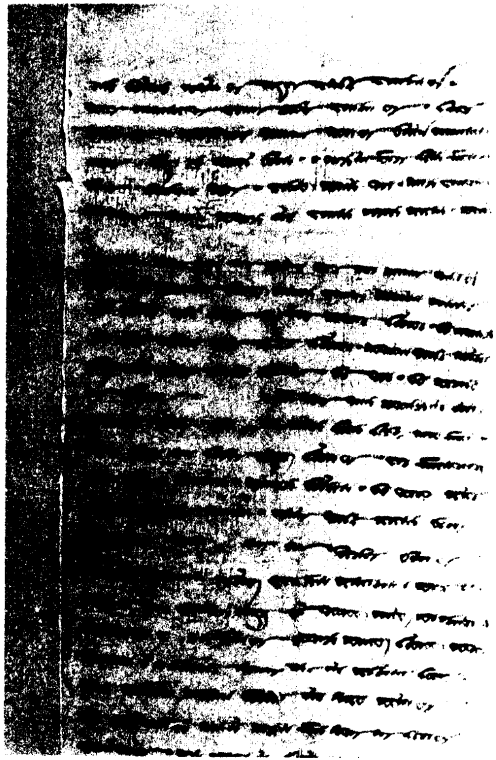


CAJ 35, 1991

The Origin of the Old Japanese Genitive Case Suffixes *n/nö/na/ŋga and the Old Korean Genitive Case Suffix *i In Comparison with Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian, and Old Turkic

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/0/ *Introduction*

This paper discusses the origin of the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes and the Old Korean genitive and topical suffixes through comparison with the Manchu-Tungus genitive and possessive case suffixes, the Mongolian genitive case suffix, and the Old Turkic possessive suffix. In conclusion, we will try to show how the Old Japanese genitive case suffixes and the Old Korean genitive and topical suffixes fit into the overall picture of the Altaic genitive and possessive case suffixes.

/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 geni-

tive 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, *nö, na, *n,* and **nga*; that *nö* 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 *nö* 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 *nö* 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 *nö* and *na* is that one does not find any combinations of the genitive suffix *nö* with the stems of demonstrative pronouns in any Altaic languages. This syntactic peculiarity suggests that the genitive suffix *nö* is not of Altaic origin. However, he still maintains the claim that OJ **nga* (< **n-ka*) is comparable with the Tungus possessive suffix *ŋi* and with the Manchu adjective suffix *ŋga/ŋge/ŋgo*.

(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 *nö* 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 *nö* and *ga* is not satisfactory, but adds that we have to resort to Murayama's solution at this point. He also suggests that OJ *nö* and *ga* may be vowel harmony alternants.

*(1.2) The phonological connection among OJ *n, nö, na, and ŋga*

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 *nö* and OJ *ga*.

The Old Japanese genitive suffix *ga* was written mostly with the following Chinese characters used as phonograms: MC *nga* |1|; MC *nga* |2|. 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 *nö* 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. *ki*		2. *ka*			
awo-ki	'be blue'	*sidu-ka*	'quiet'	*nago-ya-ka*	'soft'
samu-ki	'be cold'	*nödö-ka*	'restful'	*niko-ya-ka*	'gentle'
taka-ki	'be high'	*yuta-ka*	'abundant'	*koma-ya-ka*	'beautiful'
kura-ki	'be dark'	*Fono-ka*	'subtle'	*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 *nö* and *na* to OJ *ŋga* 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-*nö*-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. *yuFuɡïri* 'evening fog' /yuFu^{ŋ}gïri/ < **yuFu-n-kïri*
2. *miyakodöri* 'plover' /miyako^{n}döri/ < **miyako-n-töri*
3. *yamabitö* 'mountain person' /yama^{m}bitö/ < **yama-n-Fitö*

'evening-[gen.]-fog'
'capital-[gen.]-bird'
'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 $C_1C_2^{vcls}$ appeared in composition with a morph of the shape $C_3^{vcls}C_4$, the resulting compound appears in the texts as $C_1C_2^{vcls}C_3^{vcd}C_4$; but when the prior morph had $C_1C_2^{vcd}$, the resulting compound appeared as $C_1C_2^{vcd}C_3^{vcls}C_4$, 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* appeared 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 *yamagaFa* '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 syntactive 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 *nö*, but it is semantically close to OJ *ŋga*. It cannot be separated from the second morpheme, while second morphemes with *nö* and *ŋga* can:

manako	'pupil (lit. eye's child)'	*tanamata*	'between fingers'
minato	'quay (lit. water gate)'	*nunatö*	'jingling of jewelry'
kamunabi	'abode of the gods'	*manakaFi*	'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 nö

(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 *nö* denotes the larger part, while the noun preceded by the suffix *nö* denotes its smaller part:

1. muko nö ura nö iriye nö sudöri ... (M 3578)

muko	nö	ura	nö	iriye	nö	sudöri	
Muko	|gen.|	bay	|gen.|	delta	|gen.|	sandbank-bird	

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

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

kosi	nö	umi	nö	tayuFi	nö	ura	
Kosi	|gen.|	sea	|gen.|	TayuFi	|gen.|	bay	

'TayuFi bay in Kosi sea'

It is to be noted that the first suffix *nö* in both examples indicates

apposition because the initial forms are proper nouns identified by the words followed by the suffix *nö*, namely, *Muko*, a bay, in example 1, and *Kosi*, a sea, in example 2. The noun before the suffix *nö* 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 *nö*, then the *nö* indicates location. This function is seen in the examples below:

1. wa ga yado nö Fuyukï nö uFe ni ... (M 1645)

wa	ga	yado	nö	Fuyukï		nö	uFe	ni	
I	|gen.|	garden	|gen.|	winter-tree		|gen.|	on	|loc.|	

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

2. tatibana nö sita ... (M 4371)

tatibana	nö	sita	
citrus	|gen.|	under	

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

3. midura nö naka ni ... (M 4377)

midura		nö	naka	ni
(male) hairdo		|gen.|	inside	|pros.|

'in the hairdo'

4. öFökimi nö Fe ni ... (M 4094)

öFökimi	nö	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 *nö*, as the examples above show.

(c) time

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

1. keFu nö Fi ... (M 4047)

keFu nö Fi
today |gen.| day

'today'

2. aki nö no ... (M 3678)

aki nö no
autumn |gen.| field

'a field in autumn'

3. nagatukï nö sigure ... (M 3223)

nagatukï nö sigure
9th-month |gen.| rain

'rain in the ninth month'

4. Faru nö kasumi ... (M 4400)

Faru nö kasumi
spring |gen.| haze

'haze in the spring'

A temporal word before the genitive suffix *nö* 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. ösaFë nö kï ... (M 4331)

ösaFë nö kï
defense |gen.| castle

'a castle for defense' (purpose)

2. towayame nö matoFi ... (M 1019)

towayame nö matoFi
caring-woman |gen.| trouble

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

3. kamï nö mikötö ... (K 5)

kamï nö mikötö
god |gen.| honorable

'a god as the honorable' (identity)

4. kosugë nö kasa ... (M 2771)

kosugë nö kasa
sedge |gen.| hat

'a hat made of sedge' (content)

To sum up what we have discussed so far: when Old Japanese used 'A *nö* B' the A was always considered something or someone from which or from whom the speaker felt distant (typically, his out-group objects/members). 'A *nö*' seems to have become an adjectival unit modifying the following noun. This view is supported by the fact that the *nö* 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. akë nö söFobune ... (M 270)

akë nö söFobune
red |gen.| red-painted-boat

'a boat painted red'

2. Fi nö mikado ... (M 894)

Fi nö mikado
sun [gen.] Mikado

'the sun-like Mikado'

3. yakusiFo nö karaki koFï wö ... (M 3652)

yakusiFo nö karaki koFï wö
burnt-salt [gen.] salty love [acc.]

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

Notice that in example 2 the *nö* 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 *ŋga* (Ono 1977:5), which will be dealt with under the functions of the suffix *ŋga*.

(e) alienable possession of the speaker

The genitive case suffix *ŋga* is normally used after a noun denoting a human with whom the speaker empathizes, typically members of the speaker's ingroup. 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 *nö* is used:

1. titi nö mikötö ... (M 4164, 4408)

titi nö mikötö
father [gen.] words

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

2. FaFa nö mikötö ... (M 443, 1774, 3962, 4408, 4811)

FaFa nö mikötö
mother [gen.] words

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

We should expect to find *ŋga* in place of *nö* 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 *ŋga*. Notice also that *nö* in these examples is always used only with *mikötö* 'words' and with no other examples. Since *mikötö* 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 *nö* 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 nö tayuru kötö naku ... (M 4002)

yuku midu nö tayuru kötö naku
go water [nom.] deplete matter not

'flowing water not being depleted ...'

2. akikaze nö Fukamu sönö tuki ... (M 3586)

akikaze nö Fukamu sönö tuki
autumn [nom.] blow-up that month

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

3. matukagë nö kiyoki Famabe ni ... (M 4271)

matukagë nö kiyoki Famabe ni
pine-tree-shade [nom.] clean seashore [loc.]

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

4. Fitö nö ko nö kanasike sida Fa ... (M 3533)

Fitö nö ko nö kanasike sida Fa
person [gen.] child [nom.] beloved time [top.]

'when someone's child was wo 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 *nö* B.

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

1. Furu yuki tö Fitö nö miru made ... (M 839)

Furu	yuki	tö	Fitö	nö	miru	made
fall	snow	[quot.]	person	[gen.]	look	[conj.]

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

2. Faru nö kitaraba ... (M 815)

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

'when spring comes, ...'

3. sönö kamï nö nöritama Faku ... (K 147)

sönö	kamï	nö	nöri	tama Faku
that	god	[gen.]	say	[hon.]

'That god said, ...'

4. Fi nö kururu made ... (M 485)

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

'until the sun sets, ...'

As in the case of *nö* 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 nö mö aredö ... (B 15)

kusurisi	Fa	tune	nö	mö	are	dö
physician	[top.]	usual	[gen.]	[emp.]	exist	[conj.]

'Even though there are the usual physicians ...'

2. ina tö iFedö siFuru siFi nöŋga siFigatari ... (M 236)

ina	tö	iFe	dö	siFuru	siFi	nö	ŋga	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 *nö* 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 *nö*, *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 *nö* and OJ *ŋga*, there are also some functions which OJ *nö* has, but which OJ *ŋga* does not, and also some other functions which OJ *ŋga* has, but which OJ *nö* 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 nö Fasikuru tö iFeru ŋga götöku simototoru satǫwosa ŋga kowë Fa neyado made kitatiyobaFinu (M 892)

midikaki	mono	nö	Fasikuru	tö	iFeru	ŋga	götöku
short	thing	[gen.]	end-cut	[quot.]	say-able	[gen.]	like
simoto	toru	sato	wosa	ŋga	kowë	Fa	neyado
twig	bring	village chief		[gen.]	voice	[top.]	bedroom
made	ki	tati	yobaFi	nu			
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 nö nawori wo mireba asobikuru sibi ŋga Fatade ni tumataterimiyu (K 108; NS 87)

siFose		nö	nawori	wo	mi	reba	asobi kuru
spot of rapid current		[gen.]	waves	[acc.]	look	[cond.]	play come
sibi	ŋga	Fatade	ni	tuma	tateri	miyu	
Shibi	[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 sikamö naiFiso satowosa ŋga ekituFataraba imasi mö nakamu (M 3847)

daniwoti	ya	sikamö	na	iFi	so	sato	wosa	ŋga
patron	[voc.]	such-a-way	[imp.]	say	[imp.]	village chief		[gen.]
ekitu		Fatara	ba	ima	si	mö	naka	mu
labor-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 *nö* 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. ukaFiŋga tömö Fa yuku kaFa nö kiyokise götö ni kagarisasi ... (M 4011)

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

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

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

masurawo	nö	tömö	izanaFite
hero	[gen.]	comrades	invite

'inviting the heroes ...'

Notice that the same noun *tömö* occurs in both examples, but with different genitive suffixes. In the first example *ŋga* is used because the speaker felt close to the fishermen who were in a lower or an

equal social status, whereas *nö* 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 *nö*, while *tititiFaFa* 'father (and) mother' always takes *ŋga*. 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 *tititiFaFa* implies parents in the sense of a social entity with whom the speaker always empathized.

There is also a parallel passage with *tititiFaFa* in *Bussokuseki*:

1. tititiFaFaŋga tamë ni (B 1)

tititiFaFa	ŋga	tamë ni
father and mother	[gen.]	sake [adv.]

'for father and mother'

2. möröFitö nö tamë ni (B 1)

möröFitö	nö	tamë ni
each person	[gen.]	sake [adv.]

'for all men'

In the first example *ŋga* is employed since the speaker readily empathized with his parents (the speaker's in-group members), while in the second example *nö* 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 *ŋga* but never with OJ *nö*: *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 *ŋga*. 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), *nase* '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 *ŋga*, never *nö*, 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 *ŋga*, never *nö*, 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 ŋga kataraFeba ... (M 904)

si ŋga	kataraFe	ba
he [nom.]	talk	[conj.]

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

2. oFiFitö mö womina waraFa mö si ŋga negaFu ... (M 4094)

oFiFitö mö	womina waraFa	mö	si	ŋga	negaFu	
old man [emp.]	woman child	[emp.]	they	[nom.]	wish	

'old men, women, and children, they wish ...'

3. si ŋga tukaFematuru sama ni sitagaFite ... (S No. 24)

si	ŋga	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 ŋga mawosikötö Fa ... (S No. 28)

si	ŋga	mawosi	kötö	Fa
he	[nom.]	say	matter	[top.]

'what he (Nakamaro) said was ...'

5. si ŋga mawosisiku ... (S No. 28)

si	ŋga	mawosi	siku
he	[nom.]	say	[adj. suf.]

'what he (Nakamaro) said was ...'

6. si ŋga maturamu sama ni sitagaFite ... (S No. 48)

si	ŋga	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 *ŋga* 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 *ŋga* was used. The third person pronoun *si* in example 3 points to the common people (people in lower status), so that *ŋga* 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 *ŋga* 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 *ŋga* was employed.

To sum up what we have so far discussed, whether the genitive *nö* or *ŋga* 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 *nö* 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 *ŋga* 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 *nö* marked the

speaker's alienable possession, whereas the genitive case suffix *ŋga* 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 *nö*. However, we also find quite a few counter examples with the genitive case suffix *ŋga*:

1. kari ŋga ne ... (M 1513)

kari	ŋga	ne
goose	[gen.]	cry

'cry of the geese ...'

2. töri ŋga ne ... (M 1050)

töri	ŋga	ne
bird	[gen.]	cry

'cry of the birds ...'

3. tati ŋga wo ... (K 2)

tati	ŋga	wo
sword	[gen.]	string

'fastening of the sword'

4. mi'osuFi ŋga ne ... (K 67)

mi	osuFi	ŋga	ne	
[pref. hon.]	coat	[gen.]	material	

'material for the coat'

5. kasi ŋga mötö ... (K 92)

kasi	ŋga	mötö
oak	[gen.]	tree

'oak trees ...'

6. umë ŋga Fana ... (M 845)

umë	ŋga	Fana
plum	[gen.]	blossom

'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 *nö*) 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 nonhuman animate or inanimate object, he used the genitive suffix *nö*, 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 *nö*, 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 *nö* possessed (general rules):

1) *ŋga* did not have the function of indicating a point or a period of time, thus, we find *nagatuki nö sigure* 'rain in the tenth month'.
2) *ŋga* lacked the function of showing apposition in describing human relations, thus, we find *itokoya nö imo* 'my sister who is pretty'.
3) *ŋga* did not give an adjectival function to the noun before the suffix, thus, we find *aFare nö töri* '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 *ŋga* 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 *ŋga* B, so that this function of *ŋga* is also considered to be another special example of the genitive case.

1. kimi ŋga yuku miti ... (M 3724)

kimi	ŋga	yuku	miti
you	[gen.]	go	path

'the path you go along'

2. a ŋga moFu tuma aritö ... (K 90)

a	ŋga	moFu	tuma	ari	tö
I	[gen.]	think	wife	be	[quot.]

'I say, "I have a wife I care for" ...'

3. wagimoko ŋga musubisiFimo Fa ... (M 3710)

wagimoko	ŋga	musubisi	Fimo	Fa
my-wife	[gen.]	tie	sash	[top.]

'the sash my wife tied ...'

4. Fuku kaze nö miyenu ŋga götöku ... (M 3625)

Fuku	kaze	nö	miye	nu	ŋga	götöku
blow	wind	[gen.]	see	not	[gen.]	fact

'like the blowing wind we cannot see'.

Note that what follows *ŋga* in the examples above is a verb except for the last example in which a special denominal adjective *götö-si* (*kötö* 'fact, matter' + *ki* [adjective suffix]). The function of *ŋga* in the last example goes back to the original A *ŋga* B in which A and B are nouns. Thus, we can claim that the suffix *ŋga* precedes only a verb in a subordinate clause, unlike the genitive *nö* which precedes not only a verb but also an adjective. The suffix *ŋga* 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 *nö* has to be used. Hence, we do not find examples with the pattern 'A + *ŋga* + *ku*-type adjective', but we instead do find ones with 'A + *nö* + *ku*-type adjective' (Ōno 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 ŋga kanasisa (M 890)

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

'my mother is suffering for me'

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

mana tö iFu ko ŋga 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 wö miramu Fitö nö tömösisa (M 863)

tamasima nö ura ni wakayu turu imora wö mi
Tamashima [gen.] cove [loc.] young *ayu*fish sisters [acc.] see
ramu Fitö nö tömösi sa
[fut.] person [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
wife [emp.] children [emp.] impatiently [adv.] come [fut.][quot.]
mati kemu Fitö nö kanasi sa
wait [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 *ŋga*.

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

In still another function of the genitive *ŋga* 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. *yukuŋga kanasisa* '[I] feel sad that [someone] goes ...' is used instead of **yuku aŋga kanasisa* 'I feel sad that [someone] goes ... (Ōno 1977:13).

1. sika nö tuma yobu kowë wö kiku ŋga tömösisa (M 1561)

sika nö tuma yobu kowë wö kiku ŋga tömösi sa
deer [gen.] wife call voice [acc.] hear [gen.] jealous [nomi.]

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

2. yuFuzuki wö ituka tö kimi wö matu ŋga kurusisa (M 3008)

yuFu zuki wö itu ka tö kimi wö matu ŋga
evening moo [acc.] when [inter.] [quot.] you [acc.] wait [gen.]
n
kurusi sa
painful [nomi.].

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

3. kusamakura tabi ni mö tuma tö aru ŋga tömösisa (M 634)

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

'I feel jealous of you traveling with your wife'

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

FatusegaFa yoru beki iso nö naki ŋga
Hatsuse-river approach [adj.] shore [gen.] not-exist [gen.]
sabusi sa
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 *ŋga* seems to have extended its use to the *ku*-type adjectives (Ōno 1977:14). This development is clearly seen in a few examples below:

1. kiyoki kaFase wö miru ŋga sayakesa (M 1737)

kiyoki kaFase wö miru ŋga sayake sa
clear current [acc.] see [gen.] pure [nomi.]

'I feel pure about watching the clear current'

2. werawera ni tukaFe maturu wö miru ŋga taFutosa (M 4266)

werawera ni tukaFe maturu wö miru ŋga taFuto sa
rejoicing [adv.] serve do [humb.] [acc.] 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 *ŋga* B', although A has been changed to verbs and adjectives.

As we have discussed above, there is a clear distinction between OJ *nö* and OJ *na* and also between OJ *nö* 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 *ŭi*/*ʌi* 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 *-ŭi* has earlier been *-ʌi* after a back vowel and *-ŭi* only after a front vowel, as one can find in the old literature. This *ʌi*, *ŭi* contains the binding vowel (*ʌ*, *ŭ*) and an original suffix *ŭ*. When this suffix *-ŭ* was affixed to a vowel stem, then *-ŭ* was the parallel to the post-consonantic variants *-ŭi* and *-ʌi*. From *na* 'I', *nɔ* 'you', *čɔ* 'that', *nu* 'who', 'somebody' the genitive is since old *na* 'my', *ne* 'yours, thy', *če* 'his', *nüi* (*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: MC *ji* [3], MC *ʔjɐi* [4], MC *p'jwɐi* [5], and MC *lji* [6]. These Chinese phonograms are normally interpreted as orthographies for OK **üi*, **ŭi*, **mʌi*, 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:

first period	*second period*
MC *ji* [3]	– –
– –	MC *ʔjęi* [4]
MC *p'jwęi* [5]	MC *p'jwęi* [5]
MC *lji* [6]	– –

In the first period, as shown above, the genitive case suffix is written with the Chinese characters [3], [4], and [6]. The first Chinese phonogram [3] is normally interpreted as OK **ŭi/*ʌi*. 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 *ŭ/ʌ* of the Middle Korean genitive case suffix *ŭi/ʌi* 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 *-ŭ-/-ʌ-* in MK *ŭi/ʌi* existed in Old Korean since MC *j* does not seem to agree either with *-ŭ-* or with *-ʌ-*. This evidence seems to show that the Old Korean genitive case suffix was simply **i* instead of OK **ŭi*.

The Chinese phonogram [5] is usually interpreted as OK **mʌi* for the genitive case suffix. The interpretation of MC *p'-* as OK *m-* is rather anachronistic since it is based on the conventional correspondence between MC *p'-* and MK *m-*. However, this interpretation can be accepted without much difficulty. There is no question about the interpretation of the *-i* in MC *mʌi* as OK **i* because both Middle Chinese and Old Korean vowels are identical. Since the *-jwę-* in MP *p'jwęi* would not appear to agree well with MK *-ŭ-/-ʌ-,-ŭ-/-ʌ-* would not have existed in Old Korean. Therefore, this phonogram is to be interpretated as OK **mi*.

The Chinese phonogram [6] 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 MC *ʔjęi* [4] and MC *p'jwęi*, 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 [4], which is normally interpreted as OK **ŭi/*ʌi*. This alleged Old Korean morpheme is another example of mechanically carrying the vowel harmony alternants of Middle Korean back into Old Korean. The *ʔję-* in MC *ʔjęi* would not make us assume that *ŭ-/ʌ-* as in MK *ŭi/ʌi* existed in late Old Korean because MC *ʔję-* would not agree either with *ŭ-* or with *ʌ-*. 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 text 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 *ŭi/ʌi* are later, changed forms from this original **i*.

When we consider the Old Korean topical suffix **ɀn* 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, nö* and *ŋga*, and the other Altaic genitive case suffix **i-nu*, which ultimately goes back to the genitive case of the Proto-Altaic third person singular 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) MC *jɨi* [3]

1. nyəi sʌis murskʌz *kəntarp'əi* noron čas*hurran* pʌ*rako* [12:1.1–2.1]

nyəi	sʌi	s	murskʌz	kəntarp'ə	i	noron	čas
long ago	east	[gen.]	shore	Gandharva	[gen.]	play	castle
hurran	pʌra		ko				
[obj.]	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* or ʌm*posyaor* tut*ko* ... [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. *urwuərten* nʌč'*i kyəisyaonti* [13:4.1–4.3]

urwuər	ten	nʌč'	i	kyəi	syaon	ti
admire	[perf.]	face	[gen.]	exist	[hon.]	[suf. end.]

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

(b) MC *p'jwei* [5]

1. *čə 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* kŭ*rir* mʌz ʌm *i* nyəo*r* kir ... [1:7.1–7.5]

rang	yə	kurir	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* kʌ*zher* čoč'*nu* ačy*ə* [4:8.1–8.3]

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

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

(c) MC *ljɨ*

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 *nö* and OJ *ŋga*. The rest simply show the regular genitive case suffix exactly as in the case of OJ *nö* and OJ *ŋga*. 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) MC *ʔjɛi* [4]

1. taskʌ *syarun tonpus* na *i* taskʌr*son tyəŋ* ... [19:5.1–5.4]

taskʌ	syarun	tonpu	s	na	i	taskʌrson	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* taskʌr*son* ... [24:1.1–1.3]

han	na	i	taskʌrson
all	I	[gen.]	perfecting

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

(b) MC *p'jwɐi* [5]

1. mʌz ʌm *i* pud ŭr*u* ... [15:1.1–1.2]

mʌz ʌm	i	pud	ŭru
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 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: MC *ʔi̯an* [7], MC *ʔi̯ən* [8], MC *γən* [2]. These phonograms are normally interpreted as OK **ʌn/*n*, **ŭn/*nŭn*, and *hʌn* respectively. The first Chinese phonogram MS *ʔi̯an* [7] is usually interpreted as OK **ʌn/*n*. The *ʔi̯a-* in MC *ʔi̯an* is a combination of a glide *ʔi̯-* and the vowel *-a-*, so that the *ʔi̯a-* was reduced to a form in which the glide became almost null. The reduced form seems to correspond to the *ʌ/ŭ* in MK *ʌn/ŭn*, and the *n* in MC *ʔi̯an* is identical with the *n* in MK *ʌn/ŭn*. 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 MC *ʔi̯ən* [8] is to be interpreted as OK **ᵊn* because of its identical phonetic shape except for the vowel *-ə-*.

The initial *γ-* in the last Chinese phonogram MC *γən* [9] is normally used as an orthography for OK **h*, which is also the immediate ancestor of MK *h*. The vowel *-ə-* in MC *γən* may correspond

to the *ʌ/ŭ* in MK *ʌn/ŭn*, 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 *ljï*. 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 [i ᵊ].

It is to be noted that the Middle Korean union vowels *ʌ/ŭ* 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 entire 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) MC *ʔi̯an* [7]

1. *min ᵊn* ərhʌn *ah*ʌ*i ko* hʌsyar*ti* [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 p.ərpkai mos* tarak hʌmyə ... [17:5.1–5.4]

son	ᵊn	pərpkai	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 ᵩn* i *əŭn er* pŭrhʌi samʌ*syanira* [23:1.1–2.4]

kaksuwang ᵩn i əŭn er pŭrhʌi samʌ syan
Buddha [top.] deluded people [obj.] root do [hon.]
ira
[suf. end.]

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

4. na*n tonpus* čo'*curi* is*ta* [2:24.1–4.3]

na n tonpus čočuri is ta
I [top.] fervently follow exist [suf. end.]

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

(b) MC *ʔi̯ən* [8]

1. *kun ᵩn* əpi *yə sin ᵩn* tʌz ʌ *syarəzi* yə [3:1.1–2.3]

kun ᵩn əpi yə sin ᵩn tʌz ʌ syar əzi
king [top.] father [conj.] minister [top.] love [hon.] mother
yə
[conj.]

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

2. tur*h ᵩn* na*i hai əsko* tur*h ᵩn* nu*i hai əmko* ... [5:5.1–6.3]

turh ᵩn na i hai əs ko turh ᵩn nu i
two [top.] I [gen.] under exist [conj.] two [top.] who [gen.]
hai əmko
under [inter.]

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

3. čəs *nuon* mom *ᵩn pəpkai mos* tʌro*k* niri*kara* [15:3.1–4.4]

čəs nuon mom ᵩn 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) MC *ɣən* [9]

1. *putyəs* patʌr *irun* nar*h ᵩn* č'am hʌtaon *motin əptu* [24:5.1–7.3]

putyəs patʌ r irun narh ᵩn č'am hʌ taon motin
Buddha's sea [obj.] attain day [top.] remove do like bad
əp tu
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 **ᵩn* 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 (Rosén 1974:44):

stem	*nominative*	*genitive*
1. ˊ*na* 'I'	ˊ*nai* < ˊ*na* + ˊ*i*	ˋ*nai* < ˊ*na* + ˬ*i*
2. ˋ*nə* 'you'	ˊ*nəi* < ˋ*nə* + ˊ*i*	ˋ*nəi* < ˋ*nə* + ˘*ui*
3. ˇ*čə* 'he, she, it'	ˇ*čəi* < ˇ*čə* + ˊ*i*	ˇ*čə* < ˇ*čə* + ˘*ui*
4. ˊ*nu* 'who'	ˊ*nui* < ˊ*nu* + ˊ*i*	ˊ*nui* < ˊ*nu* + ˘*ui*
5. ˇ*oi* 'single'	ˇ*oi* < ˇ*oi* + ˊ*i*	ˇ*oi* < ˇ*oi* + ˬ*i*

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 emphasizer 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 pronouns *n*

The genitive case suffix in Manchu-Tungus is found as a remnant in personal pronouns and in the possessive case suffix **ŋī* (< **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	ŋoani	nuŋan	noŋan
obliq.	in-	ŋoan-	nuŋan-	noŋan-
(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.	če	noanči	nuŋartīn	nogartan
obliq.	čen-	noan ... či	nuŋar ... 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 can safely assert that the genitive form in Manchu-Tungus was originally **n*.

As we may expect, the fossilized genitive case **n* functioned to connect the following morpheme with the preceding morpheme, i.e. it functioned as a genitive and possessive case suffix.

*(3.4) The functions of the Manchu-Tungus possessive case suffixes *ŋī, ŋga/ŋge/ŋgo, ŋgu/ŋgo, ŋgu*

We normally regard NTg **ŋī* (cf. Benzing 1955:61–62) as the Manch-Tungus possessive case suffix, and as a form going back to the still older forms **ngi* < **n-gai* < **n-kai* (Poppe 1977:101). The first component **n* is the true genitive, while the second component **kai* is the adjectival suffix cognate with the Mongolian and the Old Turkic adjectival suffix *ki*. However, this form **ŋī* is the possessive suffix or a noun of 'alienable' possession because it in fact differs from the true genitive in that a plural suffix can be added to it and it is capable of making a verb. But some Tungus languages such as Solon and Manchu have the true genitive which cannot take the plural suffix or cannot make a verb (Poppe 1977:58–59). The following are some examples of the possessive suffix:

Lamut	Evenki
awuŋī 'of the house' < *awu*	*dəgiŋī awdun*
'a house'	'bird's nest' > 'Pleiades'
bəy əŋī ūksə	*mō ŋī kulikān*
'the person's sleeve'	'wood beetle'
əw əŋkīl ŋī asī	*hunātŋīwę*
'Tungus woman'	'that of the maiden (acc.)'
ku ŋa ŋī sun	
'child's overcoat'	

In the last example, Evenki *hunātŋīwę* is not 'of the maiden' but more accurately 'the maiden's property', namely, *ŋī* functions as a nominalizer whose function came from the original genitive **n* in **n-kai*. In this respect, OJ **n* 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 *ŋga/ŋge/ŋgo*. Nanai has *ŋgu/ŋgo* and Olcha has *ŋgu*. The different forms would go back to **ŋga* < **nga* < **n-ka*. The following are cited in order to show the functions of these suffixes:

Nanai (Benzing 1955b:61–62)

1. *mi sɔ.ʌ ɔŋgu i* 'an iron that belongs to me'
2. *mi želiŋgo i* 'my head (e.g. of a tiger that I killed)'
3. *mi endaŋgo i* 'my dog (insulting expression for man)'

Manchu (Murayama 1957:130)

1. *aga ŋga sara* 'an umbrella' (*aga* 'rain')
2. *erdumuŋge niyalma* 'a virtuous person'
3. *bačoŋgo 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. *horo-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
   aqa yin ger
   elder-brother [gen.] house
   'the house of the elder brother'

2. ere-yin mal
   ere yin mal
   man [gen.] cattle
   'the cattle of the man'

3. noyan-u morin
   noyan u morin
   prince [gen.] horse
   'the horse of the prince'

4. qaγan-u tüšimel
   qaγan u tüšimel
   khagan [gen.] official
   'the official of the Khagan'

5. γaǰar-un
   γaǰar un aγula
   country [gen.] mountain
   'the mountain of the country'

6. ulus-un noyan
   ulus un noyan
   state [gen.] prince
   '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 *u*/*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 *yin* 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 *nö* and the Mongolian genitive suffix **n* the initial consonant *n* was shared by both genitive suffixes, while the final vowel *ö* 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 *ö* 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):

maryasi-ki 'of tomorrow' < *maryasi* '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'
yeken-ki 'majority, the greater, prevalent' < *yeke* 'great, big, old, much'
olan-ki 'majority, the major part' < *olan* 'much, multitude, the majority'
aqa-yin-ki 'elder brother's' < *aqa* '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 *ŋ* because of the following adjective suffix *qï/ki*, as in Uzk. *meniŋki* 'mine'.

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

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

1. *man-iŋ* 'my'; *biz-iŋ* 'our'; *sän-iŋ* 'your (s.g.)'
2. *qaran-iŋ-in* 'of your Khagan'
3. *türk budun-iŋ* 'of Turk people'
4. *bayirqu-n-iŋ aq adyirir* (KT E 36)
   bayirqu-n- iŋ aq adyirir
   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 (1979:107–108) 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 *teginiŋ* for instance, actually meant 'the property of the prince, what belongs to the prince' and *biziŋ* '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 *qï/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-qï	'monthly'	< *ay* 'month'
suw üzä-ki	'being on the water'	< *üzä* 'on'
yïr-da-ki	'being on the earth'	< *yïr* 'earth' + *da* '[loc.]'
tört yïnaq-da-qï	'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 (Räsänen 1957:102–103):

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

Chuvash (Räsänen 1957:102–103):

aval-xi	'former'	< *aval*
payan-xi	'of today'	< *payan* 'today'

Uzbek (Wurm 1958:495; 498):

yaz-qi	'of summer'	< *yaz* 'summer'
a *ɣiz-qi*	'of the month'	< *aɣiz* '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 *nö*, though PJ **n* only denoted property belonging to a person, but not the person himself as a possessor, which was instead expressed by OJ *nö*. 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 *ŋi* and *ŋga*. 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

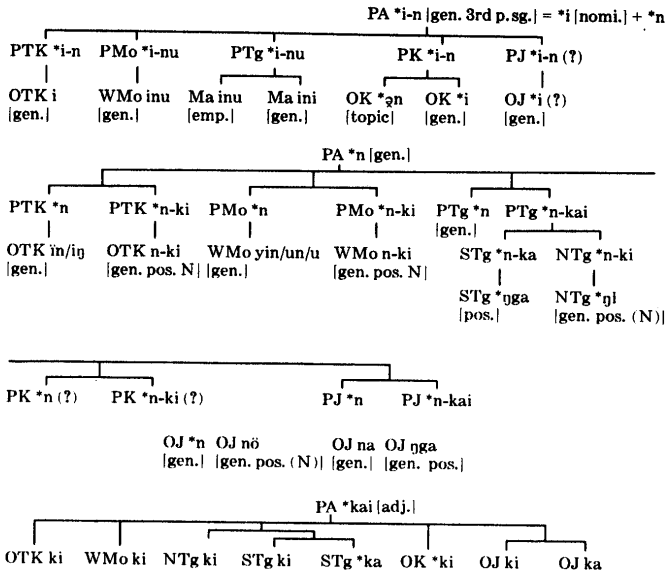
PA **i-n* was used purely as the genitive case of the third person singular pronoun, but as PA **i-n* began to develop some other functions, it came to lose its meaning and form, especially when PA **i-n* was placed after a noun, where it usually lost its stress and it eventually became a suffix, after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

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 *ŋga* 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 **ŋi̯*, which is found only in Manchu-Tungus. This supports the view that the combination **n-ka* must have been merged into **ŋga*, 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 *ŋga*, 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:



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

Japanese

NJ	: New Japanese	OJ	: Old Japanese

Korean

MK	: Middle Korean	NK	: New Korean	OK	: Old Korean

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	: converbal	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 Čŏngum Ŏnhe	SS	: Sŏkpo Sangjŏl
NT	: Nogŏl Teŏnhe	WS	: Wŏrin Sŏkpo

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

5. MISCELLANEOUS

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

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Glossary

[1] 我 [4] 衣 [7] 焉
[2] 餓 [5] 未 [8] 隠
[3] 矣 [6] 理 [9] 恨

The Question of the Place where the Manchu Ancestors Originated[1]

by
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For a long time the scholars at home and abroad have published many books and articles of good quality on the question of where the place of origin of the Aisin Gioro clan of Manchu, the Qing rulers is.[2] They have inquired into this question deepley and carefully. Although there is no certain conclusion yet, everybody can see those fruitful results. The late famous Japanese scholar Wada Sei wrote an essay in the 1930s entitled *Shinso hasshō no chiiki ni tsuite* ("The region where the Qing ancestors originated").[3] He considered that the remote forefather of Qing was the Odoli wanhu (*tümen* in Mongolian) of late Yuan, who moved from the area of San-xing (close to today's Yi-lan county in Heilongjiang province)

1 This essay was written to celebrate the eightieth birthday of Professor Tan Ji-long (Qi-xiang), the famous historical-geographer who teaches at Fu-tan University in Shanghai. It was originally completed in Dec. 1988. I am grateful to the Japanese scholars Nobuo Kanda, Jun Matsumura and Hidehiro Okada, who have made many valuable suggestions after my lecture at Toyo Bunko in Nov. 1989.
2 Zhang Bing-lin, *Qing jian-guo bie-ji* (QJGBJ, "Another record on the founding of the Qing dynasty"); see also Naitō Torajirō, *Shinchō kaikokuchō no shiryō* ("Historical material of the period when the Qing founded a state") and Tanabe Raizo, *Shinchō hasshōchi no densetsu* ("The legend of the region where the Qing dynasty originated", in *Mammō*, 7:1) in 1920s; Meng Sen, *"Qing shizu Bukuli Xiongshun kao", Ming Qing shi lunzhe jikan, xuben* ("A study of Bukuri Yongšon, the founder of the Qing dynasty; Continuation of the collection of the works on the history of the Ming and Qing dynasties"), the Japanese scholar Iwamoto Kazuo *Qingchao de xingqi ji qi chuanshuo* ("The arising of the Qing dynasty and its legend"), in *Lishi gonglun*, No. 36 in 1930s, and so on.
3 *Ikeushi hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō.*