo chinun i hansum ira
 flowing thing tear [excl.] coming out thing sigh is
 'what flows is tears and what comes out is sighs'

2. namujejurŭl chalhanŭn inŭn namuesŏ ttŏrŏjinta (Soktam)

namu jeju rŭl chalhanŭn i nŭn namu esŏ ttŏrŏjinta
 tree talent [obj.] being good at person [top.] tree [abl.] fall
 'the person who is good at climbing falls from the tree'

Yi believes that the i in these examples, which is used as the nominative case suffix, is an abstract noun and that the nominative case suffix i must be derived from the abstract noun i. However, his argument is not at all convincing because he never gives us any evidence that would document the process of how the abstract noun was changed into the nominative case suffix.

Yi (1958:102) states that the personal pronoun for the third person singular in Middle Korean was always tyŏ, which was originally a demonstrative pronoun. But since there was, in fact, no fixed third person singular pronoun in

Middle Korean, unlike the situation with the first and second person singular pronouns in Middle Korean, this gap was filled by demonstrative pronouns like i, kũ, tyõ or with the combination of a demonstrative pronoun with a noun such as i + N, kũ + N, tyõ + N; in this replacement tyõ seems to have most often used. Thus his statement has to be dismissed.

(d) Kim Bang-han (1965:32-61)

Kim (1965:61) states in his English summary as follows:

In this paper the -i is treated from the etymological point of view. The i goes back to the third person pronoun (singular) 'i', that disappeared in ancient Korean as in Turkish and Mongolian. Originally the third person pronoun i is used as an enclitics in order to designate a subject. The enclitic -i at the first step, developed as an emphatic element to denominate the proceeding noun as a subject because it has regularly high tone as the written documents of Middle Korean shows (the many written records of middle Korean shows three kinds of tone by points). This phenomenon can be compared with ancient Japanese (i), Mongolian (inu), and Turkish (possessive suffix).

In Mongolian inu, the genitive form of third personal pronoun has two functions; one to designate subject and the other used as so-called eliminative case ending or absolute case ending. In this point the eliminative case ending -in of Korean can be viewed as a developed form from the old genitive form of i.

But Kim did not analyze the Chinese characters used as phonograms for the nominative case suffix on the basis of Middle Chinese phonology. The analysis of

these Chinese characters such as 伊, 只, 史, 理, and 米 is often crucial for reconstructing the oldest possible form of the nominative case suffix. Kim simply assumes that the oldest form was *i, in which case the shape happens to be correct as we shall see later in this section.

(e) Kim Hyŏng-su (1967:67-83)

Kim reintroduced Yi Hi-seung's claim that the nominative case suffix i was derived from the existential verb isi-ta from a different viewpoint. His claim was basically as follows (1967:82):

Korean originally did not have a nominative case suffix just as the Altaic languages do not, although -n was a nominative case suffix originally used in Korean, Manchu, and Mongolian. However, the nominative case suffix i was derived from isita 'to be', which is proven by the fact that in oldest documents and modern dialects of Korean, there are numerous similar forms of the nominative case suffix isi, isyŏ, syŏ, rae, itt^n and that Japanese and Manchu developed a nominative case suffix i from their existential verb.

It is very difficult to prove that the numerous similar forms of his alleged nominative case suffix are real nominative case suffixes since they appear to be derived from isi-ta, in which isi- probably goes back to *jisi- < *wisi-. Thus despite the fact that these forms seem to function as nominative case suffixes, they cannot be used to prove that isi-ta is the origin of the nominative case suffix i.

It is also incorrect to state that Manchu has a fixed nominative case suffix as that in Korean, as Kim asserts. Manchu, in fact, has a genitive case

suffix i/ni, which goes back to *ni, and this genitive case suffix has the function of a nominative case suffix under certain circumstances. Kim mistook this genitive case suffix for the nominative case suffix. Even if he had been correct about his interpretation of the genitive case suffix, he could not have proven his claim because the genitive case suffix goes back to *ni, which is different from his alleged nominative case suffix i in form and function. Consequently, Kim's alleged nominative case suffix was not derived from the existential verb *bi. In this connection, Manchu inu may be relevant because it has basically similar functions to those of the Korean nominative case suffix.

Kim is also completely wrong about the etymology of the Japanese nominative case suffix i because the i in NJ iru goes back to wi < *bi so that there is no chance that the nominative case suffix i originated from iru. This is confirmed by the fact that the Old Japanese nominative case suffix was written in old records such as Kojiki, Nihon Shoki, Manyōshū, and Senmyō, with one specific set of Chinese characters used as phonograms, while the wi in OJ wiru was written in the old records with another set of Chinese characters employed as phonograms.

Kim's superficial understanding of the nominative case suffixes in both Manchu and Old Japanese greatly detracts from his claim. If we accept Ramstedt's analysis of the origin of the Korean existential verb, then we must dismiss Kim's claim entirely.

(f) Yi Pyōng-sŏn (1976:885-915)

Yi claims that the Korean nominative case suffix is derived from a nominalizing suffix i in Altaic and that the other Korean nominative case suffix ga which he says goes back to PA *a, also a nominalizing suffix, is comparable with

a/e of the Manchu nominalizing suffix jan/jen. Thus the Korean nominative case suffix i and *a are both derived respectively from Altaic nominalizing suffixes i and a.

As we discussed under Yi Ki-paek's claim, the Korean nominalizing suffix i does correspond to an Altaic nominalizing suffix i, but there are no instances in any Altaic language in which the nominalizing suffix became a case suffix. Thus it is unlikely that the Korean nominalizing suffix i became the nominative case suffix i.

For the origin of MK ka, it is not at all clear why ka has to be analyzed as k + a, or why k is added to his alleged original nominative case suffix a in order for the a to function as a nominative case suffix. At this point, Yi ought to have investigated all the functions of his alleged original nominative case suffix a and of his alleged epenthetic consonant k.

Yi's analysis of the Old Korean texts seems to be based largely on Middle Korean phonology but little on Middle Chinese phonology, so that he has difficulty in interpreting some crucial Chinese characters used as phonograms for the nominative case suffix. He ought instead to have turned his attention to Middle Chinese phonology and then interpreted the Old Korean material on the basis of Middle Chinese phonology, with the help of Middle Korean phonology in order at least to attempt to recognize something of the earlier vocalism that is registered in the Chinese phonograms of the Old Korean texts, because the vocalism of Middle Korean cannot be carried mechanically back into Old Korean, as is customary in the editions of Old Korean texts by Korean linguists. They have simply taken over the vocalization of the Old Korean nominative case suffix from Middle

Korean. However, such a procedure is highly suspect as well as mechanical because of the evidence of the Chinese phonograms below in the following subsection.

(2.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms for the Old Korean nominative case suffix

The Old Korean nominative case suffix is written with the following Chinese characters used as phonograms: 伊 MC ʔi, 只 MC tʂie, 史 MC ʂi, 理 MC lji, 米 MC miei (Karlgren 1957). These phonograms are usually interpreted by Korean and Japanese scholars as orthographies for OK i, ti, si, ri, and mi respectively.

It is possible to divide the Old Korean texts into two distinctive historical periods, the Silla period and the Koryŏ period. The following lists show the Chinese characters employed as phonograms for the nominative case suffix in these two distinctive periods:

<u>Silla period</u> (668-935AD)	<u>Koryŏ period</u> (935-1392AD)
伊 MC <u>ʔi</u>	伊 MC <u>ʔi</u>
只 MC <u>tʂie</u>	--
史 MC <u>ʂi</u>	--
理 MC <u>lji</u>	--
--	米 MC <u>miei</u>

In the Silla period, the Old Korean nominative case suffix was written with the Chinese characters shown above. The first Chinese character 伊 MC ʔi is normally interpreted as OK i. There can hardly be any doubt that MC ʔi was used as an orthography for an OK i, which remained the same in Middle Korean.

The following Chinese characters wrote morphemes that had initial consonants: 只 MC tś-, 史 MC ś-, 理 MC l-. These characters were used in Old Korean to write the final consonants of the preceding morpheme, when that morpheme took the nominative case suffix immediately after it. Take 見史 MC mau-si for instance. MC mau was used as a semantogram meaning 'appearance' to write OK *čŭz 'appearance', while the ś in 史 MC śi was employed to indicate that the final phoneme of the preceding morpheme was z as in OK *čŭz, which was also supported by the presence of the semantogram for OK *čŭz. Therefore, the entire reading of MC mau-si in Old Korean was *čŭz 'appearance' + *i [nom.].

In the Chinese character 只 MC tśie, it is rather difficult to interpret MC tś- as OK *t- in terms of Middle Chinese phonology since such an interpretation does not follow a regular consonant correspondence between MC tś- and MK č-. It is possible to assume that this character may have been employed in texts early enough so that all the words with a t- before a vowel i or semivowel y, whether or not they were native, had already undergone the consonant shift from OK *t- to MK č-. However, even if we treat this irregular correspondence as an exception for the nominative case suffix, such an interpretation would not cause any problems because it is the vowel correspondence between the two with which we are dealing here. Since the -e in MC tśie was a glide, it is most likely to have been ignored or unrecognized by the Old Korean scribes. Thus the sequence MC -ie is to be treated simply as OK *-i, and the entire morpheme MC tśie is to be interpreted as OK *ti until some problem occurs with this interpretation.

Since MC ś- (retroflex) in 史 MC śi always corresponds to MK ś-, there can hardly be doubt that MC ś corresponds to OK *ś, though the correspondence be-

tween MC s and OK *s may be anachronistic. The vowel of the Chinese morpheme which is written with this Chinese character is identical with MK i, so that this vowel i in Middle Chinese is, too, to be interpreted as OK *i. Therefore, this is no doubt that the entire form is to be interpreted as OK *si.

The final Chinese character in the Silla period list is 理 MC lji. Again, the usual interpretation of the MC l- is as OK r-/l-, and this interpretation is very easily accepted. There is no question as to the interpretation of MC -ji as OK *i because it is normally interpreted as MK i, which must have come from OK *i. Thus it is concluded that MC lji is to be interpreted as OK *ri/li.

The interpretation of all these Chinese characters employed in the Silla period leads us to suppose that the early Old Korean nominative case suffix was OK *i. Although we do not have a clear idea as to precisely how this vowel was articulated, it was probably close to MC i.

In the Koryŏ period, the Old Korean nominative case suffix was represented by the Chinese characters 伊 MC ?i and 米 MC miei. The first Chinese character was also employed in the Silla period. In this period, there is little evidence that there was any drastic change in the shape of this morpheme i, although this Old Korean morpheme began to be written with the Chinese character 米 MC miei.

In the case of the Chinese character 米 MC miei, as in the case of 理, m in MC miei is to be interpreted as m. The vocal sequence -iei does not create any serious problem, even if we assume that MC -iei is to be interpreted as OK *i in this particular case, though it is normally interpreted as an orthography for OK *ai /*əi as a connecting particle. However, since the vowel -e- in MC miei

must have been a glide or an otherwise somewhat reduced vowel because it was found between the two i vowels. this vowel -e- must have been slurred almost into zero. This is what happened in New Chinese, which has NC mi, contracted from MC miei. This supports our claim that MC -iei is to be interpreted as OK *i. Thus, MC miei is to be interpreted as OK *mi.

The Chinese character 伊 continued to be used for the nominative case suffix. Therefore, we will assume that the nominative case suffix in late Old Korean had the same shape *i as that of the early OK *i. Thus the historical phonology of all the Chinese phonograms employed for the Old Korean nominative case suffix seems to lead us to sustain Karlgren's reconstructions of the final vocal portion for each Chinese morpheme in question and to reconstruct the earliest Old Korean nominative case suffix of the Old Korean texts as OK *i. It is this OK *i which underlies the later form attested in Middle Korean. Furthermore, the examination of the Old Korean texts with some reference to the Middle Korean nominative case suffix makes it evident that the original form which is registered as the nominative case suffix in Old Korean texts was simply *i, and that this original *i has remained intact down to the New Korean period.

In their interpretation of the Chinese phonogram orthography for the Old Korean nominative case suffix as OK *i, contemporary Korean linguists have simply carried over the vocalization as well as the phonetic shape of the morpheme for this case suffix directly from Middle Korean. Such a method is completely mechanical and highly questionable, even though, in this particular case, it accidentally happens to agree with the older textual evidence of the Chinese phonograms in question.

(2.3) The function of the Old Korean nominative case suffix *i

The following are examples from the Silla period of the Old Korean texts. Citations are numbered in the system of Yang 1957; the translations are based on Peter Lee 1959 and include references to his different numbers; the underlined portions of the texts are written in phonograms in the original, while the rest are written in semantograms:

(a) 伊 MC ʔi1. karori nəihi əra [5:4.1-4.2]

karor i nəihi əra

legs [nom.] four there are

'There are four legs' [14:pp.78-79]

(b) 只 MC tʃiə1. i əu mʊsom syuisi isirkko [12:10.1-10.4]

i əu mʊsom syui s ki isir kko

this [excl.] where comet [gen.] [nom.] exist [inter.]

'Where is that comet now?' [2:pp.54-55]

(c) 史 MC ʃi1. čūzi sarččum tiničə [1:4.1-4.4]

čūz i sarččum tini čə

appearance [nom.] year follow wish

'Alas, your face wrinkles with age!' [5:pp.70-71]

2. kirang i čūz i isyura [4:5.1-5.3]

kirang i čūz i isyu ra

Kilbo [gen.] appearance [nom.] exist [excl.]

'Knight Kilbo's image is there!' [10:pp.70-71]

3. mŭrhŭit čaz i k \wedge z \wedge rant \wedge r iuri timai [13:1.1-2.4]

mŭrhŭit čaz i k \wedge z \wedge r ant \wedge r iuri tim ai

removed oak [nom.] autumn not near withering [loc.]

'were all the oaks to wither before the fall....' [7:pp.64-65]

(d) 理 MC lji

1. nathoyan t \wedge li h \wedge in'kurum čoču pt \ominus kanun antiha [4:2.1-3.3]

nathoyan t \wedge l i h \wedge in kurum čoču pt \ominus kanun anti ha

appearing moon [nom.] white cloud pursue floating and going not [voc.]

'the moon that appears , is she not pursuing the white clouds?' [10:pp.70-71]

The following are examples from the Koryo period:

(a) 伊 MC ʔi

1. mom i p \wedge zak tŭt'ŭri kamai [22:5.1-5.4]

mom i p \wedge zak tŭt'ŭr i kam ai

body [nom.] dissolve dust [nom.] going [loc.]

'Were (this) body to dissolve into dust,...' [22:pp.94-95]

(b) 米 MC miei

1. ətsyarimarak n \wedge mi əpskon [19:6.1-6.4]

ət syar i marak n \wedge m i əps kon

attain do [hon.] [nomi.] every person [nom.] not [conj.]

'There is no one who does not attain (this end)' [19:pp.88-89]

The case suffix in these examples clearly shows the nominative function and it seems that is the only function of the nominative case suffix. Thus we may conclude that the Old Korean nominative case suffix i had nothing but the nomi-

native function and that that function remained intact down to the Modern Korean period, though another nominative case suffix ka in Middle Korean began to share the nominative function from the Middle Korean period on.

There were also four phonetically identical morphemes in Old Korean in addition to the Old Korean nominative case suffix i, just as in the case of Old Japanese: an abstract noun, a demonstrative pronoun, a nominalizing suffix, and a prefix.

As in the case of the abstract noun i in Old Japanese, the Old Korean abstract noun *i occurred immediately after the attributive form of a verb and made the verb into a noun meaning 'person, matter'. The following are examples of the abstract noun:

1. tur əza čari pokon... [5:3.1-3.3]

tur ə za ča r i po kon

enter [emp.] sleep [fur.nomi.] [abs.] look [conj.]

'when I enter (it) and look at the bed...' [14:pp.78-79]

2. kūras h^syaniroi [22:8.2-8.4]

kūras h^sya n i roi

that-way do [hon.] [perf.nomi.] [abs.] [excl.]

'they did in that manner' [22:pp.94-95]

The abstract noun had narrower syntactic and semantic distributions than the third person singular pronoun *i which developed into the Old Korean nominative case suffix. The abstract noun refers only to 'person, matter', while the third person singular pronoun refers not only to 'person, matter' but also to other nouns. The former took only the attributive form of a verb immediately

before it, whereas the latter took any kind of noun before it. Thus we safely claim that the Old Korean abstract noun and the Old Korean nominative case suffix originated from two different sources.

The Old Korean demonstrative pronoun *i occurred before a noun to be modified by it and as we mentioned earlier, it must be related to the Old Japanese demonstrative pronoun i which is identical on all linguistic levels. We do not have a clear idea as to whether this is cognate with the third person singular pronoun.

The Old Korean nominalizing suffix i, as in the case of the Old Japanese nominalizing suffix, appeared immediately after the stem of a verb where it formed a deverbal noun meaning 'V-ing'. It involves verbs rather than nouns, unlike the Old Korean nominative case suffix, and its function is quite different from that of the Old Korean nominative case suffix, so that it is safe to state that these two otherwise identical morphemes were of different origins.

There is only one example of the Old Korean prefix *i which occurred immediately before a verb, namely, ikkŭl-ta 'to run over', as we discussed under the Old Japanese prefix i. However, since we have not found more solid evidence for the prefix i in Old Korean, we may also conclude that there may not have been an Old Korean prefix *i.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

It is possible to connect the Old Japanese and Old Korean nominative case suffix i with the Altaic third person singular pronoun in terms of Altaic com-

parative phonology and semantics. On the level of phonology, there is not much difficulty in relating OJ i and OK *i with the Altaic third person singular pronoun *i, because they are identical in phonetic shape. The following shows the Altaic third person singular pronouns:

	PA	OTK	Mo	Ma	OK	OJ
nom.	*i	*i	*i	i	*i	i
gen.	*i-n	*in	inu	ini (inu [emp.])	*i (*ǝn [top.])	*n

(3.1) The functions of the Manchu suffix inu

The Manchu third person singular pronoun has remained intact. Consequently, a Manchu suffix inu which partly corresponds to Mo inu in morphology-syntax developed a function of emphasizing the subject. However, this suffix must originally have been connected with the Manchu third person singular pronoun i because the Mongolian genitive case form inu is certainly derived from the Mongolian third person singular pronoun *i: *i [3rd p. sg.] + *n [gen.]. It is this Manchu suffix inu that functions as various emphasis markers.

(a) 'also, too'

The Manchu suffix inu functions as emphasis on or as an addition to the subject so that a noun before the inu tends to be the subject.

1. si inu jači amtaggi bai (GB 1:20b)

si inu jači amtaggi bai
 you also very interesting are
 'you are also very interesting'

2. bi inu uttu gunihabi (LK 7:11)

bi inu uttu guniha bi

I also this way consider [perf.]

'I also considered like this'

(b) emphatic adverbs 'certainly, really'

The suffix inu is employed as an adverb which emphasizes the action.

1. ufaraha kooli inu bi (T 1-352:2)

ufaraha kooli inu bi
lose case [emp.] exist

'there is certainly a case where you lose'

2. inu damu duin tanggu ųooaha gamaha (MYK appendix 3)

inu damu duin tanggu ųooaha gama ha
[emp.] only four hundred soldiers dispatch [perf.]

'(he) really dispatched just four hundred soldiers'

3. ere yali be jeųi inu ombikai sefi... (MYK 11:4)

ere yali be je ųi inu ombi kai se fi
this meat [obj.] eat [abl.] [emp.] proper [emp.] say [perf.conv.]

'he says that when he eats this meat it is indeed good'

(c) 'it is ... that...'

The suffix inu functions as a sentence-final emphasizer for the predicate.

1. tere nigen mafa inu (MYK 1:3)

tere nigen mafa inu
that six ancestor [emp.]

'those are six ancestors'

2. juse suwembe ejekini seme hendurengge ere inu (T 1-60:12)

juse suwembe eje kini seme hendu rengge

children [2nd pl.acc.] remember [suf.desire] saying speak [nomi.]

ere inu

this [emp.]

'children! the words that you memorize are these'

3. tere manju gurun i da mafa inu (MYK 1:6)

tere manju gurun i da-mafa inu

that Manchu nation [gen.] great-great-grandfather [emp.]

'that is the great-great-grandfather of Manchu'

Although Ma inu developed into several different kinds of emphasizers, it is clear that its basic function was to emphasize the subject because that function is also shared by Mo inu. This is because the function of Mo inu goes back to that of the Mongolian enclitic i, which goes back to the third person singular pronoun *i and because Ma inu, likewise, ultimately goes back to the Manchu third person singular pronoun i.

- (3.2) The function of the Manchu genitive case for the third person singular

ini

First, we shall observe the following examples:

1. emu tungse be ini solho gurun de sindafi.. (MYK 5:163)

emu tungse be ini solho gurun de sinda fi

one interpreter [obj.] [3rd p.gen.] Korea nation [dir.] appoint [perf.conv.]

'(he) sent an interpreter to Korea...'

2. han juwe ahun be ini boode solime ganafi (T 2:24)

han juwe ahun be ini boo de solime gana fi

king two men [obj.] [3rd p.gen.] house [dir.] invite gather [perf.conv.]

'the king invited the two men to his house and they gathered...'

It is clear from these examples that Ma inu and ini and Mo inu go back to PA *i-n, which must have functioned only as the genitive case of the third person singular pronoun.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

As shown in the chart earlier, the Mongolian third person singular pronoun was reconstructed by Poppe (1955b:214) as PMo *i. This form was reconstructed on the basis of the other Altaic third person singular pronouns and the genitive forms of those pronouns.

(4.1) The functions of the Mongolian third person singular pronoun *i

(a) The function of the nominative case *i

The Mongolian nominative and genitive cases of any personal pronoun were used as enclitics at the time of the ancient Mongolian documents (Poppe 1955b: 214 : e.g. beye minu lit. 'body my'). These cases of any personal pronoun were tended to come after the noun. Therefore it is possible to postulate that PMo *i would have been used as an enclitic which was a subject emphasize by the time of the earliest documents. This situation with the enclitic is found in the following examples:

1. ene jakiya-du bičisen-i todo ügei (LK V:5a)

ene jakiya du bičisen i todo ügei

this letter [loc.] what was written [nom.] clear not

'what was written in this letter is not clear'

2. kedü kümün-ü tedüi usun-i bisi (LK VIII:5b)
 kedü kümün ü tedüi usun i bisi
 some people [gen.] little water [nom.] exist
 'there is little water for some people'
3. endeče qıyan tasiyalaqsan-i mün arban ƣajar bui ečijü bolqugei (SH III:12a)
 endeče qıyan taisyala-qsan i mün arban ƣajar bui
 from here Qıyan separate [pres.conv.] [nom.] [emp.] ten miles exist
 ečijü bolqugei
 go impossible
 'since Qıyan Diyan is ten miles apart from here, it is impossible to go
 (there)'
4. teyimu-yin tula maƣu-ni talamjitai sayin-i talaqu'gei (LKM VIII:16a)
 teyimu-yin-tula maƣu ni talamjitai sayin i talaqu'gei
 therefore bad thing [nom.] suitable good thing [nom.] not suitable
 'therefore, being fierce is suitable, but being good is not suitable'

These examples clearly show that the third person singular pronoun is used as an enclitic to emphasize the subject that precedes it.

(4.2) The functions of the genitive case for the third person singular inu

(a) the subject marker

By the time of the written documents the enclitic i came to coexist with the genitive case of the third person singular pronoun inu, but then inu entirely took over the enclitic function, that is, inu also came to function as a nominative case suffix. This shift is confirmed by the following examples in which inu functions as the nominative case suffix instead of the genitive case

suffix (Poppe 1964:140):

1. nasu čaγ -tur tere metü kereg inu uqaǰu üiledtugei
 nasu čaγ tur tere metü kereg inu uqaǰu üiled tugei
 all life [loc.] that like thing [nom.] understand do should
 'through all the span of life such things should be done understandingly'
2. erkin inu busud-un tusa-yi sedkigdeküi
 erkin inu busud un tusa yi sedkig deküi
 sublime [nom.] other [gen.] profit [obj.] think must
 'the sublime must think of the profit of the other'
3. ünün inu ese oldabasu
 ünün inu ese olda basu
 truth [nom.] not found [cond.]
 'if truth is not to be found..'
4. ebül inu masi küiten jun anu masi qalaγ un amui
 ebül inu masi küiten jun anu masi qalaγ un amui
 winter [nom.] very cold summer [nom.] very hot exist
 'winter is very cold (and) summer is very hot'

The genitive form inu is found in these examples as the nominative function. It is also to be noted that anu which is the genitive form for the third person plural pronoun is used in example 4 where the subject of the anu is a singular subject.

Poppe (1964:141) argues that this nominative function of the genitive form is newer than the genitive function of the genitive form. Although the nominative function indicates that the nominal before inu is the subject, it must have

first been an emphasizer for the subject because it replaced the enclitic i without losing the original function of the enclitic i. Therefore, we claim that the Old Japanese and the Old Korean nominative case suffix i corresponds in function and form to the Manchu and the Mongolian third person singular pronoun i.

(b) the genitive case marker

Mo inu has two other functions in addition to the emphatic function of the subject. The first function, as the name indicates, is a genitive function. Mo inu is used in literal senses with reference to a possessor, which would correspond to the Old Korean genitive case suffix *i. The following are some examples of this function (Poppe 1964:140):

1. tegün-ü ači inu tegün-eče ülemĵi nemeyü

tegün ü ači inu tegün eče ülemĵi nemeyü
that [gen.] benefit [gen.] that [abl.] more become
'its benefit increases more than that'

2. buĵ inu adali-yin tulada nigen bolqu

buĵ inu adali yin tulada nigen bol qu
existence [gen.] similar [gen.] because one be [pres.]
'as their existence is similar, (they) will be one (and the same)'

(b.3) the topic marker

Mo inu is also employed as a topic marker and seems to be related to the Old Korean topic marker *en.

1. duwa soqor inu dörben kogutu bülege (SH 1:7a-b)

duwa soqor inu dörben kogutu bülege

Duwa Soqor [top.] four children has

'Duwa Soqor has four children'

Mo inu in the example is the topic marker, but not the nominative case suffix because the subject Duwa Soqor appeared before this sentence, in other words, the subject in this sentence is old information so that this inu cannot be the nominative function.

We may conclude that Mo *i is most likely to be cognate with OJ i, OK *i, and Ma i and that Mo inu is also cognate with OK *ən and Ma ini and Ma inu.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

The Turkic third person singular pronoun was reconstructed as PTK *i by Ramstedt (1952:68-69) according to the relations between personal pronouns and the corresponding possessive forms below:

	TK pronoun	TK possessive		TK pronoun	TK possessive
1st p.(sg.)	<u>ben</u>	- <u>im</u> / <u>-m</u>	1st p.(pl)	<u>biz</u>	- <u>imiz</u> / <u>-miz</u>
2nd p.	<u>sen</u>	- <u>in</u> / <u>-n</u>	2nd p.	<u>siz</u>	- <u>iniz</u> / <u>-niz</u>
3rd p.	<u>o(l)</u>	- <u>i</u> / <u>-si</u>	3rd p.	<u>onlar</u>	- <u>leri</u> / <u>-lari</u>

It is important to note that the Mongolian and Old Turkic third person singular pronouns disappeared, just as the Old Korean and the Old Japanese third person singular disappeared. This parallel is not merely a coincidence, but instead indicates that the third person singular pronoun was most likely in the course of shifting in Mongolian and Old Turkic as well as in Old Japanese and Old Korean. Thus, it eventually functioned as something else, leaving a gap

which had to be filled with some other pronoun.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic third person singular pronoun *i

As in the case of Mo *i, the Old Turkic third person singular pronoun *i also became an enclitic, which we suspect would be the Old Turkic third person singular possessive suffix -i (cf. Ramstedt 1949:67; Räsänen 1957:18). The following examples show the nominative case of the third person possessive pronoun:

(a) i

1. [küli č]or taq bilgäsi çabisi ärti... (KC E 5)

küli çor taq bilgä sī çabīs i är ti

Kuli Cor very counselor [3rd p.sg.] aide-de-camp [3rd p.sg.] exist [perf.]

'Kuli Cor was his very best counselor and aide-de-camp...'

2. alpī bökäsī ärti (KC E 5)

alp ī bökä sī är ti

hero [3rd p.sg.] champion warrior [3rd p.sg.] exist [perf.]

'(Kuli Cor) was his very best hero and champion'

3. biziŋ sü atī toruq.. (KT E 39)

biz iŋ sü at ī tor uq

we [gen.] army horse [3rd p.pl.] become lean [perf.]

'our army horses became lean...'

4. türük bodun ātī küsī yoq bolmazun tiyin.. (KT E 25)

türük bodun āt ī kü sī yoq bol mazun tiyin

Turkish people name [3rd p.sg.] fame [3rd p.sg.] not be not in order that

'in order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish...'

5. bägläri yämä bodunī yämä tüz ärmis (KT E 3)

bäglär ī yämä bodun ī yämä tüz är mis
 lords [3rd p.pl.] [conj.] people [3rd p.pl.] [conj.] peaceful exist [perf.]
 'the lords and the people were peacable'

(b) si

1. anta kisrä inisī qaγan bolmis ärinč (KT E 4-5)

an ta kisrä ini sī qaγan bol mis ärinč
 that [loc.] after younger brother [3rd p.pl.] khagan become [perf.] indeed
 'then the younger brothers succeeded to the throne.'

2. üza t[ä]ri köbürgäsī ätarčä.. (BK W 34)

üza t[ä]ri köbürgä sī ätar čä
 above heaven bridge [3rd p.sg.] speak like
 'as if the bridge of the heaven speaks...'

3. yaγīsī qon täg ärmis (KT E 12)

yaγ ī sī qon täg är mis
 enemy [3rd p.pl.] sheep like exist [perf.]
 'the enemies were like sheep'

The examples in (a) show that the nominative case of the third person possessive i is suffixed to the noun immediately before it, just as in the case of the function of the Mongolian third person singular pronoun *i. We notice that OTK *i was also used to indicate the third person plural pronoun.

The examples in (b) demonstrate that Old Turkic also had another third person pronoun *si, whose function is identical with that of OTK *i. The only difference between the two is that *i was used immediately after a morpheme ending in consonants, while *si was employed immediately after the morpheme ending in

vowels. The Old Turkic possessive si reminds us of the Old Japanese second person pronoun si, which was originally a third person pronoun. This point has already been discussed in detail under the Old Japanese second person pronoun si.

The Old Turkic third person pronouns *i/*si, which became the possessive pronouns, are most likely cognate with the Old Japanese emphatic suffix i and the Old Japanese second person pronoun si, without it necessarily being true that these Old Turkic pronouns are indeed related to the Manchu and the Mongolian third person singular pronouns.

[6] Concluding remarks

We have observed the functions and meanings of the morphemes corresponding to the Old Japanese and the Old Korean nominative case suffixes in the major Altaic languages. Although each Altaic language has a variety of markers for emphasis found in the morphemes cognate with the Old Japanese and the Old Korean nominative case suffixes, they all have only one function in common: emphasis of a noun preceded by such a morpheme, except for some functions of OJ i and OK *i.

In the relationship between OJ i and OK *i, they are undoubtedly cognate with each other in form, function and meaning. Both share the nominative case suffix, which is derived from the Proto-Altaic third person singular pronoun *i.

The Mongolian third person singular pronoun originally functioned as such a personal pronoun. This clearly corresponds to the Old Japanese third person singular pronoun i whose distribution extended to the second person, and which corresponds to the Old Korean third person singular pronoun *i, which extended

over to any person.

While the Old Korean nominative case suffix *i was derived from the Proto-Altaic personal pronoun for the third person singular *i, the Old Korean genitive case suffix *i most likely derived from the Proto-Altaic genitive case suffix of the third person singular *i-n. This is partly based on the fact that the Old Korean genitive case suffix *i shared the function as the genitive case with the Mongolian genitive case suffix for the third person singular pronoun inu. Furthermore, the Old Korean topic marker *ən probably came from the Proto-Altaic genitive case suffix for the third person singular *i-n because the Old Korean topic marker and the Mongolian genitive case for the third person singular pronoun have the topicalizing function in common. These two Old Korean suffixes will be treated in the following chapter.

In connection with Ma i, inu, and ini, the Manchu personal pronoun for the third person singular i is cognate with the Mongolian personal pronoun for the third person singular *i, and the Manchu suffix inu and the Manchu genitive case of the third person singular pronoun ini are clearly related to the Mongolian genitive case for the third person singular pronoun inu. Although the Manchu personal pronoun for the third person singular i still has its original function this Manchu i is surely cognate with the Old Japanese and the Old Korean third person singular pronouns *i, which became the nominative case suffixes in Old Japanese and in Old Korean. Since Ma inu came to possess the function of emphasis is on the subject and the i in Ma inu is the third person singular pronoun, it is indirectly related to the Old Japanese and the Old Korean nominative case suffixes i.

Chapter Two

The Old Japanese genitive case suffixes *n/na/nö/ŋga

and

the Old Korean genitive case suffix *i and Old Korean topical suffix *ən

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

A number of studies have been done, mostly in Japan, on the subject of the usage and the functions of the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes nö/na/ŋga, but there are very few studies on the origin of these case suffixes. This is probably because the following preconceived ideas have been prevalent:

- (1) the view that unlike the other Old Japanese case suffixes a genitive case has to be dealt with in relation to another genitive case suffix, which complicates the whole question of the origin of the three genitive case suffixes;
- (2) the notion that OJ *n/nö/na/ŋga may not be comparable with any Altaic suffix;
- (3) the supposition that the syntactic function of the genitive suffix nö is peculiar in comparison with the other genitive case suffixes.

It is now time that we examined the question of the origin of these genitive case suffixes. In order to do this, we shall treat these genitive suffixes separately because we feel that they may possibly be of at least two different origins.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese genitive suffixes

(a) Murayama Shichirō (1957:128-9; 1973:160; 1974a:197-205; 1974b:231-237)

Murayama (1957) claimed that there were four different morphemes for the Old Japanese genitive suffix, nō, na, *n, and *nga; that nō and na go back to *n; and that *nga goes back to *n-ka, in which ka is a variant of the adjective suffix ki. He cited some alleged Altaic cognates: PA *n : Ma-Tg n: Mo n: OTK n for OJ nō and OJ na, and Ma-Tg ki and Ma ka: Mo ki: OTK ki for OJ ki and OJ ka, the latter of which is a variant of OJ ki.

Later Murayama (1973;1974) rejected the Altaic origin of OJ nō and na, and claimed that these two suffixes are the ligatures (connecting particles), which are found in Austronesian. The main reason that he later rejected the Altaic connections of OJ nō and na is that one does not find any combinations of the genitive suffix nō with the stems of demonstrative pronouns in any Altaic languages. This syntactic peculiarity suggests that the genitive suffix nō is not of Altaic origin. However, he still maintains the claim that OJ *nga (< *n-ka) is comparable with the Tungus possessive suffix ᠨᠢ and with the Manchu adjective suffix ᠨᠠ/ ᠨᠢᠭᠡ/ ᠨᠠᠭᠤ.

(b) Roy Andrew Miller (1971:27-28)

Miller generally accepted Murayama's early (1957) treatment of the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes, but he seems to reject Murayama's (1973;1974) more recent handling of the Old Japanese genitive suffixes nō and na. Miller suggests some refinement of the semantic and syntactic functions of OJ ga in order to substantiate Murayama's claim. He admits that Murayama's treatment of the connection between OJ nō and ga is not satisfactory, but adds that we have to resort to Murayama's solution at this point. He also suggests that OJ nō and ga

may be vowel harmony alternants.

(1.2) The phonological connection among OJ *n, nō, na, and ga

Since Murayama (1973:160) doubted the conventionally accepted phonetic shape of the genitive case suffix ga, we will first examine the validity of his claim. This investigation is necessary not only in order to examine his claim but also because that form may shed light on the connection between OJ nō and OJ ga.

The Old Japanese genitive suffix ga was written mostly with the following Chinese characters used as phonograms: 我 MC nga; 餓 MC nga. Since Karlgren's writing ng is merely a digraph for the unitary phoneme /ŋ/ as an initial velar nasal onset, the Old Japanese voiced stop /g/ was phonetically [ŋ]/[ŋg]. This makes us suspect that the Old Japanese genitive suffix was ŋa/ŋga instead of ga. Thus the conventional phonetic description of the Old Japanese genitive suffix ga is incorrect and must be changed to ŋa/ŋga. Murayama was correct about the phonetic shape of the Old Japanese genitive case suffix.

Since the Old Japanese genitive was ŋa/ŋga, we claim that OJ ŋa/ŋga goes back to *n-ka in which the first morpheme *n is the genitive form which remained as its original shape and in which the second component *ka is a later form of the original adjectival suffix *kai, which also resulted in the other adjectival suffix ki in Old Japanese. The first component *n never appeared in isolation in Old Japanese, but it probably existed in Pre-Old Japanese whose linguistic system would allow a sequence of *n and *k. This component *n goes back to the Proto-Altaic genitive *n, which will be discussed below, and resulted in the other genitive case suffixes nō and na since both forms seem to

have been vowel harmony alternants. The second component *ka is another adjectival suffix which existed in Old Japanese as a remnant of the adjectival function. Pre-Old Japanese *ka was probably an earlier form (of the adjectival suffix) than *ki because *ka had a very limited syntactic and lexical distribution, whereas *ki did not. The following are some examples of OJ ki and ka:

1. kiawo-ki 'be blue'samu-ki 'be cold'taka-ki 'be high'kura-ki 'be dark'2. kasidu-ka 'quiet'nödö-ka 'restful'yuta-ka 'abundant'Fono-ka 'subtle'nago-ya-ka 'soft'niko-ya-ka 'gentle'koma-ya-ka 'beautiful'Fana-ya-ka 'graceful'

The adjectivals with ka were always used with the verb nar-u 'be' to form an attributive form, or with the suffix ni to form an adverb which is most often found in the texts, while the adjectivals with ki were employed only to form an attributive form. In other words, the adjectivals with ka were exactly like English adjectives, and ka was not part of conjugation, unlike the adjectivals with ki in which ki was part of conjugation.

We cannot explain the phonological relationship of OJ nō and na to OJ na unless we adopt the above-mentioned assumption about the genitive case suffixes. This assumption will be supported by the evidence of parallel phonological development in Manchu-Tungus, to be discussed under the Manchu-Tungus genitive case suffix.

(1.3) The function of the Old Japanese genitive case suffix *n

The form *n as such did not exist in Old Japanese because the syntactic combining of that case suffix was an earlier feature of Pre-Old Japanese.

Nonetheless, this case suffix has been explained by Japanese traditional grammarians as if it often resulted from the contraction of noun-nō-noun, which seems to be anachronistic. A remnant of that suffix is found in compound nouns as voicing of the initial stop of the second morpheme if that initial stop was originally voiceless, since all the Old Japanese stops were pronounced with an automatic nasal onset. The following are some examples of this case suffix:

1. yuFugiri 'evening fog' /yuFu^ŋgiri/ < *yuFu-n-kiri 'evening-[gen.]-fog'
2. miyakodōri 'plover' /miyako^mdōri/ < *miyako-n-tōri 'capital-[gen.]-bird'
3. yamabitō 'mountain person' /yama^mbitō/ < *yama-n-Fitō 'mountain-[gen.]-person'

This case suffix, as the name indicates, functions only as the genitive case, which is covertly manifested in these examples above.

It is to be noted that in Old Japanese alongside this syntactic combining of *n there was a lexical combining of two nouns (as well as of adjective plus noun, the latter of which did not occur to the syntactic combining of *n). In such cases, Lyman's law seems to have operated (Miller 1985:140):

when a morph of the shape $C_1 C_2^{vcl}$ appeared in composition with a morph of the shape $C_3^{vcl} C_4$, the resulting compound appears in the texts as $C_1 C_2^{vcl} C_3^{vcl} C_4$; but when the prior morph had $C_1 C_2^{vcd}$, the resulting compound appeared as $C_1 C_2^{vcd} C_3^{vcl} C_4$, with the otherwise expected, and presumptive, sequence of two successive voiced consonants $*...C_2^{vcd} C_3^{vcd}...$ undergoing right-to-left dissimilation in voicing.

1. aka 'red' + tama 'jewel' > akadama 'red jewel'
2. aFabi 'abalone' + tama 'jewel' > aFabitama 'abalone jewel'

The syntactic compounds with the Old Japanese genitive case suffix *n ap-

peared only when the initial and the second morphemes are both nouns, while the lexical compounds occurred both when the initial and the second morphemes are nouns and when the involved morphemes are an adjective and a noun in that order. Hence, we may find a few cases in which the lexical combining of two nouns interferes with the functioning of the Old Japanese genitive case suffix *n, although in such cases we oftentimes find phonetically similar pairs such as yama-gaFa 'a river in the mountains' (< *yama-n-kaFa 'mountain-[gen.]-river') and yama-kaFa 'mountain(s) and river(s)' (Miller 1985:141). So far we have not encountered any interference of the lexical compounds with the syntactic compounds, but we need to continue to seek for such interferences.

(1.4) The function of the obsolete Old Japanese genitive case suffix na

The genitive case suffix na was probably a vowel harmony alternant of OJ nō, but it is semantically close to OJ na. It cannot be separated from the second morpheme, while second morphemes with nō and na can:

<u>manako</u>	'pupil (lit. eye's child)'	<u>tanamata</u>	'between fingers'
<u>minato</u>	'quay (lit. water gate)'	<u>nunato</u>	'jingling of jewelry'
<u>kamunabi</u>	'abode of the gods'	<u>manakaFi</u>	'between the eyes'

The shape of a stem always has to be the combining form in the first morpheme of compound words with na. None of the stems in the examples above can stand alone; ma-, mi-, kamu-, ta-, and nu- appear only as initial morphemes in compound words. This supports the view that formations with OJ na were already compound words by the Old Japanese period.

(1.5) The functions of the Old Japanese genitive case suffix nō

(a) space

Its function as a spatial marker seems to have been common in Old Japanese. In this usage a noun followed by the suffix nō denotes the larger part, while the noun preceded by the suffix nō denotes its smaller part:

1. muko nō ura nō iriye nō sudōri... (M 3578)

muko nō ura nō iriye nō sudōri

Muko [gen.] bay [gen.] delta [gen.] sandbank-bird

'bird on a sandbank in the delta of the bay of Muko'

2. kosi nō umi nō tayuFi nō ura (M 367)

kosi nō umi nō tayuFi nō ura

Kosi [gen.] sea [gen.] TayuFi [gen.] bay

'TayuFi bay in Kosi sea'

It is to be noted that the first suffix nō in both examples indicates apposition because the initial forms are proper nouns identified by the words followed by the suffix nō, namely, Muko, a bay, in example 1, and Kosi, a sea, in example 2. The noun before the suffix nō shows a larger area than the one following it.

(b) location/direction

When the suffix is used with a locational word like uFe 'top' or sita 'bottom' after the suffix nō, then the nō indicates location. This function is seen in the examples below:

1. wa ga yado nō Fuyuki nō uFe ni... (M 1645)

wa ga yado nō Fuyuki nō uFe ni

I [gen.] garden [gen.] winter-tree [gen.] on [loc.]

'on (top of) the winter trees in my garden...'

2. tatibana nō sita... (M 4371)

tatibana nō sita

citrus [gen.] under

'under the (blossoms of) citrus trees...'

3. midura nō naka ni... (M 4377)

midura nō naka ni

(male) hairdo [gen.] inside [pros.]

'in the hairdo'

4. öFökimi nō Fe ni... (M 4094)

öFökimi nō Fe ni

ruler [gen.] place [pros.]

'at the place of the ruler...'

This function indicates a locational relationship between the two nouns divided by the genitive case suffix nō, as the examples above show.

(c) time

This function denotes a temporal relationship between the nouns separated by the genitive suffix nō.

1. keFu nō Fi... (M 4047)

keFu nō Fi

today [gen.] day

'today'

2. aki nō no... (M 3678)

aki nō no

autumn [gen.] field

'a field in autumn'

3. nagatukī nō sigure... (M 3223)

nagatukī nō sigure

9th-month [gen.] rain

'rain in the ninth month'

4. Faru nō kasumi... (M 4400)

Faru nō kasumi

spring [gen.] haze

'haze in the spring'

A temporal word before the genitive suffix nō restricts the meaning of the noun following that suffix.

(d) purpose/reason/identity/content

It might seem that purpose/reason/identity/content would be different in semantics, but these are all derived from the first function (space). Thus, to cite a few examples:

1. ōsaFē nō kī... (M 4331)

ōsaFē nō kī

defense [gen.] castle

'a castle for defense' (purpose)

2. towayame nō matoFi... (M 1019)

towayame nō matoFi

caring-woman [gen.] trouble

'a trouble caused by the caring woman' (reason)

3. kamī nō mikötō... (K 5)

kami nō mikōtō

god [gen.] honorable

'a god as the honorable' (identity)

4. kosugē nō kasa... (M 2771)

kosugē nō kasa

sedge [gen.] hat

'a hat made of sedge' (content)

To sum up what we have discussed so far: when Old Japanese used 'A nō B' the A was always considered something or someone from which or from whom the speaker felt distant (typically, his outgroup objects/members). 'A nō' seems to have become an adjectival unit modifying the following noun. This view is supported by the fact that the nō had developed another function from the first function (space). This derived function with the meaning of 'A is in the state of B' is found in the following examples (Ōno 1977:4-5):

1. akē nō sōfobune... (M 270)

akē nō sōfobune

red [gen.] red-painted-boat

'a boat painted red'

2. Fi nō mikado... (M 894)

Fi nō mikado

sun [gen.] Mikado

'the sun-like Mikado'

3. yakusiFo nō karaki koFi wo... (M 3652)

yakusiFo nō karaki koFi wo

burnt-salt [gen.] salty love [obj.]

'...love as bitter as salt...'

Notice that in example 2 the nō is translated as 'like'. This reminds us that in Modern Japanese also this suffix is normally translated as no yō na/ni 'appear, seem, look like, be as'.

It is also to be noted that this function 'like' has no equivalent in the case of the suffix Ōga (Ōno 1977:5), which will be dealt with under the functions of the suffix Ōga.

(e) alienable possession of the speaker

The genitive case suffix Ōga is normally used after a noun denoting a human with whom the speaker empathizes, typically members of the speaker's in-group. The personal noun is considered to be a part of the speaker's identity or the speaker's alienable possession, but even in such a case there are only a few exceptional instances in which nō is used:

1. titi nō mikötō... (M 4164, 4408)

titi nō mikötō

father [gen.] words

'(my) father's words...'

2. FaFa nō mikötō... (M 443, 1774, 3962, 4408, 4811)

FaFa nō mikötō

mother [gen.] words

'(my) mother's words...'

We should expect to find Ōga in place of nō of the examples above because titi 'father' and FaFa 'mother' are considered to be persons with whom the

speaker readily emphasizes; this will be discussed in greater detail under the suffix Ōga. Notice also that nō in these examples is always used only with mikōtō 'words' and with no other examples. Since mikōtō is an honorific term, we are able to consider titi and FaFa to be exalted, that is, both are perceived as persons distant from the speaker rather than as persons close to the speaker.

(f) the subject marker

We find that the genitive case suffix nō can function as the subject marker in attributive or subordinate clauses in which the verb or the adjective is always in the attributive form.

1. yuku midu nō tayuru kōtō naku... (M 4002)

yuku midu nō tayuru kōtō naku

go water [nom.] deplete matter not

'flowing water not being depleted...'

2. akikaze nō Fukamu sōnō tuki... (M 3586)

akikaze nō Fukamu sōnō tuki

autumn [nom.] blow-up that month

'in that month when the autumn wind blows...'

3. matukagē nō kiyoki Famabe ni... (M 4271)

matukagē nō kiyoki Famabe ni

pine-tree-shade [nom.] clean seashore [loc.]

'on the clean seashore that has the shade of the pine trees'

4. Fitō nō ko nō kanasike sida Fa... (M 3533)

Fitō nō ko nō kanasike sida Fa

person [gen.] child [nom.] beloved time [top.]

'when someone's child was so beloved by me....'

Since here the verbs and the adjectives are all in the attributive, the clauses following the suffix are considered nominals rather than verbs and adjectives. Therefore, this type also goes back to the original pattern, A nō B.

OJ nō is used for the subject of subordinate clauses as shown below:

1. Furu yuki tō Fitō nō miru made... (M 839)

Furu yuki tō Fitō nō miru made
fall snow [quot.] person [gen.] look [conj.]

'so that it seems to people that it is snowing...'

2. Faru nō kitaraba... (M 815)

Faru nō kita raba
spring [gen.] come [conj.]

'when spring comes....'

3. sōnō kami nō nōritamaFaku... (K 147)

sōnō kami nō nōri tamaFaku
that god [gen.] say [hon.]

'That god said....'

4. Fi nō kururu made... (M 485)

Fi nō kururu made
sun [gen.] set [conj.]

'until the sun sets....'

As in the case of nō in attributive clauses, this type also goes back to the original pattern since the verbs have the attributive form whose clauses are considered nominals.

(g) the person of possession

The genitive case suffix can stand without a noun following it, to denote what is possessed by a person. The following are some examples:

1. kusurisi Fa tune nō mō are dō... (B 15)

kusurisi Fa tune nō mō are dō
 physician [top.] usual [gen.] [emp.] exist [conj.]
 'Even though there are the usual physicians...'

2. ina to iFedō siFuru siFi nō ga siFigatari... (M 236)

ina to iFe dō siFuru siFi nō ga siFigatari
 no [quot.] say [conj.] insist Shii [gen.] [gen.] force-tale
 "'no more" I say to her, yet Shii insists on telling me her tales...'

This function of the genitive nō is not new in Old Japanese. In fact, this function is very old, as we will see under each Altaic branch, where the genitive is indeed used to denote property possessed by a person, a structure that then came to mean the person who possesses the property. This function is one of the crucial factors in relating Proto-Japanese *n (which resulted in OJ nō, na, and ŋga <*n-ka) to Proto-Altaic *n.

(1.6) The functions of the Old Japanese genitive case suffix ŋga

Although we find certain common functions between OJ nō and OJ ŋga, there are also some functions which OJ nō has, but which OJ ŋga does not, and also some other functions which OJ ŋga has, but which OJ nō does not.

(a) inalienable possession of the speaker

As one might expect, we find many examples with ŋga in which the noun before the suffix is a personal noun designating a person to whom the speaker

feels close. This type is most often to be found in all the functions of OJ ŋga. Since in these constructions the speaker empathizes with the person denoted by the personal noun, the speaker's viewpoint is the same as that of the person designated by that noun. Therefore, the person denoted by the noun cannot be a referent at whom the speaker may look objectively, but instead is the same person as the speaker. These constructions may be termed 'speaker's inalienable possession' of the person identified by that noun. This is supported by the fact that more than ninety percent of the examples of OJ ŋga are used to denote people who were either blood-related or in some other manner socially very close to the speaker (Ōno 1977:6).

(a.1) humans

When a noun before the suffix ŋga designates a human who is neither blood-related nor otherwise socially close to the speaker, the person designated by the noun is often disdained or even hated by the speaker:

1. midikaki mono nō Fasikuru tō iFeru ga gōtōku simotoru satowosa ga kowē Fa neyado made kitatiyobaFinu (M 892)

midikaki mono nō Fasikuru tō iFeru ga gōtōku simoto toru
 short thing [gen.] end-cut [quot.] say-able [gen.] like twig bring
 sato wosa ga kowē Fa neyado made ki tati yobaFi nu
 village chief [gen.] voice [top.] bedroom up-to come stand shout [perf.]

'as in the saying that one cuts something which is already short enough,
 the chief of the village carrying a stick came to the bedroom and shouted'

2. siFose nō nawori wo mireba asobikuru sibi ga Fatade ni tumataterimiyu

(K 108: NS 87)

siFose nō nawori wo mi reba asobi kuru sibi
 spot of rapid current [gen.] waves [acc.] look [cond.] play come Shibi
 ga Fatade ni tuma tateri miyu
 [gen.] sleeve/fins [pros.] wife take look

'when I look at the waves of the spot of the rapid current, I see his wife standing in the sleeve/fins of Shibi who came (swimming)'

3. daniwoti ya sikamō naiFiso satowosa ga ekituFataraba imasi mō nakamu

(M 3847)

daniwoti ya sikamō na iFi so sato wosa ga ekitu
 patron [voc.] such-a-way [imp.] say [imp.] village chief [gen.] labor-
 Fataraba ima si mō naka mu
 tribute impose [cond.] now [emp.] [emp.] cry [fut.]

'patron, do not say a thing, if the chief of the village forces you to labor and imposes a tribute on you, you will cry even now'

The genitive suffix ŋga in all these examples shows the speaker's disdain or even hatred toward the persons designated by the nouns before it. Since the persons indicated by the nouns before the genitive ŋga were those for whom the speaker felt disdain the genitive suffix nō was necessarily used in place of the ŋga. However, the use of ŋga in these examples also indicates that the speaker tried to insult the persons denoted by the nouns preceding ŋga, by considering them as members of his in-group so that he did not have to show as much respect to them as to those of his out-group.

We also find another type of OJ ŋga in the following:

1. ukaFi ga tömō Fa yuku kaFa nō kiyokise götō ni kagarisasi...(M 4011)

ukaFi ga tōmō Fa yuku kaFa nö kiyoki se
 cormorant-fisher [gen.] comrades [gen.] go river [gen.] clear pool
 götō ni kagarisasi
 each [adv.] light-fires

'the cormorant fishers light fires on each clear pool of the flowing river'

2. masurawo nö tōmō izanaFite...(M 4011)

masurawo nö tōmō izanaFite
 hero [gen.] comrades invite

'inviting the heroes...'

Notice that the same noun tōmō occurs in both examples, but with different genitive suffixes. In the first example ga is used because the speaker felt close to the fishermen who were in a lower or an equal social status, whereas nō is employed in the second example since the speaker felt distant from the heroes who had a higher social status (Hayashi 1935:125).

There is another interesting difference in use between the two: oya 'parent' always takes nō, while titiFaFa 'father (and) mother' always takes ga. This difference can be explained in the following way. The noun oya is a categorical term so that it is neutral in terms of the speaker's distance from or closeness to his parents, while titiFaFa implies parents in the sense of a social entity with whom the speaker always empathized.

There is also a parallel passage with titiFaFa in Bussokuseki:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. titiFaFa ga tamē ni (B 1) | 2. mōrōFitō nö tamē ni (B 1) |
| titiFaFa ga tamē ni | mōrōFitō nö tamē ni |
| father and mother [gen.] sake [adv.] | each person [gen.] sake [adv.] |

'for father and mother'

'for all men'

In the first example ɔga is employed since the speaker readily empathized with his parents (the speaker's in-group members), while in the second example nõ is used on the grounds that the speaker felt distant from möröFitö (the speaker's out-group members).

Furthermore, we have evidence that the following personal pronouns were used with OJ ɔga but never with OJ nõ: a and wa for the first person singular, na for the second person singular, and si for the third person.

The first person singular always has reference to the speaker himself, so that a genitive case suffix here must always be OJ ɔga. The second person singular pronoun na was always used for an inferior person or for a person who was very close to the speaker, so that the speaker could readily identify himself with the person. Moreover, we suspect that this second person pronoun must have originally been a first person pronoun because we find several compound words with na for the vocative forms: na-oto 'my younger brother/sister' (M 3957), na-se 'my older brother/husband' (M 3458), na-nimoko 'my wife' (NS 61), na-ne 'miss, ma'am' (M 1800). In the light of these examples one cannot possibly argue that na was the second person pronoun. Originally na can only have been a first person pronoun, one which is to be compared with OK *na and Mo na-, both for the first person pronoun. The reason that OJ na takes only ɔga, never nõ, is readily explained by the fact that OJ na was originally a first person pronoun, which naturally always indicated the speaker.

The third person pronoun si also takes OJ ɔga, never nõ, due to the fact that the si used as a personal pronoun in all attested examples marks either a

person in lower status or in the speaker's in-group:

1. si ga kataraFeba... (M 904)
 si ga kataraFe ba
 he [nom.] talk [conj.]
 'since he (my child) says....'
2. oFiFitö mö womina waraFa mö si ga negaFu... (M 4094)
 oFiFitö mö womina waraFa mö si ga negaFu
 old man [emp.] woman child [emp.] they [nom.] wish
 'old men, women, and children, they wish...'
3. si ga tukaFematuru sama ni sitagaFite... (S No.24)
 si ga tukaFe maturu sama ni sitagaFite
 they [nom.] serve [hum.] state [pros.] follow
 'because of what they (twelve of the common people) served (to him)....'
4. si ga mawosikötö Fa... (S No.28)
 si ga mawosi kötö Fa
 he [nom.] say matter [top.]
 'what he (Nakamaro) said was...'
5. si ga mawosisiku... (S No.28)
 si ga mawosi siku
 he [nom.] say [adj.suf.]
 'what he (Nakamaro) said was...'
6. si ga maturamu sama ni sitagaFite... (S No.48)
 si ga matu ramu sama ni sitagaFite
 they [nom.] say [fut.] state [pros.] follow

'because of what they (one or two of the common people) served (to him)...'

The pronoun si in example 1 indicates the speaker's own child (a speaker's in-group member), so that the genitive suffix ɔga was chosen. The personal pronoun si in example 2 refers to 'old men, women, and children', the common people (people in lower status), as opposed to the ruler, so that ɔga was used. The third person pronoun si in example 3 points to the common people (people in lower status), so that ɔga was also employed. The personal pronoun si in the fourth and fifth examples refers back to Nakamaro (person in lower status), who tried to depose the emperor, and thus ɔga was also chosen. The pronoun si in the last example refers to the common people just as in the case of example 3, so that here ɔga was employed.

To sum up what we have so far discussed, whether the genitive nō or ɔga was used seems to have depended on the following two factors: the speaker's judgment of the social status of the person designated by the personal noun immediately before a genitive case suffix, and the speaker's grouping of that person as to whether he or she belonged to the speaker's in-group or out-group. The genitive nō was used when the personal noun immediately before it referred either to a person in higher status by the speaker's standards or to a person who the speaker believed belonged to the speaker's out-group. But the genitive ɔga was employed when the personal noun immediately followed by it referred either to a person in lower status by the speaker's judgment or to a person who the speaker thought belonged to the speaker's in-group. Furthermore, we may say that the genitive case suffix nō marked the speaker's alienable possession, whereas the genitive case suffix ɔga indicated inalienable possession.

(a.2) non-human animate and inanimate objects

Since all non-human animate and inanimate objects are neutral for the speaker, unless for some special reason he entertains a specific feeling toward them, we normally find a considerable number of examples under this category with the genitive case suffix nō. However, we also find quite a few counter examples with the genitive case suffix ŋga:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. kari ga ne...(M 1513) | 2. tōri ga ne...(M 1050) |
| kari ga ne | tōri ga ne |
| goose [gen.] cry | bird [gen.] cry |
| 'cry of the geese...' | 'cry of the birds...' |
| 3. tati ga wo...(K 2) | 4. mi'osuFi ga ne...(K 67) |
| tati ga wo | mi osuFi ga ne |
| sword [gen.] string | [pref.hon.] coat [gen.] material |
| 'fastening of the sword' | 'material for the coat' |
| 5. kasi ga mōtō...(K 92) | 6. umě ga Fana...(M 845) |
| kasi ga mōtō | umě ga Fana |
| oak [gen.] tree | plum [gen.] blossom |
| 'oak trees...' | 'blossoms of the plum tree...' |

Since the speaker's closeness to the person denoted by the noun before a genitive case suffix is a crucial factor to determine whether he belongs to the speaker's out-group (the suffix nō) or in-group (the suffix ŋga), we may extend this hypothesis to non-human animate and inanimate objects. This extended hypothesis postulates that if the speaker felt neutral to or distant from a non-human animate or inanimate object, he used the genitive suffix no, while if he

felt close to it, he used ŋga. This seems to explain best the dichotomy of the functions and semantics of these two genitive case suffixes.

Although inanimate objects and plants normally take the genitive case suffix nō, they can also take the genitive ŋga as shown in examples 3 through 6 above in which the speaker showed closeness to the object denoted by the noun before the genitive suffix.

The genitive suffix ŋga also lacked certain functions that the genitive suffix nō possessed (general rules):

- 1) ŋga did not have the function of indicating a point or a period of time, thus, we find nagatuki nō sigure 'rain in the tenth month'.
- 2) ŋga lacked the function of showing apposition in describing human relations, thus, we find itokoya nō imo 'my sister who is pretty'.
- 3) ŋga did not give an adjectival function to the noun before the suffix, thus, we find aFare nō tōri 'a bird which is emotionally touching'
- 4) ŋga could not be repeated more than once with different nouns before it;

The genitive case suffix ŋga lacked these functions because the genitive ŋga could only mark a sense of inalienability to non-human animate or inanimate objects denoted by the noun before the genitive suffix, and because the nouns in these functions before the suffix usually did not necessarily bear on the speaker's inalienableness unless the speaker specifically expressed his inalienableness toward them. In the fourth point above, the use of ŋga more than once would have resulted in psychological conflicts for the speaker. Therefore, these functions could not be performed by the genitive suffix ŋga.

(b) the subject marker in subordinate clauses

When the genitive suffix ga is used in a subordinate clause, it shows the subject of that clause. But as will be shown below, this function amounts to the original pattern A ga B, so that this function of ga is also considered to be another special example of the genitive case.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. kimi ga yuku miti...(M 3724) | 2. a ga moFu tuma aritō...(K 90) |
| kimi ga yuku miti | a ga moFu tuma ari tō |
| you [gen.] go path | I [gen.] think wife be [quot.] |
| 'the path you go along' | 'I say, "I have a wife I care for"....' |
| 3. wagimoko ga musubisi Fimo Fa... (M 3710) | 4. Fuku kaze nō miyenu ga gōtōku... (M 3625) |
| wagimoko ga musubisi Fimo Fa | Fuku kaze nō miye nu ga gōtōku |
| my-wife [gen.] tie sash [top.] blow wind [gen.] see not [gen.] fact | |
| 'the sash my wife tied...' | 'like the blowing wind we cannot see.' |

Note that what follows ga in the examples above is a verb except for the last example in which a special denominal adjective gōtō-si (kōtō 'fact, matter' + ki [adjective suffix]). The function of ga in the last example goes back to the original A ga B in which A and B are nouns. Thus, we can claim that the suffix ga precedes only a verb in a subordinate clause, unlike the genitive nō which precedes not only a verb but also an adjective. The suffix ga cannot precede adjectives because all ku-type adjectives are used to describe a state of something or of someone's mind objectively, in which case nō has to be used. Hence, we do not find examples with the pattern 'A + ga + ku-type adjective', but we instead do find ones with 'A + nō + ku-type adjective' (Ono 1977:11).

However, we find some siku-type adjectives after the genitive ŋga, although adjectives of this type are always all nominalized with the suffix sa:

1. FaFa ga kanasisa (M 890)

FaFa ga kanasi sa
mother [gen.] painful [nomi.]

'my mother is suffering for me'

2. mana tö iFu ko ga aya ni kanasisa (M 3462)

mana tö iFu ko ga aya ni kanasi sa
cute [quot.] say child [gen.] very [adv.] pretty [nomi.]

'the child of whom people say "cute" is very cute to me'

The siku-type adjectives are different from the ku-type adjectives in that the former show various states of the human mind, whereas the latter denote an objective state of something or of someone's mind (Ōno 1977:11). Thus, it is natural that the siku-type adjectives go with the genitive ŋga.

We expect the same function with nö followed by the siku-type adjectives when the speaker talks objectively about a state of the mind of someone from whom the speaker feels distant. In fact, we do find some examples of this type.

1. tamasima nö ura ni wakayuturu imora wo miramu Fitö nö tömösisa (M 863)

tamasima nö ura ni wakayu turu imora wo mi ramu Fitö
Tamashima [gen.] cove [loc.] young ayu fish sisters [acc.] see [fut.] person
nö tömösi sa
[gen.] jealous [nomi.]

'I am jealous of the person who would see sisters fishing for young ayu at the Tamashima cove'

2. tuma mö kodomo mö takadaka ni komu tö matikemu Fitö nö kanasisa (M 3337)

tuma mö kodomo mö takadaka ni ko mu tö mati
 wife [emp.] children [emp.] impatiently [adv.] come [fut.] [quot.] wait
 kemu Fitö nö kanasi sa
 [fut.] person [gen.] sad [nomi.]

'I feel sad about the person whose wife, and children must be waiting for him to come'

Notice that the adjectives after the genitive nö are all nominalized with the suffix sa, exactly as in the examples with the genitive ga.

(c) The attributive form of a verb before the genitive case suffix ga

In still another function of the genitive ga which the other genitive nö lacks, when the speaker desires to express his emotions, the attributive form of a verb is used for the noun before the genitive rather than the same form modifying a 'I' or wa 'I' used as the noun before the genitive, e.g. yuku ga kanasisa '[I] feel sad that [someone] goes...' is used instead of *yuku a ga kanasisa 'I feel sad that [someone] goes...' (Öno 1977:13).

1. sika nö tuma yobu kowë wo kiku ga tömösisa (M 1561)

sika nö tuma yobu kowë wo kiku ga tömösi sa
 deer [gen.] wife call voice [obj.] hear [gen.] jealous [nomi.]

'I feel jealous of hearing the deer calling his mate'

2. yuFuzuki wo ituka tö kimi wo matu ga kurusisa (M 3008)

yuFu zuki wo itu ka tö kimi wo matu ga kurusi
 evening moon [obj.] when [inter.] [quot.] you [obj.] wait [gen.] painful
 sa

[nomi.]

'It is painful for me to wait for you, wondering when you would come'

3. kusamakura tabi ni mö tuma tö aru ga tömösi sa (M 634)

kusamakura tabi ni mö tuma tö aru ga tömösi sa
[pillow-word] travel [pros.] [emp.] wife and exist [gen.] jealous [nomi.]

'I feel jealous of you traveling with your wife'

4. FatusegaFa yorubeki iso nö naki ga sabusisa (M 3226)

FatusegaFa yoru beki iso nö naki ga sabusi sa
Hatsuse-river approach [adj.] shore [gen.] not-exist [gen.] sad [nomi.]

'It is sad that there is not a shore of Hatsuse river where we can stop'

Notice that this function also shows a nominal derived from the adjective and is always combined with the attributive form of the verb.

Next, the genitive Qga seems to have extended its use to the ku-type adjectives (Öno 1977:14). This development is clearly seen in a few examples below:

1. kiyoki kaFase wo miru ga sayakesa (M 1737)

kiyoki kaFase wo miru ga sayake sa
clear current [obj.] see [gen.] pure [nomi.]

'I feel pure about watching the clear current'

2. werawera ni tukaFe maturu wo miru ga taFutosa (M 4266)

werawera ni tukaFe maturu wo miru ga taFuto sa
rejoicing [adv.] serve do [humb.] [obj.] see [gen.] blessed [nomi.]

'It is a blessing to see (them) rejoicing and serving (her)'

All these examples have still retained the basic pattern 'A Qga B', although A has been changed to verbs and adjectives.

As we have discussed above, there is a clear distinction between OJ nō and OJ na and also between OJ nō and OJ ŋga. Especially in the latter the distinction was made on the basis of the speaker's alienability of possession and operates not only for humans but also for other animates and inanimate objects.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

Until recently the issue of the origin of the Old Korean genitive case suffix ŷi/△i has been swept under the rug not only in Korean and Japan but also in the West. We have found virtually no hypotheses on this question. This is the first attempt to solve this problem through comparison of Old Japanese, Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Korean genitive case suffix and of the Old Korean topical suffix

(a) G.J. Ramstedt (1939:40-41)

Ramstedt stated as follows:

The ending -ŷi has earlier been -△i after a back vowel and -ŷi only after a front vowel, as one can find in the old literature. This △i, ŷi contains the binding vowel (△, ŷ) and an original suffix ŷ. When this suffix -ŷ was affixed to a vowel stem, then -ŷ was the parallel to the post-consonantic variants -ŷi and -△i. From na 'I', na 'you', ŷa 'that', nu 'who', 'somebody' the genitive is since old na 'my', ne 'yours, thy', ŷe 'his', nūi (nui) 'whose, somebody's'.

(b) Kim Bang-han (1957:67-106)

Kim briefly mentions the origin of the Old Korean genitive and topical suffixes. He claims that both Old Korean genitive suffix and topical suffixes are to be compared to the Mongolian genitive case of the third person singular pronoun inu, and that the original form of each suffix is *i for the Old Korean genitive and *in for the Old Korean topical suffix.

(2.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms used for the Old Korean genitive case suffix

The Old Korean genitive case suffix is written with the following Chinese characters used as phonograms: 矣 MC ji, 衣 MC ?jei, 未 MC p'jwei, and 理 MC lji. These Chinese phonograms are normally interpreted as orthographies for OK *ǔi, *ǔi, *m^i, and *ri/*li respectively.

It is possible to divide the Old Korean texts into two distinct historical periods, the first period (Kwŏn's Silla I and II) and the second period (his Silla III). The Chinese characters used as phonograms for the genitive case suffix in these periods are the following:

<u>first period</u>	<u>second period</u>
矣 MC <u>ji</u>	--
--	衣 MC <u>?jei</u>
未 MC <u>p'jwei</u>	未 MC <u>p'jwei</u>
理 MC <u>lji</u>	--

In the first period, as shown above, the genitive case suffix is written with the Chinese characters 矣, 未, and 理. The first Chinese phonogram 矣 is normally interpreted as OK *ǔi/*^i. But, this Old Korean morpheme is an example of mechanically carrying the vowel harmony alternants of Middle Korean over

back into Old Korean, in this particular case, carrying the vowel harmony alternants \check{u}/\wedge of the Middle Korean genitive case suffix $\check{u}i/\wedge i$ back into Old Korean without considering the phonology of the Chinese morpheme underlying the use of this phonogram, as reconstructed by Karlgren. There is no doubt that the i in MC ji is used in an orthography for an OK i , which would remain intact as MK i . Karlgren's (1972) MC j (yodization) for the word under discussion hardly persuades us to presuppose that the $-\check{u}/-\wedge$ in MK $\check{u}i/\wedge i$ existed in Old Korean since MC j does not seem to agree either with $-\check{u}$ or with $-\wedge$. This evidence seems to show that the Old Korean genitive case suffix was simply $*i$ instead of OK $*\check{u}i$.

The Chinese phonogram 未 is usually interpreted as OK $*\wedge i$ for the genitive case suffix. The interpretation of MC p' - as OK \wedge - is rather anachronistic since it is based on the conventional correspondence between MC p' - and MK \wedge -. However, this interpretation can be accepted without much difficulty. There is no question about the interpretation of the $-i$ in MC $\wedge i$ as OK $*i$ because both Middle Chinese and Old Korean vowels are identical. Since the $-j\wedge$ - in MC $p'j\wedge i$ would not appear to agree well with MK $-\check{u}/-\wedge$, $-\check{u}/-\wedge$ would not have existed in Old Korean. Therefore, this phonogram is to be interpreted as OK $*mi$.

The Chinese phonogram 理 has already been interpreted as OK $*ri/*li$, under the Old Korean nominative case suffix.

In the second period, the Old Korean genitive case suffix was represented by the Chinese characters 衣 MC $?jei$ and 未 MC $p'j\wedge i$, the latter of which was also employed in the first period. In the second period there is little evidence that there was a sweeping change in the shape of this morpheme i , although

this Old Korean morpheme started to be written with the Chinese character 衣, which is normally interpreted as OK *ǔi/ *△i. This alleged Old Korean morpheme is another example of mechanically carrying the vowel harmony alternants of Middle Korean back into Old Korean. The ʔje- in MC ʔjei would not make us assume that ǔ-/△- as in MK ǔi/△i existed in late Old Korean because MC ʔje- would not agree either with ǔ- or with △-. Thus this phonogram must be interpreted as *i for the Old Korean genitive case suffix.

Thus, the study of these Chinese characters as used in the texts to write the Old Korean genitive suffix inclines us to retain Karlgren's reconstructions of the final vowel of each Chinese phonogram in question and to write the earliest Old Korean genitive suffix of the Old Korean texts as OK *i. It is this OK *i that became generalized in the second period of the Old Korean texts and that also underlies the later forms attested in Middle Korean. In other words, the examination of the Old Korean texts with the help of the Middle Korean genitive suffix makes it evident that the original form which is registered as the genitive suffix in Old Korean is simply *i, and that the forms ǔi/△i are later, changed forms from this original *i.

When we consider the Old Korean topical suffix *ən in connection with the Old Korean genitive case suffix *i in terms of form and function, we may assume there was the still older form *i-n, which later split into the Old Korean genitive and topical suffixes. This evidence brings together not only the Old Korean genitive and topical suffixes but also the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes *n, na, nō and ŋa, and the other Altaic genitive case suffix *i-nu, which ultimately goes back to the genitive case of the Proto-Altaic third person *sin-*

gular pronoun *i-n.

(2.3) The functions of the Old Korean genitive case suffix *i

As discussed above, the earliest form of the Old Korean genitive case suffix was *i, which had both genitive and possessive functions, as shown below.

The following are examples from the first period of the Old Korean texts:

(a) 矣 MC ji

1. nyəi sʌis murskʌz kəntarp'əi noron ʃashurran pʌrako [12:1.1-2.1]

nyəi sʌi s murskʌz kəntarp'əi noron ʃas hurran

long ago east [gen.] shore Gandharva [gen.] play castle [obj.]

pʌra ko

advance toward [conj.]

'...and the (Japanese armies) were advancing toward the castle on the eastern shore where long time ago the Gandharva used to play...' [2:pp.54-55]

2. samhwa i orʌmpo syaor tutko... [12:5.1-5.3]

samhwa i orʌm po syaor tut ko

three knights [gen.] climb see [hon.] hear [conj.]

'as the (moon) heard that the three knights visited the (mountain)...

[2:pp.54-55]

3. urwuar ten nʌč'i kyəisyaonti [13:4.1-4.3]

urwuar ten nʌč'i kyəi syaon ti

admire [perf.] face [gen.] exist [hon.] [hon.] [suf.end.]

'your face I used to admire is still there' [7:pp.64-65]

(b) 未 MC p'jwəi

1. ʃə i mʌz ʌm i... [14:1.1-1.2]

čə i mʌz ʌm i
 self [gen.] mind [gen.]
 'of my mind' [13:pp.76-77]

2. rang'yə kŭrir mʌz ʌm i nyəor kir... [1:7.1-7.5]

rang yə kŭrir mʌz ʌm i nyəor kir
 knight [voc.] fervent mind [gen.] go path

'Oh, knight, the path to which my fervent mind goes...' [5:pp.60-61]

3. mʌz ʌm i kʌzher čoč'nu acyə [4:8.1-8.3]

mʌz ʌm i kʌz her čoč'nu acyə
 mind [gen.] border [obj.] seek wish

'I will seek the border of my mind' [10:pp.70-71]

(c) 理 MC lji

1. tʌr i kurimčə i nyəin mosʌis... [13:5.1-5.4]

tʌr i kurimčə i nyəin mos ʌi s
 moon [gen.] reflection [gen.] old lake [loc.] [gen.]

'as the moon's reflection is in the old lake,....' [7:pp.64-65]

Note that the genitive suffix in examples (a.1), (a.2), (a.3), (b.2), and (c.1) nominalizes the clause and is identical in function with OJ nō and OJ ᄒga. The rest simply show the regular genitive case suffix exactly as in the case of OJ nō and OJ ᄒga. Although the Old Korean genitive case suffix in the earlier Old Korean period does not show such a dichotomy as the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes, it does demonstrate the possessive (e.g. (b.1) above) as well as genitive case suffixes.

The following are examples from the second period:

(a) 衣 MC ʔiei

1. task
- [^]
- syarun
- tonpus
- na
- i
- task
- [^]
- rson
- tyəng
- ... [19:5.1-5.4]

task[^] syarun tonpu s na i task[^]rson tyəng
 perfect do [hon.] the Way [gen.] I [gen.] perfecting [cond.]

'although we pursue the Way the Buddha was to perfect,...' [19:pp.88-89]

2. han na
- i
- task
- [^]
- rson... [24:1.1-1.3]

han na i task[^]rson
 all I [gen.] perfecting

'would that my works...' [24:pp.98-99]

(b) 未 MC p'jwei

1. m
- [^]
- z
- [^]
- m
- i
- pud
- ǔru
- ... [15:1.1-1.2]

m[^]z [^]m i pud ǔru

mind [gen.] brush [inst.]

'with my mind's brush...' [15:pp.80-81]

The genitive case suffix in this second period continues to show both the genitive and possessive case suffixes exactly like the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes.

(2.4) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms used for the Old Korean topical suffix

The Old Korean topical suffix is written with the following Chinese characters used as phonograms: 焉 MC ʔian, 隱 MC ʔiən, 恨 MC ɣən. These phonograms are normally interpreted as OK *ʌn/*n, *ǔn/*nǔn, and hʌn respectively. The first Chinese phonogram 焉 MC ʔian is usually interpreted as OK *ʌn/*n. The ʔia- in MC ʔian is a combination of a glide ʔi- and the vowel -a-, so that

the ʔia- was reduced to a form in which the glide became almost null. The reduced form seems to correspond to the ʌ/ǔ in MK ʌn/ǔn, and the n in MC ʔian is identical with the n in MK ʌn/ǔn. Thus we may suggest that in Old Korean there was a somewhat reduced vowel or a semivowel ə before the nasal so that the form may have been OK *ən.

The second Chinese phonogram 隱 MC ʔiən is to be interpreted as OK *ən because of its identical phonetic shape except for the vowel -ə-.

The initial ɣ- in the last Chinese phonogram 恨 MC ɣən is normally used as an orthography for OK *h, which is also the immediate ancestor of MK h. The vowel -ə- in MC ɣən may correspond to the ʌ/ǔ in MK ʌn/ǔn, whereas the final nasal consonant in Middle Chinese is identical with that of Middle Korean. Hence, this entire Chinese phonogram is to be interpreted as OK *hən. The initial consonant h- was used to write the final consonant h of a morpheme immediately before this suffix *ən, as in the case of 理 lji. The quality of the initial vowel *ə in OK *ən is not known, but the Chinese phonograms suggest that it have been a somewhat reduced vowel close to [iə].

It is to be noted that the Middle Korean union vowels ʌ/ǔ in several case suffixes such as the genitive case suffix are usually thought not to have existed in Old Korean, but as the inspection of the Chinese phonograms used for the topical suffix shows, they were indeed part of the morpheme for that suffix. This warns us again that we should very carefully inspect all the Chinese phonograms involved in each case suffix.

(2.5) The function of the Old Korean topical suffix *ən

Since all the Chinese phonograms in question were used throughout the en-

tire Old Korean period, we do not need to be concerned here with any chronological distinction in the Old Korean texts.

As seen in the examples below, the topical suffix has only one function, as a topic marker:

(a) 焉 MC ʔian

1. min ən ərhʌn ahʌi ko hʌsyarti [3:3.1-3.4]

min ən ərhʌn ahʌi ko hʌ syar ti

subject [top.] foolish child [excla.] do [hon.] [suf.end.]

'subjects are taken for foolish children' [11:pp.72-73]

2. son ən pəpkai mos tarak hʌmyə... [17:5.1-5.4]

son ən pəpkai mos tarak hʌ myə

hand [top.] realm of dharma end till do [conj.]

'(this) hand will strive for the realm of dharma...' [17:pp.84-85]

3. kaksuwang ən iəŋ er pŭrhʌi samʌsyaniira [23:1.1-2.4]

kaksuwang ən iəŋ er pŭrhʌi samʌ syan ira

Buddha [top.] deluded people [obj.] root do [hon.] [suf.end.]

'Buddha takes the deluded people as roots' [23:pp.96-97]

4. nan tonpus ʃoʃuri ista [22:4.1-4.3]

na n tonpus ʃoʃuri is ta

I [top.] fervently follow exist [suf.end.]

'I fervently follow (the vow)' [22:pp.94-95]

(b) 隱 MC ʔiən

1. kun ən əpi yə sin ən tʌz ʌ syarəzi yə [3:1.1-2.3]

kun ən əpi yə sin ən tʌz ʌ syar əzi yə

king [top.] father [conj.] minister [top.] love [hon.] mother [conj.]

'the king is the father and ministers are mothers who love.' [11:pp.72-73]

2. turh ən nai hai əsko turh ən nui hai ənko... [5:5.1-6.3]

turh ən nai hai əs ko turh ən nu i hai
two [top.] I [gen.] under exist [conj.] two [top.] who [gen.] under

ənko

[inter.]

'two have been mine, whose are the other two?' [14:pp.78-79]

3. čəs nuon mom ən pəpkai mos tʌrok nirikara [15:3.1-4.4]

čəs nuon mom ən pəpkai mos tʌrok niri kara
vow [pres.] body [top.] realm of dharma end till reach [imp.]

'(my) body that vows strives to reach the end of ends' [15:pp.80-81]

- (c) 根 MC γən

1. putyəs patʌr irun narh ən č'am hʌtaon motin əptu [24:5.1-7.3]

putyəs patʌr irun narh ən č'am hʌtaon motin əp tu
Buddha's sea [obj.] attain day [top.] remove do like bad deed [emp.]

'when we attain the sea of Buddha (=truth), removed sins are (jewels) in his land'

[24:pp.98-99]

As we have already discussed under the concluding remarks of the previous chapter, the Old Korean genitive case suffix shared the genitive function with the Mongolian genitive case suffix for the third person singular pronoun inu, in addition to both forms being similar. Furthermore, the Old Korean topical suffix *ən and the Mongolian genitive case for the third person singular pronoun inu have not only their forms but also their function as topic marker

in common.

(2.6) Contraction sandhi of the Middle Korean nominative and genitive case suffixes

In order to support our hypothesis that the Old Korean nominative and genitive case suffixes had two different origins, we will here examine the contraction sandhi of the Middle Korean nominative and genitive case suffixes, assuming that Old Korean had a tonal system which was the same as that of Middle Korean.

Staffan Rosén (1974:43) defines the term sandhi as follows:

The term sandhi here indicates those changes or modifications of the tone forms, which arise when nominal or verbal stems are combined with different numbers of endings carrying different tones, or when two syllables, each with its own tone, are contracted into one syllable with one distinct tone.

An important characteristic of the MK tonal system is that all tonal sandhi phenomena occur only within the limits of the "word", i.e. within that semantic-syntactic unit recognized intuitively by the native speaker as a "word". Hence the fact that the MK sandhi is further defined as internal.

As shown below, when a vowel suffix like the nominative case suffix is added to a noun with a vowel at the end, the suffix sometimes coalesces with the vowel at the end of the noun and forms a diphthong. In this process, the tone of the noun and the tone of the suffix create a distinct tone for the coalesced form. This process is called 'contraction sandhi'. Through this phenomenon, we may establish tonal differences between the nominative and genitive case suffixes.

The following examples demonstrate the tonal differences between the nominative and genitive case suffixes (Rosen 1974:44):

<u>stem</u>	<u>nominative</u>	<u>genitive</u>
1. <u>na</u> 'I'	<u>nai</u> < <u>na</u> + <u>i</u>	<u>nai</u> < <u>na</u> + <u>ai</u>
2. <u>na</u> 'you'	<u>nai</u> < <u>na</u> + <u>i</u>	<u>nai</u> < <u>na</u> + <u>ai</u>
3. <u>ca</u> 'he, she, it'	<u>cai</u> < <u>ca</u> + <u>i</u>	<u>cai</u> < <u>ca</u> + <u>ai</u>
4. <u>nu</u> 'who'	<u>nui</u> < <u>nu</u> + <u>i</u>	<u>nui</u> < <u>nu</u> + <u>ai</u>
5. <u>oi</u> 'single'	<u>oi</u> < <u>oi</u> + <u>i</u>	<u>oi</u> < <u>oi</u> + <u>ai</u>

The nominative case displays the following regular sandhi shifts (Rosén 1974:45):

examples 1 and 4: rising + rising > rising

examples 2 and 3: falling + rising > high

example 5 : high + rising > high

However, the genitive case shows the following irregular sandhi shifts (Rosén 1974:45):

example 1 : rising + rising > falling

examples 2 and 3: falling + rising > falling

example 4 : rising + rising > high

example 5 : high + rising > high

All the examples of the nominative case indicate that the nominative case suffix always has a high tone and that whenever the nominative case suffix was added to a monosyllabic word the contracted form had either a high tone or a rising tone. The rising tone of the nominative suffix made the pitch of the noun become high, i.e. the subject was emphasized by the nominative suffix.

On the other hand, all the examples of the genitive case show that the noun merged with the genitive case had an inconsistent tone. The evidence that there was the discrepancy between the two case suffixes in Middle Korean supports the hypothesis that the Old Korean nominative and genitive case suffixes are of two different origins.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

The Manchu genitive case suffix ini and emphatic suffix inu have already been discussed under the Manchu-Tungus nominative case suffix in the previous chapter. Thus, in this section, we briefly recapitulate the relevant portions of the preceding Manchu-Tungus section.

(3.1) The functions of the Manchu suffix inu

The Manchu suffix inu had the three different functions: (a) emphasis on or an addition to the subject; (b) adverb emphasizing the action; (c) sentence-final emphaser for the predicate. However, the basic function was to emphasize the subject.

(3.2) The functions of the genitive case of the Manchu third person singular pronoun ini

The Manchu genitive case suffix had only the genitive function. The Manchu suffix inu and genitive case suffix ini correspond to the genitive case of the Mongolian third person singular pronoun inu, both of which go back to the genitive case of the Proto-Altaic third person singular pronoun *i-n.

(3.3) The functions of the Manchu-Tungus genitive case suffix in personal pro-

nouns *n

The genitive case suffix in Manchu-Tungus is found as a remnant in personal pronouns and in the possessive case suffix *ᠳᠢ (< *n-kai). Observe the following paradigm of the personal pronouns:

	Ma	Nanai	Evenki	Lamut
(s.g.)				
1st p.	bi	mi	bi	bi
obliq.	min-	min-	min-	min-
2nd p.	si	si	si	hi
obliq.	sin-	sin-	sin-	hin-
3rd p.	i	ḡoani	nu ᠳ an	no ᠳ an
obliq.	in-	ḡoan-	nu ᠳ an-	no ᠳ an-
(p.l.)				
1st p.	be	bu	bu	bu
obliq.	men-	bun-	mun-	mun-
2nd p.	suwe	su	su	hu
obliq.	suwen-	sun-	sun-	hun-
3rd p.	ḡe	noanci	nu ᠳ art̄in	nogartan
obliq.	ḡen-	noan..ci	nu ᠳ ar..tin	nogar..tan

We notice that all the oblique case forms are formed by the addition of the genitive case suffix n except for the third person forms in Nanai, Evenki, and Lamut. These exceptional forms are suppletive because we know that the oblique forms of the third person are close to those of Manchu which are comparable with those of Mongolian. Since these oblique case forms are all petrified forms, we

in *n-ka (*n appearing as OJ nö) has the exactly same function as this Manchu-Tungus genitive *n. This point is crucial because, as we will discuss later, we also find this function in Mongolian and Turkic. These correspondences make it possible to postulate the development of the genitive morphemes with *n in the original Altaic linguistic unity, and in Old Japanese as well as Old Korean.

However, southern Tungus, Nanai, Manchu, and Olcha have different adjectival suffixes. Manchu has ᡩᡠᡤᡠ/ᡩᡠᡤᡝ/ᡩᡠᡤᡠᡤᡠ. Nanai has ᡩᡠᡤᡠ/ᡩᡠᡤᡠᡤᡠ and Olcha has ᡩᡠᡤᡠ. These different forms would go back to *ᡩᡠᡤᡠ < *ᡠᡠᡤᡠ < *n-ka. The following are cited in order to show the functions of these suffixes:

Nanai (Benzing 1955b:61-62)

1. mi səl əᡩᡠᡤᡠ i 'an iron that belongs to me'
2. mi želiᡩᡠᡤᡠᡤᡠ i 'my head (e.g. of a tiger that I killed)'
3. mi endaᡩᡠᡤᡠᡤᡠ i 'my dog (insulting expression for man)'

Manchu (Murayama 1957:130)

1. aga ᡩᡠᡤᡠ sara 'an umbrella' (aga 'rain')
2. erdumuᡩᡠᡤᡠᡤᡠ niyalma 'a virtuous person'
3. bačəᡩᡠᡤᡠᡤᡠ nisixa 'colored fish (goldfish)'

These southern Tungus adjective forms do not go back to *n-ki, but instead to *n-ka, which is, as Murayama (1957:130) put it, a variant of *n-ki.

Manchu (Paek 1969:150)

1. amba-ki 'pompous, powerful' < amba 'big'
2. horə-ki 'having a senile aspect' < horon 'majesty, power, authority'
3. sakda-ki 'having the aspect of old age' < sakda 'old, old man'
4. dursu-ki 'similar' < dursun 'form, shape, likeness, appearance'

5. juse-ki 'childish, juvenile' < juse 'children'
 6. soro-ki 'tabooed, taboo' < soro- 'to avoid as taboo'

These examples clearly show that the adjectival suffix ki in Manchu became restricted to a limited class of adjectives, but did not result in the genitive case suffix which resulted from the variant *ka.

As discussed under OJ ki and ka, these Tungus forms *ki and *ka, which go back to a Proto-Altaic adjectival suffix *kai (Poppe 1977:58), are identical with the Old Japanese adjectival suffixes ki and ka. The derivative ki can also be traced in Mongolian and Turkic, while the other derivative ka is also found in Old Japanese and southern Tungus. This fact is crucial because we can claim the development of the adjective morpheme with *kai in the Proto-Altaic unity including Japanese as well.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

We have already discussed the functions of the genitive case for the third person singular pronoun inu in connection with the third person singular pronoun i in the previous chapter. Therefore, in this section we refer only to some important aspects of those functions of the genitive case suffix for the third person singular pronoun, as necessary.

(4.1) The functions of the Mongolian genitive case suffix *n

The reconstructed Mongolian genitive case suffix *n resulted in the Written Mongolian genitive case suffix yin (after V or diph.)/u (after n)/un (after C other than n). As seen below, the Mongolian genitive case suffix, as the name

indicates, serves only for the genitive function (Poppe 1964:73-74):

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. aqa-yin ger | 2. ere-yin mal |
| aqa yin ger | ere yin mal |
| elder-brother [gen.] house | man [gen.] cattle |
| 'the house of the elder brother' | 'the cattle of the man' |
| 3. noyan-u morin | 4. qaγ an-u tūšimel |
| noyan u morin | qaγ an u tūšimel |
| prince [gen.] horse | khagan [gen.] official |
| 'the horse of the prince' | 'the official of the Khagan' |
| 5. γaγar-un aγula | 6. ulus-un noyan |
| γaγar un aγula | ulus un noyan |
| country [gen.] mountain | state [gen.] prince |
| 'the mountain of the country' | 'the prince of the state' |

Notice that the genitive case in examples 3 and 4 does not have n at the end of the suffix but only u. The final n of the original suffix *un was lost because of dissimilation from the final n of a stem, so that the union vowel ü/u was left.

The genitive suffix is also found in the oblique case of the personal pronouns:

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
s.g.	bi	či	*i
(obl.)	mi-n-u	či-n-u	i-n-u
p.l.	bida (inc.) ba (exc.)	ta	*a
(obl.)	bida-n-u ba-n-u	ta-n-u	a-n-u

As shown above, the genitive case suffix n - a vowel u was added to each nominative form to make the genitive case. We might expect the genitive case suffix vin to be added to all the singular nominative forms, but only n was added. These genitive forms are all fossilized. This evidence supports the view that the original genitive case suffix was *n in Proto-Mongolian.

In terms of the relationship between the Old Japanese nō and the Mongolian genitive suffix *n the initial consonant n was shared by both genitive suffixes, while the final vowel ō in Old Japanese was added to fit the Japanese phonological system in which a consonant had to be followed by a vowel. In this specific case, the vowel ō was chosen to follow the nasal n because it was the closest vowel to the vowel a in na, which is another genitive case suffix and also because it alternated with the vowel a in Old Japanese. Therefore, the Old Japanese genitive case suffix is cognate with the Mongolian genitive case suffix on all the levels.

(4.2) The function of the Mongolian adjectival suffix ki

The Mongolian adjectival suffix ki which makes a nominal adjective is also found in Manchu-Tungus, Turkic, and Old Japanese. Here are some examples (Murayama 1957:130):

marγasi-ki 'of tomorrow' < marγasi 'tomorrow'

degere-ki 'being above, on top, upper' < degere 'top, on top of, on, at'

doora-ki 'being below' < doora 'humble, lowly, lower, below, under'

ende-ki 'being here, local, of this place' < ende 'here, on this side'

edüge-ki 'being present, actual' < edüge 'now, at present'

tende-ki 'being at/of that place' < tende 'there, in/at/to that place'

yeke-ki 'majority, the greater, prevalent' < yeke 'great, big, old, much'
olan-ki 'majority, the major part' < olan 'much, multitude, the majority'
aga-yin-ki 'elder brother's' < aga 'elder brother'

These examples clearly indicate that this Mongolian suffix ki is an adjectival suffix if added directly to the stem, but becomes a nominal suffix if it is added to the possessive form of the stem (last example, n-ki). Therefore, we can claim that the original function of the suffix ki in Mongolian was to make nominals adjectival, and that the function of the genitive case suffix, when used with the adjectival suffix, was to denote property possessed by a person; this construction eventually came to designate the person himself as a possessor. This is exactly the same as the Manchu-Tungus genitive case suffix ni. This also supports the opinion that the Proto-Japanese genitive case suffix *n (as in n-ka > *ŋga) which appeared as OJ nö is related to the Mongolian genitive case suffix n. Also, Mo ki goes back to PA *kai, which also resulted in Ma-Tg ki and *ka, OJ ki and ka. In other words, all the major Altaic languages including Japanese inherited the adjectival suffix.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

The Old Turkic genitive case suffix was in/in depending on vowel harmony (Räsänen 1957:56). This goes back to the Proto-Altaic genitive case suffix *n. This Proto-Altaic form, as we have seen earlier, resulted in the Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and Old Japanese genitive case suffixes.

The original final consonant of the genitive form, i.e. n, is preserved in

Chuvash, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Kirghiz, and Nogai, while in the rest of the Turkic languages it changed to ɔ because of the following adjective suffix qï/ki, as in Uzk. meniɔki 'mine'.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic possessive case suffix iɔ

The genitive case suffix was employed to only denote 'living beings' and consequently was not completely retained.

1. man-iɔ 'my'; biz-iɔ 'our'; sän-iɔ 'your(s.g.)'
2. garan-iɔ-in 'of your Khagan'
3. türk budun-iɔ 'of Turk people'
4. bayırqu-n-iɔ aq adɣırır (KT E 36)

bayırqu-n- iɔ aq adɣırır

Bajyrku-'s-[acc.] white stallion

'Bajyrku's white stallion(acc.)'

Notice that the possessive case suffix occurred with personal pronouns as in example 1. This is because it only appears with designations of living beings or when there is talk of possession in a real or transferred sense. In the last example, the possessive case suffix had to be used since there is a proper name without a title in the nominal combinations.

It is noteworthy that Grønbech (1979:107-8) asserted that the possessive suffix was originally a derivational suffix. According to him, it made nouns of ownership from nouns which designated living beings, so that it had the same meaning as the Modern Mongolian genitive case suffix a. Therefore tegin-iɔ for instance, actually meant 'the property of the prince, what belongs to the prince' and biziɔ 'our, ours'.

Thus, there is no difficulty in relating OJ nö to OTK n, Mo n, Ma-Tg n in phonology, morphology-syntax, and semantics.

(5.2) The functions of the Turkic adjectival suffix ki

As in the case of the Mongolian adjectival suffix ki, the Turkic adjectival suffix qi/ki forms adjectives from nouns except when it is added to the possessive case of the stem, i.e. n-ki, when it forms nouns. This suffix is found in Old Turkic and many modern Turkic languages:

Old Turkic (von Gabain 1974:64-65):

- sö-ki 'future, former, late' < sö 'time'
ičra-ki 'being inside' < ičra 'here, in' < ič 'inside'
ay-qi 'monthly' < ay 'month'
suw üzä-ki 'being on the water' < üzä 'on'
yir-da-ki 'being on the earth' < yir 'earth' + da '[loc.]'
tört yïnaq-da-qi 'being in the four quarters of the heavens' < tört 'four' + yïnaq 'quarter' + da '[loc.]'
benim-ki 'mine'
sizin-ki 'yours'

Uighur (Räsänen 1957:102):

- ay-ki 'monthly' < ay 'month'
sö-ki 'late, future, former' < sö 'time'

Chaghatai (Rasanen 1957:102-103):

- käč-ki 'transient, fugitive' < käč 'late, long, evening'
kimni-ki 'belonging to whom?' < kimn

Chuvash (Räsänen 1957:102-103):

aval-xi 'former' < aval

pavan-xi 'of today' < pavan 'today'

Uzbek (Wurm 1958:495;498):

vaz-qi 'of summer' < vaz 'summer'

a ʒiz-qi 'of the month' < a ʒiz 'month'

These examples clearly show that the adjectival suffix was used to form adjectives of time and space except with the personal pronouns. The genitive suffix n in the original combined form n-ki probably denoted what was possessed by a person, but then it became used to denote the person himself as a possessor (Grønbeck 1974:108). The use was, in fact, shared by PJ *n (in *n-ka) which occurred as OJ nō, though PJ *n only denoted property belonging to a person, but not the person himself as a possessor, which was instead expressed by OJ nō. Thus, PJ *n-ka ended up being a general attribution.

These correspondences in form and meaning are exact enough to make it possible to reconstruct the history of the development of the adjectival suffixes with *ki and *ka in the Proto-Altaic linguistic unity.

The original adjectival suffix was essentially the genitive case suffix PA *kai which has been preserved in its original shape in some Mongolian dialects such as Khalkha, and in Middle Mongolian, and which was identified with a nominal. Then it shifted to *ki and *ka. *ki was preserved in Mongolian, Turkic, and Manchu-Tungus as well as in Old Japanese, whereas *ka was retained in Old Japanese and southern Tungus, probably because *ka was their earlier genitive form in that *ka was preserved as a compound form (*n-ka > *ŋga) or as a single form which had a very limited distribution in morphology (e.g. OJ ka), which in

turn was probably caused by the appearance of the other genitive *ki. These forms then became specialized in use with a particular class of nominals, in Old Japanese with quality and characteristic nominals and in Old Turkic with time and space terms.

In Manchu-Tungus, unlike OJ ki and ka, the process by which the adjectival suffixes ki and ka changed to an independent morphological class, i.e. the class of adjectives, did not occur, so that the earlier general use of ki and ka remained as their genitive use in the form of ᠵᠢ and ᠵᠠ. In Mongolian and Turkic, the adjectival suffix did shift to a class of adjectives without changing the original shape ki precisely as did the Old Japanese adjective suffix ki, and it is especially important to note that there is a parallel development between OJ ki and OTK ki.

[6] Concluding remarks

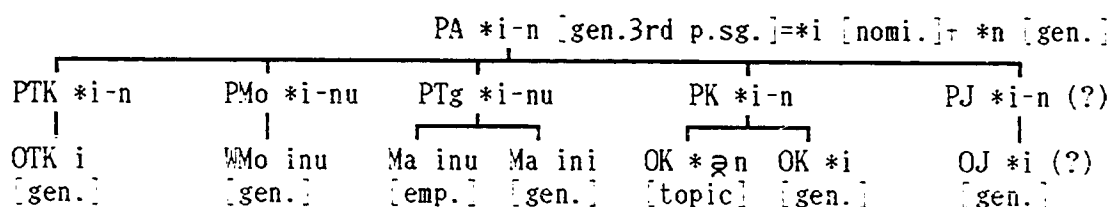
PA *i-n was used purely as the genitive case of the third person singular pronoun, but as PA *i-n began to develop some other functions, it came to lose its meaning and form, especially when PA *i-n was placed after a noun, where it usually lost its stress and it eventually became a suffix, after passing through the stage of an enclitic:

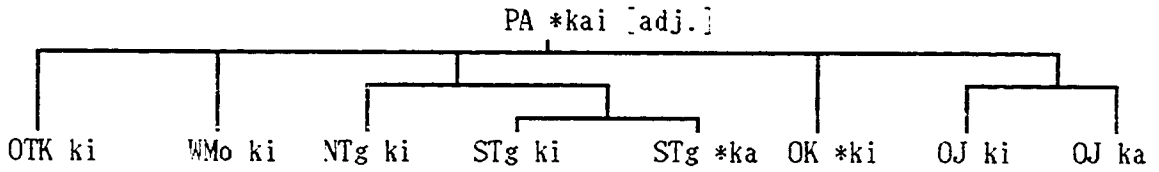
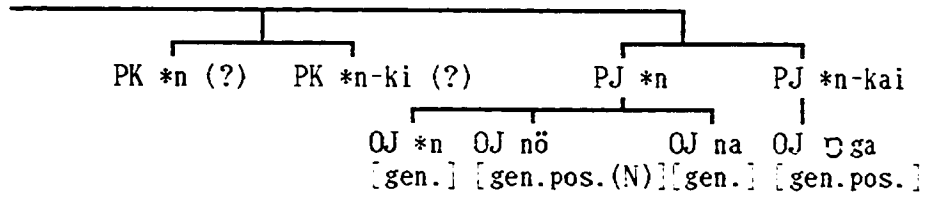
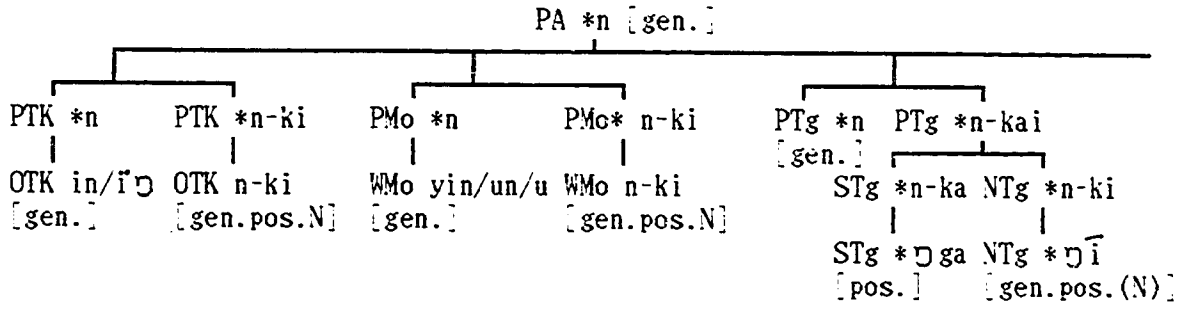
1. *i-n > -in > -i
2. *i-n > -in > -n

The first case is seen in the Turkic possessive case of the third person pronoun i. The Old Korean genitive case suffix is also another example for this development. The second case is exemplified by some Mongolian genitive case suffixes of the third person pronoun and also by the Old Korean topic marker *ᄃn.

All the evidence we have seen points to the conclusion that OJ na and nö go back to the Proto-Altaic genitive case suffix *n whose reflexes are found in Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and Turkic, and that a cognate for OJ ᠋ᠩga is found only in southern Tungus where the Proto-form was *n-ka. The latter morpheme *ka goes back to PA *kai from which the other adjectival suffix ki derived. The combination of the genitive and the adjective suffix *n-ki converged into *᠋ᠩ᠊, which is found only in Manchu-Tungus. This supports the view that the combination *n-ka must have been merged into *᠋ᠩga, which is seen in Old Japanese and southern Tungus. Furthermore, OJ *n is also cognate with the genitive case suffix in all the Altaic languages. Therefore, we postulate that OJ na and OJ nö, as well as OJ ᠋ᠩga, were all related to one another, and that they go back to PA *n and PA *n-kai, respectively.

Finally, we may sketch the entire history of the Proto-Altaic genitive case suffix and adjectival suffixes in the following chart:





Chapter Three

The Old Japanese Accusative Case Suffix wo

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

The question of the origin of the so-called Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo has been debated since the late 1940's. Matsuo (1944) discussed the functions of this form and concluded that it was originally not a case suffix at all, but merely an emphatic or an exclamatory marker. Murayama (1957) compared it with the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix be, wa/wə, and argued that the Japanese form seemed to have had the same functions as those of the Manchu-Tungus accusative suffix. Most recently, in the early 1970's, Miller elaborating on Murayama's idea, claimed to have found certain functions common to both OJ wo and Ma-Tg be/wa. Although these scholars made considerable progress in this matter, there have still not been any studies done on possible cognates of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix in Mongolian and Turkic.

In this chapter we will attempt to discover cognates for this suffix in the Mongolian and Turkic as well as in the Manchu-Tungus branch of Altaic, and in conclusion, we will try to show how the Old Japanese accusative case suffix fits into the overall picture of the Altaic case suffix system.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix

Although several minor views exist on the origin of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo, there is only one major view on this issue, which is the only one with which the author will be concerned since there is no scientific

evidence for the minor views.

(a) Matsuo Osamu (1944:617-644)

Matsuo examined the so-called Old Japanese accusative suffix wo in detail in order to see if the accusative case suffix was originally an exclamatory marker which later resulted in the accusative case suffix in Old Japanese, since wo only sporadically appears as the accusative case suffix in Old Japanese. His allegations concerning the original function of the so-called Old Japanese accusative case suffix certainly changed the direction of some scholars' research on this suffix, e.g., Murayama's.

(b) Murayama Shichirō (1957:130:1973:153-6)

Murayama (1957) first considered the Old Japanese suffix wo simply as an accusative case suffix in origin and compared it with Ma-Tg be, wa/wə without reference to the semantics of the comparison. His comparison, therefore, did not deal with some aspects of the semantics and of the functions of the Old Japanese suffix in question. Next Murayama (1973) turned his attention to the semantic aspects of this Old Japanese accusative suffix, which he had failed to recognize earlier. He found that there is an important semantic element common to the Old Japanese accusative wo and to the Manchu-Tungus accusative suffix, i.e. an exclamatory use. This convinced him that OJ wo is cognate with Ma be and Tg wa/wə.

(c) Roy Andrew Miller (1971:26-27; 1977:163-164)

Miller pointed out Murayama's (1957) inadequate treatment of the Old Japanese accusative in as far as Murayama did not treat the entire domain of the semantics of the accusative suffix wo. Miller elaborated on Murayama's idea and

showed that OJ wo consisted of at least two distinctive morphemes: (1) a definite accusative, the emphatic direct object suffix of transitive verbs; (2) a prosecutive, the suffix for a temporal or spatial point through or along which a motion proceeds. Later (1977) he proposed that there might also have been another function of wo, i.e. a sentence-final suffix for exclamatory utterances which might fall under one or the other of these two earlier categories, or which might eventually prove to stand as a third category.

(1.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms for the Old Japanese accusative case suffix

The so-called Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo is written in Old Japanese texts with the following Chinese characters used as phonograms: 乎 MC ɣuo, 烏 MC ɣuo, 鳴 MC ʔuo, 瑪 MC ʔuo, 弘 MC ɣw əng, 袁 MC jiw ʌn, and 遠 MC jiw ʌn (Karlgren 1957). All these phonograms are normally interpreted as orthographies for a single morpheme, OJ wo only.

The initial consonant ɣ- in 乎 ɣuo and 弘 ɣw əng was probably from the southern dialect of Middle Chinese where the ɣ was close to w, as opposed to the ɣ which was the voiced version of h in northern dialect. It was also used to write a combination of such phonemes as wa, wo, or wə in initial position because the combination of these phonemes did not occur initially in Middle Chinese. The ɣu- in MC ɣuo also clearly corresponds to w- in OJ wo and the sequence ɣw- in MC ɣw əng agrees very well with w- in OJ wo. The last vowel -o in MC ɣuo undoubtedly agrees with -o in OJ wo, while the vowel -ə- in MC ɣw əng also correlates more or less with -o in OJ wo. The nasal final -ng in MC ɣw əng must have been totally ignored by the scribes. Thus it is safe to

propose that these Middle Chinese phonograms must be interpreted as wo in Old Japanese.

In the case of 烏, 鳴, 鳩, MC ʔuo, the glottal stop ʔ- in MC ʔuo does not agree with any sound in OJ wo. The initial glottal stop might have made the following vowel -u- shift to become a semivowel approximating to w, so that the -u- in MC ʔuo was recognized as w by the scribes. Therefore, it appears that this Middle Chinese orthography must be interpreted as wo in Old Japanese.

As for 袁, 遠, MC jiwʌn, it seems hard to deal with the first syllable ji- solely on the basis of Middle Chinese phonology. This is because this syllable does not go with any single sound in OJ wo. This is likely to indicate that this syllable ji- was so weak that it was probably not recognized by the scribes. Also, the final consonant -n in MC jiwʌn does not correspond to any sound in OJ wo, so that as in the case of the glottal stop in MC ʔuo, the -n must have been ignored by the scribes. Thus, MC jiwʌn is also to be interpreted as OJ wo.

(1.3) The functions of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo

As briefly mentioned in (1.1) (c), the functions of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo have already been analyzed into the following three categories: (a) the definite direct object marker; (b) the exclamatory marker; (c) the prosecutive suffix. Although these three morphemes show distinctive functions in Old Japanese, it is likely that one morpheme or another is derived from yet another in its semantics, which will be discussed later.

(a) the definite direct object marker

OJ wo as the direct object marker had both a definite construction as well as an indefinite or general construction marked with zero. Although Matsuo

(1944:617-644) incorrectly claimed that there were no significant differences in meaning and function whether or not the wo appeared, he was correct in that this definite direct object marker was originally not a direct object marker at all. Matsuo went on one step further, insisting that this definite direct object marker was probably originally an exclamatory marker. This is correct, as will be seen later. The following are some examples of this function:

1. a wo matu tö kimi ga nurekemu asiFiki nö yama nö siduku ni naramasi mönö wo
(M 108)

a wo matu tö kimi ga nure kemu asiFiki nö yama
I [obj.] wait [cond.] you [gen.] get wet [perf.] [pil.word] [gen.] mountain
nö siduku ni nara-masi mönö wo
[gen.] dewdrop [pros.] become-[cond.] matter [excl.]

'O would I become a dewdrop of the mountains in which you, my lord, will have got wet, waiting for me!'

2. yama nö na tö iFi tuge tö kamö sayoFime ga könö yama nö Fe ni Fire wo Furi-kemu (M 872)

yama nö na tö iFi tuge tö kamö sayoFime ga könö
mountain [gen.] name as call succeed [quot.] wonder Sayohime [gen.] this
yama nö Fe ni Fire wo Furi kemu
mountain [gen.] top [pros.] kerchief [obj.] wave [perf.]

'Let (hirefuri) live on as name of the mountain" perhaps with this intention Sayohime will have waved her kerchief on the top of this mountain'

3. wa ga seko Fa kari wo tukurasu kaya nakuFa komatu ga mötö nö kaya wo karasane (M 11)

wa ga seko Fa kari wo tukurasu kaya naku Fa
 I [gen.] husband [top.] temporary-hut [obj.] construct reed not [cond.]
 komatu ga mōtō nō kaya wo karasune
 little-pine-tree [gen.] underneath [gen.] reed [obj.] cut

'If there is no reed to construct the temporary hut, my lord, thou might cut
 then the reed underneath the little pine tree'

4. miwayama wo sika mō kakusuka kumo dani mō kōkōrō aranamu kakusaFubesiya

(M 18)

miwayama wo sika mō kakusu ka kumo dani mō kōkōrō
 Mt. Miwa [obj.] such a way [emp.] hide [inter.] cloud even [emp.] heart
 arana mu kakusa Fu besi ya
 not exist [fut.] hide able might [rhet.]

'why do they hide Mt.Miwa in such a way? would even the clouds have a heart?
 would they be able to conceal (such a beautiful mountain)?'

These examples clearly show OJ wo functioning as a direct object marker. Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, when we view this function of OJ wo as a definite direct object marker, then we are able to regard the zero marker as a general direct object marker, so that we are able to say that one construction means one thing, and the other another, which is correct as shown in the examples above. The definite direct object marker and the zero marker are probably originally not direct object markers at all, and this leads us to think that the definite direct object marker wo was originally derived from some other source, that is, an exclamatory marker, to which we now turn.

(b) the exclamatory marker

As seen in (a), OJ wo served as the definite direct object suffix in Old Japanese. This OJ wo was probably derived from an exclamatory function of OJ wo. OJ wo, used to indicate the exclamatory function, always appeared in sentence-final position. The following examples show this function of OJ wo:

1. asiFikii nö yama yori iduru tuki matu tö Fitö ni Fa iFite imo matu ware wo

(M 3002)

asiFikii nö yama yori iduru tuki matu tö Fitö ni
 [pil.word] [gen.] mountain [abl.] come out moon wait [quot.] people [dat.]
 Fa iFite imo matu ware wo
 [top.] tell sweetheart wait I [excl.]

'I am waiting for my sweetheart, though I told people that I was waiting for the moon coming out behind the mountain'

2. ka ga nabëtë yo ni Fa kökönöyo Fi ni Fa töwöka wo (K 26)

ka ga nabëtë yo ni Fa kökönö yo Fi ni Fa
 day [gen.] line-up night [pros.] [top.] nine night day [pros.] [top.]
 töwöka wo
 ten days [excl.]

'ten days and nine nights have already passed'

3. umasake miwa nö tönö nö asato ni mö idete yukana miwa nö tonoto wo (NS 16)

umasake miwa nö tönö nö asato
 delicious sake Miwa [gen.] main building of a shrine [gen.] morning door
 ni mö idete yuka na miwa nö tonoto wo
 [pros.] [emp.] go out go want Miwa [gen.] main door [excl.]

'I want to (stay up all night drinking) and to go home tomorrow morning

through the main door'

4. tökösiFë ni kimi mö aFë ya mö isanatöri umi nö Famamo nö yörutökidöki wo

(NS 68)

tökösifë ni kimi mö aFë ya mö isanatöri umi nö
 always [pros.] you [emp.] meet [dub.] [emp.] [pil.word] sea [gen.]
 Famamo nö yöru tökidöki wo
 seaweed [gen.] approach sometimes [excl.]

'You would not always see us just like seaweeds sometimes reach the shore'

Examples 1, 2, and 4 are clear-cut, but example 3 is not because wo in 3 can be interpreted as 'through', which will be treated next, though this wo also serves as an exclamation. Example 5 below also shows that the wo was both a definite direct object marker and an exclamatory marker, in which case it is an exclamatory marker rather than a definite direct object marker because this wo in the example below does not have a corresponding unmarked form.

5. yakumo tatu idumo yaFegaki tumagömi ni yaFegaki tukuru sönö yaFegaki wo

(K 1)

yakumo tatu idumo yaFegaki tumagömi ni yaFegaki tukuru sönö
 clouds appear Izumo hedge spouse-live [pros.] hedge make that
 yaFegaki wo
 hedge [excl.]

'(These) are very fine hedges that he made (around his house) for the couple to live in'

However, the wo in example 3 does not have a counterpart which is marked with zero in both the exclamatory and the prosecutive (see below) functions:

this leads us to suppose that OJ wo which was used to indicate the exclamatory and prosecutive functions, may have had these two different functions in origin.

(c) the prosecutive case suffix

OJ wo had a third function: a point in time or space through or along which some motion proceeds, which is usually called 'the prosecutive function'. We may observe the following examples:

1. asaFi teru sada nö wokabe ni naku töri nö yo naki kaFeraFu könö tösigörö wo
(M 192)

asa Fi teru sada nö woka be ni naku töri nö yo
morning sun shine Sada [gen.] hill edge [pros.] chirp bird [gen.] night
naki kaFeraFu könö tösi görö wo
chirp repeat this year about [pros.]

'Like the birds that sing (a funeral song) near the hill of Sada where the morning sun shines, so we mourn continuously even in the night during this (mourning) year'

2. nagakiyo wo Fitöri ya nemu tö kimi ga iFeba sugi ni si Fitö nö ömöFoyuraku ni (M 463)

nagaki yo wo Fitöri ya ne mu tö kimi ga iFe
long night [pros.] alone [excl.] sleep [fut.] [quot.] you [gen.] say
ba sugi ni si Fitö nö ömöFoyu raku ni
[cond.] pass [pros.] do person [gen.] think [fut.] [adv.]

'When you say "Shall I sleep alone during the long nights?", then the person who has gone away comes to our memory spontaneously'

3. *körömöde nö nagi nö kaFabe wo Farusamë ni ware tati nuru tö iFe ömõFuramu ka* (M 1696)

körömöde nö nagi nö kaFa be wo Farusamë ni ware
 long sleeves [gen.] Nagi [gen.] river side [pros.] spring-rain [pros.] I
tati nuru tö iFe ömõFu ramu ka
 stand get wet [conj.] house think [fut.] [inter.]

'Along the Nagi riverside (reminding one of a long sleeve), in the spring rain, when I was drenched through, will they have thought of me at home?'

4. *amazakaru Fina nö nagadi wo koFĩ kureba akasi nö to yori iFe nö atari miyu*

(M 3608)

ama zakaru Fina nö naga di wo koFĩ kure ba akasi
 heaven descend the country [gen.] long way [pros.] love come [cond.] Akashi
nö to yori iFe nö atari mi yu
 [gen.] gate [abl.] house [gen.] surrounding see [pot.]

'As I come along the long way in the country, as far as heaven (from the capital), from the strait of Akashi the surroundings of my house are visible'

The wo in examples 1 and 2 functions as a prosecutive for time, whereas in examples 3 and 4 it serves as a prosecutive for space. Also, notice that example 1 is another instance where both the exclamatory function and the prosecutive function operate simultaneously, although the exclamatory function seems here to be secondary since that function appears to be determined by the syntactic position of the wo when wo also has the prosecutive function. It is also important to note that OJ wo which was employed to indicate the prosecutive func-

tion does not have a corresponding unmarked form.

As noted on (1.3) (b), examples 1 and 2 as well as 3 in (1.3) (b) suggest that the prosecutive function and the exclamatory function are two different functions in origin, since each tends to exclude the other.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

Although Ramstedt (1957:204) claimed that Middle Korean po- 'to see' is comparable with the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo and the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix be/wa, this was flatly refuted by Poppe (1960), stating that there is no relationship between the two in terms of their phonology, morphology, or semantics.

Miller (1977:164) mentioned that although the Old Korean accusative suffix *hə̃r is not cognate with the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo, *hə̃r happened to share the prosecutive function with OJ wo. Miller went on to claim that OK *hə̃r goes back to *g-i-r which is comparable with the Proto-Altaic directive case suffix *gä̃rū / *ɣaru consisting of the dative *ga and the lative suffix *ru.

It is extremely important to note that there was another accusative suffix i in Old Japanese, which is probably cognate with the Old Korean accusative case suffix *hə̃r going back to *gi-r, in which the initial syllable *gi is probably cognate with the Proto-Altaic accusative case suffix *i-gi. The Old Korean accusative case suffix will be treated in detail in the next chapter.

We have not so far succeeded in finding an Old Korean cognate for OJ wo

and it seems that there may be no Old Korean cognate, although the search deserves another try.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

The Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix was reconstructed as PTg *ba by Benzing (1955b:81), parallel in phonetic shape with the Old Japanese accusative case form wo which goes back to *wə, as reconstructed by Murayama (1973:155). These two accusative case forms are so close that if we confirm that they are syntactically and semantically the same, then we will be certain that they are indeed cognate with each other since there is no possibility of this feature of the inflectional morphology of the Manchu-Tungus languages having been borrowed into Japanese.

Murayama (1973:155-156) alleged out that the exclamatory suffix wa (< *wə or *wəi), the topic marker Fa (< *pa), and the emphasis marker mō (< *mə) in Old Japanese are all related to the Old Japanese accusative case wo because all these forms are to be considered variants of the Old Japanese accusative form wo just like those variant forms of the Manchu-Tungus accusative form ba, and also because each Old Japanese variant corresponds to a Manchu-Tungus variant: OJ wa and Tg wa; OJ Fa and Tg fa/pa; OJ mō and Tg ma. These correspondences in phonology (and probably in morphology, syntax, and semantics as well) are so striking that they are well worth pursuing further in the future.

There is also the important fact that Manchu-Tungus has lost an older accusative case suffix *i (Poppe 1955a:576), which was eventually replaced by the

new Manchu-Tungus accusative *ba. The reason that the accusative *i is older than the other accusative *ba is that the descendants of the accusative *i have survived as the pronominal accusative yi/i both in Mongolian and in Turkic. The fact that the accusative *i is older is confirmed also by Poppe (1955a:576). Furthermore, as we will see later, the emphasis function of ba is indeed found in both Mongolian and Turkic, which is comparable with Ma-Tg *ba and with OJ wo to indicate the exclamatory function. It is further to be noted that we have also found ba and i in the accusative forms of the reflexive-possessive *ba-γan and *i-γan which will be discussed in detail under Mongolian below. This is likely to indicate that the Manchu-Tungus accusative suffix *ba must not have been an accusative case suffix at all in origin, and that if we go one step further, the exclamatory function of *ba was probably the original function of that suffix.

(3.1) The functions of the Manchu accusative case suffix be

The Manchu accusative case suffix has the following three major functions and two minor functions: (a) a definite direct object marker; (b) a dative marker; (c) a subject marker in indirect discourse; (d) a prosecutive case marker; (e) an instrumental marker.

(a) the definite direct object marker

As in the case of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix as a definite direct object marker, Manchu also has the same function of the accusative suffix be. This is exemplified by the following:

1. ere be si tuwa (T 3-5a)

ere be si tuwa

this [obj.] you look

'Look at this'

2. si yargiyan be ala (G 13-20b)

si yargiyan be ala

you truth [obj.] tell

'Tell the truth'

3. eniye mimbe takurafi ama be gajibuha (G 1-30b)

eniye mimbe takura fi ama be gaji bu ha

wife me send [perf.conv.] husband [obj.] bring [caus.] [perf.]

'The lady sent me and made me bring her husband'

Here we have a definite direct object marker which is marked with be, as opposed to another, a general one, not marked with be. This is exactly the same as the function of the definite direct object of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo. The examples above clearly demonstrate that Ma be serves as a definite direct object marker. But the evidence shows that be may not be the original function of the Manchu accusative case suffix.

(b) the dative case marker

The dative case function of the Manchu accusative case suffix is normally used with commands and with causative constructions. This is seen in the following examples:

1. Jangliyoo be neneme genefi ilibu seme unggihe (S 2-7)

Jangliyoo be neneme gene fi ilibu seme unggihe

Jangliyoo [dat.] beforehand go [perf.conv.] stop saying send [perf.]

'He told (to) Jangliyoo to go there in advance and to stop it and sent him

(=Jangliyoo)'

2. duice beile be ... ačame gene se (T 12-9a)

duice beile be ača me gene se
 fourth ruler [dat.] meet [pres.conv.] go tell
 'Tell the fourth ruler to go to see him'

3. niyalma be akdabu nakū kenehunjebure... (T 12-10a)

niyalma be akda bu nakū kenehunje bu re
 people [dat.] trust [caus.] after suspect [caus.] [fut.]
 'As soon as he makes people trust himself, he will make them suspect
 himself...'

Although a dative function of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix wo has not been mentioned under Old Japanese, this function did serve as a minor function of the Old Japanese accusative. This function of the Old Japanese accusative is indeed parallel with that of the Manchu accusative case suffix, though that function of the Old Japanese accusative was not restricted to commands or to causative constructions.

We do not know at this point whether the dative function of the Manchu accusative is innovative or was once productive and became restricted in its syntactic distributions. The Old Japanese parallels do not at this point help us towards a solution for the origin of this function.

(c) the subject marker in indirect discourse

The Manchu accusative suffix be functions as a subject marker only when that suffix is in indirect discourse. This function is not known to the Old Japanese accusative wo. However, it is found with the Mongolian accusative case

suffix vi/i, which is probably older as an accusative than the Manchu accusative be, though that function of the Mongolian accusative is also formed for ba in subordinate clauses. We observe the following examples of this function:

1. ilaci eniye be enenggi gūwaliyašambi seme ama be erdeken i boode gene sembi
(G 1-30b)

ilaci eniye be enenggi gūwaliyaša mbi seme ama be erdeken
third wife [nom.] today sick [pres.] say husband [dat.] earlier
i boode gene se mbi
he house [dir.] go say [pres.]

'(she) tells her husband that the third wife is sick today and tells him to go home earlier'

2. musei Čoocha be julesi genekini seme uttu gūnifi... (T 8-5a)

musei Čoocha be julesi gene kini seme uttu gūni fi
our army [nom.] forward go wish say so think [perf.conv.]

'I wanted our army to advance...'

3. darhan hiya be akū-oho seme donjifi (MYK 7-177)

darhan hiya be akū-oho seme donji fi
Darhan guard [nom.] died say hear [perf.conv.]

'I heard that the Darhan guards died...'

The suffix be in these examples clearly serves as a subject marker. As in the case of the accusative used to indicate the dative function, the accusative as the subject marker cannot be deleted because there is no counterpart which is marked with zero.

(d) the prosecutive case marker

As touched on earlier, the prosecutive function of the Manchu accusative appears to be very important because this function is shared by the rest of the Tungus family as well as by Old Japanese, although this function is minor in Manchu.

First, we will consider the following examples of this function:

1. Donggo golo be dosika ųooha be geli waha manggi (T 9-9a)

Donggo golo be dosika ųooha be geli wa ha manggi

Donggo area [pros.] advance army [obj.] also kill [perf.] after

'after we also killed the soldiers who advanced along the Donggo area...'

2. Guwangning ni julergi be juwefi (T 37-12b)

Guwangning ni julergi be juwe fi

Guwangning [gen.] south [pros.] carry [perf.conv.]

'we carried it through the south of Guwangning...'

3. Hūsina ųuwa gebungge alin be aba sindafi genere de, abka nimarafi teni galaka biha (T 4-23b)

Hūsina ųuwa gebungge alin be aba sinda fi gene

Husina Shuwa named mountain [pros.] battue form [perf.conv.] go

re de abka nimara fi teni galaka bi ha

[fut.] [dat.] sky snow [perf.conv.] then clear up exist [perf.]

'when we formed up a battue and went along the mountain called Husina Shuwa, it snowed, but then it cleared up'

It seems that the accusative case suffix employed to show the Old Japanese prosecutive case in indirect discourse is exactly parallel with that of the Manchu suffix to indicate the prosecutive case on all levels, as shown in the examples

above. This evidence leads us to believe that OJ wo is certainly cognate with Manchu be when we consider certain other functions of the accusative case, even though we do not find the exclamatory function in Manchu.

(e) the instrumental case marker

Since Manchu does not have a specific instrumental suffix, there are other means to express instrumentality, one of which is the instrumental function of the accusative. We will observe the following examples:

1. ai be fulehe da obumbi (Park 1973:284)

ai be fulehe da o bu mbi
 what [inst.] root root become [caus.] [pres.]

'By what do you make the foundation?'

2. amba ajige Ŷooaha de nimeku akū be niyalma i gemu elhe taifin obufi (S 7-18)

amba ajige Ŷooaha de nimeku akū be niyalma i gemu elhe
 large small army [loc.] illness not [inst.] person [nom.] all health
 taifin o bu fi
 peace become [caus.] [perf.conv.]

'On account of no sickness in the large and small army, people made all peaceful...'

Here be in the second example is translated as 'on account of', i.e. as psychological instrumentality, so that this be may still be considered an instance of the instrumental function of be.

As we have seen above, there are three main functions of the Manchu accusative case suffix, (a) definite direct object marker; (b) dative case marker; (d) prosecutive case marker, which correlate with those of the Old Japanese accusative case marker.

tive suffix wo. These corresponding functions surely indicate that OJ wo and Ma be are cognate, while the other Tungus corresponding forms, which will be treated shortly below, confirm our suggestion that OJ wo is cognate with Ma-Tg be/wa.

As mentioned earlier, Manchu does not have the exclamatory function, but the definite direct object marker was not the original function. This evidence strongly implies that the exclamatory function of the accusative suffix existed earlier, but that the accusative suffix had lost that function. This notion is supported by the fact that there exist some Tungus languages which still have the exclamatory function. We now turn to those languages.

(3.2) The functions of the Tungus accusative case suffix wa

All the Tungus languages have the definite direct object function and the prosecutive function of the accusative case suffix, but some Tungus languages have still retained an older function of the accusative, i.e. the exclamatory function. Some scholars (e.g. Murayama) argue that the exclamatory function is an old function of the accusative, which will be discussed in detail later in this section.

(a) the definite direct object marker

We will look at some examples of the definite direct object marker of the Lamut accusative cited from Benzing (1955a:57):

1. Anna uliki-w koj ǝn

Anna uliki w koj ǝ n

Anna squirrel [obj.] look [3rd p.sg.]

'Anna looks at the squirrel'

2. ku ɔal olra-w amtar

ku ɔal olra w amta r
 children fish [obj.] take [3rd p.pl.]
 'The children take the fish'

3. talā uliki uzzonə səɱ bakra
 talā uliki uzzonə səɱ bak ra
 there squirrel tracks not find [perf.1st p.pl.]
 'I found no squirrel tracks there'

Notice that examples 1 and 2 have the accusative suffix w, while example 3 does not. This clearly shows that the accusative is used to indicate the 'definite' direct object. This evidence allows us to suppose that w is not originally an accusative case suffix in Lamut and that it might have come from the exclamatory function of the accusative which Lamut seems to have lost.

As these examples demonstrate, we find a striking correlation between the Old Japanese accusative wo and the Lamut accusative w in terms of the definite direct object marker. Also, the Manchu evidence confirms our suspicion that the Manchu-Tungus accusative *ba is cognate with the Old Japanese accusative wo.

(b) the exclamatory marker

The exclamatory function of the accusative is found in Nanai (Murayama 1973:154). This function is exemplified by the following (Avrorin 1959:178):

1. ul əmbə boawa
 ul əm bə boa wa
 good [excl.] weather [excl.]
 'How nice the weather is!'

2. ə n ə n ə boatoɔawa

ə n ə n ə boatoŋa wa

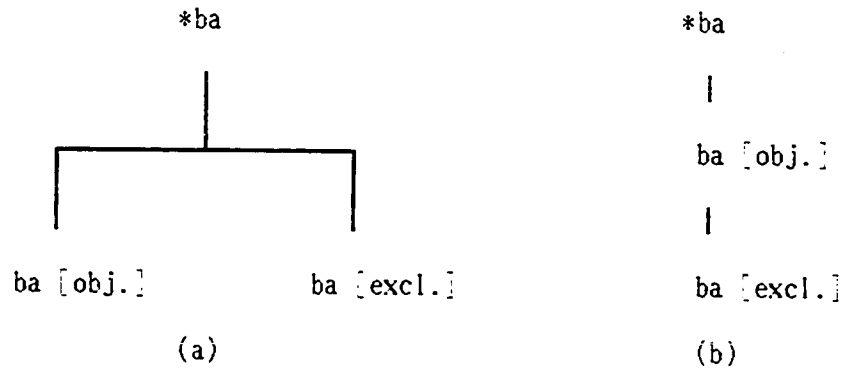
Oh hunter [excl.]

'Oh, what a(n excellent) hunter!'

It is possible to argue that this function is an innovation rather than an old function. There are two ways to look at this problem. First, if we assume that the exclamatory function was derived from the direct object function, then we run into a problem of morphological change. Because the direct object marker belongs to the category of inflectional morphology, it would be highly unlikely for that marker to change to some other part of speech.

Second, even if one insisted that the exclamatory function derived from the direct object function, one would still encounter another problem to solve, namely, the origin of the Tungus direct object marker *ba, since we know that the original accusative case suffix was PA *i-gi, which was also once used in this shape in Tungus.

Two different answers at first appear to be possible for the first question: (1) borrowing; (2) the existence of that form as some part of speech other than a case suffix. However, both these answers are futile. Borrowing is here improbable because a case suffix is an inflectional morpheme, which cannot normally be borrowed from or into any language or language family. Also, the second answer would be insignificant because such an answer would indicate that the direct object function is indeed derived from some part of speech other than a case suffix which is not the exclamatory marker, and that we cannot trace back how the exclamatory function was derived from some original function:



As the chart shows above, we have two possibilities. If (a) was the case, then we can say that the exclamatory function was originally derived from some other source than the direct object function, which contradicts the second answer. On the other hand, if (b) was the case, then we can state that the exclamatory function was derived from the direct object marker, which was originally from some other source, if only the second answer is correct. However, both (a) and (b) are incorrect because there is no evidence that an original function other than the exclamatory function existed. Therefore it is most reasonable to assume that the original function must have been the exclamatory function because that, in the final analysis, is the sole function that we can isolate from among all the evidence that we have mentioned so far.

(c) the prosecutive case marker

Since the prosecutive function in Manchu-Tungus is normally concerned with both time and space, these two categories will here be dealt with separately.

The following examples demonstrate the temporal aspect of the prosecutive:

1. noᵛartan um ə m anᵛanu gurgəwci rit ə n (Lamut; Benzing 1955a:57)

noᵛartan um ə m anᵛan u gurgəwci rit ə n

they one [pros.] year [pros.] work [perf.3rd p.pl.]

'They work for one year long'

2. sōwa gorowo hawalzačāw (Evenki; Benzing 1955b:81)

sō wa gorowo hawalzačā w

such [pros.] long [pros.] work [perf.1st p.sg.]

'I worked so long'

3. mi dui ai ᵛaniwa xotondu tačiočihambi (Nanai; Avrorin 1959:178)

mi dui ai ᵛani wa xoton du tačioči ha mbi

I four year [pros.] town [loc.] study [perf.] [1st p.sg.]

'I studied in town for four years'

4. t ə i iniw ə bu ə anžalahapu (Nanai; Avrorin 1959:178)

t ə i ini w ə bu ə anžala ha pu

that day [pros.] we till [perf.] [1st p.pl.]

'We tilled on that day'

All these examples show the temporal aspect of the prosecutive function in certain Tungus languages. This aspect of the prosecutive function is exactly the same as that of the prosecutive function of the Old Japanese accusative.

For the spatial aspect of the prosecutive function in Tungus, we find many examples; the following are a few representative selections:

1. aditalbu kilometruu ᵛenal ᵛənrə um ə m casu (Lamut; Benzing 1955a:57)

adital bu kilcmetru u ɕen al ɕən rə umə m
 how many [pros.] kilometer [pros.] dog [pl.] go [aor.] one [pros.]
 cas u
 hour [pros.]

'How many miles do dogs go in an hour?'

2. mi duəntə wə pulsi həmbi (Nanai; Benzing 1955b:80)

mi duənt əw ə pulsi hə mbi
 I woods [pros.] go [perf.] [1st p. pl.]

'I went through the woods'

3. ɕən əjti uliwə sol'ojxi (Udehe; Benzing 1955b:100)

ɕən əjti uli wə sol'o jxi
 upward river [pros.] go [aor.3rd p. pl.]

'They go upward in the river'

All these examples clearly show the spatial aspect of the prosecutive function, though example 1 also shows the temporal aspect of that function. Since the spatial aspect of the prosecutive is more concrete than the temporal aspect, the author feels that the temporal aspect might have been an extension of the spatial aspect. Thus, if this is indeed the case, then these two aspects collapse into one, i.e. into the spatial aspect.

In conjunction with the exclamatory function, we are not certain that the prosecutive function was originally separate from that function, which seems to have branched off to become the definite direct object marker of the accusative. However, the prosecutive function of the accusative morphologically inflects so that it is possible that even this function is derived from the exclamatory

function. If this is the case, then the exclamatory function of the accusative would be the most promising candidate for the original function of the accusative case suffix in Manchu-Tungus and Old Japanese.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

As touched on in (3.0), written Mongolian as well as Middle Mongolian did have the accusative case suffix yi (after C)/i (after V), which was shared with Old Turkic, but apparently this does not correspond to the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix. Also, we found that the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix as well as the Old Japanese accusative case suffix was not originally a case suffix at all because the Mongolian and the Turkic accusative suffix *i-gi was the original accusative case suffix even in Manchu-Tungus. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Written Mongolian had the different accusative forms of the reflexive-possessive, *ba-γan, *i-γan (there is another one *yu-γan), which will be discussed below. Hence, when we look for cognates of the Manchu-Tungus accusative in Mongolian (and so also in Turkic), we must direct our attention not only to the exclamatory or emphatic function of the accusative but also to the definite direct object marker of the accusative case of the reflexive-possessive, rather than merely considering the phonetic correspondences between the cognates in Mongolian and the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix.

Most linguists believe that Mongolian does not possess a form cognate with the Manchu-Tungus accusative suffix *ba, but as Murayama (1973:157) pointed out, Mongolian seems to have one in the emphatic suffix ba 'and, also, even' (Street

1957:49; Poppe 1964:52.430). However, no linguists with the exception of Ozawa (1979) have discussed the various accusative forms of the Middle Mongolian reflexive-possessive construction, in which we have found the two accusative forms ba and i.

(4.1) The functions of the Mongolian emphatic suffix ba

The Mongolian emphatic suffix ba has the two basic functions: (a) conjunctive 'and'; (b) emphatic 'also, even'. These two functions are found in Written Mongolian as well as in Middle Mongolian.

(a) the conjunctive marker

In Written Mongolian (and in Modern Mongolian as well) the conjunctive is placed before the last nominal of a group, which takes the requisite case suffix. In pre-Written Mongolian the conjunctive ba may be repeated after each nominal of a group. The following are some examples of this function (Poppe 1964:122):

1. qaγan ba albatan

qaγan ba albata n

khagan and subject [pl.]

'the khagan and the subjects'

2. ene ba tere γajar-a

ene ba tere γajar a

this and that country [loc.]

'in this and in that country'

3. tengri-ner asuri-nar ba olan amitan- nu γud-tur

tengri ner asuri nar ba olan amitan nuγud tur

god [pl.] Asura [pl.] and many living-being [pl.] [dat.]

'to the god, the Asura-deities, and to all the living beings'

4. surtaban ba sakardagam ba anagam ba arqad ba bratikabud ba dörben jüg-ün

aya ḡ-qategimlig-ün quvaraḡ-ud-tur

surtaban ba sakardagam ba anagam ba arqad ba bratikabud

Çrōtaāpanna and Sakṛidāgāmi and Anāgāmī and arkhat and Pratyeka-Buddhas

ba dörben jüg ün ayaḡ-qatefimlig ün quvaraḡ ud tur

and four quater [gen.] reverend [gen.] monk [pl.] [dat.]

'to the Crotaapanna and Sakridagami, Anagami, and Arkhat, and Pratyeka-

Buddhas, and the monks of the four quarters'

Examples 1, 2, and 3 show that ba is used once, whereas the last example shows that ba is repeated after each nominal. This difference existed between Written Mongolian and pre-Written Mongolian, as indicated above. The repetition of ba after each nominal seems to demonstrate that the conjunctive ba was originally not a conjunctive at all, but probably an emphatic marker, which gradually became a conjunctive. Only in this respect do we see the connection between the conjunctive function and the emphatic function of the suffix ba.

(b) the emphatic marker

Middle Mongolian has a set of words in which the emphatic ba is found, i.e. the interrogative pronouns. First, observe the following interrogative pronouns with ba (Poppe 1964:52):

1. ken ba 'whoever, somebody' < ken 'who?, which?'
2. kedüi ba 'any quantity' < kedüi 'how much/many?, how?'
3. ya ḡ un ba/yaḡu ba 'whatever' < ya ḡ un 'what?'
4. yambar ba 'whatever, any' < yambar 'what?, what kind?'

common people [emp.] not know [conv.] king

'the king whom common people do not know...'

4. basa qaγan eχige-degen yeke oro ba saγuldaju... (SH 12-56)

basa qaγan eχige degen yeke oro ba saγul da ju
again khagan father [dat.] great place [emp.] enthrone [pass.] [pres.

conv.]

'Again, he became enthroned to his father khagan's high position'

These examples demonstrate that ba cannot be translated as 'also, even' but rather is to be translated as an emphatic marker for the noun preceding it. In all the examples the suffix ba is placed where the nominative case (zero case marker) is located. This evidence clearly indicates that even though this function ba is not the exclamatory, it is in fact an emphasis marker. This function of ba is very close to the Old Japanese topic marker Fa in that they are similar on all linguistic levels. It is especially striking that both are syntactically identical. This leads us to think that just like OJ mō, OJ Fa is related to OJ wo, which is, we eventually conclude, also related to WMo ba.

Written Mongolian apparently preserved the emphatic function in the form of ba. Tungus also has retained the exclamatory function and the definite direct object marker of the accusative case suffix.

(4.2) The accusative case of the reflexive-possessive suffixes

There are four basic accusative forms of the reflexive-possessive suffix in the Secret History of the Mongols. They are:

- (a) yu'an/yüyen (b.1) iyān/iyen (c.1) ban/ben (d.1) yan/yen
(b.2) yiyan/yiyen (c.2) ba'an/beyen (d.2) 'an

The usage is the following:

Any noun can take form (a) regardless of the final phoneme of the stem.

Nouns ending in consonants can take form (b,1), while nouns ending in vowels can take (b,2).

Nouns ending in vowels can also take forms (c,1) and (c,2).

Nouns ending in vowels can take form (d,1), whereas nouns ending in vowels other than i can take (d,2).

Forms (b,2), (c,2), (d,1) and (d,2) are not attested in Written Mongolian, but these forms appear in the Secret History; they apparently have the same meaning as ban/ben and (y)iyān/(y)iyen. Forms (b,2) and (c,2) rarely appear in the Secret History; ba'an appears three times, beyen appears six times, yiyan appears three times and yiye appears only once.

It is important in connection with the accusative case suffixes in Written Mongolian that we study these three different accusative forms of the reflexive-possessive suffix because differences in use among the three different forms may shed light on the two forms of the accusative case suffix i and ba in Written Mongolian.

Poppe (1964:79) reconstructed the original form of the reflexive-possessive suffix as *ɣan/*gen, which the author believes consists of *ɣa/*ge (reflexive suffix) + *n (possessive-genitive suffix). Thus forms (b,1) and (b,2) go back to *(y)i-ɣa-n/*(y)i-ge-n, which go further back to *ī-ɣ ī-ɣ a-n/*i-gi-ge-n in PA. This earliest reconstruction is based on the assumption that the i in *i-ɣan/*i-gen is the accusative case suffix. This assumption is made on the basis of the accusative function of this reflexive-possessive suffix and its

function; these it must owe to the first element, which marks the suffix as the definite direct object. This evidence reassures us that the Mongolian accusative $(y)i$ is related to Ma-Tg *i, OTK $(i)γ/(i)g$ [nominal]; i/i [pronominal], OK *i, and OJ i.

It is generally believed that the vowels $-a-/-e-$ in ban/ben (form (c.1)) are short, but it is probable that these vowels $-a-/-e-$ were long on the following grounds (Ozawa 1979:281 ft.):

1. 兀兀中忽 u'uqu 'to drink' (SH 6-34b-3)
2. 兀黑答舌命 ū'darun 'being drunk' (SH 6-35a-1)
3. 兀周 ūju 'drinking' (SH 4-40b-1)

As shown above, one Chinese character 兀 represents the long vowel \bar{u} in 2 and 3 because we know that the stem in these words always had a long vowel \bar{u} . Likewise, it is probable that the vowels $-a-/-e-$ in the accusative were long. This is also supported by the fact that basic accusative form (c.2) which became obsolete in the Middle Mongolian period had the intervocalic semivowel $-y-$ in its phonograms beyen (別延 NC pie-yen) which resulted in being lost as be'en in Middle Mongolian. The other form ba'an (巴安 NC pa-an) shows this stage with the $-y-$ already lost. Finally, the two vowels merged together to result in the formation of the long vowels $-\bar{a}-/-\bar{e}-$ in these accusative forms.

We reconstruct the original form as *ba-γ a-n/*be-ge-n on the basis of the original form of the reflexive-possessive suffix reconstructed by Poppe. We regard the first element *ba/*be as an accusative case suffix whose later form ba/be coexisted with the other accusative $(y)i$ in Written Mongolian. This assumption is based on the fact that this reflexive-possessive suffix has the function

of the definite direct object marker; thus it must owe to this first element since the second element functions only as the reflexive-possessive. Thus this evidence reconfirms our postulation that the accusative in Written Mongolian is related to Ma be, Tg wa/wə, OTK mä/ma, and OJ wo. In pre-Written Mongolian *ba/*be was used not only to indicate emphasis but was also the definite direct object marker; it survived only in the isolated form ba and as compound forms ban/ben and ba'an/beyen.

Forms (d,1) and (d,2) would seem to be explained readily by the fact that 'an goes back to yan/yen, which in turn goes back to the original reflexive-possessive suffix *γan/*gen. However, the situation is more complicated because yan/yen is added to the stem ending in the vowel i (but there are cases where this suffix is added to the stem ending in vowels other than i, which are discussed below), whereas 'an is suffixed to the stem ending in vowels except for i and consonants (Ozawa 1979:282). In other words, yan/yen is in complementary distribution with 'an. The following are some examples from the Secret History:

mori-yan 'one's own horse' (2-15a-1) ama-'an 'one's own mouth'(2-19b-2)

hači-yan 'one's own favor' (2-49a-1) dotora-'an 'one's own interior'

ōki-yen 'one's own daughter'(2-37a-5) (4-39a-5)

ami-yan 'one's own life' (6-23b-5) goyina-'an 'one's own back'(6-1b-2)

However, as mentioned above, yan/yen in some cases is suffixed to the stem ending in vowels other than i, for instance, aqa-yan 'one's own elder brother'. If aqa-yan were derived from *aqa-γan, aqa-'an must have come from a source other than *aqa-γan because these two suffixes are in complementary distribution. Although we should find aqa-'an because of the final vowel of the stem, we in

fact find only aqa-yan. Thus 'an and yan/yen have to be of different origins.

Ozawa (1979:282) asserts that yan/yen after vowels besides i is an imperfect form of yiyan/yiyen. But we believe that this suffix in question is a contraction of yiyan/yiyen. This would better explain why yiyan/yiyen occurs so rarely in the Secret History. The forms yiyan/yiyen became obsolete by the time of Middle Mongolian and the contracted form yan/yen started to be employed instead. Therefore, yan/yen is of two different origins as follows:

yan/yen (after i) < *ɣan/*gen

yan/yen (after vowels besides i) < yiyan/yiyen

'an (after vowels besides i and consonants) < *ɣan

What is relevant here is yan/yen (after V (not i)), where the lost accusative yi still functions as it is.

Turning to the first form yu'an/yüyen, as in the case of yiyan/yiyen and ban/ben, we can assume that this form too goes back to *yu-ɣa-n/*vü-ge-n and that there was another alternate form *u-ɣa-n/*ü-ge-n. The first element *(y)u/*(y)ü is assumed to be another accusative case as a direct object marker in pre-Written Mongolian. This assumption is based on the fact that we find examples of this form used as the accusative case (Ozawa 1979:289):

1. joči-yi dungqodqu-yin urida ča'adai ügülerün joči-yi kelele ke'erun joči-yu'u tusin ügülemüi (SH 12-22-4)

joči yi dungqodqu yin urida ča'adai ügüle rün joči yi
 Joči [acc.] utterance [gen.] before Chadai say [pres.conv.] Joči [acc.]
 kele le ke'e run joči yu'u tusin ügüle müi
 speak [imp.] tell [pres.conv.] Joči [acc.] believing say [pres.]

'Chadai says before Joci's utterance, "When you tell Joci to speak, you say (it) believing Joci....'

2. hūlegsen yekes tusimed anu qan-u-an abu'ad umegš^vi odu'asu... (HY 19-5)

hūle gsen yekes tusimed anu qan u-an abu 'ad
 leave [perf.conv.] lords officials their king [acc.] take [perf.conv.]
 ume g^vš^vi od u'asu
 north to go [perf.cond.conv.]

'when the rest of the ministers went north taking their king....'

Thus we can safely claim that there were three different accusatives in pre-Written Mongolian: *(y)i, *ba/*be, and *(y)u/*(y)ū.

Ozawa (79:284-5) claims that yu'an/yüyen is suffixed to the stem and indicates superiority in human relations like that of father or mother, while ban/ben is added to the stem to represent inferiority, mostly in non-human relations, and the suffix (y)ian/(y)iyen is added to the stem to show neutrality. Ozawa's claim appears to be based on his observation of examples with these suffixes in the Secret History, but unfortunately his data are not all statistically reliable. In the following paragraph we will sum up his findings, indicating his incorrect statistics with '[sic]', and adding the correct figures in the parentheses immediately following.

Thus, in all of Ozawa's forty-four [sic](42) examples of yu'an/yüyen, he finds thirteen [sic](14) examples of ešige-yüyen 'one's own father' and eleven [sic](10) examples of eke-yüyen 'one's own mother', plus five examples of aga-yu'an 'one's own elder brother'. On the other hand, he finds no examples of ešige-ben, eke-ben, and aga-ban/ba'an except for two [sic](3) examples of eke-

ben (2-20a-5; 2-23a-2; 2-25b-1) and one example of aga-ban (2-13b-5). But these are all special cases where one's mother or brother is not the speaker's mother or brother, but the mother or brother of the subject of that quoted sentence (Ozawa 1974:284 ft.9). Ozawa also finds sixteen [sic] (14) examples of kö'ü-ben 'one's own child', but he does not find any examples of kö'ü-yüyen. In sixty-eight [sic] (96) examples of this suffix yu'an/yüyen he observes only five examples with stems indicating human relations: öki-ben 'one's own daughter', de'ü-ben 'one's own younger brother', düiyi-ben 'one's own younger sister', eke-ben 'one's own mother', and kö'ü-ben 'one's own child'. The rest of the sixty-three [sic] (91) stems represent non-human relations or material relations, whereas ten out of thirteen stems with yu'an/yüyen show human relations.

Although Ozawa mostly has the wrong numbers, his conclusions should nevertheless be taken seriously here because his findings show the general tendency for each suffix in question. However, we must modify his alleged usage of the first accusative form yu'an/yüyen as being one 'added to the stems indicating only human relations'. This modification is necessary due to the fact that this form of the accusative can represent not only superiority but also inferiority such as in the five examples of de'ü-yüyen 'one's own younger brother'. The usage of the three accusative forms may be summarized as follows:

- 1) yu'an/yüyen is added to stems indicating human relations only.
- 2) (y)iyān/(y)iyen is suffixed to stems showing any type of relations.
- 3) ban/ben, ba'an/beyen are added to stems representing inferiority, mostly in non-human or material relations.

We conclude from this evidence that the two accusative case suffixes i and

ba were indeed fossilized as the accusative case forms of the reflexive-possessive suffix and also that ba was preserved as an emphasis marker. The author of these lines maintains the idea that the accusative *i is older than the other accusative *ba which is most likely to have come from the emphatic or exclamatory suffix. Just as Ma-Tg *ba became the 'definite' direct object marker of the accusative and OJ wo became used as the 'definite' direct object marker of the accusative, in Mongolian the emphatic suffix *ba became the definite direct object marker of the accusative at one time, though the semantic distribution of *ba in Mongolian was probably different from that of the definite direct object marker of the accusative *i, as shown above. This evidence is also extremely intriguing because it finally brings together the two accusative suffixes which are now found in all the Altaic languages (Old Turkic is discussed immediately below), including Old Japanese. Only in this manner may we understand the importance of the relationship of Korean, Japanese, and Altaic.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

As discussed in (4.0), Turkic does not have an accusative suffix corresponding to the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix. However, Turkic seems to have a cognate form with the Mongolian emphatic suffix, i.e. mä/ma 'and, also, even'. This suffix has two different forms, mä/ma and ymä/yma. The former is used when it is suffixed, while the latter form is employed when it stands alone. ymä/yma can be analyzed as y-mä/y-ma where the first element y- would go back to either *y(v)- or *i- though in either case we do not know the meaning of

that element. However, it is almost certain that mä/ma is the original form of this suffix because as immediately above, ymä/yma consists of the two morphemes, y- and mä/ma. It is also generally true that a combining form is older than the isolation form, so that ma is older than yma.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic emphatic suffix ma

(a) the conjunctive marker

The conjunctive function of the emphatic suffix seems to be found normally in the form of 'both-and' and there are not many examples of only 'and'. The following are some examples (Tekin 1968:170-171):

1. bāglārī ymā bodunī ymā tüz är mis (KT E 3)

bāglārī ymā bodunī ymā tüz är mis
 lords [conj.] people [conj.] peaceable be [perf.]
 'both the lords and people were peaceable'

2. kün ymā tün ymā yälü bardimiz (T1 N 3)

kün ymā tün ymā yälü bardimiz
 day [conj.] night [conj.] ride-fast [conv.] go-away [perf.]
 'We went on riding at a gallop by day and by night'

3. il ymā bodun ymā yoq ärtäçi ärti (T2 S 5-6)

il ymā bodun ymā yoq är täçi är ti
 state [conj.] people [conj.] not be [fut.perf.] be [perf.]
 'there would have been neither the state nor the people'

Although mä/ma had a conjunctive function, such a function was not dominant in Old Turkic; rather, there the emphatic function was dominant. Also, since mä/ma was placed after each noun as in the case of the Mongolian conjunctive ba, this

function was in fact one of emphasis placed on the noun before it. Again, in this sense ma is identical with Mo ba in semantics.

(b) the emphatic marker

The emphatic function is found in a specific set of words, i.e. the interrogative pronouns, exactly the same as in the case of Mongolian interrogative pronouns. The following examples are found (Temir 1956:255):

1. nämä 'thing, something' < nä 'what, why'
2. nägü-mä 'something, anything' < nägü 'what(?)'
3. kim kim-mä 'whoever it is' < kim 'who'
4. qay-ma 'what kind of' < qay '?'
5. qayu-ma 'some, any' < qayu 'which, what'

Here mä/ma is petrified into the interrogative pronouns, but the meaning of these forms is still intact with the 'extent' emphatic function. This emphatic suffix is also comparable with the Old Japanese emphatic suffix mō, which is probably related to Mo ba. Thus we conclude that these emphatic suffixes are cognate with one another.

We find many examples of the emphatic function meaning 'also'. Consider the following examples (Tekin 1968:170):

1. qaǰanī ölti buyruqī bägläri ymä ölti (KT E 19)
 qaǰanī öl ti buyruqī bägläri ymä öl ti
 khagan die [perf.] officials lords [emp.] die [perf.]
 'their khagan was killed, their officials and lords were also killed'
2. on oq süsin sülät dim biz ymä sülä dimiz (T2 W 8-9)
 on oq süsin sülä t dim biz ymä sülä dimiz

On-Ok army go to war [caus.] [perf.] we [emp.] go to war [perf.]

'I ordered the On-Ok army to march off, we also marched off!'

3. ögüzkä tūsdi yañduq yolta ymä ölti kök (Tl S 9)

ögüz kã tūs di yañ duq yol ta ymä öl ti
river [dat.] go down [perf.] scatter [nomi.] road [loc.] [emp.] die [perf.]

kök

[conv.]

'they were poured into the river. Those who were put to rout were also killed on the way'

Although this type of ma does not exactly correspond to Mo ba, they are, in fact, parallel with each other in that both share the function of emphasis on the preceding noun. Also, OJ wo shares this function with WMo ba and OTK ma.

Old Turkic preserved the emphatic function which WMo ba and OJ wo share, while Tungus *ba has preserved the emphatic function as well as the exclamatory function which OJ wo also shares.

[6] Concluding remarks

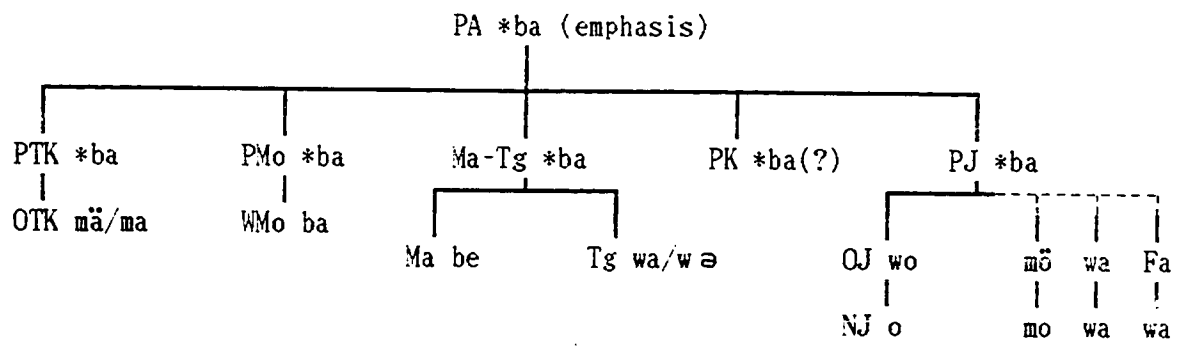
We may conclude from all the evidence we have seen thus far that the Old Japanese accusative case suffix is indeed of Altaic origin. In terms of the definite direct object marker of the accusative suffix, Japanese and Manchu-Tungus share this function. Japanese and Tungus also share the exclamatory function and the prosecutive function of the accusative case suffix. Although we do not know whether the exclamatory function and the prosecutive function can collapse into one function, we do know that the function of the definite direct ob-

ject and the exclamatory function can collapse into one function, which is the exclamatory function.

For the Mongolian and the Turkic emphatic function, both suffixes are exactly parallel with each other on all linguistic levels. The Old Japanese emphatic suffixes mō and Fa are also identical with the Mongolian and the Turkic emphatic suffix in every linguistic aspect. If we assume that OJ mō, wa, and Fa are variants of the Old Japanese accusative wo, then there is no doubt that Mo ba, TK ma, Ma be, and Tg ba are cognate with OJ wo, wa, mō, and Fa. This hypothesis is very intriguing because these suffixes which specifically appear not to be related with one another would then be closely related, not only within Japanese but also within the entire Altaic language family.

In conjunction with the Mongolian emphatic function, we have found that Mongolian has the accusative case suffix used to indicate the definite direct marker in a combining form ba (as well as another accusative, i). This is accusative form of the reflexive-possessive suffix. This evidence strongly suggests the hypothesis that the two Old Japanese accusative suffixes wo and i are indeed cognate with the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix *ba and *i, the Mongolian accusative case suffixes ba and i, the Old Turkic emphatic ba and accusative i, and the Old Korean accusative *hə-r which goes back to *gi-ru.

Finally the history of the Old Japanese accusative as well as that of these forms in Altaic may be illustrated in the chart below:



Chapter Four

The Old Japanese accusative case suffix i

and

the Old Korean accusative case suffix *her

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

It has been thought that there was no accusative case suffix i in Old Japanese i.e. no accusative form except OJ wo. A number of scholars have recognized the presence of an Old Japanese nominative case suffix i, but they were not aware of some cases in Old Japanese texts where this so-called nominative case suffix is in fact an accusative case suffix. This misinterpretation was due to the fact that these two case suffixes were identical in form, and that there was at the same time the other, usual accusative case suffix wo in Old Japanese. However, these two suffixes are different in syntactic and semantic functions.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the accusative case suffix

(a) Roy Andrew Miller

Miller (1983) was the first to mention the Old Japanese accusative suffix i used as a definite direct object marker and as the subject marker in indirect discourse. He provided some examples from Kojiki and Manyōshū. He then went one step further and claimed that the Old Japanese accusative case suffix i is a later changed form of the Proto-Altaic accusative case suffix *i-gi.

(1.2) The functions of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix i

There seem to have been two different functions for the Old Japanese accusative case suffix i: (1) a definite direct object marker; (2) a definite subject marker in indirect discourse.

(a) the definite direct object marker

We find some examples of the accusative used as the definite direct object marker which has been categorized earlier as an emphasis marker by the traditional grammarians. The following are examples of this suffix:

1. mitumitusi kumě nö kora ga kubututu i isitutu i moti... [K 10; NS 9]
 mitumitusi kumě nö kora ga kubututu i isitutu i
 [pil.word] Kume [gen.] soldiers [nom.] kubutsutsu [obj.] ishizutsu [obj.]
 moti
 having

'soldiers in Kume having kubutsutsu and ishizutsu (swords)...

Since we do not find any other examples of this Old Japanese definite object marker, and this text above appears repeated several times in identical form, we believe that this function of the accusative case suffix 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. This process of disappearance of the accusative case suffix i is, as we mention later, exactly parallel to that of disappearance of the Manchu-Tungus accusative case suffix *i, which was taken over by the other accusative case suffix Ma be, Tg wa/wə.

(b) the definite subject marker in indirect discourse

The accusative case employed as the definite subject marker, a construction

which in traditional treatments of Old Japanese has generally been concealed behind the nominative case suffix used as the definite subject marker, is found in the Senmyō. These valuable Old Japanese prose texts are more or less free from restrictions of meter and poetic subject-matter. In the Senmyō, a significant number of cases which the conventional grammarians have regarded as a nominative case suffix i turn out actually to be the accusative case suffix i used as the definite direct object marker.

This view is based on the fact that, as touched on in the Introduction, the author considers Japanese a member of the Altaic family. The following conditions normally satisfy the requirements of being the accusative case as the subject marker in indirect discourse and subordinate (converbal) clauses in the Altaic languages: nouns immediately before this case suffix must be the names of persons or other words with direct reference to persons. The nominative case is marked with zero in the major Altaic languages, so that the accusative case marked with i/(i)g in these conditions is easily identified for what it is. However, the fact that in Old Japanese the nominative case suffix i is identical with the accusative case suffix i makes it difficult for us to determine whether or not it is the accusative, so that we select another criterion, different from the one mentioned above, i.e. whether the suffix is found within indirect discourse. The following are some examples of this function:

1. FudiFara nō asōmimarora i FumiōFeru kame Fitōtu tatematuraku tō mowositamaFu ni... [S No.6]

FudiFara nō asōmi maro ra i Fumi ōFeru kame Fitōtu

Fujiwara [gen.] retainer Maro [pl.] [acc.] writing bear tortoise one

tatematuraku tō mawosi tamaFu ni
offer [hum.] [quot.] say [hum.] [hon.] [cond.]

'(the emperor) saying that the retainer Fujiwara Maro and others had offered
(to the throne) a tortoise bearing writing on its back...'

2. ima wake ni nōtamaFaku sakini naramaro ga muFon nō kōtō ökōsitearisi tōkini
Fa nakamaro i tadasikiōmi tōsite Faberitu. [S No.34]

ima wake ni nōtamaFaku sakini naramaro ga muFon nō kōtō
now Wake [inst.] say [hon.] before Naramaro [gen.] rebellion [gen.] matter
ökōsite ari si tōkiniFa nakamaro i tadasiki'ōmi tōsite
create exist [past] when Nakamaro [acc.] loyal-retainer as
Faberit tu
serve [perf.]

'(the emperor) now says to Wake that when Naramaro rebelled earlier, Nakama-
ro served as a loyal retainer'

3. Fotökē mō kya'u ni nōtamaFaku kokuwa'u i wa'uwi ni masu tōki Fa bosatu nō
joya'ukai wo ukeyo tō nōtamaite ari. [S No.28]

Fotökē mō kya'u ni nōtamaFaku kokuwa'u i wa'uwi ni masu
Buddha also sutra [pros.] say[hon.] king [acc.] throne [pros.] is
tōki Fa bosatu nō joya'ukai wo ukeyo tō nōtamaite
time [top.] Bodhisattva [gen.] commandments [acc.] receive [quot.] say[hon.]
ari
exist

'Buddha also says in the sutra that when a king is on the throne, he should
receive the Bodhisattva's commandments'

4. sumera ga...maFosaku ...mitinöku kudara nö konikisi kya'uFuku i kuni nö
 iti nö woda nö köFöri ni kugane idetari tö maFosite tatematureri. [S No.12]
 sumera ga maFosaku mitinöku kudara nö konikisi kya'uFuku i
 emperor [gen.] say[hum.] Michinoku Kudara [gen.] lord Kyofuku [acc.]
 kuni nö iti nö woda nö köFöri ni kugane
 territory [gen.] district [gen.] Oda [gen.] Kori [pros.] gold
 ide tari tö maFosite tatemature ri
 come-out [perf.] [quot.] say[hum.] do[hum.] [perf.]

'The emperor said that the lord of Michinoku Kudara no Kyofuku had reported that gold had been found in his territory in the district of Oda'

All these examples clearly demonstrate that the suffix i found only within indirect discourse is the accusative case suffix. We know that these speeches are indirect because the texts carry overt lexical and syntactic markings that make the discourse-orientation clear (e.g., nötamaFaku... mawositamaFu... etc.).

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

The question of the Old Korean accusative case suffix had not been discussed until recently. Miller (1977) proposed an Altaic connection for the Old Korean accusative case suffix. Since then Kim Bang-han (1983) briefly mentioned that the origin of the Old Korean accusative case suffix was still unknown, although he basically agreed with Miller on the origin of that case suffix. However, Miller's proposal lacked substantiated evidence.

In this chapter the author will try to trace the original form of the Old

Korean accusative case suffix and to find out if there are other elements in any Altaic languages comparable to this case suffix.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Korean accusative case suffix

(a) G.J. Ramstedt (1952:31)

Ramstedt stated that the accusative case suffix in North Korean was ũl, il (after consonants) ri, l, ril (after vowels) and in South Korean ũl, il (after consonants) and l, ril (after vowels). He also claimed that Korean had a reflex of PA *i (accusative) since the inherited accusative ending in Korean was probably the vowel ũ or i and the final l was a secondary element. However, as Lee Ki-moon (1975:19) pointed out, there is no accusative case suffix form with i, but only with ũ in Middle Korean.

(b) Lee Ki-moon (1975:89)

Lee corrected Ramstedt's remarks on the accusative case suffix as mentioned above, but one of his corrections was itself not quite correct, in that in Middle and Old Korean not only r but hũr was added to noun stems with a final vowel. In other words, Lee's description of the accusative case form in Old Korean was not accurate. He did not try to find out the original form of the accusative, let alone the origin of that case suffix.

(c) Roy Andrew Miller (1977:158)

Miller was the first to discuss the original form of the Old Korean accusative case. He claimed that OK *həl (accusative) is comparable with the Tungus prosecutive forms *kila, *kili. These Tungus forms are found only in Evenki and Lamut (Northern Tungus languages), which seems to indicate that these forms are secondary developments. This view is supported by the fact that Evenki has

eleven case suffixes including compound suffixes and that Lamut has twelve case suffixes also including compound suffixes, as opposed to the other Tungus languages which have an average of eight case suffixes. Miller did not treat the origin of the functions of the Old Korean accusative case suffix.

(d) Kim Bang-han (1983:186)

Kim claimed that the Korean accusative goes back to OK *h_ər < *g-er, but he was hesitant to relate *g- to any Altaic element, as Miller had done. Kim did not find any evidence to support a cognate relationship between OK *h_ər and any Altaic element.

(2.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms used for the Old Korean accusative case suffix

Two Chinese characters are used for the Old Korean accusative case suffix: 𪛗 MC xiět and 乙 MC ʔiět (Karlgren 1957). The first of these Chinese characters is normally interpreted as an orthography for OK hūr. MC x is here surely employed for an OK h which is also the immediate ancestor of MK h. MC -t is usually interpreted as MK l, although it is difficult to justify this in terms of Middle Chinese phonology alone. But this interpretation of MC -t may be accepted for the time being. MC -t in 乙 is interpreted in the same way.

The vocalism of MC -iět in 𪛗 and 乙 has usually been interpreted as OK -ū/- -ə- by Korean scholars, but that interpretation is entirely based on the mechanical transferring of MK -ū/- - - in the accusative case suffix back into the Old Korean period. Thus such an interpretation is very suspicious. MC -iē- would not allow us to assume that Old Korean had the same vowel as MK -ū/- - - because the Middle Chinese vowel e would not agree very well with that of Middle

Korean. Miller (1977:161) explains the phenomena of the i-breaking and apocope which would have occurred in the pre-Old Korean period as follows:

The vowel e that Karlgren reconstructs here and in particular the i that he has in this form, both go quite well with the theory that this form in OK already had the remains of an original broken i in its first, and only remaining syllable; along with this, there goes the additional suggestion that what is, in OK texts, a monosyllable, was earlier a two-syllable morpheme, but one that had already, by the time of the OK texts that we have today, been reduced to a monosyllable by apocope.

Miller's explanation of the phenomena of that syllable seems to be very plausible and should be well taken here, especially on the reduction by apocope which is supported by Lee (1953:3,ft.8). If we follow Miller's explanation of the original form of the Old Korean accusative case suffix, we can probably write the earlier Old Korean accusative as *her. If we go one step further and reconstruct the original form of this case suffix, it would be *her <*ger.

By the end of the Late Old Korean period, the phonogram 𪛗 which had been used to write the original form *her in most cases ceases to be used and instead the accusative case suffix begins to be written with 乙 MC ?jět, i.e. with the identical phonetic shape, but without the initial h of the earlier form. Thus we can interpret this phonogram which now began to be used as OK *er, if we follow what are basically the same lines of argument mentioned above. This clearly indicates that there was a change in morphemic shape from OK *her to OK *er as a consequence of which the initial h was lost. The latter form then became gener-

alized into the various forms attested in Middle Korean.

(2.3) The functions of the Old Korean accusative case suffix *her

The functions of the Old Korean accusative case suffix *her may be categorized into the following: (1) direct object case marker; (2) prosecutive case suffix. Even though these two morphemes indicate separate functions in OK, as will be seen below, one morpheme might be related to the other in meaning.

(a) the definite direct object marker

The Old Korean accusative case suffix seems to have been primarily used as the direct object marker, and this also holds true for the later form *er. As in the case of CJ wŏ as the direct object marker, OK *her and OK *er had a definite construction and another, an indefinite one, marked with zero. We find many examples of this use of *her and *er in Hyangga:

(A) her

1. kočher kəska patč Λporiita (2:4.1-4.4)

koč her kəska patčΛri ita

flower [obj.] pick dedicate [cop.]

'I would pick and dedicate the flower' (6:pp.62-63)

2. iher məki tasΛra (3:6.1-6.3)

i her məki tasΛra

this [obj.] feed govern

'feed them this once and govern' (11:pp.72-73)

3. istaher pΛri kokəti kar tyə hΛsti (3:7.1-7.5)

i sta her pΛri kok əti ka r tyə hΛs ti

this land [obj.] desert and where go [fut.] [rhet.] do know

'they will not desert this land;where would they go? They know
how to do(maintain the country)''(11:pp.72-73)

4. mΛz Λmi kΛzher čoč'nu ačyə (4:8.1-8.3)

mΛz Λm-i kΛz her čoč'nu ačyə
mind [gen.] border [obj.] seek wish

'I will seek the border of my mind'(10:pp.70-71)

5. murupher kočomyə (7:1.1-1.2)

murup her kočo myə

knees [obj.] hold together and bow [conj.]

'I hold my knees together and bow,'(12:pp.74-75)

6. čümünsons čümünunher hΛt ΛnhΛ r nohΛh Λt Λnher tər Λpti(7:5.1-6.4)

čümün son s čümün nun her hΛt Λn h Λr nohΛ hΛt Λn
thousand hand [gen.] thousand eye [obj.] one [obj.] leave one
her tər Λpti

[obj.] lessen not

'leave and lessen one of the thousand hands and eyes' (12:pp.74-75)

7. noron časherran pΛrako (12:2.1-2.4)

noro n čas her ran pΛra ko

play [nom.] castle [obj.] [suf.def.] seek to see and

'I see the castle where (Gandharva) played...' (2:pp.54-55)

8. kΛz əp nūn tukpatΛrher syəiwangtΛrru kiri sΛrpčyə (16:7.1-8.3)

kΛz əp nūn tuk pa t Λr her syəiwang tΛr ru kiri
border not [top.] virtue sea [pl.] [obj.] Buddha [pl.] to praise
sΛrp čyə

[hon.] wish

'we shall praise Buddhas of the infinite sea of virtue...' (16:pp.82-83)

(B) er

1. mastungpanger pamimorankokata (6:3.1-4.4)

mastung pang er pam i mor an ko kata

Mattung [hon.] [obj.] night [gen.] not knowing hold and went

'(Princess Səmhwa) secretly went away at night holding Mattung (in her arms)' (11:pp.72-73)

2. purč'əntünger kot'irantai (17:2.1-2.3)

purč'əntünger er kot'i ran tai

iamp [obj.] right away smooth out [suf.def.]

'I smoothed out the ashes and lit the lamp' (17:pp.84-85)

3. čungšaiangs čən er čəčisya-myə (20:8.1-8.4)

čungšaiang s čən er čəč i sya m yə

many people [gen.] field [obj.] get wet [caus.] do[hon.] [nomi.] [excl.]

'They made many people's fields wet' (20:pp.90-91)

4. pəpu-rəp pi sArpostara (20:4.1-4.3)

pəp u rəp pi sArp ostara

Buddha rain [obj.] pray [hum.] wish

'I shall pray for the Buddha rain...' (20:pp.90-91)

5. son er pupi ori (21:3.1-3.3)

son er pup i or i

hand [obj.] rub [adv.] dedicate [caus.]

'we rub and dedicate our hands' (21:pp.92-93)

6. nanhaaing kuhaaings-wən er nan^n tonbus ʒoʒ'uriista (22:3.1-4.3)

nanhaaing kuhaaing s wən er na n^n tonbus ʒoʒ'u
 hardships difficulties [gen.] wish [obj.] I [top.] fervently follow
 ri ista
 [fut.] [cop.]

'I would fervently seek the wish of all the hardships and difficulties'
 (22: pp.94-95)

7. my əng er sihos s ^zhitu (22:6.1-6.3)

my əng er siho s s^zhi tu
 life [obj.] ending [gen.] time interval [emp.]

'even at the time of ending my life...' (22:pp.94-95)

8. kaksuwangŭn ipŭner pŭrhi sam^syanira (23:1.1-2.4)

kaksuwang ŭn ipŭn er pŭrhi sam^syan ira
 Buddha [top.] deluded people [obj.] roots take do[hon.][suf.end.]

'Buddha takes the deluded people as roots....' (23:pp.96-97)

As one may notice, the verb after the accusative case suffix in each sentence is a transitive verb. In other words, if a verb is a transitive, then the verb is certainly a marker for the accusative case suffix which is employed as a direct object marker. Transitivity or intransitivity is based on the meaning of the Middle Korean forms of these verbs cited in the examples above and below. This permits us to determine whether it is a transitive verb or an intransitive verb, if we assume that there were no changes in transitivity or intransitivity from the Old Korean to the Middle Korean period. This is the most important criterion that we take to distinguish a direct object marker from a prosecutive marker.

(b) the prosecutive case marker

Now, we will turn our attention to the prosecutive use of the accusative case suffix. The following are the examples that we find in Hyangga:

(A) her

1. na her antipūsherisyatūn (2:3.1-3.4)

na her anti pūsheri sya tūn

I [pros.] not feel-shame do[hon.] [conj.]

'If you were to feel no shame for me....' (6:pp.62-63)

(B) er

1. kongtūkssin er t[∧]ih[∧] s[∧]lpki (16:6.1-6.3)

kong tūk s sin er t[∧]ih[∧] s[∧]lp ki

Kong virtue [gen.] body [pros.] face [hum.] [emp.]

'I would turn our face toward the Buddha' (16:pp.82-83)

2. pojai a[∧]n[∧]kirer ipa (18:2.1-2.4)

pojai a[∧]n kir er ipa

bodhi directed way [pros.] go-astay

'I missed the way directed for bodhi....' (18:pp.86-87)

Notice that all the verbs in the examples are intransitive so that it is certain that the accusative suffix functions as the prosecutive marker. Since these two functions of the accusative suffix are distinguishable by a type of verb after the suffix, they might be of different origin as in the case of the Old Japanese accusative case suffix functioning both as the prosecutive and as the definite direct object marker.

In terms of Old Korean phonology, there would not be any difficulty relating

OK *her to the Altaic accusative case markers for the nominal declension as in Mo (i)g and OTK γ/g. These are likely to go back to PA *g which was reconstructed by Poppe (1955:574-576). The proto-form of Old and Middle Korean h can be one of the following (Kim Dong-so 1981:170-1):

1. PK *s > OK *h

e.g. PK *päsi- > MK pəhi-/pah- 'to cut, split'

PK *kasi- > MK kahi 'dog'

PK *soŭ > MK həy 'sun'

PK *so-i- > MK həy-/hə-/ sə-/si- 'to say, do, use'

2. PK *g, *k > MK h

e.g. PK *goda-n- > MK *həan/həna 'one'

PK *talg- > MK taʔk- 'to achieve', tarh- 'to polish'

PK *täk > MK thəh 'base'

PK *üg > MK uh 'on, above'

3. PK *ǎ > MK hǎ (ǎ: accented)

e.g. PK *ǎia > MK həj ə-/ həjh jə- 'to swim'

PK *ǎl- > MK hər- 'to destroy'

4. PK *k/g or t/g + r > MK k/g or t/d + r + h

e.g. PK *gur > MK korh 'state'

PK *dor > MK ʔtərh 'origin'

PK *dur > MK turh 'two'

PK *pokor- > MK kurh- 'to boil, hot water'

These four different groups show that Middle Korean h was derived from at least four different phonemes rather than from a single phoneme. It seems that the

phoneme PK *s in 1 and PK *g in 2 are inherited from PA *s and *g respectively. However, Lee (1975:15) doubts whether or not there is some relation between PK *s and PA *s:

Ramstedt(1957) reconstructs only *s in the Proto-Altaiic consonant system and regards both Korean s and h as reflexes of this phoneme. He failed, however, to explain how the split of PA *s into the two phonemes took place in Korean. There has been a hypothesis that Ko h is a further development of the allophone of PA *s before *ī/*i on the basis of the following etymologies: MK hoy 'sun', Ma sun id., Sol sigun id., Nan siu id.; MK hork 'earth, soil', Ev siru-gi 'sand, sandbank in a river', Mo sirugai 'dust, earth', etc. This hypothesis is, however, hardly tenable because there are examples of Ko s corresponding to PA *s before *i: MK sir 'thread', Ma sir-en id., Ev. siren id.; MK sir'əy < *sirkəy 'wall shelf', Ma šuru-ku 'lathe, pole', Ev sirkəken id., Mo sirug 'pole', etc.

Lee's statement on the problem of MK h seems to imply that MK and OK h may go back to PA *s through PK *s, although it is premature to claim anything definite at this point. However, it is also possible to reconstruct PA *h on the basis of MK and OK h. This possibility is worth serious research, though it is not pursued in this work.

The correspondence between MK and OK h and PA *g seems to be very plausible because we find many correspondences between the two as shown below:

1. MK uh 'top, above': PA *ög- (Kim Dong-so 1981:171)

Evk uŋiskī 'high, height' uḡī id. Mo ögede 'up, upward'

	<u>ūgu</u>	'upper'		<u>ögse-</u>	'to go upstream'
Lam	<u>uɣ əski</u>	'high,height'	Kh	<u>ōdó</u>	'up,upstream'
Ma	<u>wesi-</u>	'to rise' < * <u>ogesi-</u>		<u>ögsö-</u>	'to go upstream'
Nan	<u>uisi</u>	'up,upward'	OTK	<u>ög-</u>	'to praise'
Sol	<u>ug əʃxi</u>	'high,height'	Uig	<u>ökdi-</u>	'to praise'
Udh	<u>uixi</u>	'up,upstream'	Tkm	<u>ui-</u>	'top'
Neg	<u>uwiski</u>	'up,upstream'	OJ	<u>öki-</u>	'to rise' < * <u>öge-</u>

2. MK tolh < tolg < *dulang 'stone' (Kim Dong-so 1981:171)

Evk	<u>jolo</u>	'stone'	Bur	<u>šulūng</u>	'stone'
Lam	<u>jol</u>	'stone'	OTK	<u>taš</u>	'stone'
Mo	<u>čilagun</u>	'stone'	Cag	<u>taš</u>	'stone'
Mmo	<u>čila'un</u>	'stone'	Tkm	<u>dāš</u>	'stone'
Pre-Mo	* <u>tīlagūn</u>	'stone'	Yak	<u>taš</u>	'stone'
Kh	<u>čulū</u>	'stone'	Chuv	<u>čul</u>	'stone' < * <u>t'al</u> < * <u>tal</u>
Kalm	<u>čolūn</u>	'stone'			

3. MK pulhui 'root' (Miller 1977:166)

Mmo hirugar 'root' < *pirugar

Ma fulehe 'root'

4. OK *tohel 'land,field' (Miller 1977:166-167)

Mo togorag 'dust, earth, ground, land' < *towarag < *toparak

Oir torum 'dust, powder'

OTK topraq 'dust, earth'

TK toz 'dust, earth'

These examples indicate that PA *g developed into MK and OK h, i.e. into the h

of the Old Korean accusative case suffix *her. At this point Miller (1977:167) states that although this morpheme her is written with -e-, the nucleus would have been *iě- whose form recalls one of the most notable vocal shifts in the history of Korean, the so-called i-breaking, where original *i in the first syllable assimilated to some other vowel in the second syllable. If we assume that OK *her resulted from the i-breaking and that OK *h goes back to PK *g, we obtain PK *gir. This Proto-Korean form reminds us of apocope, the vowel reduction in the final syllable, which is one of the most characteristic vocal developments in the history of Korean. PK *gir probably resulted from the much older form *giru by apocope, as Miller (1977:166) proposed. Even though we would like to find out if the final r of OK *her reverts to Altaic l or r, we do not know from the data available. PK *giru may be segmented as *gi-ru, in which case the first syllable *gi may have been the original Altaic accusative suffix and the second syllable *ru may be lative, directive, or prosecutive. But at this point we do not have a clear idea of what it originated from.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

As we have briefly seen earlier, Miller (1977) suggested a Tungus cognate *kila or *kili for OK *her. But these are, in fact, not cognate with OK *her because (1) these Tungus forms do not have the function of the direct object marker; (2) these Tungus forms are found only in Evenki and Lamut, so that they are probably later developments within the northern Tungus group rather than old remnants. The second argument is supported by the fact that these northern Tun-

gus languages tend to have more compound case suffixes than the other Tungus languages. Thus it is very doubtful that OK *her is related to PTg *kila, *kili.

Although we do not find any cognates with OK *her in Tungus, an ancient Tungus accusative case suffix *gi might have been related to the Old Korean cognate. Later in Tungus, however, this was entirely replaced by PTg *ba, an accusative suffix which was originally an exclamatory suffix. Poppe (1955:576) confirms the fact that Manchu-Tungus has lost an older accusative case suffix *i. This accusative case suffix *i may have developed from the still older accusative suffix *(i)gi. This view is based on the fact that in Written Mongolian as well as in many dialects of Common Mongolian the Proto-Mongolian accusative *gi/igi developed into yi/i respectively (Poppe 1955:192). The same is to be said of Turkic, i.e. the Proto-Turkic accusative case suffix *(i)gi/igi probably became OTK i/i. Thus it is safe to state that there must have been an extremely ancient accusative case suffix *gi in Manchu-Tungus, which unites not only all the major Altaic languages but also Japanese and Korean, which must also have preserved the ancient accusative forms *i-gi and *gi-ru respectively as a productive case suffix.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

The accusative case suffix in Proto-Mongolian has been reconstructed as *(i)gi/igi by Poppe (1955:191). This case suffix is phonologically very close to the first syllable *gi of PK *gi-ru, so that PMo *(i)gi/igi would seem to be a good candidate for the Old Korean cognate. The Written Mongolian

reflex yi/i is therefore indirectly comparable with the *gi of PK *giru.

(4.1) The functions of the Written Mongolian accusative case suffix i

(a) the definite direct object marker

The definite direct object marker is always used to indicate a specific object or person already known to the hearer (definite accusative); this is identical with the function of OJ *i and also with that of OK *her. The following are some examples (Poppe 1964:148):

1. tegün-i üjebe

tegün i üje be

he [obj.] see [perf.]

'He saw him'

2. tere mori-yi unuba

tere mori yi unu ba

that horse [obj.] ride [perf.]

'He mounted that horse'

3. bi činu kereg бүкүн-i бүтүгесүгеi

bi činu kereg бүкүн i бүтүге сүгеi

I your thing all [obj.] fulfill shall

'I shall fulfill all your needs'

4. či nom debter qoyar-i ab

či nom debter qoyar i ab

you book notebook all [obj.] take

'Take the book and the notebook'

5. tende nigen süme bui. süme-yi üjemüi uu

tende nigen sume bui. sūme yi ūje müi uu
 there one temple is temple [obj.] see [pres.] [inter.]

'There is a temple. Will you see the temple?'

These examples show that the noun immediately after the direct object marker refers to the specific object or person spoken of.

(b) the prosecutive case marker

Although the term 'prosecutive' normally refers to the semantic range 'along, through, concerning, about', in Written Mongolian we have so far found a function of the Mongolian prosecutive that may be translated as 'concerning, in reference to'. One example is cited here to show that this case suffix does exist in Written Mongolian (Poppe 1964:149):

1. Čimayi yagu abqu bui kemen qagan asagumui
 čima yi yagu ab qu bui kemen qagan asagu mui
 you [pros.] what take [pres.] is saying Khagan ask [pres.]

'The Khagan will ask as to what you would like to take'

In this example the prosecutive case suffix is translated as 'as to'; it seems that this function had become obsolescent by the time of Written Mongolian.

(c) the subject marker in indirect discourse and in converbal clauses

When the accusative case suffix is used within a converbal clause, a noun followed by that suffix is the subject, or expressed differently, the accusative case suffix is used to mark the subject in a converbal clause and in indirect discourse:

1. tegün-i yabuqu-dur (Poppe 1964:149)

tegün i yabu qu dur

he [nom.] go [pres.] [dat.]

'when he goes'

2. tegün-i iretele (Poppe 1964:149)

tegün i ire tele

he [nom.] comes until

'until he comes'

- 3 qaγan tegün-i iretügei kemen jarliγ bolba (Poppe 1964:183)

qaγan tegün i ire tügei kemen jarliγ bol ba

khagan him [nom.] come [imp] saying word is [perf.]

'The khagan ordered him to come'

The accusative case in examples 1 and 2 functions as the nominative case in the converbial clauses, whereas that in example 3 functions as the nominative case in direct discourse.

(d) the sentence direct object marker

The accusative case suffix is also used to mark the entire clause preceding verbs as the definite direct object. This is shown in the following examples (Poppe 1964:148):

1. geser-i yabuqu-yi üjebe

geser i yabu qu yi üje be

Geser [nom.] go [pres.] [obj.] see [perf.]

'He saw Geser go'

2. tegün-i ükügsen-i medebe

tegün i ükü gsen i mede be

he [nom.] die [perf.conv.] [obj.] know [perf.]

'He learned that he had died'

It would appear to be certain from the evidence that OK *her < PK *gi and WMo yi/i < PMo *(i)γi/*(i)gi have the same accusative functions as the definite direct object marker and as the prosecutive case. On the phonological level, OK *gi and PMo *γi/*gi are identical with each other. All this evidence clearly indicates that OK her and WMo yi/i are related to each other.

(4.2) The accusative case of the Mongolian reflexive-possessive suffixes

Since we have already discussed the accusative case of the Mongolian reflexive-possessive suffixes in the preceding chapter, we simply repeat the conclusion that the two accusative case suffixes i and ba were fossilized as the accusative case forms of the reflexive-possessive suffix, and also that ba was preserved as an emphasis marker. This evidence is also extremely intriguing because it finally brings together the two accusative suffixes which are now found in all the Altaic languages (Old Turkic is discussed immediately below) including Old Japanese. Only in this manner may we understand the importance of the relationship of Korean, Japanese, and Altaic.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

It is unanimously accepted that the Old Turkic nominal accusative case suffix was (i)γ/(i)g, which goes back to PTK *(i)γi/*(i)gi, and also that Old Turkic had the pronominal accusative case i/i, which may have been a secondary development from (i)γ/(i)g. Hence it is identical with that of PMo. Therefore, there is no need to explain this form here again; and this Old Turkic form is

also comparable with *gi in PK *giru without any difficulty since the form has remained almost the same as the Proto-Turkic form.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic accusative case suffix (i)g

(a) the direct object marker

There is no doubt that the accusative case suffix in Old Turkic was used only for the definite object. In this respect the Old Turkic accusative is identical with that of Written Mongolian and with that of Old Korean:

1. qaγan atyγ bunda biz bertimiz (KT E 20)

qaγan at yγ bun da biz ber timiz
 khagan title [obj.] this [dat.] we give [perf.]
 'we gave him the title of Khagan'

2. älig yïl isig küçüg birmis (KT E 8)

älig yïl is ig küç üg bir mis
 fifty year work [obj.] power [obj.] give [perf.]
 'They gave him labor and power for fifty years'

These sentences above clearly show that the definite accusative functions as the direct object marker.

(b) the subject marker in indirect discourse

As in the case of the Written Mongolian accusative suffix, the Old Turkic accusative also functions as the definite subject marker in indirect discourse and in clauses with verbs of thinking; the construction thus is very productive in Old Turkic and in the modern Turkic languages. The following are some examples (Grønbech 1974:178):

1. any öldü saj (Ottoman)

an y öldü sa j
 she [nom.] dead inform [imp.]
 'inform of her as dead'

2. saitanny sizga dusman turur tib aimadym-mu (Chaghatai)
 saitan ny siz ga dusman turur tib aimad ym mu
 Satan [nom.] you [dat.] enemy being saying not I [inter.]
 'Have I said to you that Satan is your enemy?'

3. meni olgon tep picik ys (Sagai)
 men i ol gon tep picik ys
 I [nom.] die [perf.conv.] saying letter send [imp.]
 'send a letter saying that i have died'

4. ol tinliǵ-iǵ yoqlunmaqsiz arur tip bilguluk ol (OTK:Gabain 1974:192)
 ol tinliǵ iǵ yoqlunmaqsiz arur tip bi! guluk ol (UII 37,59)
 that creature [nom.] present being saying know must he
 'he must know that that creature exists'

Here all the examples show that the accusative case suffix is used as a subject marker. This function in Old Turkic and the other Turkic languages is certainly identical with that of the Old Japanese and Written Mongolian accusative case suffix. This evidence also strongly demonstrates the close relationship of Korean, Japanese, Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian and Turkic.

(c) the prosecutive case suffix

First observe the following example (Grønbech 1979:157):

1. örüng-bägig qara buluquǵ ani olurmiš (SU E 10)
 örüng-bäg ig qara buluq uǵ ani olur miš

Orung-Bag [pros.] Kara Buluk [pros.] Any stay [perf.]

'They settled down along the Orung-Bag, Kara, Buluk, and Any'

2. bān özüm bilgä toñuquq ötükän jerig qonmyš (T2 S 10)

bān özüm bilgä toñuquq ötükän jer ig qon myš

I myself wise Tonyuquq Otukan country [pros.] settle [perf.]

'I myself, wise Tonyuquq, settled down in the Otukan country.'

Here the accusative case suffix functions as a prosecutive case suffix meaning 'along' in example 1 and 'in' in 2, which is also found in one of the uses of OK *her. This evidence strongly indicates that the Old Turkic accusative case suffix has the same functions that the Old Korean accusative does. Therefore, we can safely claim that OK *her must be cognate with OTK (i)γ/(i)g.

(d) the sentence direct object marker

Just as in the case of the Written Mongolian accusative case suffix, that of Old Turkic and of the other Turkic languages is also employed to mark the whole clause preceding verbs of perception as the direct object. This is demonstrated in the following examples (Grønbech 1974:178):

1. ṽlany ujur sanarak (Ottoman)

ṽlan y ujur san arak

boy [obj.] sleeping imagine [perf.cond.]

'(her) imagining the boy sleeping...'

2. bu ṽarijā bāni 'adātümṽgā durur gör di (Old Ottoman)

bu ṽarijā bān i 'adātümṽgā durur gör di

this girl I [obj.] standing being see [perf.]

'this girl saw me standing'

Chapter Five

The Old Japanese lative case suffixes gari/ga/ri/kara/ra and the Old Korean lative case suffix *ryu

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

The issue of the origin of the Old Japanese lative case suffixes gari/ga/ri/kara/ra has not been discussed in detail in the previous literature, and the study of the suffixes gari/ga/ri/ra has been entirely neglected. This chapter attempts to compare these Old Japanese lative case suffixes and the Old Korean lative case suffix *ryu with the Altaic directive case suffixes.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese lative case suffixes

(a) Murayama Shichirō (1957:131)

Murayama regarded his alleged petrified Old Japanese directive case suffix *ri as a reflex of the Proto-Altaic directive case suffix *ru, stating the following:

The suffix (ri) is combined with the genitive -nga, such as imo-nga-ri 'to my love', wa-nga-ri 'toward me'. This -ri can be compared with a Mongolian and a Turkic directive case suffix -ru.

Murayama's view on the origin of the Old Japanese directive has to be taken seriously here, but at the same time we have to be very cautious about his opinion about the suffix nga which in fact did not appear in Old Japanese (so that his nga ought to carry an asterisk: *nga) and also on the function of that suffix.

Although he claimed that it was the genitive case suffix, this is very doubtful for the following reasons:

(1) The genitive case ga has never been followed by a suffix but only by a noun. Since this is the syntactic situation, then the suffix is really a noun not a suffix at all; but there ought to be a directive case suffix after the ri, which, however, is missing in all the examples. Thus the suffix ga here cannot be the genitive suffix.

(2) If ga is the genitive case suffix, then a noun before that suffix always goes together with that suffix and a noun after that suffix to form a compound noun in Old Japanese. But this compound form gari does not fit into this definition; therefore, ga must have been some suffix other than the genitive case suffix. This also supports the first argument.

(3) There are no cases to be found in any of the Altaic languages including Korean where the directive case suffix is preceded by another suffix which is entirely different in semantics such as a genitive case suffix. Hence, we strongly oppose Murayama's view on the suffix ga. Instead we would suggest that ga is a directive or dative case suffix because the compound suffix gari normally takes a directional verb such as yuku 'to go', kuru 'to come', yaru 'to give', kayofu 'to come', or tōfu 'to go for a visit'. Old gari cannot be a noun meaning 'place' because there is no directive or locative suffix immediately following the suffix gari. It seems that the only way out is to regard the suffix gari as a compound lative suffix with a single meaning.

(1.2) The functions of the Old Japanese lative case suffixes gari/ga/ri/kara/ra

The Old Japanese lative case suffix gari is always found after such words

as imo 'wife, sweetheart', imora 'wife, sweetheart', kimi 'you', wa 'I', but it is never found with any other words. It also normally takes the directional verbs, as mentioned above, but if it is within quotations, the verbs may be omitted if the context makes the meaning of the sentence clear. This narrow syntactic distribution clearly indicates that this suffix had become obsolete as a lative case suffix by the time of Old Japanese.

The Old Japanese lative suffix gari began to be used as a noun meaning 'place' by the late Old Japanese period, for instance, Fitō nō gari 'the person's place', which is briefly mentioned in the footnote of *Manyōshū* 1121. This also endorses our hypothesis that the function as the lative case became completely obsolete by the late Old Japanese, and instead, it began to be employed as the noun.

The lative case suffix gari appears fourteen times in the *Manyōshū*: seven times with imo, four times with wa, twice with imora, and once with kimi. This lative suffix with imo takes such verbs as iku and varu or takes no verbs within quotations:

1. imo gari tō uma ni kura ökite... (M 2201)

imo gari tō uma ni kura ökite

love [dir.] [quot.] horse [pros.] saddle place

'having saddled the horse, I ride to you, my love...'

2. imo gari tō wa ga yuku miti nō kaFa ni are ba... (M 1546)

imo gari tō wa ga yuku miti nō kaFa ni are ba

love [dir.] [quot.] I [nom.] go road [gen.] river [pros.] exist [conj.]

'since there is the river across the way I will to come to you, my love...'

3. imo gari tö iFaba nanoka koyekomu (M 2435)

imo gari tö iFa ba nanoka koye ko mu
 love [dir.] [quot.] say [cond.] seven-days cross come [fut.]

'if I said, " (I will come) to you, my love", I will cross (mountains) for seven days (to see you)'

4. imo gari töFeba... (M 3356)

imo gari töFe ba
 love [dir.] visit [conj.]

'since I would like to visit you, my love...'

5. imo gari yaramu momitiFa worana (M 1758)

imo gari yara mu momiti Fa wora na
 love [dat.] give [fut.] maple leaves break [vol.]

'I will break off some maple leaves that I will give to you, my love...'

6. kökörü nömi imo gari yarite... (M 3538)

kökörü nömi imo gari yarite
 heart only love [dat.] send

'I sent only (my) heart to you, my love...'

7. imo gari yukana... (M 2257)

imo gari yuka na
 love [dir.] go [vol.]

'(I will) go to you, my love...'

Examples 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 show that OJ gari functions as the directive, while examples 1 through 3 are cases where the directional verbs have been omitted. examples 5 and 6 display the dative function of OJ gari.

OJ gari with wa is found in the following examples:

1. köyöFi ka kimi ga wa gari kimasamu (M 1519)
 köyöFi ka kimi ga wa gari ki masa mu
 this-night [inter.] you [nom.] I [dir.] come [cond.] [fut.]
 'is it this night, that my lord will deign to come to me?'
2. wa gari si kozo Fa... (M 2773)
 wa gari si ko zu Fa
 I [dir.] [emp.] come not [top.]
 'even if (you) would not come to me...'
3. ikanaru sena ka wa gari komu tö iFu (M 3536)
 ikanaru sena ka wa gari ko mu tö iFu
 what-kind man [inter.] I [dir.] come [fut.] [quot.] say
 'what kind of man is it, who says he will come to me?'
4. kanasiki sero ga wa gari kayoFamu (M 3549)
 kanasiki sero ga wa gari kayoFa mu
 beloved lover [nom.] I [dir.] come [fut.]
 '(I) wonder if my lover will come to me...'

All these examples consistently show the directive function of the lative case suffix gari. It is to be noted that although example 3 has this suffix within the quotation, the directional verb ko- 'come' is specified.

The following are examples of OJ gari with imora:

1. imora gari wa ga yuku miti nö sino susuki... (M 1121)
 imora gari wa ga yuku miti nö sino susuki
 love [dir.] I [nom.] go road [gen.] bamboo grass

'oh, bamboo-grass along the road that I take to you, my love...'

2. imora gari ima ki nõ mine ni... (M 1795)

imora gari ima ki nõ mine ni
love [dir.] now come [gen.] top [pros.]

'on Imaki's top (minding of my love's dwelling)...

Both examples demonstrate the directive function of OJ gari. It is also to be noted that the imora gari in example 2 is regarded as a pillow word by traditional Japanese grammarians. The following phrase ima ki nõ mine is also considered to be a place name and imaki suggests ima kitari 'I have gone now to my love's'. Hence, if that is the case, then the gari in this example also supports the notion that OJ gari is an obsolete case suffix.

The following is the only example of OJ gari with kimi:

1. umě nõ Fana kimi gari yaraba (M 1641)

umě nõ Fana kimi gari yara ba
plum [gen.] blossom you [dat.] give [cond.]

'If I give plum blossoms to you...'

As clearly indicated in this example, the compound suffix gari functions as the dative case.

The lative gari is comparable with OTK gärü/ǰaru in phonology, morphology-syntax, and semantics and the ga in OJ gari may also be comparable with the Proto-Altaic dative case suffix *ga. This suffix ga is found only in the fossilized forms in Old Japanese:

1. woka 'hillock' < wo 'hillock' + *ga '[dat.-loc.]' (Miller 1985:146)
2. Faruka 'far distance, remote (in time and space)' < Faru '(something) visi-

ble without intermediate obstruction' + *ga '[dat.-loc.]' (Miller 1985:146)

3. naka 'inside, interior' < na 'inside, interior' + *ga '[dat.-loc.]'

4. taFiraka 'flatness, calmness' < taFira 'flatness, flat place' + *ga '[dat.-loc.]'

The devoicing of the original dative-locative case suffix *ga is accounted for by the application of Lyman's law, which was mentioned above under the Old Japanese genitive case suffix *n. OJ woka is most likely from earlier *woga in which *ga would be a fossilized dative-locative case suffix, since OJ wo 'hill-ock' is also attested. The Faru in OJ Faruka are probably connected with OJ Far-e- 'be clear (of the sky), unobstructed (of vision)', and these two forms would go back to *Faruga. OJ naka is also attested as OJ na 'inside, interior', so that OJ naka is to go back *naga where *ga would again be a dative-locative case suffix. Although one may argue that OJ na may have been a genitive case suffix, as we have discussed earlier in our third argument against Murayama's argument of OJ gari, it is highly unlikely. Thus we retain our view that the na in OJ naka must have been a noun instead of the genitive case suffix.

The suffix *ga in these examples shows a locative, but it seems to have lost its dative function. The first two examples are very promising since Altaic cognates for these words have been found (Miller 1985: 146) in which the Old Japanese suffix ga regularly corresponds to PA *ga.

The ri in OJ gari may correspond to Ma-Tg ri and OTK ry/ri, which is another alternant of PA *ru. OJ ri is found in the following words as a fossilized suffix:

Fidari 'left' tonari 'next to, next door' atari 'area' tawori 'valley'

The function of OJ ri was to indicate either direction, as shown in Fidari and tonari, or location, as displayed in atari and tawori. We may call this suffix a lative case suffix, which is to be compared to the Altaic lative case suffix ru, as mentioned above. This supports our view that OJ gari is a compound case suffix which consists of a directive or dative ga and a lative ri.

There are also another fossilized directive case suffix ra in Old Japanese, which we believe has some cognates in Old Turkic and certain Mongolian dialects, which will be dealt with in detail under each of the languages. The directive-locative suffix ra is found in the following words in Old Japanese:

idura 'in what direction?' kötira 'to this way'

atira 'to that way' sötira 'to that way'

1. arenora ni sato Fa are dōmō... (M 929)

are no ra ni sato Fa are dōmō
desolate plain [loc.] [pros.] home [top.] exist [conj.]
'though the home is a desolate plain...'

2. keFura mō ka sika nō Fusuramu... (M 3884)

keFu ra mō ka sika nō Fusu ramu
today [loc.] [emp.] [inter.] deer [nom.] lie-down [fut.]
'even on this day the stag may lie down'

3. wa ga nuru yōra Fa yomi mō aFenu kamō... (M 3329)

wa ga nuru yō ra Fa yomi mō aFe nu kamō
I [nom.] sleep night [loc.] [top.] count [emp.] meet not [rhet.]
'the nights when I sleep cannot even be counted'

The suffix ra is found with a combination of another morpheme: no 'plain' in ex-

ample 1, keFu 'this day' in example 2, and yö 'night' in example 3. The suffix ra in the first example functions as a 'locative in space' and that in the last two examples functions as a 'locative in time'. As one may expect, the morphological distribution of this suffix seems to have been very restricted to a few morphemes such as mentioned above. This seems to indicate that the alternant ra was once productive but by the time of the earliest written records, it had become a remnant attached to deictic words to show direction and to a few other words to indicate location (time and space). The same tendency is also recognized in the Old Turkic directive case suffix ra which is cognate with the Old Japanese directive suffix ra. It is also interesting to note that just as Old Turkic had gärü/γaru, Old Japanese also had the prosecutive case suffix kara in which ra corresponds to ru in OTK gärü/γaru and that these forms in both languages basically had the same function. These correlations cannot be explained unless they are related to each other. This point will be treated in detail under Old Turkic.

OJ ra also survived as a fossilized compound case suffix kara which consisted of a directive-dative ka, which alternates with OJ ga, and a directive-locative ra, which is an alternant of OJ ri. The following are some examples of this compound suffix:

1. u nö Fana Fë kara nakite koyekinu (M 1945)

u nö Fana Fë kara nakite koye ki nu

U [gen.] flower area [pros.] sing cross come [perf.]

'the bird sang throughout the area of u-flowers and came over (the mountains)'

2. tadadi kara ware Fa korödömö... (M 2618)

tada di kara ware Fa korë dömö
 directly road [pros.] I [top.] come [cond.]
 'although I came directly along the road...'

3. kö yu köse di kara iFaFasi Fumi nadumi sö...(M 3257)

kö yu köse di kara iFaFasi Fumi nadumi sö
 this-place [abl.] Kose road [pros.] stone-bridge stop difficult [par.]
 'I had difficulty crossing the stone bridge through the Kose road from
 here...'

4. wokabi kara akikaze Fukinu... (M 3946)

woka bi kara aki kaze Fuki nu
 hill area [pros.] autumn wind blow [perf.]
 'the autumn wind (now) blows through the hill...'

The suffix kara in these examples clearly shows the prosecutive function, and has the meaning of 'through, along, on, from, concerning'.

One may argue that if kara and gari go back to the same source, then we can not explain the difference between the two different initial consonants. There are three possible explanations:

(1) Since gari came to appear only with a few words containing a vowel at the end by the time of Old Japanese, the original k- became voiced, which means that OJ gari thus became the fossilized words such as imo(ra)gari, wagari, and kimigari. On the other hand, OJ kara was very productive as a case suffix in the Old Japanese period, so that the initial k- was never affected by a phoneme immediately before it.

(2) These initial k- forms were originally in complementary distribution. But such distributions became lost by the Old Japanese period when their meanings diverged.

(3) The initial k- in OJ kara was originally *g-, but because of the Old Japanese phonological rule that the initial obstruent consonant of a native Japanese morpheme must be voiceless, the original *g- became devoiced in Old Japanese. Thus the original form of OJ kara was *ga-ra. This is also supported by the fact that it is normally the case that a combining form, in this specific instance, OJ gari, retains the older phonological form. This also supports our hypothesis that the original form of OJ kara is *ga-ra and that the semantics diverged with the original phonological form.

We feel that the third version is more likely because it provides evidence for the development of these two case suffixes, which is supported in turn by the other evidence. Therefore, we can claim that OJ kara and gari must go back to the same compound directive suffix which corresponds to gärü/γaru in Old Turkic. The Old Turkic suffix will provide crucial evidence for these two forms of the Old Japanese lative case suffix.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

The origin of the Old Korean lative case suffix which may have developed in to ro in Modern Korean has not been studied in detail. Ramstedt (1952:38-9) considered it an inherited Altaic case suffix, which was, in fact, insightful. Kim Bang-han (1983:188) has followed Ramstedt without, however, giving any evidence.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the lative case suffix

(a) G.J. Ramstedt (1952:38-40)

Ramstedt believed that the Old Korean lative case suffix *ru was cognate with the Turkic directive ru/ra/ri, the Mongolian fossilized directive suffix rü/ru, and the Manchu-Tungus fossilized directives lä/la and le/lo. However, he did not suggest any connection between the Korean lative suffix and the Japanese lative case suffixes. Although he noticed that there was another fossilized directive case suffix ri in Manchu-Tungus, he claimed that the initial consonant r- in ri was the result from dissimilation of the final l- of the stem of a word. However, his claim is not valid, as we will discuss under the Manchu-Tungus directive case suffix.

(b) Lee Ki-moon (1975:28)

Lee claimed that the Korean lative case suffix ro (< *ru) goes back to the Proto-Altaic directive case suffix *rü/*ru which became the Mongolian directive ru and the Old Turkic directive ru, both of which are fossilized forms. Lee failed to mention any Manchu-Tungus and Old Japanese cognates for the Old Korean lative suffix or certain other forms of the Turkic directive, namely, ra/ri.

(c) Kim Bang-han (1983:185-8)

Kim completely followed Ramstedt's opinion on the origin of the Old Korean lative suffix and did not say anything more on this suffix.

(2.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonogram for the Old Korean lative case suffix

The Old Korean lative case suffix *ryu is written in the Hyangga with the Chinese character 留 MC liəu employed as a phonogram. This Chinese phonogram

mind [gen.] border [obj.] seek wish

'Henceforth, in the pebbles of this stream, I shall seek the depth of his mind, which once Kilbo cherished' (11:pp.70-71)

2. k ʌ əp nŭn tŭk patʌr her syəiwang tʌr ryu kiris ʌrpčyə (16:7.1-8.3)

k ʌ əp nŭn tŭk pa tʌr her syəiwang tʌr ryu kiri
border not [top.] virtue sea [pl.] [obj.] Buddha [pl.] [lat.] praise
s ʌrp čyə

[hum.] wish

'we shall praise Buddhas of the infinite sea of virtue' (16:pp.82-83)

3. saipai ryu ač' ʌm pamʌi (21:5.1-5.3)

saipai ryu ač' ʌm pam ʌi
dawn [lat.] morning evening [dir.]

'from dawn to morning and morning to night...' (21:pp.92-93)

4. nyə ryu kŭras hʌsyastura (24:8.1-8.2)

nyə ryu kŭra s hʌ sya s tura
old-times [lat.] so [gen.] do do [hon.] [gen.] [perf.]

'It was so since olden times' (24:pp.98-99)

In examples 1, 3, and 4, OK *ryu indicates the starting point of motion, i.e. 'from, since', whereas in example 2, the lative suffix shows the goal of motion 'to'. OK *ryu in all these examples clearly shows the direction of motion.

(b) the instrumental function

Another function of the Old Korean lative case suffix was the instrumental.

This is found in the following Hyangga poems:

1. m ʌz ʌmi puturyu kurisʌr ʌon put'yə čəngai (15:1.1-2.3)

m ʌ z ʌ m i pu tu ryu ku ri s ʌ r ʅ on pu t'y ə ʅ ə ng ai
 mind [gen.] brush [lat.] draw [hum.] Buddha front [loc.]
 'in front of Buddha I draw with the mind's brush' (15:pp.80-81)

2. sonai pata pəpskongŭryu (17:6.1-6.2)

son ai pa ta p ə ps kong ŭ ryu
 hand [dat.] each offering [lat.]
 'every hand offers sacrifice (lit. 'by offering')' (17:pp.84-85)

3. inggaiŭryu tininukok (18:6.1-6.3)

ing gai s ʅ u ryu ti ni nu kok
 confessing [gen.] person [lat.] keep [conj.] [emp.]
 'with the confessor above me' (18:pp.86-87)

4. p ə n noi y ə r ryu ta ry ə nai mai (20:6.1-6.2)

p ə n noi y ə r ryu ta ry ə nai mai
 affliction fever [lat.] disperse let-out [conj.]
 'let (it) disperse (with) the fever of affliction' (20:pp.90-91)

5. taipis mŭrryu ʅ ə ʅ iy ə k (23:3.1-3.3)

ta ipi s m ŭ r ryu ʅ ə ʅ iy ə k
 great-sorrow [gen.] water [lat.] moisten [emp.]
 'he moistens the mind's field with great mercy' (23:pp.96-97)

6. aon t ʌ i ryu s ə n ki ri y ə (25:6.1-6.2)

aon t ʌ i ryu s ə n ki ri y ə
 conduct thing [lat.] good-deeds [excl.]
 'with the ways we conduct (they) are good deeds' (25:pp.100-101)

7. iryus nama t'asasaŭy ə (25:10.1-10.3)

i ryu s nama t'asa sa ʒyə
 this [lat.] [gen.] remain other-things abandon wish

'we shall remain with this and abandon other things' (25:pp.100-101)

All these examples undoubtedly indicate that OK *ryu had the function of instrumentality. This function may have been later developed than the directional function of the lative case suffix. This is because none of the Mongolian, Old Turkic, Manchu-Tungus (which we discuss in the following sections), and Old Japanese cognates possessed the instrumental function. This would mean that the instrumental function may have been an internal development.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

As touched on under Ramstedt's view on the origin of the Korean lative case suffix, we would normally expect a Manchu-Tungus cognate with the initial consonant r- for the Old Korean case suffix *ryu and for the Mongolian fossilized directive suffix ru because there is a medial consonantal correspondence between Manchu-Tungus and Old Korean and between Manchu-Tungus and Mongolian of the type: r:r. On the basis of Ramstedt's idea, we are to find a similar form and meaning in Manchu-Tungus to the Old Korean lative and to the Mongolian directive.

(3.1) The functions of the Manchu-Tungus directive case suffix ri

We find words denoting directions that are formed with a suffix ri in Manchu-Tungus. Most words with the suffix ri have become nominal stems which have regular declension, but some adverbs with that suffix still have the directive

function. The following are some examples of this suffix in Manchu-Tungus:

Manchu (Yamamoto 1955:521)

<u>amari</u>	'to/toward north/back'	< <u>ama-</u>
<u>juleri</u>	'to/toward south/front'	< <u>jule-</u>
<u>deleri</u>	'to/toward east/top, upward'	< <u>dele-</u>
<u>fejiri</u>	'to/toward bottom, downward'	< <u>feji-</u>
<u>dolori</u>	'to/toward inside, inward'	< <u>dolo-</u>
<u>tuleri</u>	'to/toward outside, outward'	< <u>tule-</u>
<u>eberi</u>	'to this place, here'	< <u>ebe-</u>
<u>oileri</u>	'to/on the surface'	< <u>oile-</u>

Evenki (Poppe 1977:70-71)

<u>amarila</u>	'behind, after'	< <u>ama-</u>
<u>īri-wel</u>	'somewhere, to some/any place'	< <u>ī-</u> 'what?'

Lamut (Poppe 1977:70-71)

<u>ama-r</u>	'behind'	< <u>ama-</u>
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Poppe (1977:70-71) confirms the presence of the older Manch-Tungus directive suffix ri and provides more examples. In this dissertation, however, these examples above offer fairly convincing evidence that this suffix ri in Manchu-Tungus was indeed once a productive directive case suffix. At this point, there is no doubt that this Manchu-Tungus directive case suffix is cognate with the Mongolian directive case suffix ru, with the Old Korean lative case suffix *ryu, with the Old Japanese case suffixes gari/ga/ri/kara/ra, and also finally with the Old Turkic directive case suffix gārū/ru/ra/ri, with which we deal in the last section.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

The Mongolian directive case suffix rū/ru occurred in adverbs used also as suffixes. This case suffix goes back to *ru, which was reconstructed by Poppe (1955b:205) on the basis of all the major Altaic directive case suffixes.

(4.1) The functions of Mongolian directive case suffix ru

All adverbs with the directive case suffix are fossilized, as shown below (Ramstedt 1952:38-9; Poppe 1964:59):

<u>inaru</u>	'prior, before, this side' (=inagsi)	< <u>ina-</u>
<u>činaru</u>	'after, that direction, that side' (=činagsi)	< <u>čina-</u>
<u>tedru</u> (pre-classical)	'to the contrary'	< <u>ted-</u>
<u>asuru</u>	'very'	< <u>asu-</u>
<u>qagaru/qaru</u>	'where?, somewhere'	< <u>qaga-/qa-</u>

These seem to be the only remnants which indicate that the directive case suffix rū/ru existed in Written Mongolian. The reflexes are found in the following Mongolian dialects:

Urdoš: rū/lū (the latter used after r)

otogrū 'in the direction of the Otog banner' < otog-

Buriat: rū/lū (the latter used after r)

uḡarū 'towards the water' < uḡan 'water'

moriū 'towards the horse' < mori 'horse'

Khalkha: rū/lū (the latter used after r)

moddərū 'towards the woods' < moddt 'tree, woods'

These modern dialectal forms are still employed as the directive case suf-

fix, which supports our view that the Written Mongolian directive case suffix did exist and was productive.

The directive case suffix ru is also found in the Written Mongolian dative-locative case suffix dür/dur as in noyan-dur 'to the prince' and in the suffix γur in adverbs denoting the place along or over which motion takes place (Poppe 1977:70). These forms apparently only show an r instead of a ru because a final vowel u had dropped, in the opinion of most linguists of Mongolian.

All this evidence points to the conclusion that the Mongolian directive case suffix rü/ru is certainly related to the Old Korean lative case suffix *ryu and to the Old Japanese lative case suffixes gari/ga/ri/kara/ra on all levels.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

In Old Turkic there were two sets of forms for the directive case suffix. One set consisted of rü/ru, rä/ra, and ry/ri, in which the three forms seem to have been in complementary distribution. The other set consisted of gärü/γaru and kärü/karu, which may further be analyzed as consisting of gä/γa, kä/ka (dative) and rü/ru (directive). The latter set had only the directive function, though the forms show a combination of the two suffixes. It is noteworthy that there are some modern Turkic languages (e.g. Yakut) in which those combined forms still have both the dative and the directive functions.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic directive case suffixes gärü/ru/ra/ri

In the former set, as shown below, the directive rü/ru tended to be in complementary distribution with another directive rä/ra, in that rü/ru seems to

have occurred at the end of a vowel-final word, while rä/ra tended to appear at the end of a consonant-final word. However, ry/ri seems not to have occurred at all in Old Turkic, though some modern Turkic languages show this suffix. Also ry/ri is likely to have been derived from rü/ru because ry/ri seems to have appeared after vowel-final words, although words with ry/ri seem to have been fossilized. The following are some examples of this set:

<u>rü/ru</u>		<u>rä/ra</u>	
<u>äb-rü</u>	'to the house'	<u>yüräk-rä</u>	'in the heart'
<u>äbim-rü</u>	'to my family'	<u>iġ-ra</u>	'in, inside, inner'
<u>taba-ru</u>	'to, toward' (MTK)	<u>taġ-ra</u>	'early, in front, ahead'
<u>bä-rü</u>	'from here' (MTK)	<u>as-ra</u>	'under'
<u>a-ru</u>	'there, that way' (MTK)	<u>kis-rä</u>	'late'
<u>ki-rü/ke-rü</u>	'backward'	<u>is-rä</u>	'back, behind'
		<u>baġ-ra</u>	'on the head'
		<u>yüz-rä</u>	'for the face'
<u>ry/ri</u>		<u>son-ra</u>	'to this place'
<u>be-ri</u>	'since, from here' (Osm)		
<u>ge-ri</u>	'backward' (Kar)		
<u>a-ry/a-re</u>	'to, toward' (Kar)		
<u>ya-ry/yar</u>	'to, toward' (Kar)		
<u>meni-yar</u>	'back, backward' (Kzk)		

The directive suffixes gärü/ġaru and kärü/karu seem to have originally been in complementary distribution. The former seems to have appeared immediately after a voiced phoneme, and the latter tended to occur immediately after a voiceless phoneme. However, this distribution seems to have been disturbed by the time of

Old Turkic, and as a consequence the former set took over the functions of the latter. This is exemplified by the following:

ga ğa n ğaru 'back to the king' bizğärü 'to us'
tasğaru/ taskaru 'outward' icgaru/ ickaru 'inward'

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. ilgärü kün tuğsiqda (KT E 8) | 2. ol yirğärü barsar (BK E 8) |
| il gärü kun tuğsiq da | ol yir gärü bar sar |
| east [dir.] sun rise [loc.] | that direction [dir.] go [cond.] |
| 'where the sun rises eastward' | 'if you go in that direction' |

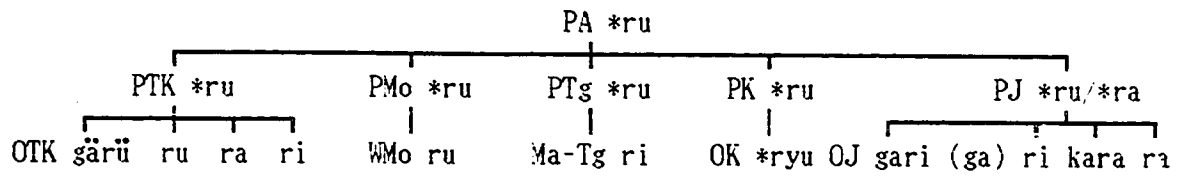
We assert from the evidence above that the original forms of the Old Turkic directive case suffix were rü/ru and rä/ra, and that these two forms must have originally been in complementary distribution with one another. Thus, we may postulate that OTK rü/ru is comparable with OK *ryu in form and function and that Old Korean probably lost the other form ra by the Old Korean period; it is however, found in Old Japanese.

[6] Concluding remarks

We have discussed the Altaic evidence for the Old Japanese and Old Korean lative case suffixes, and we have found that the major Altaic languages did have what was basically the same directive case suffix, one which has the same form and meaning as those of the Old Japanese and Old Korean lative suffixes. We confirm that Ramstedt was correct about the origin of the Old Korean lative except for the Manchu-Tungus cognate, even though all he showed us was the fragmentary Altaic evidence for the origin of the Korean lative case suffix.

The whole history of the Altaic directive *ru may be diagrammed in the fol-

lowing:



Chapter Six

The Old Japanese prosecutive case suffix yuri/yori/yu/yo,

the Old Japanese directive case suffix ni,

and

the Old Korean directive case suffix *ri

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

The question of the origin of the Old Japanese prosecutive case suffix yuri/yori/yu/yo and of the Old Japanese directive case suffix ni had not been studied in detail until Murayama (1973) examined these case suffixes through comparison with the Manchu-Tungus prosecutive case suffix li. Miller (1971) proposed connections between the ri in the Old Japanese prosecutive case suffix yuri/yori and the Middle Korean directive suffix ri. However, both these scholars lacked substantial evidence for their claims.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese prosecutive case suffix

(a) Murayama Shichirō (1957:130-131; 1973:160)

Murayama (1957) proposed that OJ ni might be comparable with Manchu i (instrumental) because OJ ni also has an instrumental function. Then he went on to say that the instrumental use of OJ ni ramified into the other three uses (dative, locative, and directive) and that the i in OJ ni and Ma i probably originated from the third person singular pronoun *i. But later (1973) Murayama changed his mind, to claim that OJ ni goes back PA *li (prosecutive) whose reflexes are still very much productive in Manchu-Tungus. Although he offered the

following example for the use of Manchu-Tungus prosecutive case suffix li, he failed to specify those functions of OJ ni and Tg li that both languages have in common:

adi əii jodanni tamritan (Benzing 1955a:60) (l → n/ n__)

adi əli jodan ni tam ritan

how-much this goods [pros.] spend [3rd.p.pl.]

'How much did they spend on these goods?'

Murayama's first proposal was not at all convincing because even though he claimed that there is a certain function in common between OJ ni and Ma i, his evidence did not substantiate his claim. However, his second proposal is very promising since we do find some important correlations between OJ ni and Tg li, which will be discussed in the later section.

(b) Roy Andrew Miller (1971:291)

Miller maintained the idea that OJ ni is cognate with Ma i (instrumental), stating that Ma i was originally *ni, the Manchu reflex ni appearing only after Chinese loans with a final nasal ng, i.e. that the original form *ni was reduced to i in all environments except when it followed a Chinese loan with final ng, in which case the n remained articulated and therefore ni survived.

However, we think that the original form was *ti, which became Ma i in all environments through voicing the *t in PTg *ti. The voiced stop *d became weakened into zero. Then this reduced suffix i became ni whenever a Chinese loan with the final ng preceded it, that is, first, the final nasal ng started nasalizing the following suffix i, consequently this nasalization caused a separate linking nasal -n- to appear, and then eventually i became restructured into ni

(i > ɔi > ni). Furthermore, the forms of the instrumental suffix in other Tungus languages suggest that the original instrumental suffix was *ti rather than *ni, as shown below, which indicates that Ma i was originally *ti.

* <u>ti</u>	Proto-Tungus
<u>zi</u>	Nanai, Olcha, Orochi, Udehe, Solon
<u>zi</u> or <u>di</u>	Negidal
t/ <u>zi</u> (after <u>n</u> and [pl.suf.])	Evenki
ʃ/ <u>zi</u> (after <u>n</u> and [pl.suf.])	Lamut

Miller (1971:86) also claimed that the ri in OJ yuri/yori is the Japanese cognate for MK ri, both of which go back to PA *li because OJ yuri/yori is to be segmented as yu + ri/yo + ri, which each morpheme goes back to PTg *du (dative-locative) + *li (prosecutive) respectively, which Murayama (1957) briefly mentioned earlier. Miller's second claim is very promising.

(1.2) The functions of the Old Japanese prosecutive case suffix yuri/yori/yo/yo

The phonetic variants of the Old Japanese prosecutive case suffix were identical in meaning, though the original meaning of yuri/yori and of yu/yo had probably been different. The original form of OJ yuri/yori was reconstructed as *düli/*duli by Murayama (1974:158) on the basis of Altaic comparative phonology. This original form can be segmented as *du (locative) + *li (prosecutive). The locative suffix *du must have denoted a point in time or space in which an action takes place, whereas *duli must have meant a point in time or space through or along which an action occurs. This *duli underlies the later form OJ yuri/yori, which has extended the domain of its meaning by innovation. Likewise, this *du underlies the later form OJ yu/yo that has expanded the meaning by in-

novation and convergence with ri. These two forms came to have the identical functions and meaning in the Pre-Old Japanese period.

(a) the prosecutive function

1. yama nō tawa yori miFune wo Fikikosite... (K 306)

yama nō tawa yori miFune wo Fikikosite
 mountain [gen.] pass [pros.] boat [obj.] carry
 'having carried the boat over a mountain pass...'

2. Fasi sōnō kaFa yori nagarekudariki (K 103)

Fasi sōnō kaFa yori nagare kudari ki
 chopsticks that river [pros.] flow go-down [perf.]
 'chopsticks came floating down the river'

3. kōkōrō yu mō ōmōFanu aFida ni... (M 794)

kōkōrō yu mō ōmōFa nu aFida ni
 mind [pros.] [emp.] think not interval [pros.]
 'while (it) has not yet entered the mind...'

4. kati yori yaraFitamaFiki (K 232)

kati yori yaraFi tamaFi ki
 foot [pros.] pursue [hon.] [perf.]
 '(she) pursued (them) on foot'

Each example shows a prosecutive function: yori is translated into 'over' in the first example, 'down' or 'along' in the second example, 'on' or 'by' in the last example. The suffix yu in the third example is translated as zero, as shown above, though it may also be translated as 'into'.

(b) the ablative function

1. are Fayaku yori Farameru wo (K 204)
 are Fayaku yori Farameru wo
 that early [abl.] pregnant [excla.]
 'I have long since been pregnant'
2. iFakī yori naridesi Fitō ka (M 800)
 iFakī yori naridesi Fitō ka
 rock-tree [abl.] born person [ques.]
 'perhaps (he) is a person of (lit. from) (insensate) rock (and) tree?'
3. naniFa nō tu yori Funa yōsōFi are Fa kōginu tō imo ni tugi kōsō (M 4365)
 naniFa nō tu yori Funa yōsōFi are Fa kōgi nu tō
 Naniwa [gen.] harbor [abl.] boat equip that [top.] row [perf.] [quot.]
 imo ni tugi kōsō
 wife [dat.] tell [emp.]
 'please tell my wife that we have rowed out the boat being equipped from
 Naniwa's harbor'

The suffix yori in these examples clearly displays the ablative function and is translated as either 'from' or 'since'.

(c) the comparative function

1. kusuri Famu yo Fa miyako miba... (M 848)
 kusuri Famu yo Fa miyako mi ba
 medicine take [com.] [top.] capital look [cond.]
 'if instead of swallowing medicine I looked at the capital...'
2. inōti ni mukaFi koFīmu yu Fa kimi ga miFune nō kadikara ni mōga (M 1455)
 inōti ni mukaFi koFīmu yu Fa kimi ga miFune nō kadi

life [pros.] equal love [com.] [top.] you [gen.] boat [gen.] oar
 kara ni mōga
 handle [pros.] [vol.]

'rather than pine (all my) life (away from you) I would be the handle of
 your boat's oar'

3. Faru mimasi yu Fa natugusa nō sigēku Fa aredō keFu nō tanosisa (M 1753)

Faru mimasi yu Fa natugusa nō sigēku Fa are
 spring look [hon.] [com.] [top.] summer-grass [gen.] thick [top.] exist
 dō keFu nō tanosisa
 [conj.] today [gen.] joy

'rather than dreaming about spring it (would be) more pleasant today if the
 summer grass were thick'

The suffix yu/yo in these examples demonstrates the comparative function, and is translated as 'instead' or 'rather than'.

As these examples above show, especially those with the prosecutive function, OJ yuri/yori/yo/yo has the same functions as the Tungus prosecutive suffix li, which will be discussed later. Moreover, the semantic scope of the Old Japanese prosecutive was as wide as that of the Tungus prosecutive suffix, which will be treated in the following section.

It is almost certain that the ri in OJ yuri/yori is cognate with OK *ri because of their identical phonetic shape, very close meaning, and syntactic functions and also because OJ ni is cognate with OJ yuri/yori (which will be shown in the following subsection). Although OK *ri is comparable with the ri in OJ yuri/yori, there is no Korean form that is cognate with OJ yu/yo.

It is interesting to note that OJ yu/yo is comparable with the Manchu locative case suffix de, the Tungus dative case suffix du, the Mongolian dative-locative case suffix du, du-r, and da, and the Turkic locative case suffix da. It is also clear that the ablative function of OJ yuri/yori is quite parallel with that of similar formations in all the Altaic branches: the Mongolian ablative case suffix ača consists of a (old dative) and ča (original ablative); the Tungus ablative suffix duk is made up of du (dative) and k (ablative); the Turkic ablative suffix dan comprises da (locative) and n (genitive). These parallels with Altaic support the idea that the ablative function of the Old Japanese case suffix in question was probably inherited from Altaic since there was no other suffix that would suffice for the ablative function in Old Japanese.

It is known that the comparative function is normally derived from the function of the ablative case suffix in Altaic, i.e. the ablative case suffix is used to make comparisons. As one may notice, the ablative case suffix was also used to make comparisons in Old Japanese, so that in this respect also we can propose that the ablative case suffix for comparison must have been inherited from Altaic.

(1.3) The functions of the Old Japanese directive case suffix ni

As we will see below, there are similarities in phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics between OJ ni and Tg li. In morphology, as shown in the example in (1.1), Tg li becomes Tg ni because of assimilation with the nasal n before the li, which indicates that Tg ni was in complementary distribution with Tg li, whereas OJ ni was an independent morpheme, even though it was probably originally an allomorph of Pre-OJ *li. A Pre-Old Japanese variant *ni probably

became dominant over the original form *li, so that this original form eventually disappeared entirely except for the combined suffix form yuri/yori, whose form was discussed earlier.

Now we will investigate the functions of OJ ni. Although the meaning of OJ ni was virtually invariant, that is, it indicated time and space, it can be classified as follows:

(a) the locative function

1. sökö ni moya wo tukurite... (K 160)

sökö ni moya wo tukurite

that-place [loc.] burial-house [obj.] erect

'having erected a burial house there...'

2. tuFi ni umi ni usinaFiteki (K 193)

tuFi ni umi ni usinaFite ki

end [loc.] sea [loc.] lose [perf.]

'eventually (he) lost (the hook) in the sea'

3. ama nö tömösiŋi öki ni nadusaFu (M 3623)

ama nö tömösiŋi öki ni nadusaFu

fisherman [gen.] light offing [loc.] flicker

'the fishermen's lights flicker in the offing'

4. wonöko yamö munasikuaru bëki yöröduyö ni kataritugu bëki na Fa tatazusite

(M 978)

wonöko yamö munasiku aru bëki yörödu yö ni kataritugu

man [rhet.] empty exist should ever-lasting world [loc.] pass-on

bëki na Fa tatazusite

should name [top.] not-exist

'Should I, a man, die in vain, with no name passed on to ten thousand generations?'

The suffix ni in examples 1, 2 (second ni), and 3 shows the locative of space, whereas the one in examples 2 (first ni) and 4 displays the locative of time.

(b) the directive function

1. iFe ni wite irete... (K 122)

iFe ni wite irete
house [dir.] exist let-in

'having showed (him) into the house...'

2. umi ni idetaru sikama kaFa... (M 3605)

umi ni idetaru sikama kaFa
sea [dir.] go-out Sikama river

'the river Sikama falling into the sea...'

3. nara nō miyako ni tanabikeru ama nō sirakumo... (M 3602)

nara nō miyako ni tanabikeru ama nō sirakumo
Nara [gen.] capital [dir.] sailing sky [gen.] white-clouds

'white clouds in the sky sailing to the capital Nara...'

The suffix ni in these examples functions as the directive.

(c) the dative function

1. sönō Fikodi ni sadukētamaFu (K 123)

sönō Fikodi ni sadukë tamaFu
that husband [dat.] give [hon.]

'(she) gives to her husband'

2. amawakabiko ni tugëte iFaku... (K 157)

amawakabiko ni tugëte iFaku

Amawakabiko [dat.] tell say

'(she) said to Amawakabiko that...'

3. ka yukëba Fitö ni itöFaye... (M 804)

ka yukë ba Fitö ni itöFa ye

that go [cond.] person [dat.] unlove [pas.]

'if (he) goes there, he is unloved by poeple...'

The dative function of OJ ni as the indirect complement denoting the addressee of the action, as shown in examples 1 and 2, is rare compared to that of OJ ni as part of an indirect complement denoting the agent with a verbal predicate in the passive voice, as displayed in example 3.

As will be discussed in the Manchu-Tungus section, Tg li was derived from a combination of the locative la and the older accusative *gi which had had the prosecutive function, whose formation is very common in Altaic. Hence the prosecutive li in Manchu-Tungus at first was likely to hold the function which could cover the locative, directive, and dative, even though that function may have been restricted to some extent depending on the specific Tungus language. In this respect, OJ ni had similar functions that are comparable with Tg li in that both had the function of the locative, directive, and dative, though Tungus predominantly had the prosecutive function.

In conjunction with OK *ri, which will be discussed in next section, OJ yuri/vori/ni correspond to this Old Korean directive case suffix *ri in that both share the function of the directive which the Manchu-Tungus prosecutive

would cover.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

The issue on the origin of the Old Korean directive suffix *ri has not been studied in detail, though there has been some speculation on this suffix. For instance, Lee Ki-moon (1975) and Kim Bang-han (1983) have briefly touched on this suffix.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Korean directive case suffix

The literature offers only one view on the origin of the Old Korean directive case suffix *ri. Lee Ki-moon (1975) and Kim Bang-han (1983) have both claimed that the Middle Korean ri is genetically related to the Altaic prosecutive case suffix *li. Most reflexes of the original case suffix *li have fossilized in all the Altaic languages except for the Tungus branch, in which the reflex has been very productive.

(2.2) The functions of the Old Korean directive case suffix *ri

The Middle Korean directive case suffix ri is written with the hangul letters ㄹ in Middle Korean texts. This suffix was already unproductive in Middle Korean so that we find only a few fossilized deictic form in Middle Korean. Thus we assume that this directive suffix must be very old and it was productive before the Middle Korean period. The following are some examples of this suffix:

(a) iri 'to(ward) this way, in this way' < i 'this' + ri '[dir.]

1. y ə s ə t s a i i r i n i r ũ n ʌ n i (SS 6:26)

y ə sət sa i i ri nirūāni
 six masters [nom.] this [dir.] reached
 'the six masters reached (it) this way'

2. h ʌ i i ri nop'asko (NT 1:35)

h ʌ i i ri nop'as ko
 year this [dir.] increase [conj.]
 'years passed this way...'

(b) kūri 'to(ward) that way, in that way' < kū 'that' + ri '[dir.]'

1. hongming nirot ʌ i kū ri aningta (SS 6:16)

hongming nirot ʌ i kū ri aningta
 Hongming say that [dir.] not-exist
 'Hongming says that it is not that way'

2. na to kū ri horirah ʌ ko... (SS 6:12)

na to kū ri ho rira h ʌ
 I [emp.] that [dir.] do [fut.] say
 '(he) says, "I also will do that way"...

(c) tyəri 'to(ward) that way, in that way' < tyə 'that' + ri '[dir.]'

1. i sar ʌ m i pop ʌ i r ʌ r tyə ri torok ani askinosta h ʌ ya (SS 6:26)

i sar ʌ m i pop ʌ i r ʌ r tyə ri torok ani askinosta h ʌ ya
 this person [nom.] treasure [obj.] that [dir.] like not cherish say
 '(he) says that this person does not cherish (his) treasure like this...'

(d) am ʌ ri 'in a certain way, how?' < am ʌ 'which?' + ri '[dir.]'

1. č'ik ũn am ʌ ri h ʌ myən h ʌ n ʌ n kyəč' ə i psŭn ʌ n ča ira (HCO)

č'ik ũn am ʌ ri h ʌ myən h ʌ n ʌ n kyəč' ə i psŭn ʌ n

Ŷ'ik [top.] which [dir.] do [conj.] do particle [loc.] use

Ŷa ira

letter exist

'(the graph) Ŷ'ik 則 is the Chinese character used for the particle am^ri'

It seems that by the time of Middle Korean the suffix *ri had become obsolescent, though most Korean grammarians have insisted that *ri is found as a remnant in these four words discussed above. However, as will be demonstrated below, there is evidence that *ri must have survived in other few words as a less productive suffix, at least up to the early Middle Korean period:

(e) ətŭri 'how?, by what means?'

1. kŭngəi kyəngsya i əpkəni ətŭri karyo (SS 6:22)

kŭngəi kyəngsya i əp kəni ətŭri karyo

there Kyongsya [nom.] not [conj.] how [dir.] go

'since Kyongsya is not there, how would I go?'

2. n əi atŭr i həmŭr əpsŭni ətŭri nait'iryo (WS 2:7)

n ə i atŭr i həmŭr əp sŭni ətŭri nait'iryo

you [gen.] child [nom.] fault not [conj.] how [dir.] reject

'although your child does not misbehave, how would you reject (him)?'

MK ri in these examples shows 'manner' rather than the directive function. This suffix must have functioned as a directive or allative case in the Old Korean period, but by the time of the Middle Korean period the directive or allative function seems to have ceased and the function of manner remained. This is probably because the lative case suffix *ryu took over the directive or allative function of OK *ri by the end of the early Middle Korean period at the latest.

Although we do not find any further examples with the suffix ri in Middle Korean, its semantics may be accepted until we face certain other problems.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

As briefly mentioned earlier, we may have a Manchu-Tungus cognate for OJ yuri/vori/ni as well as for OK *ri, in the Manchu-Tungus prosecutive case suffix li/duli. As the name indicates, this suffix has a variety of meanings depending on the context and seems to cover the semantics of OJ yuri/vori/ni as well as those of OK *ri.

(3.1) The functions of the Manchu-Tungus prosecutive case suffix li/duli

The following table displays the prosecutive case suffix in Manchu-Tungus:

PTg	Manchu	Nanai	Olcha	Udehe	Solon	Negidal	Evenki	Lamut
*li	li/ri	li	li	li	li	li	li	li
*duli	deri	--	--	duli	duli	duli	duli	duli

Manchu-Tungus had the two different forms for the prosecutive case suffix. However, these two forms were in complementary distribution with each other; normally the long form duli occurs only after an r, l, or n, while the short form li appears after other consonants and vowels. The long form duli consists of the dative du plus the true prosecutive li, and was originally different in both function and meaning from the short form li. We propose as mentioned earlier that the short form li is derived from a combination of two elements, the locative la and the older accusative *gi, which had possessed the prosecutive function, although Benzing (1955b:84) proposed the same as that of ours except

that he did not specify the semantics and function of the second suffix *gi.

It is important to note that Manchu has a long form deri which is different from the rest. It is difficult to resolve the problem of the origin of this suffix, though Poppe (1931:114) first claimed that the ri as in deleri 'on the surface' or juleri 'in front' corresponds to the prosecutive li in Tungus and is derived from the prosecutive case suffix by dissimilation l...l > l...r. He then changed his mind (1977:70-71), to claim that this ri is the lative case suffix, which has already been discussed in the fifth chapter. It seems that we find only two instances of the prosecutive *li fossilized in Manchu, as shown below.

The following words in Manchu-Tungus are instances of fossilized forms of the prosecutive case suffix li; the semantics of these words may be recognized independently of the suffix li:

Manchu

geli 'again, henceforth'

dabali 'across'

Nanai

təli 'then'

hali 'when'

Evenki

hərgīlī 'below, through'

Lamut

hərgīlī 'below, through'

Even though the prosecutive case suffix li is found in the fossilized forms of adverbs, postposition, and pronouns as well, the forms shown above tend to

imply that the original meaning of the suffix li was a point in time or space through or along which some motion proceeds.

The following are some examples of this case suffix (Benzing 1955a:60):

1. bi okat!i momidaram

bi okat li momida ram

I river [pros.] ride-in-boat [1st p.sg.pres.]

'I ride in the boat along the river'

2. isagli gerkaram

isag li gerka ram

woods [pros.] take-a-walk [1st p.sg.pres.]

'I take a walk through the woods'

3. tog ēcin ujdē kēn dulin dəgsə

tog ēcin ujdē kēn duli n dæg sə

cloud high [diminu.] [pros.] [dat.] fly [3rd p.pl.pres.]

'they fly high above the clouds'

4. tali ajli muranduli hojaw tamritan

ta li aj li muran duli hoja w tam ritan

this [pros.] good [pros.] horse [pros.] much [obj.] pay [3rd p.pl.perf.]

'they have paid much for this good horse'

5. adi əli zodanni tamritan

adi ə li zodan ni tam ritan

how-much this [pros.] ware [pros.] pay [3rd p.pl.perf.]

'how much have you paid for this ware?'

6. zurduli anᵒan(n)i

zur duli anᄇan (n)i
 two [pros.] years [pros.]
 'two years from now...'

As discussed under Old Korean, the original function of the Old Korean directive case suffix *ri was not a directive which came to function as 'manner' in Middle Korean, but rather a prosecutive. We can readily see the shift from the prosecutive function to the directive or allative because the concept of the prosecutive is not restricted to 'along, through'. This is supported by the fact that PTg *ji itself is a combination of the locative la and the older accusative *gi. In other words, the so-called directive, locative, ablative, and prosecutive are in fact only names for different aspects of a continuum of time and space. This has been demonstrated by the examples cited above so far.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

Most scholars have thought that there was no Mongolian cognate for the Manchu-Tungus prosecutive case suffix li, but there appears to be a cognate in Mongolian. Lee Ki-moon (1975:20) was the first to recognize the cognate in Mongolian.

(4.1) The function of the Mongolian suffix li

The Mongolian suffix li is entirely fossilized, and words with this fossilized suffix are mostly used as pronouns. The following are some examples of this suffix:

ali 'who?, which?'

jali ügei 'insignificant' < 'not to anything'

teli 'so, when?'

keli 'how?'

Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and most spoken Mongolian dialects do not have a productive prosecutive case suffix, unlike Manchu-Tungus. Only a few adverbs are found, though these forms are not related to the prosecutive suffix:

Khalkha dōγūr 'along the bottom' Buriat dēgwr 'over/along the top'

The li in the examples above is related to that in Manchu-Tungus, since we find similar pronouns both in Manchu-Tungus and in Mongolian, as shown above. The Mongolian pronouns appear to have completely lost the original function of the prosecutive case suffix, though the form li barely survived in the fossilized form.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

It appears that Old Turkic did not have a prosecutive case suffix, either productive or fossilized. We find a fossilized suffix li identical in form with the Mongolian suffix, but it functioned as a coordinating conjunctive (Tekin 1968:124-125):

1. ini-lī ačī-lī (KT E 6)

ini lī ačī lī

younger brothers [conj.] elder brother [conj.]

'younger and elder brothers'

2. tün-lī kün-lī (BK SE)

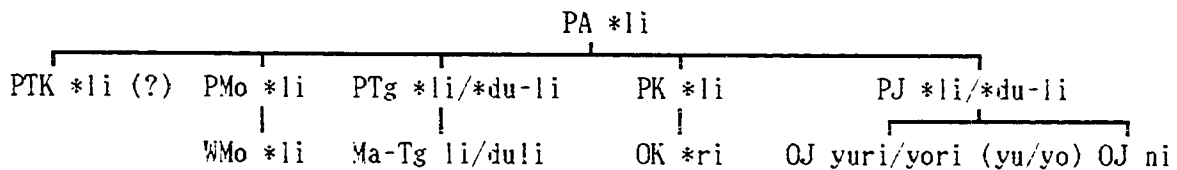
tün lī kün lī
 night [conj.] day [conj.]
 'night and day'

Thus this form does not at all correspond in meaning to the prosecutive case suffix in Old Japanese, Old Korean, Manchu-Tungus, or Mongolian. Hence this Old Turkic conjunctive li is not cognate with li in the other Altaic languages, nor as in Old Japanese and Old Korean.

[6] Concluding remarks

We have observed and examined the morphemes, together with their functions and meanings, which are thought to be cognate with OJ yuri/yori/ni and OK *ri in the major Altaic languages. The prosecutive case suffix is found in Manchu-Tungus, and Mongolian, as well as in Old Japanese and Middle Korean, but not in Old Turkic. The productivity of the suffix apparently depends on the language: in Old Japanese and in Manchu-Tungus it was the most productive, whereas in Middle Korean as well as in Mongolian it was unproductive and hence survives merely as a remnant.

The whole picture of the history of the prosecutive case suffix would then be the following:



Chapter Seven

The Old Japanese locative case suffix tu

and

the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix *a/*ai/*ahi

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

Very few studies have been done on the question of the origin of the Old Japanese locative case suffix tu on the basis of comparative linguistics, in this case, through comparison of Japanese with Korean and the other Altaic languages. Only two studies are well-recognized on this issue, Murayama (1957) and Miller (1971).

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese locative case suffix

(a) Murayama Shichirō (1957:131)

Murayama suggested that the Old Japanese locative case tu is comparable with the Mongolian dative-locative case suffix du/tu, and with the Turkic locative case da/ta, since OJ tu was, he believed, derived from *du, a variant of the prosecutive case yu/yo.

Murayama's hypothesis is rejected by our studies; we find no evidence that OJ tu is a variant of an original suffix *du, which ramified into OJ yu(ri).

(b) Roy Andrew Miller (1971:86-89)

Miller basically accepted Murayama's hypothesis, but further discussed how PA *d- became OJ t-/y-, which is related to the phonetic shape of the two Old Japanese case suffixes, OJ tu and OJ yu(ri). He postulated that t- in OJ tu was

the development from PA *d- before an original *-u-, whereas y- in OJ yu came from PA *d- before an original *-u-. According to his hypothesis, the li resulted in the fronting of the u in PTg *duli, which therefore, eventually became PTg *düli. This was the form which yielded OJ yuri. This explanation, however, does not seem to be convincing, so that we may reject Miller's hypothesis on the split of PA *d- into OJ t- and OJ y-.

(1.2) The function of the Old Japanese locative case suffix tu

By the time of Old Japanese the Old Japanese locative case tu suffix had become fossilized. This is demonstrated by the fact that this suffix was employed in set adnominal combinations which became compound words. Here are some examples cited from Manyōshū and Kojiki:

<u>niFa-tu-tōri</u>	'chicken' < 'domestic fowl'	<u>ya-tu-ko</u>	'slave < domestic person'
<u>sa-no-tu-tōri</u>	'pheasant' < 'field bird'	<u>mi-ya-tu-ko</u>	'governor < court person'
<u>oki-tu-tōri</u>	'sea bird'	<u>Fina-tu-me</u>	'country girl'
<u>umi-tu-di</u>	'sea route'	<u>kuni-tu-kami</u>	'gods of earth'
<u>ama-tu-kami</u>	'gods of heaven'	<u>tōFō-tu-bitō</u>	'faraway person'
<u>tika-tu-aFumi-nō-kuni</u>			

tika tu aFumi nō kuni
 close [loc.] fresh water [gen.] country
 'land of the near freshwater sea'

One may notice that in the examples tika... and tōFō... , the locative tu is preceded by the adjectives tika and tōFō respectively, not by nouns, a structure that normally did not occur in Old Japanese. But we also notice that these two adjectives are locational, so that they may be considered to be a special type

of adjective which can be made to fit into a nominal slot immediately before the locative tu. It is also interesting to pursue differences between tōFō-ki-[N.] and tōFō-tu-[N.], and between tika-ki-[N.] and tika-tu-[N.], though the question is beyond the scope of this dissertation. (One difference may be that compounds with OJ ki were found after apposition or the subject of a subordinate clause, while those with OJ tu were not).

The examples above clearly demonstrate the locative function of this suffix. This same function is also seen in the following examples, in which OJ tu is suffixed to words of location such as uFe 'top', sökō 'bottom', oku 'interior', etc.

1. sökō-tu-iFane ni... (K 179)

sökō tu iFane ni
 bottom [loc.] stone foundation [pros.]
 'on the stone foundation of the bottom...'

2. uFa-tu-kuni ni... (K 199)

uFa tu kuni ni
 top [loc.] land [pros.]
 'to the upper land...'

3. mōtō-tu-kuni... (K 204)

mōtō tu kuni
 former [loc.] land
 'former place of residence...'

4. kōkō yori oku-tu-kata ni... (K 218)

kōkō yori oku tu kata ni

this place [abl.] interior [loc.] area [pros.]

'from here into the interior of the land...'

It seems that OJ tu did not have any function other than the locative because we do not find any examples of other functions in Kojiki, Nihon Shoki, or Manyōshū.

We also find this suffix in the following fossilized form:

itu 'when' < *i-tu 'at what place in time'

matugē 'eyelash' < *ma-tu-gē 'eye'+ [loc.]+ 'hair'; but note also mayugē/

mayogē 'eyebrows'.

The form itu is normally found in many old texts, but we also find another form idu (e.g. Manyōshū 3549), which has been regarded as the Azuma dialect form of OJ iduku by traditional Japanese grammarians, though there is no evidence for that claim. This point is discussed in detail under the locative du below.

The case suffixes tu and yu [abl.pros.] (see under yu) in matugē and mayugē seem to have caused the semantic difference to be observed between these words: they are probably derived from the two respective original suffixes *tu and *du, the latter of which also became another locative suffix du in OJ. It is extremely difficult to explain how tu and du split from the same source *du, if indeed they had done so, from the data available. There is, in fact, no evidence that tu and du were in complementary distribution or in any other linguistic constraint, as will be seen under the locative case du. Therefore, the situation is best explained by the fact that these two locatives tu and du were originally different in phonetic shape, and so also in syntax and semantics. However, we should keep in mind that the function of these four cases (tu/du/yu/da) is not totally separate but instead a continuum of these named case suffixes, and that

such a continuum normally is not reflected in the names of these cases, because we have not reached the point in our studies where we may precisely pinpoint the function of these case suffixes by means of our terminology.

(1.3) The function of the Old Japanese locative case suffix du

We normally find this form of the locative case suffix in fossilized forms such as the interrogatives. The following are some examples of this suffix:

idu 'when' < 'at what place in time' < *i-du iduti 'in which way' < *i-du-ti

iduku 'at what place' < *i-du-ku idusi 'in which way' < *i-du-si

iduFe 'around what place' < *i-du-Fe idura 'around what place' < *i-du-ra

idure 'which way, which' < *i-du-re

Each of these interrogatives shares a basic stem idu, which in turn consists of i [inter.] and du [loc.]. This basic stem idu has an almost identical form itu 'when'; moreover, these two locative forms originally were based on the two distinctive forms *du and *tu, as briefly discussed above. The locative form and meaning of itu imply that itu was connected with idu in that, as indicated above, both mean 'when', which is interpreted as 'at what place in time', so that the meanings of the locatives tu and du are recognized. In other words, this temporal meaning came from the spatial meaning of OJ tu and OJ du. Unfortunately, no explanation is forthcoming for the difference in consonants between itu 'when' and the stem idu; these forms were originally distinguished from one another, but there seems to have been no conditioning factor operative here on the phonological level at least.

It is interesting to note that ku in iduku seems to be a variant of ka in kara [lat.] and ga in gari [lat.], i.e. of the dative-locative case suffix. The

re in idure may be related to re in köre 'this', söre 'that', etc., and is probably also cognate with re in Mo tere 'that'. Also, ra in idura must be the same as ra [lat.] in kara and ri [lat.] in gari, i.e. the lative case suffix.

(1.4) The function of the Old Japanese locative case suffix da

Old Japanese had still another locative case suffix da, which was close to OJ tu not only in phonetic shape but also in syntax and semantics. This suffix is found in the following two words:

1. <u>këdamönö</u>	2. <u>kudamönö</u>
<u>kë-da-mönö</u>	<u>ku-da-mönö</u>
<u>kë</u> <u>da</u> <u>mönö</u>	<u>ku</u> <u>da</u> <u>mönö</u>
hair [loc.] thing	tree [loc.] thing
'beast'	'fruit'

The form da must be extremely old because it is found only in these two fossilized forms. The ku in kudamönö is a variant form of kö 'tree'; the reason that kö became ku was probably that ö in kö could not coexist with the following a in da because the combination of ö and a in that order was seldom if ever possible in Old Japanese. The form ku must have been the best candidate because ku and da belong to the same vowel harmony group, while ko could not be a candidate because of the presence of a homonym ko 'child'. The combination of ke with da is irrelevant in terms of vowel harmony because the vowel e does not bear on vowel harmony at all in Old Japanese.

For the phonetic shape of the locative suffix da, the original form must have been *da paired with *du, which probably corresponds to the same pairs du/da in all the major Altaic languages. Thus Pre-Old Japanese must have had *du/

*da. Then, just as da in pre-classical Mongolian already became an adverbial suffix, which was fossilized by the time of Written Mongolian to become a part of such reflexive forms as da-γan, OJ *da also became fossilized.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

Linguists in Korea, Japan, and in the West have not yet dealt with the origin of the dative-locative suffixes *a/*ə/*ai/*əi/*ahi in Old Korean through comparison of Old Korean with the other Altaic languages including Old Japanese. This is the first attempt to solve that problem.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Korean dative-locative case suffixes

(a) G.J. Ramstedt (1952:31-33)

Ramstedt discussed the relationship of the Altaic dative-locative including Korean. He claimed that the Korean dative-locative suffix goes back to PA *a/*e, which resulted in *a/*e in the descendant languages.

(b) Lee Ki-moon (1965:27-28)

Lee mentioned that the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix goes back to PA *a/*e, whose reflexes are found in Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic. However, he did not provide evidence for his claim.

(c) Kim Bang-han (1983:188; 1985:189)

Kim stated that the Old Korean locative was related to the Mongolian dative-locative suffix, but he was not fully aware of the fact that the Mongolian dative-locative case was related to the Old Turkic dative-locative and to the

Tungus indefinite accusative case suffix, which was originally derived from the locative case suffix.

(2.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms used for the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix

The following Chinese phonograms are used to indicate the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix in Old Korean texts: 良 MC liang; 良衣 MC liang + MC ?jei; 阿希 MC ?a + MC xjei.

The first Chinese phonogram 良 liang is usually interpreted as an orthography for OK ra(n). The initial consonant l- in MC liang represents OK r. The sequence of vowels -ja- can be interpreted as OK -a- because the first vowel -i- was a glide and so it may have been ignored by the scribes. The final consonant MC -ng can be interpreted as OK -n, but it was normally ignored. Therefore, this whole phonogram is to be interpreted as OK ra(n) where the initial r is usually the last phoneme of the immediately preceding morpheme or is entirely omitted. Hence, a is the only phoneme relevant for the dative-locative case suffix.

In the second set of phonograms 良衣, 衣 MC ?jei has been interpreted as OK *i, as shown previously. Thus the combination of these phonograms must be interpreted as a writing *ai for the Old Korean dative-locative suffix.

In the case of 阿希, the first phonogram ?a is unquestionably to be interpreted as OK *a because nothing seems to cause any problem with this interpretation. The second phonogram 希 MC xjei is identical in phonetic shape with 衣 MC ?jei except for the initial consonant x- in xjei. This x- is generally an orthography for OK h, so that the entire phonogram is to be interpreted as OK

*hi. Thus the combination of these phonograms must be interpreted as OK *ahi.

It is to be noted further that the phonograms 衣 and 希 were also employed alone for the dative-locative case, even though they are phonograms, as we have discussed above, when they are used with the phonograms shown above. In other words, the isolated forms of these two Chinese characters are also used as semantograms for the locative case, but we will not treat those cases here (Hyangga: 衣 1:5.1-6.4; 12:6.1-7.4; 15:2.1-4.4; 希 2:1.1-2.5; 4:6.1-7.3).

(2.3) The functions of the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix *a/*ai/*ahi

There were probably three different original phonetic shapes for the dative-locative case suffix: ahi, ai, and a. The first two morphemes are to be divided into *a-hi and *a-i, respectively, on the basis of the Middle Korean dative-locative morpheme ai/əi, where the initial vowel a/ə is not a union vowel but a dative-locative case suffix. If this was also the case in the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix, then we can claim that a is the only dative-locative case suffix, and that hi and i are some kind of suffix, the latter i of which may be the h-less form of the former hi. This is also supported by the fact that Old Korean had another form of the dative-locative suffix a, as pointed out above. Thus we may safely postulate that the earliest form of the Old Korean dative-locative suffix must have been *a.

The following are examples of the dative-locative case found in Hyangga:

(a) 良衣 (r)ai and 良 (r)a

1. namupuryə sʌr ʃʌrson hyə ai mučinpy ənčæes patar ir nyən akhi sos-nakara (16:2.1-4.3)

namupur yə sʌr ʃʌr son hyə ai mučin pyənčæe

Buddha [voc.] pray [nomi.] tongue [dat.] infinite knowledge
 s pa tar ir nyən ak hi sos naka ra
 [gen.] sea [pl.] one praying interior [loc.] spring go out [suf.end.]
 'to the tongue with which I intensely chant 'Buddha', the sea of infinite
 knowledge comes out' (16:pp.82-83)

2. s[^]i θ[^]r p[^]rki t[^]r a pamtūri nonitaka (5:1.1-2.4)

s[^]i θ[^]r p[^]rki t[^]r a pam tūr i noni taka
 Kyongyu bright moon [loc.] night go in [adv.] carouse [conj.]
 'having caroused far into the night in the moonlit capital...' (14:pp.78-79)

3. auu na a kit'i syart[^]n (7:9.1-9.4)

auu na a kit'i syar t[^]n
 ah I [dat.] give do [hon.] [cond.]
 'Ah, if you give (one of your eyes) to me...' (12:pp.74-75)

4. h[^]t[^]n kač a nako... (11:7.1-7.3)

h[^]t[^]n kač a na ko
 one about branch [abl.] go out [conj.]
 'although we were born in the same branch...' (9:pp.68-69)

5. i ə pūčir s[^]mos tara... (15:10.1-10.3)

i ə pūčir s[^]mos tara
 this [dir.] diligently approach wish
 'I will approach this (Buddha) seriously...' (15:pp.80-81)

6. son a mata pəpskongūru... (17:6.1-6.2)

son a mata pəps kong ūru
 hand [loc.] each sutra hold [conj.]

'I hold a sutra in each hand and...' (17:pp.84-85)

(b) 阿希 ahi

1. pəpkai ak ũis purhoai ahi nan^n sto nazak... (20:2.1-3.3)

pəpkai ak ũis purhoai ahi na n^n sto nazak

throne of Buddha in [gen.] realm of Dharma [loc.] I [top.] again go-toward

'In the realm of Dharma to the throne of Buddha, I again pray' (20:pp.90-91)

As we see in the examples above, the dative-locative case suffix has not only the dative (a) 1.(a) 3, and locative functions (a) 2.(a) 6.(b) 1, but also the ablative (a) 4, and directive functions (a) 5. However, it seems that the main functions of this case suffix were dative and locative. It is noted that the dative-locative suffix in example (a) 1 may also be interpreted as the ablative case 'from', though it is ambiguous in this context so that it is very difficult to determine which one is correct.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

Three different forms of the dative-locative case, the suffixes du, da, and a, are found in Tungus, except for Manchu, in which the dative-locative suffix is de, which may be a variant of the suffix du or da.

(3.1) The functions of the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative case suffix du

The dative-locative suffix du occurs alone or as the first morpheme of several compound suffixes: du [dat.-loc.]; dula [loc.] = du [dat.-loc.] + la [loc.]; duk [abl.] = du [dat.-loc.] + k [abl.]; duli [pros.] = du [dat.-loc.] + li [pros.]. The following are some examples of these suffixes (Benzing 1955b: 83-84; Poppe

1977:64):

(a) du [dat.-loc.]

1. amin du 'to father' > amin duhi 'to father' (Udh.)
2. amin du 'to father' > amin dus 'to father' (Evk.)
3. aman du 'to father' > aman dus 'to father' (Lam.)
4. ama de 'to father' (Ma.)
5. jugani du 'in the summer' (Lam.)
6. īdū kuᵛakar umunuptə (Evk. Monahova and Konstantinova 1958:3)
 ī dū kuᵛaka r umunup tə
 what place [loc.] child [pl.] gather [3rd p.pl.perf.]
 'where have the children gathered?'
7. īdu Anna ᵛənrən (Lam.)
 ī du Anna ᵛən rən
 what place [dat.] Anna go [3rd p.sg.pres.]
 'where does Anna go?'
8. čī haidu bičisi (Nan. Onenko 1980:441)
 čī ha-i du bi čisi
 you what place [dat.] exist [2nd p.sg.pres.]
 'where are you?'

(b) dula [loc.]

1. gulə səg dule 'into the village' (Evk.)
2. oror dula 'on the reindeer' (Lam.)
3. ogdasal dola 'in the boats' (Nan.)

(c) duk [abl.]

1. beə digi 'from the moon' (Udh.)
2. bēga duk 'from the moon' (Ēvk.)
3. bēg duk 'from the moon' (Lam.)
4. bea duj 'from the moon' (Nan.)
5. i duk əm ənri (Lam.)
 i duk əm ənri
 what place [abl.] come [2nd p.sg.pres.]
 'Where do you come from?'

(d) dulī [pros.]

1. bur dulī 'across/over the island' (Evk.)
2. herkan duli 'along the knife' (Lam.)
3. jul duli 'along the house' (Lam.)

As Poppe (1977:64) correctly pointed out, du was able to behave like inflectional stems to which some other case suffix such as those examples above could be added.

It is extremely important to note that the formation of the Old Japanese interrogative i-du 'at what place (in time and space)' is identical with that of Evenki, Lamut and Nanai i-du 'to what place (in time and place)'. This indicates that the Old Japanese dative-locative case suffix du must be cognate with that in Manchu-Tungus because both are identical on all linguistic levels. It is also worth noting that i in idu in Evenki and Lamut goes back to *xa-i < *xa-gi in which *xa is 'what, which' and *gi is an ordinal number classifier (Benzing 1955b:103.114).

(3.2) The functions of the Manchu-Tungus locative case suffix da

The locative case suffix dā also occurs in Manchu-Tungus on nouns of space ending in gi (Vasilevic 1958:766), though it is not very productive there, so that it is mostly found as fossilized forms. Some examples are shown below (Poppe 1977:64):

1. bargīdā 'opposite, on the other side' < bargī 'the other side'
2. ərgīdā 'the lower side' < ərgī 'bottom, the lower side'
3. ugīdā 'upper side' < ugī 'high, height'
4. bargīdādu 'on the opposite side'
5. bargīdālā 'to the opposite side'
6. bargīdālī 'along the opposite side'
7. bargīdāduk 'from the opposite side'

It seems that this case suffix is very old because it became fossilized before the time of written records, as demonstrated above. Nonetheless it shows the locative function of that case suffix. In this very function, this case suffix is cognate with the Old Japanese locative case suffix da. Therefore, at this point we may safely claim that the Old Japanese locative case suffixes du and da are cognate with the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative du and the Manchu-Tungus locative dā, respectively.

(3.3) The functions of the partitive (indefinite accusative) suffix a

Lee Ki-moon (1975:28) claims that the partitive case suffix a/ja in Tungus is related to the Mongolian dative-locative suffix a/e and to the Old Turkic dative-locative case suffix ā/a. His claim is endorsed by Poppe (1977:67). His claim is well taken, though we must investigate the phonetic shape of this suffix carefully.

As Poppe (1977:67) stated, the partitive case suffix a/ja must have had an additional morpheme *i at the end of that suffix, which was lost in Tungus. This morpheme *i was a trace of the older accusative case suffix in Tungus, and would go back to the still older form *i-gi. Thus the original form of this partitive suffix was *ai/*jai, the latter phoneme of which made this entire compound suffix accusative. By the time the later accusative be/wa appeared the older accusative *i had disappeared, so that the remaining form a/ja then came to function as the indefinite accusative rather than as the definite accusative. This undoubtedly shows that the first morpheme a/ja was originally not an accusative case suffix. In other words, this form was probably an original dative-locative case suffix on the basis of the fact that Old Turkic locative-ablative case suffix da became the indefinite accusative in Yakut (Poppe 1977:67) and that the dative and the accusative merged together in Chuvash (Räsänen 1957:59). Therefore the Tungus partitive case suffix originally consisted of *a/*ja [dat.-loc.] and *i [acc.], and that Lee's original claim is probably correct.

The following are some examples of this case suffix (Benzing 1955b:81-82):

Sol.	Negd.	Evk.	
<u>mō ja</u>	<u>mō ja</u>	<u>mō ja</u>	'a tree'
<u>ēxun a</u>	<u>ēkun a</u>	<u>ēkun a</u>	'what'

1. jaxu ja būxol (Negd.)

jaxu ja bū xol

Jukola [part.] give [2nd p.sg.]

'Give Jukola!'

2. hunāt jə asīlārən (Evk.)

hunāt ja asilā rən
 girl [part.] take [3rd p.sg.perf.]
 'he took the girl'

3. burduk ja garan (Evk.)

burduk ja ga ran
 flour [part.] buy [3rd p.sg.perf.]
 'he bought flour'

4. bi ȳə ʒə umūn bəy ə ahī-ja ūbəi (Evk.)

bi ȳə ʒə umūn bəy ə ahī ja ūbəi
 exist [3rd p.sg.perf.] one man wife [part.] not having
 'There lived a man without a wife'

These examples only demonstrate the partitive function, not the dative-locative functions, and we cannot document these original functions of the morpheme a through the examples above. However, the original functions of this case suffix can be revealed through comparison of this suffix with the corresponding Mongolian and Old Turkic case suffixes as discussed below. Therefore, we may conclude that the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix *a is related to this Manchu-Tungus dative-locative suffix a/ja, but also that there seems to be no cognate in Old Japanese for this Manchu-Tungus dative-locative case suffix.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

Written Mongolian had three different dative-locative case suffixes: du, da, and a, just like those in Manchu-Tungus. We will study each of these suf-

fixes separately.

(4.1) The functions of the Mongolian dative-locative case suffix du

Poppe (1955:199) claimed that the dative-locative case suffix du was an old dative case suffix on the basis of the corresponding case suffixes in Manchu-Tungus and Turkic. As in the case of the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative suffix du, the Mongolian dative-locative du becomes an inflectional stem and combines with other case suffixes in order to make another case suffix. Observe the following examples (Poppe 1955b:199):

(a) WMo

1. morin du 'to the horse'
2. γaɣar tu 'in the country'
3. usun du 'to/in the water'

(b) MMo

1. ečige dū 'to father'
2. onqača du 'into the boat'
3. aman du 'in the mouth'

(c) WMo and MMo (du is combined with ru [lative])

1. dalaj dur 'to/in the sea'
2. aga dur 'to the older brother'
3. eme dūr 'to the woman'
4. adaγ tur 'in the end'
5. tölöb tür 'to the pattern'

It is clear that this Mongolian dative-locative case suffix is cognate with the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative case suffix in all respects, whose form is, in turn, cognate with the Old Japanese locative case suffix du, and which as a consequence is also indirectly related to the Old Japanese locative case suffix tu.

(4.2) The functions of the Mongolian dative-locative case suffix da

The second dative-locative case suffix da is found not only in Written Mon-

golian but also in Middle Mongolian, although this suffix in Written Mongolian forms only adverbs (Poppe 1977:62). This suffix was probably an old locative case suffix, as Poppe states (1977:62). The following are some examples of this suffix (Poppe 1977:62):

(a) WMo

1. ende 'here' < *en de 'at this place'
2. urtuda 'long, for a long time' < *urtu da 'for a long time'
3. urida 'previously' < *uri da 'at previous time'

(b) MMo

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <u>morin da</u> 'to the horse' | 6. <u>darugas da</u> 'to the chieftains' |
| 2. <u>aga da</u> 'to the elder brother' | 7. <u>širū da</u> 'in the earth' |
| 3. <u>de'ü de</u> 'to the younger brother' | 8. <u>šine de</u> 'in the new moon' |
| 4. <u>su da</u> 'in the fortunate protection' | 9. <u>gerteče</u> 'from the house' |
| 5. <u>erke de</u> 'in the power' | 10. <u>šimadača</u> 'from thee' |

In examples 9 and 10 the dative-locative suffix takes the ablative case suffix in Middle Mongolian. Although these Written Mongolian examples functioned as adverbs, we can see the underlying function of the suffix, a locative function in time and space. The Middle Mongolian dative-locative suffix functioned as the name indicated, but since the original function of the suffix was locative, the dative function developed by contamination of the functional distributions of the case suffixes du and da.

We may accordingly suggest that the Mongolian dative-locative case da is also related to the Old Japanese locative case suffix on all linguistic levels.

(4.3) The functions of the Mongolian dative-locative case suffix a

Poppe (1955b:199) says that there was another and similar case suffix a, which had the illative (e.g. 'into') function, and that these three case suffixes, du, da, and a together, became less and less differentiated in Written Mongolian, so that by the time of Middle Mongolian the three had already become interchangeable. This so-called dative-locative case suffix a was dominant in the pre-classical period. The following examples show the functions of this suffix (Poppe 1964:75; Weiers 1969:88):

(a) dative

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <u>qaγan a</u> 'to the khagan' | 4. <u>haran a</u> 'to the people' |
| 2. <u>taulai a</u> 'to the hare' | 5. <u>tolgeč'in e</u> 'to the soothsayer' |
| 3. <u>burqan a</u> 'to the Buddha' | 6. <u>kumun e</u> 'to a man' |

(b) locative/directive

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <u>γaγar a</u> 'to/in the country' | 3. <u>uruq a</u> 'to/in the family' |
| 2. <u>dalaj a</u> 'to/in the sea' | 4. <u>edür e</u> 'to/in the day' |

As seen above, this case suffix has three different functions. But we should notice that these three functions are not actually separate, but rather all part of a semantic continuum. This case suffix reminds us of the Old Korean dative-locative case suffix *a, and since not only the phonetic shapes but also the functions of these two suffixes in both languages are parallel, it is almost certain that they are ultimately related to each other.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

Old Turkic had the dative-locative suffix du, the locative-ablative case

da, and the directive case a, all three of which would seem to be directly or indirectly related to one another.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic dative-locative case suffix du

The dative-locative case suffix du is found in fossilized forms normally combined with the lative case suffix r or ri. It seems that the original function of this case suffix was the locative rather than the dative as shown in the following examples (Gabain 1974:175):

1. üstürdi 'from above' < üs 'above' + tü [loc.] + r [lat.] + di [inst.]
2. ö᠓dürti 'in the east' < ö᠓ 'east' + dü [loc.] + r [lat.] + ti [inst.]
3. kündüri 'in the south' < kün 'south' + dü [loc.] + ri [lat.]

Although Gabain claimed that ri in the third example should be analyzed as r-i, the latter element of which would be the third person singular possessive, this should instead be analyzed as a single unit ri which would be, as indicated above, the lative case suffix; the other two examples support the view that r in these examples are lative case forms that became truncated due to a following instrumental case suffix di/ti. Thus, the forms dür/tür in these examples are identical with those in Written Mongolian, which certainly indicates that the Old Turkic dative-locative case du is cognate not only with the Old Japanese locative suffix du but also with the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative du and with the Mongolian dative-locative suffix du.

(5.2) The functions of the Old Turkic locative-ablative case suffix da

This case suffix da, unlike OJ da, Ma-Tg da, and Mo da, functions as the ablative case suffix in addition to the locative, a feature that is shared with OJ da, Ma-Tg da, and Mo da. This case suffix can also be an inflectional stem

taking another case suffix, as shown below:

(a) locative-ablative (Gabain 1974:88)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <u>a</u> ʕriʕ <u>ta</u> 'from sickness' | 5. <u>aya</u> <u>da</u> 'on the palm' |
| 2. <u>ät</u> ' <u>öz</u> <u>tä</u> 'on/from the body' | 6. <u>ät</u> ' <u>öz</u> <u>dä</u> 'on the body' |
| 3. <u>ba</u> ʕ <u>ta</u> 'from five' | 7. <u>yir</u> <u>dä</u> 'on/from the north' |
| 4. <u>voi</u> <u>ta</u> 'on the road' | 8. <u>ködüg</u> <u>dä</u> 'in/from the action' |

(b) ablative (Poppe 1977:65)

- | |
|--|
| 1. <u>muntada</u> 'besides this' < <u>mun</u> 'this' + <u>ta</u> [loc.] + <u>da</u> [abl.] |
| 2. <u>antada</u> 'from it' < <u>an</u> 'it' + <u>ta</u> [loc.] + <u>da</u> [abl.] |
| 3. <u>mintädä</u> 'from me' < <u>min</u> 'me' + <u>tä</u> [loc.] + <u>dä</u> [abl.] |
| 4. <u>sintädä</u> 'from you' < <u>sin</u> 'you' + <u>tä</u> [loc.] + <u>dä</u> [abl.] |

(c) ablative (Gabain 1974:88)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <u>qandīn</u> 'from where' | 4. <u>ba</u> ʕtan 'from the beginning' |
| 2. <u>adatīn</u> 'from danger' | 5. <u>i</u> ʕaʕdan 'from the tree' |
| 3. <u>balīqdīn</u> 'from the town' | 6. <u>töpüdan</u> 'from the top' |

Examples in (a) show the functions of either the locative or the ablative, depending on the context. It is interesting to note that da and ta seem perhaps earlier to have been in complementary distribution; in the texts, to be sure, we find da and ta after the same word, but this situation might well have been caused by later contamination of the distribution of these suffixes.

As the examples in (b) indicate, this suffix da is doubled to form an ablative case. In this formation, however, the first suffix da must be the locative because the second suffix da would not be necessary if the first one were an ablative.

The examples in (c) demonstrate that the suffix in question is the ablative case di, which is a variant of da and the instrumental case suffix n.

At this point we do not know how this ablative function, in addition to the locative function, came into being. But there is no doubt that this locative-ablative case suffix is related to the Old Japanese locative case, the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative case, and the Mongolian dative-locative case suffixes.

(5.3) The functions of the Old Turkic dative-directive case suffix a

The dative-directive case suffix a seems to have had two functions, as its name indicates. We will look at the following examples (Gabain 1974:87.98):

(a) dative

1. ög ä 'to the intellect' 2. bī □ a bašī 'to the chieftain'

(b) directive

1. adaq a 'to the foot' 3. biri yä 'to the south'
2. atim a 'to my horse' (Poppe 1977:65) 4. qurī ya 'to the west'

It is to be noted that a and ya are in complementary distribution: a comes only after a consonant, whereas ya comes only after a vowel. There is no doubt that this dative-directive case suffix had these two functions, as shown above. This case suffix is undoubtedly connected with the Old Korean dative-locative *a, the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative case suffix a, and the Mongolian dative-locative case suffix a because these forms are all basically the same in terms of phonology, syntax, and semantics.

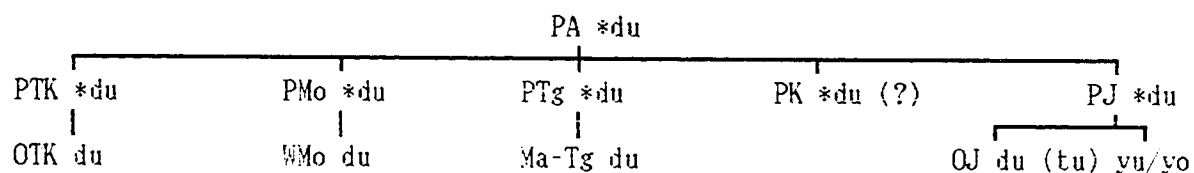
[6] Concluding remarks

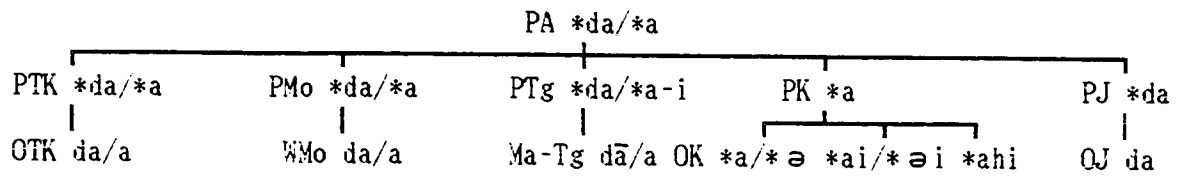
All the evidence points to the conclusion that the Old Japanese locative

case suffixes du/da/(tu)/yu/yo are cognate with the Manchu-Tungus dative-locative du/da, the Mongolian dative-locative du/da, and the Old Turkic dative-locative du and locative-ablative da, respectively. On the other hand, the Old Korean dative-locative *a is cognate with the Manchu-Tungus partitive a, the Mongolian dative-locative a, and the Old Turkic dative-directive a.

It is also important to mention that the Altaic dative-locative *a, which became a in the respective Altaic descendant languages, may be the same as a in other Altaic dative-locative da, in other words, that there may have been two different original and still earlier suffixes *d and *a. If this were indeed the case, then we may assume another pair *du/*u, in which the original and still earlier suffixes might have been *d and *u. Also, we may assume on the basis of the Old Japanese locative tu that there was another and similar case suffix *t in Proto-Altaic; this would make a total of four different original forms for original and similar case suffix, i.e. *d, *t, *u, and *a (Miller 1986 : personal communication). Poppe (1955:199), however, has claimed that on the basis of the Written Mongolian dative-locative suffixes, the original function of each dative-locative suffix must have been different: dative case *du; locative case *da; illative case *a. At this point, we do not have enough evidence to support a more refined hypothesis.

The following may demonstrate the history of PA *du/*da/*a.





Chapter Eight
The Old Japanese Comitative Case Suffix tō
and
the Old Korean Emphatic Suffix *to

[1] Old Japanese

(1.0) Preliminary

The origin of the Old Japanese comitative case suffix has yet to be treated on the level of comparative linguistics. Murayama (1957) mentions only that he did not find any Aitaic cognate for this Old Japanese comitative case suffix.

(1.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Japanese comitative case suffix

There has been no one who suggested a cognate for the Old Japanese comitative case suffix.

(1.2) The functions of the Old Japanese comitative case suffix tō

The Old Japanese comitative case suffix tō has two different functions, a comitative function and an emphatic function.

(a) the comitative function

This function of OJ tō indicates that a living being expressed by the word suffixed with tō performs an action together with the person denoted by the subject. Thus this suffix is normally translated as 'and, (together) with'. The following are some examples of this function:

1. mimasi asiFarasikōwo nō mikōtō tō aniwoto tō narite... (K part I NKBT p.109)

mimasi asiFarasikō wo nō mikōtō tō aniwoto tō narite
you[hon.] Ashiwarashiko lord [gen.] lord [com.] brother [com.] become

'you have fraternized with lord Ashiwarashiko...'

2. are iröse tö turibari wo kaFëte... (K part I NKBT p.137)

are iröse tö turibari wo kaFëte

I elder brother [com.] fishing hook [obj.] barter

'I have bartered the fishing hook with my elder brother...'

3. koFuramu kimi tö woramasi mönō wo (M 2306)

koFu ramu kimi tö wora masi mönō wo

love [fut.] you [com.] exist wish matter [excl.]

'I would like to be with you who probably love me'

4. nari mö narazu mö na tö Futari Fa mö (M 3492)

nari mö nara zu mö na tö Futari Fa mö

be [emp.] be not [emp.] I [com.] two people [emp.] [emp.]

'to be or not to be, (but only) with you'

5. kaguyama tö miminasiyama tö aFisi töki... (M 14)

kaguyama tö miminasiyama tö aFisi töki

Kaguyama [com.] Miminashiyama [com.] fight time

'When Kaguyama and Miminashiyama fought...'

Examples 1 through 4 show that the living being represented by the suffixed word performs the action with the subject, whereas in example 5 the two nominals are simply connected by tö. Example 5 is, in fact, an ambiguous case because the comitative tö can also be translated 'when Kaguyama together with Miminashiyama fought (something else)' as opposed to the reading above, 'when Kaguyama fought Miminashiyama...', though the reading above is more likely in this context. This ambiguity occurs because the sentence lacks the subject marker i or the subject

marker of the genitive case suffix ga.

(b) the emphatic function

There is only one type of emphatic function, namely, emphasizing the word to which it refers. Consider the following examples:

1. na wo tō a wo Fitō sō sakunaru (M 660)

na wo tō a wo Fitō sō sakunaru
 you [obj.] [emp.] I [obj.] person [emp.] set apart
 'people set apart you and me....'

2. awoyanagi umē tō nō Fana wo worikazasi... (M 821)

awo-yanagi umē tō nō Fana wo wori-kazasi
 green-willow plum [emp.] [gen.] flower [obj.] break-stick

'I will take off the flowers of the green willow and of the plum and make a hairpin out of them'

It seems very unusual, in example 1, to have tō after a case suffix wo because tō normally comes before a case suffix such as tō Fa, tō ga, tō ni, etc. Also, here there is no tō between the two nouns, na and a. These two facts make us suspect that tō was probably originally not a comitative at all, but an emphatic marker. This is also supported by the second example above, in which there is no tō between awoyanagi and umē. However, this emphatic function seems to have been lost by the time of Old Japanese.

The emphatic function of tō is also supported by the fact that tō in Azuma dialect was used for zō, an emphatic suffix in standard Old Japanese (Hashimoto 1946:131):

Azuma dialect/standard

- 1) sisi/titi 'father'
- 2) tasi/tati '[plural suffix]'
- 3) tö/zö '[emphasis]'

It is normally the case that s in Azuma dialect corresponds to t in standard Old Japanese, when s precedes a vowel i (this is probably because s in Azuma was closer to an affricate [ts] than to a fricative [s], and hence s was readily interchanged with t), but not vice versa. In other words, the first two examples show mere phonetic shifts, while the last example involves a morphological shift i.e. tö in Azuma and zö in standard Old Japanese were two different morphemes, the former of which shared an emphatic function with the latter. Thus the correspondence between tö in Azuma and zö in Old Japanese seems to demonstrate that tö preserved an emphatic function, whose corresponding Old Japanese suffix tö became restricted in syntactic and semantic distributions, unless this tö in Azuma was an innovation.

The suffix tö preceding verbs, regardless of what it follows, has been correctly treated as a conjunctive, so that we do not treat it in our studies, although we may find some connection between the emphatic function of tö and this function of conjunctive tö in the future.

Furthermore, tö may have alternated with ta in OJ, because the ö/a alternation was very common in Old Japanese. Thus we may postulate *ta for Old Japanese though the form as such is never attested.

[2] Old Korean

(2.0) Preliminary

Although a few studies have been done on the usage of the Old Korean emphatic suffix to, we do not have even a single study on the origin of this suffix.

(2.1) Previous views on the origin of the Old Korean emphatic suffix

No linguists to date have attempted to solve the problem of the origin of the Old Korean emphatic suffix to 'also, even'. This is the first attempt to solve this issue through comparison of Japanese and the Altaic languages.

(2.2) The interpretation of the Chinese phonograms for the Old Korean emphatic suffix

The Old Korean emphatic suffix to is written with the following Chinese characters employed as phonograms: 都 MC tuo; 刀 MC tâu. The first phonogram 都 MC tuo was interpreted by Yang (1957) as an orthography for OK to. The t- in MC tuo was interpreted as OK t-, so that we have no difficulty with the interpretation of that initial consonant in Old Korean.

In the case of the Middle Chinese vowels -uo-, the initial vowel u must have had a glide-like quality rather than being a full vowel, so that this vowel was weakened and was ignored. Thus the sequence -uo- was more likely to be an orthography for the final vowel o alone. Thus, this phonogram is to be interpreted as to in Old Korean.

For 刀 MC tâu, the initial consonant t- in tâu is undoubtedly to be interpreted as OK *t-, as discussed above. The vowels -âu- in tâu seem to be treated differently from the vowels in tuo because the sonority of the first vowel â is involved. Even if the prior vowel â was of a glide-like quality, this vowel must still have been recognized because this vowel has the highest sonority of all

the vowel. The second vowel u also must have been heard as it was. This sequence of vowels must somehow have been recognized as a single vowel close to to rather than the two separately distinguished vowels, unless perhaps the last vowel was strongly stressed. At any rate, this phonogram is also to be interpreted as to in Old Korean.

Yang (1957:548) mentions that tu (semantogram :置) was also used for the emphatic suffix as a variant of to and that this was reconstructed from the form tu in Hunmin Čongum. However, this Old Korean form cannot be confirmed by any means because it is written with a Chinese character used as semantogram.

(2.3) The functions of the Old Korean emphatic suffix to

The following are examples of to 都 and 刀 cited from Hyangga:

(a) 都 MC tu

1. nurito ačyeron tyəiyə (13:8.1-8.3)

nuri-to ačyər-on tyəi yə
world-[emp.] vain-[hum.] time [excl.]

'Oh, the world is also vain!' (7:pp.64-65)

2. na nŭn kan^tamarsto mottanitko kan^nisiko (11:3.1-4.3)

na nŭn kan^ta mar s to mot ta nit ko kan^n-is
I [top.] go word [gen.] [emp.] not able to say and go-exist
ko

[inter.]

'without even saying where you are going, are you going?' (9:pp.68-69)

(b) 刀 MC tâu

1. aŭ yaih^sar ɕson put'yəto nai mom ipa n^m isiri (24:9.1-10.4)

aũ yai h^ s^r sson put'yə to na i mom ipa n^m
 ah worship do [hum.] Buddha [emp.] I [gen.] body [excl.] person
 isi ri
 exist [inter.]

'Ah, (is) Buddha also whom I worship the same body and mind as I?'

(24:pp.98-99)

As seen above, the emphatic suffix to is used to show either 'even' or 'also'. It seems that it has no other functions such as 'conjunctive'. In this sense, one may think that there is no semantic correlation between OJ tō and OK to, but as discussed above, there is one thing in common between the two, i.e. the emphatic function, though Old Japanese seems to have lost a full distribution of that function. This lost function in Old Japanese can be recaptured only through the functions of the corresponding suffixes of the Altaic languages, namely, Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic.

[3] Manchu-Tungus

(3.0) Preliminary

As far as we know, no scholars have discussed the relationship of OJ tō and Tg da/ta and of OK to and Tg da/ta. On the phonological level, we find little difficulty relating OJ tō and OK to with Tg da/ta, especially since OJ tō probably alternated with OJ *ta. On the syntactic and semantic levels also, they are very similar to one another.

(3.1) The functions of the Tungus emphatic suffix da/ta

Tungus has an emphatic suffix da/də, ta/tə which means 'and, also, even'.

The following examples demonstrate this function:

(a) Evenki (Yamanaka 1974:306)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. bi dā nu᠓an dā
bi dā nu᠓an dā
I [emp.] he [emp.]
'both he and I..' | 2. amut tā bira dā
amut tā bira dā
lake [emp.] river [emp.]
'both lake and river...' |
|--|---|

(b) Lamut (Benzing 1955a:111-112)

1. Anna me᠓č'in Miko da me᠓č'in
Anna me᠓č'i-n Miko da me᠓č'i-n
Anna be surprised-[3rd p.sg.] Miko [emp.] be surprised-[3rd p.sg.]
'Anna is surprised and Miko is surprised'
2. minge-w da Marja ajič gurgəwč'in
min-ge-w da Marja ajič gurgəwč'i-n
my-friend-[obj.] [emp.] Marja well work-[3rd p.sg.]
'my friend Maria also works hard'
3. ku᠓al usiw də kojə᠙
ku᠓a-l usi-w də kojə-r
child-[pl.] belt-[obj.] [emp.] see-[3rd p.pl.]
'The children also see the belt'
4. namas ta odni okat ta buku᠑
namas ta o-dni okat ta buku-n
snow [emp.] fall-[conj.] stream [emp.] freeze-[3rd p.sg.]
'snow falls and a river freezes'

(c) Nanai (Benzing 1955b:115)

1. uj də həm 'every, each' < uj 'who, which'

(d) Udehe (Benzing 1955b:115)

1. jə wə də əhini sa

jə wə də əhini sa

any [obj.] [emp.] not know

'he knows nothing' < '(lit.) he does not know even anything'

2. ali da əsini isə

ali da əsini isə

who [emp.] not saw

'he has not seen anyone' < '(lit.) he has not seen even anyone'

The examples from Evenki and Lamut clearly show the feature of emphasis brought out in the translations 'also' and 'both-and', whereas the examples from Nanai and Udehe demonstrate the emphasis 'even'. However, Nanai (Grube 1900:81), Udehe (Grube 1900:81), and Olcha (Benzing 1955b:147) have the other meanings 'and, also', though examples of these are not cited here. Thus both Northern and Southern Tungus have the identical suffixes which all share the meaning of 'extent'. Benzing (1955b:147) reconstructs PTg *da for the emphatic suffix, which is probably related to OJ tō and OK to on all linguistic levels.

It is interesting to note that the semantics of this emphatic suffix may remind us of another Old Japanese emphatic suffix mō because both suffixes share the identical meaning 'and, also, even'. But as we have discussed earlier, OJ mō is more likely related to Ma-Tg be/wa, Mo ba, and Otk ma. OJ mō is surely not related to this Tungus emphatic suffix da, if only because it is impossible to relate them on the phonological level.

[4] Mongolian

(4.0) Preliminary

Mongolian has emphatic suffix da which emphasizes the meaning of the word to which it refers; it is placed immediately after the word concerned (Grønbech: 1955:94; Lessing 1960:211; Poppe 1964:187).

(4.1) The functions of the Mongolian emphatic suffix da

First, we will consider the following examples:

1. ken da 'someone' < ken 'who' (Grønbech 1955:94)

2. ab da 'Buy it!' < ab 'to buy' (Lessing 1960:211)

3. jabudal jabu da (Lessing 1960:211)

jabu dal jabu da
go [cond.desire] go [emp.]
'if you want to go, go ahead!'

4. jabuqu uu da (Lessing 1960:211)

jabu qu uu da
go [fut.] [inter.] [emp.]
'what shall I (we) do?'

5. boluna da (Poppe 1964:187)

bol una da
be [pres.] [emp.]
'it will be.'

Although this emphatic suffix is normally found in the modern colloquial languages, it is also attested for in Written Mongolian as in the first example. This type of emphasis is identical with those in Tungus, which seems to indicate

that the Mongolian emphatic suffix is of the same origin as that of Tungus.

Examples 2 through 5 demonstrate a type of emphasis different from that of OJ tö, OK to, and Ma-Tg da in that this Mongolian emphatic suffix does not mean 'and, also, even'. However, it is to be kept in mind that the meaning of this suffix was probably developed from the older meaning of that suffix which is seen in example 1 above. Therefore, we should take the emphatic function of that suffix in the first example as the older function. In this sense, we can claim that the Mongolian emphatic suffix is related to the Tungus emphatic suffix, which is also originally connected with the Old Japanese comitative and the Old Korean emphatic suffix.

[5] Old Turkic

(5.0) Preliminary

Although Old Turkic seems to have possessed only the single form of an emphatic suffix ta, the descendant Turkic languages show a variety of forms for this suffix.

(5.1) The functions of the Old Turkic emphatic suffix da

Turkic seems to possess an emphatic suffix, which is indeed a cognate with the Old Korean and Manchu-Tungus emphatic suffix in phonology, syntax, and semantics, as below (Rasanen 1957:236):

Uig. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Nog. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Kzk. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Krg. <u>dā/tā</u>
Osm. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Tob. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	<u>to/tö/dö</u>	Sag. <u>dä/dä</u>
Krm. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Tum. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Oir. <u>dä/da,dö/do</u>	Uzb. <u>da</u>
Kom. <u>dä/da,tä/ta</u>	Koib. <u>dä/dä,tä/tä</u>	<u>tä/ta,tö/to</u>	OTK. <u>ta</u>

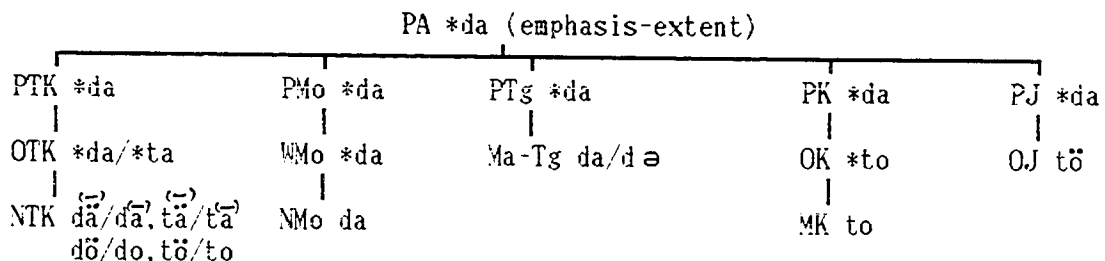
Kar. dä/da, tā/ta KČ. dä/dä, tā/tä Soj. dä/tä/ta

These different forms of the emphatic suffix have a meaning identical with that of the Tungus emphatic suffix, i.e. 'and, also'. Although we cannot show examples of this suffix at this point, these variants clearly demonstrate a cognate relationship with the Tungus emphatic suffix, which, in turn, is related to the Old Japanese comitative, the Old Korean and the Mongolian emphatic suffixes. Here we find the several forms identical with the Old Japanese and the Old Japanese forms, which also supports the hypothesis that the Old Japanese and the Old Korean emphatic suffix are related to the Turkic emphatic suffix.

[6] Concluding remarks

All the evidence above strongly points to the conclusion that the Old Japanese comitative case suffix is related to the Old Korean emphatic suffix as well as to the Altaic emphatic suffixes. We should keep in mind that the Old Japanese comitative case suffix does not correspond to an Altaic case suffix but rather to an emphatic suffix, a phenomenon that often takes place, as e.g. in the case of the Old Japanese accusative suffix wo. The Old Japanese and the Old Korean evidence here is of importance for understanding certain features of the Altaic unity, especially, of the specific unity between Tungus and Turkic.

The following may illustrate the overall history of the Old Japanese comitative case suffix:



CONCLUSION

As discussed above, the Altaic case suffixes that we have traced both in Old Japanese and in Old Korean cannot be explained as borrowings because of the detail and complexity of the correspondences existing on all linguistic levels between Old Japanese and Altaic and between Old Korean and Altaic. This is also because, as explained in the Introduction, case suffixes are an inflectional-morphological element in Old Japanese, Old Korean, and Altaic, so that they are extremely unlikely to have been borrowed. Therefore, the correspondences to be observed in case suffixes must have resulted from a genetic inheritance from Proto-Altaic.

It is extremely important to note that Old Japanese and Old Korean respectively, seems to go back to Proto-Altaic and that we do not believe that there was, in a more distant paleolinguistic period, a common Altaic-Japanese or Altaic-Korean linguistic unity which then split into Proto-Altaic and Proto-Japanese or into Proto-Altaic and Proto-Korean. This is also supported by the fact that (1) the formation of the Old Japanese genitive case suffix ga is exactly parallel with the Southern Tungus adjective suffix *ga; (2) the functions and productivity of the Old Japanese accusative wo and prosecutive yu(ri) case suffixes are identical with those of Manchu-Tungus; (3) there are other important inflectional morphological elements, for example, the tense-forming suffixes ra and ri, that ra- and ri- are shared by both Old Japanese and Manchu-Tungus.

In addition to this supporting evidence, there is also the fact that, as seen in the previous chapters, the overall correspondences in suffixes between Altaic and Old Korean are so great that there can be no doubt but that Korean

also goes back to Proto-Altaic. This is supported by the fact that Old Korean and Old Japanese go back to the Proto-Japanese-Korean unity. This Proto-Japanese-Korean, in turn, merges with Proto-Tungus. This proto-language (Proto-Northern and Peninsular Altaic in Miller's term) eventually goes back to Proto-Altaic, through merging with Proto-Mongolian and then with Pre-Turkic. This scheme is the same as that in Miller 1971, which seems to indicate that Miller's earlier hypothesis of the historical status of Japanese and Korean in terms of the history of the Altaic languages as well as his view of the close historical relations of Japanese and Manchu-Tungus and also of Japanese and Korean were most likely to be correct.

Although we have demonstrated the Altaic connections of only a little over eight case suffixes in Japanese and in Korean, respectively, this provides sufficient evidence, when taken in addition to the phonological correspondences established between Old Japanese and Altaic and between Old Korean and Altaic, to claim that Old Japanese and Old Korean are later changed forms of Proto-Altaic. This conclusion is based on the notion that inflectional-morphological elements supported by the phonological correspondences most effectively support the view that two or more languages in question go back to the same proto-language.

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CAJ=Central Asiatic Journal

MSFOu=Memoires de la societe finno-ougrienne

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Sendai Third Upper Secondary School, Sendai,
Miyagi, JAPAN

April, 1972--March, 1980
University of Iwate, Morioka, Iwate, JAPAN
Bachelor of Engineering in Metallurgical Engineer-
ing with highest honors
Senior Thesis: "A Study of the Reverse Transforma-
tion of the Cu-Al Alloys: Hypo-Eutectoid, Eutec-
toid and Hyper-Eutectoid"

September, 1975--May, 1977
White Pines College, Chester, New Hampshire
Associate Arts in Liberal Arts with honors

September, 1977--May, 1979
Drew University, Madison, New Jersey
Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics magna cum laude
with honors in Linguistics, elected to Sigma Phi:
Honor Society at Drew University
Honors Thesis: "A Contrastive Grammatical Study of
English and Japanese"

September, 1980--June, 1982
Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island
Master of Arts in Linguistics
Masters Thesis: "A Contrastive Semantic Study of
the English and the Japanese Verbs of Motion: COME
and GO: KURU and IKU"

Scholarships:

September, 1975--May, 1977
Full tuition remission at White Pines College

September, 1977--May, 1979
Full tuition remission at Drew University

September, 1980--June, 1981
Full tuition remission at Brown University
September, 1981--June, 1982
Full graduate scholarship at Brown University

Teaching Assistantships: June, 1983--June, 1987
Teaching Assistant in Japanese at the University
of Washington

Instructorships: June, 1984--August, 1984
Instructor in Japanese at the University of Wash-
ington, Seattle, Washington

June, 1985--August, 1985
Instructor in Japanese in the Japanese School at
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont

June, 1986--August, 1986
Instructor in Japanese in the Japanese School at
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont